

## Part 4. Important Speeches

# Inaugural Address of ROC 14<sup>th</sup>-term President Tsai Ing-wen

2016-05-20

---

Esteemed heads of state and guests from our 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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-month 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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, today's 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 a number of 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, 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 lock-step 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 new democratic mechanisms 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 this year, 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 fall backward, but it can also move forward. 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, my 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. 🇹🇼

# President Tsai's 2016 National Day Address

2016-10-10

---

## **Forging Ahead: Achieving Reforms to Make the Country Great**

Chairperson for the National Day Celebration Mr. Su Jia-chyuan (蘇嘉全, also Legislative Yuan President), distinguished guests, my fellow countrymen watching on television and online:

Good morning to you all!

Today is the 105<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China. I want to specially thank our international guests who have come far, and our overseas compatriots who have come home to Taiwan. Thank you all for being here with us to witness this grand national celebration.

My special thanks also to Mr. Chen Chin-feng (陳金鋒, Taiwanese baseball star). Today he left his familiar baseball field and led all of us in singing the national anthem. He is a true hero in the hearts of all Taiwanese people.

Today, on our country's birthday, I pay my deepest respect to all those who have sacrificed and given

themselves to this land.

This country has been through authoritarian rule and social conflict, and it has endured sharp differences on the question of national identity. Looking back, we are filled with gratitude. And now, the new government shoulders the responsibility to transform and renew this country.

In my May 20 inaugural address, I said that “to change young people’s predicament is to change a country’s predicament.” This has been at the core of every reform we have initiated in the recent months.

Young people worry that housing costs too much and adds too heavy a burden, so we get to work expanding social housing - 80,000 units within the next four years, and a projected 200,000 within the next eight. Like in many advanced countries, access to social housing will become universal in Taiwan.

Young people want to accelerate their careers, so the government must enable them to do so free of worry. Their elderly at home need care, so we get to work building a long-term care system. Their kids at home also need care, so we get to work promoting a daycare program.

Our pension system may go bankrupt, so we face this problem head-on with the utmost seriousness and caution. After pension reform, young people will bear a relatively lighter burden, and they will not have to fear that they are paying into the system for nothing. This country will, in a fair manner, guarantee a post-retirement life of dignity for every citizen.

The same rationale underpins our effort on transitional justice. The new government must usher in a new

beginning for Taiwan's democratic politics, and give our young people a healthy and diverse democracy. That is the true meaning of our work on transitional justice.

In addition to the above policies, which are underway, we are also working to revitalize our economy and industry. We have proposed "5+2 innovative industries" driven by innovation, research and development. Recently, these plans and their associated regulatory adjustments have been launched one by one. Our goal is clear: to create quality job opportunities for our young people, and to elevate their salaries.

Industrial transformation is the fundamental means to revitalize this country's economy, and we will not waver from its pursuit. The road ahead is long, but we are determined to overcome all difficulties. The government has proposed measures to expand investment. With a multi-pronged approach that includes improving the investment environment, stimulating private sector investment, strengthening investment by state-run enterprises, and boosting innovation, we will turn around an economy that has stagnated for years.

Our efforts have begun to yield results. Just last week, at the 2016 Taiwan Business Alliance Conference in Taipei, foreign investors signaled their intention to invest more in Taiwan than they have done in years. Thanks to our firm resolve and courage to reform, foreign investors' confidence in Taiwan has been reignited. We ourselves hold the key to Taiwan's economic revitalization and industrial transformation.

Dear fellow countrymen: a road of reform is certain to

have ups and downs. But I call earnestly on all of you: do not let the ups and downs get you to lose hope in Taiwan.

This is the first time that all of us in this country can sit down together, and truly reflect on what sort of country we wish to leave to our young generation. We must not let this opportunity slip from our grasp. The power to decide is in the hands of this generation.

The new government's blueprint is clear. Everything we have done in the past few months has been to lift this country out of stagnation. Industrial transformation will lead Taiwan's economic development forward. The social safety net will ensure security for citizens. Pension reform will ensure the nation's financial health and the people's retirement life. Transitional justice will enable our democracy to begin anew. At the same time, we are hard at work preparing for judicial reform; once the Judicial Yuan's new leadership is in place, reform will accelerate.

We will persist in taking this country forward. Our direction is set, so we continue forward and will never back down.

The people of Taiwan aspire to peace, pursue democracy, and long to go out into the world and do our part for the international community.

After the new government took office, I visited our diplomatic allies Paraguay and Panama under the principle of "steadfast diplomacy" and "mutual assistance for mutual benefits". I met with the heads of state or deputy heads of state from many countries including Panama, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Belize, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Vice President Chen Chien-jen

also paid visits to the Dominican Republic and the Holy See. Our hope is that diplomacy will not be about one-way giving, but about mutually-beneficial cooperation that we plan and build together with our allies for the good of both.

We are going proactively into the world. Although the path to participation in international organizations is not easy, we will remain steadfast and march on. Taiwan has never been absent on important global issues. Even under pressure, we still stand with all major democratic countries in our desire to contribute meaningfully to humanity.

Over the past months, we have worked with friendly nations to organize several international events. These events have addressed disease prevention and treatment, energy efficiency, women's empowerment, and e-commerce training aimed at narrowing digital divides in the region. With concrete action we are contributing to regional development. During this period, we have also actively engaged different countries in discussion on disaster prevention and rescue, maritime search and rescue and many other maritime cooperation issues, so as to build up momentum for regional cooperation. Taiwan's ability to contribute to the international community is a point of great pride for the Taiwanese people.

Since May 20, the new government has seen our relationships with the U.S., Japan, Europe and other democracies grow substantially, and these countries are supporting Taiwan's international participation more strongly than in the past. Here and on behalf of our country, I want to convey to these dear international

friends the gratitude of the Taiwanese people.

At the same time, we aim to redefine Taiwan's role in the Asia-Pacific region, and identify a new driving force for growth. So we are actively promoting our New Southbound Policy with well-defined policy guidelines and implementation plans. We will build stronger and mutually-beneficial partnerships with the nations of Southeast Asia and South Asia, Australia and New Zealand in the areas of economics and trade, science and technology, education, culture, tourism and more. Through mechanisms for wide-ranging negotiation and dialogue, we will build consensus for cooperation and reduce barriers.

In the process of regional development, our role is different from that of mainland China. Taiwan has substantial experience and advantages in talent cultivation, agricultural development, science and technology innovation, medical care, SMEs and other fields, and we will take full advantage of these to contribute actively to regional development. On regional infrastructure development and in multilateral economic and trade cooperation, we are also willing to negotiate and cooperate with the other side of the Taiwan Strait, to jointly forge historical milestones.

On cross-strait relations, I once again reiterate the immovable position of the new government, and that is to establish a consistent, predictable and sustainable cross-strait relationship, and to maintain both Taiwan's democracy and the status quo of peace across the Taiwan Strait.

Maintaining the status quo is the pledge I made to voters.

Not a single sentence from my inaugural address on May 20 has ever changed. The new government will conduct cross-strait affairs in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of China, the Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area, and other relevant legislation. And we will spare no effort in maintaining mechanisms for dialogue and communication across the Taiwan Strait.

We respect the historical fact that in 1992, the two institutions representing each side across the strait (SEF & ARATS) met, and we advocate that both sides must collectively cherish and sustain the accumulated outcomes enabled by over twenty years of cross-strait interactions and negotiations since 1992, and continuously promote the stable and peaceful development of the cross-strait relationship based on such existing political foundations. I also call on the two governing parties across the strait to set aside the baggage of history, and engage in positive dialogue for the benefit of people on both sides.

Although cross-strait relations have seen certain ups and downs in the past months, our position remains consistent and firm. Our pledges will not change, and our goodwill will not change. But we will not bow to pressure, and we will of course not revert to the old path of confrontation. This is our fundamental attitude toward maintaining the status quo, and it is based on the collective hope for peace across the Taiwan Strait.

I want to stress that maintaining the status quo has a more proactive meaning: With deepening democracy as foundation, we will take proactive and forward-looking



measures to promote constructive exchanges and dialogue across the strait, in order to build a peaceful and stable cross-strait relationship that endures.

I call upon the authorities of mainland China to face up to the reality that the Republic of China exists, and that the people of Taiwan have an unshakable faith in the democratic system. The two sides of the strait should sit down and talk as soon as possible. Anything can be included for discussion, as long as it is conducive to the development of cross-strait peace and the welfare of people on both sides. Leaders on both sides should jointly display wisdom and flexibility, and with a calm attitude, bring together a divided present toward a win-win future.

Since May 20, more than a hundred days have passed. Step by step, many tasks have begun. Here I want to say a special word of thanks to the team at the Executive Yuan led by Premier Lin Chuan (林全). There is no shortcut to reform. Reforms that take shortcuts are usually not genuine reforms. In order to truly transform and renew this country, the new government chooses to proceed step-by-step with pragmatism and unwavering purpose. Whatever is not right, we fix it. Whatever is right, we stay the course and fear neither ridicule nor reproach. That, I believe, would be the kind of government that the people of Taiwan hoped for.

In June this year, while I was on a state visit to Paraguay, President Horacio Cartes said to me: “Your country is much bigger than you imagine.” Here at the conclusion of my address, I present these words to all of you, my fellow countrymen. Our mission now is to instill in the people of

Taiwan the belief that, through reform, this country will achieve greatness.

Thank you all. May our country enjoy continued prosperity and progress. 🇹🇼

# President Tsai's 2017 National Day Address

2017-10-10

---

Mr. Su Jia-chyuan, Chairperson of the National Day celebration, distinguished guests, my fellow countrymen watching on television and online, good morning!

Today is the 106<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China. On behalf of the country, I want to thank our friends and overseas compatriots who have come from afar to join us in celebrating the ROC's birthday. Thank you.

This day belongs to Taiwan's 23 million people. We have representatives from all political parties, including Kuomintang Chairperson Wu Den-yih, People First Party Chairperson James Soong, New Power Party Chairperson Huang Kuo-chang, as well as Minkuotang Chairperson Hsu Hsin-ying.

We are able to gather here today on the birthday of the Republic of China, regardless of party affiliation or our political differences. This is the meaning of National Day.

The theme for this year's National Day celebration is "Better Taiwan." I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the three popularly-elected

former presidents, Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, and Ma Ying-jeou.

Each of them represented a different period in Taiwan's pursuit of democracy and freedom. The governments they led left their respective legacies on the development of Taiwan. While there may have been differences in our views of the direction this country should take, I believe that the determination of each government to better Taiwan has always remained the same.

Since May 20 last year, the will of the people has given new momentum to the phrase "Better Taiwan." Having been entrusted by the people, I have taken on full responsibility for this. I will do everything I can to make Taiwan better.

### 1. Fulfilling our commitments and accelerating reform

Over the past year, my administration has been hard at work making Taiwan better in three key aspects. They include fulfilling our commitments, pushing forward reforms, and providing a better life to the people.

We have spared no effort in transforming Taiwan's economy and industrial structure.

This includes working to resolve concerns over the "five shortages" (referring to land, electricity, water, labor, and talent) raised by our private sector. It also includes our "5+2 industrial innovation program," which is now entering its accelerated phase. This will speed up the upgrade and transformation of Taiwan's industries.

We are spearheading investments into infrastructure. Public investment under our Forward-looking Infrastructure

Development Program will encourage further investment from the private sector.

All of this has led to growth in both the number and amount of investments from domestic and foreign firms. Meanwhile, we are also reforming the tax code.

We have been making steady progress to deliver on our commitments for social housing. Not only have the amendments to the Housing Act passed; as of today, there are over 30,000 social housing units planned or under construction across the country.

Another one of our commitments is "Long-term Care 2.0 Plan." Already, 720 community and public-based care centers are operating. We expect this number to rapidly increase in the next three years so that everyone can receive care services close to home.

Our plan to enhance "Early Childhood Education and Care Service" is also moving forward. We will establish 1,000 public preschool classes within four years, increasing the percentage of public preschools by 10%. This will alleviate the burden of young parents, allowing them to pursue more options and opportunities.

Following countless discussions and complications, we also passed the civil service pension reform this summer. This will bring the pension fund back from the brink of bankruptcy and ensure its sustainability in the years to come.

We have also convened a "National Conference on Judicial Reform." The Judicial Yuan and Ministry of Justice can begin the reform process with reference to the recommendations made during this conference. In the

future, the government will have a biannual report to the people on the progress of this reform.

To ensure more public participation in the judicial process, the Judicial Yuan will accelerate the pace of reform, and submit a lay participation draft act by the end of the year. Meanwhile, we will enhance judicial oversight by refining the evaluation process for judges and prosecutors. This includes participation by more external members, increasing professionalism and impartiality. To further improve judicial efficiency, we will also make changes to the judicial process and court structure so that litigation can be handled in a more timely manner.

The people also care deeply about the problem of illicit drugs. Addressing this issue will be of the highest priority. We will coordinate resources across different ministries and local governments in order to use the power of the state to combat illicit drugs. This includes the mobilization of all relevant agencies to jointly engage in prevention, fighting abuse, enforcement, and treatment.

We will also engage in multinational cooperation on this issue. By cracking down on regional manufacturing and distribution networks starting from the source, we will keep these drugs from reaching our borders.

Since last year, with the cooperation of various agencies, we have already solved a number of large-scale drug smuggling cases. Following this, we will toughen sentencing through amendments to the Narcotics Hazard Prevention Act. At the same time, however, we will also provide more support to users, people recovering from drug abuse, and their families using the Drug Prevention

Fund. This will allow them to quit drugs and solve one of the root causes of the problem.

We are a government that can resolve problems. My job is to overcome Taiwan's challenges, one by one. Regardless of how difficult reforms are, Premier Lai, his administrative team, and I will remain determined, and our commitments will not change. I believe as long as we can resolve problems one step at a time, we will start to see change. This will lead to a better Taiwan.

## 2. Safeguarding Taiwan's democracy and freedom

Today, on our National Day, we should remember that democracy and freedom are rights that only came following the joint efforts of all Taiwanese people. As a result, the government must make the utmost effort to safeguard Taiwan's values of democracy and freedom, as well as our way of life.

For 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, our brothers and sisters in uniform are standing at their posts, in defense of Taiwan.

Across air force bases, pilots are in full combat gear ready to take to the skies. On the blue seas, our navy and coast guard vessels are currently engaged in patrols. Our army personnel are engaged in routine exercises and standing guard, without a moment's relaxation. In situation rooms, hundreds of eyes are closely watching our neighboring waters and airspace for the slightest disturbance.

On the ROC's birthday, I want to thank all of our brothers and sisters in uniform. Each one of you guards the ROC's continued existence. All of you are staunch defenders of

Taiwan's democracy, freedom, and way of life.

As Commander-in-Chief, I have taken on full responsibility for military reform.

We must strengthen our military capabilities. Faced with the growing demands of modern warfare, we must ensure that our new-generation military focuses not on quantity, but quality. We must be more prepared for growing threats in cybersecurity and espionage, as well as more capable of protecting our critical infrastructure. At the same time, the military must be able to carry out joint operations and effectively coordinate missions across different service branches. It must also strengthen its defensive capabilities and layered deterrence, in order to protect the safety of our 23 million people.

We must also raise our military morale. Over the past year, we have worked to upgrade personnel equipment, refurbish military housing, and refine our system of military conscription. We have enhanced the pay system to provide more bonuses. I trust that this commitment has been felt by all of our brothers and sisters in uniform.

We are also encouraging non-commissioned officers to engage in further study and refine their abilities so that their military specializations can carry over to their post-military careers. More importantly, we are closely studying the structures of other advanced countries, so that we can craft a new retirement system that rewards military retirees based on their length of service.

Meanwhile, as we strengthen our own self-defense, we know this requires that we create links with society. We will continue to build up our indigenous defense industry



through technical exchanges. In the current phase, we are committed to building our own military jets and submarines, which, particularly for young engineers and researchers, will create many new job opportunities. I trust that a more robust defense industry will not only strengthen our military capabilities, but prove beneficial to our overall industrial development as well.

Although we are strengthening our military capabilities, we do not seek war. We remain committed to maintaining peace and stability both in the Taiwan Strait and across the region. Meanwhile, we will continue to safeguard Taiwan's freedom, democracy, and way of life, as well as ensure the Taiwanese people's right to decide our own future.

Cross-strait relations are an issue that affects Taiwan's future and the long-term welfare of our 23 million people. Since May 20 last year, we have exerted maximum goodwill in order to safeguard the peaceful and stable development of cross-strait relations. Although political differences between the two sides have led to some complications, we have nevertheless worked to maintain the basic stability of cross-strait relations.

As I have stated on many occasions: "Our goodwill will not change, our commitments will not change, we will not revert to the old path of confrontation, and we will not bow to pressure." This has been my consistent position on cross-strait relations.

This year marks the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of cross-strait exchanges. Over the past 30 years, hostility between the two sides of the strait has been replaced by peaceful development. A new chapter has been written in cross-

strait relations. Key to this was that both sides were able to put aside political differences in order to be pragmatic and realistic. In the course of exchanges and interactions, both sides accumulated goodwill and established new interactions and ways of thinking.

We should treasure these hard-fought results and the accumulated goodwill from the past 30 years. On this existing basis, we hope for more breakthroughs in the cross-strait relationship.

This year also marks the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Taiwan allowing familial visits to the mainland. Even today, footage of family members reuniting for the first time continues to be emotional. In 2011, Taiwan also opened up to students from the mainland. Since then, young people from both sides of the strait have started to live, study, and think together. In this process, they started to gradually understand the differences in each other's backgrounds. They have started to develop mutual understanding, so that they can work together to build a more prosperous and peaceful world.

As we face new circumstances in cross-strait and regional relations, leaders from both sides should together work to display the political wisdom that has carried us through over the years. We should search for new modes of cross-strait interactions with determination and patience. This will lay a more solid basis for long-term peace and stability in the cross-strait relationship.

### 3. Finding Taiwan's place in the new international order

Further to our commitments and our determination to

safeguard Taiwan's democracy and freedom, realizing a better Taiwan also requires us to find Taiwan's place in the new international order. This is the third point the government will engage in.

Today, as we are joined by friends from all over the world, I want to reemphasize that we are peace-loving people. We have the willingness and ability to make more meaningful contributions to the international community.

Taiwan plays an irreplaceable role in the peace, stability, and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific. Based on our shared commitment to democracy and freedom, we have engaged in close cooperation with like-minded countries.

At the same time, we are promoting the "New Southbound Policy" to forge closer relations and links with our neighbors in the region. Compared to the last year, our trade with New Southbound countries has grown almost 20%. This is a result everyone can see.

Under this policy, we are working to encourage talent exchanges. The number of overseas students currently studying in technical programs here is rapidly increasing. With their multinational experiences, these students will be a driving force in promoting regional prosperity in the future.

We are also encouraging greater industrial cooperation. The Ministry of Economic Affairs has established investment windows in Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand, and India to support investment in both directions.

We are also providing overseas credit guarantees for small and medium-sized enterprises seeking to invest in

Southeast Asia. Working together, companies in Taiwan and New Southbound countries can apply their respective advantages to create mutually beneficial industrial links.

The purpose of the "New Southbound Policy" is for us to hold a more advantageous position in international society.

I also want to use this opportunity to tell our friends from around the world that faced with a rapidly changing Asia-Pacific region, Taiwan is ready to play a more important role in shaping regional prosperity and stability.

This year, we have created a new platform for working with Southeast Asian countries to fight the dengue epidemic. Furthermore, we are establishing Taiping Island as a center for humanitarian assistance in the region. On Dongsha (Pratas) Island, we are building a station to monitor greenhouse gas emissions. This soft power is a source of pride for the Taiwanese people and a force for stability, peace, and prosperity in the region.

In addition to cooperation with New Southbound countries, we also hope that through participation in international organizations, Taiwan can play a more proactive role in international society.

We have ratified both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. We have also completed Taiwan's first ever voluntary national review of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

We are also promoting Taiwan's ODA (Official Development Assistance) to support our diplomatic allies and New Southbound countries in financing infrastructure and major development projects. This will also enable both

Taiwan's private sector and government to become more globalized.

Traditional security issues continue to be a challenge for the international community. But in addition, we are also facing growing non-traditional threats from climate change, resource scarcity, communicable diseases, and terrorism from around the world. These are common challenges facing every country.

In response, major democracies from around the world are adjusting their foreign policies. They are bringing forward ways to "merge traditional and non-traditional issues" and "consolidate government and civil society forces." Taiwan is responding to these international trends by placing humanitarianism at the center of our security perspective.

This is the meaning behind the Yushan Forum, which will be held tomorrow. We want to place Taiwan at the forefront of promoting innovation and progressive values across the Asia-Pacific.

As we welcome official and non-official participation from every country, we look forward to discussions on regional development, environmental protection, medicine and health, religious freedom, free markets, and multiculturalism. All of this will create a more sustainable environment for innovation in Taiwan and the world.

I want to also use this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to leaders and representatives from Taiwan's diplomatic allies. On behalf of our 23 million people, thank you. Our foreign policy is guided by the belief in "Steadfast Diplomacy and Mutual Assistance for Mutual Benefits." As

diplomatic allies, we support one another and overcome challenges together. Thank you for speaking out for Taiwan on the international stage. Please trust that Taiwan will always remain your most committed friend and ally, both now and in the future.

My fellow countrymen, Taiwan is strong when we are united. This was demonstrated during the Summer Universiade this year. We cheered on the winning athletes, cried with the defeated athletes, and rejoiced together when Taiwan was seen by the world.

These shared emotions come because we live on this land together, we share living experiences, we share sentiments, and we must shoulder a shared future.

To the representatives from all the political parties here today, I look forward to exchanging opinions on constitutional reform with you. The issues I spoke about today, domestic reforms, safeguarding our democracy and freedom, and finding our place in international society - all also require that Taiwan come together. I hereby formally invite the leaders of our political parties to meet to discuss issues of concern. As long as we are united, we can show the world the pride we take in our democracy, freedom, and prosperity.

In closing, I would like to extend my gratitude to a special Taiwanese. Father Kan Hui-chung led the singing of the national anthem today and has dedicated decades of his life serving Taiwan. After giving light and love to Taiwan, he has officially become an ROC citizen. On behalf of the people of Taiwan, thank you.

Please take care of your health. Rest assured that Taiwan

will continue to embrace the world with open arms.

Taiwan will become better. We will become great because of our democracy. We will become great because of our freedom. We will become great because of our unity. Once more, thank you to the people of Taiwan. We will become better together. Thank you all. 🇹🇼

# President Tsai's 2017 Year-end Press Conference Address

2017-12-29

---

Fellow citizens, and friends from domestic and foreign media, Good afternoon.

As the year 2017 draws to a close, we have specially chosen to hold this year-end press conference at the National Chung-Shan Institute of Science & Technology. This is the strategic center of Taiwan's national defense science and technology efforts. Holding the press conference here underscores our determination for self-sufficiency in national defense and protecting Taiwan's democracy.

We live in an era of rapid change. Governments around the world are re-thinking their overall national security strategies and the direction of their future development.

This is especially true in Taiwan, given the unpredictable geopolitical environment we live in. As seen by the increasingly frequency of air and sea activities by the People's Liberation Army, China's intention to expand their military presence in the region has become increasingly evident. Tensions in the Korean peninsula and territorial



disputes in East Asian maritime areas and the South China Sea have all added to regional complexity.

Furthermore, strategic considerations between the United States and China, the lack of overall progress in regional economic and trade integration, and the continued possibility of geopolitical conflicts, mean that Taiwan cannot afford any miscalculations.

Therefore, one of my foremost tasks since taking office has been to find Taiwan's position and its path forward, amid these many regional and global variables.

This is why I have consistently emphasized self-sufficiency in national defense. If Taiwan wants to defend its sovereignty and maintain regional peace, stability and prosperity, we cannot depend on others. Upgrading our own military capabilities is strongest way to guarantee our national security.

As president of the Republic of China, I am responsible for safeguarding national sovereignty and maintaining regional peace and stability.

Today, we have two model prototypes here at this event. One is our self-developed unmanned aerial vehicle, the Tengyun, a multifunctional drone with surveillance capabilities. I want to let my countrymen know that the Tengyun is about to begin mass production.

The other model is the latest advanced training aircraft. Thanks to the National Chung-Shan Institute of Science & Technology and domestic companies, this aircraft will have its maiden flight in 2020, a key step in our program to build our own aircraft domestically.

Taiwan may not be big, but we are very determined

to defend our country. As commander-in-chief of the Republic of China's armed forces, strengthening national defense combat capabilities and defending our national security has always been one of my most important tasks.

Over the past year or so, the morale of our armed forces has gradually recovered and public support for the military has continued to increase. Seeing this take place has been one of my most rewarding developments since assuming office.

Here, I solemnly pledge that, we will continue to increase our defense budget in a stable and reasonable basis each year. "Self-sufficiency in national defense" is not just a slogan. It's a mission that we are fully devoted to fulfilling every day.

Meanwhile, in international economics and trade, we've seen the US propose a "free and open Indo-Pacific" policy. Mainland China has its One Belt, One Road policy. Japan and India are jointly advocating a "free corridor," while Korea has a New Southern Policy. These initiatives show that all the countries in our region want to establish closer economic and trade ties.

Taiwan also has its own strategy. The New Southbound Policy is our key regional strategy for Asia. Already, we've seen positive responses from South and Southeast Asian countries.

Over the past year or more, we've strengthened trade, investment, tourism, and cultural exchanges and cooperation with all New Southbound countries. We've also promoted exchanges and bilateral discussions in various areas, while pursuing memorandums of

understanding and cooperation agreements. All of these efforts will provide our peoples with more institutionalized protections in the course of their exchanges with each other.

Between January and October of this year, Taiwan's bilateral trade with the 18 New Southbound countries grew almost 20% compared last year. Tourism from New Southbound countries has increased over 30% and today we have over 31,000 exchange students from these countries studying in Taiwan. People from those countries are now a common sight on the streets of Taiwan, thanks to the New Southbound Policy.

As we look to the south, Taiwan will continue to find new opportunities. Over the next year, the New Southbound Policy will move into a more comprehensive promotion and integration stage. We will leverage our existing cooperative foundations to develop strategic partnerships with New Southbound countries.

For industries where Taiwan has advantages and the ability to develop southward, including petrochemicals, agriculture and medical care, we will also integrate public and private sector forces, while strengthening and integrating support mechanisms. We will make a special effort to provide consulting and assistance services for small and medium enterprises. Through teamwork, we can create a New Southbound industrial chain with countries that are willing to cooperate.

Cross-strait relations are crucial to maintaining regional peace and prosperity. I want my countrymen to rest assured that cross-strait relations will not be reckless. They

will not be deadlocked. They won't return to the standoff we saw during the authoritarian Kuomintang era of the past.

Our unchanging position is to maintain the status quo. This is Taiwan's commitment to our region and the world. Peace, prosperity and development in Asia are common responsibilities of all the countries in the region. Therefore, cross-strait issues are issues of regional peace. Taiwan will fulfill its responsibilities of maintaining regional security by continuing to harbor goodwill and maintaining stable, consistent and predictable cross-strait relations.

Dignity and respect, stable cross-strait relations, and engaging with the international community are the collective aspirations of the Taiwanese people. This is also my mission.

Since we took office, Vice President Chen Chien-jen and I have made five state visits on behalf of the Republic of China. We have seen Taiwan's technical and medical missions and diplomatic personnel in many places across the world. Their expertise and efforts have proven to the world time and again that Taiwan is willing and able to contribute even more to international society.

In many areas including industrial innovation, sustainable development, and humanitarian aid, Taiwan has taken an active role and spared no effort, making us an important member of international society. This is steadfast diplomacy. This is Taiwan's strength.

Taiwan must be strong, and most importantly, its economy must be strong. Economic conditions around the world are now improving. In this environment, the

government's most important mission is to seize the opportunities provided by this economic resurgence. We have to speed up implementation of next-generation infrastructure projects and the transformation of our domestic industrial structure.

Last week, work began on the Chiayi Urban District Elevated Railway Project and Taichung's mass rapid transit system will hold its first trials at the end of next year. The Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program I announced in my year-end press conference last year is well underway.

The "5+2 industrial innovation program" is also showing excellent progress. In a little more than a year, we've doubled our total installed solar photovoltaic capacity. Our policy for developing offshore wind power generation is receiving attention from green energy companies around the world.

By 2020, foreign and domestic investment in Taiwan's green energy market will total more than NT\$250 billion. Green energy companies from around the world are now focusing on Taiwan - something we've never seen before. These investments will bring to Taiwan not only electric power, but many more high-quality job opportunities.

In addition to green energy projects, Taiwan's traditional industries are being transformed under our Smart Machinery Development Program. Many traditional manufacturers are introducing smart manufacturing processes. Higher quality products have increased the demand for skilled professionals and this is how high-wage jobs are being created.

At the same time, the government is also re-examining the legal and regulatory framework that governs the market as a whole. Where adjustments are needed, we'll move quickly to amend laws or pass new legislation. This will ensure that our legal regime is in step with the times, and that instead of hindering our progress, they will promote economic development.

We have adopted the Act for the Recruitment and Employment of Foreign Professionals to bring more capable foreign talent to Taiwan. We have also amended the Act for Industrial Innovation to give innovative industries more space to spread their wings. Next, we'll promote revisions to the tax code and amend the Company Act to create a more competitive economic environment.

I especially want to emphasize that economic transformation means more than just closing the gaps left by past stagnation and obsolescence. It means addressing today's huge shifts in global economics and trade, through forward-looking changes to the way we deploy resources. We're racing against time and the government will pool our collective strengths and make comprehensive adjustments to improve the internal mechanisms and structure of our economy and industries.

If we have the determination, we can reshape Taiwan's economy and re-create the Taiwan economic miracle.

This administration is doing things that previous administrations should have done, but didn't do because they were concerned about the political costs.

With the fear that actions will lead to offense, they preferred to do nothing. This is a vicious cycle that has

made young people feel our society is unjust and that they are disenfranchised.

The Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year 2017 is "youthquake," reflecting the tremendous social impact of the younger generation. This is a global phenomenon and the youth of Taiwan are no exception.

If young people are still willing to listen to what the government has to say, I want to tell you: I understand your anxiety about the future, and will do everything I can to change Taiwan's future. My administration's most important task in 2018 is to do everything possible to improve the problem of low wages for young people.

I'll use five methods to put an end to low wages for young people.

The first and most important method is to upgrade and transform the industrial sector. Our project to achieve local production of fighter jets, which I just mentioned, has already generated over 700 R&D and manufacturing job opportunities in the aeronautics industry alone. The number of new jobs in the aeronautics industry as a whole could eventually reach 2,000.

The National Chung-Shan Institute of Science & Technology, the site of today's press conference, has hired almost 1,500 new employees since my inauguration on May 20 last year. Even during this press conference, the young people here are working hard at building Taiwan's defense industry. It takes high-quality jobs like this to fundamentally improve the salary situation for young people.

At the same time, we'll identify low-wage industries,

and help them upgrade and transform more quickly by adopting new technologies or moving to new business models.

The second approach is to continue encouraging companies to raise pay levels. The government will provide support to companies willing to give bigger pay raises. When companies share more of their profits with employees, this increases employees' buying power, creating a positive cycle that benefits both enterprise and labor.

Third, we will continue adjusting the minimum wage. In the past, a monthly wage of NT\$22,000 was seen as a ceiling for young people starting their careers. But we've adjusted the minimum wage twice over the past year. Beginning in 2018, a monthly wage of NT\$22,000 will no longer be the ceiling, but very minimum.

Next, we're going to promote a minimum wage act, giving us a legal basis to set the minimum wage. It will also provide enough space to incorporate all the factors that impact labor and capital into minimum wage discussions.

We can't raise the minimum wage to an appropriate level all at once. And we won't ask small and medium enterprises to bear the burden alone. The government will provide guidance and assistance to ensure that productivity keeps pace with wage increases.

Fourth, for young people doing low-wage or atypical jobs, the government has the responsibility to provide career counseling services, adequate job training, and even special allowances and incentives to ensure that young people have more career options.



And fifth, we want to lighten the burdens in young people's lives. We will therefore promote social housing, public childcare and pre-school education, and long-term care. I know that many young people—and especially those from underprivileged backgrounds—have significant student loans.

To address these situations, we will start formulating ways to further reduce student loan interest rates and provide subsidies to young people who are continuously employed after graduation.

In addition to raising the low wages paid to young people, we'll also take steps to address the employment needs of the underprivileged. We want to improve pay levels and working conditions for women, middle-aged and older workers, indigenous peoples, and others engaged in atypical work.

Of course, these methods will take time. We can't expect immediate solutions. But I want to take this opportunity to tell the whole administration what I keep telling myself: It's our duty to resolve the problem of low wages for young people. If we don't start now, we are letting the current and future generations of young people down.

Since I took office on May 20 last year, the most important demand I made of myself is to do what previous presidents feared to do. I promised that I would promote reforms that previous governments feared promoting.

Pension reforms have helped stabilize a civil service pension system that was on the verge of collapse. Providing social housing was previously considered impossible. But now, through the amended Housing Act

and a newly adopted special residential tenancy act, it's being implemented through building projects, subletting management schemes for private properties, and floor area incentives.

Several days ago there was a media report about a woman surnamed Yang who, with her three grandchildren, became the first to move into social housing in Taipei under the new subletting management scheme. Things are starting to change.

While in the past there was an endless series of food safety issues, inspections have been strengthened and stricter penalties imposed through amendments to the Act Governing Food Safety and Sanitation. We're also promoting integration of the multiple certification marks used for agricultural products in the past to help restore consumer confidence. Things are starting to change.

Large-scale expansion of elderly care services was impossible in the past, but after ensuring that we have the necessary financial resources, our Long-Term Care 2.0 Plan took effect this year. We increased the number of people receiving care, doubled the original number of recipient categories from four to eight, and increased the original eight care types to 17. In particular, long-term care now includes care for dementia, helping to reduce the burdens on even more families.

We've also proposed concrete solutions for issues people have expressed concern over: child care, early childhood education, air pollution, and the fair utilization of water resources.

This year, we also established the first nation-wide

Indigenous Radio Station and a Hakka Radio Station. The widely criticized "bird-cage" referendum law was amended this month. Legislative proceedings for an act promoting transitional justice have been completed, and Taiwan will now enter the ranks of countries promoting transitional justice.

Judicial reform is a focal point. The resolutions of the Presidential Office National Conference on Judicial Reform are being implemented and an initial draft has already been produced to implement a lay participation system. Competition between political parties is fairer now due to enforcement of the Political Party Act and the Statute Governing Ill-Gotten Assets of Political Parties and Their Affiliated Organizations. One by one, questions from the past regarding ambiguous ownership of political party assets are also being resolved.

I understand very clearly that the people of Taiwan expect me to be different from previous presidents. I have the determination to promote the reforms and transformation that Taiwan needs.

All of our efforts are directed toward a common goal: I want the next generation of young people in Taiwan to live in a different kind of country.

My 500 plus days as president have been full of conflicting emotions. It's rewarding when we push through a new reform or see a new mechanism launched. But when these efforts run into difficulties or opposition, I go home in the evening and struggle over the question: Do I really want to stay on the course?

Every time I struggle with this question, the answer is

always the same: I have to stay the course. These are things that must be done. I know that reforms often set off street protests. And there's often a political price to pay in the form of lower approval ratings. But I am prepared for that.

But as long as reforms benefit Taiwan, I have neither complaints nor regrets. If I could do it all over again, I would still be willing to see reforms through and fight to the end for a better Taiwan.

The year 2017 may have seemed tumultuous, but through it all, Taiwan has moved steadily forward.

Just this past Wednesday, Premier William Lai (賴清德) held a year-end press conference to outline key policy initiatives for the coming year. He showed that our administration has a clear sense of direction and sets high objectives. Here, I want to give my highest praise to our entire government, including both the Executive Yuan and the Legislative Yuan.

I want to emphasize once again that change cannot wait and our efforts are a race against time. We steady our pace, but we cannot slow down.

In conclusion, I want to ask everyone to look behind me at the image of Jade Mountain, Taiwan's tallest peak. In the coming year, our government's goal is to overcome our difficulties and take Taiwan to new heights.

Climbing uphill may be hard, but if we think about the beautiful views that lie ahead, we'll have the confidence to keep pushing forward. I want to extend early wishes to one and all for a Happy New Year. I wish everyone happiness over the next year. Thank you.

Following her speech, President Tsai fielded questions

from the media about national defense policy, Taiwan's relations with mainland China and the US, air pollution, labor regulations, and salary stagnation. 🇹🇼

# President Tsai delivers 2018 National Day Address

2018-10-10

---

President Tsai Ing-wen on the morning of October 10 attended the ROC's 107th Double Tenth National Day Celebration in the plaza fronting the Presidential Office Building, and delivered an address entitled "Democratic Taiwan Lights up the World." She explained that Taiwan will respond to dramatic changes in international politics and economics by seeking stability, adaptability, and making progress, and build a stronger Taiwan by strengthening national security, the economy, and the social safety net.

The following is a translation of the president's address:

National Day Celebration Chairperson Su Jia-chyuan, distinguished guests, my fellow countrymen watching live on television and online: Good morning.

Today is the 107th birthday of the Republic of China, and many expatriates and good friends from around the world are here to celebrate with us. On behalf of the people of

Taiwan, let me express our sincere gratitude to all of you who have come so far to join us.

On this National Day, we should not just celebrate together. We should also reflect together on our country's future. In the past year, all countries have been tested by the changing international landscape, and Taiwan is no exception.

The government is constantly looking for opportunities within these challenges, and our country's optimal strategic position and path to the future in a changing world. Today, I want to take this opportunity to fully explain to the public how the government is responding to those challenges and changes.

I trust that you have all seen dramatic changes in the international political and economic situation. The US-China trade dispute has led to a restructuring of the global industrial division of labor, with repercussions for the existing economic and trade order.

Accordingly, Indo-Pacific region dynamics and cross-strait relations have also become more complex. The international community is concerned about China's attempts to challenge the regional status quo. As Taiwan is on the frontline of the Western Pacific, we are naturally subject to tremendous pressure.

For some time now, China's unilateral diplomatic offensive and military coercion have not only harmed cross-strait relations. They have also seriously challenged

the status quo of peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

In the face of suppression, some people have wanted the government to adopt a more confrontational stance. Others believe that we should give in and compromise.

But ladies and gentlemen: The more dramatically things change, the more Taiwan has to maintain stability, remain composed to reduce pressure, and calmly find our survival niche.

Over the past two years, I have consistently insisted on: Protecting the free and democratic way of life of our 23 million people; defending the sustainable development of the Republic of China; and maintaining cross-strait peace and regional stability. These are the greatest common denominators among all the people of Taiwan, and every responsible politician and political party must defend them to the end.

As the entire world is dealing with the expansion of Chinese influence, the government that I am leading will show the world Taiwan's strength and resilience. The best way to defend Taiwan is to make it indispensable and irreplaceable to the world.

The people of Taiwan will never accept any attempt by external forces to unilaterally change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. And the international community will never approve of and support the violation of universal values.

So once again, I am calling on the authorities in Beijing,



as a responsible major power, to play a positive role in the region and the world, instead of being a source of conflict.

As president, I want to assure everyone that we will neither act rashly to escalate confrontation, nor will we give in. I will not be provoked into confrontation or conflicts that endanger cross-strait relations, nor will I deviate from the will of the people, and sacrifice Taiwan's sovereignty. In a world of dramatic change, we will not misjudge the situation. Escalating conflicts or giving in will only make things worse.

Instead, we will respond by seeking stability, adaptability, and making progress. There are many challenges on the path ahead, but at this stage, we must travel this path with sure and steady steps.

An effective response strategy must be rooted in national strength. So right now, our most important task is to strengthen national security, economy, and the social safety net. We will continue to make Taiwan stronger, and irreplaceable in the global community. This is Taiwan's niche for sustainable survival.

Current challenges to our national security go beyond traditional defense and military security. Diplomatic pressure, social infiltration, and economic security are all potential threats. Our current priority is to formulate an overall strategy, and bolster our national security.

The first element in fortifying our national security is to strengthen value-based diplomatic links, and establish

Taiwan's irreplaceable strategic importance.

Taiwan occupies an important geostrategic position. In facing changing international circumstances, our strategic choice is clear, and that is to staunchly defend freedom, democracy, and the market economy. These fundamental values have been important foundations in helping Taiwan become a model of Asian democracy and develop a strong economy.

In the past two years, facing pressure from China, the Republic of China (Taiwan) has upheld its values and beliefs, been extremely resilient, and therefore garnered the support of more and more like-minded countries.

The United States is a case in point: The US Congress recently passed many Taiwan-friendly legislative bills. Vice President Mike Pence also openly condemned China's suppression of Taiwan's diplomatic efforts, and lauded our democracy.

Japan, which shares our democratic values, has also spoken up for Taiwan in international gatherings, and we have also come to each other's aid in times of natural disaster. This has helped us forge a closer friendship.

Recently, the European Parliament passed a resolution to recognize Taiwan's democratic development and call for the EU and its Member States to do their utmost to urge China to refrain from further military provocation toward Taiwan and endangering peace in the Taiwan Strait.

Many of our diplomatic allies have actively advocated on Taiwan's behalf, to remind everyone that Taiwan should not be left out of international cooperation. Attending our celebrations today are three important friends who have continued to give Taiwan their support: Paraguayan President Mario Abdo Benitez, Saint Kitts and Nevis Governor-General Sir S. W. Tapley Seaton, and Saint Lucia Prime Minister Allen Chastanet.

Let us take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude to them. Our friends have travelled very far to join us, so please join me in welcoming them with a round of applause.

The second element in fortifying our national security is to upgrade our national defense capabilities.

Our military strategy is resolute defense and multi-domain deterrence. Its core value lies in upgrading the ROC military's capabilities. As I have said before, as long as I am president, our national defense budget will grow steadily every year. Our lean and combat-ready troops absolutely have the ability to defend the sovereignty of the Republic of China (Taiwan)!

In addition, we are also working to enhance our national defense self-sufficiency. In June of this year, I visited the Aerospace Industrial Development Corporation (AIDC) to preside over a launch ceremony for our new advanced jet trainer assembly line. Two months later in August, I was at the Navy Command Headquarters to announce the launch of a "new navy."

By re-initiating the domestic development and manufacturing of advanced training aircraft and submarines, which had been on hold for some time, we will lead our national defense industry into a new era. In the future, our national defense industry will not only strengthen military capabilities, but will also become a key driving force for industrial development through industrial upgrading and clustering.

The third element of national security is preventing foreign powers from infiltrating and subverting our society, ensuring that our democratic institutions and social economy function normally.

We are determined to defend the values of Taiwan's diverse democracy. But if another country takes advantage of our society's freedom to infiltrate society and create chaos, we absolutely will not sit by idly, and will take any and all preventive measures necessary.

Whether it be disseminating disinformation, illegally obtaining scientific and technical intelligence, maliciously damaging the information security system, intervening in the election process, or interfering with government operations, if there is irrefutable evidence of crime, the perpetrators will suffer serious consequences.

For cases involving systematic dissemination of disinformation from specific countries, we will strengthen cross-border collaboration. That includes not only experience sharing, but also setting up monitoring and notification mechanisms, so that together, we can respond

to any damage or negative impact that disinformation has on social stability in various countries.

The fourth element of our overall national security planning is to realign and rearrange our global economic and trade strategy.

To address the US-China trade dispute and a major restructuring of the global economic and trade order, we have to adjust Taiwan's role in regional development and global supply chains. We will use Taiwan's medium and large businesses' ability to integrate a regional division of labor and their global reach, plus the dynamism of our small and medium sized enterprises to develop a brand new strategic deployment as a catalyst to completely transform and upgrade Taiwan's economy.

So there are three important things we have to do:

First, from an industrial structure and resource complementarity standpoint, we have to establish close industrial division of labor and technical links with advanced industrial entities like the United States, Europe, and Japan in R&D and cutting-edge manufacturing to create new, high-efficiency supply chains.

Second, in terms of resource and market sharing, we need to create key industry chains that support economic development and people's livelihoods and wellbeing through diversified cooperation with New Southbound countries and other emerging markets that have developmental potential. That will promote mutual

prosperity and economic development.

Third, work with governments from our diplomatic allies to face the challenges of climate change, find new development opportunities, establish a foundation for sustainable economic development, and open new markets, new production bases, and new global bases of operation for Taiwan in the future.

To strengthen the economy, we need to promote economic transformation, implement our infrastructure plan efficiently, resolve the five shortages, and make sure that everyone shares in the benefits of economic development.

The key to economic transformation is technology. The government is currently pursuing four major objectives: a system orientation, software-hardware integration, civil-military unity, and international connectivity to quickly upgrade technological standards and R&D capabilities, important foundations for upgrading the economy.

We are using a fresh mindset to dismantle outdated structures and remove obstacles to competition, guiding industry toward new opportunities.

As part of our new approach, our "5+2 industrial innovation program" is already driving industrial transformation and upgrading. Thanks to the introduction of smart manufacturing, Taiwan's machinery industry output value exceeded NT\$1 trillion last year, with enhanced precision and increased added-value, raising

manufacturing standards in the aerospace, Internet of Things, and medical device industries.

In addition, our goal for a nuclear-free homeland required a blueprint for green energy development, and has attracted international offshore wind firms to invest in Taiwan. And the related wind power industry chain is also gradually taking shape.

We also want to strengthen our diverse international presence so that industry can respond to changing circumstances by quickly adjusting supply chains.

The Executive Yuan has already formed a task force to help Taiwanese companies diversify their production bases. We will do our best to fully support Taiwan companies that are willing to return here and invest, and assist those companies that want to invest in other countries.

The first stage special budget for our Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program is also being implemented, and we are gradually reaping the benefits of that infrastructure, which will contribute to expanding domestic demand. In the next stage of the program, Taiwan will prioritize investment in infrastructure for green energy, digitization, water resources, railways, and urban-rural development.

In Changhua County, tax revenue generated by green energy will put the local government on firm financial footing, providing the fiscal balance to ensure that students

have nutritious lunches, and funding for social welfare programs.

In tribal homelands and remote areas, we are rolling out broadband infrastructure to connect those children with the world through the Internet, and narrow the urban-rural gap.

We are also improving water resource management, and construction of the Shihmen Reservoir's Jhong Jhuang backup tank, Hushan Reservoir's downstream tap water project, and the Tsengwen Reservoir's silt prevention tunnel will give us a steady water supply throughout Taiwan.

We are now addressing localized flooding due to extreme weather patterns and heavy rainfall through detention ponds, artificial lakes, river development, and sewer dredging to rapidly reduce the impact of natural disasters.

In eastern Taiwan, our transportation infrastructure efforts like the Suhua Highway improvement project and the South-Link Highway improvement project have already yielded initial results.

The public is also concerned about railway infrastructure, and we have redoubled our efforts, beefing up the railway system into Eastern Taiwan and rail routes connecting Hualien and Taitung to make the round-island railway system more complete.

Many plans for new construction are in progress



throughout the island, and getting ready for the approval stage. They include the Keelung and Hsinchu light rail systems linking urban areas in northern Taiwan; Taichung's Shanshou Line connecting areas of central Taiwan, and MRT Green Line extension to Changhua; the Kaohsiung MRT's Red Line extension and new Yellow Line.

Railway infrastructure development not only provides convenient transportation, but also reduces air pollution caused by motor vehicles.

Our goals in promoting the Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program are to improve the investment climate, balance regional development, and create a better environment and lifestyle for Taiwan's next generation.

We have devoted extensive effort to improving the investment environment. Shortages in the five key production factors—land, water, electricity, talent, and labor—that businesses are concerned about are all being resolved, one after another, by the practical approach of Premier Lai Ching-te.

Let us remember the anxiety last summer surrounding power supply. We were on Code Orange alert for a total of 66 days. But this past summer, both the weather and the economic climate were hotter than last year, yet we didn't experience a single day under Code Orange, and made it through the power supply crisis.

Let us also remember that in the first half of this year,

western Taiwan saw very little rain, and everyone was worried about the water supply. But by tapping into new sources and reducing water usage, reallocation and backup measures, plus the Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program, we made it through that challenge as well.

Corporate giants including TSMC, Winbond Electronics, and Powerchip have all recently expanded their investments in Taiwan. And world-class companies like Google, Microsoft, Cisco, and Facebook have either begun to set up R&D centers in Taiwan, or proposed new collaboration programs. These all show that our accomplishments in improving the investment environment have been well-received by the private sector at home and abroad.

With the economy's structural transformation and infrastructure construction both underway, and the investment environment showing improvement, we can see that Taiwan's economy is recovering, and beginning to show steady growth.

Two years ago, three straight quarters of decline ended. During the first five months of this year, we recorded the lowest same-period unemployment rate in 18 years. And over ten straight years of declining incomes also came to an end in 2017, with real earnings hitting a historical high.

Improving economic indicators are of course wonderful, but what is most important for the government is to have everyone share in the growth dividend.

So this year, we raised wages for military personnel, public servants, and public school educators by 3%, spurring wage increases in the private sector. We have also accelerated increases in the minimum wage, which will finally break the so-called "22K" barrier and reach NT\$23,100 next year. We are also lightening the burden on student loans, by introducing a four-year period during which borrowers only have to pay the interest on their loans.

Next year, tax reforms will go into effect to optimize the tax system and also promote tax equality. There will be a major increase in the four major deductions, so that those who earn less than NT\$30,000 a month will not have to pay individual income tax. Families with preschool age children will also enjoy much larger tax exemptions.

As for creating a sound social security net, when I first took office in 2016, people's most pressing concerns were high housing costs, the lack of care services for senior citizens, the heavy burden of childcare, poor public security, and the influx of illegal drugs threatening the nation. In terms of overall social security, there was much that needed to be done. Over the past two years, we have therefore moved at full speed to strengthen our social security system.

The government has initiated a wide range of social housing projects to help achieve residential justice. Over 24,000 housing units have either been completed, or are now in-progress. Counting subsequent construction projects, by the end of this year, that number should reach

35,000 units. In Taipei City and New Taipei City, where this problem is most serious, over 5,400 units have been occupied over the past two years. I have inspected some of the units myself, and people are satisfied with both the quality and quantity.

The long-term care services that the public so urgently needs have been upgraded under our Long-term Care 2.0 Plan. All you have to do is dial 1966 long-term care service hotline, and designated staff will provide assistance. We also increased caregiver compensation so that more people are willing to participate, and thus increased the supply of services to meet the needs of more families. Over the past year, these efforts have helped increase the number of patients receiving long-term care services by 50%, and the number of people who accessed "care for the caregiver" services also doubled.

Taiwan's low birth rate has already become a national security issue. In addition to providing subsidies, we have also made great progress toward publicly funded childcare by setting up a "quasi-public system" for daycare and preschools. There are currently 56,000 openings available for quasi-public and publically funded services, making affordable childcare more widely available than ever before. Our goal is clear: Lighten parents' burdens so the birthrate will improve.

Public security is a widespread concern, and with the help of technology and smart deployment of police personnel, crime numbers are trending down. We are also rooting out organized crime and fraud. Prosecutors

and police are cracking down on fraud rings and crime organizations of all kinds including gangs that have violated the newly amended Organized Crime Prevention Act, and have indicted over 1,300 people this year to date.

In two sweeps carried out this February and June under the Safe Neighborhoods Drug Enforcement Project, 9,700 kilograms of drugs from all categories were confiscated, and more than 1,900 drug manufacturers, traffickers and drug lords were arrested. Over the next four years, NT\$10 billion has been allocated to fund a New Era Anti-Drug Strategy to eradicate drug networks from our society.

My fellow countrymen: Our country's course of development is changing. Change should not be feared, because we change to adapt to a shifting world, so that Taiwan can continue to stand tall.

Change also helps to correct the wrongs of the past, so that when we hand this country over to the next generation, they will no longer be weighed down with unbearable burdens. So for the past two years, we have been racing to reform our public policies. If our country wants to make progress, there can be no turning back.

There is no turning back from pension reform, because we cannot allow every succeeding generation to teeter on the edge of financial crisis.

There is also no turning back from a nuclear-free homeland, not just for New Taipei City and Pingtung County where the plants are located, but also for every

succeeding generation of Taiwanese, so that they may live free from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

And we can never turn back from transitional justice. Previous administrations made mistakes, and this administration must bravely face them. The only way that democracy can make major strides is by clarifying truths and keeping the lessons of the past in mind.

Reforms may be painful, but in 10 years, or 20 years, the next generation will appreciate the choices we make today. Moments like this test a leader's resolve, but I will shoulder this burden, and lead our country in the right direction.

Before I close, I want to give a special thanks to the representatives who led us in singing the national anthem. They are the guardians of our lighthouse.

On our country's coastline, there are 36 lighthouses. And a special group is charged with guarding these beacons, and protecting those at sea. Today, on behalf of our country, I thank all of you for braving solitude and hardship to light up our shorelines.

Taiwan itself is a beacon. Our democratic transition once illuminated our own path through the darkness, and remains a beacon in the night for those who long for democracy. So to all of our friends who are pursuing democracy in Hong Kong, in mainland China, and around the world: You can always look to Taiwan, because Taiwan's democracy lights up the world.

When the world really sees the beauty of Taiwan, Taiwan will never be alone. I want to tell all of our international friends that we have the courage to persevere on our path.

Our democracy may look noisy and argumentative, but we always rally around Taiwan, and we always find strength in unity. Because this country belongs to all 23 million Taiwanese. Our country must be kept intact, and passed on to the next generations.

We have always believed that our distinctive resilience allows Taiwanese to respond to never-ending internal and external challenges by coming together to make this country better. This captures the true meaning of this year's National Day theme: "Taiwan, Together." And now, let us wish the Republic of China a happy birthday, and wish everyone good health, and all the best. Thank you.

# President Tsai's new year's talk for 2019

2019-01-01

---

President Tsai Ing-wen delivered a new year's address on the morning of January 1 in the Presidential Office auditorium, stating that the new year will be a year of fighting for our livelihoods, protecting our democracy, and safeguarding our sovereignty.

A translation of the president's full remarks is as follows:

My dear fellow citizens, and friends from the media:  
Good morning, and Happy New Year!

As we begin a new year, I would like to wish all my fellow citizens a Happy New Year, and the best of health.

Last year, we all experienced the election campaign. Every election has winners, and losers, and here I would like to extend best wishes to all the city mayors and county magistrates who were elected. I wish you all success and smooth sailing in your new posts.



Since the elections are over, it is now time for our society to come together and show solidarity again. I hope that all our fellow citizens will bravely join together to embrace the challenges that lie ahead.

In many respects, the central government's policies in 2018 have laid a good foundation for 2019. One example is that starting today, the minimum wage for laborers will be raised to NT\$23,100, and the hourly rate for part-time workers will be raised to NT\$150. We have raised the minimum wage every year for three consecutive years, and formally said good-bye to the NT\$22,000 monthly wage that came to represent low wages for young people.

In addition, when filing income taxes in May this year, I believe that many of our fellow citizens will discover that their four major deductions are higher. And our friends with monthly salaries of NT\$30,000 or less will basically be exempt from paying personal income tax. So everyone will see and feel that the government really is working hard to keep more money in people's pockets.

In addition to increasing wages and cutting taxes, this year we will also take even greater steps to alleviate the public's financial burdens. For the past two years, the economy has grown, and national tax revenues have exceeded expectations. So I have asked the Executive Yuan to make concrete proposals as soon as possible, making low-income citizens a priority in enjoying the benefits of economic growth.

This is just like a profitable company, which should make

it a priority to share those profits with its employees. And a nation should do likewise. One focal point of government policy efforts in 2019 is to make an all-out effort to enhance people's livelihoods and take better care of young people and the disadvantaged.

In 2019, the changes and challenges of international society will be more severe, and more volatile. The US-China trade war will certainly impact Taiwan's overall economy, industrial development, and financial stability.

Since I took office, I have always placed tremendous importance on changes in the international situation. As a national leader, my responsibility is to find space for Taiwan to survive and develop in a highly uncertain international environment.

In 2019, my responsibility will be even greater. I have already directed our national security team and all government agencies to carry out all necessary response measures. US-China relations will profoundly influence Taiwan's economic structure, so we absolutely cannot take this situation lightly.

Fortunately, over the past two years, the government has been preparing for this situation in the best way possible. Whether it's industrial transformation spurred by our "5+2 industrial innovation program," expanding domestic demand by supporting public infrastructure efforts under our Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program, or diversifying our global footprint through the New Southbound Policy, we have been working to adjust

previous economic and trade strategies that were overly dependent on China to respond to dramatic changes in the international situation.

Over the past two plus years, many Taiwanese business people in China have told me that they are eager to return and invest in Taiwan. The administrative team led by Premier Lai Ching-te (賴清德) has taken their message to heart, and done everything they can to resolve the "five shortages" (land, electricity, water, labor, and talent) over the past year. Beginning today, an action plan to welcome Taiwanese companies abroad to invest in Taiwan will also be implemented for three years to pave the way for Taiwanese companies to return home. Now is the best time to do everything possible to welcome Taiwanese firms back to Taiwan to invest.

And of course, among the international political and economic challenges in 2019, we cannot overlook the development of cross-strait relations.

I acknowledge that the recent "9 in 1" elections were a serious test for the current government. But I must emphasize that the election results absolutely do not mean that grassroots public opinion in Taiwan favors abandoning our sovereignty, nor do they mean that the people want to make concessions regarding Taiwanese identity.

We do not oppose normal cross-strait interaction. Even more, we do not oppose cross-strait municipal exchanges. But cross-strait exchanges must be healthy and normal. They cannot depend on vague political preconditions, or

forced submission to "passwords" or acceptable phrases. What the two sides of the strait really need is a pragmatic understanding of the fundamental differences in the values we espouse, our lifestyles, and our political systems.

So here, I am calling on China that it must face the reality of the existence of the Republic of China (Taiwan); it must respect the commitment of the 23 million people of Taiwan to freedom and democracy; it must handle cross-strait differences peacefully, on a basis of equality; and it must be governments or government-authorized agencies that engage in negotiations. These "four musts" are the most basic and crucial foundations that will determine whether cross-strait relations develop in a positive direction.

Before the two sides can establish a sustainable relationship, we must honestly face all threats and risks to our national security, especially China's attempts to use the openness and freedom of our democratic system to interfere in Taiwan's internal politics and social development. This has now become Taiwan's greatest challenge.

To safeguard Taiwan's security, we will set up a three-part security network for cross-strait exchanges.

The first part of that network will strengthen security on people's livelihoods.

During our recent efforts to prevent an African swine fever epidemic, China's government has never followed the relevant agreements and provided Taiwan with

accurate, real-time reports about the epidemic situation. Once African swine fever spreads to Taiwan, it will seriously impact the related industries, as well as people's livelihoods and the larger economy. More importantly, it will give the Taiwan public a negative impression of China. And that is something we do not welcome.

If we can't even have sincere cooperation on epidemic prevention and treatment, how can we talk about both sides of the Taiwan Strait being one family? Instead of doing everything possible to get Taiwan political figures to say certain "passwords," it would be better to be pragmatic, and cooperate on issues that people on both sides care about most like security on people's livelihoods. Our government will be on high alert at all points of entry to prevent epidemic infections from entering Taiwan. And once again, I am appealing to all Taiwanese to face up to the seriousness of swine fever. I am also calling on China once again to set aside preconceived ideas, set aside antagonisms, and focus on what is most important—security on people's livelihoods.

The second part of that security network will enhance information security.

In addition to continuing to enhance our national defense capabilities, national security should also be expanded to include information warfare. Democracy can be manipulated, and other democratic nations around the world have also recently become aware of this problem.

In Taiwan, the flood of disinformation, including

from the other side of the strait, has unsettled hearts and minds. So I have already asked the Executive Yuan to submit concrete countermeasures to address the spread of disinformation. To address the information and communication security controversies surrounding Chinese companies that have caused international concern, I have also asked our national security agencies to prioritize and clarify all relevant issues to ensure the information and communication security of all critical infrastructure. We cannot allow any gaps in our information and communication security.

The third part will enhance security protecting democracy in cross-strait interactions.

Taiwan is a democratic country. We therefore should not be forced to accept unilateral positions on cross-strait political issues, and the people of Taiwan must be able to participate in and monitor cross-strait political dialogue.

I have thus directed our national security agencies to investigate and discuss this situation, and where cross-strait interactions may impact sovereignty issues, strengthen democracy monitoring mechanisms, and establish a robust security network for Taiwan to protect democracy through rule of law.

My fellow citizens: The theme for our 2019 new year's flag-raising ceremony is "Brave and Confident-One with the World." In our rapidly changing world, Taiwan's best option is to persevere on the path of democracy, and work together with like-minded people around the globe.

Just a few days ago, the number of foreign visitors to Taiwan in 2018 surpassed 11 million, setting a new record. That shows the love the world has for Taiwan, and Taiwan's importance to the world. So Taiwan can be confident, and should be.

This is a new year, a year to fight for our livelihoods, a year to protect our democracy, and a year to safeguard our sovereignty. In 2019, I will be working every day to propose economic policies that have an impact that people can really feel, and build all three parts of our security network to protect Taiwan.

Let me close by once again wishing all of my fellow citizens a Happy New Year. Thank you.

# President Tsai delivers 2019 National Day Address

2019-10-10

---

President Tsai Ing-wen on the morning of October 10 attended the ROC's 108th Double Tenth National Day Celebration in the plaza fronting the Presidential Office Building, and delivered an address entitled "Nation of Resilience, Forward into the World."

A translation of the president's address follows:

National Day Celebration Chairperson Su Jia-chyuan, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens watching via TV or the Internet:

Good morning.

Today is the 108th National Day of the Republic of China. I would like to thank all our friends from around the world who have come to commemorate this day with us.

Today belongs to the 23 million people who call Taiwan home. I would also like to thank former President Ma



Ying-jeou, former Vice President Annette Lu, former Vice President Wu Den-yih, and Chairs of Political Parties for joining us to celebrate National Day.

Last year, on National Day, I told everyone that Taiwan was in the midst of change. Changes in the global trade situation and the international political scene led to a future rife with challenges. I said that we must seek stability, adaptability, and progress, and build a stronger Taiwan.

Another year has quickly passed. The world is still changing fast, and the changes are even more dramatic. The US-China trade dispute continues. And not far from Taiwan, Hong Kong is on the verge of chaos due to the failure of "one country, two systems."

Nevertheless, China is still threatening to impose its "one country, two systems model for Taiwan." Their diplomatic offensives and military coercion pose a serious challenge to regional stability and peace.

My fellow citizens, when freedom and democracy are challenged, and when the Republic of China's existence and development are threatened, we must stand up and defend ourselves. The overwhelming consensus among Taiwan's 23 million people is our rejection of "one country, two systems," regardless of party affiliation or political position.

The Republic of China has stood tall on Taiwan for over 70 years. But if we were to accept "one country,

two systems," there would no longer be room for the Republic of China's existence. As President, standing up to protect national sovereignty is not a provocation—it is my fundamental responsibility.

For 70 years, we have faced many serious challenges together. Rather than defeating us, these challenges have made us stronger and more determined.

We endured the August 23 Artillery War of 1958 in Kinmen, and the Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1996 together. Time and again, the people of Taiwan have faced diplomatic offensives and military coercion without ever backing down. Together, we have defended the land on which we stand and our national sovereignty.

We endured the panic following our withdrawal from the United Nations and repeatedly withstood the pressure of severed diplomatic ties. Yet the determination of the Taiwanese people to embrace the world has never wavered.

The oil crisis of the 1970s, the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the 2000 dot-com bubble, and the financial crisis of a decade ago—there are always economic challenges. Yet time and time again, Taiwanese businesspeople, willing to go out into the world armed with only a briefcase, and hardworking and innovative Taiwanese people, have turned crises into opportunities and kept our economy moving forward.

We endured the August 7 Flood of 1959, the 921

Earthquake of 1999, the SARS outbreak of 2003, and Typhoon Morakot in 2009. The hardships of natural disasters and disease outbreaks have never defeated the Taiwanese people's will to survive. When our homeland is devastated, we rebuild it. When our land is damaged, we restore it. We wipe away our tears and stand up once again, because tomorrow is a new day, full of hope.

These shared memories exemplify the resilience of Taiwan's people, a resilience that led us to become one of the Four Asian Tigers, a resilience that led us on the arduous path of democratization to become an important global model of democracy.

After walking this path together, we cannot be divided amongst ourselves, regardless of party affiliation. No one has a patent on the Republic of China, and no one can monopolize Taiwan. The words "Republic of China (Taiwan)" are not the exclusive property of any one political party, and that is the overwhelming consensus of Taiwan society.

Looking to the future, there are many challenges awaiting us that we must overcome.

We are witnessing China's rise and expansion, as they challenge free, democratic values and the global order through a combination of authoritarianism, nationalism, and economic might. As the strategic forefront of the Indo-Pacific region, Taiwan has become the first line of defense for democratic values.

China is encroaching on us through their sharp power, but as a crucial member of the region, we know that Taiwan must fulfill its responsibilities to the international community. We will not act provocatively or rashly; rather, we will work with like-minded countries to ensure that the peaceful and stable cross-strait status quo is not unilaterally altered.

In order to accomplish this, we must remain united. Though disputes have risen in our society due to differences among ethnicities, generations, faiths, and political views, I am certain that we can find the greatest common denominator among us through dialogue. Experience tells us that conflict, dialogue, and united progress help to lead a country on the right path forward.

We must also hold firm our values of freedom and democracy. The Taiwanese people walked the difficult path to democratization together, and though it may sometimes be tumultuous, only democracy can ensure our hard-won freedom and offer the next generation the right to choose their own future.

We must also continue to build a stronger Taiwan. Over the past three years, we have strived to adjust our economic structure by assisting in industrial upgrade and transition and promoting international diversification. Even as the global economy continues to change rapidly, we are seeing explosive growth in investments. We are steadily moving in the right direction, and we must continue forward.

Over the past three years, we have strived to create a fair society. We have raised wages, cut taxes, and provided comprehensive care, so that everyone can reap the benefits of our economic growth. Looking to the future, our administration will continue working to reduce the burden on citizens and ensure everyone receives outstanding care by enhancing our Long-term Care 2.0 Plan and promoting the expansion of subsidies for early childhood education and care.

Over the past three years, we have developed our national defense industries and purchased advanced weapons, boosting military morale and enhancing our combat capabilities. We recently completed production of our first self-manufactured advanced training aircraft prototype, and domestically produced naval vessels will soon join our ranks as well. Our armed forces are duty-bound to defend our country and stand firm in upholding freedom and democracy.

Over the past three years, we have actively taken part in international affairs. Taiwan is responsible and willing to contribute, and we have become an indispensable force for good in maintaining regional peace and stability. We will continue to work hand-in-hand with like-minded countries to achieve more opportunities for substantive cooperation.

Our future path is clear, as are our goals.

First, we must ensure that the people continue to remain united under the banner of freedom and democracy to defend our sovereignty.

Second, we must continue to build a stronger Taiwan and bolster our economic capabilities to create a prosperous society and powerful country.

Third, we must actively engage with the world and overcome challenges, so that the Republic of China (Taiwan) can hold its head high on the international stage with bravery and confidence.

Last quarter, we reclaimed the top spot among the Four Asian Tigers for GDP growth. The World Economic Forum ranked us as one of the world's top four "super innovators," and our hi-tech and innovative industries are world-leading.

Taiwan's athletes, skills competitors, and countless creative designers and artists are shining on the international stage and bringing honor and pride to Taiwan.

Our self-developed FORMOSAT-5 and FORMOSAT-7 have both been launched into space, a testament to our prowess in aerospace technology. A team of scientists from Taiwan also contributed to capturing the world's first images of a black hole.

If we can go into space, and see a black hole 55 million lightyears away, how could we not have the courage to face the challenges ahead of us?

Our resilience has transformed history's trials into the power to grow and evolve. Our efforts have transformed

natural disasters into opportunities for rebirth. Each day, our homeland is made better thanks to the efforts of all who call this place home.

On National Day, all citizens remain united under the banner of freedom and democracy. We will face the future with optimism and overcome challenges with determination. God bless Taiwan. Let's go, Taiwan. Let's go, Republic of China. Thank you.

# President Tsai delivers 2020 New Year's Address

2020-01-01

---

President Tsai Ing-wen delivered her 2020 New Year's Address this morning (January 1) in the Presidential Office reception hall. She stated that in the new year, we are going to unite the Taiwanese people, and continue pressing forward to ensure more people are cared for, keep improving our economy, and make our democracy, freedom, and sovereignty stronger and more sustainable. She also reiterated the "four musts" and "four understandings," emphasizing that the passage of the anti-infiltration act will not affect freedom, infringe on human rights, or affect normal economic exchanges. It will only more strongly protect Taiwan's democracy and freedom, and will not affect any regular cross-strait exchanges or interactions.

The following is a translation of President Tsai's remarks:

My fellow citizens and friends from the media: Good morning. Happy New Year!



Today is the first day of the 109th year of the Republic of China. For the New Year 2020, I would like to begin by wishing all of my fellow citizens the best of health, and a happy New Year.

On this New Year's Day, many new policies will take effect.

This year, we have once again raised the minimum wage. Especially for those of you who work part-time, this will be the fourth consecutive year your hourly wage has increased, and I'm sure you will all feel the difference.

For families with children two to three years old, if the children stay with a childcare provider and have not yet begun attending preschool, then beginning this year, extended childcare subsidies can save a lot of money in childcare costs.

If your family has someone who needs long-term care, when you file taxes in May, don't forget that the long-term care deduction formally takes effect this year.

For farmers, we have begun processing applications for this year's agricultural machinery subsidies. We are also deliberating setting up a retirement system for farmers.

Each year, the government should be able to care for more people. This is what I expect from myself, and I hope all my fellow citizens can be well cared for.

I would also like to share some good news. The improved South-Link Highway just opened to traffic, and the improved Suhua Highway and West Coast Expressway are preparing to open. For so many years, everyone has been hoping for a safe and convenient way to get home, and that wish is finally a reality.

I would like to thank Premier Su Tseng-chang (蘇貞昌) for his leadership of the administrative team over the past year, which has brought about tangible changes in people's lives.

Over the past year or two, Taiwan has faced massive changes in the international economy, especially challenges resulting from the US-China trade war. But through the concerted efforts of the Taiwanese people, we have endured.

Last year, Taiwan's economy performed well compared to neighboring countries. Our economic growth rate returned to the top spot among the Four Asian Tigers, and seeing the Taiwan stock exchange index above the 10,000-point mark is now the norm.

More important is that last year, we saw the largest wave of investment by returning Taiwan businesses in decades. Overseas capital is looking to return as well. Foreign enterprises are bullish on Taiwan's future economic prospects and have increased their investments. These moves prove that, after years of effort, we have successfully

reversed several decades of industry relocation and capital flight.

We can see that these are all signs that our economy is moving in a positive direction, bringing opportunities to transform an economy that has long lacked forward momentum.

Over the next four years, we are committed to creating another economic miracle and establishing a new economic model where our people can enjoy universal benefits that make a real difference in their lives.

We will realize trillions of dollars in investments, turning Taiwan into a high-end manufacturing center, high-tech R&D center, green energy development center, regional capital and wealth management center, and a hub for high-tech and industrial personnel training. We will devote our efforts to economic transformation and industrial innovation to remold Taiwan amidst rapid change in the global economy.

The government will also provide ample assistance and various safeguards to more vulnerable traditional industries, agricultural sectors, and small and medium sized enterprises. These measures will minimize the impact of the overall economic transformation process, so that they can smoothly transform and upgrade.

For industries affected by changes in China's policies

towards Taiwan, the government will definitely provide support and assistance in developing new markets and promoting transformation and upgrading so they are no longer dependent on China, or subject to uncertain political factors.

Of course, Taiwan is not just important economically. Our democracy and freedom are also important factors.

Over the past few years, China's diplomatic offensives, military coercion, interference, and infiltration have continued unabated. China's objective is clear: To force Taiwan to compromise our sovereignty. Moreover, at the beginning of last year, China's President Xi Jin-ping ( ) proposed the "one country, two systems" model for Taiwan.

I want to thank the Taiwanese people for giving our administration your strongest support. By refusing to submit, we have clearly told the world that Taiwan will never accept "one country, two systems."

Over the past six months, the world has seen how the situation in Hong Kong has continued to deteriorate under "one country, two systems." Governmental abuses of power have completely eroded people's trust in "one country, two systems."

Democracy and authoritarianism cannot coexist within the same country. Hong Kong's people have shown us that "one country, two systems" is absolutely not viable.

In the face of China's pressure, I advocated the "four musts" last year. I called on China:

China must face the reality of the Republic of China's existence.

China must respect the commitment of the 23 million people of Taiwan to freedom and democracy.

China must handle cross-strait differences peacefully, on a basis of equality.

It must be governments or government-authorized agencies that engage in negotiations.

A year later, my convictions are even stronger. A few days ago, I proposed "four understandings" in even greater detail, in the hopes that all my fellow citizens can remain united and face external threats together.

First, China is the one undermining the status quo in the Taiwan Strait, not Taiwan. We must stand together in the face of China's suppression.

Second, China is using the "1992 consensus" to undermine the Republic of China. We must be even more determined in defense of our sovereignty.

Third, sovereignty cannot be exchanged for short-term economic benefits. We must have a bottom line to ensure

that our sovereignty is not infringed upon.

Fourth, we must be aware that China is infiltrating all facets of Taiwanese society to sow division. We must establish democratic defense mechanisms to prevent infiltration.

If all Taiwanese people and political parties can form a consensus upon these four understandings, this unity will become an immense force that will allow the Republic of China (Taiwan) to stand tall in the international community.

Yesterday, the Legislative Yuan passed the anti-infiltration act. Everything included in that act is already regulated or prohibited in domestic law. Only actions that are prohibited by law, and carried out under instruction from China, commissioned by China, or funded by China, will constitute infiltration. Moreover, neither government agencies nor any single person can declare an action illegal. It must be ruled on by the courts.

I guarantee that the passage of the anti-infiltration act will not affect freedom or infringe upon human rights. It will not affect normal economic exchanges. It will only more strongly protect Taiwan's democracy and freedom.

I want to emphasize once again that we are opposed to infiltration, not exchanges. This legislation will not affect any regular cross-strait exchanges or interactions.

So Taiwanese businesspeople, students, teachers, and executives in China can continue on with their daily lives unaffected by this legislation.

Those who worship Mazu or other gods, or take part in any other regular religious exchange activities, will not be affected. Cross-strait tourism activities and normal business for travel agents will absolutely not be affected.

Here, I want to thank my fellow citizens for supporting this legislation. I also want to specially thank legislators from all parties for rationally discussing this bill in the Legislative Yuan.

We each have a responsibility to protect our democracy. The Republic of China's sovereignty cannot be challenged, and Taiwan's democracy and freedom cannot be undermined. The President of the Republic of China (Taiwan) must stand resolute in defending our sovereignty, democracy, and freedom.

"Working Together to Lead Taiwan Forward" is the central theme of this year's New Year's Day celebrations. We are going to unite the Taiwanese people, and continue pressing forward to ensure more people are cared for, keep improving our economy, and make our democracy, freedom, and sovereignty stronger and more sustainable.

In 2020, Taiwan will once again be the focus of the world's attention. I hope that all of my fellow citizens will

show the world our courage and solidarity, and ensure that the light of democracy and freedom once again shines on Taiwan and the entire world. Thank you.

After issuing remarks, President Tsai took questions from the media. When asked about the future direction of Taiwan's cross-strait policy while facing the formation of the Indo-Pacific strategy and pressure from China, President Tsai stated that she had already expressed Taiwan's attitude towards a "one country, two systems" model for Taiwan during her remarks. She expressed confidence that the consensus of the Taiwanese people is that we absolutely will not accept "one country, two systems."

In response to the Indo-Pacific strategy, the president pointed out that in considering a multitude of strategies and forming international relationships, our most important principle is that they must match Taiwan's greatest interests. Taiwan's national interests include our security, protection for our freedom and democracy, and our overall development. Under this precondition, she said, we are willing to work with all countries and take part in regional cooperation. A current more concrete example is the Global Cooperation and Training Framework (GCTF) we have established in cooperation with the United States, and this framework is providing a platform for all countries in the Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific regions, she stated. Using this platform, we can discuss issues such as national governance, women's issues, and many other issues. Of



course, she continued, other democratic countries are willing to join the GCTF and host related activities with us.

The president further pointed out that the United States recently published an Indo-Pacific strategy report that mentioned Taiwan's New Southbound Policy (NSP), and that they are willing to possibly cooperate with us on the NSP. The NSP has indeed created a platform for Taiwan to cooperate with democratic countries and more economically developed countries in the region on many issues, she said. At the same time, we can assist NSP target countries with the infrastructure they need, as well as providing other assistance towards their economic development.

# Inaugural address of ROC 15th-term President Tsai Ing-wen

2020-05-20

---

On the morning of May 20, ROC 15th-term President Tsai Ing-wen and Vice President Lai Ching-te attended inaugural celebrations at the Taipei Guest House. President Tsai also delivered her inaugural address.

A translation of the president's remarks follows:

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 power generating capacity 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 and find a way to accommodate 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 non-traditional 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 (蘇貞昌) 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.

# President Tsai delivers 2020 National Day Address

2020-10-10

---

President Tsai Ing-wen on the morning of October 10 attended the ROC's 109th Double Tenth National Day Celebration in the plaza fronting the Presidential Office Building, and delivered an address entitled "2020 Proud of Taiwan."

A translation of the president's address follows:

National Day Celebration Chairperson Yu Shyi-kun ( 游錫堃 ), distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens watching via TV or the Internet:

Good morning.

## I. Pandemic prevention contributions to the world

Today is the 109th National Day of the Republic of China.

This year, because of the pandemic, we have scaled back our celebration. But our fellow citizens, no matter where they are, all extend their heartfelt congratulations to the Republic of China (Taiwan) for making it through a year full of challenges.

Due to the threat of COVID-19, 2020 has been a turbulent year for Taiwan and the world. This global crisis, however, has allowed the international community to see Taiwan's unique character and capabilities as an Island of Resilience.

We did not lock down our cities, or close down our schools. With pandemic control measures in place, we were one of the few countries in the world to still play professional baseball, and hold major arts and cultural events. We also showed impressive national strength by sending pandemic prevention supplies to countries around the globe.

Since March of this year, Taiwan's pandemic control performance has been covered in over 3,300 international media reports. This has helped the world to see Taiwan more clearly, and our international image has never been better.

These achievements are a tribute to the unity and cooperation the people of Taiwan have shown. In addition to the medical and quarantine personnel who have worked so hard, we also thank the manufacturing industry for cooperating to produce pandemic prevention supplies, the

high-tech industry for developing apps, our pharmacists and convenience store employees for helping distribute face masks, and the public for following our disease control measures in an orderly manner.

We also saw that citizens returning from abroad followed home isolation and quarantine regulations. The hotel industry provided quarantine lodging, the car rental industry provided transportation for people under quarantine, and restaurants and entertainment venues implemented name-based tracing systems. Through unity and a single-minded purpose, we held the line in the fight against the pandemic and made Taiwan a global model.

I know the Taiwanese people were inspired when former Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori, Czech Republic Senate President Miloš Vystrčil, and US Secretary of Health and Human Services Alex Azar and Under Secretary of State Keith Krach all visited us to convey their respect for Taiwan.

Our successful response to the challenges of the pandemic has proven our nation's viability during times of adversity and boosted public confidence. More importantly, we have united, because we are well aware of the importance of defending our homeland. So this year has been decidedly difficult, but also very rewarding.

For this year's National Day Celebration, we have invited heroes in the fight against COVID-19 from all walks of

life to lead us in singing the national anthem. We know many of their stories well, like nurse Lai Pi-lien (賴碧蓮) wearing the pressure marks from her face mask as a badge of honor, and the touching tale of nurse Chang Wan-erh (張莞爾), who escorted a child with hemophilia back to Taiwan, but hid her mission from her family.

And there are many more unreported stories about unsung heroes in the battle against COVID-19, too many to tell. Please join me in giving them a warm round of applause, and thank them once again for all they have done for Taiwan.

## II. Economic strategies for new circumstances

Because the pandemic was properly controlled, Taiwan became one of the few countries in the world that maintained positive economic growth. We have also prepared for economic development in the post-pandemic era, proactively planning and promoting our Six Core Strategic Industries. We have already planned out the step-by-step allocation of our Forward-looking Infrastructure Development Program special budget, and stepped up the pace of implementation.

What inspires us most is that our citizens and companies have more confidence in Taiwan's economic development. The long-term capital outflow trend has been completely

reversed.

We have been welcoming the largest wave of reshoring in decades by Taiwan companies, with investments worth more than NT\$1 trillion, along with over a hundred billion NT dollars in overseas funds being repatriated. Many foreign companies and well-known multinational corporations are also increasing their investments in Taiwan. And all of these are on-going right now.

We have also made substantive progress in international economic and trade cooperation. Taiwan and the United States will hold a high-level economic dialogue to identify future cooperation opportunities in the realignment of global supply chains, technological cooperation, infrastructure, and other areas.

Last week, Taiwan and the United States jointly announced the signing of a Framework to Strengthen Infrastructure Finance and Market Building Cooperation. Under that agreement, we will jointly participate in infrastructure projects in the Americas and the Indo-Pacific region. The deepening of Taiwan-US economic cooperation has thus entered the action phase - the beginning of our pursuit of comprehensive breakthroughs in international economic and trade cooperation.

But I also want to remind everyone: The global pandemic is not over yet. The complex economic and social challenges it has brought to all countries remain severe.



The future holds even greater challenges waiting to be overcome. Post-pandemic global economic recovery, lifestyle changes, dramatic changes in global and regional trade, and the realignment of the global economic order will all test our economic staying power and overall adaptability.

To address the greatest internal and external changes we have seen in decades, Taiwan will continue to show resilience, and the government will take the helm and lead the way forward with three major strategies to create the new Taiwan economy we all aspire to.

First, we will fully and comprehensively participate in supply chain reorganization. The rapid dismantling and realignment of global supply chains is now irreversible, and Taiwanese businesses around the world are moving toward segmented markets, production base migration, and reshoring to invest in Taiwan at an ever-faster pace.

Our on-going implementation of the 5+2 innovative industries plan, Six Core Strategic Industries, trillion NT-dollar investment program, New Southbound Policy, Taiwan-US economic cooperation, and participation in regional economic integration are all closely related to supply chain realignment.

We will link all of these related policies and programs while integrating government and private sector resources with cross-department capabilities to achieve full and

comprehensive participation in the realignment process, making Taiwan an indispensable force in global supply chains.

Second, we want to make Taiwan a hub for international capital, talent, and digital technology. In the future, the critical factors in supply chain realignment will be capital, talent, and core technologies for the digital economy.

We will continue to deepen reforms and eliminate obstacles to create an environment and legal structure to attract international capital and talent. We will also actively cultivate domestic industrial talent through international exchanges, industry-academia cooperation, and a bilingual nation policy.

In addition, we will leverage Taiwan's strengths in ICT, semiconductors, the Internet of Things (IoT), and artificial intelligence to develop and control core technologies and accelerate digital transformation of industry and the economy.

Third, we will do our utmost to balance economic and social development. The post-pandemic economy and industry run the risk of unbalanced development, while there may also be repercussions from a massive increase in capital supply. The government will therefore put greater emphasis on the reasonable distribution of resources, take care of the disadvantaged affected by our economic transformation, strengthen and spur youth employment,

and encourage and effectively utilize funding to bring back Taiwan's economic growth dividend for everyone to share.

### **III. Solid national defense to maintain national security**

Of course, Taiwan's economic prospects also depend on regional peace and stability. We are aware that showing weakness and making concessions will not bring peace. Adequate preparation and reliance on the determination and strength of solid national defense capabilities is the only way to guarantee Taiwan's security and maintain regional peace.

The guiding principles behind our current national defense strategy are to enhance national defense capabilities and lower the risk of military conflict. For some time now, harassment by air and sea from the other side has raised tensions in the Taiwan Strait. But our national military has closely monitored the situation and responded promptly, achieving their defense mission.

Over the past few years, whenever I have had time, I have visited the officers and enlisted personnel in our military units, from air force radar stations on distant mountain tops to naval fleets patrolling the seas, and from army unit artillery drills in the field to the academies training our young non-commissioned officers.

I do that not only to thank our military personnel working around the clock to protect the nation, but even more, to let citizens know that our military are our family, and the staunchest backers of our national sovereignty, freedom, and democracy.

Throughout my interactions with our men and women in uniform, many stories strengthened my confidence. I remember being in the alert room at an air force unit on the front lines where the pilots, always prepared for emergency service, confidently told me that, "The air force has our air defense covered."

I also remember at an army engineer training center, I saw a female officer lead her fellow engineers with the kind of spirit that can carve a road through any mountain or build a bridge over any body of water. At the Navy Underwater Operations Unit, men and women wearing heavy equipment fearlessly dove to the ocean floor to remove obstacles.

This is the Republic of China military. Whether they are on the front line or in logistics, male or female, they are all children of Taiwan and committed to safeguarding our nation.

In recent times, some of our brothers and sisters in uniform were injured or even lost their lives while carrying out their duties. We remember their dedication with gratitude, and are proud of our military for their bravery

and sense of responsibility.

As commander-in-chief, I always have the future of our military and our military of the future in my heart.

We will continue to modernize defensive combat capabilities and accelerate the upgrading of our asymmetrical capabilities to deal with military expansion and provocation from the other side of the Taiwan Strait. As we procure military hardware, we still remain dedicated to promoting our national self-defense capabilities. We have also already made substantial progress in manufacturing advanced training aircraft and submarines. We take a dual-track approach to strengthening our defensive capabilities.

We have not only upgraded our military hardware capabilities, but even more importantly, we are focusing on cultivating high-quality personnel. In addition to improving the professionalism of our volunteer officers and soldiers, we need to establish an effective reservist system to enhance the quality and capabilities of our military personnel.

I am sure that many reservists recently on active duty for training feel that the process has been streamlined. Next on the agenda will be the rapid implementation of reserve and mobilization system reforms based on the principle of integrating standing and reservist forces.

In order to avoid potential conflicts due to miscalculations or accidents, we will address threats to regional peace and stability by upholding our principle of neither fearing nor seeking war. The Ministry of National Defense will report on People's Liberation Army activities when appropriate, exchange information with neighboring countries, and strengthen security partnerships. The Ministry will also keep the public informed about the situation in the Taiwan Strait, solidifying overall national defense.

#### **IV. Proactively participating in regional collaboration**

For some time we have all been paying close attention to changes in regional security. From sovereignty disputes in the South and East China Seas and the China-India border conflict, to developments in the Taiwan Strait, as well as the "Hong Kong version of the National Security Law" that has garnered international concern, it is clear that democracy, peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific are currently facing serious challenges.

Countries in this region have forged various alliances to ensure that their national security and democratic systems are not affected by external influences. This has already caused unprecedented changes to the region.

We must turn this testing time into a historical

opportunity. Our commitment to our sovereignty and democratic values will not change, but we will also maintain strategic flexibility and be responsive to changes.

As circumstances change, advance preparation is the only way to exercise control over the future, and not just drift with the current or have others decide our fate.

We will play an active role in establishing new regional and international orders. We will forge alliances based on shared values and friendly ties throughout the international community, and continue to enhance partnerships with like-minded and friendly nations. We will also participate more actively in regional and international multilateral cooperation and dialogues.

The most important values the Republic of China (Taiwan) stands for in the region are upholding peace and promoting economic development. We want to be an advocate for the forces of good, and share our progressive and good faith values with the whole world.

I am also aware that the leader across the Strait has publicly stated in a video message to the United Nations General Assembly that China will never seek hegemony, expansion, or a sphere of influence.

As countries in the region and around the world are now concerned about China's expanding hegemony, we hope this is the beginning of genuine change.

At this critical time when the entire world has grave concerns about Indo-Pacific and cross-strait developments, if Beijing can heed Taiwan's voice, change the way it handles cross-strait relations, and jointly facilitate cross-strait reconciliation and peaceful dialogue, I believe that regional tension can surely be resolved.

In addressing cross-strait relations, we will not act rashly, and will uphold our principles. Maintaining stability in cross-strait relations is in the best interests of both sides. We are committed to upholding cross-strait stability, but this is not something Taiwan can shoulder alone; it is the joint responsibility of both sides.

At this stage, the most pressing cross-strait issue is to discuss how we can live in peace and coexist based on mutual respect, goodwill and understanding. As long as the Beijing authorities are willing to resolve antagonisms and improve cross-strait relations, while parity and dignity are maintained, we are willing to work together to facilitate meaningful dialogue. This is what the people of Taiwan advocate, and it is a cross-party consensus.

## **V. Conclusion: Unity and cooperation to overcome challenges**

It is clear that public opinion in Taiwan about external relations and national security is now converging.



The Taiwanese people all hope for regional peace and prosperity that are stable and sustainable.

The same is true for the ruling and opposition parties. For example, an opposition party's recent resolutions to advance Taiwan-US relations were supported by both the ruling and opposition party caucuses, and passed without objection. The mayors of our six special municipalities also came together in unanimous opposition when an international organization downgraded Taiwan's status, and succeeded in getting that organization to correct the error. These are all examples of cross-party cooperation, uniting to express our point of view.

Through these examples, I would like to appeal to and invite all of our domestic political parties to join forces and work together. Domestically, we compete with one another and have opposing viewpoints—this is normal in a democracy. But for the nation's continued survival and development, and for the values of freedom and democracy, we should unify to address external issues, cooperating to lead the country to rise above adversity.

Just like everything Taiwan has experienced over the past 71 years, hardships have forged our resiliency, and challenges have inspired our resolve. This pandemic can consolidate a sense of unity among Taiwanese, and give us the courage to continue moving forward.

We have contained the spread of the virus, developed

economic strategies, stabilized the region, and protected Taiwan's security. For what reason? Because we want to pass on a strong country to our next generation.

At this year's Golden Melody Awards we witnessed the creativity and vitality of our dynamic younger generation. They used various musical styles, confidently singing in their native languages, which reflects their values on many different issues. This was especially evident for the album "Kinakaian (Mother Tongue)", which was honored as album of the year.

Even though these young creatives have different styles, they can all light up the stage with the finest interpretations of Taiwan's diverse cultures. And this is all supported by our free and democratic society.

All of our striving is for Taiwan's next generation, so that they and the generations that follow can show their self-confidence through their creations. They can be proud of the culture and values of our homeland, and courageously engage with the world.

On this National Day, let's all make a wish together. Let's wish that 20 years from now, when Taiwanese look back on 2020, they will remember this as the year we grasped a generational opportunity, bravely forging ahead in rapidly changing times to overcome challenges and throw off our shackles, giving them a chance to determine their own future.

Starting today, let's all join together, keeping in step.  
If there's a path, let's follow it, singing along the way. If  
there's no path, let's ford the stream, scale the hill, and  
keep moving toward the light.

Happy birthday to the Republic of China! Thank you.

# President Tsai delivers 2021 New Year's Address

2021-01-01

---

President Tsai Ing-wen delivered her 2021 New Year's Address on the morning of January 1 in the Entrance Hall of the Presidential Office Building. She thanked all citizens for uniting to combat the pandemic and helping Taiwan achieve what the whole world has been longing for: a normal lifestyle. As president, she said her most important responsibility in 2021 is to ensure that everyone can lead a normal life, and that we move forward with the global economic recovery. In complex and ever-changing global circumstances, she said, Taiwan will stay resilient and overcome the many challenges we face.

Following is the full text of the president's speech:

Friends from the media and those watching live, fellow citizens, and our friends around the world who care about Taiwan: Good morning.

On this, the first day of 2021, I would like to begin by

wishing everyone a Happy New Year. I am sure that before going to bed last night, many of us must have thought to ourselves, "It has been a long year, and it is finally over."

This time last year, before the world knew that a pandemic might occur, we implemented on-board quarantine for all flights from Wuhan to Taiwan. Many people thought that was questionable. But in retrospect, that kind of early deployment was the right decision.

Looking back on 2020, we saw wave after wave of the pandemic wreak havoc around the world, impacting economies and our daily lives.

In many countries, children have not been able to go to school, adults have not been able to go to work, and many jobs have disappeared. Economic activity declined sharply, and the number of deaths around the globe due to the pandemic continues to rise.

Fortunately, in Taiwan we are relying on professional expertise, mutual trust, and social unity to combat the virus together.

We have not imposed lockdowns, so people go to work and school as usual. By following disease prevention instructions, last April 12 Taiwan became the first country in the world to open its professional baseball season.

People wearing masks at concerts and arts and cultural

events was a very rare sight around the world in 2020. Most importantly, Taiwan's economy maintained positive growth and our stock market reached new heights.

Although our economy will still face many challenges in the coming year, we have good reason to be optimistic. The global pandemic remains serious, but Taiwanese companies and employment remain stable, and investment continues. Clearly, the worst is already behind us.

We have already stabilized and are ready to surge ahead. Our transformation to a digital economy, the development of the Six Core Strategic Industries, 5G services rollout, and construction of forward-looking infrastructure will all make rapid progress once their budgets are approved.

Over the past year, Taiwan has achieved what the whole world is longing for: a normal lifestyle. That is quite an accomplishment. I want to once again thank everyone in Taiwan for your persistent efforts. From fighting the pandemic to economic relief and stimulus, everyone played their part.

As president, my most important responsibility in 2021 is to ensure that everyone can lead a normal life, and that we move forward with the global economic recovery. This will be our top priority to strive toward.

I also have some important news to share today, the first day of the New Year:

Last Wednesday we formally opened the electrified South Link Line, something that everyone has been looking forward to for 40 years. The "last mile" of Taiwan's round-island electrified rail system is finally finished.

Today, the minimum wage was raised once again. Given the pandemic's effect on the global economy, although the increase was modest, it is still a remarkable achievement.

On January 11 we will start to issue new passports, with the word "TAIWAN" featured prominently on the cover. Citizens will carry these passports when they travel abroad and engage with the world.

This year we will construct 15,000 units of social housing nationwide. This is a great step forward for the largest social housing construction project in the history of Taiwan.

Last year on New Year's Day I pledged to promote a farmer pension system. And that system began operations today. So no matter your occupation, Taiwan has a retirement system for you.

Next, if the Legislative Yuan passes the budget, the childcare allowance will be increased again beginning this year. We are also making faster progress than expected toward our goal to add 3,000 new public preschool classes. The government's plan to work with you to raise our children together from birth through the age of six is

well underway.

The United Nations Climate Change Conference of the Parties (COP26) will also convene this year to address global climate governance issues. We will consult widely to identify the future sustainable development methods most appropriate for Taiwan, while turning the challenges of carbon reduction into new opportunities for industry investment and job creation, and finding new directions for Taiwan's sustainable development.

This year marks my fifth year as president of the Republic of China. Throughout my administration, public support has waxed and waned. While seeking re-election, the voters put me to the test once again.

Every day, I have been conscientious and given my all, working to reach the targets we committed ourselves to. Most importantly, the nation is heading in the right direction, and Taiwan is making progress.

From the recent discussions and disputes surrounding the decision to further open the domestic market to beef and pork importation that meets international standards, I fully understand why previous administrations could not follow through with their promises to do that.

Taiwan depends on trade to survive. This issue was left pending by three successive administrations, so there was no way to avoid it.



With utmost humility, I ask my fellow citizens for your understanding, and hope everyone knows that we thought long and hard before making this decision.

Of course, trade is not our only challenge. As I continuously emphasized last year, the world is changing. In complex and ever-changing global circumstances, as president I have to be even more cautious in building a sustainable future for Taiwan.

We have to think long-term, and go step by step, because the future holds even more challenges for our national development.

From a global strategic standpoint, Taiwan is more important than ever. Stabilizing relations across the Taiwan Strait is no longer just an issue for the two sides. It is a concern for the whole Indo-Pacific region and has already become a focus of international attention.

Over the past year, military aircraft and naval vessels from across the strait have been active around Taiwan. This has undermined cross-strait relations, and poses a threat to the peaceful and stable status quo in the Indo-Pacific.

I want to reaffirm that in dealing with cross-strait relations, we will uphold our principles and not act rashly. We are willing to facilitate meaningful dialogue under the principles of parity and dignity as long as the Beijing

authorities sincerely want to resolve differences and improve cross-strait relations.

When the pandemic is under control, we look forward to the gradual return of regular, orderly people-to-people exchanges across the strait to improve mutual understanding and reduce misunderstandings. My principles for dealing with cross-strait affairs have always been joint discussions, finding solutions, and pragmatically solving problems.

The year 2020 has ended. But the beginning of a new year means more than just turning a page on the calendar. We do not know when the pandemic will end, or when we will be able to travel abroad again. The uncertainties of 2020 will continue into this new year.

But I want to assure everyone that 2020 was by no means the most difficult year in human history. The flu pandemic of 1918, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Second World War in the 1940s were all extremely challenging for the people who lived through them.

But people around the world have always been resilient, just like our previous generation. With so much to do after the war, they still went on to create an economic and democratic miracle. These experiences tell us that as long as there is light and water, a rose of hope can grow through a crack in the concrete.

I also want to say a few words for our international audience.

Taiwan has been proud to have worked alongside the international community to confront the challenges posed by COVID-19. We have shown again and again that "Taiwan can help."

As a force for good in the world, we will continue to be an indispensable member of the international community, both now and into the future.

We are also deeply grateful for the international community's continued support for Taiwan. Your willingness to stand together with us as we are faced with difficult regional and global challenges, is significant for the 23 million freedom-loving people of Taiwan. Our democracy is stronger because of your support.

Thank you. We hope everyone around the world is able to enjoy a restful and safe new year.

My beloved fellow Taiwanese, no matter how difficult the crisis, as long as we come together, we can get through it. Looking back on 2020, I am honored to have overcome so many challenges together with all of you. We are "Better Together," and wish each other well as we continue to pull together and forge ahead into the future.

Thank you.

# President Tsai delivers 2021 National Day Address

2021-10-10

---

President Tsai Ing-wen on the morning of October 10 attended the ROC's 110th Double Tenth National Day Celebration in the plaza fronting the Presidential Office Building, and delivered an address entitled "Forging a Stronger Consensus: Standing United to Protect Taiwan."

A translation of the president's address follows:

National Day Celebration Chairperson Yu Shyi-kun (游錫堃), distinguished guests, dear friends, and my fellow citizens watching via TV or the Internet: Good morning.

I. Resilience through unity and international pandemic cooperation

Today is the 110th National Day of the Republic of China. Every year, on this day, we gather together to celebrate our nation's birthday.

On this solemn occasion, we pay tribute to our forebears who called this land their home. Though they arrived in Taiwan at different times, they all dedicated themselves to our beautiful homeland. Today, everyone living in Taiwan is a part of this community in which we share a common destiny. Together, we have passed one test after another.

Beginning in May this year, Taiwan faced its greatest challenge since the outbreak of COVID-19. Over 800 people in this country have lost their lives to this disease. These people were our family, friends, and members of our shared community. I want to take this opportunity at the start of my speech to express my sincerest condolences to their families.

During this outbreak, we were also reminded of the great self-discipline and virtue possessed by the people of Taiwan.

No matter how hot the weather, everyone has remembered to wear face masks. Wherever you go, everyone uses their phones to scan QR codes for contact tracing, and maintains social distance. And when vaccines arrived, everyone followed our government's plans for an orderly vaccination drive. I truly appreciate how hard everyone has worked. The government does not take this cooperation for granted.

I want to extend a special thanks to Hon Hai Technology Group/Yonglin Foundation, Taiwan Semiconductor

Manufacturing Company, and the Tzu Chi Foundation for working with the government. I also want to once again thank our doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel for their hard work. Most of all, I want to thank all the people of Taiwan. At this difficult time, it was our unity that protected our country, and our collective dedication to democracy that protected our beloved homeland.

Aside from helping ourselves, we have also received help from our friends across the international community. At a time when the international community continued to face a serious pandemic and vaccines were in short supply around the globe, Japan, the United States, Lithuania, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland all extended helping hands.

And, except for Lithuania, which will soon establish a representative office here, all of these countries are represented here today, an embodiment of this year's theme of "Broadening Democratic Alliances and Making International Friendships." I want to invite everyone here today to join me in showing our deepest appreciation to the representatives from these countries.

The Taiwanese people have a beautiful tradition of never forgetting how others have helped us. The face masks we sent out across the world last year showed that Taiwan can help. And the vaccines they sent us this year are vaccines of friendship. This is a virtuous cycle, and I can assure the international community that Taiwan will continue

to contribute to the world and expand this virtuous cycle further afield.

Over the past year, the pandemic impacted domestic demand, but it did not affect our overall economic growth prospects.

The global shortage of semiconductor chips has highlighted Taiwan's importance in supply chains. And a changing situation in the Indo-Pacific has once again brought attention to Taiwan's key position in the region.

Taiwan-Japan ties continue to flourish, and our relationship with the European Union has grown closer. We resumed talks with the United States under our bilateral Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA). And we applied to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). In Washington, Tokyo, Canberra, and Brussels, Taiwan is no longer on the margins, with more and more democratic friends willing to stand up for us.

We believe we have the ability to work with like-minded partners to contribute to the international community. Taiwan today is no longer seen as the orphan of Asia, but as an Island of Resilience that can face challenges with courage.

II. Unprecedented challenges amid a complex regional landscape

But the more we achieve, the greater the pressure we face from China. So I want to remind all my fellow citizens that we do not have the privilege of letting down our guard.

At this moment, the global political landscape is undergoing drastic change. Free and democratic countries around the world have been alerted to the expansion of authoritarianism, with Taiwan standing on democracy's first line of defense.

As a result, amid this evolving global landscape, the Republic of China today finds itself in a situation that is more complex and fluid than at any other point in the past 72 years. Every step we take will influence our world's future direction, and our world's future direction will likewise affect the future of Taiwan itself.

The situation in the Indo-Pacific region is becoming more tense and complex by the day. After taking complete control of Hong Kong and suppressing democracy activists, the Beijing authorities also shifted away from the path of political and economic development that they had followed since "reform and opening up" began decades ago.

At the same time, regional order is being challenged in the South and East China Seas. The routinization of Chinese military activity in Taiwan's southwestern air defense identification zone (ADIZ) has seriously affected



both our national security and aviation safety.

In contrast, democratic countries are working to strengthen our broad-based, mutual cooperation in order to respond to regional and global developments. The G7, NATO, EU, and QUAD have all highlighted the importance of peace and security in the Taiwan Strait, while expressing concern over whether China may unilaterally undermine the status quo of peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

I want to reiterate that Taiwan is willing to do its part to contribute to the peaceful development of the region. Our position on cross-strait relations remains the same: neither our goodwill nor our commitments will change. We call for maintaining the status quo, and we will do our utmost to prevent the status quo from being unilaterally altered.

I also want to emphasize that resolving cross-strait differences requires the two sides of the strait to engage in dialogue on the basis of parity.

We hope for an easing of cross-strait relations and will not act rashly, but there should be absolutely no illusions that the Taiwanese people will bow to pressure. We will continue to bolster our national defense and demonstrate our determination to defend ourselves in order to ensure that nobody can force Taiwan to take the path China has laid out for us. This is because the path that China has laid out offers neither a free and democratic way of life for

Taiwan, nor sovereignty for our 23 million people.

### III. Building consensus around four commitments

The Republic of China came to Taiwan in 1949, 72 years ago. Over these past 72 years, we have gone from poverty to prosperity, from authoritarianism to democracy, and from uniformity to diversity. Slowly but surely, we remade the Republic of China (Taiwan) into what it is today.

Admired around the world, what we have today is the result of the work of many generations. No one group can take sole credit for this work, nor should any one group be denied credit for what we have all achieved together.

During the August 23 Artillery War of 1958 in Kinmen, our brave troops fought side by side, without regard for where one another came from. Party affiliation does not divide those working in Taiwan's crucially important semiconductor industry. Cheng Nan-jung's (鄭南榕) father was from China. Larisa Bakurova (瑞莎) hails from Ukraine. Wen Chen-ling's (溫貞菱) mother is a Filipina of Chinese descent, and her father is part Hakka and part Japanese. Recently departed baseball star Wang Kuang-hui (王光輝) was a member of the indigenous Amis tribe.

We all get upset when our national flag is not displayed. We all get angry when Taiwan is suppressed. These are ups and downs that we all share. In this inclusive country, nobody is judged based on when they arrived, nobody

is held accountable for the deeds of their ancestors, and nobody is excluded from our shared community because of where they came from. As long as we respect and appreciate this land and what it stands for, Taiwan will always welcome everyone with open arms and bring people together.

The past 72 years of development have transformed the face of our nation. But throughout this transformation, our resolve to uphold our sovereignty and defend our homeland has remained unchanged.

This conviction has been key to ensuring Taiwan's stability and preserving the fruits of our democracy. Over the past 72 years, our military's dedication to protecting our nation, as well as our understanding of why we fight, have been rooted in that conviction, which has been passed down by generation after generation of Taiwanese.

This resolve has never been limited to a single political party or faction. Kuomintang Chairman Eric Chu (朱立倫), Taiwan People's Party Chairman Ko Wen-je (柯文哲), and New Power Party Chairperson Chen Jiau-hua (陳椒華) are all in attendance today.

Your being here at this event is one of the beautiful scenes in Taiwan's democracy. There will always be competition between political parties. But whenever our nation's dignity or the future of our people is at stake, we come together for the sake of the Taiwanese people to

defend our sovereignty and our free and democratic way of life.

Let us here renew with one another our enduring commitment to a free and democratic constitutional system, our commitment that the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China should not be subordinate to each other, our commitment to resist annexation or encroachment upon our sovereignty, and our commitment that the future of the Republic of China (Taiwan) must be decided in accordance with the will of the Taiwanese people.

These four commitments are the bottom line and common denominator that the people of Taiwan have given us. On the basis of this shared foundation, we have a responsibility to seek an even broader consensus, so that we can be united in the face of future challenges.

We all share the responsibility to ensure that the young people and future generations of this land can continue to live free.

#### IV. Cooperation across society to resolve our differences

Since taking office in 2016, I have worked to diversify trade, promote industrial innovation, transform our energy sector, and develop and bring in new talent so that everyone can see how Taiwan's economy is changing for the better.

Over the past few years, in response to changing global economic circumstances, we have facilitated the return of many overseas Taiwanese businesses and accelerated our industrial transformation, reversing the slow economic growth, capital outflow, and talent drain caused by the past 30 years of over-reliance on a single market.

Today, Taiwan's economic performance is back in the lead of the Four Asian Tigers, attracting global attention and proving that we can create a more resilient and self-reliant economic development model.

We have adopted a new economic approach in which we are no longer dependent on a single market. This is the key to consolidating Taiwan's global economic standing and playing a more important role. My fellow citizens, a world of opportunity awaits us. We must persevere on this road so that Taiwan's economy can continue to grow and thrive over the next 30 years.

In addition to transforming our economy, we have overcome many obstacles to implement a number of reforms. We have expanded our social care system, made diplomatic breakthroughs, and are now in the process of carrying out national defense reform. The results of our years of hard work are gradually becoming clear to our citizens and the world at large.

Many have asked me what we want to do for Taiwan in the years ahead. My answer is simple. In addition to boldly

carrying out reforms and building a stronger nation, we want to establish a solid and lasting foundation for our nation's future development by giving the Republic of China (Taiwan) the capabilities, and the social stability, to face the uncertainty and challenges of a new era.

We must also address the longstanding and divisive issues on which we have struggled to reach consensus. On these issues, we must work to forge consensus, and find solutions that are broadly acceptable throughout society. Only by resolving these longstanding disputes can Taiwan move forward without looking backward.

We must respond to national development needs by making necessary adjustments to bureaucracy, local institutions, national land use, regional development, and other important governance issues, so that we can optimize government efficiency and most faithfully reflect the will of the people.

Of these issues, constitutional reform is one we must face head-on. Our Legislative Yuan has established a Constitutional Amendment Committee, with the current round of amendments based on the Constitution of the Republic of China and designed to preserve our free and democratic constitutional system.

Knowing that there is a very high threshold for passing

a constitutional amendment, I want to make an appeal across party lines, given that the issue of constitutional reform is a matter of national governance. I call on everyone, regardless of party affiliation, to set aside your predispositions and engage in a serious review of constitutional issues, so that we can find common ground.

The work of transitional justice is also testing our generation's wisdom and courage, as we seek to heal the wounds of the past and discern historical truth.

In addition, we must consider the direction of our national energy policy.

No nation can maintain economic momentum with an inconsistent energy policy. We have already aligned ourselves with the international community in announcing our goal to work toward net zero emissions by 2050. We also need to work with all sectors of society to draw up a roadmap that will help us stay on top of relevant developments and assess risks early on, so that we can build a more flexible and responsive power supply network. This is key to both our competitiveness and environmental sustainability.

Dealing with these important issues is the only way to lay a foundation for long-term stability and leave a better country for future generations. In the past, differences

in party stance or political identification often turned discussions of the methods and approaches needed to solve these issues into endless ideological battles. These disputes are of no help to our nation's development, and only compel us to waste our own energy without making any progress.

This is why, during my next few years in office, I want to draw on the dynamism of our society to look for ways to solve these issues together. By facilitating cooperation between society and government, we can work to find common ground among different ideas, gradually resolve difficult issues, and build a firm foundation on which to guide our national development.

#### V. Engaging the world with pride and confidence

2021 has been a year of many challenges, as well as many heartwarming moments. This summer's Tokyo Olympics saw Taiwan's athletes turn in record performances. Today, on our National Day, I want to express my gratitude to all our athletes and their support staff. Thank you for helping Taiwan shine on the international stage.

During the Tokyo Olympics, the Taiwanese people once again realized a sense of shared belonging. I know some people have admitted that, out of fear of jinxing our athletes, they avoided watching our athletes in action,



and instead did all their cheering in silence. I also heard that some people were so nervous watching the archery competition that their hearts were beating even faster than the competitors'.

This is what it means to be part of a community. A community is an invisible bond that ties us all together, letting us share our happiness and our sorrow, our glory and our pain.

During the men's doubles badminton gold medal match, I am sure that when the word "in" appeared on the screen, there were more than a few Taiwanese who erupted with joy, and even shed some tears.

We had waited so long for that moment, for Taiwan's achievements, Taiwan's confidence, and Taiwan's courage to be seen and appreciated by the world. This summer, that moment arrived.

Over the past few days, many people in Taipei stopped to look up at the planes rehearsing for our National Day Celebration. What they were looking at is our Air Force, which keeps us and our country safe.

In addition to our Air Force, many other military units were practicing for our National Day Celebration on the streets of Taipei. Dredging engineers, members of our

Chemical Corps, the motorcycles of our Military Police Command's Quick Reaction Company, and many other combat vehicles that we rarely get to see all passed here before us on Chongqing South Road, fully equipped and ready to deploy.

Many were busy taking photos, perhaps unsure which units these are, or what the equipment is called, but with a certain sense of security. These are our troops—our troops who safeguard our homeland. When disaster strikes, they come to the rescue. When our sovereignty, territory, freedom, or democracy is threatened, they defend our country with their lives.

One of the most heartwarming images of 2021 was of the Mirage 2000 fighter jets sent by our military into the skies above Taiwan to welcome our Olympic heroes back home.

Our athletes and troops are all national heroes. I sincerely hope that my fellow citizens believe in the greatness of Taiwan, believe in the importance of Taiwan, and believe that our community of 23 million people can stand proud on the international stage.

Let us move forward with confidence and pride, as masters of our own destiny. Let us embrace our global role, and make Taiwan a Taiwan of the world. I wish the Republic of China a happy 110th anniversary, and good

health and many happy returns to all my fellow citizens.  
Thank you.

# President Tsai delivers 2022 New Year's Address

2022-01-01

---

President Tsai Ing-wen delivered her 2022 New Year's Address on the morning of January 1 in the Reception Hall of the Presidential Office. The president announced the four pillars of this year's plan for stable governance: continuing our global engagement, maintaining our economic momentum, strengthening our social security network, and safeguarding our nation's sovereignty. President Tsai also expressed confidence that by working together, the Taiwanese people will be able to overcome any challenges that 2022 may bring and take a big step toward a brighter future, exemplifying the theme of this New Year's celebration, "Resilient Taiwan, One with the World."

A translation of President Tsai's remarks follows:

Vice President Lai [Ching-te]; Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General [to the President, David T. Lee (李大維) and Li Chun-yi (李俊偌)]; friends from the

media and all those watching on TV and online; my fellow citizens; and Taiwan's friends around the world:

Good morning.

I want to begin by wishing you all a Happy New Year.

For Taiwan, this past year was unique. Together, we weathered several months made particularly turbulent by the pandemic. And together, we also engaged in a public discussion of four referendum questions, a process that started with proposals and ended in a vote.

This process reflects Taiwan's steady development of a more mature civil society. When challenges arise, we may have different opinions and ideas about what to do and how to respond, but resolving these issues through democratic mechanisms lets our society quickly regain calm and return to normal.

The pandemic put our national unity and the character of our citizens to the test. So I want to thank all my fellow Taiwanese for your hard work and dedication over the past year. When we come together and have faith in our democratic institutions, Taiwan can overcome any challenge.

There was also much good news for Taiwan last year. Our economic growth in 2021 is projected to hit an 11-year high. And our stock market index surged by more than 23 percent over the course of the year, recently reaching a

new all-time high.

Last year, Taiwan's GDP per capita surpassed US\$30,000 for the first time. In terms of purchasing power parity, our GDP per capita is already higher than many OECD countries. Not only that, the IMF forecasts that Taiwan will next year regain its spot among the world's 20 largest economies.

But many challenges still lie ahead. The pandemic continues to pose a serious challenge for countries around the world and fuel uncertainty around the global economic recovery. Inflation, property prices, and the possibility of another COVID-19 outbreak are all issues we must seriously address during this period of economic growth.

On top of this, we are faced with the challenge of how to maintain steady political and economic progress amid the fierce competition that the election scheduled for the second half of this year will bring. With constantly increasing military and diplomatic pressure from China, how to uphold our freedom, democracy, and consensus to connect with the world is also a challenge that Taiwan will have to face in 2022.

Continuing our global engagement, maintaining our economic momentum, strengthening our social security network, and safeguarding our nation's sovereignty are the four pillars of our plan for stable governance in 2022.

The results of last year's four referenda showed that the Taiwanese people are even more resolved to connect with the world. This year, we will step up our efforts to diversify our international trade and economic engagement, and reduce our reliance on any single market.

While we continue to promote our New Southbound Policy and deepen our cooperation with our partners under this program, we also hope to make further progress in our talks under the Taiwan-US Trade and Investment Framework Agreement so that we can lay a solid foundation for a potential free trade agreement between our countries.

In addition, we will do our utmost to gain the support of the members of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) for Taiwan's inclusion in the trade bloc. We will also soon put forward a plan to strengthen our ties with Europe, and promote deeper exchanges between Taiwan and European countries.

To maintain our economic momentum amid the changing global landscape of the past few years, private enterprises have shown great resilience, and have worked with our government to vigorously promote our 5+2 innovative industries plan as well as our development of Six Core Strategic Industries, boosting the overall competitiveness of Taiwan's industrial sector and helping it become a key driver of global economic development.

Taiwan is the global leader in semiconductor production. Going forward, Taiwan will play a pivotal role in responding to demand for chips in areas such as solutions for smart cities, the deployment of green energy technology, and the production of electric vehicles.

Taiwan is an indispensable part of the world's digital transformation and response to climate change. And the directions that Taiwanese firms take will shape the movement of global supply chains.

We must constantly strengthen the influence and competitiveness of Taiwan's industrial sector. That is why, in this new year, we will continue to promote our nation's energy transition, and why we will take a forward-looking and practical approach in drawing up a roadmap toward net-zero emissions, in order to guide the overall structural transformation of Taiwan's economy.

The Executive Yuan has also announced that our three programs to boost investment in Taiwan are being extended by another three years. We expect that this extension will help drive a further NT\$900 billion in investment and create 40,000 job opportunities.

As we work to maintain economic momentum, we must also effectively address inflation and rising property prices, so that the fruits of economic growth can be used to drive real wage growth and raise living standards.



Rising commodity and property prices will be a common challenge for countries around the world this year. Since the second half of 2021, we have activated price stabilization mechanisms at public utilities and enterprises, and have employed discretionary financial controls, tax reform, and administrative review measures under our plan to promote a healthier real estate market, steps which have together kept domestic commodity and real estate price increases moderate in comparison with other countries.

Going forward, we will continue to use all policy tools at our disposal to ensure that prices remain stable. And, with the help of our Executive Yuan's price stabilization and real estate task forces, we will crack down on illegal market manipulation and hoarding practices.

Starting today, the monthly minimum wage has been raised to NT\$25,250, a 5.21-percent increase over last year. And, once the central government's annual budget is passed, the salaries of our military personnel, civil servants, and public school educators will be increased by 4 percent. We hope these measures will help spur private-sector wage growth, which will in turn help curb the effects of inflation.

In our social housing plan, we will provide reasonably priced accommodation to young people and the disadvantaged. In 2021, we announced the start of the largest social housing construction initiative in Taiwan's

history, as part of which we are awarding contracts in 50 projects to build 15,000 new homes. Combined, there are already 50,000 units for which contracts have been awarded, which are currently under construction, or which have already been built.

Looking to 2022, aside from accelerating our social housing construction initiative, we are also implementing programs to convert hotels into social housing and to help seniors move to units that better meet their needs, and we will continue to promote our subletting management scheme, which had already been expanded to 16,000 households as of the end of last year.

In addition, this coming year, we will keep in place the rent subsidy program we expanded in 2020, under which eligible young people and families can receive several thousand NT dollars per month depending on their city or county of residence.

Expanding social welfare and reducing the burdens involved in caring for our children and elderly is not only a matter of equity, but also a matter of social security, which is why we will continue to strengthen Taiwan's social security network.

As of last year, the network being built under our Long-Term Care 2.0 Plan spanned over 10,000 service facilities spread across the country. This year's budget for long-term care programs totals NT\$60.7 billion, which we will use to

build more long-term care facilities and provide additional services.

To reinforce our social safety net, we will continue to increase the number of public-sector social workers and professionals. This year, we will add over 5,000 such personnel, and will subsidize another 1,454 social workers in the private sector, so that we can reduce the burden on social workers and enhance our ability to protect disadvantaged families.

Following last year's increase, the childcare allowance will once again be raised to NT\$5,000 this coming August. And we are set to reach our goal of adding 3,000 new public preschool classes by next year ahead of schedule.

The total number of public preschools, non-profit preschools, and private preschools that qualify for public subsidies grew considerably last year. In the past, parents expressed concern that they had only a 30-percent chance of drawing a place in a public preschool for their child. Now, their children have a 60-percent chance of entering a reasonably priced, high-quality preschool.

Last Mother's Day, I said that the government should be a trusted ally to kids and parents. This year, the minimum leave given to women for pregnancy checkups will be increased to seven days, and their spouses will also be given leave to accompany them during those checkups.

We will continue to review and increase these subsidies, while strengthening measures across the board to lighten the load of raising kids. We will deliver on our commitment that the government will do more to help you raise your children from birth through the age of six.

In this new year, stable governance is our most important priority. We will uphold our sovereignty and values of freedom and democracy, defend our territorial sovereignty and national security, and work to ensure peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

We will also continue to monitor the situation in Hong Kong. Interference in the recent elections for the members of its Legislative Council's upcoming term has prompted further concerns about Hong Kong's democratic development. And just a few days ago, the Hong Kong government arrested several members of the media, adding to worries about the state of human rights and freedom of speech there.

The pursuit of democracy and freedom is not a crime, and Taiwan's position in support of Hong Kong will not change. Aside from showing our concern, we will cherish our own hard-earned freedom and democracy even more deeply. We will make Taiwan even better. We will show the world that democratic Taiwan has the courage to step out from the shadow of authoritarian China, and that we will not bow to pressure.

Lastly, I want to talk about cross-strait relations.

With the new economic climate we are facing during this pandemic, each side of the strait has its own challenges as well as its own responsibilities for people's welfare. At the same time, both sides together shoulder the responsibility to uphold peace and stability in the region.

Over these past few years, we have repeatedly called on the other side of the strait not to deprive Hong Kong of democracy and human rights, and we strongly protest its military incursions and diplomatic pressure directed at our side. These actions by the other side are of no benefit to the preservation of regional peace and stability.

Taiwan's consistent position has been that we will neither bow to pressure nor act rashly when we have support. We want to remind the Beijing authorities that they should not misjudge the situation, and that they should stop the spread of military adventurism within their ranks.

The use of military means is absolutely not an option for resolving the differences between our two sides. Only by upholding peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, with each side working to take care of people's livelihoods and set their minds at ease, can there be the proper space and atmosphere for our two sides to peacefully and collectively address and seek solutions to the problems we face. This will also help reduce regional tensions.

"Resilient Taiwan, One with the World" is the theme of this New Year's celebration, and I know that, with your resilience, Taiwan can live up to this ideal. Thank you to all the Taiwanese people for your sacrifices and hard work over the past year. This coming year, we will once again overcome the challenges in our way, and take a big step toward an even brighter future. Thank you, and I wish you all a happy 2022!

# Chairperson Tsai's Speech at the 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the 17<sup>th</sup> DPP National Congress

2016-07-17

---

Hello, and good afternoon to everyone.

Today, the Democratic Progressive Party is holding its first national congress since becoming the ruling party. During last year's national congress, I cautioned that we would not keep anyone who is here solely for the pursuit of riches or career advancement. I believe that after these past two months of DPP rule, you all can agree that I meant what I said.

What awaits us is never wealth, nor fortune, but a host of difficulties and challenges. If the people realize that voting a different party into power will not solve any problems or bring about systemic change, they will not only grow disappointed in the DPP, but also in democracy itself. With that said, this year I am going to keep my remarks short, and leave out all the pleasantries.

I would like to show you what happened in Taiwan during the past two months. First, we see the Taoyuan

Airport. A flooded Taoyuan Airport.

Next, we see China Airlines flight attendants on strike.

Then we see the Hsiung Feng III missile mishap.

This here is Taitung, post-typhoon.

I ask you all to take a good look at these images, at this country. This is Taiwan under the rule of the DPP. The past two months have brought us a succession of crises, some arising from long-term, structural problems, and others spontaneous and unexpected. But to the people, only one thing matters: How will the DPP government deal with each crisis?

During the past two months, you have all seen that nothing can be achieved or resolved instantly, be it transitional justice, industrial innovation, judicial reform, employer-employee tensions or pension reform.

We are met with countless obstacles every step of the way on our path to reforms. Those who feel uneasy about the future may not want drastic changes. However, at the same time, there are others in this society that are calling for us to dash toward the finish line at once. Such is our current situation.

It is a tough position to be in. It is during times like this, as we observe different societal forces battling each other on various fronts, that politicians can easily lose their way. So I would like all DPP members currently serving in the government to ask yourselves again: What are your aspirations and goals in politics?

As long as we do not forget our ideals and purpose, we will surely overcome the difficulties facing us.

I have faith in every one of you, and likewise I hope you



have faith in my administration. Changes are happening in Taiwan. Since we won the election, this country has been on the path of reform.

We amended the Civil Servants Election and Recall Act to require speakers and deputy speakers of local councils to be elected by open ballots—a move that fulfilled a longtime promise to our supporters and replaced an election system once plagued with corruption and under-the-table deals with one that demonstrates this government’s openness, transparency and responsibility.

We abolished the NHI’s “membership freezing” mechanism in order to safeguard the underprivileged population’s fundamental right to healthcare, and we lowered the interest rate on student loans to alleviate the burden on students.

Due to increasing pressure with regards to our electricity supply, we are fully dedicated to making structural adjustments to the country’s power consumption and promoting power-saving measures to tide the country over through periods of electricity shortage. Making Taiwan nuclear-free by 2025 remains our goal, and we will never go back on this promise.

In addition, perhaps you have noticed that the DPP-nominated candidate for the Hualien mayoral by-election, Ms. Chang Mei-Hui, presented her manifesto in the election bulletin in Romanized Amis language. This unprecedented move is thanks to our revision of the Election and Recall Act to allow more diversity in election bulletins.

An amendment like this may be a minor change to the law, but to our aboriginal friends it is a huge step toward

reformation. From now on, members of the aboriginal tribes will be able to see their own ethnic languages in the election bulletins.

Of course, I am well aware that the people have very high standards and expectations. Many feel that we are not carrying out enough reforms, or not doing it well enough or fast enough. These are all valuable opinions, and I hope that all DPP members serving in the government, including myself, can listen carefully to the people's voices with the intention to have an earnest dialogue.

This society cannot survive another rift. The purpose of our reforms is to unite this country, not divide it. I hope that everyone in the DPP, from top to bottom, will keep this in mind.

However, I must also remind everyone that the process of reformation is not completely painless, and some of you will inevitably be blamed for one thing or another. Looking toward the future, I hope that the DPP can prove itself to be a political party that completes reforms while minimizing the extent of suffering and inconvenience, as well as a party that adheres to its ideals despite pressure from all sides.

I will stress again that in Taiwan, we cannot be impatient or rash on our way to reforms. This is why the new administration has been moving at this current pace these past two months. Take the pension reform for example, a topic that a lot of people care about. Many may ask, "Now that the DPP is in total control, why won't you take a top-down approach and simply push the reform through? Why must you spend an entire year holding all these meetings?"

My answer to that is the same as yours. This is the path that our party chose to persist on. This is our way of taking responsibility for the betterment of Taiwan. It is not easy to carry out reforms at a robust but steady pace; politically speaking, it may very well be the more difficult way to do it.

However, we are willing to take the more difficult path. We are willing to give the members of the divided Taiwanese society more time to come together in solidarity.

I believe everyone knows that the theme of this national congress was originally called “Working Together for Reforms to Promote Prosperity and Happiness,” but I decided to change it. I feel that as we have only just begun our rule, our challenges still lie ahead, and we need to recognize this reality as well as the responsibilities that we carry.

The current theme “Tackling Challenges and Creating Prosperity Together” is to serve as a reminder that if we do not confront our challenges head-on, Taiwan will not prosper. We must tackle Taiwan’s various problems, unite the society democratically, and push for reforms in a robust but steady way. We insist on doing things this way. Right now, the most important mission for our entire party is to lead Taiwan away from hardship.

Ruling is not about trying to appease every side that comes to us with an opinion. Ruling is about defending values. We should not be pandering to anybody. I’d like to emphasize again that our responsibility is to ensure stability and peace as well as the sustainable development

of this country. We still have a lot of work to accomplish together, so let's go, DPP! Let's go, Taiwan! Thank you. 🇹🇼

# Chairperson Tsai's Speech at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of the 17<sup>th</sup> DPP National Congress

2017-09-24

---

Fellow party representatives from across the nation, good afternoon.

Today we're here for the second session of the Democratic Progressive Party's 17th National Congress. To start off, I'd like to once again express my deepest gratitude and utmost respect for Vice President Lu, Chairman Yao, Chairman Hsu, Chairman Yu, Chairman Su, Premier Chang, Mayor Chen Chu and other senior party members for gracing us with your presence.

I once remarked that it is an honor of a lifetime for me to lead this party. Even now, as I stand here as party chairperson on a stage like today's, there is unease and trepidation in my heart.

The DPP is a party of weight, and this weight comes from the selfless sacrifices that you all have made. In your younger days, you risked your lives to fight against the status quo, repeatedly throwing yourselves into Taiwan's

democracy movement.

Once, at a debate during my presidential campaign, I mentioned the farewell letter Mayor Chen Chu wrote, back when she faced the possibility of death. That letter moved me so much that I find it hard to forget even to this day. As far as I know, Mayor Chen was not the only DPP member in those days to write letters bidding their family and the people of Taiwan goodbye. My dear fellow party members, this is the story of our party, the DPP.

Let's not forget our predecessors' prior endeavors. Every time I'm at the party headquarters for meetings, I take notice of our motto "Honesty, Diligence, and Love for our Native Land" hanging in the conference room. This message, albeit short, is a reminder from our predecessors to all party members involved in politics. They worked their whole lives hoping to create for Taiwan a political party that can abide by these founding values.

I am standing here today thanks to the foundation you laid down. Since my inauguration on May 20th last year, I have been reminding myself every single day to live up to our predecessors' visions, and I hold everyone in my administration to the same standard as well.

All I can think of is the fact that the people of Taiwan have once again entrusted the country to DPP rule, so it is crucial that I do an excellent job, live up to those words, and certainly not disappoint the Taiwanese people who put so much faith in us. Today, I can confidently say that we have successfully reformed the pension system for civil servants and public-school teachers. It took us one year to achieve something that none of the past administrations

could.

Furthermore, social housing projects are underway, and our Long-Term Care Plan 2.0 is gradually being implemented nationwide. We have also been collecting and consolidating topics and objectives for judicial reforms through democratic discourse. At the same time, we have begun dealing with ill-gotten party assets to allow for fairer competition in Taiwan's democracy. To remedy the centuries-long discriminatory treatment of indigenous peoples, we are employing a reconciliatory mechanism to push for transitional justice for the aborigines. The Forward-Looking Infrastructure Construction Bill has already been passed by the legislature, and the development and improvement of such infrastructure projects will allow Taiwan's future generations to enjoy a higher-quality living environment.

Next, we will announce our plans for tax reform. The reforms are endless—with the completion of one reform comes the next one. Taiwan has no time to waste, and my administration's approach reflects that. We are taking on the most difficult projects first and solving Taiwan's problems one by one, because I, like every one of you, believe that this is the Democratic Progressive Party's purpose in Taiwan.

Sure, we will encounter setbacks during the reformation process, and face criticisms and even protests from certain people. I know that we can only accomplish our missions if we persevere, but I also want to urge everyone to have more empathy toward the dissenting voices in the society. Give Taiwan a little more time, and the storm

will pass. When the sky clears, you'll see that Taiwan has transformed into a better place.

This past year, all indicators have shown that things in Taiwan are coming around. The economy is warming up—in fact, economic growth has surpassed past predictions. The stock market topped ten thousand points for more than 100 days, breaking historic records.

Not only are the economic indicators upbeat, we are also seeing improvement on the much-emphasized “distribution” issue. This month, after the government announced pay raises for members of the military, civil servants and public-school teachers, many companies in the private sector have opted to follow suit, setting off a positive trend.

The administrative team led by our new Premier Mr. Lai Ching-Te is now in place. I'm sure he is no stranger to you. During this period, members of his constructive new cabinet have already demonstrated how proactive they are. I'd like to thank him again for agreeing to take on these responsibilities. With a new Premier and new arrangements, the DPP-led administration will continue to build on existing foundations, always working tirelessly and striving for the best.

My fellow party members, we the Democratic Progressive Party have never quailed at the sight of hardship and challenges, and we have never feared changes to the external environment.

Looking back on the past thirty years of Taiwanese history, the DPP has fought alongside the people of Taiwan at every critical moment.



However, we will not live in the past. In every DPP member's blood is the courage to shoulder Taiwan's future. Historically, every time a momentous change occurred in the external or domestic environment, the DPP would develop a new discourse to guide Taiwan in a new direction.

Comrades, it is time to do so again, and I propose that the new discourse the DPP formulates this time must meticulously respond to the following four changes:

First of all, global changes. When the DPP was founded, the world operated within the context of the Cold War, but the politics of bipolarity have now been replaced by diversified global relations. It's hardly practical to apply old division lines to the dynamic relationships in today's global politics. The DPP must remove itself from the outdated context and reevaluate Taiwan's strategic positioning in the world and its geopolitics. This is why I began implementing my New Southbound Policy immediately after taking office last year.

Secondly, China's changes. Today's China is very different from the China during the DPP's early days. The rise of China is a trend that every country in the world should regard with circumspection. Neither emotional hatred nor blind ingratiation is a candid response to China's rapid growth and development.

We must search for a new way to interact with Beijing while maintaining Taiwan's national identity and sovereignty. This is a crucial mission for our generation of DPP members.

Thirdly, changes in how global economies develop. In

the thirty years since the founding of the DPP, matters relating to production and capital, including industry characteristics, corporate organization, trade and investment, employer-employee relations and financial definitions, have drastically restructured and reshuffled. The DPP must ensure that Taiwan's industrial, economic, financial and labor policies can keep up with the times and reflect the ongoing trend of globalization and constant technological breakthroughs.

Fourthly, changes in the Taiwanese society. In the past, an authoritarian regime was the only obstacle to democracy in Taiwan. However, after three times of the ruling political party transition, an authoritarian regime is no longer a political problem in today's Taiwan. After the lifting of martial law, social forces and civil society in Taiwan flourished, enabling more diverse co-competition opportunities in this country's democracy. The relationship between political parties and the society has long shifted significantly since the DPP's founding days.

We can manage and clear a way forward in the complexity. This is precisely our task. What kind of relationship should the DPP maintain with civic organizations and third parties? How do we keep the society balanced between idealism and reality, and keep it moving forward? These are the challenges DPP is facing right now.

I will stress again that when the external environment changes, the Democratic Progressive Party must act accordingly. It behooves our party to create new discourses and obtain an accurate understanding of situations at

home and abroad, then establish a fresh direction and path for the party in this new era through redefining the concept of “democratic” and “progressive”.

What the whole nation wants to see at today’s national congress, I believe, is not our internal squabbles, but whether the DPP members gathered here today are seriously considering how to lead Taiwan out of the quagmire fed by the events of history.

Therefore, I hereby declare that I shall promptly initiate the process of discussion to create a series of new discourses. I’ve already instructed our thinktank to, starting from next week, inspect and discuss one by one the following twelve broad topics: Foreign Affairs and International Participation; Regional Security and Cross-Strait Relations; National Defense; Liberty and Human Rights; Form of Government; Finance and Economics; Social Welfare; Labor; Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery and Husbandry; Education and Culture; Digital Technology; and National Land Planning.

We will start off with discussions within the party, but at the same time reach out to members of the society. One major focus will be constitutional reform. There have been many discussions in Taiwan on this topic, but an attempt to amend the constitution two years ago failed on the verge of success. Issues that had already garnered the support of public consensus, such as the civil rights of 18-year-olds, human rights clauses and malapportionment, were not resolved as anticipated.

Furthermore, we have learned after three times of the ruling political party transition, that the Taiwanese

people desire more than ever to have a government in which powers better match the responsibilities, with more succinct functional divisions and more efficiency on all levels of government.

The DPP will not shun these problems. Our party's predecessors fought hard for Taiwan's democracy, and now our generation's mission is to help Taiwan build a better, more robust democratic system.

I want to remind everyone how the results of the 2014 and 2016 elections have shown that Taiwanese voters can change their minds. In today's new Internet age, traditional political science theories on "iron votes" and political factions simply can't be presumed true anymore.

The DPP is a democratic party. I don't deny that there have been many disagreements within the party, but please remember that when we argue, it should be for the party's values and direction, and not for personal gain.

Today we brought our national congress to the Grand Hotel in Yuanshan, where our party was originally founded. This is my seventh time presiding over the congress as party chairperson. When I first took over the chairperson role in 2008, the party was mired in financial difficulty, morale was low, and it was unclear when things would improve. But as you may remember, I once said that I would help the DPP get back on its feet.


And I have succeeded. I've succeeded thanks to everyone's concerted efforts. We understood the importance of rallying during the DPP's rock-bottom period; now that we're in power, staying united is more important than ever.

The 2018 election is soon upon us. I want everyone to solemnly consider the kind of impression we want to give the Taiwanese people. Do we want to be seen as a political party plagued by internal conflicts, or one that is unified? Do we present ourselves to the Taiwanese as a political party that cares about the overall prosperity of Taiwan, or one that seeks only to advance individual interests?

The people of Taiwan owe the DPP nothing, and I ask all party members to remember this. We must stay united, act responsibly, and by no means create any unnecessary commotion. I will be strict with all of you, mark my words.

Only excellent governance, down from the local level up to the central administration, can earn the people's trust. All we can do is to unite together and demonstrate our competence, so that we can continue to inspire trust from the people.

The theme of this national congress is "Persist with the reforms and have faith in Taiwan." We need to stay optimistic about Taiwan's future, as we hold the island's future in our own hands. This message represents not only our expectations for ourselves, but also the future that the people are hoping for when they cast their votes for us.

Again, we do not want to be a political party that lives in the past. We must hold ourselves to the highest standards and be a party with the courage to take responsibility for Taiwan's future. We are the DPP, and we should always abide by the strictest standards. We must be a ruling party that upholds our principles and values. Let us work hard together and continue to fight for Taiwan. Thank you. 

# Chairperson Tsai's Speech at the 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> DPP National Congress

2018-07-15

---

Distinguished party representatives, today is the National Party Congress of our Democratic Progressive Party. This is the third time I stand here as president and party chairman to report to all party members and comrades.

Before delivering the report, I would like to welcome a few distinguished guests, especially our two former chairmen: Chairman Xu Qian, Chairman Yao Qian, as well as Vice President Lai, Premier Su, and Vice Premier Tsai. Thank you for coming.

Today, I will provide an overview of the reforms and achievements the government under my leadership has developed over the past two years. Before I proceed, however, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to everyone present, as well as members and supporters of the DPP in front of the TV and on the Internet.

Thank you for your encouragement and support over the

past two years. Governing is not an easy task, and reform is even more arduous. It is precisely because of your trust and support, where our reforms can be implemented and completed as scheduled. I am very grateful to you all here. Thank you all.

To begin, I want to return to my inaugural address from two years ago. In the address, I spoke at length to our youth. I emphasized the impetus to build a better nation for our younger generation under my tenure.

Although some youth may be disappointed with the speed and scope of the reforms enacted under the DPP, and I admit that after the DPP came to power, our ability to communicate with the younger generation gradually declined. Nonetheless, over the past two years, I have not forgotten our commitments towards them.

I sincerely hope that the younger generation can take the time to listen to the policies DPP has made for your future over the past two years.

In the past two years as President, I have come into contact with many young people. They seized various entrepreneurial opportunities across the country, invested in NGOs to engage in social reform work, taught in rural areas, and volunteered in different countries. When Taiwan was unreasonably suppressed, young international students also spoke out for their nation through creative means.

Moreover, I am moved by scores of outstanding young people who chose to join the military or police forces. With some trained in military and police academies, while others are educated in general schools. After graduation,

they remain on the front line vigorously defending their homes and protecting our society.

These young people are not only our pride, but also our future. Therefore, during the past two years, the DPP government has insisted on using the official avenues ensuring that young people can pursue their ideals without fear and hindrances. Only by doing so can Taiwan's democracy, progress, and prosperity continue from one generation to the next.

As a result, we have launched a large-scale social housing project aimed at giving fresh graduates a place to settle down as well as the long-term care 2.0 scheme giving young people some leeway in taking care of the elders.

We have also promoted tax reforms to reduce or even exempt the tax burden of low-and middle-income households. The group that benefits the most are the new graduates. Meanwhile, we also raised the minimum wages and incentivized companies to give raises; the government has also drawn up short, medium and long-term solutions respectively in addressing low wages.

In the past two years, we have also continued to improve working conditions. I understand that the scope of the amendments to the Labor Standards Act did not live up to many young people's expectations, and therefore, are a little disappointed with the government. However, the reforms are actually under full implementation. Two days off per week has been fully carried out. Currently, nearly 90% of enterprises are practicing two-day weekly holiday, while the previous government's performance is less than 70%.



New employees who have worked for six months are granted an annual 3-day paid leave. We have also increased the minimum wages for two consecutive years, and the amount of the increase is close to the total amount of the Kuomintang's 8-year governance.

We have also substantially revised regulations, including the largest revision of the Company Act in 17 years, providing young people with more space for innovation and entrepreneurship.

Based on the existing industries in Taiwan, we have combined innovative energy to push forward the 5+2 innovation industries plan, accelerate the transformation and expansion of the industries, and provide a large number of high-quality employment opportunities for young people.

Standing here, I would like to mention one person in particular. Her name is Yang Kai-ting. A few months ago, I went to AirAsia in Tainan to inspect the defense industry of the 5+2 plan. At that time, Kai-ting was pregnant, speaking on behalf of all AirAsia employees. Her speech was very powerful, confident and calm, just like all the young people in Taiwan.

A few days ago, I learned that her child was born. I want to congratulate her and tell her in particular that I have not forgotten her performance that day, nor have I forgotten the promise to Kai-ting's generation of young people. It is precisely on this basis that in the past two years, we have initiated one reform after another.

"Reform to support the next generation" is the theme of this National Congress and the main axis of our two-year

governance. Pushing for reforms for the next generation without hesitation has been the DPP's consistent attitude for 32 years. These reforms for the youth are no gimmicks, and they haven't raised much awareness on the Internet. However, since I entered politics, I have always believed that it is a responsibility to be entitled to power, and that governance is not a performance but a solution to one problem after another.

I know that everyone has been wondering in their hearts: We have worked so hard to regain power and strive to govern, but why does the path seem so rough and rugged in the past two years?

Dear DPP fellows, this is the price we pay for reforms, and in fact, we are familiar with this price. I want to remind everyone that where we host today's National Congress is the exact place where we founded the party. Thirty-two years ago, when we started to advance the reforms for Taiwan's democracy, the bumps have never stopped.

Since the founding of the party, the reforms we have advocated for engendered a democratic Taiwan. From the comprehensive re-elections of the National Assembly, direct elections of the president, referendums, and establishment of a democratic system, the DPP was burdened with ruthless doubts, slanders, and verbal abuses. However, history has proved that our persistence benefited the coming generations of Taiwanese. Even those who opposed us back then enjoyed the fruits of the reforms.

Why do we choose this path? Since the founding of the

party, we have sincerely believed that the "Democratic Progressive Party" is equivalent to reform. The lifetime goal of many predecessors is to change Taiwan's destiny due to the existence of the DPP.

In order to better Taiwan, and for future generations to truly benefit from reforms, our generation must work hard, regardless of cost, and without regard to our own benefit.

I would like to ask everyone to take a moment and inspect the party insignia.

The party flag illustrates a cross of reform. The DPP always carries the burden and takes reform as its duty. You may say that this is our destiny, but moreover, you may say that this is in our flesh and blood.

Under pressure and the circumstances of not being favored or forgiven, we insisted on our ideals and convinced the Taiwanese people again and again. At every crossroad, we were able to find the right way for the nation.

This time being in power, the reforms we have materialized are more comprehensive. We have made fundamental changes in Taiwan's structure and system.

The reform scale this time is larger compared to the previous ones, as a consequence, there will be more battlefields, and we will face even greater pressure. As the president and party chairman, I would like to ask everyone to believe in what we have done, in the path we have chosen, and on the other hand, not be knocked down by rumors, not follow others' ideas, and not doubt ourselves.

Because of reforms, there will be setbacks, counterattacks, and confrontations. This is the way it used to be, and it is still the case now. Everyone must believe that we are changing Taiwan. With the current frustrations and costs, one day, our children and grandchildren will surely reap the fruits of our reforms.

Taiwan has once encountered a crossroads, and what we have to do now is to carry the cross for Taiwan again. On the road of reform, we lead Taiwan to march forward bravely. This is the common mission of all of us, and no one can escape from this responsibility.

When reforms are being carried out, counter-reform forces will inevitably assemble and strike back. However, pushing reforms, we should never be afraid of offending people, nor should we fall off the wagon. In the future, Taiwan will continue to encounter many challenges, and it is necessary to conduct more reforms.

Does our beloved Taiwan need a conservative party that pulls Taiwan back from reforms and seeks to retrace the steps, or a party that puts stigma aside and is willing to carry the cross of reform and lead the country to a brighter future? I believe that the Taiwanese people will make the correct judgment.

Since the DPP is not afraid of promoting reforms, our opponent said that they must teach the DPP a lesson. I am here to ask them confidently: Who embraced nuclear power and missed the important opportunity for green energy development, putting the energy transition under even more stringent time pressure? Green energy is a global trend and a path that Taiwan must take.

When in power, who let the comprador groups dominate cross-strait relations and forgot the dignity of the Taiwanese? Who only focused on the Chinese market and neglected that there were more opportunities in ASEAN, in South Asia, and in other places worldwide?

In the past sixty years, who has clung to the unjust party property? There have never been self-reflections, nor have there been fair and just explanations to the countless political victims.

Who was so afraid of reforms, making the financial status of the national pension decay year by year, and push it to the edge of bankruptcy eventually?

Who let a large amount of money flow in without managing it, leading to soaring real estate prices and making it impossible for young people to afford housing?

Who left behind the five shortages after being in power for a long time; who was sitting idly by the rigorous laws and regulations, suppressing the vitality of enterprises, and thus, making Taiwan's economy unable to restructure and entering a dead end in a boring economy?

Not only did the people who created the problems not reflect on it, but they are now talking about giving a lesson to those embracing reforms. I want to ask them to think about it:

Who started off the new layout of The New Southbound Policy? Who built the social housing for the youth? Who executed the long-term care 2.0 for the aging society? It's the DPP, isn't it?

Who has completed the pension reform under tremendous pressure? Who initiated transitional justice?

Who developed renewable energy comprehensively? Who faced the serious five shortages and solved the problems in an all-round way? Who loosened the regulations, enhanced the vigor of enterprises, and allowed Taiwan's transformation and innovation to take a step forward? It's the DPP, isn't it?

Who launched the judicial reform and submitted the important bills to the Legislative Yuan, such as citizen engagement in trials, the unification of the interpretation of laws, the evaluation and elimination enhancement of judicial personnel, and so on? It's also the DPP, isn't it?

Ladies and gentlemen, in the past two years, the DPP has achieved the propositions we put forward when we were the opposition. We made it. Nobody feels the warmth and bitterness in the process more deeply than we do.

Our reform is leading to the right direction. All the pains are for the long-term future of the country and the interests of the people as a whole. Please keep your faith and go along with us.

Reform must continue. In the next stage, we have to consolidate two important things. First, we must uphold the value of reform. We have to stick to the right things. In addition, since we haven't reached thorough social consensus at this stage, some reforms have not been pursued. We must try to persuade this society and more people to support us, so that our ideas can be gradually implemented, and make Taiwan a more advanced country.

Second, we must protect Taiwan's values. Over the past two years, under China's pressure, we have not made any concessions. Going forward, we must maintain our resolve,

and not give in to oppression. We must continue to strive for greater international support without drama, without conceit, and without aggression, and maintain a firm, calm, and responsible attitude towards external challenges without servility or arrogance.

Dear DPP fellows, in the international society, Taiwan is an important actor. When the whole world is thinking about how to respond to the rise of China, Taiwan's experience in interacting with China is definitely an important reference for other countries. The whole world is paying attention to whether Taiwan can maintain its sovereignty and the value of democracy and freedom under the tremendous pressure of China.

We shall no longer sell ourselves short, let alone underestimate our own strength. The responsibility for regional peace and security rests squarely on the shoulders of us. Therefore, I want to emphasize once again that we will never give in, nor will we make rash advances. Our responsibility is to safeguard our sovereignty and maintain peace and stability across the strait and the region on the premise of equal dignity. This challenge requires the collective wisdom of the DPP members.

Dear fellows, the nine-in-one election will take place in several months. The significance of this election is more than just a local election, but a great face off between reform and counter-reform and a showdown between progress and regression.

Can we continue the reforms and make progress? Can Taiwan's values be guarded? Whether our propositions

can be implemented step by step to the grassroots and all corners depends on whether we can go all out. In this election, we shall defend the front line of reform and progress.

If we allow the conservative forces to restore, the national pension reforms that have finally been completed will retrace their steps. If the counter-reform forces are successfully assembled, the economy that has finally been rejuvenated will fall back into a lifeless situation. The work of transitional justice will be reversed. The vigorous development of green power and green energy will return to the dangerous and expensive nuclear power.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have only one choice: for the sake of the next generation, the party must thoroughly unite and spare no effort to continue reforms. From now on, it is your responsibility to oppose the return of those who are against reform. Whether we can remake Taiwan depends on the determination and perseverance of the DPP. Do you have sufficient determination to achieve this? Is everyone determined?

The individuals next to me are the county magistrate and mayor candidates nominated or drafted by the DPP. They are our 2018 DPP reform team. I ask everyone to join me in an all-out effort to gear up and win the election; let reform continue. Let us pass to the next generation the benefits of genuine reforms.

For Taiwan, for the next generation, we have to take on the burden. We are the DPP, regardless how onerous the path is, we must live with it. The awakening of our generation will bring happiness to the next generation.



All efforts are leading to handing over a better Taiwan to the next generation. Please show your confidence and determination to reform, reform, and reform again. Cheer for the DPP, cheer for Taiwan. Thank you everyone. Thank you.

# Chairperson Tsai's Speech at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> DPP National Congress

2019-09-28

---

Dear Chairman Cho, President Su of the Legislative Yuan, Premier Su of the Executive Yuan, 18 members of the party founding team, 70 outstanding legislative candidates standing behind me, and all the distinguished guests, welcome.

Four years ago, we held the National Congress in Taoyuan. Back then, as the presidential candidate, I told everyone that if the people let us govern, we will fulfill the governing mandate. It is time for us to reflect on ourselves today.

Like all other political parties in the world, governing is the beginning of challenges since it not only upsets some people, but it might also be generally unsatisfactory. However, the DPP is a resilient party. Even through setbacks and struggles, we pick ourselves up and move forward.

In 2008, everyone predicted that we would not be in power for the next 20 years. Likewise, at the end of 2018,

everyone predicted that the DPP would not be re-elected. We all managed to pull through.

However, I want to remind everyone that the resilience of the DPP not only originates from our capability to adapt, but also because the Taiwanese people are willing to give a helping hand when we encounter difficulties.

Over the past period of time, I would like to thank Chairman Cho Jungtai's leadership in reforming and rejuvenating party affairs, Premier Su Tsengchang of the Executive Yuan for his sensible governance, and I appreciate Caucus Whip Ker Chien-ming breaking deadlock during discussions. Thank you Premier Su for leading the Legislative Yuan and making efforts in passing bills. We much appreciate the heads of counties and cities for making us more confident in governing.

I also want to express my gratitude to former Chairmen You Sikun, Yao Jiawen, Hsu Hsinliang, President Su Jiachyuan, Secretary-General Chen Chu, and the members of the administrative team. This team will work hand in hand and strive to win the 2020 election with all their strength!

Today, the former Premier Lai Chingde is not at the scene. During the past few years, he worked hard on the ruling team and displayed commitment towards democratic ideals after the primary election. He has always been an indispensable member of this team. I believe that Lai will never be absent in the election team and will definitely fight alongside us. We will face the future daunting challenges with the united Democratic Progressive Party.

"Win-win for all generations" is the theme of this National Congress. The individuals behind me are 70

outstanding legislator nominees, including veterans that have fought in countless battles, experienced mid-aged warriors, and passionate political rookies.

Politics should not be monopolized by any generation. The DPP put it into practice and set an example by allowing fighters from different generations to enter the Congress and bring genuine changes to Taiwan together.

"2020, Taiwan will win." It is not just the president who is striving for triumph, but also the Congress who wants to win. We have to stand with the society and pursue victory for all generations, so shall we send them to the Congress and let them fight with Tsai Ingwen for another four years?

The previous three years in power have been a success. The long accumulated drawbacks have been improved, and the results of governance have been appreciated. Pension reform, economic structure, social and national security have all begun to make achievements.

Nowadays, foreign investors are optimistic and Taiwanese firms are returning back home. The investment this year has boomed. At this moment, facing the China-US trade war and the rapid changes in global trade and economy, the economic growth rate of the second quarter will rank us the top among the Four Asian Tigers.

However, I know that these are not enough, and we can do more and better. The defeat in the nine-in-one election last year made me deeply reflect that in the process of economic transformation and social changes, there may be groups of people who are affected by the shock before even enjoying the results of the reforms.

I want to thank all those who reminded the DPP that the government should exist for the people, and those who criticized and spurred the DPP. Over the past three years

or so, we have also continued to put this into concrete policies.

Today, I want to make a few remarks to young people who are working. I know that everyone is carrying heavier burdens and being paid less at work. As a result, in the past three years, we have tried every means to raise the minimum wage. People earning less than NT\$30,000 per month will be exempt from taxes, giving everyone some leeway for living.

I want to say a few words to those having disabled elders to take care of, especially women. I acknowledge that in order to take care of the elderly, quality of life is often sacrificed. The purpose of launching Long-term Care 2.0 is to alleviate your stress.

I want to engage in a short conversation with our farmers who live at the mercy of the weather. We understand your hardship. This is precisely why we helped everyone purchase agricultural machinery to improve efficiency, enlarged the scope of occupational accident insurance protection, and expanded agricultural insurance categories.

Furthermore, we have not forgotten the vendors in the night markets and the small businesses in shopping districts. I am aware that the business environment is changing, and running a business has its ups and downs. Which is why we introduced travel subsidies and "night market vouchers" to stimulate consumption and help you stay vigorous. We will continue to help everyone transform, become more diverse, and supply them with more convenient business methods, such as electronic payment or mobile payment.

I also want to address the taxi drivers, car repairers,,

and the tourist industry who are affected by the pandemic. I fully understand the situation. We will continue to propose subsidies and transformation assistance programs to reduce the impact on you. We may not have done enough, but we have the sincerity and determination to solve the problem, and we will continue to pull out all the stops.

There are still many people that I can't mention them all today. I am cognizant of your hardships, and I ask everyone to believe that the government exists for you.

For the past three years or so, during my daily itinerary, I have often heard people from the crowd telling me, "Go, President!" I deeply feel your cherishment.. Thank you for understanding the government's efforts and intentions. I will definitely cheer up.

Facing the upcoming election, I know some people are optimistic. Being confident is a good thing, but let me remind you seriously that the political situation is changing and you must never take it lightly.

In the 2020 battle, our opponents are not only on shore, but also on the other side of the strait. There will only be more united-front attacks, military intimidations and political interventions from the People's Republic of China. It is the PRC who is least willing to see Tsai Ing-wen be re-elected and Democratic Progressive Party hold more than half of the parliamentary seats. They hope that Taiwan will elect a regime that bows its head to Beijing under all circumstances, and does not dare to purchase fighters or support democracy in Hong Kong.

Earlier this year In January, Beijing's attitude was very clear. In Beijing's so-called "1992 Consensus," it almost deprived the Republic of China of surviving. By giving in to Beijing's pressure and agreeing with their consensus, the

Republic of China will disappear, and so will Taiwan.

Ladies and gentlemen, the international situation is changing rapidly. We cannot stick to the old ways of thinking. The DPP members must have a new mission in the next stage, which is to break through the cross-strait framework with global thinking. Taiwan should not only be limited to the cross-strait structure, but become the world's Taiwan. The vision of the Taiwanese must not be confined to the Taiwan Straits, but look towards the vast Pacific Ocean.

To strengthen Taiwan and connect with the world, this is the responsibility of DPP at this historical juncture.

In 2020, no matter you are the pro-Taiwan camp or pro-Republic of China camp; the old, mid-aged, or the young generation, facing challenges at this moment, we should work arm in arm to overcome difficulties.

“2020, Taiwan will win.” This is the battle not only to defend the way we live but to fight for value. Only when we conquer the election can we decide our own future and continue the promise we made. The president must win, and the Congress must win. The society must team up with us and strive for triumph among all generations. Let us fight side by side.

Thank you all.

# Chairperson Tsai's Speech at the 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> DPP National Congress

2020-07-19

---

Hello, and good afternoon to everyone.

Once again, I address you as the party Chairperson. I am not standing here to receive your ovation since the presidential election has rounded off.

Our theme for today's congress is "Unite Taiwan, Move Forward To The World."

During the COVID-19 pandemic, we see the unity of the society and the kindness of the community.

Since the epidemic prevention, we have overcome various difficulties. And the most important issue now is to strengthen the economy.

This is the first weekend since the issuing of stimulus vouchers. We can see crowds everywhere and wherever there are crowds, there are business opportunities. It seems that we have a good beginning of the "stimulation."

Great appreciation to the executive team led by Premier Su, and the Legislative Yuan Caucus led by caucus whip



Ke. Because of their effort and cooperation, Taiwan can overcome challenges one after another.

However, I also want to remind everyone that even though we have good performance on epidemic prevention, this still doesn't mean that all the citizens are completely satisfied with the administration. We all know that our polls fluctuate a lot. If we get lost in the high approval ratings or dwell on our political achievements, we could potentially lose the support of the people at any time.

Just like what I've mentioned in the beginning, we are not here to celebrate. We need to face the challenges of embodying our values. Our words and deeds will affect people's impression of the DPP. Therefore, I want to share the two fundamental values again to keep them in your minds.

First of all, I want to remind you all of our motto "Honesty, Diligence, and Love for our Native Land." This is the unchanged promise of the DPP. Because of this value, we acquired the people's mandate and rule.

There are people defaming us proclaiming that "absolute power corrupts absolutely." Therefore, we need to constantly remind ourselves every moment and prove with our actions.

Various industries have their professional ethics to supervise their practitioners to work with discipline stricter than law, and political workers must follow it too. Therefore, I want to ask the members of the Anti-Corruption Committee to assist our party to draw up new regulations based on the professional ethics of politics

which are closer to the expectation of the citizens.

Moreover, I want to remind everyone that there must be compromise on the way of reform due to the complex situation and circumstances. However, the ruling party needs to be the one to advocate concepts and lead people to the way of progress.

The value of a democratic party is not only to stand with people, but also lead them. And over the past thirty years, the DPP has always walked in front of Taiwan's society to advocate values and bring our country forward.

Non-Nuclear Homes, Transitional Justice, Welfare State, Diversified Values and Civilian Control of the Military, these issues seem to be impossible in the past, but since we have been advocating when being the opposing party, those could finally be realized under our governance.

Now, we can not be complacent with the status quo. We need to consider Taiwan's development in the next twenty years or even thirty years. Therefore, I request the Think Tank and DPP Policy Department to gather all the resources to draw up new vision and regulations for Taiwan's development.

Of course, facing the challenges in this stage, the DPP has four missions.

First, the DPP must insist on reforms and stand by its words.

Although reforms set us back, we persisted. We insisted on our belief and adjusted our temples, and the results will finally be seen.

One of the most important reforms now is the constitutional reform. How do we govern the state

more efficiently? How do we implement democracy in daily affairs? This is the priority of the reform of constitutionalism.

Not only does the government and the public have consensus on the civil rights above the 18-year-old, the opposition party also agrees with the abolishment of Control Yuan and Examination Yuan. Moreover, we need to propose the outline of amendment of the constitution as soon as possible to let the committee discuss more.

I also want to earnestly request the opposition party to cherish this moment of constitutionalism. Having a different opinion of politics is the norm of democracy, but this shouldn't become the reason to stop the reforms. In contrast, just because of the different opinions, consensus becomes ever more precious.

Second, we need to cultivate youngsters for our country's future.

The DPP had recruited many brilliant youngsters during the last presidential election. Their participation brought to our team, our work and candidates new thoughts and a vibrant atmosphere. During the past two months, we also encouraged young people to join our party and once we even increased two thousand members in two weeks.

However, we understand clearly that governance needs more skills. Besides election and political staff, we also need to cultivate more professionals with diverse, practical abilities that are willing to fight in different fields.

We not only have to ask for their opinion, but also need to let them participate in decision-making processes to forge them as the future of Taiwan.

Third, the DPP must strengthen democracy in Taiwanese society and work to retain our values in a transnational, global situation.

During this pandemic, we showed the world that our democratic system has matured with outstanding performance and that we can resolve crises effectively. “Democracy” is the best symbol and the key for Taiwan while moving towards the world.

Nevertheless, external challenges our democracy is facing remain difficult in the future. Take our neighbor, Hong Kong, as an example, their freedom and human rights are seriously undermined.

That said, I want to stress again that freedom, democracy and human rights are the most crucial values of Taiwan. Since the DPP is the ruling party, we have the responsibility to protect these values and never give up to authoritarianism and intimidation.

“Democratic and Progress” is never just the motto of our party, it is also the values that we are defending. As a party that was suppressed by authoritarianism and a party that has participated in the process of democratization, we believe our experiences could contribute to the global society and support our friends in Hong Kong who are striving for democracy.

Last but not least, our final mission, also the reason why we are here, is to win the by-election and reclaim the glory of Kaohsiung.

The person standing beside me is our candidate for the mayor of Kaohsiung city, Chen Chi-Mai. Two years ago, he lost the election. However, he withstood all the humiliation

and shouldered up the responsibility of being a vice-premier of the Executive Yuan.

During this year, he fought the battle alongside us from the African Swine Fever to COVID-19, from epidemic prevention, strengthening the economy to the transformation of our industries. With Chen Chi-Mai and the team lead by premier Su, we have overcome all kinds of difficulties. For Kaohsiung city, various construction plans and industrial blueprints are planned by Chi-Mai.

The chance of working in the central government has made Chi-Mai more experienced and broadened his view, boosting him significantly. Just like what he said before “no athlete could always win the first place, even the best ones; what is more important is to get up right after you fall.”

Now, Chi-Mai has another opportunity to participate in the election and fight for the support of Kaohsiung citizens. He has our full support in this coming election. With the goal of utilizing the last two years as if it is four years, we will reclaim the glory of Kaohsiung and rebuild the currently insufficient governance.

I also want to call for all of our supporters since the election is less than thirty days. We all need to do our best to regain Kaohsiung’s glory with Chi-Mai.

The DPP is the ruling party of Taiwan. We not only need to demand a higher standard of professional ethics for ourselves, but also need to bring progress to society. We need to let the people believe that we are a party capable of taking on reforms, a party that is willing to cultivate a new generation, a party that can protect the value of democracy and lead Taiwan to the world.

The mission for us is to shoulder up the responsibility of governance, insist on ideality and move forward stably. “Unite Taiwan, Move Forward To The World,” we will lead our country to keep progressing and make Taiwan better and better. Thank you.

# Chairperson Tsai's Speech at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> DPP National Congress

2021-11-14

---

Former Chairman Hsu Hsin-liang, Vice President Lai, Premier Su, Secretary-General Lin Xi-yao, Mayors, fellow party representatives, allied-party members, and guests, good afternoon.

A few days ago, Lee Ying-yuan passed away. Taiwan lost a brilliant, talented individual, and we lost a good comrade who was also a good friend of mine.

He was a central figure in the success of the "Hand in Hand to Protect Taiwan" movement in 2004. As we could all still remember, this movement was considered an "impossible task" at the beginning, but it was precisely because of Ying-yuan's relentless pursuit and perseverance making the movement possible.

Ying-yuan lived a splendid life. He was once a member of the infamous overseas blacklist. For the beloved nation, he put aside a life of comfort and complacency, and was subsequently imprisoned upon his return. He forged a way

for freedom and democracy on this land.

Many of the fellows here may be more familiar with this story than I am. However, I am telling this story because I want to let everyone know that people of all ages have their own missions for each era.

The development of Taiwan's democracy is precisely because of the sacrifices of freedom-fighters such as Lee Ying-yuan, who gave up their youth, blood, and sweat to chase this dream, so that we can democratize into the nation that we are all so proud of today.

The DPP turned 35 years old this year. Based on what we have been through, this is supposed to be the age full of enthusiasm and experience to take on major tasks.

At this moment, the Taiwanese people have once again bestowed us the mandate to govern. Therefore, we must remind ourselves from time to time to go all out and accomplish the mission that the Taiwanese people have entrusted to us.

While the global economy is affected by the pandemic, Taiwan's export is still hitting a record high. The economic growth rate in 2021 is expected to reach 6.01%. Domestic revitalization and recovery are also being promoted.

As authoritarianism continues to threaten global freedom and democracy, Taiwan, standing at the forefront of democracy, has garnered more support. With the strengthening of Taiwan-U.S. relations, the close relations between Taiwan and Japan, and the improvement of Taiwan-Europe relations, going global is no longer wishful thinking, but an ongoing progress.

Seeing our beloved homeland facing constant



intimidation, we have enacted national defense reforms and enlarged our national defense budgets. Our indigenous-made fighter jets and submarine program has achieved record-breaking results. Our soldiers are also supported by the Taiwanese people, too.

We have not forgotten the value of fairness and justice. We raised the minimum wage, reduced taxes, promoted long-term care 2.0, and implemented "zero to six, country raises with you." Social housing is under construction, the number of social workers is increasing, and the social safety net has been strengthened.

We have proved with our actions that a free society will also take the value of equality into account. With the DPP in power, Taiwan is indeed making progress.

Nevertheless, the path to advancement is always paved with adversities. There will be many challenges. We must overcome the difficulties and try to persuade more people to team up with us.

The referendum is around the corner. Our proposition is very clear: "Four no votes, make Taiwan more powerful."

Standing here, I would like to explain to you again.

First, we oppose the resumption of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant which has been under construction for more than two decades, costing over 300 billion NTD and has never generated any electricity. The Fourth Nuclear Power Plant is like a self-assembled vehicle, so its safety cannot be guaranteed, and there is difficulty in managing nuclear waste. Moreover, Taiwan is a densely populated country, so we cannot withstand the harm of any nuclear disaster.

Counties and cities around the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant, include Taipei, New Taipei, Keelung and Taoyuan. Notwithstanding which administration was in government, the consensus was and still is to discard the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant.

Second, oppose halting the construction of the third LNG terminal which is related to the power supply in southern Taiwan. Moreover, it can serve as the resolution of the power shortage and the electrical grid security of power transmission from southern and central Taiwan to the north. It can also alleviate the air pollution problem that has long plagued the central and southern regions.

As for the conservation of algal reefs that everyone cares about, we have tried our best not only on downsizing, but also on agreeing to push it further out and set up a conservation fund. Once the construction of the third LNG terminal is suspended, unstable power supply will impact the economy, and continuous coal burning will worsen air pollution. When facing both the economy and environment protection, we do not accept to fall between two stools.

Third, we oppose reimposing a ban on US pork imports. When there were no international standards and scientific evidence, the DPP did express doubts about the usage of Ractopamine on US beef and pork. However, after CODEX released the maximum residue level, we decided to accept it.

It has been nine years since the Ma administration allowed imports of US beef. In the past nine years, no health problems have been reported, and US beef imports

have tripled.

Since the opening up of US pork imports on the first day of 2021, Taiwan's domestic pork farming industry has not been affected. Domestic pork prices have remained stable, and Taiwan's pork has laid the ghost of aphthous fever and is preparing to be exported to more countries.

International trade relies on bilateral interactions. If we are willing to sell Taiwan's goods to the world, other countries would also expect Taiwan to import their goods that meet international standards.

By lifting the restrictions on US pork, we can show the world that Taiwan is determined to solve the difficult trade tasks and actively participate in high-standard regional free-trade agreements. At this moment, if the policy regresses, how will the international community view Taiwan? Will they believe that the Taiwanese people have the determination to go global?

Last but not least, we oppose holding referendums and major elections concurrently.

In the election three years ago, voters had to stand in queue for several hours, and the vote count lasted until midnight. In addition, the situation of voting while counting votes had seriously affected the quality of democracy.

Therefore, we decided to separate the referendums from the major elections and come up with a thorough scheme so that everyone can make decisions more rationally and thoughtfully, and thus, reinforce Taiwan's democracy. At this moment, some people are planning to go backtrack and deprive the people of the right to discuss

rationally for the benefit of the political party. As a result, we do not accept this.

Ladies and gentlemen, we must use the electoral verdict of the referendum to tell the world that Taiwan is a trustworthy partner.

We are willing to play a role in addressing global warming, as well as identify with the value of free trade and spare no effort in the deepening of democracy.

By holding on to this referendum and the path of Taiwan's future development can we firmly embrace the virtue of "Four no votes, make Taiwan more powerful."

Ladies and gentlemen, facing the challenge of the referendum head on is our only choice. We must take proactive actions to defend our own values, the philosophy of governance, and the route of national development.

The DPP is not afraid of the referendum, let alone the opponents mention the referendum. The purpose of the referendum is to ensure the citizens' rights. Even if the party that initiated these referendums was motivated by a vicious fight, the referendum is still the right of the people.

The last thing that we should do now is to complain. What we have to do is to clarify our values and ideas and believe that the people will make rational decisions.

In the process of referendum discussions, we may find that some concepts sticking to a single principle may not be comprehensive enough to take other aspects of national development into account. However, a society filled with different opinions is a manifestation of diversity.

We are the ruling party, so we have the greatest responsibility to fully communicate with others and

sincerely persuade them that a referendum is not a party duel but a vital part of the country's future. As a result, we must think carefully and discuss thoroughly.

It is necessary to get more partners to stand with us, so that Taiwan can have a more powerful front line. This is the so-called "head-to-head battle."

Besides the referendum, there are countless challenges waiting for us including the legislative by-election and the local elections respectively at the beginning and the end of next year.

We must view these elections as mid-term exams. Whether the policies can be implemented and democracy can be consolidated depends on whether we can put out all the stops.

For the legislative by-election for Taichung's second electoral district, I just passed the flag to our most competitive candidate, Dr. Lin Ching-yi. Let us cheer for the bravest and most professional Ching-yi.

Ching-yi isn't fighting this battle alone. Our alliance in the audience, including Chairman Chen Yi-chi and Chen Po-wei of the Taiwan Statebuilding Party and independent Freddy Lim, will also work hand in hand to protect Taiwan's democracy. Shall we all fight together?

As I mentioned just now, people of all ages are assigned with missions<sup>4</sup> for their era. We should reflect on what mission the DPP fellows have been entrusted with?

"Steady governance, powerful Taiwan." The theme of today's National Congress is precisely the task given us by the era. The DPP was born and raised by the beloved Taiwan. We remember the trust of the Taiwanese people in

our hearts and humbly accept the spur and criticism.

The Taiwanese people do not owe the DPP, so we must use our best performance to prove that we are worthy of the trust of the Taiwanese people.

Recently, the referendum briefings have been fully launched. All the DPP members were also in full sprint for the legislative by-election that Ching-yi is running for.

There are enormous challenges, but we have not forgotten that apart from the current difficulties, as the ruling party, we must also establish the country's future system and steer its orientation.

Our party's version of the constitutional amendments has already been proposed. Lowering the voting age to 18, disbanding the Examination and Control Yuans, reducing the period of presidential transferring, and lowering the threshold for constitutional amendments are all goals that we must strive for in deepening Taiwan's democracy. I would like to thank the three co-convenors in particular, including former chairman Yao Chia-wen, Caucus Whip Ker Chien-ming, and mayor Cheng Wen-tsan, for leading the constitutional group.

The transformation of the economic structure must be sustained; the direction of the energy transformation must be adhered to; the social safety net must cover more people; education must be more lively and diverse; differences must be respected and included. This is the ideal Taiwan value.

This is not a challenge that the DPP itself has to face alone. Right here, there are friends from the party and

fellows from all walks of life. We are fighting head-to-head. We communicate, persuade, and build "Team Taiwan" even stronger, so that Taiwan gets better and better day by day.

During the discussion of the referendum and on the battlefield of the by-election for Taichung's second electoral district, I saw many people from different fields and backgrounds, especially young fellows, voluntarily use their own methods to join us, speaking up for the same values and fighting for the goals. Thank you for your willingness to strive for a better future for Taiwan.

This is an important step in sustaining Taiwan's democracy. There are 34 days left before the referendum on December 18, and 56 days before the by-election on January 9, 2022.

Just as "Hand in Hand to Protect Taiwan" was organized by Lee Ying-yuan, it built a visible line of defense from northern to southern Taiwan. We should build this defense line for Taiwan once again by winning the referendum and the by-election.

By facing the challenges head-to-head, communicating with others, and persuading more people to join our side can we make the country better, more stable, and more progressive.