

今天非常高興與各位一同回顧與前瞻7年來中華民國推動「活路外交」的政策。回想上次與大家談這個話題，是民國97年8月；我的心情與7年前完全不同，這一次我心裡充滿感慨、感激與感動。

民國97年之前，兩岸關係長期對立緊張，在國際間互挖邦交國；當時的政府推動「烽火外交」與外媒所說的「支票簿外交」，使臺灣被視為「麻煩製造者」，我國在國際社會的助力越來越少，不僅邦交國數減少、國際形象也日趨負面，兩岸關係與對外關係都陷入「惡性循環」。「活路外交」(viable diplomacy)就是在這種環境中激發出來的新外交政策。

「活路外交」就是以「務實、尊嚴、自主與靈活」為原則，以專業與正派的態度辦外交，並以「92共識」推動兩岸和解，爭取兩岸關係的改善與國際空間的擴大。我們以全新的思維，同時處理「兩岸」與「國際」這兩組關係，找出新的運作模式。這種新模式一方面對兩岸有利，另一方面也受到國際社會的歡迎，形成良性循環。「活路外交」另一個重要的改變就是揚棄「烽火外交」或「支票簿外交」；我們採取的是「正派外交」，強調「目的正當、過程合法、執行有效」。7年來，在國際社會我們從過去所謂的「麻煩製造者」，成功轉變為世人稱道的「和平締造者」，讓中華民國成為國際社會的資產，而不是負債。7年來，「活路外交」締造了不少具體成果。

前任政府執政8年期間，因為兩岸惡鬥，我國一共與9個邦交國斷交；如今，情況已經大幅改善。7年多來，我們與所有邦交國的關係都非常穩定，雖然有甘比亞一個國家片面宣布斷交的遺憾，但這是甘國總統個人的決定，不是「活路外交」造成的結果。我國與友邦的合作計畫，從民國97年的167件大幅增加至民國103年的480件，增加了兩倍；各國高層訪華團也絡繹不絕，我上任到現在已經接見的訪華團，美國是336團，日本是160團，歐洲也有155團。我上任到現在，一共出訪十次，走遍所有邦交國，有的還去了兩次，親眼見證了正派外交的成果：我國與邦交國的合作關係更為深遠廣闊，邦交國人民成為真正的受惠者，我國的援外工作，也獲得國際社會的肯定。許多友邦在「世界衛生大會」（WHA）、聯合國大會總辯論及「聯合國氣候變化綱要公約」（UNFCCC）的締約國大會高階會議等國際場合為我們仗義執言，顯示邦誼穩固友好。



民國98年起，我國以正式身分、官方代表（代表中華民國）等方式連續7年出席睽違38年的「世界衛生大會」。

Following an absence of 38 years, Taiwan re-entered the World Health Assembly in 2009 as an official observer. The nation's representative uses their official ministerial title at meetings of the organization.

民國101年加入美國「免簽證計畫」，是這項計畫中唯一的非邦交國。我國護照的好用，並在全球名列前20幾名。

Taiwan joined the US Visa Waiver Program in 2012 as the only participating country that does not have formal diplomatic relations with the United States. In online rankings of the most useful passports from countries around the world, the ROC passport now ranks in the 20s.



從民國98年起，我國連續7年出席睽違38年的「世界衛生大會」（WHA），這是我國自民國60年喪失聯合國代表權後，第一次以適當名稱(Chinese Taipei)、正式身分(Official observer)、官方代表(代表中華民國)、部長頭銜(Minister of Health)、平等待遇(所有會議皆可參加)、直接聯絡(不需經過第三方)等方式參加聯合國專門機構的會議，兼具實質與象徵意義。

我民航局長在民國102年也以「國際民航組織」（ICAO）理事會主席「特邀貴賓」身分，出席睽違42年在加拿大蒙特婁(舉辦)的ICAO大會。

此外，我國也在99年成功加入了「世界貿易組織」（WTO）架構下的《政府採購協定》（GPA），為我國廠商開啟了全球政府採購的龐大商機。

民國77年，全球給我國免簽、落地簽或簽證便利待遇的國家與地區都不到54個。民國89年是54個，到了民國97年還是54個；我上任到現在，已經擴大到142個(下(7)月1日起是142個)，增加了88個，占國人常去國家的98%以上。根據網路統計，我國護照的好用程度，在全球名列前20幾名，國人在國際上走路有風。

在我上任之前，我國政府在外交上有一些冒進的作法，對臺美關係造成衝擊，因此恢復雙方的高層互信，就成為我們對美關係的首要任務。

我們的原則很簡單：「誠信、低調、有原則、零意外」，經過7年多的密切溝通，當前臺美高層互信已達到30多年來最佳狀態。從民國100年以來，總統歐巴馬、國務卿柯琳頓(Hillary Clinton)女士、現任國務卿凱瑞(John Kerry)，曾先後針對兩國關係發表正面論述，稱我國是美國「重要的安全及經濟夥伴」（an important security and economic partner），而美國國務院亞太副助理卿董雲裳(Susan Thornton)最近更公開重申臺美間「全面、長久且互惠」的夥伴關係，這不只是論述，也是事實。

而臺美關係的改善也跟兩岸關係發展密切相關。今年以來，美國國務院亞太助理羅素（Daniel Russel）以及副助理卿董雲裳都強調，臺美關係更趨密切，實在與兩岸關係的穩定進展息息相關。

我要再次說明，「活路外交」的成功與兩岸關係的改善是相輔相成的。我從上任以來，始終堅持在中華民國憲法架構下，維持臺海「不統、不獨、不武」的

現狀，並在「九二共識、一中各表」的基礎上推動兩岸和平發展。對我們而言，「一中」當然是指「中華民國」，因此我們不會推動「兩個中國」、「一中一台」或「臺灣獨立」。

目前兩岸正處於隔海分治66年以來最為穩定與和平的狀態，實踐已經證明，這是一條非常正確而且應該持續下去的政策路線。

在這樣的良性循環之下，7年來美方已對我出售超過180億美元軍備，這是以前的政府做不到的；我們在民國101年加入美國「免簽證計畫」（VWP），是這項計畫中唯一的非邦交國；民國102年，臺美《貿易暨投資架構協定》（TIFA）恢復對話；我國表達參與「跨太平洋夥伴協定」（TPP）的意願，國務卿凱瑞也表示歡迎。

美國政府高級官員及國會議員來訪絡繹不絕，這幾年包括環保署長麥卡馨（Gina McCarthy）、國務院經濟暨商務事務局助理國務卿芮福金（Charles Rivkin），以及包括美國眾議院外交委員會主席羅艾斯(Ed Royce)在內的參眾議員，也連續3年率團訪問我國。

我們可以很確定地說，目前的臺美關係處於兩國斷交36年以來最好的階段。不久前，國務院董雲裳副助理也這麼說。

過去7年間，我們與日本關係，也全面改善。臺日雙方簽訂了25項協議，其包括《青年打工度假協議》、《臺日投資協議》、《臺日漁業協議》、海關、電子商務、專利及開放天空等。過去60年來，我們與日本簽了58項協議，其中就有43%是過去7年所簽署的，具體反映了這段時間臺日關係的緊密。

民國98年我們新設了駐札幌辦事處；民國99年，臺北松山與東京羽田航線開航；民國100年3月，日本東北大地震，我與內人也親自上電視節目打電話，參與紅十字會的募款活動，最後我國捐款總計200億日幣，世界第一，並超過其他93國總和。那一年，來臺參加建國一百年國慶的國會議員達67人，是歷史新高，前首相麻生太郎，在餐會致詞時還特別感謝內人與我電話募款。《臺日投資協議》與《開放天空協議》，也都是在民國100年簽署。這些都是「臺日特別夥伴關係」的具體展現；現階段的臺日關係，確實是兩國斷交後43年來最佳時期。

我在民國101年8月曾經提出「東海和平倡議」，強調「主權無法分割、資源可以共享」的理念，呼籲東海各方以和平的方式依照國際法來解決爭端。而這項主張也在我國與日本民國102年4月所簽署的「臺日漁業協議」當中具體落實，解決了40年的漁業糾紛，做到「主權沒退步，漁權大進步」。

延續「東海和平倡議」的成功經驗，我在上個月26日，正式提出「南海和平倡議」，希望緩和目前南海的緊張情勢，和平解決南海爭議。美國國務院在這項倡議發表之後，也立即表示美國的讚賞。這個月12日，我也以中華民國總統的身分，在美國《華爾街日報》（Wall Street Journal）發表關於「南海和平倡議」的



民國102年我與紐西蘭、新加坡分別簽署《臺紐經濟合作協定》及《臺星經濟夥伴協定》，係我突破過去困境的重要里程碑。

Taiwan signed an economic cooperation agreement with New Zealand and an economic partnership agreement with Singapore in 2013. These pacts represent major milestones in Taiwan's relationships with the two countries.

專文。這些努力，都是為了讓中華民國在國際上成功扮演「和平締造者」及「負責任的利害關係者」的建設性角色。希望全體外交同仁，特別是駐外館處，加強向國際社會闡述「南海和平倡議」的理念，希望大家把這項工作列為優先推動的目標。

歐洲地區共69個國家、地區及海外屬地給我國免簽證待遇，是7年來成長的主力。此外，過去7年，歐盟及歐洲議會發布及通過的友我聲明及決議案計25案。而我與英國於民國102年10月就「林克賴案」簽署的《臺英特別引渡備忘錄》，是我國與無邦交國簽署引渡文件的首例。過去7年來，我們也持續與東協國家洽簽雙邊協定，共新增17件，並召開雙邊部長級會議。

民國102年，我國與紐西蘭簽署《臺紐經濟合作協定》（ANZTEC），也與新加坡簽署《臺星經濟夥伴協定》（ASTEP），這兩項協定非常重要，是我國推動雙邊自由貿易協定的重要進展，因為這兩個國家不僅是已開發國家、亞太國家，還是無邦交國家，都是突破過去困境的重要里程碑，以上歐、亞地區的新發展，在我國外交史上，也都是空前的。

回顧過去7年，儘管面對許多困難與挑戰，我國「活路外交」的成果仍然十分豐碩，除以上所說的之外，還有許許多多的成就難以一一詳述。這幾年來，很多民眾肯定政府爭取更多國家給我們免簽或落地簽待遇，讓國人出國旅行更加便利；也有許多外國友人讚揚我國政府提出和平倡議、積極參與人道援助的作為。聽到這些話，知道政府的作為讓民眾有感，獲得民眾肯定，也讓臺灣在國際社會得到更多尊重與尊嚴，我感到非常欣慰。

我也期許大家堅持既定政策，用心維護難得的成果，讓「活路外交」能夠永續發展，繼續為我們開創新局，讓中華民國在國際上永遠受人尊敬，讓人感動。謝謝大家！

Retrospective on and Prospects for Viable Diplomacy



President Ma Ying-jeou's address to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Date: 2015/06/26

I am very pleased to be here today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to speak with you about the results of and prospects for the “viable diplomacy” policy that we have implemented for the last seven years. The last time I stood before you to share my thoughts on this subject was in August of 2008. I now feel differently than I did seven years ago. Today, I feel reflective, thankful, and quite moved.

Prior to 2008, our relationship with mainland China had long been one of tense confrontation in which we competed for diplomatic partners. The previous administration had promoted both “scorched-earth” diplomacy, and what foreign media called “checkbook diplomacy,” which caused us to be labeled a troublemaker. The result was diminishing international support, fewer diplomatic partners, an international image in tatters, and a vicious circle in our foreign relations and our relationship with mainland China. That was the kind of environment that inspired “viable diplomacy” as a new approach to foreign policy.

Viable diplomacy is based on the principles of pragmatism, dignity, autonomy, and flexibility. Professionalism and uprightness are to be the hallmarks of our diplomatic efforts, while we promote cross-strait reconciliation in line with the 1992 Consensus, seeking improvements in the cross-strait relationship, as well as greater international space for ourselves. This new approach has allowed us to find new *modus operandi* vis-à-vis both cross-strait and international ties. Such a positive turn has been beneficial to both sides, and won for us the affirmation of the international community. It has, in fact, created a virtuous circle between these two. Moreover, this has meant an eradication of scorched-earth diplomacy and checkbook diplomacy, which have been replaced with upright diplomacy, practiced in line with appropriate objectives, lawful procedures, and effective practices. We have successfully transformed our image from troublemaker to peacemaker. The Republic of China (Taiwan) is now seen by the global community as an asset, not a liability. We have, indeed, seen a number of achievements stem from viable diplomacy.

During the eight years of the previous administration, cross-strait competition led nine of our diplomatic partners to sever ties. Today, the situation is greatly improved. Over the past seven years, relations with our partners have been remarkably stable, marred by the regrettable but unilateral decision by a single country—The Gambia—to terminate ties with us. Yet this was a personal decision by the Gambian President, and thus cannot be attributed to viable diplomacy. The number of cooperative projects we have in place with our partners has almost tripled from 167 in 2008 to 480 last year. Over the course of my presidency, I have gone abroad 10 times, visiting in the process all of our diplomatic allies and seeing firsthand the fruits of upright diplomacy. Our cooperation with our diplomatic partners has both broadened and deepened, meaning that the people of these countries have been the beneficiaries of our programs. Our efforts have earned international commendation. Many of our diplomatic partners have spoken out for us at high-level international meetings such as the World Health Assembly (WHA), UN General Assembly, and UNFCCC conferences, showing that our bonds of friendship are indeed strong.

Since 2009, we have attended the WHA for seven years in a row, following an absence of 38 years. This is particularly meaningful as it is the first time since we lost UN representation in 1971 that we have participated in meetings of a specialized UN agency with an appropriate name, formal identity, official representatives, and ministerial titles. Moreover, we are accorded equitable treatment, and communicate directly with the WHA.

In 2013, we were invited as a special guest of the President of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to that body's Assembly, the first time we had attended in 42 years.

We also acceded to the Government Procurement Agreement being implemented under the World Trade Organization (WTO) framework in 2010, opening up the vast business opportunities found in servicing governments the world over for our enterprises, creating a favorable arena for them to do business.

In 1988, fewer than 54 countries and territories in the world offered visa waivers, landing visas, and other visa conveniences to ROC nationals. In 2000, there were exactly 54, but by 2008 there were still only 54. Since I took office, the figure has increased to 142, an addition of 88 countries, together accounting for 98 percent of the destinations often visited by our people. In online studies comparing the usefulness of passports from various countries, the ROC passport has been ranked in the 20s in recent years, so our citizens now travel with pride and dignity around the globe.

Before I assumed office, our government had made some rash diplomatic moves that damaged Taiwan-US ties. Therefore, restoring mutual trust at the highest levels became our top priority in our relations with the United States.

Our principle is very simple: take a sincere, low-key, principled, and surprise-free approach. After more than seven years of close communication, the level of mutual trust between Taiwan and the US is higher than it has ever been over the past three decades. Since 2011, US President Barack Obama, Secretary of State John Kerry and his predecessor, Hillary Clinton, have spoken positively



民國100年日本東北大地震，我國捐款總計達200億日幣，世界第一，圖為馬總統與夫人親上電視節目參與募款活動。

President Ma Ying-jeou and first lady Chou Mei-ching took part in a fundraising telethon for victims of the earthquake and tsunami that struck Japan on March 11, 2011. Donations from Taiwan totaled 20 billion yen, the largest amount of any country in the world.

about our bilateral relationship and declared Taiwan to be “an important security and economic partner.” Recently, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Susan Thornton publicly emphasized the “comprehensive, durable, and mutually beneficial partnership” between Taiwan and the US. These statements accurately reflect the facts of our relationship.

The improvement in Taiwan-US ties is closely related to developments across the Taiwan Strait. This year, Assistant Secretary of State Daniel Russel and his deputy, Susan Thornton, both reiterated that growing Taiwan-US ties are closely related to the stable development of cross-strait relations.

I want to again clarify that there is a significant link between the success of viable diplomacy and cross-strait reconciliation. Since I assumed office, I have been a staunch promoter of maintaining the cross-strait status quo of “no unification, no independence, and no use of force” under the framework of the ROC Constitution, as well as peaceful development across the Taiwan Strait under the 1992 Consensus of “one China, respective interpretations.” To us, “one China” means the Republic of China. We will not seek to promote “two Chinas,” “one China, one Taiwan,” or Taiwan independence.

Currently, the situation across the Taiwan Strait is at its most stable and peaceful since the two sides came under separate governance 66 years ago, demonstrating that our policy has been correct, and that we should continue on this path.

As a result of this virtuous circle, the US has sold US\$18 billion worth of arms to Taiwan in the past seven years, an achievement well beyond that of previous administrations. Taiwan joined the US Visa Waiver Program in 2012 as the only participating country that does not have formal diplomatic relations with the US. Dialogue was resumed under the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) in 2013 and has since been held regularly. Secretary of State Kerry has also welcomed our interest in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

US senior officials and members of Congress have continued to visit Taiwan. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Gina McCarthy and Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs Charles Rivkin have recently been to Taiwan. For three straight years, a number of delegations led by representatives and senators, including US House Committee on Foreign Affairs Chairman Ed Royce, have visited us.

We can state with confidence that Taiwan-US relations are at their best in the 36 years since diplomatic ties were severed in 1979. Deputy Assistant Secretary Thornton recently made a similar statement.

The past seven years have also seen comprehensive progress in our relations with Japan. For example, the two countries have signed 25 agreements, covering areas such as youth working holidays, investment, fisheries, customs, e-commerce, patents, and open skies. Taiwan reached a total of 58 agreements with Japan in the past 60 years. That 43 percent of these were signed in the past seven years is a concrete reflection of the close relationship that Taiwan and Japan have developed during this period of time.

We established a Sapporo representative office in 2009. Air services were launched between Taipei Songshan Airport and Tokyo Haneda Airport in 2010. After Japan was hit by a massive earthquake in March 2011, my wife and I personally took part in a telethon held by the Red Cross Society. Donations from Taiwan totaled 20 billion yen, the largest in the world and higher than the combined contributions from 93 other donor countries. That same year, 67 members of the Japanese Diet attended our nation's centennial celebrations in 2011, a record high for our National Day. While speaking at a reception, former Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso noted that my wife and I fielded phone calls at the telethon, and expressed his appreciation. Our investment pact and open skies agreement with Japan were also signed in 2011. These concrete demonstrations of the special partnership between Taiwan and Japan indicate that bilateral relations are at their best in the 43 years since diplomatic ties were severed.

I proposed the East China Sea Peace Initiative in August 2012, which states that while sovereignty cannot be divided, resources can be shared, and calls on all parties to use peaceful measures to resolve disputes. These ideals were realized in April 2013 when we signed the Taiwan-Japan fisheries agreement resolving a dispute of 40 years' standing, making great strides in terms of our fishing rights without ceding an inch on sovereignty. Given the success of the East China Sea Peace Initiative, I proposed, on May 26 of this year, the South China Sea Peace Initiative, with an eye to alleviating tension in the South China Sea. The US State Department praised this proposal soon after I announced it. And, on June 12, *The Wall Street Journal* published an article I penned as ROC President concerning the South China Sea. Our efforts have meant that the Republic of China is acting constructively as a peacemaker and a responsible stakeholder.

簽署《臺日漁業協議》後，我漁民可在雙方劃定的海域內安心作業。

Since the signing of the Taiwan-Japan fisheries agreement in April 2013, Taiwanese fishing vessels have been able to operate unimpeded in the area designated by the pact.



I trust that all of those in the foreign service, especially those stationed abroad, will work to better the world's understanding of the South China Sea Peace Initiative, and that you all will make this one of your top priorities.

Currently, 69 European countries, areas, and overseas territories grant ROC nationals visa-waiver privileges. Over the past seven years, Europe has constituted the main source of growth in the number of nations worldwide according us such treatment. In addition, the European Union and the European Parliament have announced or passed 25 statements or resolutions in support of Taiwan over the past seven years. Furthermore, the memorandum of understanding on extradition signed with the UK in October 2013 for the Zain Dean case marked the first instance in which Taiwan had concluded an extradition document with a country with which it does not enjoy diplomatic relations. Meanwhile, we have also continued to negotiate bilateral agreements with ASEAN countries over the past seven years. In total, we have signed 17 new pacts with these nations, and have held various ministerial-level meetings.

In 2013, we signed an economic cooperation agreement with New Zealand (ANZTEC) and an economic partnership agreement with Singapore (ASTEP). The signing of these agreements marked an important step forward in our efforts to promote bilateral free trade accords. The pacts also represented major milestones in our relationships with these two countries, which are not only developed nations located in the Asia-Pacific region, but also do not have official diplomatic relations with Taiwan. These new developments in our ties with European and Asian nations have no precedent in our country's foreign affairs.

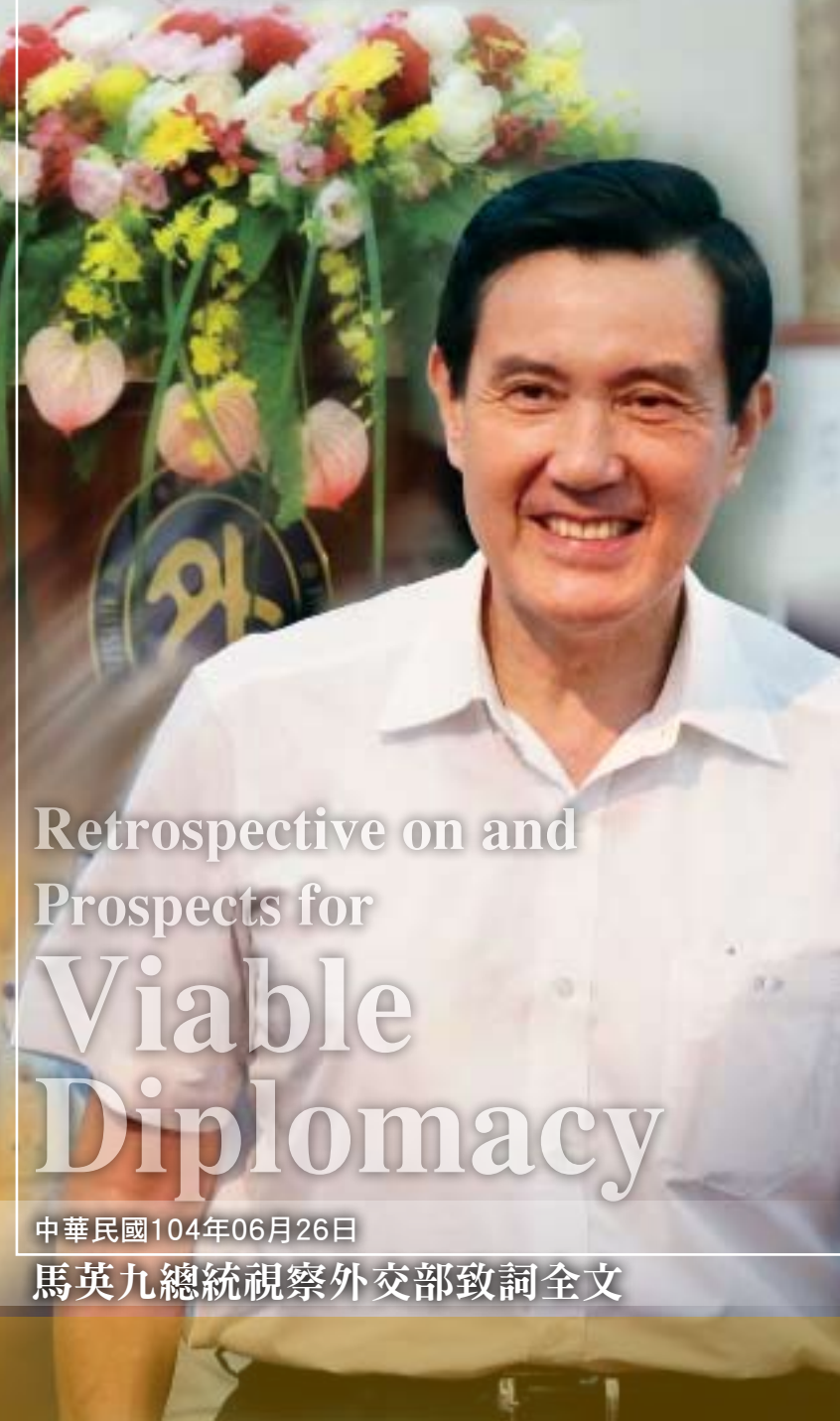
Looking back at the past seven years, the viable diplomacy policy has yielded significant results despite numerous difficulties and challenges. In addition to the accomplishments I have already mentioned, there are many more achievements that I am not able to discuss in detail here today. In recent years, many people have commended our government's success in obtaining visa-waiver or landing-visa privileges from even more countries, making overseas travel much more convenient. Meanwhile, many leading figures around the world have praised our government for proposing peace initiatives and actively participating in humanitarian assistance. I am very pleased to know that our government's endeavors have been welcomed and recognized by the people, and that our efforts have enhanced the respect and dignity accorded to Taiwan in the international arena.

I also hope that you will remain committed to current policy, diligently safeguard our hard-won achievements, tap the long-term potential of viable diplomacy, and raise our diplomatic efforts to new heights. May the Republic of China forever enjoy respect and dignity in the international arena, and inspire people around the world. Thank you!

出版發行：中華民國 外交部 / 照片提供：總統府 · 外交部 · 衛生福利部
版次：第1版 D4 / 中華民國104年7月 / 編號：MOFA-CH-EN-FO-104-016-I-1

Published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan)
Photos courtesy of Office of the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Health and Welfare
1st edition, D4 July 2015 / Catalog Card No.: MOFA-CH-EN-FO-104-016-I-1

活路外交 回顧與前瞻



Retrospective on and Prospects for Viable Diplomacy

中華民國104年06月26日
馬英九總統視察外交部致詞全文