

# 民進黨的國防議題

## DPP's Defense Agenda

新境界文教基金會 董事長  
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國防政策

# 藍皮書

在彙整執政經驗與學者專家見解，以鼓勵對國防議題的理性深入討論，並作為民主進步黨政見與政策的參考。

# 民進黨的國防議題

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## 價值與態度

國防是價值，儘管它經常被以價格來衡量。個人認為：政治人物如果不能理解國防的價值，就不免會以輕蔑的態度處理國防的議題。

經常有人認為：只要對外情勢好轉，臺灣就不需要花太多投資在國防上了。這個觀念只對了一半，國防當然是國家政策的工具，用來保衛國家、社會與人民免於外在的威脅；但另一半，而且經常被忽略的是，國防是國家、社會與人民的表徵。國防彰顯臺灣主權的存在、社會自我防衛的決心，並由我們的國民來共同承擔國防的責任。沒有國防，就不成國家；忽略主權，常以輕忽國防為始。作為臺灣的領導人必須清楚地認知到國防的價值，並引導社會與民眾

建立正確的國防意識。

國防是國家的防衛，國防與國家是相互建構的。翻開臺灣四百多年的歷史，確立以臺灣為主體的國防是最近的事。過去，無論是荷、日殖民政權、鄭氏政權、清治期間，對臺灣的防衛都不是為了臺灣這個主體，而是為遠在北京、東京、南京政權的利益服務；既非以臺灣利益為考量，也更常常不是由臺灣的住民來擔任防衛臺灣的任務。只有在臺灣民主化後，臺灣主體性與國家認同確立，防衛臺灣這才終於確實成為國防；也只有在軍隊國家化後，國民黨退出軍隊，這支由臺灣子弟所組成的軍隊才成為真正的國軍。

今天的臺灣是個民主的、自由的主權國家，她有活潑的、多元的社會，她的人民勤奮而努力、友善而和平。這是我們的國家、社會與人民，這是我與許許多多居住在這塊土地

**國家的存在、自由的社會與人民  
追求幸福的生活方式，是我國國  
防所反映並加以保障的臺灣核心  
國家利益**

地上的人們所珍愛的，如何確保這個國家存在下去，並維持自由的社會，讓人民得以追求幸福生活，這是臺灣的核

心利益。回顧臺灣的歷史，知道我們國家的主權存在、社會的自由與人民的幸福實在是得之不易，更須珍惜與保障，這是國防的價值。

和平是普世價值。根據《憲法》，我國的國防以和平為目的，維持區域安全與臺海穩定是臺灣任何政黨的使命。但民主進步黨認為除了和平，臺灣有其他同樣珍貴但更為難得的價值——如：臺灣的民主、自由與人權的保障與臺灣人民生活的方式——必須捍衛，只有在這些價值都獲得確保

下，和平才取得真正的意義。也只有在這個背景下，臺灣才有其地緣戰略上的重要性。

中國的崛起是事實，在全球化的浪潮中，臺灣必然需與中國有所接觸與交往。但與中國的接觸與交往，不應麻痺我們的國防意識，更不可以犧牲國防。面對中國，為了讓臺灣的核心國家利益獲得確保，國防必須更加重視。在過去，堅實的臺灣國防確保臺海兩岸人民各自和平發展的空間，對區域的穩定有所貢獻。在未來，臺灣應當承擔更多的區域安全的責任。

臺灣的國防是防禦性質，但我們必須嚴肅看待始終不願意放棄以武力侵犯臺灣的中國，更應謹慎因應中國正試圖將臺海「內海化」以改變現狀的諸多舉措。臺灣的國防是全民性質，應當反應並保障社會的價值，國軍除以因應外在威脅為首要任務外，也需要在社會進步、經濟發展與凝聚認同過程中扮演中堅的力量。臺灣的國防是亞太區域安全的資產，避免任何誤判的軍事挑釁，而臺灣也願意在國際共同關切的安全事務上擔負更多的責任。個人認為：正因為對國防價值的深化與廣化；對於國軍，才會有超越工具性外的態度。前者的價值，反映在以「新三信心」為基礎的國防願景；後者的態度，以「優質、民主的國防治理」為起點。

## 新三信心

《國軍教戰總則》揭示國軍的「三信心」為：「全體官兵，當以信仰長官、信任部屬，並自信其為負責任、守紀律之

軍人。」個人認為：因應時代的變遷、民眾對國防的期待與國軍的角色及任務，未來的國防應以「新三信心」為國防建設的三個軸心，以此發展出民主進步黨針對未來重返執政之國防政策準備的要點。民進黨對國防願景的「新三信心」為：建立一個「軍人有信心、民眾能信賴、友邦可信任」的國防實力、施政與貢獻。

**民進黨對國防的未來願景在建立一個軍人有信心、民眾能信賴、友邦可信任的國防「新三信心」**

第一個信心：國軍需要有更優秀的專業人才、更充足的預算、更好的裝備、得到更佳的訓練，以建立一個讓我們的軍人有信心能夠達成從保衛國家到災害防救等各項任務的國防實力。

第二個信心：國防體制應求權責相符、透明公開。國軍更應敞開大門，讓人民走進來，吸納民間意見與智慧，結合社會豐沛的人、物力轉化成國防現代化的動能；而軍隊也要走出去，以行動有效回應民眾期待與社會觀感，重塑軍人尊嚴與榮譽。國防的基礎在建立讓民眾能夠信賴的整體國防施政。

第三個信心：在過去半個多世紀，臺灣堅實的國防實力替臺海峽兩岸人民爭取到各自和平發展的空間；在未來，臺灣的國防仍將維持此一務實途徑。臺灣的國防反映臺灣民主自由的價值、追求區域的穩定與和平，並遵守相關的國際規範，我們要让友邦信任臺灣國防能為區域的安全穩定扮演正面的貢獻。

在國防「新三信心」的願景下，個人提出以下九項的具體

主張。這些議題序列是未來民進黨重返執政之國防政策準備要點，個人期許本黨同志嚴肅思考所列要點，並責成新境界文教基金會智庫同仁預先進行研析，藉相關之藍皮書的公開，來積極展開社會對話，並廣求產官學各界指教，以凝聚未來可行的政策。

（一）重塑軍人尊嚴與榮譽：軍人與軍眷應當有一定之待遇與照顧，但社會對軍人的尊敬並非基於軍人的薪俸恩給，而是在他們崇法專業的行動。國軍應建立堅實的戰力，但國軍的形象不在於船堅砲利，而是在於他們救民救災的熱誠。尊敬與熱誠產生信賴，必須透過紀律要求，以能在大眾的心目中提振軍人尊嚴與榮譽，軍隊才能獲得社會的信賴，為國防軍事建設厚植社會支持基礎。

（二）立即增加國防預算：近年來之國防預算嚴重不足，業已嚴重影響建軍期程與戰備任務，政府應立即增加國防預算。而未來民進黨執政後，將以國防預算佔 GDP 3% 為目標，並大幅提高軍事投資經費。

（三）厚植自主國防產業基礎：全力落實國防建軍與經濟發展相互結合，只有在觀念與作法上把國防支出當作是可增值的投資去經營，才能將國防與經濟發展之資源競爭的關係轉化成相輔相成的關係。無經濟即無國防，必須以經濟建構國防，以國防支援經濟。扶植民間產業投入國防武器裝備的研發與產製，鼓勵外商與國內業界合作，並置重點於下一代戰機與無人戰鬥載具的研製、潛艦國造、不對稱武器的研製與資訊攻防能量。

（四）務實兵力整建、嚴格戰訓本務、加速戰力整合：面對中國軍力的現代化，國軍應以「資電攻防」、「戰場掌握」、「危機應變」、「基礎設施防護」、「聯合拒敵作戰」等五個核心戰力，務實檢討未來臺灣防禦所需各項武器、裝備與

準則，以前瞻之戰略視野與高效率之戰略規劃，加速武器裝備籌獲流程，推動躍進式軍備更新。同時，更應嚴格要求各項作戰演訓，並增進軍文整體國防與各軍兵種聯合戰之力之整合，以降低外在突變之衝擊，達成「有效嚇阻、持久固守」之作戰目標。

（五）深化與民主國家的安全對話與合作：臺灣的國防既在保衛臺灣的民主自由，也願意為確保民主自由的普世價值作出貢獻，與所有民主自由的國家進行對話與合作。除了戰略對話、情報交換、科技合作外，臺灣有一等的資訊安全防護能量，對於來自中國的有組織性駭客有相當的攻防經驗，臺灣願意與所有民主自由國家共同分享此一能量與經驗，共同建立資訊安全的聯盟夥伴關係。

（六）朝野合作解決兵役懸崖：冒進推動的「募兵制」，已開始對國軍戰力、國防財力形成險峻的負面影響，並會造成國軍的社會代表基礎日益縮小，對全民國防帶來深遠的不利效應。對此，朝野都應放下政治算計，以合作的態度共同解決兵役問題。

（七）重視專業養成與人力運用：國軍專業人才養成不易，為有效運用國家資源，國防部應設法留用軍職優質人才。廢除現行齊頭式之人員裁減政策，留所當留、裁所當裁。情報、作戰、計畫、後勤、科研類人才與軍事專業最具關連，當為國防人力培育養成之重點。同時，全軍各階層人力運用之效能必須明顯地予以提昇，軍內普遍的繁文縟節、效率不彰造成業務負擔不均與人力虛耗，也連帶影響了軍中袍澤的家庭生活，不利於留用優質人才。隨著國軍人力規模下降，必須紮實推動精業簡政。

### 國防願景與國防政策主張的契合

	軍人有信心	民眾能信賴	友邦可信任
1. 重塑軍人尊嚴與國軍形象	↑	↑	
2. 增加國防預算	↑		↑
3. 厚植自主國防產業基礎	↑	↑	↑
4. 務實兵力整建、嚴格戰訓本務、加速戰力整合	↑	↑	↑
5. 深化與民主國家的安全對話與合作	↑		↑
6. 朝野合作解決兵役懸崖	↑	↑	
7. 重視專業養成與人力運用	↑	↑	
8. 強化執行非軍事性任務的能力	↑	↑	↑
9. 改善國安體制	↑	↑	

(八) 強化執行非軍事性任務的能力：就災害防救、防疫、護漁等非軍事性任務，國軍與各中央部會及各地方政府之協調整合機制應予加強，頻密國軍非軍事性任務演訓，推動遠洋護漁，並與周邊國家展開人道任務、人員搜救、災害救助等各項合作性訓練。

(九) 改善國安體制：臺灣的國防在保障民主自由的價值，國防相關體制與施政當應與此價值相容。我們將持續推動「軍隊國家化」、「民主統制」、「文人統制」的深化，強化國會監督與制衡的功能。現行國家安全會議的運作缺乏應有的透明度，國會難以有效監督，應優先透過修法來加以改善。在國防部，建立權責相符的聯合作戰指揮機制，文官制度的建立應持續落實，打破軍種壟斷特定職缺的文化。打造聰明乾淨的採購作業機制，杜絕武器採購與重大建設弊端，提昇專案管理與國際交涉能力。

## 優質、民主的國防治理

基於對國防價值的體認，這九項具體政策主張是民主進步黨國防「新三信心」的落實。正因如此的價值，我們認為：國家主權不可妥協，國防不能輕忽；我們認為：國防保護臺灣社會的生活方式，也反映著臺灣的社會進步；我們認為：國防由全民共同負擔，而國軍就是我們己者。在推動具體政策主張、進行未來執政的準備過程中，個人要特別

**沒有優質治理，國防失能，無法保障臺灣核心的國家利益；沒有民主治理，走向獨裁，背離了臺灣的核心國家利益**

強調「優質、民主的國防治理」的重要性。治理是政府決策的過程與將決策實踐的方式。臺灣是個民主國家，我們堅信這是

臺灣之於中國最鮮明的優勢與差異，國防決策的過程與國防政策推動的方式就不得背棄此一價值。口號人人會喊，但縝密周延的行動才是優質的政策實踐。沒有優質治理，國防失能，無法保障臺灣核心的國家利益；沒有民主治理，走向獨裁，背離了臺灣的核心國家利益。臺灣的國防反映並保障我們的核心國家利益，「優質、民主的國防治理」就是達成此一核心利益的途徑。

對於我們前述所提的九項具體政策主張，在執政後，「優質、民主的國防治理」是實踐它們的途徑，在執政前，「優質、民主的國防治理」是我們自我訓練與學習的課程。個人自我要求也期待本黨同志與智庫先進相互勉勵，由以下列四個治理途徑來進行國防的未來準備。

（一）多元參與：國防領域以往被認為是個封閉的世界，是深宮樞密的事。這個觀念既封建，也不會奏效。個人的態度是：政策擬定與實踐都應當是多元參與的過程。只有跨軍文、跨部門、跨領域、跨國界的協調整合，才足以因應日趨複雜的國防議題。

（二）朝野合作：國防事務是跨黨派的事務，必須超越政黨的政治計算。國防建軍向來耗資耗時，如無一定的政策持續性，徒增昨是今非的虛耗。只有朝野團結合作的國防，才能克服險峻的內外在環境。

（三）軟硬雙軌：臺灣的國防當然有其硬體面向的問題，許多國軍的主戰裝備都到了必須升級甚至更新的階段。但更重要的，臺灣國防所面臨到的內在困難，追根究底許多是態度與文化的問題，如輕武的文化或軍種的本位主義。必須由軟硬兩個面向同時著手，才有根本解決國防弱化的可能。

（四）鼓勵創新：臺灣必須要發展具有臺灣特色的國防與軍事戰略，以符合其獨特的戰略環境。我們要發展不對稱武器，更需要新穎與另類的國防思維。任何軍事事務革命都源自非主流的少數意見，而活潑的臺灣社會提供我們國防創新的優勢，應善加利用。只有創新被鼓勵、被吸納，臺灣國防才有超越自我的動能。

2012年9月，我指示民進黨的智庫（新境界文教基金會）成立獨立運作的國防小組。這是在民進黨邁向未來執政準備時，在國防領域內的自我訓練與學習的重要里程碑。以上四個國防治理途徑都落實在我們的行動中。

以多元參與為例，到2013年5月的九個月期間，這個小組已經開過14次會議。為建立軍隊有信心的國防，在14次會議中，有31位退役的國軍軍官曾經踏進過民進黨的大門，參與過我們的會議，並提供他們對建軍備戰上的意見。為了建立民眾能信賴的國防，有9位產業界的朋友在國防小組給了我們許多有關國防產業發展上的意見，而我們現在正規劃引進更多社會賢達與公民團體，來告訴我們他們心目中對臺灣國防的期待。為了建立友邦可信任的國防，國防小組與各國駐臺相關官員正建立起緊密的聯繫，去年的美台國防工業會議民進黨參與的人數是自2008年之後最多的一次。

又以朝野合作為例，2012年本人擔任黨主席後，民進黨在國防事務上主動採取合作的途徑。2013年4月間，我與國防小組與黨部幹部，一同在民進黨中央黨部內與國防部主管官員就中科院的組織轉型交換意見。在2013年5月間的臺菲爭議中，個人與民進黨都支持執政黨的外交斡旋與軍

力表態作為。對於募兵制，民進黨同樣願意一起與國民黨共擔責任來解決此一問題。

多元參與、朝野合作、軟硬雙軌、鼓勵創新是我們國防政策的新途徑，我們重新學習經驗，積極規劃未來，當我們有機會重新執政，這些就是我們優質、民主的國防治理之基礎。

今天的臺灣，我們國家的存在、自由的社會與人民幸福的生活方式都是經過先民四個世紀奮鬥爭取而來的。國防的價值在實踐它們、捍衛它們。以它們為基礎的和平是全民之所望。國防安全未來的挑戰非常險峻，但我們既不要輕忽，也勿須自輕。個人與民進黨在未來的執政準備中，將會努力實現一個「軍人有信心、民眾能信賴、友邦可信任」的國防願景，這是個人與民進黨的承諾。

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# DPP's National Defense Agenda



President

New Frontier Foundation

## Values and Attitudes

National defense is a matter of values, though it is always evaluated in terms of cost. I believe that if politicians do not understand the fundamental values embedded in national defense, they treat defense issues with some disdain.

There is a common misconception that, if our external environment has improved, Taiwan does not need to spend so much money on national defense. This assertion is only half right. National defense is of course an instrument of policy for defending the state, the society, and the people from external threats. However, the other reality, one which is often overlooked, is the fact

that national defense is also the manifestation of the state, the society, and the people. Our national defense reflects the existence of Taiwan as a sovereign state, the determination of our society to defend itself, and the responsibility of all citizens to share the burden of national defense. Without national defense, no nation can exist. Letting sovereignty slip away often starts with national defense being overlooked. Thus any leader in Taiwan must clearly recognize the value of our national defense and lead the society and the people in building self-defense consciousness.

National defense is the defense of a national state; national defense and national state are thus mutual constructed. Looking back over Taiwan's four hundred year history, a national defense centered on Taiwan itself as subject is a recent phenomenon. In the past, under Dutch and Japan's colonization, Zheng Cheng-gong's regime, and China's Qing dynasty, the defense of Taiwan had nothing to do with Taiwan itself but rather served the interests of Beijing, Tokyo, or Nanjing authorities. Since the interests of Taiwan were not considered, rarely were the inhabitants in Taiwan allowed to arm and to defend themselves. Only after Taiwan's democratization, when Taiwan subjectivity and national identity were consolidated, did the defense of Taiwan finally become our national defense. Only after the nationalization of the military and the expulsion of the Kuomintang party from the barracks did the troops, made up of our brothers and sisters, become the genuine national armed forces of Taiwan.

Today, Taiwan is a free, democratic, sovereign state, with a lively, diverse citizenry. Taiwanese are diligent, friendly, and peaceful.

This is what I and the Taiwanese people cherish. How to insure

**The existence of a sovereignty state, a free society, and pursuit of happiness are Taiwan's core national interests that our national defense must reflect and protect**

the continued existence of this country, to maintain a free society and to insure our people can pursue happiness - these are Taiwan's core national interests.

Looking back over Taiwan's

history, the existence of a sovereign state, a free society, and our pursuit of happiness were not givens. The value of our national defense is to embrace and protect these hard won treasures.

Peace is a universal norm. According to the *Constitution*, peace is also the aim of our national defense. To maintain regional security and cross-Strait stability are the tasks of all political parties in Taiwan. However, in addition to peace, there are some other values, equally cherished and particularly precious, namely Taiwan's democracy, liberty, human rights, and our way of life, all of which need to be protected. Only if these values are assured does peace retain its genuine meaning. Only within this context does Taiwan have geo-strategic importance.

The rise of China is a reality. In globalization's wake, Taiwan needs to engage and interact with China. However, such engagement and interaction should not deaden our self-defense consciousness nor sacrifice our national defense. Facing China, our national defense deserves more attention in order to safe-

guard our core national interests. In the past, it was our credible national defense that guaranteed that the peoples on two sides of the Strait might have their self-determined opportunities for peaceful development. This was the contribution of our national defense to regional stability. In the future, Taiwan should take more regional security responsibilities.

Taiwan's national defense is defensive by nature. However, we should seriously look at a China which refuses to renounce the use of military means against Taiwan. We must cautiously respond to China's initiatives that intend to change the status quo by turning the Strait into its territorial waters. Taiwan's national defense is for the people and by the people. So it should reflect and protect our societal values. Taiwan's military should respond to external threats as its primary mission. Also, our armed forces should stand as a nucleus force to the process of societal progress, economic growth, and identity shaping. Taiwan's national defense is an asset for regional security in the Asia Pacific helping to dissuade any military provocations caused by miscalculation. Taiwan is willing to take more responsibility for coping with common global security concerns. I believe that by deepening and widening the value of national defense, we will be able to move beyond seeing the military simply in an instrumental way. This value manifests itself in our national defense vision based upon the principles of "New Three Faiths". The starting point for this approach is "competent, democratic defense governance".

## New Three Faiths

According to *General Doctrine of the Armed Forces*, “Three Faiths” (or *Xin Xin* in Mandarin) refers to “all servicemen should show *loyalty* to their superiors, put *trust* in their subordinates, and have *confidence* as responsible, disciplined soldiers.” In response to societal changes, public expectation of our national defense, and the role and missions of our armed forces, I suggest a “New Three Faiths” as the key themes in developing our future national

**DDP’s national defense vision is based upon “New Three Faiths” that are *confidence* by the servicemen, the people’s *trust* in our defense, and *assurance* for our international friends**

defense and tasking them as the vital fronts for the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in preparing defense policy for the party’s return to power. “New Three Faiths” are to build up de-

fense capabilities so that our servicemen might have more *confidence*, to formulate defense policies in which the population has *trust*, and to give our international friends more *assurance* in the contribution of our national defense to regional security and stability.

The first Faith: In order for our servicemen to have more confidence in accomplishing their missions, which range from military defense to disaster relief, strong defense capabilities, centered on capable manpower, sufficient budget, and better equipment and training, are needed.

The second Faith: National defense is built upon the people's trust in the formulation and implementation of defense policies. Accountability and transparency must be applied to our national defense system. The military should open its gate and let the people walk in. Ideas and wisdom from civil sector should be absorbed. Abundant human and material resources should be transferred to the dynamics of defense modernization. The military should open its gate and let the soldiers walk out. Actions responsive to the expectations of the people and the outlook of society are means to re-establish the dignity and honor of our soldiers.

The third Faith: for over a half century, Taiwan's credible defense capabilities guaranteed the peoples on the two sides of the Strait to have their self-determined opportunities for peaceful development. In the future, Taiwan's national defense will maintain this pragmatic path. Taiwan's national defense reflects our democratic, liberal values, our aspiration for regional stability and peace, and our willingness to follow related international norms. We must let our international friends have more assurance in the constructive contribution of our national defense to regional security and stability.

Based on this vision of "New Three Faiths," I propose the following nine policy propositions. These are the key agenda items in preparing a defense policy for the DPP's return to power. I hope all DPP members will seriously ponder these agenda items. I also task the New Frontier Foundation to commence the related policy research and actively conduct societal dialogues via

the publication of related blue papers. We hope to get more feedback from industry, the administration, and academics in order to formulate doable future policies.

**(1) Re-establish soldiers' dignity and honor:** Servicemen and their families should be properly treated; however the public's respect for soldiers should not be based on their stipend and allowance but on their integrity and professionalism. Our armed forces should have strong military capabilities; however the image of the soldier does not come from the weapons they have but their devotion to protecting the people. Trust comes from public respect and soldiers' devotion. In order to elevate the public view of soldiers' dignity and honor, strict discipline must be applied to win back societal trust and build a sound foundation of public support for subsequent defense initiatives.

**(2) Immediately increase the defense budget:** budget deficiency in recent years has already seriously affected military acquisition and readiness. The administration should increase the defense budget at once. We will set a 3% of GDP level as the goal of the annual defense budget and significantly increase acquisition expenditure when the DPP returns to power.

**(3) Strengthen the indigenous defense industrial base:** the combination of defense expenditure and economic development must be fully implemented. The resource competition between defense expenditure and economic development must be changed conceptually and practically into a mutually reciprocal relationship. Defense expenditure must be well-managed as value-added investment in economic development. No economy, no defense: the economy and defense must be mutually reinforcing. We have to foster private industry investment in weapons

research and development (R&D), encourage foreign partners to work together with local industries, and put the focus of future R&D on next-generation fighters, unmanned aerial vehicles, indigenous submarines, asymmetric weapons, and cyber warfare.

**(4) Pragmatism in force planning, rigidity in readiness and training, acceleration in jointness:** Facing China's military modernization, our armed forces should prioritize information warfare, battlefield awareness, crisis response, infrastructure protection, joint denial operation as five elements of core combat capabilities, pragmatically re-examine the required weapons, equipment, and doctrines for future defense needs, have a visionary perspective in strategic planning, accelerate weapon acquisition procedures, and initiate a series of leap-forward modernization programs. Meanwhile, the frequency of training and exercise should be intensified; the degree of synchronization between pol-mil integrated defense capacities and joint military force capabilities should also be strengthened in order to neutralize the impact of an enemy's first strike and to achieve the operational objective of "effective deterrence and sustainable defense."

**(5) Deepen security dialogue and cooperation with democracies:** The very purpose of Taiwan's national defense is to protect our democracy and liberty; thus, it is our intention to dialogue and cooperate with all democracies and protect the universal value of democracy and liberty. In addition to strategic dialogue, intelligence exchange, and technology cooperation, Taiwan is willing to share its capacity and experience with all democracies. Taiwan's cyber security capacity is first-rate; it has accumulated decade-long experience in dealing with China's organized hackers.

Taiwan's capacity and experience is a great boon to establish a partnership of information security among democracies.

**(6) Bipartisan cooperation in solving the military service cliff:**

The impetuous introduction of the “volunteer system” has already had a profoundly negative effect on military readiness, defense resources, the societal representativeness of the armed forces, and long-established all-out defense. I advocate that all political parties in Taiwan should give up playing politics with this issue and work together to seek a mutually agreeable solution for this military service predicament.

**(7) Emphasize professionalism and human resource management:**

The training and education of military professionals consume considerable resources and effort. Thus, for the efficient utilization of national assets, the Ministry of National Defense (MND) should strive to retain capable military professionals. Existing indiscriminate downsizing programs should be abolished. Keep what the military needs; cut what society could amply supply. Soldiers with expertise in intelligence, operations, planning, logistics, or defense R&D are most relevant to the military profession and should be the focus of retention. Also, the efficiency of human resource management should be dramatically improved at all levels in our armed forces. Red-tape and redundancy, which prevail in the military, lead to unfair workloads and waste of human resources, and, as a side effect, hinder soldiers' family life. The force size is now reduced, so the procedures should be more compact, red tape must be cut.

### Compatibility of Defense Vision and Policy Standings

	Confidence by Servicemen	Trust by the population	Assurance for our international friends
1. Re-establish soldiers' dignity and honor	↑	↑	
2. Immediately increase defense budget	↑		↑
3. Strengthen indigenous defense industrial base	↑	↑	↑
4. Pragmatism in force planning, rigidity in readiness and training, acceleration in jointness	↑	↑	↑
5. Deepen the security dialogue and cooperation with democracies	↑		↑
6. Bipartisan cooperation in solving military service cliff	↑	↑	
7. Emphasize professionalism and human resource management	↑	↑	
8. Strengthen capabilities of non-combat operations	↑	↑	↑
9. Improve the National Security Mechanism	↑	↑	

**(8) Strengthen capabilities of non-combat operations:** As to non-combat operations such as disaster relief, epidemic prevention, and fishing protection, the interagency coordination between our armed forces and other governmental agencies and local authorities should be strengthened and related training and exercises should be intensified. Distant fishing protection should be initiated. Taiwan is willing to conduct some cooperative training regarding humanitarian, rescue, or disaster relief with neighboring countries.

**(9) Improve the national security mechanism:** Institutes and policies concerning national defense should be compatible with the democratic, liberal values that our national defense claims to defend. We will continue to deepen the nationalization of the armed forces, democratic control, and civilian control, as well as enhancing the functions of the legislature in supervision and balance. The current National Security Council (NSC) operations are lacking transparency. Effective legislative supervision should be improved via amending the NSC organizational act. At the level of the MND, accountability should be also applied to our joint command chain. The number of civil servants in the MND needs to be further expanded. The practice that services monopolize some certain positions should cease. A smart and clean weapon acquisition mechanism will be installed to put an end to mishandling and corruption in this process. International acquisition program management and negotiation capabilities must be elevated.

## Competent, Democratic Defense Governance

Based upon the recognition of these national defense values, the above nine policy positions will implement the DPP's "New Three Faiths". Precisely because of these values, we urge that national defense not be ignored and sovereignty not be compromised. Taiwan's national defense protects and reflects our way of life. It is for the people and by the people. The soldiers are not Others but Ourselves. To implement our policy positions and prepare for future return to power, I would like to especially stress the significance of "competent, democratic defense governance". Governance is the process of governmental decision-making and the method of implementing these decisions. Taiwan is a democracy: it is Taiwan's greatest difference and advantage over China. So the process of defense policy-making and

**Without competent governance, national defense weakens and is unable to protect Taiwan's core national interests; without democratic governance, national defense may lead to autocracy and deviate from Taiwan's core national interests which we are trying to protect**

the method of implementing defense policy should not be distant from this value. Slogans are easy and cheap in politics. Prudent, deliberate actions to realize them are competent policy practices. Without competent governance, national defense

weakens and is unable to protect Taiwan's core national interests; without democratic governance, national defense may lead to autocracy and deviate from the core Taiwan national interests we are trying to protect. Taiwan's national defense reflects and pro-

fects our core national interests; so competent, democratic defense governance is our approach to accomplish it.

Competent, democratic defense governance is the approach to realize our above-mentioned nine policy positions when the DPP return to power. Before that day, I take, and hope all fellow DDPers take the four elements of competent, democratic defense governance as self-training and -learning courses.

**(1) Pluralistic participation:** The realm of defense was regarded as a closed world and the exclusive privilege in the privy council. Such a concept is feudal and does not work. My attitude is: the making and implementation of policy should be a process of pluralistic participation. For dealing with increasingly complicated defense issues, the answers require coordination and integration across the traditional lines of civil-military, private-official, defense-diplomacy, and domestic-international.

**(2) Bipartisan cooperation:** National defense is a bipartisan issue and should go beyond the parochial interests of any political party. Defense always takes enormous time and money. Without continuity in policy, we shall waste time and money in mutual opposition. A solid and cooperative national defense is the answer to an increasingly challenging environment.

**(3) Duality of hard- and soft-orientations:** There are many hardware issues in Taiwan's national defense. It is time for many of our major platforms to be upgraded or even be replaced in the near future. However, more importantly, some domestic difficulties that our national defense encounters are basically matters of attitude and culture, e.g. a national culture of despising the military or service parochialism. To overcome the problems of a

weakening defense at its source, the answers must be approached both in hard-power and soft-power orientations.

**(4) Encourage innovation:** Taiwan is located a very unique security environment. We need to develop our defense and military strategies with Taiwan characteristics to fit our real needs. Asymmetric weapons need to be developed, so do novel and alternative ideas in defending Taiwan. All revolutions of military affairs begin from the non-mainstream ideas of the few. We must use the advantage our dynamic society holds and utilize it for future defense innovation. The possibility of success in transforming Taiwan's national defense is dependent on the dynamics of transcendence, a bold move for change. The answers are accessible only when innovation is encouraged and adopted.

Last September, I instructed the establishment of the defense committee in our party think tank. It is a milestone in DPP history and a vital point for our defense policy preparation for the return to power. The above-mentioned four elements of defense governance are being practiced and implemented in our actions.

As to pluralistic participation, the defense committee has held fourteen meetings or seminars during the past nine months. To build a defense in which our servicemen could have confidence, thirty one retired officials were invited to and joined the meetings, something never seen in the DPP history -- to have so many ex-military walk in the door. For the trust of the population, nine experts from industry contributed to our development a doable roadmap in strengthening indigenous defense industry. We are now planning to invite many non-defense-specific organizations

and associations to tell us what their expectations of national defense are. To build assurance with our international friends, the defense committee is linking its communications with foreign embassies in Taiwan. The numbers of the DPP participants in the 2012 U.S.-Taiwan Defense Industry Conference was highest since 2008.

Bipartisan cooperation is another example of our action. After becoming Chairman of the DPP in 2012, the party has actively taken a cooperative approach in defense issues. This April, I and other party staff, together with members of the defense committee, met with MND officials at our party headquarter to exchange views on the organizational transformation of the Chung Shan Institute of Science and Technology. In the dispute between Taiwan and the Philippines this May, the DPP publically supported the diplomatic negotiation and military presence taken by the KMT administration. For the same reason, the DPP is willing to work together with the KMT to solve the problems caused by the initiation of the “volunteer system”.

These new four elements, namely pluralistic participation, bipartisan cooperation, duality of hard- and soft-orientations, and encouragement of innovation will be manifested in our defense policy-making and implementation. We learn lessons from our experience while we plan for the future. These are the constituent elements of “competent, democratic defense governance” that we promise to deliver when the DPP returns to power.

Today’s Taiwan – the existence as a sovereign state, a free society,

and our unique way in pursuit of happiness -- was not a given but rather earned by our ancestors through a four-century long struggle. National defense's role is to practice these hard won values, and defend them. The peace that we seek is based upon them. The future challenges to our national defense will be very dire ones indeed. We shall not be ignorant. We cannot afford to lose faith. In preparation for a return to power, the vision for "confidence by the servicemen, trust by the population, and assurance for our international friends" is the commitment for which we will fight.

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And two anonymous retired generals

幕僚：羅國應

Staff: Kuo-ying LO



## 國防政策藍皮書

### Defense Policy Blue Paper

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 第一號報告<br>DEF-PUB 01 | 民進黨的國防議題<br>DDP's National Defense Agenda   |
| 第二號報告<br>DEF-PUB 02 | 中科院轉型與厚實自主國防核心研製能量<br>Transforming the CSIST: Strengthening Indigenous Defense Research and Development |
| 第三號報告<br>DEF-PUB 03 | 建立權責相符的國家安全會議<br>An Accountable National Security Council   |
| 第四號報告<br>DEF-PUB 04 | 開啟臺美國防夥伴關係的新章節<br>New Chapter for Taiwan-U.S. Defense Partnership                                       |

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