

陳水扁總統登太平島

提「南沙倡議」之政策意涵

The Political Implication of “Spratly Initiative” for President Chen Shui-Bian’s visit to Taiping Island

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儘管出發前國內出現各種不同的聲音或批評，2008年2月2日，陳水扁總統不但平安順利搭乘軍機C-130登上南海南沙太平島，主持飛機跑道啟用典禮，慰問了島上駐守官兵，發表「南沙倡議」，並勾畫出未來台灣南海政策的發展藍圖。就陳水扁本人而言，此行雖然沒有大批的新聞媒體記者陪他作歷史的見證，但的確兌現了他在2005年9月所做登上太平島的政治承諾。此外，由於總統登島的時機選在春節前五天，離三月總統大選還有將近五十天之遠，也未邀請民進黨總統候選人謝長廷同行，選舉政治炒作之嫌因此被淡化許多。就歷史而言，陳水扁的確是第一位登上我國有人駐守領土最南端太平島的中華民國三軍統帥和總統。

Though arising diversified voices and criticisms, on February 2, 2008 President Chen Shui-Bian not only successfully visited Spratly islands by C-130 military airplane, hosted the inauguration ceremony of the airstrip and greeted stationed soldiers, but also proposed the “Spratly Initiatives” portraying the future development blueprint of Taiwan’s policies in the South China Sea. To President Chen, though being not accompanied by the media to witness the historical moment, he finally realized his political promise made in September 2005 by visiting the island himself. As he stepped on Taiping Island five days before the Chinese New Year, fifty days before the presidential election in March, and didn’t invite Frank Hsieh, the DPP president candidate, to visit there, the suspicion of political intention had been further weakened. In history, President Chen is indeed the first R.O.C. president and general military commander who set his feet on the south tip of its territory-Taiping Island.

To national domestic policies, President Chen’s visit intentionally demonstrated his status as the highest leader of Taiwan, continually dominating the policies of politics, war strategies, national security, and diplomatic, which also included the Spratly Initiative and national marine policies.

就政策而言，對內，太平島之行意味著陳水扁有意展現卸任前他仍然是國家最高領導人，將繼續主導台灣的各项重要國家政治、戰略、安全、與外交決策，此包括南海政策與國家海洋政策。太平島飛機跑道的完工啟用，以及陳水扁的登島視察可以被視為台灣南海政策的一個重要轉折點，具有重要政策意義。再者，太平島興建跑道，以及陳水扁得以當天往訪視察太平島也證明政府將南海業務由內政部「南海小組」移交更高層級的「國家安全會議」（以下「國安會」）掌管是屬正確的作法。2005年8月中旬奉總統核定，「國安會」下設「海域情勢會報」，負責南海、東海、及西太平洋海域有關維護國家主權、與周邊國家國際關係與國際合

The inauguration of the airstrip and President's visit represented an important turning point in the Spratly policies. They were politically meaningful. Furthermore, the milestone-building airstrip on Taiping Island and President's one day visit had also approve the correctness to have "National Security Council" (hereinafter as the "Council"), a higher governmental hierarchy, take over the Spratly affairs from the South China Sea Ad-hoc Team operated by the Ministry of the Interiors. In mid August 2005, the "Council" was ratified by the "President to set up Marine Situation Meeting" to take on matters in South China Sea, East China Sea and West Pacific Ocean. The unit would be



作暨衝突、兩岸關係、海洋戰略、海上安全空間、以及其他有關事項的研議任務。由於「國安會」是總統決定國家安全有關大政方針的諮詢機關，且由總統本人擔任「國安會」主席，因此，台灣的南海政策決策已提升到國家元首層級。

就對外而言，陳水扁以國家元首身分視察太平島，是一項強化我國擁有南海南沙群島主權主張的實際宣示動作，也意味著台灣在未來將採取必要措施去捍衛國家領土主權和海洋權益，以及規劃經營南海一大片「藍色國土」的決心。此外，陳水扁登太平島也向南海周邊國家，以及國際社會傳遞了一項重要政治信息，那就是台灣有權、也應被邀請參加南海區域安全對話和各種合作開發活動。



responsible for matters regarding national sovereignty, relations with nearby countries, international cooperation and disputes, cross-strait relations, maritime strategies, maritime security, and the other related researching matters. Owing to the fact that the “Council”, chaired by the President, is the major governmental think tank for national strategies, the policies of South China Sea has been arisen to the President’s level.

In international meaning, President Chen visited the island as a national leader was one practical demonstration on Taiwan’s sovereignty over the Spratly Islands. It also indicated that Taiwan would not only take any necessary measures in the future to protect its territorial sovereignty and marine rights, but determined to manage the vast “blue territory” of South China Sea. Moreover, by stepping onto Taiping Island, he also conveyed an important message to the boundary states of South China Sea and international community that Taiwan has the right and should be able to participate in various dialogues and cooperative development projects concerning this region.

To find a solution for Taiwan to participate the dialogues and cooperation projects in South China Sea, President Chen proposed the Spratly Initiative that was different from China’s and met the standards of future ecological trend. It also prevents other countries from looting marine resources-oil, natural gas, nontraditional “energy-flammable ice”, and fishing resources that belong to us, and aims to protect the environment in South China Sea from further devastation. In the Initiative, President Chen asked nearby countries to “replace sovereignty argument with environmental protection, and substitute ecological sustainability for resource looting.”

The first article of “Spratly Initiative” stresses that Taiwan is willing to accept the meaning



為了尋找台灣參與南海安全對話與區域合作的一條出路，以及防止各國競相掠奪原本屬於我國之海洋資源，此包括石油、天然氣、非傳統能源「可燃冰」、以及漁業資源，以及保護南海海洋環境遭受進一步破壞，陳水扁提出了一個與中國有別，且符合世界環保生態潮流的未來「南沙倡議」，呼籲各國「以環境保護取代主權爭議，以生態存續代替資源掠奪」。

「南沙倡議」第一點表示台灣願意在主權平等基礎上接受《南海各方行為宣言》所揭櫫的精神與原則，堅持以和平方式解決領土與管轄權的爭議。就此倡議而言，南海周邊國家應沒有任何反對的理由。事實上，目前各國處理南海問題的依據正是依據該宣言的精神以和平方式解決爭議。雖然陳水扁在太平島表示台灣期盼未來能參與《南海行為準則》的制訂，早日實現南海的安全與穩定，但「南沙倡議」並未列入此要求。倘若陳水扁在倡議第一

and principles written in Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea on equal sovereignty bases. As the declaration's base of solving issues in South China Sea is to achieve with peaceful means, the initiative leaves no room for countries in the South China Sea to object to. Though, on Taiping Island, President Chen said that Taiwan expects to take part in the stipulation of Code of Conduct in South China Sea for an earlier stability and security in the region, Spratly Initiative does not enlist the demand in the content. President Chen might clearly state the stance of Taiwan, if he attaches the following words in the initiative: "we ask countries in the South China Sea to think seriously about the possibilities and ways for Taiwan to sign on or participate in the Code of Conduct in South China Sea in the future."



點後半段加入以下文字：「並呼籲南海周邊國家認真思考未來台灣簽署或加入《南海行為準則》的可能與方式」，或許可更進一步表達台灣的立場。

阿扁在倡議中第二點指出各國掠奪海洋資源的情形，因此強調未來南海的開發應以環境生態保育為主。但自1970年代初期第一次國際能源危機爆發至今，南海各國搶占南海島礁，強化島嶼主權，主要原因正是大量油氣資源蘊藏。隨著國際市場原油價格突破一百美元一桶，以及南海周邊各國對能源安全的關切，呼籲各國將南海優先考慮劃設成海洋生態保育區的提議比較難被認同，蓋生態保護區內是禁止油氣和漁業資源的開發活動。或許比較持平的倡議是呼籲各國在開發利用南海資源之同時也應重視環境生態保育和油污染威脅問題等。

倡議第三點提到定期開放並邀請國際生態學者及環保團體至東沙環礁、太平島及中洲礁進行研究與考察。由於東沙環礁主權並無爭議，且在我國有

The second article of the Initiative indicates the situation that marine resources been looted by surrounding countries and emphasizes the future development of the region should be focused on ecological preservation. Whereas since the outbreak of first international energy crisis in early 1970s, countries in the South China Sea had occupied isles and enforced their sovereignty on them owing to the abundant oil gas preservation in the seabed. With the price for each barrel of crude oil skyrocketing over US\$100 in international markets and increasing concern over energy safety in the South China Sea countries, it is quite difficult to promote the idea of turning the region into a marine ecological preservation area which means to ban any developing activities of oil-drilling and fishing. Maybe a better initiative is to appeal to countries for utilizing the resources in South China Sea with the raising awareness of ecological preservation and oil pollution threaten.

The third article of the Initiative mentions the regularly opening the area and inviting international scholars, environmental protection groups to visit Pratas Atoll, Taiping Island and Jhongjhou Reef for researches and investigations. As Taiwan owns the sovereignty of Pratas Atoll with no arguments, other countries shall not have reasons to protest our effective management. However, Vietnam might be opposed to the idea of conducting researches and investigations on Taiping Island and Jhongjhou Reef, which are implications of Taiwan's sovereignty on them. Nevertheless Taiwan government has effectively managed Taiping Island and Jhongjhou Reef, so it should not be sensitive and argumentative but be implementable to invite international scholars and environmental groups to conduct researches and investigation on them.

In the former half of the fourth article appeals



效管理之下，其他國家無理由反對。但前往太平島及中洲礁進行研究與考察有間接強化台灣島嶼主權的效果，因此越南可能會有意見。儘管如此，鑒於太平島及中洲礁係由我國有效控管，因此，邀請國際生態學者及環保團體登島進行研究與考察活動比較不敏感、爭議性也較低，應屬可行。

「南沙倡議」第四點前半段是呼籲南海周邊國家不要因為區域內存在主權爭議的敏感政治問題而妨礙彼此合作之開展。後半段期許南海區域各國成立民間南海研究機構，透過國際研討會的召開和第二軌對話機制，防止衝突爆發。這一點符合所有南海周邊國家利益，因此應該也不會遭受反對。

總的來看，此次陳水扁的登島視察，以及提出「南沙倡議」可被視為台灣南海政策的一個重要轉折點，具有重要政策意涵。鑑於三月總統大選馬蕭陣營獲勝，台灣的南海政策是有可能延續1993年當時的行政院長連戰與內政部長吳伯雄擬定的《南海政策綱領》。但不管如何，台灣新的政府還是有必要根據當前南海新情勢、台灣國內政治發展、以及兩岸關係作出必要調整，進而擬定出一套新的、完整的南海政策。🌐

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to countries in the South China Sea for not halting the international cooperation because of highly sensitive political sovereignty issues. The latter part of the article expects that all countries in the region should establish private research institutes to prevent disputes through international seminars and the second track dialogue mechanism. The content of this article fits in with the interests of countries in the region; hence it should not be opposed.

In summary, the President's trip and "Spratly Initiative" represented an important turning point for Taiwan's policies in the South China Sea illustrating political meaning. On the contrary, after the pan-Blue parties won the presidential election, Taiwan's policies in South China Sea will roughly be going according to the Policy Guidelines for South China Sea, which drafted in 1993 by the ex-Premier Lian Jhan and ex-Minister of Ministry of the Interiors Wu Bo-hsiung. No matter what, the Taiwan's new government is also bound to re-evaluate the current trend of South China Sea, domestically political development and the relation across the straits to stipulate a new, complete set of policies applied in South China Sea.

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