



◎文、圖 | 施義哲

◎ Article, photos | Shi Yi-zhe



◆ (本次會議代表團成員合照依次 (由左而右) 駐印尼呂秘書佩玲小姐、本署企劃處施科員義哲、駐印尼林代表永樂先生、宋教授燕輝、王教授胄、夏教授復國、本署巡防處歐專員凌嘉)

A group photo of workshop delegates (L to R) including Indonesian trade office secretary Ms. Li Pei-ling, administration planning division staff member Shih Yi-zhe, Indonesian trade office representative Mr. Lin Yung-loh, Prof. Sung Yen-hui, Prof. Wang Shiao, Prof. Shiao Fu-kuo, and administration patrol division staff member Oou Ling-jia.

## 出席第十五屆處理南中國海 潛在衝突研討會心得

### The report for the 15th Workshop on Management Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea



印尼政府訂於去（2005）年11月24日至26日假萬丹（Banten）省安雅（Anyer）市，召開第十五屆處理南中國海潛在衝突研討會（the 15th Workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea）（簡稱南海會議）。南海會議自1991年起由加拿大國際開發署亞太海洋合作計畫贊助（the Asia-Pacific Ocean Cooperation Programme of the Canadian International Development Agency, CIDA），並由印尼所主辦的年度性會議，主持人為印尼前無任所大使賈拉（Hasjim Djalal），會議迄今已舉辦第十五屆，十幾年來召開會議所做的努力與貢獻受到各國的肯定。為促進合作計畫之考量，會議也會邀請非南海周邊國家、特定區域或國際組織之專家與會。實際運作多年的南海會議逐漸形成特有的組織架構，其下設有技術工作小組（Technical Working Group, TWG）（包括：海洋科學研究、環境保護、法律事務、海洋運輸、航行與交通）、專家會議（Group of Expert Meeting, GEM）及研究小組（Study Group）等定期召集會議，依不同議題召集各國專家進行會議討論，再向年度大會提報研究結果。南海會議設計之基礎是強調非官方性質（informal basis），暫且擱置各國主權問題，從較可能有共識與可以尋求合作的領域著手。會議最主要目的在如何使南海周邊國家經由合作，化解彼此間的潛在衝突，甚至獲得爭端的解決，並提供南海周邊國家共同研討南海議題之舞台與對話機制。我國每年均應邀前往與會，與會人員包含外交部人員、專家學者與關心南海議題之相關機關代表。本次奉派前往與會，企盼能藉由參與會議，進而開闢本署推展海洋事務之腳步與未來聯繫管道，邁向「與國際接軌和世界同步」之理念。

除第一屆會議外，我國均以中華台北（Chinese Taipei）名義參與，與會成員有政府代表、學者專家與相關領域有研究之人士參加，惟為突破我外交困境，南海會議的確已提供我國一外交平台，藉由積極參與南海會議與提案

The Indonesian government had hosted the 15th Workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea (the South China Sea workshop) last year during November 24 to 26, 2005 in Anyer, Banten province. Since 1991, the Asia-Pacific Ocean Cooperation Programme of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) had been sponsoring the South China Sea workshop, and Indonesia played host to the yearly workshop, which was presided by the former non-resident Indonesian ambassador Hasjim Djalal, where the workshop had endured the 15th session, with efforts and contributions concluded over the past a decade and a half receiving widespread recognition from all countries. A unique organization framework had gradually taken shape with the South China Sea workshop over the years, and under it were the technical working group (TWG), which comprised of oceanic scientific studies, environmental conservation, legal affairs, ocean shipping, navigation and transportation; Group of Expert Meeting (GEM) and study groups, which convened for meetings on a regular basis, where workshop discussions were held by extending invitations to world experts according to the specific agenda, and the research findings would then be presented at the annual convention. The foundation on which the South China Sea workshop was designed had been to emphasize its informal basis temporarily setting aside the sovereignty issues between the countries, and to broach from areas that were likely to garner consensus and mutual cooperation. The ultimate objective of the workshop lied in how best to thaw potential mutual conflicts among countries bordering the South China Sea through cooperation, or even to derive dispute solution, and to provide a stage and a dialog mechanism for countries bordering the South China Sea to discuss South China Sea issues. Taiwan had been invited yearly to attend the meeting, and the delegates included diplomats, experts, scholars, and representatives from relevant agencies concerned of the South China Sea issue. Of the assignment to attend the meeting, it was anticipated that Taiwan's participating in the workshop would help to expand the administration's pace in promoting maritime affairs. Instilling a future contact venue for embracing the philosophy of "bridging to the world and synchronizing with the world".

Except the inaugural meeting, Taiwan had been participating in it in the name of Chinese Taipei, and the participating delegates included government representatives, scholars, experts and researchers in pertinent domains. And in search of surpassing diplomatic hurdles, the South China Sea workshop had emerged as a viable diplomatic platform through which Taiwan's active participation and proposal submission would poise to significantly devote Taiwan's influence and contribution toward the countries bordering the South China Sea, and showcase Taiwan as an indispensable member to the global community.



活動，可以大幅增加我在南海周邊國家之影響力與貢獻，突顯我國為國際社會不可或缺之一份子。

南中國海潛在衝突管理會議主辦國印尼政府於去（2005）年11月22-26日在印尼安雅(Anyer)市召開此會議，此次會議包含兩個工作小組會議；22-23日為海平面上升會議（Workshop Group Meeting on the study of Tides and Sea Level Change）；24-26日為處理南海衝突研討會，主要目的為討論有關南海各國如何透過第二軌道方式尋求區域間各國的合作（例如環境保護、科學研究、生物多樣性等），化解區域間各國的潛在衝突。此次南海會議共11國出席，與會人數有47人，我國出席成員由駐印尼代表處林代表永樂擔任團長，成員計有我國駐印尼代表處呂秘書佩玲、中央研究院歐美研究所副所長宋教授燕輝、中央研究院環境變遷中心夏教授復國、台灣大學海洋研究所王教授育及本署巡防處歐專員凌嘉、企劃處施科員義哲等7員。

去（94）年12月中旬，第一屆東亞高峰會12月14日在馬來西亞吉隆坡落幕，出席會議有16國的領袖，除「東協」十國之外，還包括了中國、日本、南韓、澳洲、紐西蘭、印度，會後同時通過並發表「吉隆坡宣言」，宣言指出「為了促進東亞的和平、穩定、繁榮，建立東亞高峰會，作為廣泛的戰略、政治、經濟等具有共同利益及關切的對話平台」；該宣言亦確立了東南亞國家協會（東協）在東亞高峰會內的主導地位，每年的開會時間、地點都將與「東協峰會」同步。在該會議結束之後，我國會不會因此被東亞國家邊緣化，經濟會不會因此而遭受傷害。因此，我國更應積極參與與建立溝通對話管道，更可從下列幾點著力：

#### 一、持續參與南海會議爭取我國的國際舞台

過去南海會議著重於促進南海區域

The host country of the Workshop on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, the Indonesian government, had staged the workshop in Anyer, Indonesia, last year between November 22 and 26, 2005, which consisted of two task force meetings: On 22 to 23 of November, it was the Workshop Group Meeting on the Study of Tides and Sea level Change; on 24 to 26, it was Workshop for Managing Conflicts in the South China Sea, with a main objective in discussing how best to achieve cooperation among countries within the region through an alternative means, such as in environmental conservation, scientific studies, biodiversity and so forth), which would poise to mitigate potential conflicts among the countries. The current South China Sea workshop was attended by eleven countries, comprising of 47 delegates, and the Taiwan delegation was headed by the representative, Lin Yung-loh, at Taipei Economic and Trade office, Indonesia as the delegation leader, with seven delegates consisted of Taiwan representative office secretary Lu Pei-ling, Academia Sinica Institute of European and American Study deputy director Prof. Sung Yun-hui, Academia Sinica Center of Environmental Change Prof. Shia Fu-kuo, Taiwan University Oceanic Study Center Prof. Wang Zhou and administration patrol division specialist Oou Ling-jia and planning division specialist Shih Yi-zher.

In mid December 2005, the first East Asia Summit came to a successful close in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on December 14, which was attended by leaders from sixteen countries comprising of the ten countries in the East Asia but also including China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, India. Soon after the meeting, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration had been announced, which reiterated, "In order to excel East Asia's peace, stability, prosperity, an East Asia Summit is to be instilled as a broad-based dialog platform in addressing the mutual interest and concern of military strategies, politics and economics". The declaration also clearly ascertained the APEC (the East Asia Summit) spearheading position at the East Asia Summit, and the annual meeting time and place would be synchronized to that of the East Asia Summit. Following the conclusion of the summit, there were concerns whether East Asian countries would poise to marginalize Taiwan, and put its economy in jeopardy. In light of which, there was imperative for Taiwan to actively participate in the meeting and to instill a plenary communication and dialog venue, and also to broach from the following focuses,

#### I. To continue participating in the South Sea workshops to secure Taiwan's footing in the global stage

In the past, the South China Sea Workshop had emphasized on excelling South China Sea regional cooperation, instilling confidence and a dialog mechanism and so forth, while perhaps the workshop



合作、信心建立及對話機制等，或許會議事項與各國外交政策有落差，但南海確實並未因緊張個案，而發生大規模衝突。南海會議若持續運作，可能仍維持非正式性質，使各國尋求合作機制追求國家利益。我國外交環境困窘，已經被排除在東南亞國協（ASEAN）之外，ASEAN + 3 (Japan, Korea, China) 東南亞國協為其區域利益考量不得不與三國協商，我國如不藉此管道（南海會議）積極參與爭取空間與主導權，未來將喪失我國在南海的權

益；然而進一步更可避免我國在南海中國海之區域發展遭邊緣化之危機。



agenda may differ from the diplomatic policy of the participating countries; however, it was noticeably that no tension in any individual case had led to any large-scale conflict. The South China Sea Workshop could still be maintained in a non-official capacity, if continue running, to bring the member countries to form a collaboration mechanism in search of their respective national interests. Given Taiwan's diplomatic downfall for having been excluded from the ASEN, and in support of ASEAN + 3 (Japan, Korea, China) to negotiate with a third country for securing their regional interests, Taiwan could risk losing its say in safeguarding its rightful claim of the South China sea, if not fully utilizing the South China Sea Workshop venue to actively secure participation and spearheading rights, which in turn would mitigate Taiwan from being marginalized in the regional development of the South China Sea.

## II. To actively utilize track two proposal and to seek international cooperation

### 二、積極運用第二軌方式提案與尋求國際合作

現行南海議題採用第二軌道（Track Two）方式，可以充分交換彼此意見，瞭解各國政策內容，減少發生衝突可能性，並可降低官方正式直接對話的壓力，具有彈性，有助於穩定南海情勢，較符合各國在現階段之最大利益。此外，藉由工作小組的研究提案（如海洋科學、環境保護、科學研究、生物多樣性等），較無政治敏感性，可爭取南海各國合作與參與，並促進我國在南海的貢獻與主導權。

### 三、掌握南海區域動態，維護我國最高利益

雖然第二軌道有助於穩定南海衝突情勢，但各聲索國妥協領土主權可能性不高，甚至為實施有效管轄，利用各種不同

The current track two method adopted for the South China Sea Workshop agenda not only poised exchange mutual opinions for discerning the contents of the policies among the delegation nations, and help to mitigate problem conflicts from occurring, and serve to reduce the pressure from direct official dialog, and was regarded to provide flexibility, and inductive for stabilizing the South China Sea scenario to warrant a maximum gain to all countries at the present stage. Moreover, through study proposals presented by the taskforce, i.e. oceanic science, environmental protection, scientific study, biodiversity, etc., it would be less prone to create politic sensitivity, and could garner the collaboration and participation of countries around the South China Sea, which also contributed to Taiwan's contribution





管道，加速經營、建設各島礁。由於台灣參與國際會議受到約制，我國於南海會議中應有效掌控南海動態，避免各聲索國間締結雙邊協定衝擊我國南海權益。

區域共同合作內容包括海洋環境保護、海洋科學研究、航行與通信安全、搜索與救助操作、共同打擊跨國性犯罪(不侷限於毒品與武器的走私交易、反恐行動與海盜行為)。在東南亞國協ASEAN+3與東南亞國協－中國(ASEAN-China)高峰會議，強調與中國、日本、韓國的夥伴關係，和增加東南亞國協的競爭力，並完成彼此間的利益與投資。東南亞國協ASEAN+3目前已經趨於穩定，並展開其區域政治與安全議題，例如共同對抗恐怖主義和跨國性犯罪，同時歡迎中國所提出的在未來召開跨國性犯罪的部長間會議。我國仍應持續掌握南海各國、東南亞國協與ASEAN+3、ASEAN-China之互動，俾能適時提出因應對策。

#### 四、藉由學術研究提案，召開會議以增加我國主導權

在南海會議中由我國所提之科學研究合作案，各國均表達高度興趣，第十四屆會議我國中央研究院提出東南亞海洋教育網計畫案(SEAONE)，因以往南海會議出席代表大部分為外交背景，我國提出海洋科研計畫，中共代表對此科學領域不熟悉，短時間亦難以提出抗拒方式與對策，所以本次(第十五屆)南海會議，我國得以報告上屆提案與計畫執行進度，南海周邊國家聽完簡報均表示高度興趣，紛紛詢問申請方式與進度。我國更能因此採多元化提案方式，例如對於南中國海生物多樣性合作案(Marine Biodiversity Cooperation in the South China Sea)、南中國海環境保護合作案(Marine Environmental Protection Cooperation in the South China Sea)、南中國海海洋資源保

and spearheading role in the South China Sea.

#### III. To grapple the movements in the South Sea region to secure Taiwan's maximum interest

Although the track two mode helps to stabilize the South China Sea scenario, the chance for countries making the claim to settle for sovereignty claim might be slim, with some even pushed to induct effective management through various means, such as speed up the management and construction of various reef islands. As Taiwan was curtailed by treaties from participating in international conventions, it would be prudent for Taiwan to effectively grapple the South China Sea movements through the South China Sea Workshop to better avoid the impact of bilateral agreements struck among the countries making the territorial claim to hinder Taiwan's equity in the South China Sea.

The contents of regional cooperation included marine environment protection, oceanic science study, navigation and communications security, search and rescue operations, joint infiltration of transnational crime (not limiting to drugs and weapons smuggling transactions, counter-terrorism and piracy acts). At the ASEAN+3 and ASEAN-China summits, the partnership among China, Japan and Korea was emphasized, and the competitiveness of ASEAN countries had been sought to strengthen the mutual gain and investment. With ASEAN+3 now stabilizing, with regional politics and safety agenda under way; for instance, the joint efforts against terrorism, transnational crime, and a definitive welcome to a transnational ministerial crime meeting in the future as proposed by China. It would be prudent for Taiwan to grasp the interaction of South China Sea countries, ASEAN+3 and ASEAN-China so be able to come up with countermeasure strategies.

#### IV. To excel Taiwan's spearheading lead through academic research proposals and convention staging

At the South China Sea Workshop, Taiwan's scientific study cooperation proposals had garnered widespread interests among the participating countries. At the 14th workshop, Taiwan's Academia Sinica had presented a Southeast Asia Oceanic Network Education (SEAONE) proposal, which catered to the majority of the delegates being with a diplomatic background, yet the Chinese delegates were less familiar with the domain of science presented in Taiwan's SEAONE project, rendering it unfeasible to present countermeasure or strategy in a short time. Hence at the coming 15th workshop, Taiwan was able to present the proposal from the previous session and its implementation progress, to which the South China Sea bordering countries had shown great interests following the briefing to inquire application method and progress. Taiwan could further benefit through presenting a diverse



護計畫 (Marine Resources Protection Project in the South China Sea)、南中國海海洋保護區計畫 (Marine Protected Area Project in the South China Sea) 等，以凸顯我國在南中國海的主導地位。再者，由我國提案更可將計畫推展擴張到我國來辦理與執行，更能藉此主導。

## 五、成立參與國際會議分工小組

成立專責單位或功能性分工小組，每個小組由二至三人，除加強外語能力外並應熟稔國際議事規則，同時與國內相關領域之專家學者保持聯繫，吸收知識、累積相關經驗與資料庫之建立。其次，考慮小組成員之流動性與穩定性，國際會議之經驗與運作模式，需要長時間的經驗累積，非一朝一夕可建構而成，且各國際會議與區域性質、屬性皆有不同，因此成立不同小組且有成員二至三人，能避免經驗累積有斷層現象。

## 六、協助東南亞國協提升競爭力

面對全球化的快速發展，東南亞國協最重要的挑戰是維持東南亞國協間社會經濟的持續發展，尤其是最近難以預料的恐怖主義者的攻擊行動問題。面對這些問題，東南亞國協提出應加強團結和加速執行東南亞國協的整合行動 (Initiative for ASEAN Integration, IAI)，目的在加強東南亞國協區域間的整合。在此之際，我國更應積極藉由出席南海會議管道，循序漸進佈局東南亞國協各會員國，提出合作計畫與研究案，讓南海各國發現利基，進而和我國合作之雙贏政策，同時也促成南海各國之競爭力。

range of proposals, such as the Marine biodiversity cooperation in the South China Sea, Marine Environmental Protection Cooperation in the South China Sea, Marine Protected Area Project in the China Sea, etc., to showcase Taiwan's spearheading position in the South China Sea. Furthermore, Taiwan's proposals that serve to bring the project promotion extended for hosting and implementation in Taiwan would further secure Taiwan's spearheading role.

## V. To form taskforce for participating in international conferences

The formation of a full time unit or functional taskforces, with each taskforce comprised of two to three individuals, not only helps to excel foreign language proficiency and familiarize with international meeting agenda, but its keeping a close contact with local experts in particular domain would also help to absorb knowledge, accumulate experience and the instilment of a database. Moreover, taken into account the turnover and stability of taskforce members, the experience and exposure of international conference participation requires experiences accumulated over time, rather than something that can be achieved overnight, and besides the fact that international conferences vary by nature due to the region and objective, the formation of a taskforce comprising of two to three individuals also helps to avoid disrupting the experience accumulation process.

## VI. To assist ASEAN countries excel competitiveness

Amid the rapid development of globalization, a crucial challenge the ASEAN faces lies in how best to maintain a sustainable development among the ASEAN countries, particularly tough lies in the unpredictable terrorist attack issue. When confronted with such problem, ASEAN countries need to step up cooperation and excel the initiative for ASEAN integration (IAI), which would help to strengthen the regional integration among ASEAN countries. At a critical time like this, it is more imperative for Taiwan to actively utilize the venue of attending the South China Sea Workshop to steadfastly develop ties with ASEAN countries, and to continue presenting collaboration projects and study proposals for availing niches to ASEAN countries, which would be conducive for creating a win-win situation by collaborating with Taiwan, and for excelling the mutual competitiveness.

(本文作者任職於海巡署企劃處)

(The author is currently with Coast Guard Administration planning division.)