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詮釋海洋國家

The Significance of Ocean States Interpretation

一、海洋國家內涵

台灣是一個典型的「海洋國家」(Ocean State)，海洋立國亦是台灣國家發展的新藍圖與國防安全的保障，當前台灣唯有將海洋放在國家層級的戰略位置來規劃，才能自海洋獲得國家生存與發展所需的最大利益^(註1)。海洋發展思維可溯至十五世紀開始，由於航海地理的發現，使得人類的海洋觀念超出一般陸地生活概念，也興起了商業革命與近代資本主義的殖民式掠奪。由於傳統陸權思維已不符國家發展所需，因此各國紛將國家生存發展的希望伸向海洋，故主要法系

I. The essence of the ocean state

As a typical ocean state, Taiwan applies ocean development as the new blueprint of nation's development and guarantee of national defense security. Yet, it is imperative for Taiwan to recognize maritime development as a national level of defensive strategy in order to obtain the maximum advantage in securing Taiwan's national survival and development^(Footnote 1). The concept of "ocean state" could be traced back to the 15th century. When the geography discoveries over navigation have excelled mankind's concept of the ocean in excess of the perception about the ordinary land activity, which in turn has triggered the commercial revolution and the modern capitalism's colonial pillage. Since the conventional land sovereignty thought no longer meets the need of national development, countries in the world have extended their hopes of national survival and development. Therefore, it has



有大陸法系與海洋法系之劃分。

作為一個海洋國家，必須去維護國家的海洋權益，保衛國家的海洋資源。然在傳統觀念中，國土僅止於陸域，海洋向來被視為可以任意排放或傾倒廢污的場所。但海洋是人類共有資源，其海洋環境包括所有的洋、海、灣、峽及海岸地帶所形成的整體範圍，它是人類永續生存及發展的領域。故1982年聯合國海洋法公約及至92年地球高峰會世界各國一致支持永續發展理念，並提出「21世紀議程」明白宣示：維護海洋環境與生態平衡是所有沿海國家不可逃避的重責大任。何況，海洋為生命之母，孕育著無數的生命，大多數為海洋圍繞的島國，均能發展多元文化，建立海洋國家。

二、不同角度審視海洋國家

(一) 從地理的觀點

海洋國家乃非屬內陸國的濱海國家，於國際社會中可主張其海洋主權權利者，均可稱之^(註2)。然地理環境因素僅僅在於外觀是否擁有海洋水域，但海洋國家的真正意涵乃存在於國家的意識形態，海洋國家的主張無非是要重視海洋事務的發展，海洋環境資源的開發，海域秩序的穩定維持等，積極塑造海洋立國的精神，建構新海洋國家民族文化。不祇在總目標確立，更注重行動之實踐，明顯例子如葡萄牙國旗中央圖徽是金色的古老航海儀器渾天儀，它是葡萄牙航海家們全球探險和開拓新大陸的歷史見證物，充分象徵往海洋發展傲人史實。

created the divisions of the continental law and the oceanic law as the two major legal systems.

Being an ocean state, we need to safeguard our sea territorial rights and protect nation's maritime resources. Yet, by the conventional concept, state properties often are confined to land territories, while the oceans are often regarded as the venue of recklessly discharging or dumping wastes. However, as oceans are the mutual natural resources shared by all human beings, the marine environment has covered all oceans, seas, bays, straits, and the entire scope of the coastal areas, that governs mankind's sustainable survival and development. As a result of the UN Ocean Treaty of 1982 and the Earth Summit of 1992, countries in the world have achieved an globally consensus to unanimously support the sustainable development concept and propose the "21st Century Agenda" declaring that maintaining the marine environment and ecological balance are the irrefutable responsibilities to all coastal nations. Besides, as ocean is the mother of lives, which nurtures and sustains a great deal of lives. Most of the nations surrounded by sea are able to develop a diverse culture and instill a seafaring national policy individually.

II. Perspectives of maritime nations

(I) Geographical perspective

Ocean states are those sea-bordering countries other than inland countries. They can claim the rights of sea territories in the international communities^(Footnote 2). Yet, the geographical factors merely define whether a country commands the seas or not, the true significance of being an ocean state lies in the ideological idea of nation's awareness. The claims of the ocean-state rest nothing but on the development of maritime affairs and resources, maintaining stable territorial waters in order. Also, it will positively make effort in reshaping an ocean state spirit and mapping out a new ocean state ethnic culture. More than ascertaining the overall objective, it will call for the action to fulfill the idea. A prime example would be why the totem of a gold ancient navigational compass lies in the center of the Portuguese national flag. It stands for a historical witness to the great Portuguese navigators' worldwide expeditions and exploration of the New Continent, a symbol of pride and joy in how the nation has truly created history in maritime development.

(II) Historical perspective

To broach from the historical viewpoint, the convention thoughts reckon that if anyone tends to maneuver the entire world, the only means is to control the oceans. For instance, we can see those fierce seafaring countries, such as Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands and U. K. compete against one another^(Footnote 3) in the past. It was the doctrine of the sea sovereignty doctrine, which triggers an era of ocean state, spawns the forces of sea superpowers and fights for maritime resources and colonies. Yet, as the time continues on, nations begin to realize that maritime resources aren't boundless. This concern has incubated the birth of the 1982 UN Ocean Treaty. It demands the



（二）從歷史的觀點

從歷史觀點而言，傳統認為欲主宰世界者，只有控制海洋一途，如葡萄牙、西班牙、荷蘭、英國等海上強權的競逐^(註3)。海權思想牽動海洋國家的興起，建立海上強權武力，爭奪海上資源與殖民屬地。但隨時代潮流大步邁進，各國開始意識到海洋資源並非永不匱乏，於是1982年聯合國海洋法公約因而誕生，要求各國利用自然資源，應採取防止、減少和控制海洋環境污染的措施，而國際區域合作需要亦迫在眉睫，這是全人類合作的大契機，亦突顯海洋國家主權伸張與限制的必要性。

三、海洋國家理念軌跡

就民進黨執政前後歷史來檢視海洋國家發展軌跡，與極力標榜「海洋立國」、「海洋國家」等目標不謀而合。

（一）88年12月，當時陳水扁先生（尚未競選總統）訪問英國，就聲稱英國與台灣同為「海洋國家」，台灣應作「南海語系」的中心，向海洋擴展，而非只作「陸權中國」的邊陲，其主張與呂秀蓮如出一轍。

（二）89年5月，新政府尚未正式啟動前，呂副總統秀蓮在與新內閣座談時提出「海洋立國」的思考，由於台灣土地非常狹窄，放眼四周汪洋大海，擁有無限資源。但是長期以來，我國海洋文化被扼殺，使台灣土地未受到應有的尊重，未來新政府應改變這種狀況。

（三）91年5月19日，民進黨執政兩周年之際，呂副總統秀蓮又至宜蘭龜山島發表所謂「海洋立國」宣言，再次宣稱新政府要「海洋立國」，並計劃籌設「國家海洋事務部」，打破過去固步自封的陸權心態。

（四）92年1月1日，呂副總統秀蓮至東沙發表海洋立國之「海洋戰略宣

nations of the world to make smart use of the natural resources by adopting measures to prevent, reduce and monitor the marine environment and pollution. Along with the eager demanding on regional cooperation around the world, it presents a niche for mankind to work together and the necessity of sovereignty claim and restrictions among the seafaring countries.

III. The track of the ocean-state concept

To examine the track of developing Taiwan into an ocean state since DPP took office, it does coincide with the focused emphatic objectives of building national strength through maritime resources, and becoming an ocean-state.

1. In his visit to the U.K. in December 1999 before winning president election, Chen Sui-Bien claimed that the U.K. and Taiwan are both ocean states, Taiwan ought to become a hub of the Southern Sea language system by performing ocean expansion rather than being a fringe to China as a land sovereignty, where his claim has coincided with the one coming from Annette Lu.
2. In May 2000 before the new government had initiated the operation, Vice President Annette Lu presented the concept about ocean state development in a cabinet forum, in light of Taiwan's limited land resources and contrasted with the infinite resources that its surrounding oceans could offer. Yet, for a long time, Taiwan's maritime culture has been constricted, depriving the island's land of its due respect, in which the new government ought to avert the situation.
3. On May 19, 2002, as the new government celebrated its two-year inauguration, Vice President Annette Lu once again presented an ocean-state development declaration by traveling to the Turtle Island in Ilan. She claimed that the new government vows to heed to the ocean-state development blueprint; together with plans to launch a national ocean affairs department that would serve to disintegrate the once self-confined mentality of a land sovereignty.
4. On January 1, 2003, Vice President Lu claimed, while she was traveling to Dongsha to announce a "Ocean strategic declaration", that Dongshan should be more than just a geography term in elementary and high school textbooks. She not only rallied the new government to develop its strength relying on the ocean but also asserted an underlying significance showcasing Dongsha as part of the Taiwan's territorial claim.
5. In early 2004, the Ocean Affairs Promotion Council appointed by the Executive Yuan, which was headed by the Premier Yuan as commissioner, and the Director of Coast Guard Administration doubled as Executive Director, is the platform for coordinating various departments and administrations to jointly drive ocean affairs promotion. The counsels of it are accomplished industry, government and academic talents. It is supported by six task forces, ocean strategy section, sea territory security section, ocean technology research section, ocean industry section, ocean cultural sec-



言」，聲稱東沙不該只是中小學課本中的地理名詞，鼓吹新政府除海洋立國外，更要彰顯東沙是台灣領土主權的重大意義。

(五) 93年年初行政院設置海洋事務推動委員會，由院長兼任召集人，海巡署署長兼執行長，作為協調各相關部會署共同推動海洋事務機制平台，委員結合產、官、學界各方碩彥，其下設海洋策略組、海域安全組、海洋科研組、海洋產業組、海洋文化組、海洋資源組六個分工小組，為海洋國家願景提供具體建言及作法。

(六) 93年5月29日陳總統連任，在參加新閣座談會上明白揭示：要行政團隊將「海洋國家」放在心上，且一再強調台灣要永續發展就必須「面向海洋，以世界為舞台」的信念，所以我們必須積極找回台灣做為一個海洋國家應有的個性與視野。

四、推動海洋國家目的分析

新政府一向主張「海洋國家」的稱謂，個人以為其意義及目的可分析如下：

(一) 新政府希望以此凸顯台灣主權獨立與修憲議題

呂副總統秀蓮在第一次提出「海洋立國」時就聲稱，新政府與舊政府最大差異在於舊政府來自中原，以陸權心態統治台灣。陳總統亦曾宣稱，台灣是「海洋國家」，不是「大陸國家」，台灣要小而美。另新政府從憲政改革問題來看，基於海洋立國的憲法更必須符合社會的變遷與海洋子民未來生存及發展所需，過去以中國大陸特性所制定的憲法，不僅不合適施行於台灣所涵蓋的領土範圍與對象，其制定的內涵也是以強化政府的能力為主，台灣唯有正本清源重新制定符合西方三

tion and ocean resources section that serve to provide substantial input and implementation for realizing the ocean state vision.

6. Upon being re-elected on May 29, 2004, President Chen has clearly declared on a press meeting "The administration team vows to have a thought of becoming an ocean state. Taiwan needs to embrace the ocean and take herself on the world stage if she is to secure her sustainable development., It compels us to revisit the character and vision that Taiwan, as an ocean state, should possess."

IV. Analyze the objectives of boosting the ocean-state

By author's personal opinion, the meaning and purpose of why the new government consistently calls for the term of "Ocean State", can be further analyzed by its significance and objectives as follows,

1. The new government desires to showcase Taiwan's independent sovereign claim and constitutional amendment through the issues Vice President Lu has claimed in her first declaration of "Ocean state development utilizing maritime resources" that a major difference between the new and previous governments lies in that the previous government came from the mainland China and ruled Taiwan under the thought of continental sovereignty. President Chen has also asserted that Taiwan is an ocean state rather than a continental state, which called for Taiwan to be compacted and refined. Moreover, the new government have also reckoned that Taiwan's constitution taking to a national development scheme that utilizes maritime resources, when encountering the constitutional reform issue, it would require to redress its society change and comply with the needs of future generations' survival. It seems that the constitution drafted in accordance with the continental characteristics does not conform to Taiwan's territorial claim and subjects confront, and the essence of its promulgation has only focused on reinforcing the government's power. While a viable means for Taiwan to redefine a constitution that can meet the Western doctrine of a counterbalanced three-branch government would rely on how the constitution is able to strengthen the nation's organizational function. And hence Taiwan will figure out the unclear definition between the five-branch government rule and the three-branch government rule thoroughly that has long-term existed therein. (Footnote 4).

2. The desire to rebuild a new Taiwanese ethnicity and grassroots cultural identity Vice President Lu has reckoned, in her national development claim utilizing ocean resources, that as our forefathers immigrated to Taiwan from mainland China and South Pacific, yet, extended KMT with mainland rule and oppression has deprived Taiwan of its seafaring nature, ethnicity and cultural characteristics and called for a revival of rebuilding the nation back to a maritime culture.

3. The desire to achieve the so-called sea sovereignty in order to counteract Mainland China

Vice President Lu has clearly pointed out that embracing a mari-



權分立精神的憲法，以及依此部憲法強化海洋立國的組織功能，才能徹底解決長期以來五權分立與三權體制混淆不清的現象^(註4)。

(二) 欲圖建構新台灣民族和文化本土性 呂副總統倡議「海洋立國」主張，認為前人自中國大陸或南太平洋至台灣求發展，但長期以來遭受國民黨外來大陸政權的統治與壓迫，使台灣的海洋性、民族性與文化特色均被抹殺，故須發揚海洋文化作為立國精神。然民族本性和文化傳承是難以徹底改變的，回顧日本占領台灣五十年，推行皇民化運動，乃為了消滅植根於台灣人民血液中的中國文化，但始終未能得逞。新政府意欲以「海洋文化」最終達成其「海洋台灣」的目的。

(三) 以所謂「海權」與中國大陸相抗衡 呂副總統秀蓮明確指出，「海洋立國」不僅是立國新方向，亦隱含國防安全的意義。在亞太國家中，南海交通線與台灣海峽乃維護台灣海上生命線與控制南海戰略要衝的角色更顯重要。故政府是把海洋作戰略思考並且做為與中國大陸抗衡的籌碼，企圖提醒鄰近國家共謀區域聯防來反制對岸日益野心。

五、海洋國家特質

由於過去基於種種因素，過度管制港市共構建設及各種海洋活動，扼殺海洋國家發展的生機。今後更應喚起國人海洋意識，自發性的走向海洋，胸懷如下特質或價值觀：

- (一) 「依海為生，與海共存」的文化觀。
- (二) 「開放、包容、自主、互動」的行動準則。
- (三) 開放及擁抱海洋，建立海洋文化。
- (四) 具有歷史觀、世界觀、海洋觀，展現宏觀視野和海洋思維。
- (五) 優先保護重要海洋資源，整合海洋管

time development scheme not only provides a new direction of strengthening Taiwan's presence but also implies the significance in defense security. Among the Pacific Asian countries, the South China Sea waterways and the Taiwan Strait highlight the importance of protecting Taiwan's ocean lifeline and securing Taiwan's role holding a strategic stronghold to the South China Sea. With that, the new government has adopted the maritime strategy to counterbalance Mainland China, attempting to remind the nearby countries to form a joint alliance against the mainland regime's accelerating aggression.

V. The characteristics of a ocean state

As marred by a host of reasons in the past, the excessive control of the joint development of harbor and municipality and a host of maritime activities have hindered the niche of Taiwan in developing into a ocean state. From now on, it is urgent for us to wake up Taiwan civilians upon the importance of ocean resources, inspire them to voluntarily embrace a maritime culture by upholding the following characteristics and value perspectives,

1. A cultural perspective of "depend on ocean and coexist with it".
2. An action guideline of "open, accommodating, independent and interactive."
3. To open and embrace ocean and build a maritime culture.
4. To obtain the historical, global and maritime perspectives that would manifest a broad vision and ocean thought.
5. Protect vital marine resources as the top priority by integrating a viable ocean management mechanism.
6. To actively develop marine technology and spearhead the development of a marine industry.
7. To boost the reconstruction of a new humanity-ocean doctrine.

As a freestanding island strategically located at the midpoint of East Asia island-chain, it is essential for Taiwan to regard the sea as its landmass by emphasizing a duo principle under equal emphasis on the land and the ocean, and boosting the concept of sustainable-development. With its threats coming from sea, Taiwan also relies on the ocean for survival. Taiwan is able to tap into the niche of embracing developing a liberated maritime culture on the basis of embracing an ocean value perspective of "depend on ocean and coexist with it", fully utilize and develop ocean resources and energy.

VI. The vision of a ocean state

In a drive to become an excellent ocean state, the government of Taiwan has promulgated a "Guideline of National Ocean Policy" as the basis in government administration, declaring Taiwan's maritime vision as an ocean state that cares for the ecology, security and prosperity. The six substantial objectives and strategies disclosed are as follows,

1. To maintain ocean sovereignty for ensuring nation's development.



理體制。

(六) 積極發展海洋科技，輔導海洋產業發展。

(七) 推動「人海新倫理」的重新建構。

台灣地處東亞島弧之中樞地位，應基於「以海看陸」的立場，強調海陸並重與永續發展二大原則。我國威脅來自海洋，存續亦端賴海洋，惟發展「依海為生，與海共存」走向海洋價值觀，充份運用及開發海洋的資源與能源，才能建立開放海洋文化的新契機。

六、海洋國家願景

政府為邁向優質海洋國家，訂頒「國家海洋政策綱領」作為政府施政根基，我海洋願景為生態、安全、繁榮的海洋國家。揭示六大具體目標與策略如下：

- (一) 維護海洋權益，確保國家發展。
- (二) 強化海域執法，維護海上安全。
- (三) 保護海洋環境，厚植海域資源。
- (四) 健全經營環境，發展海洋產業。
- (五) 深耕海洋文化，形塑民族特質。
- (六) 培育海洋人才，深耕海洋科研。

(作者任職於海洋巡防總局秘書室)

2. To enforcing sea territorial law for maintaining maritime security.
3. To protect the ocean environment for deep-rooting ocean resources.
4. To excel the operating environment for developing the ocean industry.
5. To deeply root a maritime culture for reshaping an ethnical characteristic.
6. To educate manpower in maritime for deeply researching ocean science and development.

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註釋

註1：呂秀蓮，台灣大未來－海洋立國世界島，台北：知本家文化事業有限公司，民國92年2月，頁114。

註2：全世界除了42個內陸國，濱海國家計155國。邊子光，海洋巡防理論與實務，桃園：中央警察大學出版社，民國94年2月初版，頁90。

註3：Alfred Thayer Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1890; John Selden, The Dominion or Ownship of The Sea, 1635。

註4：呂秀蓮前揭書，頁126。

Footnotes:

1. Annette Lu, Taiwan's future - building a global island relying on ocean resources, Awareness Cultural Publishing Co., p.114, Feb. 2003, Taipei.
2. Besides 42 landlocked countries worldwide, the number of seafaring countries totaled to 155, T.K., Bien, The theory and practical implementation of maritime defense patrol, Central Police Academic Publishing House, p.90, first edition Feb. 2005, Taoyuan.
3. Alfred Thayer Mahan, the influence of sea power upon history, 1890; John Selden, the dominion or ownership of ocean, 1635.
4. Annette Lu, Taiwan's future - building a global island relying on ocean resources, Awareness Cultural Publishing Co., p.126, Feb. 2003, Taipei.