歐盟面對臺灣爭取主權時的態度

溫克樂

比利時布魯塞爾歐洲研究中心博士候選人

溫克樂女士在她的演講中,將藉由分析歐盟面對臺灣致力加入國際組織時的 態度,呈現影響歐盟臺灣政策的因素。本文中的國際組織主要是指世界貿易組織 (WTO)、世界衛生組織(WHO)及聯合國(UN)。對臺灣,加入國際組織具有 重要的作用是得以爭取主權,這被視為逐步獲得國際社會承認的過程。特別在陳 水扁執政時期,其行動已趨激進,而馬英九勝選後,則傾向轉為較實際化的策略。 近幾年來,臺灣政府發覺到歐盟在國際政治中扮演著重要角色,能使臺灣和其 27 個會員國的互動中維繫其利益。然而,根據臺灣方面的評估,來自歐盟的支 持仍相當冷淡。

歐洲如此謹慎的態度其理由多樣。歐盟與臺灣雖無正式外交,但仍在經濟利 益上保持密切的關係。同時,歐盟所有的會員國都維持與中國的外交,並支持所 調的「一個中國」政策。隨著中國的經濟發展,中國與歐盟的聯繫逐漸加深。因 此歐盟無意允諾可能危及中國關係的臺灣政策。而且,在許多組織中,中國以正 式或非正式的力量封鎖臺灣的努力,在臺灣的手段過於急進時使歐洲的支持無 效。因此,歐盟並不支持臺灣成為組織會員以獲取國家地位的策略,但它仍鼓勵 臺灣非正式的加入,以符合歐洲的利益。最後,要歐盟做出公開支持臺灣的內部 決策是更加的困難,因為許多決定要求所有歐盟會員國的一致同意,而它們難以 在這樣敏感的問題上獲得共識。

歐盟傾向給予臺灣更多參與國際事務的權利。然而,這樣的支持有其限度, 一如歐盟明白地不予提升臺灣正式的主權地位。歐盟能在加入國際組織的問題上 對臺灣與中國居中斡旋,不過那只會發生在已有明確和解的可能,及有助於歐洲 本身利益的情況下。

EU Attitude towards Taiwan's Quest for Sovereignty

Sigrid Winkler

Ph.D. Candidate of Institute for European Studies, Brussels, Belgium

In her presentation, Sigrid Winkler attempts to give an outline over the factors influencing the European Union's (EU) Taiwan policy by analyzing the European attitude towards Taiwan's efforts to participate in international organizations. The international organizations in the focus of this paper are the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations (UN). For Taiwan, involvement in international organizations plays an important role in the quest for sovereignty, as it is perceived as a step-by-step approach towards gaining recognition from the global community. Especially during the Chen Shui-bian administration this approach has been radicalized. With the election of Ma Ying-jeou the trend was reversed to a more pragmatic strategy. In recent years Taiwan's government has discovered the European Union as an important player in world politics, which could tip the balance in Taiwan's favor with its 27 member states. However, according to Taiwanese assessment, the support gained from the European Union is considered as rather lukewarm.

The reasons for this cautious European approach are manifold. The EU has strong, albeit non-diplomatic, relations with Taiwan, with the main focus on economic interests. At the same time, all member states of the European Union entertain diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC), they adhere to the so-called "one China" policy. With China's economic development, the PRC's ties with the European Union have become increasingly strong. Thus, the EU is not inclined to engage in a Taiwan policy that could threaten its relations to China. Furthermore, in many organizations the PRC has formal or informal powers to block Taiwanese efforts, which would make European support pointless if the Taiwanese approach is too radical. Therefore, the EU does not support Taiwanese strategies to gain membership in organizations that require statehood, it however advocates informal participation of Taiwan, given that such an approach serves European interests. Finally, the EU internal decision-making proves to be a further hurdle for open support of Taiwan, because many decisions require consensus among all EU member states, which can hardly be achieved on such sensitive issues.

The EU favors granting Taiwan more rights for involvement in world affairs. However, this support has its limits, as the EU clearly does not promote a formal sovereign status for Taiwan. The EU can mediate between Taiwan and China on issues of participation in international organizations, but will only do so if a compromise solution is tangible and European interests are at stake.