

南海和平計畫

中華民國總統馬英九

美國歐巴馬總統提議的「重返亞洲」(Pivot to Asia)，目標之一即是亞太地區進一步整合。然而，隨著南海緊張情勢升高，該目標愈來愈難實現。

最近本人在臺北一場會議發表專題演講，提出「南海和平倡議」——一個可確實解決這些緊張情勢的可行方案。此提議的要旨，在於將焦點從解決領土問題，轉移至共同開發資源上。雖然主權無法分割，但是資源可以共享。

此一方法之使用，先前在臺灣已有成效。過去7年來，我政府以維持現狀為目標，以穩定、務實政策處理與中國大陸的關係。這個「現狀」就是「不統、不獨、不武。」

因此迄今大陸和臺灣已簽署21項協議，涵蓋範圍極廣，包括兩岸直航、經濟合作與司法互助，同時為臺灣海峽帶來66年以來所未見的和平與繁榮。

在東海，我們也有過類似的建設性提議。釣魚臺列嶼的領土爭議已逾40年。2012年9月，日本決定將釣魚臺列嶼「國有化」，此舉引發中國大陸逾20個城市大規模反日示威活動。由於預見衝突即將升高，本人在2012年8月提出「東海和平倡議」，呼籲日本、中國大陸共同擱置爭議，尊重國際法，並且協商資源分享與合作開發。

面對緊張情勢急速升高，日本正面回應上述和平提議，並於2013年4月迅速與臺灣簽訂漁業協定。這項談判在過去17年間，歷經16次會談，都一直無法突破。

2013年的協議，涵蓋7萬平方公里的爭議海域，相當於臺灣的兩倍大，且未涉及雙方對主權的主張，創造雙贏的局面。美國、歐盟及澳洲皆讚譽「東海和平倡議」為促進區域和平的有效方法。

現在我要再度以「南海和平倡議」呼籲各方以和解及合作的精神，將看似不可能的任務，轉變成極為可能。

自1956年起，臺灣即在太平島駐有人員。有著歷史、地理及國際法的堅實基礎，臺灣亦主張南沙群島、西沙群島、中沙群島、東沙群島及其周遭海域為中華民國固有領土及海域。

為尋求和平解決南海爭端的機制，本人呼籲此區域各國同意下列論述：

- 自我克制，維持南海區域和平穩定，避免採取任何升高緊張情勢的單邊措施。
- 尊重包括聯合國憲章及聯合國海洋法公約在內的相關國際法原則與精神，透過對話，以和平方式解決爭端，共同維護南海地區海、空域航行及飛越自由與安全。
- 確保區域內各當事方參與海洋合作機制，並遵守共同行為規範，以提升南海和平與繁榮。
- 擱置主權爭議，建立南海區域合作機制，全面規劃及分區開發南海資源。
- 就南海環境保護、科學研究、打擊海上犯罪、人道援助與災害救援等非傳統安全議題，建立協調及合作機制。

臺灣是個島嶼，其海事安全等同國家安全。本人因此連續提出三項和平主張：「從臺海，到東海，再到南海」，盼藉此促進區域的和平與繁榮。此項策略已兩次獲致成果，期盼未來能第三次發揮成效。臺灣已經做好準備，願與南海其他當事方進行和平對話與合作。

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A Plan for Peace in the South China Sea



中華民國總統馬英九

President Ma Ying-jeou of the Republic of China

A Plan for Peace in the South China Sea

PRESIDENT MA YING-JEOU
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

One of the objectives set by President Barack Obama in his proposed "pivot to Asia" was improved integration of the Asia Pacific Region. As tensions continue to mount in the South China Sea, however, that goal is becoming increasingly unlikely.

During my keynote speech at a recent conference in Taipei I proposed a South China Sea Peace Initiative—a practical, viable solution to address these tensions.

The thrust of my proposal is to shift the focus from settling territorial disputes to jointly developing resources. Although sovereignty cannot be divided, resources can still be shared.

This approach has served Taiwan well before. Over the past seven years, my government has handled its relations with mainland China according to a stable and pragmatic policy aimed at maintaining the status quo. This means no unification, no independence and no use of force.

This has allowed the mainland and Taiwan to conclude 21 agreements, covering a wide range of topics from direct flights and economic cooperation to mutual judicial assistance. It has also resulted in a level of peace and prosperity that hasn't been seen in the Taiwan Strait in 66 years.

A similar proposal was also constructive in the East China Sea, where territorial disputes regarding the Diaoyutai Islands have lasted for more than four decades. In September 2012, Japan decided to "nationalize" the islands, prompting large anti-Japanese demonstrations in more than 20 cities in mainland China. Anticipating a potential confrontation, in August 2012 I proposed the East China Sea Peace Initiative, calling upon Japan to join in shelving our disputes, respect international law and negotiate the sharing of resources and their joint development.

Faced with rapidly escalating tensions, Japan responded positively to the proposed peace initiative and quickly signed a fisheries agreement with Taiwan in April 2013. This occurred after 16 rounds of talks over the previous 17 years had produced nothing.

The 2013 agreement covers 70,000 square kilometers of contested waters, an area approximately twice the size of Taiwan, and leaves the sovereignty claims of both sides intact, creating a win-win situation. The East China Sea Peace Initiative was praised by the U.S., the European Union and Australia as an effective way to promote regional peace.

Now with the South China Sea Peace Initiative, I am again calling upon all parties to embrace the spirit of reconciliation and cooperation and turn what seems like a mission impossible into the eminently possible.

In the South China Sea, Taiwan has had personnel stationed on Taiping Island (also known as Itu Aba) since 1956. With a firm basis in history, geography and international law, Taiwan also claims the Nansha (Spratly), Shisha (Paracel), Chungsha (Macclesfield Bank) and Tungsha (Pratas) Islands and their surrounding waters as an inherent part of the Republic of China's territory and waters.

In order to find a peaceful means to resolve our South China Sea disputes, however, I am now calling upon the other nations of the region to agree to:

- Exercise restraint, safeguard peace and stability and refrain from taking any unilateral action that might escalate tension.
- Respect the principles and spirit of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and to peacefully settle disputes through dialogue and jointly uphold the freedom and safety of navigation and overflight.
- Ensure that all parties concerned participate in maritime cooperation and shared codes of conduct in order to enhance peace and prosperity.
- Shelve sovereignty disputes and establish a regional cooperation mechanism for the development of resources under integrated planning.
- Coordinate and cooperate on nontraditional security issues such as environmental protection, scientific research, maritime crime fighting, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

As an island, Taiwan's maritime security means national security. I have therefore made three peace proposals, first in the Taiwan Strait, then in the East China Sea and now in the South China Sea, in the hope of fostering regional peace and prosperity. This strategy has worked twice before and I hope it will work as well a third time. Taiwan stands ready to engage in peaceful dialogue and to cooperate with the other claimants in the South China Sea.

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