

眾議院外交事務委員會資深委員羅伊斯
「振興台美關係」演講全文

U.S.-Taiwan: Bolstering the Relationship
Congressman Ed Royce

午安，很高興再回到福爾摩莎基金會演講。兩年前我有機會在福爾摩莎基金會於華府舉辦的論壇上致辭，這次能再受邀重聚總是好的。

Good afternoon. It is good to be back before the Formosa Foundation. Two years ago, I had the opportunity to address a Formosa forum in Washington, D.C. It's always nice to be invited back for a repeat performance.

自從我上回的演講，華府後續有不少關於美台關係的討論。今年眾議院外交事務委員會睽違七年來再度召開了兩場台灣政策聽證會。我可以保證，像這樣具敏感性的聽證會，當局不怎麼歡迎，另一個政黨也避之唯恐不及。所以我要向召開這聽證會的外委會雷婷恩主席致敬。我們都分享一個願景，那就是我們的夥伴台灣，能和對岸和平共存而維持繁榮與安定。

There has been a lot to talk about the U.S.-Taiwan relationship since I last spoke in Washington. This year, the House Foreign Affairs Committee held the first hearings on Taiwan policy in 7 years. This isn't something that the Administration welcomed, I can assure you. And frankly, it's something the other party ducked. So hats off to the leadership of Chairman Ros-Lehtinen that they took place. Together we share a vision of partnering with a prosperous and peaceful Taiwan at peace with its cross-Straits neighbor.

此願景有問題

Something is wrong with this picture

我們今天座談的時機很得宜。本週末奧巴馬總統正在夏威夷作東參加亞太經濟合作會議，二十一國的領導人齊聚檀香山，好消息是，台灣自創會即以正式會員身分參加。

Our timing for today's discussion is good. This weekend, President Obama is in Hawaii for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum. Leaders of all 21 member economies will meet in Honolulu. The good news is that Taiwan is participating as a full member, as it has from the beginning.

預料見報的是諸國領導人身著夏威夷衫的大合照，但仔細瞧你將發現這張照片不對勁。台灣雖然是亞太經合會的正式會員，卻再度由前副總統連戰代表出席本週末的領袖高峰會，而非台灣現任總統。這當然是美國政策勤於勸阻台灣高級官員踏訪美國本土使然。這下好了，我們正處於全球性經濟衰退途中，必須全力破除貿易藩籬，並啓動經濟成長，而我們第九大貿易夥伴國的元首被隔離在界外區。對我而言，沒有比這例子更突顯出我們的對台政策有多麼過時不當的了。

We'll likely see a picture in the newspaper of the leaders dressed in Hawaiian shirts. But take a closer look, and you'll likely see that there is something wrong with this picture. Although Taiwan is a full member of APEC, it is once again being represented by a former Vice President at this weekend's summit, not the President. And of course, U.S. policy actively discourages visits to U.S. soil by senior Taiwanese officials. Here we are, in the middle of a global recession, trying to break-down barriers to trade and jumpstart economic growth, and the head of our 9th largest trading partner is sidelined. To me, there is no better representation as to how out-dated and wrong our Taiwan policy is.

再考量政府如何努力塑造美國成太平洋地區強國的形象。國務卿希拉蕊近期在「外交政策」雜誌撰寫封面文章，題為「美國的太平洋世紀」。她於文中主張，美國已經且必須與亞洲成長與活力環環相扣，這點我十分贊同。但她長達八頁的文章，從汶萊到蒙古，提到每一個國家，就是隻字未提台灣。

Or consider the Administration's efforts to cast the U.S. as a Pacific power. Secretary Clinton recently penned a cover story for *Foreign Policy* magazine entitled, "America's Pacific Century." In it, the Secretary argues that America is and has to be linked to Asia's growth and dynamism. No argument from me. But her eight-page article – where every country from Brunei to Mongolia is cited – doesn't contain a single mention of Taiwan.

這願景實在有問題。

Again, there something is wrong with this picture...

美台關係是美國在亞洲角色的指標

U.S.-Taiwan Relations: A barometer of the America's role in Asia

今天的台灣議題，也正逢美國學術界相繼冒出所謂的「棄台論」。根據他們的想法，美國應考慮棄守台灣，如此才能解除美國與中國的摩擦，並使未來美中關係的進展順遂。

Our discussion today also comes as a debate is bubbling up in academia about "abandoning Taiwan." According to their thinking, the U.S. should consider backing away from Taiwan, therefore removing the friction between the U.S. and China, and smoothing the way for better relations in the years ahead.

慶幸地是，我可以向諸位報告，沒有任何嚴肅的國會議員會考慮這種提議。犧牲台灣會讓中國更堅守對北韓或伊朗核武制裁？當然不會。反倒更有可能的是，中國將認定美國軟弱且可頤指氣使，如探囊取物地，中國將穩賺我們的退讓，再得寸進尺。

Fortunately, I can report that no serious Member of Congress is considering such a proposal. Would sacrificing Taiwan result in China taking a firmer line on North Korea or Iran's nuclear programs? Of course not. More likely China would conclude that the U.S. is weak and can be manipulated. The Chinese would pocket our concession and move on.

「棄台論」的假說更誤解了美台關係在亞太區域所扮演的角色。當美國回應九六年台海危機時，區域國家對美國的信心大漲，並形成一股反制中國的浪潮—日本、新加坡、菲律賓等國，皆振興與美方的安全合作。

This hypothesis also fails to understand the role that the U.S.-Taiwan relationship plays in the region. When the U.S. responded to the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis, the region's confidence in the U.S. soared and a wave of counterbalancing against China occurred – Japan, Singapore, the Philippines and other nations all bolstered their security ties with the United States.

我們對台灣的支持若流失，將事得其反—負面地影響我們與盟友的關係，尤其是正憂心中國掠奪南中國海資源及導致其喪失自由航權的東南亞國家。簡言之，美台關係是美國在亞洲角色的指標。

Letting our support for Taiwan slip would likely have the opposition effect – negatively impacting relations with treaty allies and the countries of Southeast Asia who are worried about freedom of navigation and Chinese resource claims in the South China Sea. Put simply, U.S.-Taiwan relations are a barometer of the U.S. role in Asia.

更值得玩味地是，在兩岸關係趨向穩定的同時，中國與其鄰國的緊張關係卻升高了。這也破除了所謂台灣問題是中國和平崛起的唯一阻礙的理論性。

It is also interesting to note that tensions between China and its neighbors have heightened at the same time that cross-strait relations with Taiwan have been on a more even keel. This undercuts the theory that China's dispute with Taiwan is the only thing standing in the way of China's peaceful rise.

我想國會議員皆認為「棄台論」的說法實屬天真。它亦忽視美台間的歷史關連，及美國透過促進台灣民主制度建立，來作為對亞太區域鄰國模範的用心。

I think Members of Congress understand the “abandon Taiwan” hypothesis what it is: naïve. It also ignores our historic ties and the critical role the U.S. has played in bolstering Taiwan's democratic system as an example for its neighbors and the region.

然而壞主意總有辦法蔓延進主流思考。所以我以此提出觀點，作為在座所有關心美台關係的諸位的依據及挑戰：我們必須更努力促進美台關係，我們得在這種棄台論發功前將之屏棄。

But bad ideas have a way of creeping into the mainstream. So I raise it as a rallying point and challenge for all of us here that care about this relationship - that we need to work even harder to move relations forward. This talk of abandonment needs to be stomped-out before it gains traction.

為駁斥棄台論，我們應強調促進區域和平與安全的目標。沒有人想要衝突。我們要良好的兩岸關係。我們的重點是，和平來自實力的展現。若犧牲傳統美台關係，衝突更可能觸發。

In arguing this it's important that we stress our objective of promoting peace and security in the region. No one wants conflict. We want good cross-Strait relations. Our point is that peace comes through strength. Sacrifice the traditional U.S. relationship with Taiwan, and conflict becomes more likely.

振興美台關係

Bolstering the Relationship

這是我何以強烈響應雷婷恩主席，在今秋提出「2011年台灣政策法」的理由之一。

That's one of the reasons I am so bullish on the "Taiwan Policy Act of 2011," which I joined Chairman Ros-Lehtinen in introducing this fall.

可理解地，大部份人對此法案所扮演的角色的關注，都聚焦在對台軍售上。不過它也：Understandably, most have focused on the role the bill plays in defensive arms sales to Taiwan.

But it also:

- 鼓勵美國閣員訪台
- 要求改善台灣官員訪美的規格或限制
- 繼續促進台灣加入國際組織的正當身分
- 推動台灣在符合規定後能早日被納入免簽證計畫
- encourages visits by U.S. Cabinet officials;
- requires revisions on travel to the U.S. by Taiwanese officials;
- continues to press on Taiwan's status in international organizations; and
- pushes for Taiwan's inclusion in the Visa Waiver Program once it satisfies the requirements.

我很高興能向各位報告：此法案已被排入眾議院外交事務委員會下週四的討論議程。請不吝指教，如何強化改進這項法案。

I am pleased to report that this legislation has been scheduled to be considered by the House Foreign Affairs Committee next Thursday. I'd welcome your thoughts today as to how it could be strengthened and improved.

此法案的重大意義之一，在於提出振興美台經濟關係的法律項目。

Of significance, the legislation includes provisions that look to bolster U.S. and Taiwan economic ties.

我常引用的名言是「亞洲人的要務即經貿」。一股在美國安全保障中所引發的經濟整合的浪潮，正席捲亞洲。亞洲國家彼此間與其他貿易夥伴，進行著許多貿易最惠國協定：目前已有 180 個協定執行中，20 個待執行，70 個協商中。

I've often cited the maxim that the "business of Asia is business." A wave of economic integration – which has been underwritten by the U.S. security guarantee – has been sweeping across Asia. Asian countries have been securing preferential trade agreements among themselves and with other trading partners: 180 agreements are currently in force, 20 are awaiting implementation, and 70 are under negotiation.

而在這麼多的貿易協定中，美國只與三國有約：新加坡、澳洲、及日前終於簽訂的南韓。亞洲競賽中唯獨美國停滯不前。如同美國，但基於不同的原因，台灣也多半被排除於這股整合熱潮外。

Of all of these agreements, the U.S. is a party to just three: Singapore, Australia, and now – finally – South Korea. Asia has raced forward while the U.S. has stood still. Like the U.S. – but for different reasons – Taiwan has been left out of much of this integration as well.

爲了避免被進一步邊緣化，在民進黨與國民黨主政下，台灣只看向對岸的市場。過去十年中，台灣對中國的整體貿易成長率達近百分之三百。

To avoid being further marginalized, under the leadership of both the DPP and KMT, Taiwan has looked across the strait. In the past decade, Taiwan's total trade with China grew by nearly 300 percent.

自 2008 年以來兩岸達成超過成打的經濟協定，其中最重要的是兩岸經濟合作架構協議 (ECFA)。台北當局穩扎穩打，獲得許多早期收穫關稅減免的優勢。

China-Taiwan negotiations since 2008 have yielded more than a dozen agreements covering economic issues. Most important has been the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). Taipei drove a hard bargain – with many of the early tariff cuts being to its advantage.

更重要地，儘管台北擺明將 ECFA 當成與他國簽署自由貿易協定的跳板，北京仍同意這些協商。簽訂 ECFA 後，台北開始與新加坡邁向類似自由貿易協定的談判，希望能藉此突破，助其開拓多元化經濟關係，並突破台灣在區域貿易自由化的孤立。

More importantly, Beijing agreed to these negotiations despite Taipei's explicit depiction of ECFA as a springboard for signing free-trade accords with other countries. Since conclusion of ECFA, Taipei has launched talks with Singapore aimed at reaching a free-trade type agreement that could be the first of many which would help Taiwan to diversify its economic relationships and break through its isolation from regional trade liberalization.

如一位知名觀察家於上週指出，台灣與中國的商務目前按理說比台美間的貿易更自由。我不知道你怎麼想，但我很難接受。美國得朝向對台自由貿易協定前進。

As one prominent observer noted last week, Taiwan's commerce with mainland China is arguably now freer than its trade with the United States. I don't know about you – but that just doesn't sit right with me. The U.S. must move towards a free trade agreement with Taiwan.

大體上，美台經濟關係一般來說方向正確。台灣已提升其對智慧財產權的保護（於 2009 年一月自特別 301 條款名單移除）。2009 年七月，台灣加入了世界貿易組織的政府採購協定，估計美國公司可競標的採購市場達六十億美元。我曾提出法案向中國施壓，要求其加入政府採購協定，不然中國將繼續其掠奪性經濟政策。

Overall, U.S.-Taiwan economic relations have generally been moving in the right direction. Taiwan has stepped up its protection of intellectual property rights (being removed from the “Special 301” list of countries in January 2009). In July 2009, Taiwan joined the WTO's government procurement agreement (GPA), which gives U.S. firms access to a procurement market estimated at \$6 billion. I have legislation pressuring China to join the GPA, because otherwise, China will continue its predatory economic policies.

遺憾地是，當我質詢美國官員攸關深化美台經濟約定的需求，官員們總指向如美國牛肉出口這類狹隘的、政治化的議題，耽擱進展。記住，牛肉只占雙邊貿易關係不到百分之一，而我們卻自陷於損害整體美國經濟利益的立場。牛肉進口議題已經影響美國與其他亞洲國家的貿易關係，美國卻唯獨對台灣以此推遲整體貿易對話。

Unfortunately, when I confront U.S. officials about the need to deepen our economic engagement with Taiwan, they point to narrow, politically-charged issues like U.S. beef exports as holding up progress. Keep in mind that beef represents less than 1 percent of our bilateral trade relationship. But yet we've put ourselves in a position where we undermine entire U.S. economic interests. Issues surrounding beef imports have affected other trading partnership in Asia. But only with Taiwan did the US make the decision to suspend our entire trade dialogue over the issue.

繼上回合的貿易投資架構協定(TIFA)會談——一個美台之間用來討論重大經濟議題的主要場合——已經是 2007 年的事了，如今 2012 年都快到了。我們說的可是美國第九大貿易夥伴。因為一些個案就拒絕討論廣大範圍經濟議題，無疑是拿石頭砸自己的腳。我們得密切注意總統本週末及下週在亞洲將作何說辭。

The last Trade and Investment Framework Agreement talks - the main forum used by Taiwan and the United States to discuss major economic issues - were held in 2007. We are approaching 2012. This is our 9th largest trading partner we are talking about. Refusing to talk about the broad range of economic issues between us because of a few distinct issues can only be described as shooting ourselves in the foot. This is an important check on the rhetoric we are hearing from the President in Asia this weekend and this coming week.

再者，我們對南韓與日本，就能劃分開牛肉問題而做出大幅進展。

Again, with South Korea and Japan, we were able to make broad progress by compartmentalizing beef issues.

當然，那端視領導者的魄力。遺憾地是，不論小布希或奧巴馬政府，對美台關係皆乏高度關注的意願。美台關係僅被視為美中關係的子題。對行政當局來說，這是一個他們只願消極應付、而非主動經營的關係。

Of course that took leadership. Unfortunately, neither the Bush nor Obama Administration has held high aspirations for this U.S.-Taiwan relationship. U.S.-Taiwan relations are viewed as a subset of the U.S.-China relationship. For the Administration – this is a relationship that they seek to manage, rather than guide.

展望未來，當台灣、美國、及中國即將改換領導者之際，這需要包括在座各位的多方努力，克盡個人綿力，以保障政權輪替，且美台關係能導向正途。

Looking forward, as Taiwan, the U.S. and China will all soon go through leadership changes. It will require hard work on the part of many --- including all of us in this room – to do our small part to make sure that this dynamic changes, and that the picture of U.S.-Taiwan relations is righted.

【2001 年成立於美國加州洛杉磯的美國福爾摩莎基金會，是一非營利機構，旨在促進台美間的相互了解及友好關係，並追求提昇台灣的民主、自由及人權。歡迎與我們聯繫。本會電話：213-625-1991 傳真：213-625-1941 地址：350 S. Figueroa Street, Suite 275, Los Angeles, CA 90071 網址：www.formosafoundation.org】