

《星期專訪》麥可丹尼爾森：與他國簽 FTA 更能捍衛台灣主權

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設於丹麥哥本哈根的「台灣壹角」(Taiwan Corner)是一個民間友台組織，主席麥可丹尼爾森(Michael Danielsen)最近來到台灣，他以一個多年關心台灣議題的外國友人身分發表個人看法認為，馬政府的兩岸政策走得太快、太遠，缺乏透明性，尤其全程沒有反對黨的參與，令人擔心。「台灣的整個政策方向是朝著統一前進，雖然緩慢但非常明確。」

他提醒，台灣必須與其他國家簽署 F T A，這有助於台灣的經濟獨立自主性，同時更能捍衛台灣的主權。未來的 E C F A 應該要舉行公民投票，才可以得到強而有力的民意後盾。

(The Weekly interview) with Michael Danielsen: Signing FTA with other countries can defend Taiwan's sovereignty better

Taiwan Corner in Copenhagen, Denmark is a friend of Taiwan and a non-governmental organization. The Chairman, Michael Danielsen, is a friend who has been concerned about the Taiwan issues for many years and expressed his opinions. He says that the Ma government's cross-strait policies have gone too fast, too far and lacks transparency. Especially, he points out that the negotiation process totally lacks the involvement of the opposition party's view and this is worrying.

He says that Taiwan has to sign FTA with other countries as this will help Taiwan's economic independence. At the same time, it can defend Taiwan's sovereignty. ECFA's future should be decided by a referendum such that it can get a strong backing.

記者問：這個月九日的三席立委補選，由民進黨所囊括，做為一個多年關心台灣議題的友人，你如何看待？

Q: All 3 seats of the legislator by-election on the 9th of January was taken by DPP, as a friend who has been concerned about the Taiwan issues for years, what do you think of the result?

麥可：我認為這個選舉結果令人振奮，顯示台灣人民需要更多的平衡，台灣人民已經漸漸成熟，認知到民主需要制衡的力量，一個強而有力的反對黨是台灣民主政治非常重要的關鍵。

總統與國會約有七十五%席次俱由一黨掌握，這不是民主政治的健康現象，不論是國民黨或民進黨皆是如此。民進黨現在取得了二十五%以上的席次，將來在國會可以做更多的事。

我知道現在台灣國會是首度實施單一選區兩票制產生的，國會無法完全正確反映民意，個人認為，歐洲的多重選舉制，一個政黨得到多少比例的選票在國會就有多少比例的席位，比較理想，我並不認為兩黨制是最好的制度，我比較信仰多黨政治，在丹麥國會，我們有八個政黨，大部分而更多的政黨只會在選舉時才出現。

Michael: I think the election result is encouraging, and that it is indicating that the Taiwanese want more balance.. Taiwanese people have already gradually become mature and they have

recognized that democracy requires the power of checks and balance. A powerful opposition party is a very important key to Taiwan's democracy.

Around 75% seats of the parliament are controlled by one party. This is not a healthy sign for democracy no matter if it is KMT or DPP. DPP has now obtained more than 25% of the seats and it can therefore do more in the parliament in the future.

I know that it is the first time Taiwan uses the single-district with two-vote system, but such a system is not able to reflect public opinion completely accurate. Personally, I think that many of Europe's multi-election systems are more idealistic. A political party will gain a certain percentage of seats in the parliament according to how many percentages of the votes that it received in the election. I don't think that a two party system is the I prefer multi-party politics. In Denmark, we have 8 parties in the parliament and more parties during the election.

問：對於馬政府上台後台灣與中國關係的變化，你觀察到什麼？

Q: What have you observed about the changes of the relationship between Taiwan and China after Ma government has taken over the power?

麥可：從我的觀點看來，有兩個比較重要的事情。第一，兩岸政策走的太快、太遠，第二，政策缺乏透明性，令我擔心，尤其是整個交涉的過程，完全沒有加入反對黨的意見，這是很核心的爭點。

兩岸進行任何協議都牽涉甚廣，不單只是一個商業的行為而已，儘管不可能事前把所有都說清楚，但是至少應該告訴台灣人民主要的主題是什麼？進行的進度如何？讓台灣人民有安全感。協商的過程，不僅要兼含反對黨的意見，反對黨也應該能夠參與，好讓這個協定得以通過所有人民的檢視。現在的作法顯然過於匆促，我實在很懷疑十九個月可以完成這麼多事情（指江陳會簽署十二項協議），這實在太快了。

對於台灣而言，所有協議必須經過台灣人民同意，這應該是很重要的。據我所知，ECFA也將在半年內完成簽訂，我實在不了解這麼重要的合約為什麼可以這麼快完成？或許應該花更多一點時間，讓ECFA在國會中獲致更詳細的討論，同時就此議題舉行公民投票，是一條可行之路。因為經由人民公投，可以得到人民的支持，得到強而有力的後盾，而且通過社會不斷的民主討論，也可以讓這個政策更加透明化，減少迷霧。易言之，ECFA的內容，不應只是內部的討論，外部的討論也很重要。

我同時認為，維護台灣主權是非常重要的事情。我希望台灣與中國之間所有的協商都能在平常心與安全的進行。從外人來看，我當然樂見海基與海協會這兩個半官方的單位能夠多進行一些協談，但是在兩會進行接觸之前，我們看到好像更多的交流與對話是在國民黨與共產黨之間私下進行的，這不是一個所謂透明的現象。

透明的意義應該是所有的協議都有文件紀錄與簽署，許多協商例如客運與貨運包機，其實在民進黨執政時代就已經開始進行並幾乎完成了，這個事實告訴我們，其實兩岸的互動大可透過官方授權來進行，不一定非要由國共兩黨先行才能搞定。之所以強調這個過程，我的用意是台灣的主權必須捍衛。

我很憂慮來自中國的投資，馬政府認為政經可以分離，這是不可能的，除了經濟的影響，同時也會帶來政治的影響。例如中國要投資台灣的基礎建設，它會選擇對中國比較友善的地區來投資，這就是政治的影響。又如中國投資台灣的股市時，它要進要出，也可以依照台灣當局的一動向一來做選擇，這種影響將來是非常強大的，因此無法將政治與經濟分開來談。

我認為如何讓台灣先與其他國家簽有 FTA，將是一個好主意，歐盟的自由貿易協定可以提供許多經驗。中國一直在阻斷台灣與其他國家間洽簽 FTA，我印象中，馬政府似乎認為與中國簽署 ECFA 後就可以較有機會與其他國家達成 FTA，事實上不是這樣的，事實上，台灣與中國的協商並沒有任何的保證，而且我認為中國有求於台灣比台灣有求於中國還多。

我要再次強調，台灣與其他國家簽署 FTA 是很重要的，這有助於台灣的經濟獨立自主性，在其他國家眼中，台灣也將更趨近於一個正常的國家，從主權的觀點，透過 FTA 更能捍衛台灣的主權，過去民進黨執政時比較注重經營與歐盟、美國、日本的關係，並以此在國際上發聲，但中國不希望這樣，國民黨好像也不願意努力這樣做。

當然，台灣不能忽略中國的存在，必須務實處理雙方的關係，並採取負責任的作法。

Michael: From my point of view, there are two important things. First, the cross-strait policies has gone too fast and too far. Second, the policies are lacking transparency, and I am worried about this. Especially, that the negotiation process totally lacks the involvement of the opposition party's view and this is the core of the point of contention.

A cross strait agreement tend to be broad in scope , and it is not simply a commercial process. Although it is impossible to clarify everything in advance, the government should at least tell Taiwanese people about "What are the main themes?" "How is the progress?" To let Taiwanese people feel secure. During the negotiation process, it should not only contain the views of the government party, but the opposite party should be allowed to participate, such that the agreement can be able to adopt the views of all the people. The current approach is obviously too hasty, and I really question how is has been possible to complete so many issues in 19 months (referring to those agreements were signed in Jiang-Chen meetings), which is too fast.

For Taiwan, all agreements must be agreed by all the Taiwanese people and this is essential. As far as I know, EFCA will be signed within the next 6 months, and I really don't understand why such an important contract shall be completed so quickly? Maybe there should take more time for EFCA to be discussed in details in the parliament and a referendum on this subject should be allowed. Because through a referendum, the people can give support and a strong backing. In addition, through continuous democratic discussions we can reduce the mysteries in the agreement and make policies more transparent. However, the content of EFCA is not just about internal political matters, but also external issues are important.

I believe that maintaining Taiwan's sovereignty is a very important matter. I hope that all the negotiations between Taiwan and China can be conducted with respect for Taiwan's sovereignty. From an outsider's point of view, I am of course pleased to see SEF and ARATS, these two semi-official entities will carry out more negotiations; however, it appears that there were and are more interactions and dialogues between KMT and CPP privately before the two entities actually meet. This is not transparency.

The meaning of transparency include agreements and negotiations that have been recorded by official entities. In fact, many negotiations have already been done and almost completed during the DPP era, such as passenger and cargo charter flights. This fact tells us that the cross-strait negotiations in fact can be carried out through the official channels, and not necessarily to be processed between KMT and CPP first. My intention to emphasis this process is that Taiwan's sovereignty has to be defended.

I am deeply worried about the investment from China. Ma's government believe that political and economic issues can be separated, but this is impossible. Economic influence will also bring the political power. Let me take an example China wants to invest in Taiwan construction projects. China will of course choose areas which are most friendly to China. This is political power. Also, when China wants to invest on Taiwan's stock market, the investments will also follow Taiwan's reaction to sensitive political issues This kind of influence will be very big and powerful in the future; therefore, political power cannot be separated from economic influence.

I think that free trade agreements (FTA) between Taiwan and other countries will be is a good idea. A free trade agreement with EU can provide of lot of experiences and benefits for Taiwan. China has been blocking the FTA between Taiwan and other countries. I am left with the impression that the Ma government seems to think that signing an EFCA with China, the agreement will provide Taiwan more chances to sign FTAs with other countries. Reality is not like that. There is no Chinese guarantee from the negotiations between Taiwan and China, and I think that China has more to gain from Taiwan than Taiwan has to gain from China.

Once again, I would like to stress that it is important for Taiwan to sign FTA with other countries because it will help Taiwan's economic independence. Taiwan will then tend to look like a more normal country in the eyes of other countries and thus a FTA can defend Taiwan's sovereignty. In the past, DPP government paid more attention to EU, USA and Japan and give Taiwan a strong voice at the international stage. Yet, China does not want this and KMT seems unwilling to do so either.

Of course, Taiwan cannot ignore the existence of China. It has to be pragmatic and make deals between the two sides and take a responsible approach.

問：這次的全球氣候變遷會議在哥本哈根舉行，因為中國因素，台灣必須以 NGO 身份才能與會，但派去的代表在寒冷的天候中於場外排了近十小時才得以入場，國際參與的經驗令人非常不愉快。

Q: Because of China, Taiwan has to attend the global climate change conference in Copenhagen as NGO. However, the representatives had to queue in the outside row for nearly 10 hours in order to get in the meeting, the experience of international participation was unhappy.

麥可：這次的會議場外是由丹麥負責，場內則屬於聯合國會議的一部份，台灣以 NGO 身分與其他 NGO 團體進場要排這麼久，並不是丹麥政府的安排，丹麥也希望改善，但這是聯合國的權力。另一方面，台灣以 NGO 並被置於中國名下的身份參與會議，這個結果不也是馬英九政府希望得到的嗎？他一直在減弱外交人員的能量，所謂外交休兵政策，不希望台灣在國際上發聲，種瓜得瓜，結果就是這個樣子，這是他自找的。

Michael: Denmark was responsible for the outside area of the meeting, but the venue belonged to United Nation. Taiwan was represented as NGO and they had to queue for such a long time with other NGO groups but this was not controlled by the Danish government. Denmark also wanted to improve the situation, but the meeting was controlled by United Nation. Regarding the issues of that Taiwan participated in the meeting as NGO under the name of China, is this not what Ma Ying-jeou government wanted? He keeps reducing the energy of diplomatic personnel. The so-called diplomatic truce policy does not want Taiwan to voice concerns in the international arena. So the situation is self-inflicted.

問：中國崛起之後，在國際各領域的勢力愈來愈龐大，要如何讓世界看到台灣？

Q: After the rise of China, it is getting bigger and bigger power in various international fields. How can Taiwan to be seen in the world?

麥可：中國在國際一向稱台灣是中國的一部份，臺灣人民團結一致、發出共同的聲音是很重要的，這樣才能向國際表達台灣真正的訴求；同時也要讓中國更了解台灣，不管是中國觀光客來台灣或台灣人去中國，愈多的接觸，台灣人會發現與中國人彼此間是多麼的不同，不需要有任何幻想，相信有助於台灣的團結。

Michael: In the international community, China has always said that Taiwan is part of China. It is important that Taiwanese people are united with a common voice. This is the only way that Taiwan can express its demands to international community, and make China to understand Taiwan better. Whether it is Chinese tourists are coming to Taiwan or Taiwanese are going to China, the more contacts, the better. By meeting Chinese, Taiwanese will find out how different they are from Chinese. Meeting each other, will actually help Taiwan's unity.

問：哈哈，你能區別台灣人與中國人嗎？

Q: Haha, can you distinguish Taiwanese and Chinese?

麥可：中國人與台灣人可以穿同樣的衣服，同樣的鞋子，但當他們交談時，是他們就是隱藏不了來自於今日中國非常不同的文化與社會教養所產生的中國靈魂。社會主義的靈魂。與台灣人交談時，他們通常比較輕鬆，能以平衡的觀點客觀的看台灣。我了解中國，有很多中國的朋友，我也喜歡他們，但是每當針砭中國的問題時，他們的防衛性很強，即使在國外亦是如此。中國人過度驕傲於自己的國家，台灣人也有足以自豪的地方，但是他們願意聽取外界的意見，也允許外國人的批評。這是我看到台灣人與中國人其中一個最大的不同處。

自我認同是從周圍環境而來，在台灣可以學到正確的歷史，在中國，歷史是共產黨編出來的。

Michael: Chinese can wear the same clothes and shoes as Taiwanese, but when they are talking, they are not able to hide their Chinese souls which come from a different cultural and social upbringing in today's China. When I talk to Taiwanese people, they are usually more relaxed and able to balance the point of view. I know China and I have a lot of Chinese friends. I also like them, but whenever people comment on China's problems, they are highly defensive even though those Chinese people have been living abroad for a long time. Chinese people are over proud of their own country. There are also things that Taiwanese are proud of, but they

are more willing to listen to the views from the outside world, and they also allow foreigners' criticize . This is one of the biggest differences I see between Taiwanese and Chinese.

Self-identification comes from the surrounding environment, a person can learn correct history, but the history given to the Chinese is the version given by the Communist Party in China.

問：你剛才提到公投，但是 ECFA 公投的提案遭到行政院否決，你有什麼建議？

Q: You have just mentioned the referendum, but the proposal of ECFA referendum was rejected by legislator Yuan. Do you have any suggestions?

麥可：台灣人沒有太多的選擇，國民黨在國會佔多數，ECFA 現在已經箭在弦上了，現有國會無法加以否決，公投在民主體制是很重要的機制，但公投提案也沒辦法成案，因此對批評 ECFA 的政黨表示支持，這是現在台灣人可以做的事情，如果他們對 ECFA 的內容不滿意的話，就經過民主的方式在下次選舉中顯現人民反對的聲音。在下次立委與總統選舉時，台灣人民可以好好反省一下，目前的政府政策是不是我們所需要的？現在的這條路是不是該繼續走下去？這個發展是我未來的寄託嗎？我們須不需要另一個政府走另一條政策方向？

依目前的情況看來，台灣的整個政策方向是朝著統一前進，這是緩慢但非常明確的，所以臺灣人民必須思考這是不是我們要的？同時選擇一個政黨很重要的另一點是能否帶來經濟的穩定，你如果有小孩，你當然希望未來給孩子多一些機會，如果到二〇一二年，經濟普遍好轉，失業率獲得解決，表示這條路是對的，那麼這就表示當前的政府政策方向對短期而言是有利益及幫助的。反之如果屆時人民沒有獲得更好的工作機會，藉以改善經濟生活，人民自然會認為往中國傾斜的這條路不應該再走下去。

沒有一個政黨會希望國家的經濟受到傷害，對年輕人來講，未來的發展是他們最關切的議題，民主不是理所當然的，如果你不努力追尋的話，它也不會永遠存在，民主是台灣很重要的基石，如果統一的話，我不相信台灣的民主可以繼續持續下去。我可以理解台灣人民希望改善經濟過更好的生活，但對你的小孩、孫子，不統一可能是比較好的路，我聽到一首歌叫釋放我（Release Me），這讓我想起台灣，台灣自二戰之後已經被監禁了六十年，現在最需要的就是被釋放出來，由台灣人民自己來決定台灣的未來。

Michael: The people of Taiwan do not have many choices; KMT occupies the majority of seats in the parliament. The ECFA is now ready to go ahead and the current parliament cannot or will not reject it. Referendum is a very important mechanism; but there will be no referendum in Taiwan, thus, in order to show criticism of ECFA the Taiwanese has to be political. If they are not satisfied with the content of ECFA.

They should pass the dissenting voices into democratic voices in the next legislative and presidential election, Taiwanese people can evaluate carefully the current government's policy and ask if this is what we want? Should we continue walking in the same direction? Is this development my future destination? Do we need another government with other policy direction?

In the present situation, Taiwan's overall policy direction is moving towards unification with China, it is slow but very clear. So Taiwanese people have to think about if this is what they want? Another importance point of choosing another political party is whether the party can

bring a stable economy. If you have children, you of course want to give your children more opportunities in the future. If the general economic improves and the unemployment rate drops in 2010, then this indicate the current direction of the government policy is beneficial and helpful in the short term. On the contrary, if people do not have access to better job opportunities in order to improve the economic life, the people will naturally think that the road towards to China should not be continued.

There is no political party would like to hurt the national economy. For young people, the future development is the subject which has their greatest concern. Democracy is not an "of course" matter, if you do not work hard to pursuit it, it will not last forever. Democracy is a very important cornerstone for Taiwan. If unification comes one day, I don't believe that Taiwan's democracy can be continued. I can understand that Taiwanese people's desire to improve the economy and have a better life, but for your children and grandchildren, no to unification is a better way for the long term view. I heard a song called "Release Me," which reminds me of Taiwan. Taiwan has been imprisoned for sixty years after the World War II, and now what it needs the most is to be released, and Taiwan's future needs to be decided by Taiwanese people themselves.

註：Taiwan Corner 網址 (<http://www.taiwancorner.org>)