

永續發展：台灣的觀點與台灣的角色

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On account of the efforts of the United States and China, Taiwan's ability to join international conferences to discuss, debate and work towards solving global issues such as climate change, cross border pollution, conflict resolution, health issues and other aspects of sustainability is extremely compromised.

在美國和中國的干預之下，台灣要參與解決全球性議題的國際會議，討論與辯論如氣候變遷、跨國污染、戰爭解決、公共衛生以及其他永續發展相關的議題，空間都是非常有限的。

Although Taiwan is known by many names, the name I like best is “Ihla Formosa”, the words that are said to have been expressed by the Portuguese explorers in the early 17th century when they first came upon the island, an island that had been inhabited by the ancestors of some 70% of today's Taiwan residents. The ancestors of Taiwan's Indigenous people had been able to maintain the island through millennia of sustainable economic, political and social practices.

雖然台灣有著許多名稱，但我最喜歡的還是「Ihla福爾摩沙」，據說是在十七世紀初葡萄牙探險家，首次看見這座島嶼時所說的話。當時的原住民是現今島內百分之七十以上台灣人的祖先。台灣的原住民幾千年來透過經濟、政治和社會上永續的生活方式使得這座島嶼得以保持原貌。

As Japanese colony for fifty years, Taiwan is said to have “reverted” to rule by the Republic of China in 1945. The status of Taiwan remains without consensus, internationally, not to mention the rights of Taiwan's half million Indigenous peoples. Lacking a “de jure” resolution, and the unlikelihood of a resolution soon, we must nevertheless look at the de facto status of Taiwan in order to address the issue of sustainable development. First, some environmental (in the broad sense, including natural environment, social and economic) attributes of Taiwan in order to give context to my view of sustainable development in Taiwan and its role the international community.

台灣受日本殖民長達五十年，於1945年脫離日本殖民，被中華民國稱為「光復」。台灣的國際地位在國際間仍未達成共識，更別提島嶼上五十萬原住民的地位。由於缺乏「法律上」的依據，在短期內我們無法解決台灣的地位問題，所以我們必須面對台灣的現實狀況。首先，讓我們先了解台灣的自然環境、經濟與社會脈絡，以便稍後對於台灣的永續發展在國際舞台會扮演甚麼角色。

Our country of about 23.3 million people with an area slightly smaller than Holland but nearly two thirds of which are mountainous, enjoys a diversity of plants, people and other animals, soils and terrains that give the country vibrancy found in few other places on the Earth. Based on our land area alone, not counting the surrounding oceans, we have the second highest level of biological diversity in the world, and were known to 19th century naturalists as the “Galapagos of Asia”.

我們的國家約有二千三百萬人，面積略小於荷蘭，卻有近三分之二是山地，擁有多樣的人民和豐富的動植物、土壤和地形，這樣旺盛的生命力在地球上更顯彌足珍貴。就我們的土地面積，不包含周邊海洋裡的生物，我們有世界第二高的生物多樣性，因此被十九世紀的博物學家稱為「亞洲的加拉巴哥群島」。

All this has radically changed with the introduction of “modern” modes of life such as the Dutch pelt traders during the 17th and 18th centuries that resulted in the near extinction of the Sika Deer, the subsequent large-scale import of Chinese farmers to open and work rice and sugar plantations, the exploitation of camphor trees by the Chinese Qing and Japanese governments, and of course the horribly exploitative and short-sighted logging of two and three thousand year old trees, first by the Japanese, and then even more insidiously by the Chinese through the later decades of the twentieth century.

所有這一切卻因為現代生活模式的引進而改變，例如十七、十八世紀荷蘭的鹿皮商人導致梅花鹿瀕臨滅絕，隨後大量的中國農民進入台灣，開墾土地種植稻米和甘蔗，清朝與日本政府大量砍伐樟樹榨取樟腦，以及在二十世紀從日本殖民開始，到國民政府幾十年來短視近利地對二~三千年老樹濫墾濫伐。

In recent years Taiwan’s economic development has run on parallel tracks. On the one side has been the local large-scale infrastructure development that began in the 1970s. This brought major highway, port, mining, power plants of all kinds, and mega-manufacturing facilities such as petrochemical, paper, cement and steel plants throughout the country.

最近幾年台灣的經濟發展有兩條平行的軌道。一方面是從七〇年代開始的大型基礎建設發展，在全國各地帶來了許多公路、港口、採礦，各種各樣的發電廠和大型製造業，如石化、造紙、水泥和鋼鐵廠等設施。

On the other side, our economy has been highly dependent upon the United States, first due to Taiwan's strategic importance during the Korean conflict, then with a major USAID program, and more recently with a series of bilateral trade agreements beginning in 1987 and a push by the US to get Taiwan into the World Trade Organization with no opportunity for informed public debate. Taiwan's relationship with the US is important. We are one of the major customers for US military sales and even excluding such sales, Taiwan typically ranks 6th or 7th among the US's trading partners.

另一方面，由於台灣在韓戰中重要的戰略地位，還有美國國際開發署計劃的經濟支援，我們的經濟一直高度依賴美國。從1987年開始美國和台灣更推出了一系列自由市場的雙邊貿易協定，並且逼迫台灣在毫無公眾充分參與交談的機會下加入世界貿易組織。台灣和美國的關連很密切，我們是美國軍火銷售的主要對象之一，即使不包含武器銷售，我們仍是與美貿易往來排名第六或第七名的國家。

Following what is known as “derecognition” of Taiwan by the US in 1988, the US enacted a domestic law, “The Taiwan Relations Act” which gives Taiwan a bizarre status outside the US diplomatic framework, but very much within the sphere of control by the US State Department and other agencies.

在台美「斷交」後，美國在1988年，頒布了一項國內法——名為「台灣關係法」，在不對等的外交關係之下加強控制台灣。使台灣被排除於美國的外交範圍之外，在這項關係法的約束下，台灣被迫付出某些義務但卻無法享有對等的邦交權利。

At the same time, Taiwan has a “special relationship” with China. China currently claims to own Taiwan. They have over a thousand missiles aimed at Taiwan, have passed a domestic law giving them the right to use force if Taiwan declares independence (such a declaration being totally unnecessary as Taiwan has long possessed the attributes of an independent country and with the elections of all new deputies to our legislature in 1992 and direct presidential elections in 1996, all the attributes of a fully democratic country), and relentlessly pursues a policy of “unification” – sometimes mistranslated as “unity” – through a number of direct and subtle activities.

同時，台灣與中國有一種「特殊關係」。目前中國聲稱台灣是中國的一部分。有超過一千顆飛彈正瞄準著台灣，且已通過了一項國內法，若台灣宣布獨立，他們有使用武力的權力。並透過一些直接或間接的行動。持續地實行其「統一政策」。

These attempts at control by the US and intimidation by China have been going on for over sixty years. We Taiwanese have become somewhat accustomed to the situation and despite many setbacks, are making slow but sure progress in finding our own way, a way that reflects

the essence of Taiwan, independent of the US and China.

台灣身處於美國的控制和中國的恐嚇之下的狀態已經超過六十年了，某種程度台灣人已經習慣這種狀況，而在這種情況下我們仍以緩慢但穩定進步的方式找尋自己的路，這條路正反映了台灣的獨立性，一種不同於美國與中國的本質。

Despite this progress however, as demonstrated in the following paragraphs, Taiwan's development has been anything but sustainable, and I believe there is a close correlation between the plethora of unsustainable laws, policies, practices and habits in Taiwan and our inability to effectively find space to work within the international community.

儘管有一些進展，然而我們回到今天的題目來看，台灣的「發展」非常不永續，而我相信我們的缺乏永續性的法律、政策、實務以及習慣與我們在國際社會中的困境相當有相互關聯。

The “economic miracle” that Taiwan is known for in many circles has left a horrible legacy of environmental devastation, displacement of people, and health and social problems that are far out of proportion for a country the size of Taiwan and far out of proportion to possible benefits enjoyed by the people from the economic development of the past.

很多人知道台灣的「經濟奇蹟」，但它留下了可怕而不成比例的後遺症，如對自然環境的破壞、人民遷移出自己的土地和社區、還有健康和社會問題等，這些代價遠超過台灣這樣大小的國家可以承受的，也遠遠超過過去的經濟發展所帶給人民的好處。

Emissions: A number of our “achievements” may give you an idea of the seriousness of the problem. Our per capita greenhouse gas emissions are third in the world; and with less than .3% of the world's population we rank 22nd for our total emissions. Indeed, among OECD countries from 1990 to the present, Taiwan's growth in CO2 emissions placed us at number one in the world.

我們的一些「成績」可能會讓大家了解問題的嚴重性。

溫室氣體排放：我們的人均二養化碳排放量是世界第三位，我們的人口少於世界人口0.3%，但二氧化碳總排放量卻是世界第二十二名。從1990年到今天，在OECD國家當中，台灣二氧化碳排放的成長量，甚至是世界第一名。

Population: Over two thirds of the island are high mountains which means that of the 36,000 square kilometers, only about 12,000 sq km are inhabitable – this is for a population of over 23 million. 5,000 people per sq km is much higher than any other country in the world, including Bangladesh which is currently known as the country with the highest population density.

人口：台灣的高山面積超過三分之二，這意味著三萬六千平方公里中只有一萬兩千平方公里的面積適合居住，在此居住了兩千三百萬的人口。每平方公里五千人的口密度，遠遠高於其他的國家，甚至高於目前人口密度最高的國家孟加拉。

Vehicles and highways: The roads and other vehicle habitats on the island are continually growing in order to accommodate the growing number of vehicles – over 20 million at the end of 2007.

汽機車與高速公路：島嶼上的道路用地正在不斷地成長，為了要容納日益成長的車輛數目，在2007年底汽機車數量已經超過兩千萬輛。

Nuclear: Our government has permitted the construction of six nuclear reactors within a radius of 30 kilometers and all of these are within 70 kilometers from the residences of eight million humans. Without having resolved safety and nuclear waste storage issues we continue with the construction of two more reactors, ironically right on the site where those first explorers were said to have uttered the words “Ihla Formosa”.

核能：我們的政府在半徑三十公里的範圍之內允許興建了六座核能機組，而這些核能機組與八百萬人口的居住地點，相距不到七十公里。既然如此，在未解決核能安全以及核廢料種種問題狀況下，我們也仍然允許兩座的興建繼續下去。

Consumption: Per capita consumption of cement in Taiwan is consistently first or second in the world as is our per capita consumption of electronics, disposable plastic products, and our per capita generation of industrial waste.

消費：台灣每人平均的水泥消費量，始終是世界的第一或第二名；跟我們在電子產品、可拋式塑膠製品的每人平均消費量，以及每人平均工業廢棄物製造量的排名差不多。

Industrial: The world’s largest coal fired power plant, at over 5.5 million megawatts, is located in central Taiwan and the government continues to accept applications for new plants in the area.

工業：世界上最大的燃煤電廠，就位在台灣中部，發電量約為五百七十八點八萬千瓦；而政府仍持續地核准這個區域的新電廠開發案。

Government subsidies against the future: In the meantime, the government keeps energy, water and industrial land use prices at levels that are among the world’s lowest in industrialized countries.

犧牲未來的政府補貼：假「促進產業發展」的口號，雖然近期有些調整，政府一直讓能源價格、水價、工業地價，維持在世界各工業國家中的最低水準。

Health: Cancer rates of all types are soaring and despite calls from many experts linking this with environmental factors, the government insists of proving the link before it will take the statistics seriously.

健康：所有類型的癌症發病率正在飆升；儘管許多專家呼籲將這種情形與環境因素聯繫起來；政府卻堅持如果不能證明兩者之間的關連性，就不願意重視這個問題。

Politics: Democracy in Taiwan, having made major strides in the 1990s has deteriorated to the point that elected representatives openly admit representing the interests of major conglomerates for whom they shamelessly peddle influence, and when they don't get their way, threaten government agencies with budget cuts.

政治：在1990年代邁出重大步伐的台灣民主，已經惡化到了一種地步，那就是被選出的代表們公開承認，他們就是代表著財團的利益，並且無恥地替這些財團發揮他們身為代表的影響力，當他們不能稱心如意的時候，就威脅要削減各部會機構的相關預算。

These are but a few examples of the strains on Taiwan's environment, society and politics, challenges which led the World Economic Forum in 2005 to place Taiwan at 145 out of 146 countries on its Environmental Sustainability Index, and which led Taiwan's former minister of the environment to note that living at today's standards, Taiwan would require an area of 28.8 times our present size to be self sufficient.

以上這些只是台灣所面臨的環境、社會、政治的幾個例子，因此在2005年世界經濟論壇的環境永續指標之中，台灣列名在一百四十六個國家中的第一百四十五名。

Chang Kow-lung, served as Minister of the Environment from 2005-2007. Following his departure he summarized the state of Taiwan's environment in a report on addressing climate change:

前任環保署署長（2005～2007）張國龍辭職後在簡短的一段話把以上的問題說明了：

To understand Taiwan's environmental stress, take a look at the statistics. The number of people per square kilometer, the number of cars, factories, pesticides used...or the amount of per capita consumption, CO2 emissions, energy use, electricity produced.... it goes on and on. Taiwan's statistics are far ahead of other countries. From data on things such as environmental quality, water quality, food quality, rates of environment-related illness and disease, there is a great deal of room for improvement in the quality of the people's surroundings. We should take note of a simple and basic fact: the 23 million people of Taiwan are living and consuming in a way that would require 28.3 times the area of Taiwan to maintain if we had to be self-sufficient.

We are a super-power when it comes to exceeding our capacity.”¹

從統計數字看台灣的環境負荷，如台灣每平方公里的人口、車輛、工廠、農藥用量等等，或每人年均消費／排放的水泥用量、鋼鐵用量、深海魚消費量、溫室氣體排放量、能源用量、電力用量……等等，台灣統計數字都遠遠偏高；另一方面從國民身處的環境品質、飲用水質、食物品質、健康疾病之統計及風險……，可知台灣國民的生活品質還有待加強與提升。基本的觀察結果，台灣的兩千三百萬人已經挪用了二十八點八個台灣面積的生態足跡，我們以達到或超逾台灣自然環境可承受的臨界程度。

This would be bad enough if it only involved Taiwan.

這些情況很糟，但這不只是跟台灣有關而已。

As Taiwan has begun to come to its senses on the social and environmental costs of short-term and short-sighted economic development, and attempted to impose some mechanisms (laws, pricing adjustments, etc.) to bring balance into play, industry has fled abroad to “greener” (i.e., lax environmental and labor standards) fields. Countries such as China have been the place of choice.

當台灣開始要認真面對這種由於短視近利的經濟發展所付出的社會與環境成本時，並且試圖要採用一些機制（例如：法律、價格調整之類）來尋求平衡；產業已經逃向寬鬆的環境與勞動標準的地方。像中國這類的國家已經成為設廠的優先選擇。

Taiwan is currently the largest foreign investor in China. We speak a very similar language, many Taiwanese have close relatives in China and we share a great deal of cultural heritage with the Chinese. It is an easy place for us to do business. And now we have an administration that is acting as though Taiwan identity, and the quest for sustainability in our social, economic and natural environments should be sacrificed in favor of seeking riches in China.

目前台灣是中國的最大外國投資者。我們所說的語言非常相近，許多台灣人的親戚都在中國，我們共同擁有許多的文化遺產，對我們而言是比較容易做生意的地方。新的台灣政府，觀其行聽其言，似乎為了去中國發財，可以犧牲台灣的一切。這對台灣的、中國的、全世界的永續發展產生重大的危險。

Take a look at what has happened to Taiwan’s environment over the last three or four decades, and multiply it by 250 times or so to get an idea of what we might see from China. And here we are speaking from the perspective of politics, social issues and from the perspective of impact on our natural environment.

觀察這三、四十年之間，台灣政治、社會以及對於自然環境的負面影響，再把它放大二百五十倍左右，我們就可以看到中國現在與未來的狀況。

On the other hand, there may be an opportunity here for the very same reasons there is a threat. If Taiwan, with the help of the international community can continue with its own reform of its economic and social values, why shouldn't these values-as-reformed not be exported to our trading partners and investment destinations? We should begin by setting an example and call upon our businesses that invest abroad to use a sort of "most favored nation" approach in its operations, in all aspects of potential impact - environment, labor, transparency, and other practices. This is a goal worthy of pursuing for China, Vietnam, and other target countries for Taiwan foreign investment and reflects a deeply rooted ethic of "not doing unto others as you would not have them do unto you". This would certainly catch the attention of the international community and put us in a position to set the benchmark for a different type of international business, a model for the future.

但從另一個角度看，或許這個「中國風」可以變成個永續發展的轉機。假如台灣可以持續改善我們本身的各種經濟與社會價值，這些改革之後的價值觀不也應該被傳向貿易夥伴與投資對象國家？民眾應要呼籲政府及廠商，在各個國家的境外投資、在所有的經濟、自然環境與勞動措施中，要採用全世界符合永續發展最高水準來作為投資標準。咸信我們這樣對待中國、越南以及其他的海外投資國家，這種反映「己所不欲，勿施於人」的商業態度也會引起全世界的注意，會讓台灣的經濟活動模式變成全世界的典範。

The future of all countries, the future of the United Nations, depends on a straightforward proposition: getting the world's development back to sustainability. That deceptively simple concept was elegantly defined in the 1987 report to the United Nations, "Our Common Future"

台灣的未來也好，聯合國的未來也好，看作是一個簡短的命題：讓世界的發展回歸永續。這簡單的概念是在1987年的聯合國報告「我們共同的未來」中所定義，

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs²

And in 2003 Taiwan passed a law incorporating the definition nearly verbatim.

而在2003年時，台灣通過了環境基本法，也將此定義納入其中。

Sustainable development is development that satisfies the needs of the present generation without lessening the ability of future generations to satisfy their needs.

「永續發展」係指做到滿足當代需求，同時不損及後代滿足其需要之發展。

Our focus then, should be on "needs" rather than "wants", and how we can satisfy these needs in a manner consistent with intergenerational and interspecies justice.

在未來我們的焦點應該是放在「需求」而非「慾望」之上，以及我們要如何符合

跨世代與跨物種的正義之下，滿足這些需求。

I believe in the people of Taiwan, as I believe in people around the world: if individuals are able to have all the timely, accurate, complete information on development, as well as the opportunity to fully and meaningfully participate in the decision making process, people will eventually come together to do the right thing, and bring sustainability and sanity back to development.

相信台灣的人民，正如相信世界各地的人民，若能擁有所有正確、及時、完整的資訊，並擁有充分機會和資源去實質地參與發展的相關議題時，我們將會做出正確的決定，而且將會找出一條回歸永續的道路。

【註釋】

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1. Ketagalan Review No. 15, September 2007 page 32 (translation by the author).
2. United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*. Oxford University Press, 1987 p. 43. ◆