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(計畫名稱) 歐洲聯盟的小國研究：外交行為與政策影響 (2/3)

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中文摘要

冷戰結束之後，全球化、國際組織增多和區域安全動盪的發展趨勢，讓小國享有歷史上不曾有的國際聲望和能見度。歐洲地區因為蘇聯與南斯拉夫的解體而形成許多新興的小國，尤其 1995 至 2007 年期間，歐洲聯盟擴大成員更為小國帶來了新的機會和挑戰。根據若干學者的研究，在一個主權受到挑戰的國際體系裡，小國確實可發揮更多的影響力。歐盟應是一個最明確的範例。據此，本研究計畫試圖探究幾個主要問題：歐盟小國在一個複合且多層級治理體系的歐盟，是否真能發揮內部影響力？應如何詮釋小國的外交行為？小國又如何運用特殊方式去影響歐盟政策？

關鍵詞：小國、多層級治理、里斯本條約、法定多數投票方式、一致決。

Abstract

The end of the Cold War, with rising globalization, membership of international organizations and regional security, small states today enjoy more international prestige and visibility than at any other time in history. Many small states, mostly emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, are given new opportunity and challenges by the series of recent enlargement of the European Union in the period of 1995-2007. According to research of some scholars, small states can become more influential in an international system where sovereignty is under siege. The EU is the most obvious example. Thus, this research project makes a modest contribution towards this goal by exploring three main questions: 1) Have these small states become more influential in a complex multi-actor governance system, 2) How can we explain the behavior of small EU member state? 3) And are there special ways of exerting influence for small states in the EU?

Keywords : Small State, Multi-level Governance, Lisbon Treaty, Qualified Majority Vote, Unanimity.

目錄 (精簡報告得省略)

報告內容

(一)、前言

1990 年代初國際體系發生劇變，迄今已有廿年的歷史，它不僅改變了國際強權互動的架構，對小國的外交政策亦產生重大意義。當時的瑞典尚非歐盟成員國，卻開始呼籲國際社會重視衝突預防。共同外交暨安全政策的發展初期，衝突預防在歐盟內部並無爭議，但瑞典的呼籲卻在歐盟內部發揮推波助瀾的功效。1995 年瑞典加入歐盟之後，歐盟的機制建立讓瑞典有發揮的空間，同時利用擔任歐盟輪值主席的機會，讓衝突預防成為歐盟的政策；換言之，相較於過去，歐盟小國於今享有更多的尊嚴和在國際舞台的能見度。絕大部分的情況下，小國的外部安全可以獲得確保，特別是歐盟(或北約)賦與了小國法律地位，讓它們在外交場合能與大國平起平坐。

再者，冷戰結束表示小國在全球競爭的態勢裡，無須再扮演大國馬前卒的角色。

歐盟的兩個重要機構(執委會和歐洲議會秘書處)分別座落在比利時和盧森堡這兩個小國，而比、盧在歐盟內部向來扮演著積極而具影響的角色；獲得諾貝爾和平獎的聯合國前秘書長安南(Kofi Annan)，他出生與成長的地方是西部非洲的迦納 – 也是一個在區域事務經常扮演要角的小國家。

近十餘年以來，歐盟的深化和廣化已大幅改變了小國外交行為的客觀條件。1995 年元月 1 日(瑞典、芬蘭、奧地利)、2004 年 5 月 1 日(波蘭、匈牙利、捷克、斯

洛伐克、斯洛維尼亞、馬爾他、賽浦路斯、愛沙尼亞、拉脫維亞、立陶宛)及 2007 年元月 1 日三兩次擴大成員國的結果,不只導致小國與大國間的權力平衡出現變化,且鑒於歐盟決策機構面臨調整的必要性,第三次東擴議題再度引起歐洲學政界長時間的討論,辯論的焦點也包括了小國居多的歐盟未來發展可能受到那些影響?(Hosli and Machover 004; Moberg 2002; Galloway 2002; Brown 2000)

如果從安全政策的角度來觀察,歐盟的快速發展其實已經形成大國和小國間的緊張關係,特別是 2003 年春美國對伊拉克動武事件,更增添了「新歐洲」與「舊歐洲」的心結和矛盾。(Gegout 002; Wivel 2005; Keukeleire 2001)

事實上,冷戰結束導致歐洲強權與小國傳統的分工體系趨於瓦解,理論和事實的發展都顯示出,小國外交政策的揮灑空間,相對過去享有更多的自由。(Knudsen 1996) 只不過,小國享有外交空間的同時,也陷入維繫國家自主性和加強對歐盟政策影響的兩難困境。(Kelstrup 1993; Petersen 1998) 2001 年 6 月歐盟高峰會議制定的「歐盟有關暴力衝突預防之計畫」(EU Programme for the prevention of Violent Conflict),充分呈現出「衝突預防」已是歐盟政策不可或缺的部分,從中亦可作為本計畫檢視歐盟小國發揮影響力的變數。

(二)、研究目的

早期研究小國的文獻,通常都把小國視為弱國或「小型強權」(small power)。(Vital 1967, 1971; Rothstein 1968, 1977; Keohane 1969; Singer 1972; East 1975; Katzenstein 1985.) 這些文獻的研究焦點置於小國在國際組織(或聯盟)中的角色,

得出的結論不外乎是，小國外交行為能力受到相當程度之限制。例如 David Vital (1971) 就用「全球階級架構」(Global class structure) 這個概念，詮釋出小國意見經常因大國的武力威脅而被輕視，這也是小國尋求加入多國組織或聯盟以確保其安全，並達到外交目標的普遍現象；進一步而言，小國似乎只能遂行有限度的外交政策目標，涉入的外交活動亦受限制。

Maurice East (1975) 的研究心得卻是，小國基於外交和情報來源少，相對較大國更傾向推動具有風險的外交行為；East 認為，風險高的外交行為更易於讓小國涉入國際事務。Peter Katzenstein (1985) 的論述則是，許多軍事力量薄弱的小國，外交政策的運用比周邊大國往往更具彈性和創造性。再者，我們若總結 David Vital、Robert Rothstein 和 David Singer 三位學者的研究心得，小國或弱國的外交政策選擇和目標確有其局限性，但也有值得推崇之處：Vital (1967) 的認知是，國家發展程度、地理位置、對強權的重要性、內政穩定或其他因素等，都會導致國家改調整其外交政策行為；Singer (1972) 辯稱，有些小國經濟或文化擁有「傲人」(attractive) 的力量，即便其缺乏政治「強制權力」(coercive power)，也可以對他國展現自身的重要性，進而推動有成果的外交政策。Rothstein (1968) 研究國際體系對小國的影響，發現某些體系賦與小國較多的政策選擇和安全維護，例如冷戰時代的兩極體系，基於大國為強化自身聯盟，間接讓小國外交有較多的操作空間，只不過這種外交操作對小國的安全保障，尚不如平衡大國力量來得有效。

我們若檢視近年來有關研究小國外交的文獻，特別是冷戰結束迄今約廿年的時間，理論發展部份似乎呈現出兩種困境：首先是經驗性的比較研究著作太少；其次是國際關係研究的現實範例較多，且論著多把研究焦點置於「大國」(big players)，誠如 Kenneth Waltz (1979)早期的說法：「大國是國際體系的形塑者。」(the shapers of the international system)近些年來，西方學界研究小國外交的文獻，已出現試圖統一理論的趨勢。前述論著聚焦的兩個問題，正是本計畫研究的另一項議題，即小國展現出那些共同的外交政策行為？學界對小國外交政策行為又有那些共同的詮釋？

(三)、文獻探討 與 研究方法

小國研究最早可追溯至1960年代末及1970年代初，Robert Rothstein (1968)的「聯盟與小國」(Alliances and Small Powers)、Robert Keohane(1969)的「國際政治裡的小國」(Small States in International Politics)與David Vital (1971)「小國生存」(The Survival of Small States)等論著，其不僅開創了小國外交研究的先河，也為小國研究奠定理論基礎。之後，隨著1970至1980年代亞非拉美出現許多新興獨立國家，促使小國研究的著作逐漸增多，但真正開始茁壯應在冷戰結束之後，特別是21世紀初以來，小國研究的文獻欣欣向榮，其中大部份來自歐洲學界，尤其是歐洲小國；換言之，相較小型國家而言，大國(如美英法德俄)學界並不十分熱衷探究小國發展。

舉例而言，美國(西雅圖)華盛頓大學開設北歐研究的教授Christine Ingebritsen、挪

威奧斯陸「國際事務研究所」(Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)主任Iver B. Neumann、比利時Bruges 歐洲學院教授Sieglinde Gstöhl、赫爾辛基大學教授Teija Tiilikainen 或葡萄牙敏合大學(University of Minho, Braga-Portugal) 國際關係學教授Ferreira-Pereira, Laura 等，都是歐洲學界研究小國的代表人物。

近十年來，台灣學界探討小國外交的文獻可謂鳳毛麟角。各大學相關政治學研究所除偶而出現涉獵小國外交的博碩士論文外，也只有中正大學的宋學文與台灣大學的張亞中兩位學者出版專注於小國研究的論著。宋教授的論文「小國外交政策」是行政院國科會1997 年的專題研究計畫，主要立論於把台灣定位在小國，探討台灣對美、中的外交與安全策略。這篇論文雖然可以提供本計畫執行後階段的思考，亦即拿歐盟小國的經驗來對照台灣，為台灣參與國際社會找尋一條可行出路。不過這篇專題研究報告出版迄今已10 年，隨著國際政治、經濟、安全環境的劇烈變遷，許多現實問題可能需要再詮釋。

張亞中教授的專書「小國崛起」，主要立於下列的基本假設：「每一個國家都有機會走向強國之路，也有可能掉入衰亡之途。對於大國而言，由於它天生人口多、土地廣、資源豐，在國家發展上即使走錯路，還有機會可以從頭再來，但是對於小國而言，如果沒有方向與策略，輕則永遠寄人籬下，重則亡國滅種。」換句話說，張教授認為「歷史是人類走過的足跡，從中可以看到國家的興衰；歷史也是一面鏡子，可以看到前人成功與挫敗的原因」，顯見該著作研究小國崛起之目的，是希望從過去的歷史中找到台灣可以借鏡之處。「小國崛起」這本書主要是以威

尼斯、尼德蘭、瑞士、普魯士、芬蘭和愛爾蘭做為討論案例，與本文研究的方向不同，但與本計畫的立論假設相同，即國家雖小但可發揮獨特的生存發展策略。

(四)、結果與結論

本計畫議題之一是研究小國怎樣去影響歐盟的政策。事實上，歐盟擴大後對小國的最大挑戰就是，如何持續對大國施壓以建立符合自身利益的歐盟機構與機制。

2001 年的尼斯條約(2001)與歐洲憲法條約(2004)兩個談判過程的案例，最足以形容小國的處境。(Beach 2005; Galloway 2001; Kirk 2000; Norman 2003a; Magnette

and Nicolaïdis 2003) 小國的不確定性顯現於，大國愈來愈傾向將重要議題交付體制外的協商管道，冷戰時期如此做，於今更是有增無減。(Pedersen 1998;

Thorhallsson 2000)研究歐盟政治最困難之處，也就在於不易掌握前述的政治景象，

因為歐盟會員國間關係具相互重疊與連鎖效應，而不同層極的治理(governance)

也增添了小國強化自主性與影響力的兩難困境。

當然，歐盟大國與小國的想法相同，都想主導統合發展的議程設定，只不過大國成功的機會較大，尤其是需要會員國提供資源的政策議題，小國經常會力不從心。

整體來看，小國較依賴強而有力的國際機構，但較少能影響到決策。也因為這個

理由，小國想要影響歐盟決策，挑戰性其實很高。其次，小國的影響在不同的政

策領域和機構會產生不同的結果。我們先看政策領域的面向，以往共同體的任何

政策，只要德、法兩根支柱能緊密合作或達成妥協，共同體內部往往會形成所謂

的「合作性霸權」(cooperative hegemony) (Pedersen 1998)，其因不僅在於兩國

的 GDP 與人口獨占鰲頭，最主要是它們掌握了共同體議程設定之權，至於英國因為政經實力居次，在部份政策領域的影響力顯得不足。

從現有的研究文獻來看，我們大抵可以獲致兩項結論：第一，歐盟小國在安全政策的影響力明顯小於其他政策領域。冷戰期間，歐盟小國對安全政策的影響就不大，於今大國又強化了非正式性的合作機制，小國能揮灑的空間更形限縮。最實際的例子之一是 1999 年科索沃尋求獨立的過程中，小國根本無置喙空間，聯合國授權組成的所謂「談判小組」(Contact Group)，成員也只包括英法德義四國。

另一個例子是與伊朗進行談判的所謂「四方代表」(Quartet；美、俄、歐盟與聯合國)，歐盟所指也僅德英法三國外長。小國在其他政策領域的影響力，相對就大得多。芬蘭有關北歐事務的倡議，經常可以成為歐盟的政策，這與芬蘭的小國形象顯然不很相襯；歐洲貨幣聯盟(EMU)的進程中，荷蘭與比利時始終扮演重要角色；(Maes and Verdun 2005) 其他若干小國(例如奧地利)對歐盟制定的環境政策，也同樣扮演相當積極的角色。(Liefferink and Andersen 1998)

歐盟的政策領域之中，小國其實也有優先順序的回應。為了維護自身利益，小國通常會先積極爭取執委會的委員職位，只因為小國較難爭取到類似執委會主席等的重要職位，因此它們只有對特定利益的分配會積極回應。愛爾蘭、希臘或葡萄牙於歐盟東擴之後，就相當關切歐盟農業津貼的重新分配。至於大國，幾乎會介入所有政策面的議題。(Thorhallsson 2000) 不同的是，大國在歐盟決策體系內的行為也很分歧，有時阻擋某一政策未必基於自身的利益維護，而是顧及到整體的

發展。舉例來說，大國希望降低共同農業政策和區域政策的費用，就與自身利益無關，因為大國所獲津貼遠低於小國所得。

第二個結論是，小國能夠成功地影響歐盟政策，建立結盟關係應屬關鍵原因。前文提到芬蘭成功將北歐議題形成政策的例子，就是結盟的成功案例；(Arter 2000). 歐盟單一貨幣的成功，比利時與執委會充分合作及荷蘭尋求德國支持，也是重要原因。(Maes and Verdun 2005)再者，歐盟制訂一體的環境政策，起因於小國的生態政黨受到德國執政綠黨支持而設定成為議題。(Liefferink and Andersen 1998 : 268)

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