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全球暖化與美國的氣候政治*

Global Warming and the Politics of Climate Change in United States

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摘要

全球環境挑戰日益嚴峻，環境問題從過去科學研究，擴張為各國迫切面對的社會與經濟議題。全球暖化問題則是當今最受到國際重視的環境課題之一，國際間透過不斷的國際氣候協商，逐漸從「氣候變化框架公約」落實到「京都議定書」。在國際氣候協商中，美國角色則是舉足輕重。一方面，不論從歷史責任或者是現今發展，美國是全世界最大的溫室氣體排放國，其溫室氣體排放量遠遠超過其他國家。另一方面，美國做為現今國際強權，對於國際氣候談判的態度，不僅影響了已發展國家，也影響諸如中國等發展中國家的態度。本文從環境政治學的觀點，探討美國對於全球暖化的因應，以及美國因應策略背後思維以及國際爭議。

本文運用修正的利益基礎解釋模型，納入了三個重要的分析因素，包括生態脆弱性(ecological vulnerability)、污染減量的經濟成本(abatement costs)以及國內政治脈絡，檢視美國在全球暖化問題中的位置。同時，本文連結美國環境政治思維，以及政府因應全球暖化在政府組織與政策上調整，勾勒出美國因應全球暖化的主張及政策變遷。

本文認為儘管美國抵制「京都議定書」溫室氣體減排的目標，提出三項理由：全球暖化仍具有科學不確定性、許多重要的發展中國家並沒有列入減排以及減排對於美國經濟衝擊過

大；但是，從利益基礎解釋模型來看，美國最關心的仍在於對於自身能源政策與經濟發展的衝擊。美國爲了避免拒絕簽署「京都議定書」的負面效應，美國政府一方面強化科學研究與技術發展；另一方面則提出自願減排方案來取代「京都議定書」強制減排的國際規範。儘管從利益觀點可以理解美國的作爲，但是本文認爲美國的策略過度保護本土企業，無助於本土企業在未來重視環境保護的國際競爭中生存；美國的因應策略也背離了永續發展(sustainable development)的精神，讓美國難以在各種國際環境協商站穩立場，也弱化發展中國家參與國際溫室氣體減排行動的意願。

關鍵字：全球暖化、氣候變化、環境政治學、京都議定書

Abstract

As the rising of international ecological awareness, global warming and climate change becomes one of the most critical environmental issues. Global warming problems involve not only nature science research, but also real politics. The US plays a critical role in international climate change negotiation. It is because US has the most amount of resource consumptions in the world and US greenhouse gases emission is far larger than any other countries. Furthermore, US is the only one hegemony on earth, The global warming strategies of US not only influence developed countries, such as European Union, Japan, Russia and Canada; but also affect some important developing countries, like China and India. Based on environmental politics perspective, this paper would analyze US position in global warming problems, and what are the China main responses in global climate change negotiations.

This paper would use the concept of revisited interest-based explanation model to identify US position in climate change issues. Furthermore, this paper would discuss US political context in international environmental affairs. These will help us illustrate the whole picture of US political standpoints in global warming and climate change.

In March 2001, US government claimed that they would not ratify the Kyoto Protocol. They emphasized that this important decision is

based on three important reasons. First of all, most of the developing countries are excluded from greenhouse gases emission reduction responsibilities; second, the scientific knowledge of climate change still remains highly uncertainty. Most important of all, if USs government adopts Kyoto Protocol standards will have serious harm to the US economy. Based on the interest-based explanation model, this paper suggests that the US mainly concerns is domestic economic development and energy use. In order to avoid the negative effects of refusing Kyoto Protocol, the US has two important strategies. On the one hand, the US strengthens scientific researches and technological innovation about reducing greenhouse gases emission. On the other hand, the US adopts voluntary greenhouse gas emission reduction measures, and these measures are used to replace compulsory reduction regulations of Kyoto Protocol. This paper suggests that the US attitude toward climate change is unsustainable and would increase US environmental vulnerability. Furthermore, the US will abate its international authority in the future international environment negotiation. What is worse, the US attitudes will encourage those developing countries to avoid their global environmental responsibility.

Keywords: Global Warming, Climate Change, Environmental Politics, Kyoto Protocol