

## 中英文摘要

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二次大戰以前之早期歷史階段，中東地區一直是德國對外政策中之次要項目。而冷戰時期之雙邊關係發展，也多傾向於反映西德與該地區實際往來相對有限之情況，而非突顯類似雙邊在地理位置上之鄰近性、以及雙邊經貿關係發展潛力等有利因素；而就該時期阿拉伯國家對西德之態度立場而言，主要特徵在於前者對後者明顯支持以色列之立場感到失望及不滿。70年代以後，西德政府開始嘗試與以色列和阿拉伯國家建立一個「基於平等對待立場」(Politik der Ausgewogenheit)之往來關係原則，然而由於相關策略仍未能擺脫受到冷戰期間之美蘇對立背景環境、中東地區之以阿衝突問題以及二戰時期納粹德國曾經迫害猶太族群之歷史記憶等因素之影響，故至東西德統一以前，西德對中東地區國家一直未能形成具體可見之外交政策。

90年代之後，國際局勢歷經重大變遷，包括冷戰結束、東西德統一，歐盟內部統合趨勢、以及以色列和巴勒斯坦和平進程之展開等，不但影響了德國對中東地區政策，為上述政策之形成帶來新的動力與契機，同時也致使德國在該地區逐漸扮演更有力、可見度較過去顯著之角色。上述變遷之外，致使後冷戰時期德國在中東議題上之參與程度、以及德國支持歐盟在中東地區扮演積極角色之程度有顯著增加之其他主要因素，尚包括德國在中東地區之實際利益有所提升、德國與歐盟和美國之間的合作關係、以及德國與以色列之特殊關係等因素。統一後之德國，其內部已經逐漸擺脫了畏懼談論有關在中東地區利益以及以阿(以巴)衝突問題之情況，而其中東地區確實存在某些實際利益，也是不容置疑的：經濟上，該地區提供能源及市場方面之需求；安全保障上，同樣地，可以歸結為德國在中東地區之主要安全利益，在於防止中東地區之衝突和不穩定局勢，包括恐怖主義、武器擴散以及難民遷徙等安全問題蔓延至歐洲地區；而就政治方面，德國於該地區之主要利益，在於以阿衝突問題之和平解決，而相關目標之達成，將能顯著地化解德國在拓展與該地區阿拉伯國家關係上之障礙及困境。

本篇論文探討並歸結出了塑造當今德國對中東地區政策的五個主要面向：

(一) 能源、經濟以及安全利益；(二) 德國在以阿(以巴)衝突問題上之特殊處境與國內考量；(三) 支持歐盟內部成員國在中東議題方面彼此進行協調整合之優先性；(四) 強調在中東議題上進行國際多邊合作(特別是需要美國方面之參與和支持)之必要性；(五) 德國對以色列之歷史責任及雙邊特殊關係。

筆者認為，未來，作為後冷戰時期德國外交政策的一項主要趨勢，德國對中東地區事務之參與情形將更為積極，同時也具備足夠潛力來扮演此一角色，並更願意透過具體實際之措施或行動來展現之，對於該地區局勢未來之變化將具有正面且深刻之影響，故未來其中東政策及在該地區角色之發展不容忽視，有必要予

後冷戰時期德國中東外交政策之研究

以密切關注。

**關鍵詞：**

德國；歐盟；中東地區；外交政策；中東政策；雙邊關係

## Abstract

Before World War II, the Middle East region was not a high priority for the Governments of Germany. For West Germany, development of relations with the Arabic states during the Cold-War period is prone to reflect far more, the relatively limited scope of bilateral engagement, than the geographical proximity or the trading potential between the Arab world and West Germany. On the other hand, the typical perception towards West Germany that existed among the Arabic countries during the Cold-War period, is broadly characterized by the disappointment with West Germany's pro-Israeli stance.

From the 1970s onwards, Governments of West Germany had tried to build up a "principle of even-handedness" (Politik der Ausgewogenheit) in its foreign policy towards Israel, and the Arabic countries, but which still could not ignore the impact of the Cold War, Arab-Israeli conflicts, as well as the legacy of the Nazi past. Thus, a definite and visible policy toward the Middle East countries was unable to be formed during the Cold-War period until the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990.

From the 1990s onwards, several major events have occurred which have changed the overall scenario, including the end of the Cold War, the reunification of East and West Germany, European integration, as well as the beginning of the Israel-Palestinian peace process. These developments not only affected Germany's Middle East policy, but also brought about a new momentum and opportunities, which has resulted in a more forceful, visible and significant role, which Germany now plays in the region. Other major factors resulting in Germany's increasing participation and its support of the EU role in the Middle East, include the growing German interests in the region, political co-operation between Germany and the EU and the United States, Germany's special relationship with Israel, as well as others.

Post Cold-War Germany shied away, for most of its existence during the time, from discussions about its interests in the Middle East, and the existence of German interests in the region has likewise, become hardly doubtful. Economically, there is a vital interest in a secure energy supply from the region; On the other hand, Germany's security interests in the region can be boiled down to preventing the problems of regional conflicts, as well as non-conventional threats in the region from exporting into Europe, such as terrorism, arms proliferation, and refugee movements; Politically, Germany's major interest in the region lies in a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab

conflict – which can notably solve a dilemma in its development of bilateral relations with both Israel and the Arab states.

The thesis has explored and concluded the shape of today's German Middle East policy with five major elements: (1) energy, economic and security interests; (2) special circumstances and domestic considerations in facing the Israeli-Arab (Israeli-Palestinian) conflict; (3) to support the co-ordination and the integration of policies toward the Middle East region between the EU member states as a top priority; (4) to emphasize the necessity of international multilateral cooperation on the Middle-East issues (especially with the involvement and support from the United States); (5) Germany's historical responsibility and its special relationship with Israel.

The author believes that in the future, as one of the major trends of the German foreign policy in the post Cold-War era, Germany's participation in the Middle East affairs will become more active, as it has enough capability and potential to play such a role. It also has become more willing to exercise these attributes through concrete measures or actions, and will have a positive and profound influence upon the development of the region in the future, thus, the future development of its Middle East policy and its role in the region, ought to be put upon with more emphasis and paid with close attention.

Keywords: Germany, European Union, Middle East, Foreign Policy, Middle East Policy, Bilateral Relations