戰略與評估



論文

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第九卷第二期

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川普國家安全戰略對美軍力發展影響

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摘 要

川普國家安全戰略漸趨明朗,官方文件將之定調為大國競爭,強調 維持美國優先、強化軍力,應付來自大國如俄羅斯、中共的競爭。冷戰 結束時,美國最大對手蘇聯瓦解,美軍重新檢討國防戰略方向,減緩先 進軍備發展步伐,過去針對蘇聯發展的先進裝備不是規模縮水就是停止 發展,焦點在應付反游擊戰等低強度作戰。然而因為大國競爭再起,連 帶使美國軍事發展方向再度改變。其中著重重獲失去已久的軍事優勢, 反制俄、中等國家的「反介入/區域拒止」(A2/AD)能力。軍事發展 期程頗長,目前尚看不出實際影響,但重要軍事發展方向已然轉變,例 如美國海軍恢復發展能獨立作戰的巡防艦、美國空軍研發 B-21 轟炸 機、陸軍將發展新長程飛彈,均具指標意義。強化軍力不一定會導致戰 爭,然而若美中雙方關係持續緊張,則「冷對抗」有可能轉為「熱對抗」。

關鍵詞:川普、大國競爭、國家安全戰略、印太

The Influence of US President Trump's National Security Strategy on US Military Development

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Abstract

After United States' President Donald Trump took office, the national strategic direction of the US became clearer. Washington's "great power competition" emphasizes maintaining the US as priority, building up its military strength, and coping with competition from big countries such as Russia and the China. At the end of the Cold War, the Soviet Union collapsed. The US military re-examined the direction of its national defense strategy, slowed the pace of development of advanced weapon systems, and the focus turned to dealing with low-intensity operations such as anti-terrorist warfare. However, because the great power competition is back, the US has once again changed its military development direction. Among them, it focuses on regaining military superiority and countering the A2/AD capability of Russia and China. The military development period for this is quite long, and there is still no actual impact. However, the direction of important armament development has changed. For example, the US Navy will resume building frigates, the US Air Force is developing B-21 bombers, and the US Army will develop long-range missiles. An arms race may not lead to war directly, but if the relationship between the United States and China continues to be tense, "cold confrontation" may turn into "hot confrontation".

Keywords: Trump, great power competition, National Security Strategy, Indo-Pacific

壹、前言

川普上任後國家戰略方向已趨明朗,在其於 2017 年 12 月以後公布的官方文件中,定調新的國家戰略方向為「大國競爭」(Great power competition),並強調要維持美國優先,強化美國軍力,應付來自大國的競爭,包括俄羅斯、中共等。

冷戰結束後,美國認為大國衝突不再,取而代之的是低強度衝突,加上長期進行反恐戰爭,美軍建軍方向轉為應付多樣化衝突,雖然已體會到俄羅斯、中共正挑戰美國優勢,然仍因預算削減等條件限制,導致軍備發展遲緩、作戰能力下降。川普上任後,與中共關係因貿易、北韓、南海等問題不斷齟齬,加上國安團隊強硬派佔優勢,美中關係逐漸惡化。

接著確立美國新戰略方向的官方文件漸次公布,將新戰略定調為大國競爭,指明中共是美國國家安全最大威脅,強調要維持美國優先,不但官方文件指出必需強化軍力,應對中共挑戰,近期美國高層人士也持續警告,要維持軍力優勢。

新戰略對美國國防建軍方向影響顯而易見,目的在應付大國競爭,也就是俄羅斯與中共挑戰,其中包括以創新作戰概念應付大國競爭、軍備發展方向朝高科技、更具威脅性、作戰能力更強方向發展、發展美國自己的「反介入/區域拒止」(Anti-Access/Area Denial, A2/AD)能力、強化太空能力、以及改善國防工業基礎。另外,川普也退出《美蘇消除中程及短程飛彈條約》(Treaty Between The United States of America And The Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics on The Elimination of Their Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles, 簡稱 INF),並建立太空軍(US Space Force)。

本文分成四部分,除前言外,第二節討論冷戰後美國軍力發展轉向,第三節討論川普政府國安戰略定調大國競爭,第四節討論川普政府 軍力發展新方向,第五節川普政府軍事發展走向的戰略影響,最後為結 論。

貳、冷戰後美國軍力發展轉向

1990年代,冷戰結束之後,美國戰略規劃者曾認為大國衝突不再,導致各軍種建軍及主要武器發展重新調整,例如空軍減少 F-22 生產、海軍建造僅供執行次要作戰任務的濱海戰鬥艦(Littoral combat ship, LCS)、陸軍取消未來戰鬥系統(future combat systems, FCS),現有兵力主要在應付低強度衝突如反恐戰爭等,使得各軍種的主戰武器系統及高科技裝備發展幾全停頓或中止發展。

一、後冷戰時代轉向應付多樣化衝突導致軍力下降

回溯到 1990 年代冷戰結束時的美國國防政策。冷戰後美國經歷國防轉型,先是柯林頓政府時代,在 1997 年版《4 年期國防總檢討》(Quadrennial Defense Review,以下簡稱 QDR)中認為,短期內全球暫時不會出現像前蘇聯一樣的戰略對手,因此準備按照美國利益塑造有利的國際環境、對各種危機作出有效反應、著手為不確定的未來做好準備,使美軍保持高度戰備狀態。同時美軍必需具有能力來打贏幾乎同時發生的兩場戰爭。

2001 年上台的小布希,主張以實力謀求和平,認為美國需建立一支「無可匹敵」的軍事力量以嚇阻對手,嚇阻無效時以武力擊敗對手。並要求新任國防部長倫斯斐對美軍戰略、任務及武器裝備進行全面審查。同年9月11日發生震驚世界的911恐怖攻擊事件,但2001年的QDR仍在9月30日送交美國國會。

911 事件助長了美國國防轉型,因為軍事威脅極不確定,可能是擁有大規模毀滅性武器的流氓國家,或是游擊隊或恐怖組織,作戰型態也變得複雜而多樣化,因此美軍改變冷戰時期鎖定蘇聯的「基於威脅」(threat-based approach)建軍思維,轉為「基於能力」(capabilities-based approach),目的在能同時因應大規模戰爭,也能對付不對稱威脅如恐怖攻擊等。

經歷 1999 年科索沃戰役等類似型態戰爭後,美國體認未來衝突不一定需要由陸上大規模入侵,而僅是用空中打擊等手段制裁對手,2001年的 QDR 中還未放棄同時打贏兩場大規模區域戰爭的目標,但到 2006年的 QDR 中,美國改採「1421」戰略:1代表保衛美國本土,4代表嚇阻世界上4個重要地區的敵對國家,2代表幾乎同時打贏兩場戰爭,1

代表軍隊必須保持能決定性擊敗兩個對手之一的能力。¹QDR 把要嚇阻的威脅分成 3 種:一是能力對等的軍事挑戰者,如中共,一些區域挑戰者如北韓,以及恐怖組織。可見美國仍相當重視地緣戰略,因應中共在亞洲對美國國家利益的挑戰。

「轉型」主要在因應新興威脅,包括非正規戰爭(irregular warfare)、不對稱作戰(asymmetric warfare)、潛在的具有災難性的安全威脅(potential catastrophic security threat)、突發事件(disruptive events),但同樣也暗指,冷戰結束,美國已無重大對手,國防建軍方向應調整。

二、歐巴馬「亞太再平衡」反使軍事失衡

2010年版 QDR 再次對建軍方向重新定義,美國的軍事戰略從堅持25年的「同時打贏兩場戰爭」,轉變為「應付全球多種威脅」,並強調美國的未來威脅包括傳統戰爭、大規模毀滅武器、網路攻擊,以及對偵察衛星的威脅。2010年 QDR 認為,僅將大規模區域糾紛作為規定美軍規模、定義武裝部隊形態、進行評估的唯一或主要變數,已經不再適合。與「應付兩場主要戰爭」不同的是,2010年 QDR 認為美國將準備一系列的戰爭,從國土安全到支持政府行動,因此預算會反映到相關需求,如情監偵或無人機。

在此背景下,曾先後在小布希政府及歐巴馬政府擔任國防部長的蓋茲(Robert Gates),2009 年歐巴馬上任後,為撙節預算,明確宣示中止 C-17 運輸機及 F-22 戰機的生產,並取消 CG-X 及延遲登陸指揮艦計畫,重新規劃 DDG-1000 及未來戰鬥系統計畫,但保留 F-35 計畫。同時 2010 年 *QDR* 也宣示未來國防部不可能再追求狂想式的高科技武器,但卻面對無法承受的高風險及高成本,²這使後來美國的國防採購和武器研發政策改弦更張。

2011 年起,美國總統歐巴馬將亞太視為美國地緣戰略上的優先, 其政策先是軍事部署的調整,在 2012 年底時轉而強調經濟與外交。3軍

¹ U.S. Department of Defense, "Quadrennial Defense Review Report," 2006, pp.35-36.

² U.S. Department of Defense, "Quadrennial Defense Review Report," 2010, pp.40-41.

³ Robert G. Sutter, Michael E. Brown, Timothy J. A. Adamson, Mike M. Mochizuki and

事部署是美國亞太再平衡戰略的重要部分,亞太再平衡戰略的重要推手、前國務卿希拉蕊(Hillary Clinton)在 2010 年在夏威夷演講時,提到美國駐軍必須改變,以反映世界的發展。當時五角大廈正進行一項全球態勢評估(Global Posture Review),為美軍在亞太持續前置部署擬定計劃。美國加強東北亞地區的部署,增加關島的駐軍,並和日本及韓國達成新駐軍協定,也增強在新加坡的海軍駐軍,亦加強與菲律賓和泰國的接觸,與紐西蘭確立新的軍事合作,將與澳洲的防衛關係現代化,擴大與印度海軍在太平洋海域的合作,這是美國對外政策三面向一國防、外交和發展,在亞洲的軍事活動是美國與亞洲接觸的關鍵部分。4

三、重要軍備發展停滯不前

美國雖然轉向亞洲,實則軍力上並未有太多相應調整,而且由於預算刪減,導致重要武器研發計畫被取消或裁撤、部隊規模縮減、必要的戰備及演訓減少。更有甚者,2013年的國防減支(Sequester)也嚴重影響美國戰備,例如美國空軍作戰聯隊裁撤、戰機性能提升計畫取消、先進武器採購及研發計畫縮水,這對美國軍力產生極嚴重的後果。另因美國聚焦反恐戰爭,加上美國戰略規劃者認為未來不會再有大國衝突,因此建軍及武器發展重新調整,空軍 F-22 生產數量大幅減少至 187 架,並以聯合打擊戰機,即後來的 F-35 取代;海軍取消大型水面艦發展,改建造偏重近岸任務的濱海戰鬥艦;陸軍取消未來戰鬥系統,因為聚焦在應付低強度衝突,應付反恐作戰任務的裝備發展變成主流,5對抗主要大國的高科技武器發展則全部停頓。

Deepa Ollapally, "Balancing Acts: The U.S. Rebalance and Asia-Pacific Stability," George Washington University, August, 2013,

https://www2.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/docs/BalancingActs_Compiled1.pdf.

⁴ Hillary Clinton, "America's Engagement in the Asia-Pacific," *State.gov*, October 28, 2010, https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/10/150141.htm

⁵ 例如,陸軍發現原有陸地車輛無法應付中東戰場上恐怖分子或游擊隊的地雷或簡易 爆裂物(Improvised Explosive Device)攻擊,因此要求各陸地系統公司快速發展防 地雷伏擊車(Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected,MRAP),以保護士兵安全。

表 1、2012-2019 年美國國防支出比較表 (比較歐巴馬與	川普總統)
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總統	歐巴馬總統 (2009~2017)					川普總統 (2017~)		
會計年度	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
10 億美 元	645	578	581	560	580	606	612	674*

資料來源: U.S. Department of Defense, "U.S. Department of Defense Fiscal Year 2019 Budget Request," February 2018,

https://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2019/FY2019_Budget_Request.pdf; Leo Shane III, Joe Gould, "No shutdown: House finalizes FY19 military budget, and Trump drops his opposition," *Military Times*, September 27, 2018, https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2018/09/26/no-shutdown-house-finalizes-fy19-military-budget-and-trump-drops-his-opposition/

歐巴馬時代也將中共視為對手,但主張合作,認為中共是美國應對全球威脅的合作夥伴;2010年的《國家安全戰略》(National Security Strategy)中,歐巴馬主張與中、俄、印建立合作關係,⁶不過後來因俄入侵烏克蘭,美俄關係惡化,2015年《國家安全戰略》公布時,歐巴馬為制裁俄羅斯而拉攏中共,視其為戰略夥伴,指出美、中雖有競爭,但不必然導致對抗;⁷川普雖亦希望在制裁北韓議題上與中共合作,但強調大國競爭已經重返,將俄、中視為是挑戰美國實力及利益的對手。

The White House, "National Security Strategy 2010," May 2010, http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf

⁷ The White House, "National Security Strategy 2015," February 2015, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy_2.pdf

參、川普政府國安戰略定調大國競爭

接著,川普在 2017 年 1 月 20 日就任,他剛上任時曾被批評外交政策尚無確切方針,國安團隊人事未到位,沒有清楚國家戰略方向。但隨著重要職務一一到任,代表川普政策方針的重要官方文件也一一出爐,川普及其團隊的政策主軸一一浮現,也為外交及國防戰略正式定調為大國競爭。

一、川普政府強硬派當道,美中競爭白熱化

美國副總統彭斯(Mike Pence)2018年10月4日在哈德遜研究所(Hudson Institute)發表演講,陳述美國外交政策,以前所未有的嚴厲口氣指責中國大陸,他先提到2017年12月公布的《國家安全戰略》中提到的「大國競爭」新時代來臨,因為「外國重塑他們在區域和全球的影響力」,挑戰美國的地緣政治優勢,並試圖改變國際秩序使之適合他們的利益。彭斯說,中共將從陸、海、空及太空抗衡美軍作為首要任務,希望將美國擠出西太平洋,阻止美軍援助盟友。彭斯也對中國在南海的軍事化、對台灣的打壓、貿易和投資、對國內民眾的監控和壓制,以及試圖破壞美國民主制度做了嚴厲批判。8

彭斯被認為是共和黨內的建制派,因此他的言論被視為反映共和黨內的共識。⁹彭斯演說被認為是近年美國高層領導人對中國最強硬的發言,甚至被認為是一篇發起「新冷戰」的演說,且再度為川普的新戰略定調是「大國競爭」。

接著,10月31日,國務卿蓬佩奧(Mike Pompeo)在廣播節目中, 也指出「中國是美國最大安全挑戰」,川普總統領導下的美國,正對中 國進行全面反擊,迫使中國遵守國際法,並在商業上成為正常國家。¹⁰

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⁸ The White House, "Remarks by Vice President Pence on the Administration's Policy Toward China," October 4, 2018,

 $https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-vice-president-pence-administ \ rations-policy-toward-china/\\$

 $^{^9}$ 黎蜗藤,〈數十年來層級最高、最嚴厲批判 習大怎麼因應彭斯宣戰?〉,《新新聞》,2018 年 10 月 10 日,https://www.storm.mg/article/534875。

¹⁰ "Pompeo: US Trying to Persuade China to Act 'Like Normal Nation'," VOA, October 31,

從川普上台後,美中關係變化快速,令人目不暇給,原本川普上任未久後,2017年4月7日在佛州海湖莊園舉行川習會,原本被認為美中關係從此和睦,「新型大國關係」快速建立,然而接著情況急轉直下,包括中共對貿易逆差遲未拿出改善之道、北韓問題中共沒有發揮實際作用、美中在南海持續對峙、甚至認為中共藉網路等方式企圖干預美國選舉,直到12月《國家安全戰略報告》成形,川普政策定調。

川普其競選團隊中不乏對中強硬派人士,川普內閣剛成形時幾乎都是現役或退役將領組成,曾被戲稱「軍事內閣」,另外,主張對中強硬的包括國務卿蓬佩奧、白宮幕僚長凱利(John Kelly)、國家安全顧問波頓(John Bolton)及他指派的國安會亞洲事務資深主任博明(Matt Pottinger)、貿易顧問納瓦羅(Peter Navarro)、現為美駐韓大使的前太平洋司令部司令哈里斯(Harry Harris,太平洋司令部在2018年5月30日更名為印太司令部)、新任亞太助卿退役空軍准將史達偉(David Stilwell),11以及對中態度轉向強硬的商務部長羅斯(Wibur Ross);而不夠強硬,「太像民主黨」的溫和派人士多逐一下台,本來被認為是強硬派的國防部長馬提斯(James Mattis),也已在2018年12月離任,川普曾批評他「像民主黨」。

這些美國高層人士的發言,再一次強烈反應美國政界的反中情緒。 川普自己也曾在接受哥倫比亞廣播公司《60 分鐘》節目訪問時,直指「中國是大麻煩」(And I think, frankly, China is a bigger problem)。近期 美中貿易戰升溫,美國準備軍售台灣,並強化與台灣關係,種種跡象顯 示美中關係似不可能快速降溫。

二、官方文書接連嚴詞批評中國挑戰

川普政府上任後,由 2017 年迄今(2019)年發布多分官方文件,逐漸將強硬派的外交政策理念及主張形諸文字。首先是在 2017 年 12 月

2018,

https://www.voanews.com/a/pompeo-us-trying-to-persuade-to-act-like-normal-nation/46 37953.html

¹¹ 美國參議院在 2019 年 6 月 13 日通過史達偉任命案。〈 史達偉出任亞太助卿 外交部 盼共同深化台美關係 〉,《中央社》,2019 年 6 月 14 日, https://www.cna.com.tw/news/aipl/201906140025.aspx。

19日推出的《國家安全戰略》(National Security Strategy of the United States)中,直指中共及俄羅斯「修正主義強權」、流氓國家如伊朗及北韓、跨國恐怖主義等是美國三大安全挑戰,因此美國需重建優勢,強化軍事實力,並持續與盟國合作,在印太、歐洲等關鍵地區維持有利的權力平衡,印太地區的地緣競爭正進行中,美國雖與中共合作,但中共仍以強制方式威脅鄰國。美持續預置兵力,強化與盟邦軍事關係。¹²

接著公布的報告,延續「大國競爭」的基調。2018 年 1 月公布的《美國國防戰略摘要》(Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of The United States of American), ¹³延續《國家安全戰略》中俄為戰略競爭者的基調,指中共軍事現代化目的是在印度洋、太平洋取得霸權;但俄羅斯更具侵略性,不僅吞併克里米亞,也支援敘利亞阿薩德(Baššār al-'Asad)政權。卸任的國防部長馬提斯介紹《國防戰略摘要》時特別指出,雖然美國仍持續打擊恐怖主義,然大國競爭已是國家安全的主要焦點。¹⁴戰略與武力發展副助理部長科爾比(Elbridge Colby)也表示,由於「中」俄不斷挑戰美軍軍事能力,新戰略報告代表國防的根本性轉移:某種程度上,美國要回到基礎,為對抗主要強權的衝突預做準備。

《國防戰略摘要》也指出,美國近年持續進行反恐戰爭,建軍亦朝向反恐任務,然而中共及俄羅斯國防力量不斷提升,美國必須在國防上進行更多投資及現代化,包括「核武」、「太空與網路」、「飛彈防禦」和「聯戰殺傷力」(joint lethality)的強化,才能建構「致命、強韌且能快速適應環境之聯戰兵力」。¹⁵

llies-feature-prominently/

¹² The White House, "National Security Strategy of United States of America," December 18, 2017,

https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf

U.S. Department of Defense, "Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of The United States of American," January 1, 2018, https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf

Colin Clark, "Mattis' Defense Strategy Raises China To Top Threat: Allies Feature Prominently," *BreakingDefense*, January 18, 2018, https://breakingdefense.com/2018/01/mattis-military-strategy-raises-china-to-top-threat-a

¹⁵ Paul McLeary, "SECDEF Mattis Unveils New 'Lethal' National Defense Strategy

2018年2月《核武態勢報告》(Nuclear Posture Review),指在美國持續減少核武數量時,俄國和中共在內的其他國家卻在添加新核武;美國核武不可能防止所有衝突,但在嚇阻核侵略及非核侵略仍具作用。¹⁶國防政策首席政策副助理部長川滕伯格(David J. Trachtenberg)強調,由於國際戰略環境的惡化,美國面臨更多安全挑戰,因此需要發展更多類型的核武器,以提高嚇阻能力。報告出台後,引發爭議。一些國家,特別是俄羅斯和中共,認為新核戰略完全背棄了美國以前的核戰略原則,而且極易引發新一輪對立和核競賽,後果嚴重。

2018年9月公布的《評估及強化美國國防工業基地與供應鏈彈性》(Assessing and Strengthening the Manufacturing and Defense Industrial Base and Supply Chain Resiliency of the United States)報告,則指責中共藉經濟戰等方式企圖威脅美國賴以強化軍力的國防工業基礎,對美國國家安全具有戰略性和關鍵性的材料和技術的供應鏈造成嚴重風險。¹⁷本報告是依川普在2017年底下令進行的研究所做成,報告中列舉近300項支持美國軍事的供應鏈,最重要的項目之一是中共企圖控制關鍵技術及材料的供應鏈,其侵略性產業政策已經消滅掉一些具關鍵國防功能的生產能力,包括軍事用途的太陽能電池、供飛機使用的平板顯示器、稀土元素加工等,另外也嚴重威脅其他能力,如工具機、生化、陶瓷及複合材料等先進材料製程。這分130頁的報告,提到中共部分就達到229次,¹⁸並指出中共目的是切斷美國的供應來源。

Focused on Great Power," USNI News, January 19, 2018,

https://news.usni.org/2018/01/19/secdef-mattis-unveils-new-lethal-national-defense-strategy-focused-great-power-competition

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Defense, "Nuclear Posture Review," February 2018, https://dod.defense.gov/News/SpecialReports/2018NuclearPostureReview.aspx

U.S. Department of Defense, "Assessing and Strengthening the Manufacturing and Defense Industrial Base and Supply Chain Resiliency of the United States," September 2018.

https://media.defense.gov/2018/Oct/05/2002048904/-1/-1/1/ASSESSING-AND-STREN GTHENING-THE-MANUFACTURING-AND%20DEFENSE-INDUSTRIAL-BASE-A ND-SUPPLY-CHAIN-RESILIENCY.PDF

Paul Mcleary and Colin Clark, "Trump's Industrial Base Report Blames China, Sequestration," *Breaking Defense*, October 4, 2018, https://breakingdefense.com/2018/10/trumps-industrial-base-report-blames-china-congress/

2018 年「國防授權法案」中,美國國會要求國防部評估中共介入海外軍事與非軍事行動對美國及區域安全與國防利益的影響,因此國防部在 2018 年 12 月公布《評估中共擴大全球介入對美國國防影響》(Assessment on U.S. Defense Implications of China's Expanding Global Access),報告認為中共有明確目標,即取代美國在印度太平洋的地位,擴張其以國家力量驅動的經濟模式,以其偏好方式重塑區域秩序,報告中強調中共運用軍事及非軍事的具體方式,第一是放棄歷史以上陸地為中心的戰略,日益重視海軍力量,並投射海軍武力;第二是擴張其「數位絲綢之路」,強化通訊及資訊基礎建設的投資,但這並非基於利他主義,而是剝奪外國智慧財產權、加強國內審查,其國有企業如華為及中興通訊也牽涉嚴重反情報問題;第三則是操縱境外媒體為中共發聲宣傳,以補貼等方式掩護其對外國無線電台的控制。報告中也指出需瞭解中共行為背後的核心動機,若無此理解,則無法成功反擊中共。19

在美國提出「自由開放的印太地區」戰略後,2019 年 6 月美國國防部終於公布一分正式的《印度太平洋戰略報告:準備、夥伴及促進區域網路》(Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region),報告指出美國是太平洋國家,在印太區域擁有利益,美國與盟國在此區域合作維持穩定,已超過 70 年。由於大國競爭重返,美國必須持續投資及採取行動,確保所有國家都在國際秩序下獲益,並期待區域盟邦也為其安全作出應有貢獻,以維持嚇阻力量並減少脆弱性。²⁰

另外,在 2018 至 2019 年也公布多分與中共軍事發展有關的年度性報告,包括年度性的《中國軍事與安全發展報告》(*Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*,以下簡稱《中共軍力報告》),2018 年及 2019 年各發布一分;美國國防情報署(Defense

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¹⁹ U.S. Department of Defense, "Assessment on U.S. Defense Implications of China's Expanding Global Access," January 2019, https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jan/14/2002079292/-1/-1/1/EXPANDING-GLOBAL-AC CESS-REPORT-FINAL.PDF

U.S. Department of Defense, "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region," June 2019, https://media.defense.gov/2019/May/31/2002139210/-1/-1/1/DOD_INDO_PACIFIC_ST RATEGY REPORT JUNE 2019.PDF

Intelligence Agency, DIA)也在 2019 年 1 月發布《中共軍事力:能戰必勝的現代化部隊》(*China Military Power: Modernizing a force to fight and win*)等。

2018 及 2019 年的《中共軍力報告》,基上均詳細敘述中共軍事發展現況,除中共軍事改革、活動、演訓與部署情況外,也關注極超音速武器、無人機(unmanned aerial vehicle, UAV)、人工智慧(artificial intelligence, AI)、核武、先進陸海空軍作戰平台如匿蹤轟炸機、新型水面艦及潛艦等,以及資訊戰與網路戰等先進軍事能力或科技等發展,另亦關注中共一帶一路、南海活動及海外軍事部署情況,中共軍力發展已對美國及周邊國家構成威脅,並警告美國軍事優勢正在喪失。2019 年版章節較 2018 年略有調整,除仍關切中共對台灣威脅外,也關切中共對周邊區域威脅,另外針對新情況以「特別主題」(Special topic)加以呈現,例如 2018 年關切中共全球影響力擴張、與北韓關係、解放軍聯合作戰發展、轟炸機遠程飛行訓練,2019 年則關切中共「影響力作戰」(Influence operations)及在北極活動。²¹

情報署的報告則認為中共解放軍持續現代化,目的在建成一支大國軍力,中共國防預算近年持續以 10%幅度增長,用以進行現代化,解放軍強化戰鬥訓練,改善機動性、建立更佳指揮管制,強化後勤支援,以資訊化建立戰場優勢,運用更精密複雜的武器,強調在區域衝突中建立即時及網路化的指揮管制。2015 年開始推動的軍改,強化聯合作戰,使解放軍成為更具殺傷力的武力,以與美國競爭。22

這些官方文件均延續國家安全戰略「大國競爭」主軸,指明中共是

U.S. Department of Defense, "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2018," August 16, 2018, https://media.defense.gov/2018/Aug/16/2001955282/-1/-1/1/2018-CHINA-MILITARY-P OWER-REPORT.PDF; U.S. Department of Defense, "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2019," May 2, 2019, https://media.defense.gov/2019/May/02/2002127082/-1/-1/1/2019_CHINA_MILITARY_POWER_REPORT.pdf

U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, "China Military Power: Modernizing a force to fight and win," January 15, 2019, https://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/China_Military_Power_FINAL_5MB_20190103.pdf

美國國家安全最大挑戰,無疑地構成川普政府的外交及國防政策主軸, 這些報告不但警告中共由經濟、政治、軍事等方式威脅美國,同時也建 議美國必需採取的作為,其中之一是強化軍事能力。

肆、川普政府軍力發展新方向

川普上任後強調「美國優先」,首要即是恢復後冷戰時代逐漸下降的軍力優勢。其《國防戰略報告摘要》已提到,美國國家戰略回歸大國競爭,將再度改變其國防採購及國防科技研究方向。在美國重要軍事媒體的版面,大國競爭幾成關鍵字,與此關連的新聞蒐尋包括極超音速武器、人工智慧、長程武器、電磁武器、下一代轟炸機等,也包括作戰訓練、演習以及戰備等。

美國近年持續進行反恐戰爭,建軍亦朝向反恐任務,然而中共及俄羅斯國防力量不斷提升,對美國軍事優勢構成挑戰。美國既然擔心俄中挑戰,要如何提升軍事實力,成為關切焦點。川普新戰略直接影響到美國軍事發展,首先官方文件強調確保軍力優先,並宣示強化軍力方向,其次是作戰構想的更新,第三是軍備發展方向的調整,最後則是發展A2/AD能力及建立太空武力。

一、確保美國軍力優先

2017年《國家安全戰略》中,詮釋所謂「美國優先」,主要在於軍事及科技領域,其中包括確保軍事力量現代化、確保美軍取得最精良及創新之裝備、修正裁減聯合作戰部隊之決策並促使現代化及確保戰備能力、強化軍力整備具備全方位作戰能力、發展新的作戰構想,確保面對非傳統軍事衝突或無法完全掌握空、海、太空及網路優勢時仍能勝利、具備對抗非正規戰爭能力。

另外,報告還提到健全國防工業體系,並批評過去 20 年來,美國國防工業弱化,產品仰賴國內單一來源或是國外供應,若無法完全自製產品,美國會在高科技、網路安全及航太領域等基礎弱化。相關作為包括評估美國軍工產業,確保國安重要物資來源穩定、供應鏈的脆弱點,並掌握未來科技;鼓勵國內產業投資,加強關鍵科技及製造能力,改善美製武器出口流程及規定,保護關鍵技術。

美國也要維持核武優勢、確保核武存量、核武設施現代化,以保持 穩定嚇阻力。美國應確保太空領域的自由使用,以保障通訊、金融、軍 事、情蒐、氣候及航行安全。許多國家已獲得反衛星的不對稱能力,美國優先包括確保在太空領域領先、成立國家太空委員會、更新遠程探索目標、透過鬆綁及更新法規,促進商業太空活動;在太空探索維持領導地位,探索太陽系,加強公私部門及夥伴合作。

其他尚包括防範網路攻擊及強化網路安全,以保護民主體制與全球 金融體系,及政府資產與重要基礎設施;強化美國情報機構情蒐,增進 對競爭者掌握,增強嚇阻及擊退其經濟間諜活動能力,持續與盟友及夥 伴合作,掌控情資,並掌握外交、通訊、軍事、經濟資訊及分析。

二、改變作戰構想應付未來衝突

在作戰軍事概念調整上,歐巴馬時代的「空海整體戰」(Air Sea Battle),起源於 2009 年 9 月,時任美國空軍參謀長史瓦茲將軍(Gen. Norton Schwartz)及海軍軍令部長羅海德將軍(Adm. Gary Roughead)簽訂一分機密備忘錄,啟動兩軍種新作戰概念的研究。²³空海整體戰原本即是要應付中共的 A2/AD 威脅。2015 年 1 月宣布創立「全球公域聯合介入及機動」概念(Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons, JAM-GC),取代空海整體戰,將陸上武力納入更廣泛的概念中,即如何將陸軍及陸戰隊介入衝突區域,協助美國部隊重獲介入能力。美國發展空海整體戰概念目的在反制「反介入/區域拒止」(A2/AD) 威脅,並重新恢復美軍在長期反恐戰爭中失去的作戰能力。²⁴

川普甫上任時,美軍即未再沿用舊名詞,但暫時也未創新名詞,不過陸軍提出的多領域作戰(Multi-Domain Battle)概念,將戰場概念由我方後勤區至敵方,擴大到7個作戰區域,所有5項作戰領域,包括太空、網路、空中、陸地、海洋,都可涵蓋以上7區域作戰,這將大幅擴展各軍種角色,彼此分野也更加模糊。25

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Anderw F. Krepinevich, "Why AirSea Battle?" Center of Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, February 19, 2010, p.2, https://csbaonline.org/research/publications/why-airsea-battle

²⁴ Sam LaGrone, "Pentagon Drops Air Sea Battle Name, Concept Lives On," USNI, January 20, 2015.

http://news.usni.org/2015/01/20/pentagon-drops-air-sea-battle-name-concept-lives U.S. Army, "Multi-Domain Battle: Evolution of Combined Arms for the 21st Century

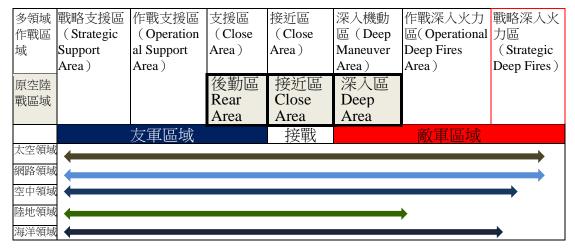


圖1:多領域作戰概念

作者繪製,資料來源:US Army, "Multi-Domain Battle Evolution of Combined Arms for the 21st Century 2025-2040," December 2017,

https://www.tradoc.army.mil/Portals/14/Documents/MDB_Evolutionfor21st%20(1).pdf

海軍也是為了應付海上的 A2/AD 威脅,加上網路化作戰的廣泛運用,提出「分散式致命」(Distributed Lethality)概念,使作戰平台的部署不再需要集中於一處,而是可以大幅分散至所有區域,並使所有艦上及空中的感測器、防空、反艦與攻陸火力得以充分發揮,因武器發射載台和感測器可以相距數百公里,將使敵方更難以打擊,也使更多的敵人在更寬廣的地理範圍蒙受更大風險,並且使所有的水面部隊更為「致命」(Lethality),除作戰艦艇外,支援艦艇也會具備作戰能力,聯合作戰指揮官可具備更多的攻勢性選項,並能強化嚇阻態勢,限制敵人的作戰選項,甚至將敵人限制在港灣內無法行動。²⁶

^{2025-2040,&}quot; December 2017,

https://www.tradoc.army.mil/Portals/14/Documents/MDB_Evolutionfor21st%20(1).pdf Dave Majumdar, "Distributed Lethality and Beyond: The U.S. Navy's Surface Fleet Is Evolving Right Before Our Eyes," *National Interest*, November 1, 2016, http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/distributed-lethality-beyond-the-us-navy-evolvin g-right-18251?page=show

三、既有軍備發展重點

(一)重啟先進戰機及先進空用武器計畫

由於美國空軍 F-22 戰機生產數量被砍至 183 架,F-35 量產速率落後,因此空軍決定為 F-16 機隊進行性能提升,使其具備與台灣 F-16V相同的航電水準,以維持戰力至 F-35 全面服役。美國空軍 5 項建軍優先中,不乏已經過度老舊極需汰換機種,其中第一是確保 F-35 服役,其他包括 KC-46 加油機、長程打擊轟炸機(Long Range Strike Bomber, LRSB,即 B-21)、長程偵察機及 T-X 教練機。²⁷諾斯洛普格魯門(Northrop Grumman)發展中的新一代匿蹤轟炸機 B-21,擁有全翼構形,攜帶現有重型及長程武器,取代老舊的 B-52 及 B-1 轟炸機。

美國還未正式啟動第 6 代戰機計畫,但可能有更先進的匿蹤外型, 美國空軍「穿透性制空」(Penetrating Counter-Air)及海軍 FA-XX 兩項 計畫仍有待整合,但已開始發展未來關鍵科技,例如先進的多重可變循 環發動機、機載雷射武器等。此外,美國空軍先進行現有戰機的性能提 升,除決定為 F-22 進行性能升級,也考慮為 F-35 配備雷射武器,發動 機大廠普萊特惠特尼(Pratt & Whitney, PW)計畫提升 F135 發動機推 力,被稱為成長選項 2.0(Growth Option 2.0, GO2),這與未來在 F-35 配 備直接能武器密切相關,美軍亦考慮為 F-35 配備極超音速飛彈及 B61 核彈。

(二)恢復發展長程岸基反艦武器

美軍過去不重視長程武器,近年因應中共 A2/AD 能力,有重啟發展長程打擊武器趨勢,包括射程 500 公里的 AGM-158 反艦飛彈,可配備在美軍現有戰機及轟炸機上,若配備轟炸機,B-2 可掛載彈數約 16 枚、B-52H 約 20 枚、B-1 最多,達 24 枚,若美軍在關島部署這些轟炸機,僅需 2 架就足以威脅一整支海上艦隊。

另外,美國陸軍及陸戰隊也嘗試以原用於岸上的武器,例如 M142

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Loren Thompson, "What Are The Air Force's Big Five Programs For The Future?" Forbes, September 10, 2013,

http://www.forbes.com/sites/lorenthompson/2013/09/10/what-are-the-air-forces-big-five-programs-for-the-future/

高機動性多管火箭系統(High Mobility Artillery Rocket System, HIMARS)部署在岸際或船塢登陸艦上,用以執行對海上艦艇打擊任務,²⁸這項轉變顯示美國海軍在亞太地區部署的調整。

(三)調整海軍部署應付高強度作戰

為了因應《國家安全戰略》與《美國國防戰略摘要》重新將國家戰略定調為「大國競爭」,海軍規劃新建軍目標為反制中共及俄羅斯的海上擴張。新推出的《維持海上優勢的新設計 2.0 版》(A Design for Maintaining Maritime Superiority 2.0),強調必須要能夠應對全光譜威脅並與友軍共同控制海上衝突。目前美國海軍已恢復第2艦隊建制,第3艦隊開始前進部署;同時持續完善作戰準備,並強化分散式海上作戰及支持概念。²⁹美國海軍 2016 年《兵力結構評估》認為達成國家戰略目標的合理艦隊規模,應有 355 艘作戰艦艇,因此需增加 47 艘水面艦,包括 16 艘大型水面艦,18 艘攻擊潛艦,以及 1 艘航空母艦,可見美國未來的造艦方向與重點。

在此計畫下,作為主戰兵力的大型水面艦中,海軍啟動採購勃克級第 III 批計畫,主要改變是強化其飛彈防禦能力。可能會用來取代勃克級的未來大型水面艦,其構型尚未決定。濱海戰鬥艦數量則將減少,其原本建造目的是低成本、採模組化任務包,執行非正規及低強度任務,但因威脅改變,濱海戰鬥艦生存性受質疑,2014 年前國防部長黑格(Chuck Hagel)下令美國海軍改變政策,重新發展能應付高強度衝突的「巡防艦」(frigate),並維持海軍作戰艦艇至一定數量。另外,海軍也靠「分散式致命」,讓所有艦艇都具作戰能力,增加對敵海軍威脅。

(四)延伸海軍飛機作戰半徑

另一個例子是美國海軍的 MQ-25 無人空中加油機,目的在延伸海軍艦載機的作戰半徑,避免因航程限制,迫使航空母艦需部署在離

18 中華民國一〇八年 春季

Joseph Trevithick, "Official Story On The Rockets The Army Fired At A Ship During RIMPAC Doesn't Add Up," *The Drive*, July 26, 2018, https://www.thedrive.com/the-war-zone/22441/official-story-on-the-rockets-the-army-fire d-at-a-ship-during-rimpac-doesnt-line-up

²⁹ U.S. Navy, "A Design for Maintaining Maritime Superiority 2.0," December 2018, https://www.navy.mil/navydata/people/cno/Richardson/Resource/Design_2.0.pdf

岸較近的海域,使航艦戰鬥群曝露在敵方反艦巡弋飛彈或彈道飛彈的打擊之下。

MQ-25 計畫是基於美國海軍原來的無人艦載機計畫。原本美國海軍打算發展「無人艦載彈射空載情監偵打擊」(Unmanned Carrier-Launched Airborne Surveillance and Strike, UCLASS),然而計畫爭議不斷,2016 年美國防部政策轉彎,取消 UCLASS 計畫,改發展野心較低的艦載空中加油系統(Carrier-Based Aerial Refueling System, CBARS),30後來被賦予正式編號為 MQ-25「紅魚」(Stingray)。

美國國防部將注意力轉至加油機原因,除無人機艦上起降及無人空中加油技術已經成熟外,因海軍戰機短缺,發展無人加油機成本比修改現有機種如 V-22 或 E-2 擔負加油任務,成本更低且更有效率,另外也可減輕航艦面對的 A2/AD 威脅,因海軍艦載機航程不足,而美國敵人普遍擁有射程超過 300 浬以上距離的反艦飛彈,使海軍航艦需與岸際至少保持此一距離,造成所謂 300 浬魔咒。31無人加油機可延伸艦載機的作戰航程,並減輕出勤負荷,因美國航艦現無空中加油機,以艦載機為僚機進行夥伴加油的飛行時數會佔掉總飛行時數 20~30%。海軍計畫讓MQ-25 搭載 1 萬 4 千磅燃油,可在離航艦 500 浬遠距離,為 4 至 6 架戰機進行空中加油,這樣可讓 F/A-18E/F 超級大黃蜂戰機作戰半徑從目前的 450 浬延伸至超過 700 浬,從而可使航艦遠離可能的岸基反艦巡弋飛彈或是反艦彈道飛彈的威脅。

(五)加速非傳統武器開發

包括雷射武器及電磁武器,美國國防先進研究計畫署(Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, 以下簡稱 DARPA)與波音(Boeing)

Sydney J. Freedberg, "Good-Bye, UCLASS; Hello, Unmanned Tanker, More F-35Cs In 2017 Budget," *BreakingDefense*, February 1, 2016, https://breakingdefense.com/2016/02/good-bye-uclass-hello-unmanned-tanker-more-f-35

cs-in-2017-budget/
31 Bryan Clark, Peter Haynes and Jesse Sloman, "Restoring American Sea Power: A New Fleet Architecture for the United States Navy," *Center of Strategic and Budgetary Assessments*, February 9, 2017, p.39,

 $https://csbaonline.org/uploads/documents/CSBA6292-Fleet_Architecture_Study_REPRI\ NT_web.pdf$

公司合作開發雷射武器系統(Laser Weapon System, LaWS),將在船艦及軍用車輛上部署,曾於 2014 年在兩棲運輸艦龐斯號(USS Ponce)上配備雷射武器進行實驗。洛克希德馬汀公司的「高能雷射及整合監視及眩光器」(High Energy Laser and Integrated Optical-dazzler with Surveillance,HELIOS)則結合致命及非致命雷射,將可在 2020 年部署於海軍艦艇上。此外,美國國防部也在發展可部署在陸地車輛上的固態雷射武器,未來更可搭載在史崔克輪型裝甲車上,機動性更佳,並提高功率,對付「非對稱性威脅目標」,例如大批武裝無人機或快艇。美國海軍也在 2015 年就發展電磁軌道砲(electromagnetic railgun)成功,使用與單極馬達原理類似的電磁軌道裝置推動「砲彈」,不需使用火藥,射速可達音速 7 倍,射程可提高至一百公里以上,除穿透能力驚人外,砲彈成本還相對便宜,若未來船艦動力系統能解決電力供應問題,將可能實用化。

四、未來武器發展重點

因應川普戰略,最近一項重要的發展,是川普總統在 2018 年 10 月 20 日宣布,由於俄國長期以來未遵守 *INF*,因此美國打算退出,³²接著國務卿蓬佩奧先在 2018 年 12 月 5 日向俄提出警告,美將在 60 天內退出 *INF*,接著,2019 年宣布正式啟動退出 *INF* 的程序。³³如果美國退出 *INF* 並重啟其捨棄已久的長程飛彈計畫,這意味著美國也會在歐洲及亞太前線建構自己的 A2/AD 能力。

該條約是美國前總統雷根 (Ronald Reagan) 與前蘇聯國家主席戈巴契夫 (Mikhail Gorbachev)於 1987年12月27日簽字,翌年6月1日生效,條約限制所有500至1,000公里範圍,及1,000至5,500公里範圍的短程與中程核武、飛彈及發射器發展,不包括空中及海上發射飛彈。不過美國僅銷毀859枚飛彈,前蘇聯則銷毀多達1,936枚飛彈,因此INF被認為對美國有利,然而這對蘇聯亦有利,因1970年代末期,

³² Sophie Tatum, Ryan Browne and Kevin Bohn, "Trump says US is ending decades-old nuclear arms treaty with Russia," *CNN*, October 20, 2018, https://edition.cnn.com/2018/10/20/politics/donald-trump-us-arms-agreement-russia/inde x.html

^{33 〈}美今正式啟動退出中導條約程序 川普盼重簽〉、《公共電視》,2019 年 2 月 2 日, https://news.pts.org.tw/article/421628。

美分別在英、德、義、荷、比境內部署飛彈,包括 108 枚潘興 II 型(Pershing II)飛彈、464 枚 BGM-109 陸基巡弋飛彈,潘興 II 型射程達 1,770 公里,僅需 6-8 分鐘即可擊中目標,³⁴1987 年美蘇訂約後潘興 II 飛彈撤離歐洲。蘇聯瓦解後,條約適用至前蘇聯共和國,曾有效限制美俄雙方核武及中程飛彈數量,對緩和當時國際情勢具有重要意義。

中共的 A2/AD 能力來自其部署的各型短、中、長程飛彈,其配備傳統彈頭的中程彈道飛彈已可威脅第二島鏈的美軍部署。2018 年 4 月,中共國防部證實「東風 26」彈道飛彈已通過作戰檢驗正式服役,最遠射程 5,000 公里,可打擊關島美軍基地,號稱也能攻擊美國航空母艦,故有「關島快遞」和「航母殺手」之稱。2016 年「美中經濟安全審查委員會」(U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, USCC)發表題為「中國以傳統飛彈打擊關島的能力正在擴張」(China's Expanding Ability to Conduct Conventional Missile Strikes on Guam)報告,質疑中國 A2/AD 戰略目的在阻止美軍介入西太平洋的潛在軍事衝突,首要目標是突破第一島鏈,加上可打擊關島的「東風 26」,使以關島為核心的第二島鏈亦面臨威脅。該報告提出數項回應方案,其中一項便是重新審視 INF,或推動中國加入 INF,減少其飛彈部署。35

若美國退出 INF,可能恢復發展的武器將包括:

(一) 陸軍精準打擊飛彈

美國陸軍 2016 年提出的「多領域作戰」(Multi-Domain Operations) 概念下,共有 6 項現代化計畫,其中一項是發展「精準打擊飛彈」(Precision Strike Missile, PrSM),取代現役的 MGM-140 陸軍戰術飛彈系統(Army Tactical Missile System, ATACMS),因受 INF 條約限制,射程僅能 500 公里,若美國退出條約,則其射程可以再延長,而且也可具

³⁴ Igor Sutyagin, "Iskander, Pershing II and Missile Defences: History Repeating," Royal United Services Institute, November 23, 2011,

https://rusi.org/publication/iskander-pershing-ii-and-missile-defences-history-repeating Jordan Wilson, "China's Expanding Ability to Conduct Conventional Missile Strikes on Guam," *U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, May 10, 2016, https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/Staff%20Report_China%27s%20Expanding%20Ability%20to%20Conduct%20Conventional%20Missile%20Strikes%20on%20Guam.pdf

備精準打擊能力,甚至如中共發展的反艦彈道飛彈一般,用以打擊海上或陸地的移動目標;36另外,也可能重新恢復前進部署陸基長程巡弋飛彈。

(二)極超音速武器

過去美國並不重視極超音速武器發展,也無明確發展戰略,所以美國的極超音速載具計畫雖然較其他國家先進,但未有持續發展動作。然而目前俄、中都在發展類似武器,美已擔心在極超音速武器競賽中落後,美國空軍已將其置於最高優先。³⁷美國過去曾發展數種設計,包括「極超音速技術載具-2」(HTV-2)、「先進極超音速武器」(AHW),用以進行其全球打擊計畫。相較於俄、中,美國發展時程雖已落後,但可以採不對稱途徑如整合導引極超音速武器的感測器技術,以維持優勢。

美國國防部在 2018 年時開始增加極超音速技術投資,包括美國空軍的「極超音速傳統打擊空射滑翔武器」(Hypersonic Conventional Strike Weapon, HCSW),預計在 2020 年進行飛行測試,及另一型陸射型極超音速武器。2018 年 4 月,美國空軍授予洛克希德馬汀 10 億美元合約,進行 HCSW 的設計、整合及工程支援,8 月 14 日再獲一筆 4 億 8400萬美元合約,發展另一型「空射快速反應武器」(Air Launched Rapid Response Weapon, ARRW)。38另外,美國空軍、DARPA 及雷神公司也合作推動戰術推進滑翔(Tactical Boost Glide, TBG)計畫,預計在 2023年發展出原型。為推動極超音速載具研究計畫,2018 年 10 月 4 日,美國空軍賦予空軍實驗室 GOLancher1(GO1)極超音速載具 X-60A 的實

Sydney J. Freedberg, "Army Will Field 100Km Cannon, 500Km Missile: LRPF CFT," BreakingDefense, March 23, 2018,

https://breakingdefense.com/2018/03/army-will-field-100-km-cannon-500-km-missiles-lr pf-cft/

Amanda Macias, "Russia and China are 'aggressively developing' hypersonic weapons — here's what they are and why the US can't defend against them," *CNBC*, March 21, 2018,

https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/21/hypersonic-weapons-what-they-are-and-why-us-cant-defend-against-them.html

Amanda Macias, "Lockheed Martin gets a second hypersonic weapons contract, this time for \$480 million, as the US tries to keep pace with Russia and China," *CNBC*, August 14, 2018,

https://www.cnbc.com/2018/08/14/lockheed-martin-gets-480-million-hypersonics-contract-from-pentagon.html

驗機編號,這是一枚空射式液態燃料火箭,用以研究在極超音速飛行時 衝壓推進發動機(scramjet)、耐高溫材料及自動控制等技術。³⁹

五、成立新軍種強化太空軍事部署

為因應俄、中在太空的挑戰,川普在 2018 年 6 月 18 日下令成立太空軍(United States Space Force, USSF),並開始規劃,以統籌運用各軍種的太空資源。⁴⁰不過美國的軍事優勢,原本即為大量依賴在太空中部署的各型氣象、導航及定位、通訊、光學或雷達影像偵察(Optical or Radar Imaging Reconnaissance)、電子情報蒐集(ELINT)、飛彈預警、監視、衛星追蹤以及科學研究衛星。美國也曾進行反衛星武器發展,1980 年代就試射過空射反衛星飛彈技術,以 F-15 戰機發射 ASM-135 反衛星飛彈(ASAT),摧毀一枚軌道;2008 年,又以一枚艦載的標準 3 型飛彈(Standard 3)擊毀一枚失效衛星。

美國原本三個軍種都有自己的太空資源,但是未能整合,且其主要任務為支援其本身軍事作戰及部署,太空軍成立後,有可能整合太空資源,使太空軍事部署更為具體化。目前許多太空武器仍在概念化階段,包括仍在測試階段的 X-37B 無人太空梭、可重返太氣層的極超音速飛機、太空無人機、雷射武器等;另外,新一代美國衛星也將思考可能在太空中遭遇敵方威脅,必需有自我保護能力,這是美國目前思考方向。

六、採用新技術並改變採購流程以強化競爭力

美國國會已同意增加國防預算因應新戰略,包括網路安全、指管通情監偵(C4ISR)、飛彈防禦、核武、極超音速武器、高能雷射、電子戰、太空,這些領域都是急迫需求。美國廠商已準備因應挑戰,相關新技術包括人工智慧、積層製造(Additive Manufacturing,即 3D 列印)、

[&]quot;U.S. Air Force Designates GO1 Hypersonic Flight Research Vehicle as X-60A," 88th Air Base Wing Public Affairs, October 04, 2018,

https://www.wpafb.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/1653238/us-air-force-designates-go1-hypersonic-flight-research-vehicle-as-x-60a/

⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Defense, "DOD Submits U.S. Space Force Proposal," U.S. Department of Defense, March 1, 2019,

https://www.defense.gov/explore/story/Article/1767808/dod-submits-us-space-force-proposal/

奈米科技(Nanotechnology)等,都已發展超過10年,現在開始運用在國防工業,並進入部隊開始服役。另外,國防產業也與非傳統國防夥伴聯合,將商用技術運用在國防工業,並由新創公司、小型產業及矽谷學習科技創新的速度。另外,美國要和盟邦保持合作,工業界則在國外尋找創意及靈感,強化創新及競爭力。

過去 5 年來,美國防部啟動數項重要武器計畫,但美國國防工業並未滿足期待,過去國防部投資在研究發展,特別是其需要的武器裝備,並與國防合約商緊密合作,但今日則是國防部尋求夥伴,包括傳統及非傳統公司,投資在新技術及以更快且更便宜的方式交貨。這意味國防工業要改變其投資及發展新產品方式,取代過去依賴年度性計畫循環以創造財務預測,而需採取更精準的途徑進行評估,並做出戰略性投資選擇,避免依賴過度採購來彌補創新及成長的不足,同時也制定一連串戰略,形塑承擔風險以及創新的文化。41

新的安全挑戰使美國防部無法再循過去官僚途徑,等待多年以獲取新技術。美國國防部要工業界儘快發展新的技術,以反應轉變中的威脅,與其等待國防部投資計畫,這些傳統參與者應自我投資新系統並面對其不確定性、提升舊系統性能,目前進行中計畫包括:內華達山脈集團(Sierra Nevada)發展 A-29 輕型攻擊機參與美國空軍「非發展輕型攻擊機平台」能力評估;波音公司(Boeing)與瑞典 SAAB 集團合作,以自有資源發展並生產 T-X 教練機的原型機;另外如洛克希德馬汀公司(Lockheed Martin),也聚焦於自動化系統及機器人等長程戰略性投資。

美國正努力改善流程,增進採購效率,已過世的參議員麥坎(John McCain)曾努力迫使國防部改變武器採購政策,讓各軍種而非國防部長辦公室為採購新武器負責;前部長卡特(Ashton Carter)則創立戰略能力辦公室(Strategy Capabilities Office),其目的在將現有科技快速運用在戰場上。另包括授權繞過傳統官僚程序,例如空軍進行太空及其他層面裝備採購、陸軍創建「未來司令部」(Future Command)以管理採

⁴¹ Larry Jones, Randy Starr, "Can Aerospace and Defense Companies Meet Their Great Expectations?" *Strategy+Business*, February 1, 2018,

https://www.strategy-business.com/article/Can-Aerospace-and-Defense-Companies-Meet-Their-Great-Expectations?gko=1ec59

購程序。其中,改善效率的最大驅動力是軟體採購,這比採購硬體裝備 以生產武器更為重要。目前美國正處於此一轉型的早期階段,冷戰結束 以來美軍努力擺脫遲滯、成本增加、官僚僵化等困境,若領導階層持續 施壓,加上《國防戰略摘要》所指出新威脅的壓力,可能會使美國防部 持續加快上述流程。

伍、川普政府軍事發展走向的戰略影響

美國戰略轉向應對大國競爭,川普政府正強化軍力因應可能的「大國挑戰」,維持美國的軍事優勢,美國的軍力調整會對國際乃至區域局勢產生何種影響?美國強化軍備會不會導致與中共發生武力衝突?本節提出數點想法。

一、美國智庫評估現有軍力無法同時打贏兩場戰爭

美國的軍事實力到底如何?能否應付大國競爭?美智庫傳統基金會(Heritage Foundation)連續 5 年都為美國軍力進行評分,今年發布的《2019 美國兵力計分表》(2019 Index of U.S. Military Strength),針對美國軍事力量,包括陸、海、空軍、陸戰隊、核武、飛彈防禦能力,以「很弱(Very weak)、弱(Weak)、勉強及格(Marginal)、強(Strong)、很強(Very strong)」5 級計分表進行評分。42今年對美軍的評分,在陸、海、空軍、核武部隊都在「勉強及格」,陸戰隊則是「弱」,整體而言美軍水準落在「勉強及格」,這足夠應付一場主要衝突,但若應付兩場衝突則力有未逮。該報告認為,雖然這一年(2018)美軍獲得一些新裝備,爾補人力差距,並補充庫存彈藥與零附件,但部隊戰備問題仍然存在,包括一些關鍵領域如飛行員訓練等,而且國防預算仍有不確定性。如果要修正美國軍力問題,《計分表》認為恐怕需要十年時間,並且需要更多經費,特別是對美國利益的威脅仍維持在「高」,這些包括所謂 4+1 威脅,即俄、中、北韓、伊朗,以及恐怖主義,其中只有北韓問題有正向的發展,但《計分表》並不認為北韓能力有下降情形,而且中共在這

⁴² Dakota L. Wood, edited, "2019 Index of U.S. Military Strength," *Heritage Foundation*, October 4, 2018,

 $https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2018-09/2019_IndexOfUSMilitaryStrength_WEB.pdf$

一年變得更具侵略性,僅俄羅斯與伊朗並無變化。

持保守立場的傳統基金會一直建議美軍要維持同時應付兩場主要衝突能力,估計陸軍需維持 50 個戰鬥旅、海軍要有 400 艘軍艦及 624 架飛機,空軍則需 1,200 架戰鬥機,陸戰隊則需要 36 個營,其中陸軍主要是人力,因此備戰評比達到「強」,其他軍種依賴裝備,就難達到標準。現實上,即使最樂觀估計,美軍兵力仍然不足,更糟的是後勤準備也未達標準。不過傳統基金會研究員伍德(Dakota Wood)指出,好的轉變是,這一年來所有人都體會到「大國競爭」已經重返的事實,雖然認知不等於行動,但若無此認知,則行為永遠不會改變。43

二、建立太空軍及退出 INF 影響重大

川普國家安全戰略雖指出未來建軍方向,然較具體的內容應體現在機密版的《國防戰略》中,外界對其不得而知。美國防部建軍有其一定步調,川普政策對美國建軍的重大影響,或許要許多年後才能論斷。川普在國防政策上的主張,包括增加國防預算、增加對外武器銷售、⁴⁴批評 F-35 價格太高,空軍已決定增購 80 架 F-15EX、⁴⁵海軍也增購 78 架 F/A-18E/F 超級大黃蜂戰機、⁴⁶要求發展攻勢性網路戰武器、⁴⁷調整核武使用政策等等,這些尚不能算是國防戰略方向的重大轉變,或是影響美

⁴³ Aaron Mehta, "The US may not be able to fight two big wars at once," *Defense News*, October 3, 2018,

https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2018/10/04/can-the-us-fight-two-big-wars-at-once-new-report-casts-doubts/

⁴⁴ Aaron Mehta, "Here's how the Trump administration plans to increase American weapon sales abroad," *Defense News*, November 8, 2018,

https://www.defensenews.com/industry/2018/11/08/heres-how-the-trump-administration-plans-to-increase-american-weapon-sales-abroad/

⁴⁵ Kyle Mizokami, "The U.S. Air Force Is Buying New F-15s After All," Popularmechanics, February 19, 2019,

https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/aviation/a26413900/air-force-buying-new-f-15/

^{46 &}quot;US Navy awards Boeing \$4 billion F-18 production contract," The Defense Post, March 21, 2019.

https://thedefensepost.com/2019/03/21/us-navy-boeing-4-billion-f-18-contract/

⁴⁷ Justin Lynch, "Trump has scrapped a 2012 policy on when to attack in cyberspace," *Defense News*, August 16, 2018,

https://www.defensenews.com/dod/cybercom/2018/08/16/trump-has-scrapped-a-2012-policy-on-when-to-attack-in-cyberspace/

軍的建軍備戰。

真正會對未來軍事戰略發展產生重大的影響,包括建立太空軍及退出 INF,前者使太空軍事化,後者則重啟美國停滯已久的長程武器計畫。目前美國各軍種都有太空資產,但主要是為各軍種任務服務,例如擔負衛星導航、通訊、監控等任務,並未實際在太空部署具打擊能力的武器,然而當太空軍獨立化之後,有可能演變成過去空軍獨立建軍的情況,各軍種競爭資源,以爭取其軍種獨立地位,使得太空軍真正成為一支有能力在太空發起作戰的獨立軍種,各種過去只存在於科幻電影中的武器有可能經由 DARPA 的推動下加以實現,完全改變現有作戰樣貌。

另外,蓬佩奧已在 2019 年 2 月 1 日宣布啟動退出 INF 的程序,目前不知美國是否計畫與俄羅斯討論新約,或是在未來將中共納入。若美國確定撤出 INF,則如前所述,美國可能恢復陸軍精準打擊飛彈及極超音速武器等的發展、生產,並將此類型武器部署於東亞、歐洲等地,反制中共、俄羅斯、伊朗等的飛彈對周邊國家威脅,則可能會對東亞等地的軍力平衡帶來革命性影響,並對中共等國因軍備提升或是部署長程武器帶來的擴張與威脅態勢發揮嚇阻作用,然而也可能引發新一波軍備競賽。

三、印太戰略擴大美國在亞太結盟情勢

美國從二次大戰太平洋戰爭之後,即強化亞太軍力以因應冷戰興起,1946年起陸續建立遠東司令部(Far East Command, FECOM)、太平洋司令部(Pacific Command, PACOM)及阿拉斯加司令部(Alaskan Command);1956年美國國防部設置「單一司令部」(unified combatant command)後,亞太地區整併至太平洋司令部轄區之下。川普上任後提出「自由開放的印太地區」戰略,2018年5月30日,美國國防部將太平洋司令部改名為印太司令部(Indo-Pacific Command, INDOPACOM),雖然管轄區域並未改變,但在新戰略中,印度、澳洲被賦予新的重要角色。

歐巴馬政府時代提出「亞太再平衡」戰略,其中包括政治、軍事及 經濟三部分,其中在軍事上提出「空海整體戰」,2011年時國防部長潘 尼達(Leon Panetta)在那年「香格里拉對話」中宣稱,美國要將 60% 的海軍艦艇部署在太平洋地區,包括 6 艘航空母艦及其護航艦艇,均將 隨同部署。⁴⁸實則美國海軍早已將大部分航艦等作戰艦艇部署在太平洋 地區,然而美國海軍整體艦艇數量是在減少中,此將實際影響海軍戰力。

四、印太區域部署的調整

在實際軍事部署上,美國在太平洋地區的部署,主要是新式裝備的更新及作戰概念的改變。印太司令部任務是作戰指揮,其部隊由駐亞太地區的太平洋空軍司令部(U.S. Pacific Air Forces, PACAF)、海軍太平洋艦隊(U.S. Pacific Fleet, USPACFLT)、陸軍太平洋司令部(U.S. Army Pacific)、陸戰隊太平洋司令部(U.S. Marine Forces Pacific)等四大軍種提供。49有差異的是動態部署及裝備汰換,例如 2013 年,美海軍 CVW-5 艦載機聯隊以 EA-18G 替換 EA-6B 電戰機,2014 年再以 P-8 反潛巡邏機取代 P-3,強化美海軍於亞太的空中反潛偵巡能力,美國空軍將 F-22 由夏威夷輪調部署至嘉手納基地或日本、韓國;陸戰隊駐日本岩國的第121 陸戰隊打擊戰鬥機中隊換裝 F-35B;第 3 艦隊派遣麾下航艦加入第7 艦隊、轟炸機持續存在(Continuous Bomber Presence Mission, CBP)行動、公海自由航行權行動等。

而在作戰概念上,由陸軍與空軍主導的「多領域作戰」,及海軍的「分散式致命」,也取代早先的「空海整體戰」;而在陸戰隊,因應 F-35B的部署,陸戰隊已提出將兩棲突擊艦(Landing helicopter dock, LHD)轉變為輕型航艦,減輕大型航艦部署負擔,並進行遠征前進基地(Expeditionary Advance Base Operations, EABO)及跳島概念(island-hopping concept),以強化陸戰隊部署彈性。50

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⁴⁸ 廖漢原、〈華郵:南海一觸即發 勿成火藥庫〉、《中央通訊社》,2012 年 8 月 16 日, http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/12/8/16/n3661173.htm。

⁴⁹ U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, "Organization Chart," *U.S. Indo-Pacific Command*, https://www.pacom.mil/Organization/Organization-Chart/

⁵⁰ 舒孝煌,〈美陸戰隊 F-35B 前進遠征與輕型航艦部署〉,《國防情勢月報》,143 期, 2019 年 5 月,頁 36,《國防安全研究院》,

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五、應對中、俄挑戰反制 A2/AD 優勢

退出 INF 並恢復中長程飛彈的發展,將對亞太戰略造成根本的影響。中共近年軍備發展快速,2015年開始軍改,從體制上調整解放軍,另外也投資發展先進武器,除建造航空母艦及新水面艦、發展殲 20 戰機、新轟炸機外,也大舉投資在飛彈及巡弋飛彈的發展,並改良彈頭技術,包括運用變軌、匿蹤、干擾、誘餌等技術,增加敵人彈道飛彈防禦網的困難。

中共對亞太地區國家及美國主要威脅來自其 A2/AD 能力,這些是由其種類眾多的飛彈、長程火箭、巡弋飛彈的精準打擊能力所構成。美國國防部從 2005 年《中共軍力報告》開始,即持續關切中共精準打擊能力發展,2018 年的《中共軍力報告》仍依循過去方式,將中共傳統精準打擊(Conventional Precision Strike)武力歸類出 8 種類型武器,包括:1、短程彈道飛彈(SRBM);2、中程彈道飛彈(MRBM);3、遠程彈道飛彈(IRBM);4、攻陸巡弋飛彈(LACM);5、反艦巡弋飛彈(ASCM);6、對地攻擊武器;7、反輻射武器;8、砲兵高精準武器(意指多管火箭)。

俄羅斯雖然在傳統軍事武力及軍事科技發展上已落後美國,例如其第5代戰機,發展進度嚴重落後,甚至不如中共,海軍水面艦也無重要發展,但仍在飛彈、極超音速武器上有突破性發展,對美國或周邊盟國如歐洲也構成嚴重威脅。另外,其在歐洲軍事態勢,及對其前蘇聯加盟共和國展現侵略行為,也使北約警惕,此外美國也開始強化在歐陸部署,例如從2017年開始部署M1戰車及地面部隊進入東歐,51並在歐洲部署彈道飛彈防禦系統。52

過去美國智庫已建議美國在亞太島嶼部署岸基反艦飛彈,以封鎖中

⁵¹ Sebastian Sprenger, "US Army flows fresh tanks, troops into Europe," *Defense News*, May 23, 2018,

https://www.defensenews.com/land/2018/05/23/us-army-flows-fresh-tanks-troops-into-europe/

⁵² Cristina Maza, "New U.S. military missile defense system could protect Europe from Russia and Iran," *Newsweek*, June 1, 2018,

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共海軍航向西太平洋的出海口。美退出 INF,發展新式中長程飛彈,反制中共的 A2/AD,並在第一島鏈部署飛彈,則將與冷戰時期美部署歐洲的戰略效益相同,其擊中中國大陸境內目標時間將僅有數分鐘,而且美國在精準武器上的技術優勢,或有可能抵銷中共在亞太部署中長程飛彈對周邊國家及美軍基地產生的威脅。

六、建構第3代抵銷戰略維持美國軍事優勢

《國家安全戰略》指出強化軍備目的在維持美國軍事優勢,美國國防部長馬提斯在任命聽證會時,曾被詢及他是否支持第 3 次抵銷戰略 (Third Offset Strategy)。他表示瞭解美國防部「第 3 次抵銷戰略」聚焦如何在任何區域投射武力,陸軍及陸戰隊並合作確保地面部隊能支持太平洋區作戰,他將評估第三次抵銷戰略優先項目,結合亞太區域戰略利益。第 3 代抵銷戰略目標在追求下一代的軍事科技及概念,以設法維持美國的軍事優勢。

第 3 次抵銷戰略一詞是 2012 年,當時擔任國防部副部長的卡特首次提出,可見美國將中共當成競爭者並非始自川普。2016 年 10 月,前總統歐巴馬尚未卸任之時,當時美國國防部助理部長渥克(Bob Work)在一次於智庫「戰略暨國際研究中心」(Center for Strategic and International Studies, CSIS)演講時就指出,第 3 代抵銷戰略目的即在尋求下一代科技及概念,以確保美國軍事優勢,並強化美國的傳統嚇阻,他說美國的軍事優勢已面臨俄羅斯及中共這兩個競爭者(他特別指出不是敵人)挑戰,因此第 3 次抵銷戰略目的在重建優勢。53

「抵銷戰略」並非戰略,而是概念性的用語,如同托佛勒(Alvin Toffler)在《新戰爭論》(War and Anti-War: Making Sense of Today's Global Chaos)中所預示的「第三波戰爭」是資訊化時代的戰爭一般。第 1 次抵銷戰略是 1950 年代艾森豪總統所提出的「新面貌」(New Look),目的在反制蘇聯核武發展,建立美國的核嚇阻武力;第 2 次抵銷戰略是1970 年代中國防部長布朗(Harold Brown)提出,以發展精準武器、匿

⁵³ Cheryl Pellerin, "Deputy Secretary: Third Offset Strategy Bolsters America's Military Deterrence," U.S. Department of Defense, October 31, 2016, https://dod.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/991434/deputy-secretary-third-offset-strategy-bolsters-americas-military-deterrence/

蹤技術及情監偵能力反制華沙公約國家具數量優勢的武力。54

至於第 3 次抵銷戰略為何?其內容並無定論,一般指「採新途徑的高科技戰爭」,包括: 1、作戰跨越軍種障礙,例如以陸軍飛彈擊沉海上敵艦、海軍潛艦執行網路戰等; 2、人工智慧是第 3 代抵銷戰略的核心,但非取代人力; 3、更強化聯合作戰,美國聯合作戰仍受軍種本位主義限制,然未來衝突將更需要美軍運用所有整體力量投入聯合作戰。55另外,尚包括先進的「人與機器」團隊、網路化的自動武器、高速化武器如直接能武器、電磁軌道砲、極超音速武器等。56

陸、結論

本文認為,川普總統上任後,國家安全戰略重新定調為大國競爭, 改變美國建軍備戰方向,由各面向提升軍備,因應來自如中共、俄羅斯 的大國挑戰,其中作戰概念改變、新式高科技軍備與作戰平台發展、重 建國防工業基礎等,不但扭轉美國從後冷戰時代進行反恐戰爭以來的建 軍方向,也可強化逐漸下滑的作戰能力,重塑美軍的軍力優勢。

由目前發展來看,美軍已逐漸調整建軍及備戰步伐,除了各軍種重新恢復停滯的軍備發展、推動新武器發展及新作戰概念外,作者認為川普時代最重要的發展,應屬建立太空軍,以及退出 INF。一方面太空軍的成立將可能真正使太空軍事化,而美國在太空科技上仍較中共及俄國佔有優勢,另一方面,美國長期強調中共 A2/AD 能力對西太平洋安全造成挑戰,這多少是因為 INF 束縛美國長程武器發展,美國撤出 INF後,若恢復長程飛彈發展,並部署在印太地區,則可能會對印太地區軍力平衡產生重大影響。

科技及國防產業是強化軍力的基礎。美國所謂第3波抵銷戰略,即

⁵⁶ Cheryl Pellerin, op. cit.

⁵⁴ Robert Martinage, "Toward a New Offset Strategy: Exploiting U.S. Long-Term Advantages to Restore U.S. Power Projection Capability," *Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments*, October 27, 2014,

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https://breakingdefense.com/2016/06/trust-robots-tech-industry-troops-carter-roper/

川普國家安全戰略對美軍力發展影響

強調建立高科技優勢以維持美國軍力優勢,但其敵人也在發展高科技,美國依賴的是其國防工業及科技的基礎,此舉也在被中共侵蝕。因此支持軍備發展的背後,是要重塑其國防工業與軍備發展的優勢,同時也引進新科技及創新概念,並採用新的採購流程,以支持軍事能力的提升。

近期美中關係緊張,貿易戰升溫,美軍艦艇在南海監視中國島礁動態、在西太平洋海域實施自由航行權,也派艦經過台海,形同納入自由航行權範圍。美中兩軍在亞太對峙會導致緊張關係升高。一般認為美國在軍備及科技發展上仍具優勢,但中共近年亦急起直追,美中競相強化軍力,雖可能造成軍備競賽,但貿易戰也會影響經濟發展,限制軍備預算發展。美中此二大國的軍備競爭趨勢,對國際及區域局勢的影響十分重大,也將是未來關注焦點。

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大棋盤:中國「一帶一路」戰略 與歐亞大陸強權的戰略競逐

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要 摘

2013 年,習近平宣布「一帶一路」計畫的實行,透過在世界各國 (特別是,亞洲、非洲、中東與歐洲)建設基礎建設來擴大外交影響力。 隨著「一帶一路」計畫的投資,全球政治與經濟脈動卻逐漸偏向中國利 益,且危害到合作國主權。而「一帶一路」計畫所注重的歐亞、印太地 區的政經政策,也與美國提出「印太戰略」相互重疊與挑戰。1米爾斯 海默曾多次質疑中國「和平崛起」的意圖,認為美國可能對中國採取預 防性的戰爭來防禦中國。依照其理論,即使美國通過各種手段來防止中 國擴張,因地理限制差距的限制,使美國無法實現絕對的世界強權。2

中國在 1980 年開始,以國内經濟改革為主軸,鄧小平主張「韜光 養晦」的外交政策,不與美國抗衡為政策的大方向。江澤民與胡錦濤皆 延續了此方。而習近平在 2012 年成爲中國領導人,推動「一帶一路」 計畫後,成為近代中國外交及對外軍事戰略上最積極的改變。「一帶一 路」的戰略目的,為透過中國的經濟力發展合作國的港口和能源基礎建 設,來突破美國與其盟友在亞洲的軍事控制力量。藉助基礎建設的合 作,中國得以在歐亞陸權及海權上,對美國在亞洲的軍事與控制力形成

¹ U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, "USCC 2018 Annual Report," November 14, 2018, pp.10-12.

² John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2014).

足夠的抗衡。此外,因中國對美國以自身利益為主的金融政策也有著極大的疑慮,所以中國藉由設立亞洲基礎設施投資銀行,做爲跨政府金融機構,取代以美國爲首(日本為代理人)的亞洲開發銀行,來推行人民幣國際化,建立由中國主導的跨政府金融控制的效果。

米爾斯海默提出的「攻勢現實主義」(Offensive Realism)強調,大國追求成為霸權的同時,也需保持同一區域內無同等競爭對手,以防範強權自其他地區出現,所以需要扶植另一國家,使其成為「責任承擔者」,讓本國能夠分散風險,³而中國的「一帶一路」計畫,可以發現除了建立陸運與海運對中國戰略實行的有效機制外,與戰略夥伴國一俄國的合作也另具有目的。中方在俄羅斯的投資,使俄羅斯成為中國的「責任承擔者」,一方面強化中國在亞洲發展的影響力;另一方面,也獲得軍事上的支持。

關鍵詞:一帶一路、大棋盤、米爾斯海默、亞洲基礎設施投資銀行、中 國

³ John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), pp.30-41.

戰略與評估 第九卷第二期

The Grand Chessboard: China's OBOR Strategy and Hegemony on the Silk Road

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Abstract

China's economy is now the second largest in the world. Many political strategists have predicted that resistance from other countries will increase. John Mearsheimer has questioned the theme of the "peaceful rising" of China and claimed that the US is likely to pursue three strategies of containment: a preventive war, policies aimed at slowing the Chinese economic growth; or weakening China by toppling regimes that are friendly to Beijing; or by fomenting trouble inside China. This article shows a relationship between the historical path of Chinese economic development and its political conflict level with other countries. Using China's "One-Belt-One-Road" (OBOR) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) initiatives as a case study, this article investigates the impact of a rising Chinese economic power on its relations with countries in the world.

Based on two metrics (GDP Gap and Geographic Gap), this article defines four groups of countries and demonstrates that each group shows a different pattern on participating or rejecting China's OBOR/AIIB initiatives as China pursues hegemonic status in Asia. Group One (Large GDP Gap/Small Geo Gap) shows slight resistance to participation in the initiatives. Group Two (Medium GDP Gap/Small Geo Gap) shows lukewarm tendency to participate in the initiatives. Group Three (Zero/Negative GDP Gap/Medium-large Geo Gap) shows high resistance to China's initiatives. Group Four (Medium GDP Gap/Large Geo Gap) shows diverse interest in participating in China's initiatives. To be specific, the US is the most obvious member in Group Three, and Russia, South Korea and India are in Group Two. Central Asian and ASEAN countries are in Group

One, while Australia and EU countries are likely to be in Group Four.

Based on the above analytical framework, this article confirms that China's neighboring countries (those that share a same border) with large GDP Gap dominated by China are more likely to endorse the OBOR/AIIB initiatives. On the other hand, a country with small GDP Gap (equal or stronger economic power compared to China) and medium-large Geo Gap (separated by sea or a long-distance by land from China) is more likely to reject the OBOR/AIIB initiatives.

Keywords: One Belt One Road, Grand Chessboard, John Mearsheimer, AIIB, China

壹、前言

2010 年,中國的經濟實力超越日本後,成為了世界上的第二大經 濟體。中國不斷增長的經濟力量已威脅到了二戰以來強大的美國強權, 也打破防禦性現實主義理論的政治平衡。4許多政治戰略家預測中國的經 濟快速成長和軍事實力增強,會使得其他國家的抵制力量逐漸增強,將 造成中國過去對區域和全球的勢力的影響,無法和從前一樣繼續增長。 5米爾斯海默曾多次質疑中國「和平崛起」的真正意圖,並稱美國可能 對中國會採取三種遏制手法,分別是預防性戰爭、拖緩中國經濟成長、 通過推翻對中國友好國家的政權來削弱北京政府,或是在中國製造動亂 來擾亂社會。因此,美國前任總統歐巴馬(Barack Obama)政策目光從 歐洲、中東轉移到南海和釣魚台列嶼。6但是,依照米爾斯海默的「攻 勢現實主義」的理論,地緣因素使任何國家實際上都不可能成為全球霸 權。即使美國領土再廣闊,地理位置的侷限使得美國很難真正跨過海 洋,實質控制遠方競爭對手國的領土。加上中國目前已是新興的亞洲強 權,導致中國不論現在還是未來定會阻止美國繼續擴張,削弱已經建構 的勢力範圍。米爾斯海默還認為,為了有效克服美國與亞洲的地緣差 距,日本定會成為美國阻止中國成為亞洲強權的最佳代理人。

貳、中國經濟的崛起及亞洲霸權

傳統政治學注重海、空權的優勢,米爾斯海默則是強調地面力量的 重要性。當強權在相互爭奪時,米爾斯海默認為地面力量將是勝負的關 鍵。而在中國崛起與中美霸權爭奪的背景下,習近平宣布了「一帶一路」 計畫,結合了傳統海權與陸權的優勢。中國計畫在歐亞大陸大量投資基 礎設施項目,使得中國貫聯歐洲的陸路和海路重啓漢唐時代的絲路榮 景。在大型基礎設施的計畫藍圖上,包括古絲綢之路的中亞和海洋絲綢

⁴ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Theory of International Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

⁵ Edward N. Luttwak, *The Rise of China vs. The Logic of Strategy* (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012).

⁶ John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2014), pp.231-238.

之路的南、東南亞。此外,亞洲基礎設施投資銀行(Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, AIIB,以下簡稱亞投行)的成立,也將為上述基礎建設項目提供資金來源。本研究使用「大博弈」(The great game)的概念定義「一帶一路」的進程與對抗美國太平洋島鏈的策略,「一帶一路」計畫的進行似乎已經重新詮釋大博弈時代强權國家在絲路的霸權爭奪戰爭。

根據上述理論,本研究由四個部分所組成。第一節探討由於中國崛起對各個國家的對外關係所造成的影響。針對經濟勢力和軍事衝突,對中國對外關係建立分析架構。第二節將分析中國「一帶一路」基礎建設的戰略目的,同時分別從海路及陸路探討「一帶一路」港口及能源管線

俄羅斯為了威脅印度的安全,從 1804 年開始,進一步進攻波斯,攻下臣服於波斯的巴庫(現今亞塞拜然首都)、喬治亞、達吉斯坦等中亞地區。此外,沙俄更嘗試奪下港口以利阻斷英國通往印度與遠東的航道。而大英帝國為了反擊俄羅斯,阻止俄羅斯進入地中海,扶植了鄂圖曼帝國的政權,造成 19 世紀開始,莫斯科公國不斷地與其對戰。英國更扶植波斯歷代國王,來阻止俄國進入波斯灣與印度洋。雙方為了戰略利益,將博弈的版圖向外擴張至南亞、遠東、地中海區域。但至 1907年,兩國為了對抗共同敵人一德意志帝國,雙方決定簽訂「英俄條約」,將波斯北部接近土耳其的席林堡至東北的哈瓦夫,被劃分為俄國勢力範圍;東南部則為英國勢力範圍,波斯其餘地區則為中立,此時大博弈階段暫時結束。

自 1853-1856 年的「克里米亞戰爭」使俄羅斯嘗到失敗的結果後,除了將國內農奴制度改變外,也在中亞尋求擴張與在中國東北獲取出海口。後來,黑龍江以北和烏蘇里江以東成為中俄共管之地,成功地讓俄國在遠東繼續擴展。英國為了平衡俄羅斯在遠東的勢力,與促進俄羅斯外交重心推回歐洲,所以當時全力扶植日本政府。1902 年,英日兩國結為同盟。甚至在日俄戰爭時,提供日本軍事物資與購買日本戰時公債,英國的目的極為明顯,為的是抑制俄羅斯的擴張。

第二次世界大戰後,與蘇聯對抗的角色已不再是英國,而是美國。這新階段的「大博弈」在印度、巴基斯坦、阿富汗和伊朗再度上演。而如今,中國取代了當時蘇聯與美對抗的角色,利用「一帶一路」計畫的實行,爭取政治影響力的擴張。

^{7 「}大博弈」一詞來自於彼得·霍普克克 (Peter Hopkirk) 創於 1990 年出版的「大博弈」 (The Great Game)而來。在書中論述在 19 世紀中葉至 20 世紀初,由英國與俄羅斯在中亞地區的外交與軍事對決所產生的戰略名稱,兩國在爭奪中亞控制權的戰略博弈。傳統「大博弈」分為兩階段,第一階段為 1813 年至 1907 年「英俄條約」止。 19 世紀初,正值俄羅斯帝國擴張,威脅大英帝國在印度之勢力,使英俄兩大霸權在一世紀的時間裡,於中亞各地開進行勘探、間諜與外交上的博弈。雖然當時衝突的威脅持續存在,但英俄之間未發生正面的衝突。當時,兩國為爭取印度,阿富汗成為英俄兩國博弈的地點,以此作為進攻印度的跳板。

對美中在亞洲權力平衡的影響。第三節對一帶一路的金融組織進行分析。探討中國在國際金融戰略的角色,與中美在國際金融機構的政治霸權競爭。同時也對亞洲開發銀行(Asian Development Bank, ADB)與亞投行進行機構和投票權比較。最後一部分為結論。

一、中國經濟實力與軍事威脅

根據奈伊認為經濟與軍事力量是最常見的國家影響力,⁸爲了分析中國「一帶一路」戰略在亞洲的發展途徑及可能影響,我們首先針對中國與他國相對經濟實力與邊界軍事衝突可能情況做一實證分析。

皮尤研究中心(Pew Research Center)在 2016年裡對 16 個國家進行調查,除了法國、加拿大與澳洲認爲中國為世界經濟强權外,其餘 13 個國家(包括中國)皆認爲美國是當今的世界經濟强權。但如果問題改變為,中國是否將取代美國成爲經濟强權?回答者包括美國本身及大部分歐盟國家本身,全球一共 83 個國家,有 49 個國家認爲中國將取代美國的經濟強權。

在表 1 裡,將中國在 2016 年國內生產毛額(GDP)作為基數,我們發現所有與中國相互接壤的亞洲鄰國,包括中亞、東南亞和南亞國家的國內生產毛額,約占中國總額的 49%(不包括韓國)。而上述地區(不包括印度)的平均國內生產毛額約為 2.17%。印度國內生產毛額占中國的 20.2%;俄羅斯則是占了 11.4%。而韓國與中國之間的狹隘海峽使得兩國得以隔開,韓國 2016 年的國內生產毛額也占了中國 12.6%。另一方面,與中國擁有中等地理位置的差距的日本成為世界第三大經濟體。按中國國內生產毛額計算,日本則是中國的 44%。另外,與中國相隔較遠的西歐主要國家(德國,英國,法國,義大利,西班牙),與中國的比例是由西班牙的 11%至德國的 31%。作為全球強權的美國,是唯一國內生產毛額比中國高的國家,總額占中國的 165.8%。

46 中華民國一〇八年 春季

⁸ Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *The Future of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011).

表 1 2016 年各國國內生產毛額比較表

Country	GDP (nominal) (M\$)	Percentage
美國	18,624,450	165.81%
中國	11,232,110	100.00%
日本	4,936,540	43.95%
德國	3,479,230	30.98%
英國	2,629,190	23.41%
法國	2,466,470	21.96%
印度	2,263,790	20.15%
義大利	1,850,740	16.48%
韓國	1,411,040	12.56%
俄羅斯	1,283,160	11.42%
澳洲	1,261,650	11.23%
西班牙	1,232,600	10.97%
印尼	932,448	8.30%
馬來西亞	296,536	2.64%
巴基斯坦	278,913	2.48%
越南	201,309	1.79%
哈薩克	133,668	1.19%
烏茲別克	66,845	0.60%
緬甸	64,366	0.57%
亞塞拜然	37,556	0.33%
土庫曼	36,180	0.32%
塔吉克	6,922	0.06%

資料來源:The World Bank, "GDP Ranking," *The World Bank*, September 10, 2018, https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/dataset/gdp-ranking

從圖 1 可看出中國從上世紀 90 年代開始至今,經濟快速增長的動態過程。具體而言,若以韓國的國內生產毛額作為中等標準,中國購買力在 1990 年左右就已超越韓國,接著在 2010 年也已超越日本。根據國際貨幣基金組織購買力指數來計算,中國國內生產毛額在世界上則是排名第 1,略高於美國的購買力指數。依據上述計算方式推估,中國國內生產毛額預計在 15 年內將會超越美國。

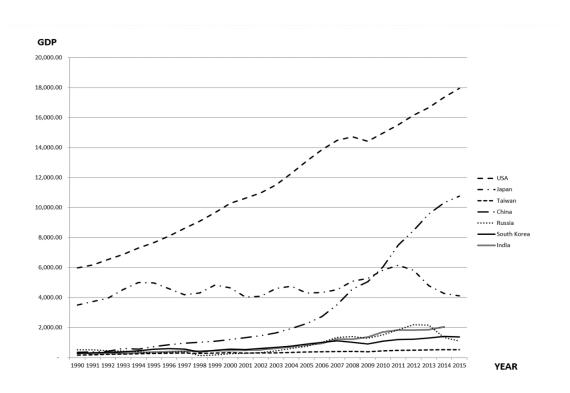


圖 1、1990-2016 年各國國內生產毛額統計圖

資料來源:根據國際貨幣基金組織資料 GDP 資料,作者整理繪製。

中國以黨軍一體的傳統,「一帶一路」計畫的發展,同時也為合作國帶來政治威脅。根據美國國會的「美中經濟暨安全審查委員會」(U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, USCC)的報告,中共藉著「一帶一路」的實行,擴展解放軍在海外勢力,為美國與合作國帶來安全上的威脅。9一方面中國藉由打擊恐怖主義與俄羅斯軍演來增加解放軍實戰經驗,另一方面,也為未來爆發戰爭的情況預做準備。在合作國無法償還基礎建設債務,中國藉此獲得長期租借港口的情況,增加了區域控制的能力。但即使須承擔大量的風險,為何還是有許多國家願意與中國合作?若我們以地緣差距與經濟發展作為與中國合作意願的基礎,即可假設出雙方合作意願的公式。所以,我們以中國作

⁹ U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, "USCC 2018 Annual Report," November 14, 2018, p.260.

為中心點來換算各國的國內生產毛額與地理差距,並將兩項數據標準當 作分類的基準,即可將欲與中國「一帶一路」計畫合作的國家,歸類出 圖 2 的詳細標準:

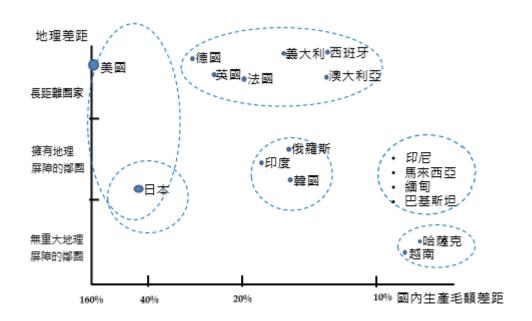


圖 2 國內生產毛額 / 地理差距分組圖

資料來源:作者整理繪製。

第1項為各國的國內生產毛額差距當作基準,以日本、印度、俄羅 斯、韓國、台灣和東南亞等國家作為比較依據。

第2項為3大類的地理差距,這包括:第1類,與中國在邊界區缺 乏重大地理屏障的鄰國:例如中亞、東南亞各國;第2類,擁有地理屏 障的鄰國:例如喜馬拉雅山、黃海、西伯利亞地區,類似的國家為印度、 韓國和俄羅斯;第3類,和中國被海洋和或是廣域分隔的長距離國家: 例如美國、西歐(如德國、英國、法國)、澳洲。

基於上述兩項國內生產毛額、地理差距的類別,圖2我們將「一帶 一路」的合作國家,分成6個組別:

第1組:越南、菲律賓(東協)、烏兹別克、哈薩克

第2組:印尼、馬來西亞、緬甸、土庫曼

第3組:俄羅斯、韓國、印度

第4組:澳大利亞、歐盟國家

第5組:日本

第6組:美國

第1、2組國家與中國的國內生產毛額差距極大,2組的差異為第1組與中國有較高的軍事衝突憂慮。而第3、4組國家的國內生產毛額與中國差距不大,本身亦是經濟大國,但第3組與中國有較高的軍事衝突憂慮。第5、6組國家的國內生產總值與中國相當,本身亦是經濟強權競爭對手。但第5組與中國有較高的軍事衝突憂慮。第6組(美國)雖然與中國非鄰國,但美國在亞洲設置的軍事基地(以日本、韓國為主),皆與中國有軍事衝突的可能。上述6組分類,我們對中國「一帶一路」基礎建設與他國的經濟與外交互動進行推測,發現與中國國內生產毛額差距、地理間距大的國家,會較趨向積極與中國密切合作;而本身就是經濟強國、與中國地理間距小者,將會傾向拒絕「一帶一路」計畫。上述第1、2組的國家,由於生產毛額過小,加上沒有和中國的地緣政治上的即時衝突,即使存在風險仍然會選擇和中國合作。

參、軍事與基礎建設:「一帶一路」的戰略夥伴與對手

中國「一帶一路」的策略佈署,可追溯至殖民時代,鐵路建設常常被視爲軍事侵略的另外一種形式。例如清朝時期,滿洲鐵路代表著俄國與日本的經濟利益與軍事的控制力量。而太平洋戰爭的前哨戰便是美國對日本的能源禁運,此舉使得日本在戰略上,必須控制印尼的能源資源及南海輸送航線的海權作為解決出口。加上中日戰爭,國民政府退守重慶時期,大部分的軍事及經濟外援皆必須靠新疆及中緬公路運輸進來才能獲得解困。以上這些歷史中的例子都顯示,中國的地理位置位處於歐亞大陸東側與太平洋西側,也同時擁有陸權及海權的戰略地位。但海權受到限制或威脅時(如中日戰爭時期),陸權戰略即轉變成重要的防衛腹地。以國家安全的角度來分析,中國的「一帶一路」佈局是突破美國與其盟友對中國主要軍事封鎖的手段,並鞏固能源運輸線的安全策略。

「一帶一路」的海路重點主要在麻六甲海峽的航運安全。10

在陸路上,中國瞭解美國對中國的海空封鎖範圍將是由日本到菲律賓的島鏈,而日本與韓國也是美國亞洲最主要的盟友。軍事部署方面,不論是海空部署或軍事基地的數量上,中國在海上沒有勝算。根據中日戰爭時期所留下的歷史教訓,中國明白保持西部的交通運輸的流通是中國對外敵持久作戰的重中之重。因此在防衛部署上,中國把重點放在西部縱深,尤其中亞及俄羅斯的能源更是國家安全的重要物資。

在中國「一帶一路」的基礎建設分爲3類,包括原油及天然氣輸送 管線、港口,以及與高鐵相關的基礎建設。其中最重要的,便是能源的 運輸基礎建設。「一帶一路」的陸路基礎建設以原油管線及天然氣管線 爲主,除了在俄羅斯及中亞(哈薩克、土庫曼)進行天然氣與油管的建 設外,緬甸至中國雲南昆明亦有重要原油運輸管線。在「一帶一路」的 海路上,港口建設則是最重要的基礎建設。其中,中巴經濟走廊 (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, CPEC)是「一帶一路」最重要的建 設計畫之一;將瓜達爾港(Gwadar)設為中巴經濟走廊的出海口的主要 目的,即未來波斯灣的能源運輸不必經由麻六甲海峽,可直接由瓜達爾 港輸入中國西部。此外,斯里蘭卡與中國於2017年底簽訂99年租約, 將漢班托塔港(Hambantota harbor)租借給「中國招商局港口控股有限 公司」(China Merchants Port Holdings)。雖然斯里蘭卡政府宣稱,漢班 托塔港將不會被作為中國軍事基地的用途,但實際上,漢班托塔港是中 國在印度洋油船運輸的重要航道的中途港口之一,如今獲得漢班托塔港 的控制權,也能夠確保中國能源運輸的順暢。除了上述南亞及東南亞的 港口外,中國在非洲吉布地港(Djibouti)也成立了第一個海外軍事基 地, 並且在澳洲達爾文港也擁有營運租約。

David Vine, Base Nation: How U.S, Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2015).

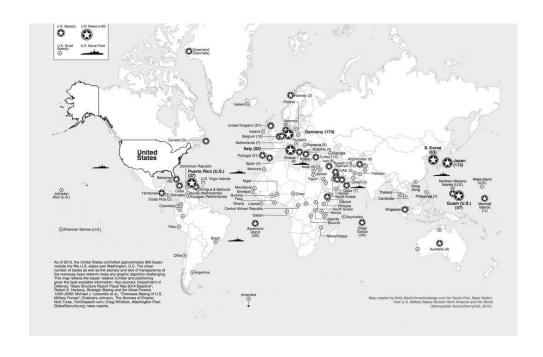


圖 3 2015 年美國海外軍事基地

資料來源: David Vine, Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2015), p.123.

中國「一帶一路」第3類的基礎建設便是鐵路(高鐵)相關的運輸建設。而高鐵建設外交是帶動中國過剩產能的主要經濟政策之一。作者將各國參與的「一帶一路」計畫,對中國戰略發展有利的部分作出分類:

一、能源油管相關的基礎建設:

哈薩克 土庫曼 俄羅斯

緬甸 (油管與港口)

二、港口相關的基礎建設:

瓜達爾港(Gwadar, Pakistan) 漢班托塔(Hambantota, Sri Lanka) 麻六甲港(Malacca, Malaysia)

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吉布地港(Djibouti, Djibouti) 達爾文港(Darwin, Australia)

三、高鐵相關基礎建設:11

哈薩克的霍爾果斯鐵路與「陸港」(Kazakhstan, Khorgos Dry Port)

寮國

印尼

泰國

馬來西亞(總理馬哈地 [Mahathir Mohamad] 2018 年 8 月已取 消東海岸銜接鐵路計畫)

雖然我們清楚中國在「一帶一路」的戰略目的,但參與國家必然有自身國家的利益考量。如果該國相對經濟需要中國的資助,且沒有邊界軍事衝突的疑慮,此類國家參與「一帶一路」的意願自然比較强烈。反之,如果該國家有强烈的邊界軍事衝突疑慮,或經濟上不需要中國的資助,此類國家參與中國一帶一路的意願自然較小。

所以大致而言,參與「一帶一路」計畫的國家皆屬於經濟實力較小,且與中國沒有邊界衝突憂慮的國家,或如中亞國家,雖然有邊界衝突憂慮,但經濟上相對弱小,需要「一帶一路」的支援,例如哈薩克就屬於此類。與之相對,印度長期與中國有邊界衝突,而且印度的經濟實力居於前列,因此,印度沒有如巴基斯坦及斯里蘭卡,有加入「一帶一路」主要計畫的急迫感。在東南亞國家裡,印尼是與中國較無衝突的國家,所以對「一帶一路」計畫也較為積極。另一方面,歐洲國家與中國較無地緣衝突憂慮,這使得歐洲國家,尤其是需要經濟援助的東歐國家,相較於經濟發達的德國、法國,會較有意願主動參與「一帶一路」的計畫。

俄羅斯與「一帶一路」的戰略關係

即使中國沒有完全說明「一帶一路」計畫的官方定義,隨著5年過去,可以明顯瞭解,中國藉由計畫的實行,來增強對周邊國家影響力,

¹¹ 季晶晶、〈一帶一路只對中國有利?馬來西亞拒絕「新殖民主義」〉、《聯合新聞網》, 2018 年 8 月 21 日,https://udn.com/news/story/6811/3320951。

順帶推銷中國政治意識形態。¹²但合作的同時,卻也為中國帶來風險,例如恐怖主義、合作國政權不穩定等狀況。以長期發展而言,中國需要合作國為此分攤風險,而俄羅斯即是最佳選擇。因為俄中本是戰略夥伴關係,無論在政治上或是軍事上,近年均有緊密發展,加上「一帶一路」計畫在遠東地區進行大量投資,而中亞又是俄羅斯傳統勢力範圍,無論是在經貿合作還是政治合作,俄羅斯皆是為中國分攤風險的最佳人選,幫助中國整合外部經貿利益,擴張市場的發展。

中國一帶一路的陸路戰略部分,主要涉及能源(油管及天然氣管線)。其管線經過的地區,絕大部分是前蘇聯的獨立國家國協區域。俄羅斯政府持續申明對中國一帶一路的政策表示歡迎,但是,俄羅斯對一帶一路的參與程度往往呈現一種若即若離的關係。原因在於,即使俄羅斯對中國的資金的挹注感到相當大的興趣。但主要的一帶一路建設大多局限於俄國南部邊緣,除莫斯科和聖彼得堡,及喀山(Kazan)和伊爾庫次克(Irkutsk)外,絕大部分的原油及天然氣是由哈薩克所運送,其他相關的鐵、公路運輸,也多由中哈邊境的霍爾果斯陸港為起點。鐵路方面則橫跨獨立國家國協地區,也就是前蘇聯勢力範圍,接著通過白俄羅斯和烏克蘭兩國。

由於前蘇聯時代末期與中國關係曾陷入僵局,東北及西伯利亞的邊境衝突潛在可能亦是一個戰略考慮。雖然現今中俄友好戰略夥伴關係,在許多外交事件上,雙方能共同對抗美國,但中俄關係仍非水乳交融。

從中國的角度而言,藉一帶一路挹注俄國市場是一項贏面較大的策略,中國取得俄方市場不需要花費太大成本。因為中國了解,無論在軍事還是經濟方面,俄國比其他國家更需要市場及投資。未來俄羅斯只會因為俄國企業引進大量中資,到最後失去原先俄方控制的資本市場。本來能獲得利潤豐厚的中亞地區建案也會拱手讓給中國,還讓北京政府獲得更多當地的天然資源,例如 2018 年 4 月塔吉克政府因還不出建設熱電廠的借款,決議讓中國獲得塔吉克的金礦開採權。13這些現象一再顯

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¹² U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, "USCC 2018 Annual Report," November 14, 2018, p.11.

^{13 〈}中國獲得塔吉克斯坦開採許可證〉,《俄羅斯衛星通訊社》,2018 年 4 月 12 日, http://big5.sputniknews.cn/china/201804121025139599/。

示,俄羅斯若積極參與「一帶一路」計畫,最終只會讓自己處於不利的地位。這也是為何莫斯科和北京之間的合作,初期一直屬於比較溫和的狀態。2016年,中國公司在國際上的投資額已超過2,250億美元,但在俄羅斯卻只有2%的比例。¹⁴

西方國家對俄外交壓力自 2014 年起接踵而至,克林姆林宮的解決 辦法,往往就是對接中國政策,西伯利亞天然氣管線簽約案就是一例。 2014 年因為俄羅斯對烏克蘭軍事干預,導致西方國家對俄國實施經濟 制裁,致使莫斯科與北京政府在2014年中,雙方決定簽署西伯利亞天 然氣管線合約。這是目前俄羅斯遠東地區規模最大的天然氣管,預計會 在 2019 年之前向中國東北部輸送天然氣。俄羅斯因受到西方國家的施 壓與威脅,不得不將傳統偏重西方的外交政策轉移至亞洲。雖然中國一 再強調與俄羅斯友好及軍事合作,但中國讓俄羅斯成為一帶一路責任風 險承擔者的策略極為明顯。例如於2018年9月11日在海參崴舉行的東 方經濟論壇」上簽署的中俄發展投資基金,中方獨資總規模達到 1,000 億人民幣,計畫框架以中國東北與俄羅斯遠東地區各項合作為 主。中方瞄準的是黑龍江和烏蘇里江交會處的大烏蘇里島(又稱為 黑瞎子島) 開發案, 在其設立旅遊區與工業園區建設。事實上, 大 烏蘇里島暗藏著中俄兩國將近一百年歷史的領土糾紛。1858年《瑷 琿條約》承認烏蘇里江以東領土為中俄共管,接著 1860 年的《中俄 北京條約》,內容除承認 1858 年簽訂的《瑷琿條約》有效外,把原 先規定為中俄共管的烏蘇里江以東至海之地(包括庫頁島以及不凍 港海參崴在內)全都歸為俄國所有,中國因此失去對日本海的出海 口。1929年發生的「中東路事件」中,俄國佔據大烏蘇里島不肯撤 兵,直到2008年普亭才將大烏蘇里島還回中國。如今,中方將大烏 蘇里島納入一帶一路計畫,為的是重振中方在島上的建設與主權。 以戰略角度而言,大烏蘇里島的位置東南面臨烏蘇里江,北面黑龍 江,是黑龍江省邊境口岸輸送的要道。以經濟角度來看,若基礎建 設完成,中國可經由大烏蘇里島將食品等輕工業產品運往國內,同 時能夠推動俄國哈巴羅夫斯克 (Хабаровск) 邊疆區經濟發展。但另

Pete Baumgartner, "China's Massive "One Road' Project Largely Bypasses Russia, But Moscow Still on Board," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, June 26, 2017, https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-china-one-belt-one-road-project-putin-xi/28579849.html

一方面,卻也因為俄羅斯財政預算赤字嚴重,造成負責的大烏蘇里島的交通建設進度遭受落後。

「東方經濟論壇」上另一項「一帶一路」合約是中俄「濱海 2 號」計畫的實行。「濱海 2 號」國際交通運輸走廊是一項連接吉林省的大型交通運輸樞紐,從琿春到瑪哈林諾(Макharino)口岸,以及濱海邊疆區南部的波斯耶特(Посьет)、扎魯比諾(Зарубино)和斯拉維揚卡(Славянка)等港口的中俄合作案。中國政府將扎魯比諾視為是中國吉林省出海的首選戰略性港口。投資建設能夠帶動港口發展,進而促進圖們江開發與東北亞區域的經貿合作。中國更可將扎魯比諾作為中國的出海口,扎魯比諾不凍港的特色,可不受天氣限制。中國以「借港出海」的戰略,藉以提升在太平洋區的政治份量;但若未來若發生戰事或災禍,扎魯比諾的地緣位置,迫使俄羅斯需要為中國承擔政治上的風險。

而「一帶一路」計畫裡,中亞國家是最願意和中國合作的一群。但從傳統安全的角度來看,俄羅斯與中亞的歷史聯繫早從 18 世紀就已開始,經過數十年蘇聯政府的統治,俄羅斯早已習慣將中亞各國納入自己的勢力範圍。為阻絕外在政經因素的影響,普亭在 2014 年 5 月成立了歐亞經濟聯盟(Eurasian Economic Union, EEU),就是由俄羅斯與四個前蘇聯國家(哈薩克、白俄羅斯、亞美尼亞和吉爾吉斯)共同組成。普亨藉由俄羅斯在歐亞經濟聯盟的主導權,能與中國有同樣的發言權,並努力維持俄羅斯在中亞各國的影響力,不願因為中國的投資而使自己門戶後院大開。除此之外,2015 年 12 月 3 日所創建的大歐亞夥伴關係(Great Eurasian Partnership, GEP)也是俄羅斯對中國的另一策略。當時俄羅斯總統為了回應西方對烏克蘭的制裁,普亭提議就歐亞經濟聯盟成員國之間已形成之經濟夥伴關係進行磋商。2016 年,大歐亞夥伴關係的概念在多個場合被重複提及,顯示已成為俄羅斯發展歐亞一體化的首要進行項目。15普亭想將一帶一路當作俄中關係發展的關鍵之一,同時將正在形成的大歐亞夥伴關係當作平衡中國在中亞的勢力。但由於俄羅

Sergei Luzyanin, "Greater Eurasia: The Common Challenges for China and Russia," Valdai Discussion Club, June 14, 2018, http://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/greater-eurasia-the-common-challenges/

斯政府這幾年財政缺口逐漸擴大,特別是在克里米亞半島(Крым)回歸俄羅斯後,俄國政府必須負擔原先克里米亞的財政預算、發放退休金與各項福利制度,致使俄羅斯對中國資金進入的條件越來越放寬,¹⁶也造成中國對俄羅斯和中亞國家經濟上的把持,間接控制了俄羅斯未來外交政策走向。

肆、一带一路的金融配套措施

當今美金成為最重要的國際交易貨幣,美國還掌控了主要的跨國家金融組織和全球的跨政府金融組織,其中包括國際貨幣基金(International Monetary Fund, IMF)、世界銀行(World Bank)和亞洲開發銀行(Asian Development Bank, ADB)。美國對這些金融機構的投票權及相關否決權,提供了對於其他國家貿易及財政的影響力。為了避開美國控制的勢力,中國決定在2015年成立亞投行(AIIB),對「一帶一路」的相關基礎建設開發案件,進行相關金融配套措施。

國際金融機構的設立主要不一定是為了經濟或市場目的,但通常具跨政府性質的國際金融機構都是外交政策和地緣政治戰略的產物。¹⁷隨著中國經濟體制與國際金融的關係越來越密切,中國領導人認識到,世界資本市場和國際金融機構的規則受到以美國爲首的西方國家控制。與美國及其西歐盟國控制的國際貨幣基金和世界銀行相似,亞洲開發銀行的建立主要由美國及其最親密的盟友日本所控制。

從 2011 年開始,中國開始了人民幣的國際化政策,部分原因出自於對美國在 2008 年金融危機後,對美國聯邦準備理事會定量寬鬆計畫的不信任。當時,中國批准了人民幣合格外國機構投資者(Renminbi Qualified Foreign Institutional Investor, RQFII)在香港、臺灣、新加坡和歐洲國家的配額。2014 年,中國啟動了新開發銀行(New Development

Benn Steil, and Robert E. Litan, *Financial Statecraft: The Role of Financial Markets in American Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Benn Steil, and Manuel Hinds, *Money, Markets, and Sovereignty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

¹⁶ Pete Baumgartner, "China's Massive "One Road' Project Largely Bypasses Russia, But Moscow Still on Board," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, June 26, 2017, https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-china-one-belt-one-road-project-putin-xi/28579849.html

Bank,又稱金磚國家開發銀行 BRICS Development Bank),為金磚 5 國 (即巴西、俄羅斯、印度、中國、南非)的基礎設施投資和貿易融資提 供便利。2015年,中國建議建立亞投行為一帶一路提供融資,是世界 上 57 個國家建立的跨政府金融機構。中國決心啟動亞投行,除了美國 主導否決權,也包括國際貨幣基金(IMF)和亞洲開發銀行缺乏改革。

國際貨幣基金於 1945 年,在二戰後成立的目的是為了重新建立國 際性支付制度。由於第二次世界大戰讓英國經濟實力下降,促使美國成 為上述這些主要國際金融機構的主導決策者。然而,國際貨幣基金現有 的決策過程和功能設計,已不能再應付新興經濟體日益高漲的經濟實 力。2010年,G20 通過了一項改革建議,其中建議為中國和其他新興 國家提供更多的決策權,但美國國會未能批准國際貨幣基金的改革。 2015 年底亞投行成立,即用來規避美國的主導。有人認爲國際社會必 須為世界新秩序的可能性作好準備,將擴大國際貨幣基金的資金並改革 其治理結構。19也有人認爲國際貨幣基金組織的改革為時已晚,雖然國 際貨幣基金加重中國的投票權比重,並將人民幣指定為儲備貨幣,但它 不會阻止中國和其他大型新興國家建立替代機構,這裡指的即是亞投行 和新開發銀行的建立。20國際貨幣基金改革後,美國在國際貨幣基金投 票份額為 16.67%, 並且仍然擁有重大問題的否決權, 而中國則是占 6.14%, 日本占 6.21%的投票份額。²¹

亞銀與國際貨幣基金組織架構相似。亞銀成立於 1966 年,總部設 在馬尼拉,也是一家由美國主導的跨政府金融機構。1963 年聯合國亞

¹⁸ 在 Benn Steil, The Battle of Bretton Woods (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013) 中詳細的描述了美、英就國際貨幣基金組織和世界銀行的設計,與決策機制進行的 外交鬥爭。

¹⁹Edwin M. Truman, "What next for the IMF, No. PB15-1, Policy Brief," *Peterson Institute* International Economics, https://piie.com/sites/default/files/publications/pb/pb15-1.pdf

²⁰Leonid Bershidsky, "IMF Reform Is Too Little, Way Too Late," *Bloomberg*, December 18, 2015, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2015-12-18/imf-reform-is-too-littleway-too-late

²¹ "IMF Members' Quotas and Voting Power, and IMF Board of Governors," IMF, September 12, 2018, https://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/memdir/members.aspx

洲及遠東經濟委員會舉行的第一次亞洲經濟合作部長級會議通過了一項決議,以促進亞洲開發專案為目的,制定建立亞銀作為區域跨政府金融機構的計畫。截至 2014 年底,亞銀的股東包括亞洲和太平洋地區的48 名發展中國家和已發展國家成員,以及來自該區域以外的19 名成員。就投票權而言,日本和美國分別擁有12.84%和12.75%,中國在亞銀卻只擁有5.477%,其他歐盟國家(如德國、法國、英國、義大利)的聯合投票權也有15.72%。22從亞銀裡美中投票權的差異性可看出,中國建立亞投行,為的是得到金融掌控權,脫離美國主導的亞銀金融政策。

亞銀(由美國和日本控制)和亞投行(由中國控制)的競爭吸引了大量媒體的關注。亞投行創始成員名單成為中國對外關係的反應,尤其被視為與中國競爭的主要對手美國和日本,沒有加入亞投行的創始會員。反而值得注意的是,世界上幾乎所有主要國家皆加入亞投行為創始成員。與國際貨幣基金組織相對較小的投票份額相比,中國在亞投行擁有 26.06% 的投票份額,其他創始成員在亞投行的投票比例如下:印度為 7.51%,俄羅斯為 5.93%,德國為 4.15%,韓國為 3.5%,澳洲為 3.46%,法國為 3.19%,印尼為 3.17%,巴西為 3.02%,英國為 2.91%。審理的重要案件需超過 75%贊成票才能通過。因此,中國具有對重要案件的否決權力。²³

總結而論,中國瞭解美國的貨幣利益(即金融危機後的量化寬鬆)和政治利益(釣魚台列嶼)與中國抵觸後,便啟動一帶一路計畫及相關的金融措施。中國體認到,美國對亞洲的控制限制中國在經濟和政治兩方面的進一步的增長,唯有經過一系列能掌握主導權的計畫,才能夠由其中將國家利益極大化。

²² "Members, Capital Stock, and Voting Power (Annual Report 2017)," *ADB*, September 12, 2018, https://data.adb.org/sites/default/files/ar2017-oi-appendix1.pdf

²³ 〈亞洲基礎設施投資銀行協定〉,《亞洲基礎設施投資銀行》, 2018 年 9 月 5 日, http://www.mof.gov.cn/zhengwuxinxi/caizhengxinwen/201506/P0201506293608823780 45.pdf。

伍、結論

自 2008 金融危機之後,美國的世界強權的地位開始被質疑,根據皮尤研究中心的調查,美國人民於 2010 年開始至 2014 年,認爲中國是世界經濟的領導國家,雖然 2015 及 2016 的調查結果,美國人民又再度認爲美國為世界領導地位,全球多數國家認爲中國未來將超越美國成爲世界最大經濟體。在此同時,中國的經濟實力與軍事力量在亞洲迅速的崛起。2010 年,中國的國內生產總額金額正式超越日本,成爲世界第二大的經濟體。

習近平在 2012 年成爲中國領導人之後,推動「一帶一路」對外戰略。中國在 1980 年開始,以國內經濟改革為主軸,鄧小平主張「韜光隱晦」的外交政策,江澤民與胡錦濤都延續了此低調路徑,大方向不主張與美國抗衡。習近平的「一帶一路」是近代中國外交及對外軍事戰略的最積極的改變。在「一帶一路」的陸路上,中國與中亞擁有能源資源國家簽署合約,大量建設原油與天然氣管線,以分散中國必須由中東進口原油的風險。在「一帶一路」海路部分,中國積極在麻六甲海峽附近,部署能源航運的競爭港口,以規避美國在此地區的控制權。

綜合而論,中國「一帶一路」的戰略目的,是結合中國的經濟實力加强發展合作夥伴的港口與能源的基礎建設,以突破美國與其盟友在亞洲的軍事控制力量,形成足夠的抗衡力。藉由計畫的實行,在合作國擴展中國國家利益,增加在印太地區的影響力。由於 GDP 比中國小、與中國無地緣衝突的國家,通常位於中亞、東南亞、南亞地區,且無法順利償還貸款的可能性較高。合作國將港口長期租借予中國,作為代償借款的方式。若將來美中發生衝突,此舉讓中國能夠將港口作為區域軍隊調度的基地,以此擴張勢力範圍。

除一帶一路基礎建設外,金融上,中國設立了亞投行,取代以美國 爲首(日本為代理人)的亞銀做爲跨政府金融機構的地位。自從 2008 年金融危機以來,美國為挽救國內的經濟衰退,施行大量發行美金的量 化寬鬆政策,中國對美國為本國利益為主的金融政策有著極大的疑慮, 進而推行人民幣國際化,和建立由中國主導的跨政府金融機構,主要的 目的也是預期未來中美利益不一致的情況下,中國必須有本國可以控制 的金融體系,以免受制美國及美元貨幣主控的全球金融體系。

最近中美在南海的軍事與貿易戰的發展,與中國「一帶一路」戰略

的執行,兩者已經形成動態的因果互動關係。雙方的互信程度逐漸降低的情況,加上美國在亞洲加強軍事的參與程度,更突顯中國「一帶一路」的外交與軍事策略的重要性。而中國的港口與能源佈局亦加深了鄰近國家對中國的疑慮,相反的,也提高了美國與亞洲盟友緊密合作的機會。美中兩大强權在亞洲外交及軍事的交鋒過程中,我們可以預期目前的權力均衡將會打破,並且重新組合,而俄羅斯及日本的動向也將會有重要的制衡力量。「一帶一路」戰略的策畫,同時證實了米爾斯海默的「攻勢現實主義」理論,讓計畫參與國成為風險分攤者(尤其是俄羅斯),有助中國專注發展國家自身的利益。

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沙伊衝突與「聯盟關係」之研究

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摘 要

本文以國際關係新古典現實主義中的「權力平衡」、「利益平衡」、 「攻守平衡」與「威脅平衡」的理則,解釋沙烏地阿拉伯與伊朗的權力 競爭與衝突關係。然而,上述理論必須加入地緣戰略與意識形態兩項因 素,將使該理論更具解釋能力。其次,沙國與美國的聯盟關係,是依附 在「利益平衡」的理則中。伊朗在美、沙聯合的施壓下,彼等國家的外 交政策會持續對伊朗採取「制衡」策略。尤其沙國作為美國的代理人, 沙伊衝突將出現持續惡化的趨勢。

關鍵詞:中東、沙烏地阿拉伯、伊朗、伊朗核協議、新古典現實主義

Relation between Alliances – A Case Study of the Conflicts between Saudi Arabia and Iran

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Abstract

This work adopts four principles of Neoclassical Realism in the field of International Relations to explain the competition for power and conflicts between Saudi Arabia and Iran. These four principles include "balance of power", "balance of interests", "balance of offensive and defensive" and "balance of threats". However, these principles cannot thoroughly explain the situation without considering geostrategy and ideology. Furthermore, the relation of alliance between Saudi Arabia and the United States is based on the principle of "balance of interests.". This considerable interest firmly ties together the United States and the Saudi Arabia, and the consequence is to jointly increase pressure on Iran. This action also leads other related countries to adopt a balance strategy against Iran. Especially as Saudi Arabia is seen as a proxy for the United States in the Middle East, the conflict between the kingdom and Iraq is expected to worsen.

Keywords: Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iran Nuclear Agreement, Neoclassical realism

壹、前言

沙烏地阿拉伯(以下簡稱沙國)與伊朗的衝突牽涉到中東地區地緣政治的權力競賽、宗教派系的意識之爭與大國競逐的權力平衡等問題。沙、伊衝突的發展又與中東大國權力結構的重組有關。雙方衝突的演進極易出現惡化且難以解決。

在中東地區沙、伊兩國的國土面積及石油儲存量分別列居冠、亞之位,石油利益及其與周邊國家的利害關係,經常會轉變為全球的政治與經濟利益之爭。在宗教意識上,沙、伊分別為伊斯蘭教中不同派系的領導者,意識形態衝突引發的是伊斯蘭國家內部的權力之爭。美、俄在中東地區的博弈,對沙、伊的政治發展與走向,影響甚大。上述結構性的衝突問題大多歷經了數個世紀,經濟利益則是近半個世紀以來新的衝突因素。值得注意的是,當前世界權力格局中,沙、伊衝突直接影響全球經濟的盛衰或區域政治的安定。

在中東的大國博弈競爭中,沙國為美國的代理人,主要功能是壓制伊朗的崛起。¹伊朗為獲得更大的經濟利益及擴張在中東地區的影響力,不斷挑戰美國對他的限制。基此,本文運用國際關係新古典現實主義(Neo-classical realism)理論中的各項「平衡學說」,²以探討沙、伊兩國衝突對彼等國家「聯盟關係」的影響。新古典現實主義係整合了古典現實主與新現實主義,並進化了兩個學派的原本論述。然而,沙、伊

^{1 〈}沙特與伊朗:中東雙強為何劍拔弩張〉,《BBC 中文網》,2017 年 11 月 21 日,https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-42067527。

² 新古典現實主義是調整新現實主義的權力向度,賦予國家的企圖與動機的不變性。因而提出非結構性因素,以增強現實主義的解釋能力。它提供了現實主義理論一個整合形態的架構,對國家外交政策的產出,提出了有效的解釋。本文參考資料主要以施威勒 (Randall L. Schweller)的〈扈從的益處〉為依據,及瓦特 (Stephen M. Walt)所著《聯盟的起源》等兩書。同時參考,廖舜右、蔡松伯,〈新古典現實主義與外交政策分析的再連結〉,《問題與研究》,第 52 卷第 3 期,2013 年 9 月,頁 43-61。See, Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bring the Revisionist State Back in," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No.1, June 1994, pp. 72-107; Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1987)

在追求安全發展與權力利益時,都無法擺脫美國在中東地區的戰略佈局。大國間的權力、利益與威脅的競爭,都會影響兩國外交政策的走向。

本文欲研究的時間以歐巴馬總任期迄今為範圍,議題聚焦於沙國與 美國的聯盟依附在利益的大小還是威脅的強弱;其次,伊朗在美、沙聯 合施壓下,其外交策略是否持續採取「制衡」的策略;最後,沙國在美 國中東戰略的「離岸平衡者」(offshore balancing)策略中,實為代理人 的角色,美、沙聯盟關係的未來展望及沙、伊衝突是否持續惡化,都為 本文研究的焦點。

貳、新古典現實主義理論

一、權力觀

新古典現實主義的權力學說來自於古典與新現實主義,都是以研究國際關係的本體(itself)為主,並從整國際的權力結構探究國際關係「知識」的理論。4學界通常將現實主義區分為古典現實主義與新現實主義兩大學派。新古典現實主義實際上是結合古典主義與新現實主義的典範。無論是古典現實主義、新古典現實主義或新現實主義,都極為重視「權力平衡」理論的論述。差別在於,古典現實主義的傾向以軍事作為權力平衡的指標;新現實主義則以綜合國力的大小作為權力分配的尺規。新古典現實主義重在外交政策與權力平衡的結合。

古典現實主義追求的均勢與新現實主義的主張有些不同。古典現實主義是以實力作為均勢的基礎。季辛吉(Henry Kissinger)認為美國應以實力和均勢作為美國外交政策的依據,才能維持國際體系的穩定。5古典現實主義的均勢論是大國權力運作的方法,是為大國外交政策而服

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³ Glenn H. Snyder, "Alliance Theory: A Neorealist First Cut," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.44, No.1, 1990, p.104.

⁴ Wayne S. Cox & Claire Turenne Sjolander, "Critical Reflections on International Relations," in Claire Turenne Sjolander & Wayne S. Cox, eds., *Beyond Positivism: Critical Reflections on International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1994), pp. 1-5.

⁵ Henry A. Kissinger, *American Foreign Policy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1974), pp. 56-58.

務。摩根索(Hans J. Morgenthau)認為權力的運作有其自主領域(autonomous realms)。⁶新古典現實主義增加了國內政治因素,對於外交政策的產出更具有說服力。簡言之,新古典現實主義是將古典現實主義中權力擁有自主運用的邏輯,結合國內政治因素,更詳細地說明權力使用的方式。

二、新古典現實主義的「平衡」學說

新現實主義與新古典現實主義的權力運用,可追溯古典現實主義大師摩根索的學說,他認為國際政治根源於人性的客觀法則所支配。現實主義是從人性的「利己」觀點出發,強調世界的競爭性及國際社會無秩序狀態,各國利益無法調和的本質現象,所以國際關係的研究只能以「權力」和「利益」的追求為軸心,而一切「利他」與「道德」觀念,都會使國家遭受最大損害。7新古典現實主義學者基欽(Nicholas Kitchen)認為國家對國際環境的態度不只受制於權力結構的分布狀態,也受國內領導者理念的影響。所以政治家必須從權力分布的判斷中,發現與追求國家的利益。8上述學說實出於同一典範,僅是在研究途徑上從不同的角度詮釋權力的運用。新古典現實主義的平衡論述,實為強化古典現實主義在外交政策制訂的理則。它提出了四種外交政策選擇的平衡模式,分述如後。

(一)「權力平衡」說

傳統現實主義「權力平衡」理論認為,強權國家追求的目標就是在國際體系中能夠永續經營的王國事業。極大化地追求權力與國家安全,正是強國追求霸權地位的必要之道。⁹強國追求霸權事業的永續經營,等同於追求權力的極大化,也等同於追求軍事實力的極大化。新現實主

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⁶ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006), pp. 5-6.

⁷ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, pp. 3-10.

Nicholas Kitchen, "System Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2010, pp. 126-127.

⁹ Robert Gilpin, *War and Change of World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 31-34.

義的權力平衡與古典現實主義最大不同之處,在於對權力獲得的目的不同:現實主義視權力獲得為國家的最終目的,新現實主義則認為為權力僅是為達成國家安全的手段。10均勢理論究其實質意義則是大國間實力平衡的分配關係。新古典現實主義的權力平衡認為在全球或區域中必須維持兩個強權國家的權力均衡,才能維持體系內的穩定。

(二)「攻守平衡」說

新古典現實主義的攻守平衡說用來解釋軍事聯盟的強弱趨勢之分。他們認為當軍事技術的攻勢方面具有優勢地位時,同盟成員彼此的緊密程度將因攻勢有利而出現強化的趨勢。反之,當軍事技術在守勢方面具有優勢地位時,同盟成員彼此的緊密程度也將因為守勢有利而出現弱化趨勢。¹¹攻守平衡的邏輯特別重視武器科技對安全困境的影響。通常,武器科技處在透明化狀態,國家之間的安全困境較不容易發生,聯盟之間的合作也較容易形成。反之,安全困境較容易出現。

(三)「利益平衡」說

學者施威勒(Randall L. Schweller)認為國家在選擇與他國結盟時,會以利益獲得的多寡作為取決的依據。他同時認為國家在追求利益也會從避險的角度來思考利害的大小。他認為維持現狀的國家通常採取制衡對手的策略,以免破壞了現狀所造成的損失。相對的意圖改變現狀的國家,選擇扈從,才能聚集更多的權力以獲取更多的利益。¹²所以國家選擇與他國聯盟是採取抗衡或扈從,必須視該國為維持現狀國家或修正主義國家的型態,其次,要從結盟後的利益與風險的大小來評估。

對於想要改變現狀的國家,會追隨另一個崛起的改變現狀強權並與 其締結聯盟又只會成脅到那些試圖維現狀國家的利益,對自己反而構成 了威脅。所以,他提出「利益平衡」或「扈從利益」的觀點,說明國家

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Boston: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 8, 123-128.

¹¹ 廖舜右,〈現實主義〉,張亞中、張登及,《國際關係總論(第四版)》(台北:揚智 出版社,2016年),頁 49。

Randall L. Schweller, "Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" Security Studies, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1996, p. 90.

在選擇與他國聯盟的利益與風險的思考。13

(四)「威脅平衡」說

華爾志(Kenneth Waltz)認為國家在無政府的國際社會,會更加努力強化自己的實力,或是選擇與其他國家合作。¹⁴基歐漢(Robert Keohane)認為華爾志的觀點僅是強調能力大小的問題,而忽略了威脅的強弱。他認為華氏刻意忽略了威脅因素對國家追求平的因素。¹⁵換言之,華氏的觀點意味著權力愈大的國家越具有威脅性。瓦特(Stephen M. Walt)以威脅的強弱作為小國選擇結盟的要素。他認為「威脅平衡」是假設兩個大國都都會對其他小國造成一定的威脅。這些小國應與威脅較低的一方結為同盟,以對抗威脅較大的一方。¹⁶威脅的來源不僅是物質上的力量,也包括非物質的因素,如一國感受他國在其他地緣戰略上的利益以及實際作為。瓦特認為衡量一國的地理臨近性,以及受威脅國所認知到的意圖。¹⁷他是將權力、威脅、地理的臨近性的感受與強國的意圖等因素加以區分而提出「威脅平衡」的觀點。

參、沙烏地阿拉伯與伊朗衝突的源起與發展

一、宗教派系的衝突

目前全球約有 15 億人口信奉伊斯蘭教,當中 85%以上為遜尼派,分布在阿拉伯國家、土耳其、巴基斯坦、印度、孟加拉、馬來西亞和印尼等國。大部分的什葉派穆斯林集中在伊朗、伊拉克、阿富汗等國。從西元 632 年至今,遜尼派(The Sunnis)和什葉派(The Shi'ites)已分裂長達 1400 年。¹⁸在中東地區的沙國與伊朗的仇恨根源於 16 世紀初期,伊朗 Safavid 王朝為對抗遜尼派的土耳其帝國,將伊朗改為什葉派國

¹³ Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2004, pp. 159-201.

¹⁴ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 118.

¹⁵ Robert Keohane, "Alliance Threats, and the Use of Neorealism," *International Security*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1988, p. 174.

¹⁶ Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸ 李佳桓、李承佑、〈 遜尼 VS.什葉沙烏地阿拉伯與伊朗的恩怨情仇〉、《風傳媒》,2016 年 1 月 4 日, https://www.storm.mg/article/77469。

家,自此之後伊朗成為伊葉派國家的大本營。伊朗全國民眾有 98.8%信奉伊斯蘭教,其中 91%屬什葉派(Shia)其餘為遜尼派(Sunni),伊斯蘭教義與宗教生活儀式深深嵌入在所有人民心中,成為不可逾越的道德規範。 19相對的,沙國全國 85%的人口為遜尼派,由於具有豐沛的天然資源,她自然成為伊斯蘭遜尼派國家的領頭羊。從沙國建國之初的歷史來看,18 世紀中葉瓦哈比教派在掌控阿拉伯半島西部地區後,他們遂向北征伐鄂圖曼帝國,並將其認知的宗教知識傳給蘇菲派和什葉派異教徒。但受到鄂圖曼帝及埃及穆斯林兄弟會(什葉派)的夾擊下,瓦哈比嚴重受創後,退回半島西側(漢志沙漠)以西地區。隨著鄂圖曼帝國的滅亡,再至 20 世紀中葉英國殖民勢力退出中東地區後,瓦哈比派又重新掌握沙烏地阿拉伯半島,並征服麥加及麥地那兩座聖城後,奠定以遜尼派為宗教信仰的基礎,並自許為伊斯蘭遜尼派(正統派)的守護者。20

沙、伊之間的仇恨不僅是數百年以來,雙方在宗教派系的對立、衝突,過程中更是不斷累積仇恨所造成的對立。宗教派系的意識對峙是衝突形成的結構性問題。本世紀以來,隨著兩派的衝突再次升高,沙國嚴厲指責伊朗支持什葉派國家的恐怖組織,例如軍援敍利亞阿塞德(Bashar Hafez al-Assad)政權、葉門胡塞武裝組織(The Houthis movement)、黎巴嫩真主黨(Hezbollah)、穆斯林兄弟會(Muslim Brotherhood)等。²¹在美國的主導下,沙國已成為遜尼派國家(埃及、阿拉伯聯合大公國、阿曼、約旦、巴林)對抗伊朗的領袖。為打擊什葉派國家,2003年美國推翻伊拉克的海珊政權,接著在中東地區主導了近十年的反恐戰爭。伊朗則藉著美國忙於反恐事務,暗地的發展核武及導彈。美國對伊朗的制裁也伴隨而來,伊朗遂成為美/沙聯盟所欲打擊的主要目標。

19 彭樹智,《中國國家通史伊朗卷》(北京:商務印書舘,2002年),頁355。

²⁰ 雷薩·阿斯蘭(Reza Aslan),〈瓦哈比與沙烏地結盟不僅改變伊斯蘭教歷史,更改變了世界地緣政治平衡〉,《The News Lens》, 2018年9月2日, https://www.thenewslens.com/article/102595。

²¹ Dore Gold, "Introduction," *Iran, Hizbullah, Hamas and The Global Jihad: A New Conflict Paradigm for the West* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2007), pp. 7-9.

二、綜合國力的競爭

伊朗土地面積略小於沙國,石油傠量為全球第四位,產量為石油輸出國組織的第三位。然而,伊朗遭長期的孤立與經濟制裁使伊朗的經濟實力不及沙國的 1/3,石油輸出也不到沙國的 1/4。²²2018 年 11 月 5 日(美國退出伊朗核協議生效日)之前,伊朗的石油輸出為每日 250 萬桶,美國恢復對伊石油禁運後,伊朗石油輸出約減少三分之一,下降為150 萬桶左右。²³相對的,若不對其禁運,伊朗的石油輸出將可改變全球原油的供需平衡。伊朗石油部長桑賈尼(Bijan Zanganeh)曾表示,只要石油禁運令解除,預計每日產油量將增加 50 萬桶,並在未來不久時間內,伊朗的每日產油量將回到 380 萬至 390 萬桶的水準。

相較於沙國,她為全世界石油產量與儲量的最大國家,石油輸出約為每日 900 萬桶,長期以來石油輸出成為其經濟的主要支柱。但沙國的人口不到伊朗的二分之一,人民的教育水準與工業基礎都較伊朗低落。當前沙國依靠出售石油,使其經濟實力大幅領先伊朗。²⁴沙國擔憂若伊朗恢復石油輸出,伊朗的經濟發展必然如虎添翼,屆時沙國的經濟與安全都將遭受嚴重挑戰。綜合性國力的競爭為促成沙伊衝突的基本結構,亦是全球石油戰略的競爭問題。²⁵因此,沙國主張持續對伊朗經濟制裁與石油禁運,目的在防止伊朗的綜合性國力超越沙國。

三、地緣政治戰略與區域權力結構性問題

地緣戰略著眼於政治、經濟、軍事、文化等國家利益的思考,進而制訂國家安全與對外政策的概念。沙國與伊朗在全球地緣戰略的位置,實為史派克曼(Nicholas John Spykman)《邊緣地帶論》的重要位置。²⁶

²² 〈原油 2019 年恐供過於求,產油國籲定新策略〉,《財經新報》,2018 年 11 月 2 日, https://finance.technews.tw/2018/11/12/oil-2019-new-strategy/。

^{23 〈}川普石油禁運迫在眉睫伊朗原油出口下滑〉、《中央廣播電台》, 2018 年 10 月 15 日, https://www.rti.org.tw/news/view/id/428349。

²⁴ 以 GDP 衡量沙國與伊朗的經濟力量。2017 年沙國的國 GDP 為 6 兆 2 千億美元, 伊朗僅為 4 千 5 百億,兩國相差近 12 倍。

²⁵ 張育軒、《為什麼沙烏地阿拉伯與伊朗的關係很差?》、《洞見國際事務評論網》,2016 年 1 月 6 日,http://www.insight-post.tw/insight-knowledge/20160106/14306。

²⁶ 廖舜右,〈現實主義〉,張亞中、張登及主編,《國際關係總論(第四版)》,頁 61。

史氏認為邊緣地帶為陸權與海權之間廣大的緩衝地區。只要海權國家藉其強大之海洋權力,再與邊緣地帶的兩棲能力相結合,即共同控制環繞心臟地帶的外圍海洋,此一位置是從非洲東岸-阿拉伯半島-印度半島的西岸。沙、伊兩國的位置正因處於邊緣地帶的核心區。所以,地緣政治的權力競爭乃是造成伊朗與沙國衝突的根本性結構問題。²⁷

此外,伊朗因位居中東與南亞大陸之間,在西邊的羅姆茲海峽可扼控波斯灣進出印度洋的出海口。伊朗南邊海域又是印度洋通往紅海的重要海上航道,對美國向中東地區的航線構成強大威脅。伊朗若與俄羅斯結盟,將使俄羅斯的海空軍可順勢從黑海移向印度洋,將嚴重影響美國在印度洋及中東地區的戰略部署。相對的,美/沙結盟使美國擁有前進中東的橋頭堡,便於美國掌控中東地區。基此,美國與俄羅斯都會積極爭取與鞏固沙國與伊朗的合作關係。沙國與伊朗在地緣戰略上的特殊地位,自然成為大國地緣博弈的關鍵角色。

布里辛斯基(Zbigniew Brzezinski)在其著作《大棋盤》一書,提出對美國政府的一項嚴厲警告。美國無論如何不能讓中國、俄羅斯和伊朗走在一起,不能同時與三者為敵。在他看來,美國只要處理好與三者的關係,就能維持對歐亞大陸的控制,就能保持對世界的統治力。²⁸然而,2018年5月美國宣布退出「伊朗核協議」,促使伊朗與俄羅斯的關係更加接近,俄羅斯的勢力與影響力也漸漸地從黑海向南移動。沙國作為美國代理人的角色與責任愈顯其重要。顯而易見,伊朗與沙國的地緣戰略競爭,很容易淪為美、俄在中東地區的權力競爭。

肆、「伊朗威脅」與美、沙聯盟關係的探討

「伊朗威脅」一詞應包括兩個層面:一是有關伊朗的「革命輸出」 與核武發展對西方國家的威脅;其次是有關伊朗支持中東地區什葉派國 家,其對美國及其盟邦的威脅程度為何。其中,又以伊朗核武發展對美 國及其在中東地區盟邦所造成的威脅與影響。美國在中東的戰略目標即

²⁷ 趙文衡,〈變動中全球能源市場與新地緣政治〉,《台灣經濟研究院》,2017 年 9 月 8 日,頁 9-10,https://km.twenergy.org.tw/ReadFile/?p=KLBase&n=201798123537.pdf。

²⁸ 布里辛斯基(Zbigniew Brzezinski)著,林添貴譯,《大棋盤-全球戰略大思考》(台 北:立緒出版社,1999 年),頁 67。

是摧毀伊朗核威脅,降低伊朗對什葉派國家的支援。在美、沙共同威脅未消失之前,兩國的聯盟關係依然牢固。

一、伊朗核威脅發展與美國的反應

美、伊衝突可以回溯自 1979 年的伊朗革命成功後的演變,以及美國駐德黑蘭大使館的人質危機事件。1981 年後美、伊關係斷裂,美國對伊朗實施經濟封鎖與石油禁運。1980 年代以來,伊朗力圖輸出伊斯蘭革命,在更廣泛的國際範圍內,意圖發動一場更大規模的世界革命,推翻伊斯蘭世界所有的世俗政權,改造伊斯蘭的國際新秩序。伊朗的伊斯蘭「革命輸出」,加劇了伊斯蘭激進組織反西方的暴力活動(國際恐怖組織的力量)。29此期間,伊朗扶持了黎巴嫩真主黨、巴勒斯坦哈馬斯(Hamas)組織、埃及穆斯林兄弟會、阿爾及利亞的武裝伊斯蘭集團等極端的聖戰組織。美國及西方國家的「反恐行動」,將上述伊斯蘭激進組織與國際恐怖組織劃上等號,更將矛頭指向伊朗。30伊朗受美國及西方國家政治壓力下,採取更為孤立的政策。美、伊關係已形成相互仇視的「對抗」格局。

本世紀以後,美國多次指責伊朗秘密發展核武器。為限制伊朗濃縮鈾的發展,伊朗曾遭到聯合國 4 次制裁。核武器所使用的濃縮鈾必須純度達到 90%,伊朗核電站所使用的濃縮鈾純度僅有 3.5%。事實上,伊朗在上個世紀末期,早已經開始秘密生產核電站所需不同燃料級別的濃縮鈾。³¹2004 年伊朗已成功研製 20%純度濃縮鈾的初步計劃。2006 年 4 月,國際原子能機構向聯合國安理會提交關於「伊朗核問題報告」。該報指出,伊朗未能依照安理會規定中止鈾濃縮活動,也沒有和國際原子能機構核查人員進行全面合作。³²2006 年 4 月 11 日伊朗試射了有核武

²⁹ 吳雲貴、周燮藩、《近現代伊斯蘭教思潮與運動》(北京:社會科學文獻出版社,2000年),頁357-358。

³⁰ 汪毓瑋、〈美近公布〈威脅評估報告〉之評析〉、《展望與探索》,第 4 卷第 4 期, 2005 年 4 月, 頁 94。

^{31〈}伊朗核子能發電站開始加載核燃料〉,《BBC 中文網》,2010 年 10 月 10 日,http://www.bbc.co.uk/zhongwen/trad/world/2010/10/101026_iran_poowerplant。

World powers reach nuclear deal with Iran to freeze its nuclear program," *The Washington Post*, November 23, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/kerry-in-geneva-raising-hopes-f

搭載能力的流星 3 型飛彈,該彈是伊朗於 1980 年代後期開始自行研製的中程戰略飛彈。伊朗飛彈性能主要採用俄羅斯飛彈技術,以及北韓提供彈道技術為基礎而研發成功。³³

依據聯合國原子能總署(IEA)調查報告:伊朗在 2011 年已俱備提煉 20%鈾濃度的能力,而且擁有上萬台提煉高濃度鈾的快速離心機。³⁴報告中指出伊朗在 2015-2016 年可能擁有製造核子武器的能力。據此,伊朗的核威脅立即引發美國的中東盟邦(以色列、沙國、…)的緊張。渠等國家不斷敦促美國必須採取緊急措施、制壓伊朗。

從 2018 年 1 月美國國防部公布的《國防戰略》(2018 National Defense Strategy of United States of America)和 2 月發布的《核武態勢報告》(Nuclear Posture Review)中,兩份文件都將伊朗、俄羅斯、中國、北韓並列為美國的核威脅來源。35《核武態勢報告》更進一步指出,伊朗擁核將造成中東地區的核擴散,以及「核恐怖主義」(nuclear terrorism)對於國際安全的威脅,而防止伊朗等流氓國家取得,抑或者是發展核武,乃維護美國國家安全和穩定國際秩序的必要手段。36對伊朗核威脅的認知,實為美、沙、以三國形成軍事合作(或同盟)的推動原因。

二、「伊朗核協議」對沙、伊競爭的影響

為防止伊朗核威脅的擴散,聯合國安理會五個常任理事國與德國(5

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or-historic-nuclear-deal-with-iran/2013/11/23/53e7bfe6-5430-11e3-9fe0-fd2ca728e67c_s tory.html.

³³ Mark Townsend, "British dealers supply arms to Iran," *The Guardian*, April 20, 2008, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/apr/20/armstrade.iran.

^{34 〈}國際社會擔心伊朗研發核武〉,《BBC 中文網》,2011 年 11 月 11 日,http://www.bbc.co.uk/zhongwen/trad/world/2011/11/111117_un_iran_nuclear.shtml。

³⁵The U.S. Department of Defense, "Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of United States of America," *The U.S. Department of Defense*, January 2018, https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-Nation al-Defense-Strategy-S ummary.pdf.

³⁶ The U.S. Department of Defense, "Nuclear Posture Review," The U.S. Department of Defense, February 2018, https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-NUCLEAR-POSTUR

常加 1) 自 2013 年初展開與伊朗協商、斡旋後,該年 11 月簽訂臨時性核子協定。又經 3 年的磋商,於 2015 年 7 月 14 日在日內瓦簽定核限制發展的協定(Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, JCPOA)。 ³⁷伊朗同意關閉大部分提煉濃縮鈾的離心機與反應爐,以換取西方國家解除對其經濟的制裁。 ³⁸依據協議,伊朗同意停止提煉濃度百分之三以上的濃縮鈾,停止建造新提煉設施,現有的提煉設施大部分會關閉,或者改建為研究和訓練中心。伊朗同意給國際原子能機構的人員進入所有核設施,監察協議落實情況。當所有承諾落實後,歐盟和美國將會撤銷對伊朗的經濟制裁,聯合國亦會解除所有針對伊朗核計劃的懲罰決議案。

由於歐巴馬政府在伊核協議簽訂後,未能讓國會追認該協議的法律效用,致使伊核協議僅能停留在一紙由歐巴馬政府與各國達成的行政協議上。由於美國和以色列擔心伊核協議的規定太弱,伊朗會鑽漏洞興建核子武力。³⁹所以,2018年5月5日美國總統川普(Donald Trump)簽署退出伊核協議。⁴⁰美、沙與美、伊關係隨著美國退出伊核協議後,其間的關係發生重大變化。沙國極為贊成美國應退出該協議,以防止伊朗勢力坐大。沙國外交部對此表示:「沙國支持且樂見美國總統宣布各項步驟來退出這起核協議…並恢復針對伊朗的經濟制裁」。他認為可藉此打擊伊朗的經濟,防止伊朗繼續支援什葉派國家內部的武裝組織。⁴¹相較於其他簽署協議的國家,俄、中都認為應繼續維持伊核協議的合法性,並確保與伊朗的石油與經貿交易不會中斷。歐洲國家認為美國退出伊朗核協議後,有兩項具體目標必須確保:一是確保伊朗繼續得到外國投資、繼續出口石油;二是保證在伊朗投資營運的歐洲企業不受

³⁷ 〈五常加一國家與伊朗達成核問題框架協議〉,《美國之音》,2015 年 4 月 2 日,http://www.voacantonese.com/content/cantonese-news-ry-iran-nuclear-talks-agreement-0 402-2015-ry/2704472.html。

^{38 〈}核談大突破伊朗同意大幅減〉,《自由時報》,2015年4月4日,版 A1。

³⁹ 威廉·培里(William J. Perry)著,林添貴譯,《核爆邊緣》(Nuclear Brink)(台北:天下文化,2017年),頁 298。

⁴⁰ 〈美退出伊核協議川普再逼伊朗再上談判桌〉,《大紀元》,2018 年 5 月 15 日, http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/18/5/14/n10392415.htm。

^{41 〈}川普退出伊核協議全球有怒有慽有歡呼〉、《中央通訊社》,2018 年 5 月 9 日, https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/201805090033.aspx。

美國制裁影響,因而主張美國應回到伊核協議的框架中。⁴²然而,在川普執意退出後,美、沙關係獲得了強化,美、伊衝突卻不斷升高。值得注意的是,伊朗在獲得多數簽約國的支持下,仍決定繼續留在協議的框架中。

三、「什葉派國家聯盟」與「遜尼派國家聯盟」衝突下的沙伊衝突

沙烏地阿拉伯和伊朗分別代表是伊斯蘭教遜尼派和什葉派的代表強權,數百年來兩派勢力的相互角力,對區域安全影響甚鉅。沙烏地阿拉伯對於伊朗的崛起感到憂慮,在葉門與敘利亞的戰役中,什葉派政權或勢力沒有因戰爭被徹底剿滅,加上伊朗不斷對上述國家的革命輸出,遜尼派國家的危機感與對什葉派國家的敵視愈來愈強。

(一) 敍利亞內戰的角力

從伊朗的國家戰略視角來看,建立一條由伊朗經伊拉克、敘利亞、 向西通往黎巴嫩地中海的「什葉派走廊」(又稱什葉派之弧)⁴³至為重要。 德黑蘭當局之所以全方面的支援弧形線上的什葉派國家,目的是基於伊 朗本身的經濟考量。⁴⁴伊朗積極介入敍利亞內戰,表面看是支持阿薩德 政權,其實伊朗在敘利亞戰爭中的真正戰略目標是要通往地中海。基 此,伊朗除介入敍利亞內戰外,還軍援黎巴嫩真主黨革命武裝組織及以 色列哈馬斯武裝組織,都是為了實現上述的戰略目標。⁴⁵然而,此一情 勢的發展勢必影響以色列的國家安全。以色列國防部長李伯曼表示:我 們絕不容許伊朗在敘利亞建立什葉派軸心,也不容許建立對以色列安全

⁴² 〈伊朗核協議危機引爆英法德中俄忙救火〉,《BBC 中文網》,2018 年 5 月 9 日, https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-44055655。

^{43「}什葉派走廊」,又稱「什葉派新月」或「什葉派之弧」,它是經過數十年什葉派與 遜尼派鬥爭下出現的什葉派國家聯盟。一條由黎巴嫩、敘利亞,伊朗再向南到伊拉 克,再到波斯灣地區的卡達,再到阿拉伯半島最南部的葉門,對沙烏地阿拉伯形成 弧線的包圍圈。詳閱李德善,〈美國與伊朗在伊拉克的戰略競逐:到底誰佔上風?〉, 《當代南亞與中東研究中心》,2019年3月6日,

https://cssametw.wordpress.com/2019/03/06/

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⁴⁴ 姜書益,〈不願捲入穆斯林宗教衝突的俄羅斯〉,《台北論壇》,2018 年 11 月 14 日, http://140.119.184.164/about_us.php。

⁴⁵ 同上註。

具有威脅的前進指揮所,並宣告以色列將以武力阻止這類威脅出現。46

在敍國內部武裝的衝突雙方其背後的支持者分別為:什葉派的伊朗和遜尼派的沙烏地阿拉伯。伊朗為力挺阿薩德政權,除了派遣伊朗革命衛隊赴敍參戰,並將逮滯留在伊朗的阿富汗非法移民,送往敘利亞當內戰的前線戰士。同時,還資助黎巴嫩的真主黨武裝部隊,作為奧援敘利亞政府軍的側翼。47相對的,敘利亞內部數百個反抗軍團體(多為遜尼派)的背後,除了美國的軍事力量及資金支援外,同為遜尼派的沙烏地阿拉伯,甚至包括以色列都是反抗軍的重要資助者。48

敘利亞內戰原本是普通民眾抗議獨裁統治,在區域各方勢力介入, 已逐漸演變成海灣遜尼政權支持的遜尼極端分子和反對派,對上伊朗、 黎巴嫩真主黨支持的什葉派阿薩德(Bashar al-Assad)獨裁政權。⁴⁹在美 國與俄羅斯介入敍利亞內戰的發展下,美俄地緣政治博弈的緊張情勢不 斷上升。⁵⁰

(二)打擊恐怖主義的角力

美國在中東地區的反恐行動是針對宗教極端組織的狂熱分子,與反對西方自由的意識形態為主。伊朗瞭解中東地區各式各樣的聖戰恐怖組織,幾乎清一色都是遜尼基本教義派,他們也是用來剷除異己;主張打擊什葉派國家的主張。為此,伊朗的官方意識形態自詡為伊斯蘭世界的領導者,至少是什葉派。因此,德黑蘭政府常為伊斯蘭世界裡的不公不義發聲,甚至出手干預同屬什葉派國家的內部政治事務,例如支持葉門的胡塞武裝組織以對抗沙國為首的遜尼派國家聯盟,以及支援黎巴嫩境

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⁴⁶ 同上註。

⁴⁷ Jubin M. Goodarzi, "Syria and Iran: Alliance Cooperation in a Changing Regional Environment," *Ortadogu Etutleri*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2013, pp.49-50.

Karim Sadjadpour, "Iran's Unwavering Support to Assad's Syria," *Combating Terrorism Center*, August 2013, http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/irans-unwavering-support-to-assads-syria.

⁴⁹ Con Coughlin, "Iran Rekindles Relations with Hamas," *The Wall Street Journal*, April 21, 2015, http://www.wsj.com/aticles/iran-rekindlew-relations-with-hamas-1429658562.

⁵⁰ 張育軒,〈書評-中東大衝突:伊斯蘭內鬥的核心與迷思〉,《說書》,2017 年 6 月 6 日, https://sobooks.tw/conflict-in-middle-east/。

內的什葉派組織(真主黨)。⁵¹美、沙以打擊國際恐怖主義之名,對什葉派國家發動攻擊,實際上雙方衝突已成為美、沙合作共同制裁伊朗的憑藉。

(三)葉門內戰的角力

葉門當今的衝突與其說是內戰,更可說是一場代理人戰爭。胡賽武裝組織從德黑蘭政府獲得有限的外部支持,包括資金、武器裝備與軍事訓練。相對的,沙烏地阿拉伯大規模的軍事介入葉門,則與阿國王室的繼承問題有關。由於王儲穆罕默德·本·沙爾曼(Mohammed Bin Salman)為老國王最寵愛的兒子,在華盛頓當局的強力支持下,獲得權力。2015年歐巴馬政府允許沙爾曼在葉門為所欲為,目的是藉此紓緩美國與伊朗簽訂核子協議,在沙國與美國國內所造成的壓力。葉門目前情勢仍在持續惡化,是否會因「沙一伊」矛盾而再度急遽升高,將會為中東局勢再投下不確定的變數。

四、俄國在中東地區的勢力擴張與伊、沙衝突加劇的關聯性

2015 年俄羅斯介入敘利亞內戰以來,她成功地協助了阿薩德政府 收復大部分的國土,讓敍國政府對俄羅斯產生倚賴。俄羅斯基本上主導 了整個敘利亞局勢的未來發展。接下來的問題是,俄羅斯在戰後有關敍 國政權重建、中東權力結構重分配的協商,以及如何平衡土耳其、伊朗、 以色列及沙烏地阿拉伯在敘利亞的利益。上述國際權力重分配問題,莫 斯科已占據重要的關鍵地位。俄羅斯的外交策略是積極與土耳其、沙國 交往,以裂解美/土、美/沙之間的合作關係,才能確保俄羅斯有利的戰 略態勢。

再者,美國退出伊朗核協議,對俄羅斯提供了寶貴機遇。俄國藉由對伊提供石油輸出的管道與經濟援助的方法,促使伊朗與俄羅斯之間的合作關係日益緊密。反之,促使沙國對俄羅斯的外交攻勢產生了戒心。 2018 年 3 月,沙國王儲沙德曼訪問俄羅斯,其與普亭協商有關中東地

⁵¹ 威廉·波爾克(William R. Polk)著,林佑柔譯,《伊朗》(Understanding Iran)(台北: 遠足出版社,2017年),頁16。

區的安全問題,與石油減產對全球油價調控的協議。⁵²俄國對全球油價仍有左右價格的影響力。尤其,俄國勢力不斷向南延伸,對伊、沙之間的競爭與衝突產生加溫效用。

伍、檢視伊、沙衝突的內在邏輯-「平衡學說」的觀點

新現實主義學者華爾志認為國際體系包括兩個變量,其一是結構,其二是單位。⁵³結構是指諸多國家行為體以自身力量的權力決定在體系中的排列。而在國際體系中,結構是由每個單元(國家)所組成。整個國際體系呈現分散和無政府的狀態(Anarchy)。在無政府的國際體系中,結構是根據單元之間能力的分配來界定。國際體系中權力分配決定了國際體系的結構,不同國家實力的排列組合產生了結構,排列的變化會導致結構的變化。⁵⁴新現實主義的權力觀包含了軍事能力大小及對外政策選項的綜合運用。

新古典現實主義則認為國家企圖與動機並非僅考量物質力量的大小。更須思考國家的型能為「滿足現狀的國家」或是「不滿足現狀的國家」。不同型態的國家就會產生不同的目標和政策,在對外政策的選擇上,就會出現抗衡與扈從的結盟策略。55因此,國家對權力的追逐及對外政策的決定,都來自於其利益、威脅及參與聯盟的認知和意圖而定。以此檢視沙伊衝突會出現以下爭議,分述如下。

一、「權力」與「平衡」的動態性發展

新現實主義的權力觀認為,在國際體系中國家力量大小的排列形成結構,權力的變化就會引起結構的變化,權力在國家間權力的分配及分配的變化,有助於新結構的形成。56攻勢現實主義學者米爾斯海默(John J. Mearsheimer)強調國際的結構雖是由大國的力量分配而形成,但權力

⁵² 張子清,〈OPEC 與俄協商長期配合限制產油〉,《中央社》,2018 年 3 月 27 日,https://www.rti.org.tw/news/view/id/402598。

⁵³ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 79.

⁵⁴ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 80.

⁵⁵ 廖舜右,〈現實主義〉,張亞中、張登及,《國際關係總論(第四版)》,頁 48。

⁵⁶ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 80.

(力量)的分配則由大國的意圖來決定。⁵⁷米爾斯海默還認為,國際體系的結構會迫使國家去作進攻性思考,有時則是採取進攻性的行動。⁵⁸學者布贊(Barry Buzan)認為,改變現狀國家仍有強弱之分,強國會力求改變體系,挑戰現狀霸權;弱國則會選擇與強國結盟,以求更大的影響力。⁵⁹無論強國或弱國只要對國際現狀存有不滿或威脅其安全,都會意圖改變現狀。

新古典現實主義認為國家的整體實力有可能轉化成攻擊或防禦的能力,端賴何者比較有利,但當國家將其鄰國的實力視為攻擊性時,就會感受到威脅。此時,若該國沒有採取制衡,反是採取扈從的態度時,可能是因為鄰國過於強大,其他潛在的盟國無法即時伸出援手。60

沙、伊兩國採取相互制衡,來自於彼此對對手的認知程度,進而決定了渠等國家的外交意圖。瓦特認為如果制衡成為國際關係的趨勢,將會使多數有野心的國家不敢採取侵略手段,否則會招致其他國家的結盟對抗。61然而,相互組成不同的聯盟體系,所造成的對抗就可能回溯到冷戰或二戰期間國家集團(美/蘇)的對抗模式。所以,依附在強權為主的中東國際權力結構中,國家之間的競爭會更加激烈。因為各國都競相要參與到較強的那一方,而強權(美、俄)為了要追求自己的安全與利害,會設法吸引更多的國家加入其組織,同時也會提供盟國的安全保障。強權勢必會更加積極、更有侵略性。此舉反而易造成國際情勢的不穩定。所以,依附強權意味著將本國的安全發展須寄託在其善意之上。尤其這個強權若為具有侵略性的國家(沙、伊),可能因為加入盟國後,增加了更多可用的資源後,更具有侵略性。62權力平衡與行動者因認知所採取的不同選項的外交政策,會不斷呈現動態性的發展。唯一不變的

⁵⁷ John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York & London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2001), p. 21.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Winter 1994-1995, pp. 32-35.

⁵⁹ Barry Buzan, *Peoples, State and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in Post-Cold War Era* (Hertfordshire: Simon & Schuster International Group, 1991), pp. 304-305.

⁶⁰ Stephen M. Walt, The Origins of Alliances, pp.22-26.

⁶¹ Stephen M. Walt, The Origins of Alliances, pp.28-29.

⁶² 陳麒安,〈聯盟理論之研究〉,《國際關係學報》,第26期,2008年7月,頁146。

是,在無政府狀態(Anarchy)下的國際秩序,國家追求權力的動機, 是讓「權力平衡」處於動態性發展的根本原因。

二、意識形態對「威脅平衡」的功能與作用

新古典現實主義主張「威脅平衡」是假設兩大國皆會對其他小國造成一定的威脅,小國會與威脅較低的一方結盟。⁶³瓦特並未論述有關意識形態差異,是否對聯盟造成負面作用。⁶⁴從以色列與沙國都視伊朗為主要威脅來看,渠等對美國採取扈從策略,因為美國可以提供更多的公共財(public goods),以保障渠等國家的安全。然而,沙國與以色列在宗教意識形態上屬於兩個極端不同的陣營。沙國更在中東戰爭中曾與以色列為敵。瓦特認為制衡是透過聯盟以反抗主要的威脅,而扈從則是與主要威脅聯盟。⁶⁵意識形態的差異對聯盟是否產生反作用力,或是弱化聯盟的效益則成為重要的戰略考量。

從以、阿合作可以得知,意識形形態若能與同盟國之間的利益相吻合,同盟之間的密合度即會提升。66反之,同盟國家之間若未面臨共同威脅或無法形成共同利益,意識形態即使一致也無法凝聚彼此之間的力量。沙國與以色列因意識形態的差異性,加上以、巴衝突的歷史性問題,使得沙烏地阿拉伯並未給予以色列外交的承認,雙方也沒有外交關係。但是,沙、以共同的威脅-「伊朗核威脅」與伊朗對什葉派國家支持的作為,都促使過去互不往來的兩國開始密切接觸。67以色列總理內坦雅胡(Benjamin Netanyahu)在面對伊朗的威脅時,強調自己是阿拉伯國家的重要友邦。所以,聯盟是否能形成或增強聯盟之間的向心力,仍決定於成員國對基本利益是否達成一致。

若從威脅角度來看,對抗伊朗成為以、沙兩國的共同目標及安全利

⁶³ Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, p.22.

⁶⁴ 陳麒安,〈重新檢視瓦特的聯盟理論〉,《問題與研究》,第 53 卷第 3 期,2014 年 9 月,頁 103。

⁶⁵ Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, p.22.

⁶⁶ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985), p. 204.

⁶⁷ 簡恒字,〈敵人的敵人就是朋友!沙鳥地拉攏以色列結盟對付共同宿敵伊朗〉,《風傳媒》,2017年11月27日,https://www.storm.mg/article/364257。

益。雖然以色列與沙國往來有利有弊。但對以色列而言,與沙烏地關係正常化,有助於之後與阿聯酋、巴林及其他阿拉伯國家建交,且能促進區域貿易,並鞏固以色列在中東地區的安全利益。同樣的,沙國與以色列建立合作關係則能形成對抗伊朗的聯盟,讓沙國能夠借用以色列的軍事和情報能力來嚇阻伊朗。重要的問題是,以色列要與沙烏地建交,勢必要對以巴問題做出讓步,像是目前沙、以正在協商,是否接受沙烏地在2002年推動的和平協議。所以,不同意識形態的各方仍可依「威脅平衡」與「利益平衡」的認知與意圖,進而產生結盟關係。

三、美、沙關係的「利益平衡」間爭議

學者施威勒認為對於想要改變現狀的國家來說,追隨另一個崛起的修正主義強權並與其締結聯盟只會威脅到那些維持現狀國家的利益,對自己並不會構成威脅,因此提出了「利益平衡」的觀點,說明國家往往是考量利害關係後選擇了依附強權來獲取和確保利益。68此外,「利益平衡」在提供經濟或軍事援助也能促使聯盟的出現,因為受贈的一方會變得依賴於援助國,而援助越多聯盟關係也會越緊密。瓦特表示,提供與接受援助恰是實力不均等的國家為了對付共同的威脅而採取的措施,因此對外援助與其說是聯盟的起因,還不如說是聯盟的結果。69在外交政策上會以利益(相對利得或絕對利得)作為考量,選擇對強權是否採取扈從政策。

上述論點用於沙國與美國的關係,或以色列對美國的態度,都具有解釋力。然而,美國對沙國並非完全能頤指氣使,沙國對美國也非全般聽從其命令。例如,沙裔記者哈紹吉(Jamal Khashoggi)在土耳其被謀殺事件,隨即引發全球輿論嘩然,美、沙外交關係也立即受到考驗。70從事件的始末分析,美國本應基於道德的價值觀對沙國實施制裁。但是,美國的制裁僅僅限於口頭性的責難,卻無實質性的制裁措施。因為美/沙的經濟與軍火利益極為龐大,美國不會因此案而讓美國損失巨大商

Randall L. Schweller, "New realist research on alliances: Refining, not refuting, Walt's balancing proposition," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, 1997, pp. 927-930.

⁶⁹ Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, pp. 41-42.

^{70 〈}沙鳥地領事館分屍記者?哈紹吉〈被消失〉〉,《聯合新聞網》,2018 年 10 月 17 日,https://global.udn.com/global_vision/story/8663/3427390。

機。由此可知,國家的對外政策雖然會以「利益平衡」的邏輯選擇制衡或扈從,但在面對與自己的重大核心利益有關時,仍會在作法上有所調整。

四、沙、伊博弈中「權力平衡」與「攻守平衡」的迷思

「攻守平衡」的概念主要讓國家判斷其參與聯盟的意圖;參與後是否具有威脅性或可獲利害的大小。對此,瓦特則提出四項因素作為國家參與聯盟的判斷:一、整體實力一聯盟中實力越強的國家,越能夠對目標國造成威脅;二、地理鄰近性—在其他條件相同的情況下,距離較近的國家能投射的權力會勝於較遠的國家;三、攻擊的能力—國家藉參與聯盟的整體實力,有可能轉化成攻擊或防禦的能力,端賴何者比較有利,但當國家將其鄰國的實力視為具有攻擊性時,就會感受到威脅;四、侵略的意圖—被認為具有侵略性的國家,有可能刺激其他國家形成制衡他的聯盟。71所以,國家在「意圖」上的判斷對於聯盟的選擇來說,扮演了關鍵的角色。

中東地區遜尼派與什葉派競爭的聯盟體系中,因沙國與伊朗的競爭會更加激烈,遜尼派國家(除卡達及土耳其外)意圖組成的聯盟氣勢正在形成。主因美、沙結盟對伊朗形成強烈的攻擊能力(信號)。⁷²反之,什葉派國家會更靠近伊朗,因為若不選擇與伊朗結盟,將會受到美-沙聯盟的制裁。強權(美、俄)為了追求自己的利益會吸引更多的盟國,並提供其盟邦經濟與軍事上的援助,雙方的表現也會更加積極。因為,他們都會視伊朗或沙烏地阿拉伯為責任承擔者,因而大力支持他的代理人。如此一來,沙/伊衝突會加大惡化中東地區的國際情勢。簡言之,兩個同盟力量的壯大與對峙,並不一定會因兩者力量的均衡,而使區域的權力結構趨近平衡狀態,反而會更增加相互對峙的緊張程度,不利於國際情勢的穩定。

⁷¹ 陳偉華,〈論結構性嚇阻與決策性嚇阻〉,《問題與研究》,第 41 卷 2 期,2002年 3 月,頁 24,及註釋 2。

⁷²〈美國國務卿將於 1 月 8 日至 15 日訪問中東八國〉,《每日頭條》,2019 年 1 月 5 日, https://kknews.cc/world/abbapyx.html。

陸、結論

新現實主義認為國家作為單一行為體,在最低程度上尋求維持自身生存,在最高程度上則是控制區域或全球。⁷³新現實主義並沒有區分大國或中小國家,亦無討論維持自身生存的威脅程度。如何防範及避免他國的威脅,才是國家生存的根本之道。米爾斯海默認為,國家必須不斷追求權力才能確保本國安全。⁷⁴這種論述僅能適用於美、俄具有超級實力的大國。學者傑維斯(Robert Jervis)認為,中東地區國家即使不斷追求權力,安全仍然無法獲得保障。⁷⁵中東大多數國家採取制衡或扈從的選擇,是為防範威脅或維護生存利益的策略。新古典現實主義的四種平衡論述;「權力平衡」、「利益平衡」、「攻守平衡」與「威脅平衡」,都是為國家採取聯盟策略提供更清楚的路徑圖。

以上述四種平衡的觀點解釋沙國與伊朗的權力競爭關係,筆者認為還須加入地緣戰略競爭與意識形態異同的元素。沙、伊在中東地區的敵對關係,主要是受美/俄超級大國的地緣戰略爭奪的影響,美、俄競爭愈是激烈,沙伊衝突的強度就會愈強。此外,意識形態不同對同盟的形成,並不一定會形成阻力,此點在解釋沙國與以色列之間的合作關係,可以看出聯盟的合作是建立在擁有共同的利益或相同的威脅時,就有可能建構出合作的可能性。所以,新古典現實主義所論述的四種「平衡」概念,必須加入地緣戰略與意識形態因素,才能使該理論更臻完美。

本文發現沙國與美國的聯盟關係,是依附在「利益平衡」的理則中。但是沙國對美國的扈從,實際上是針對鄰近國家(伊朗)的制衡。⁷⁶美國為制壓修正主義國家-伊朗,強化美/沙聯盟的功能,以便沙國能成為責任承擔者。沙國也可購買更多的精密武器,有利安全利益的增長。「威脅平衡」與「利益平衡」的邏輯較能解釋美/沙的聯盟關係。其次,伊朗在美、沙聯合的施壓下,其外交策略將持續採取制衡策略。因為俄羅

⁷³ Kenneth Waltz, *Theories of International Politics*, p. 118.

⁷⁴ John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, p.3.

⁷⁵ Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2., January 1978, pp.183-184.

⁷⁶ 中等國家主動向強國的積極扈從,如果不是國家之間的聯合,便是共同展開具有侵略性的聯合。詳閱陳麒安,〈重新檢視瓦特的聯盟理論〉,頁 109。

斯在地緣戰略上不斷深入中東地區,俄、伊間的合作不斷獲得提昇。俄、 伊之間雖無聯盟,雙方卻可在能源、貿易、軍事(採購)上加強合作。 俄、伊合作可以「攻守平衡」及「威脅平衡」進行了解。俄、伊之間並 無抗衡與扈從的關聯。但是,伊朗在獲得俄國的援助下,選擇與美、沙 抗衡將能取得有利的態勢。最後,沙國作為美國的平衡者角色,沙、伊 之間的衝突將持續出現惡化的趨勢。美、沙關係會持續升級,相對的沙 伊衝突會跟著美、沙聯盟關係的積極發展,反而會出現逆方向的走勢。

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Impact of Chinese Sharp Power on Australia's National Security: A Viewpoint of the Wedge Strategy

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Abstract

Given the strategic expansion of China and the strategic need of the United States in the Indo-Pacific region, Australia has rapidly emerged as a geopolitical hotspot and a pivot power in recent years. With the rise of China in the international arena, almost all countries in the region have already felt the pressure of economic influence and political interference from China. Australia in the South Pacific region is no exception. China is infiltrating Australia's politics, economy, society and culture with the so-called "sharp power," which has become a catch-all phrase in international relations research referring to external influence targeting democracies. Beijing's behavior has also caused Canberra to be more vigilant about the "economic diplomacy" – or charm offensive – from this "red giant," since Australia's national security is significantly based on the US-centered multilateral security alliance. Once China successfully penetrates Australia's political system, this will weaken allies' trust in Australia and shake up Australia's national security. How does Beijing operate sharp power to influence Australia? To explore such question in depth, this initial study examines China's sharp power in Australia by using the perspective of the wedge strategy.

Impact of Chinese Sharp Power on Australia's

National Security: A Viewpoint of the Wedge Strategy

Keywords: economic infiltration, political interference, Sharp Power, Wedge Strategy

中國銳實力對澳洲國家安全的衝擊:

楔式戰略之觀點

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摘 要

隨著中國在國際上的快速崛起,印太區域國家幾乎都已經感受到了中國政治經濟的影響力與滲透力,位於南太平洋的澳洲當然也不例外。中國正以所謂的「銳實力」來滲透澳洲政治、經濟與社會,這因此也引起澳洲當局對北京魅力攻勢的經濟外交手段提高警覺性。因為澳洲的國家安全是奠基在以美國為中心的多邊安全同盟基礎上,一旦中國共產黨滲透到澳洲的政府決策與安全系統,這不僅將會破壞澳洲的民主政治發展,亦會弱化同盟國對澳洲的信賴,進而影響到澳洲的國家安全建構。北京究竟如何操作銳實力來影響澳洲?坎培拉又要如何因應?為了能深入探討這個問題,本研究乃嘗試採用「楔式戰略」的觀點來進行初步分析。

關鍵詞:經濟滲透、政治干預、銳實力、楔式戰略

I. Introduction

With the trend of economic globalization and free trade, the continuous development and expansion of China's economy has made it the second largest economy in the world. The growth of economic capability has thus become an important aspect of China's construction of foreign relations. Beijing first proposed the term "economic diplomacy" in the 2005 edition of the Chinese Diplomacy white paper to define the future direction of its foreign policy. Since then, this concept of promoting external influence by utilizing it economic power has become an important guideline of China's foreign policy.² For the political purpose of intervening other countries' politics, Beijing uses economic, trade, financial and investment methods to influence the international community and to strengthen the economic linkages between the Chinese diaspora and the Chinese Communist Party on a global scale.³ Therefore, China's economic diplomacy is actually a charm-offensive diplomacy. 4 Beijing's manipulation of soft economic expansion not only makes China's neighboring countries feel no direct security threat, but also cultivate expectation and imagination of economic coexistence in the region under the Chinese diplomatic principle of "non-interference in each other's internal affairs." The phenomenon of the Chinese economic power practice is like Joseph Nye's "soft power" concept

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¹ David Baldwin, *Economic Statecraft* (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 38-39.

² Department of Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples' Republic of China, ed., *China's Foreign Affairs 2005* (English Edition) (Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2005).

³ Wen-Zhi Zhao, *China's Economic Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Taipei: Wunan Press, 2016), pp. 24-39, 63-96.

⁴ Jonas Parello-Plesner and Belinda Li, *The Chinese Communist Party's Foreign Interference Operations: How the U.S. and Other Democracies Should Respond* (Washington D.C: Hudson Institute, 2018), p. 3.

many years ago.5

To influence the policy direction of democratic countries and weaken their hostility towards China, Beijing recently not only to apply economic and diplomatic means such as investment and trade (e.g. "One Belt One Road Initiative"), but also to affect public opinion, to establish Confucius Institutes, to bribe officials, to surveil overseas dissidents, to manipulate information/media and so on, for increasing the impact on other countries' domestic politics and foreign policy. Such aggressive utilization of soft power is developed by today's "authoritarian" states, notably including China and Russia, and is redefined as "sharp power" according to Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig. Essentially, the term "sharp power" was coined in November 2017 by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), to describe aggressive and subversive policies employed by authoritarian governments as a projection of state power in democratic countries. The term is neither the "hard power" with obvious coercive and oppressive qualities, nor the "soft power" with mild attraction and persuasion characteristics. It is like a Trojan horse, which can clandestinely execute internal control and diplomatic disalignment of the target state/democracies. Its goal eventually is to align the interests of democracies with authoritarian states and this is the so-called "united front" (統戰) which is a key element of the CCP's strategy to consolidate its hold on

⁵ Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (NY: Public Affairs, 2004), pp. 1-32.

⁶ Lily Kuo and Niko Kommenda, "What is China's Belt and Road Initiative?" The Guardian, July 30, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/cities/ng-interactive/2018/jul/30/what-china-belt-road-initiative-silk-road-explainer

Christopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig, "The Meaning of Sharp Power," Foreign Affairs,
 November 16, 2017,
 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2017-11-16/meaning-sharp-power

power, both internally and externally, since the party's founding in 1921.8

Beijing using "sharp power" to project its influence worldwide, with the aims of limiting free expression, spreading confusion and distorting the political setting within democracies. China's manipulation of "sharp power" is a kind of "united front" activities and political tools. Accordingly, the president of China Xi Jinping (習近平) elevated and expanded united front activities, a so-called "magic weapon" (法寶) 10 that relies on co-opting Chinese diaspora communities and building relationships with Western enablers to make foreign serve the CCP. This article therefore regards the united front work as an important part of Chinese sharp power.

From a strategic point of view, this study argues that the impact of Chinese sharp power on Australia can be said as the diplomatic operation of Beijing's "wedge strategy" (楔式戰略) 11 that also known as dividing policy in international politics. In other words, this is the means of the CCP's international united front work, attempting to divide the alliance of democracies (e.g. the US, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand, etc.) via uniting lesser enemies (e.g. Australia or New Zealand) to defeat greater ones

⁸ Refer to Alexander Bowe, "China's Overseas United Front Work: Background and Implications for the United States," Staff Research Report, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, August 24, 2018; Martin McKenzie-Murray, "Inside China's 'United Front'," *Saturday Paper 194* (March 3-9, 2018), https://www.thesaturdaypaper.com.au/news/politics/2018/03/03/inside-chinas-united-fron t/15199956005888

Ohristopher Walker and Jessica Ludwig, Sharp Power: Rising Authoritarian Influence in the Democratic World (Washington D.C.: National Endowment for Democracy, 2017), pp. 6, 13-24.

Anne-Marie Brady, *Magic Weapons: China's Political Influence Activities under Xi Jinping*, Wilson Center (September 2017), http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/for_website_magicweaponsanne-mariesbr adyseptember2017.pdf

¹¹ "Wedge" is a piece of hard triangular shaped tool with two principal faces meeting in a sharply acute angle, for raising, holding, or splitting objects by applying a pounding or driving force, as from a hammer. Refer to Sybil P. Parker, ed., *McGraw-Hill Concise Encyclopedia of Science & Technology*, 3th ed. (NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992), p. 2041.

(e.g. the US). Timothy Crawford defines a wedge strategy as "a state's attempt to prevent, break up, or weaken a threatening or blocking alliance at an acceptable cost." When this strategy succeeds, the divider (the state who operates the wedge strategy) achieves the goal of constructing national security by reducing the number of rival countries and weakening the influence of rival alliance.

In terms of the strategic interaction between China and the United States, balance and counter-balance are the keys to the diplomatic strategies of the two sides. To withstand China's economic and military pressure, the US adopts a moderate strategy of containment and engagement for China's expansion. Namely, the US continues to maintain close economic ties with China, but, in the military, it establishes military-security alliance with Asia-Pacific neighbors to prevent possible military risks from China present and future. On the contrary, how to counter and weaken the containment of the US and its alliance has become a vital issue of operating wedge strategy for China. It is a common phenomenon for great powers to operate the wedge strategy internationally. For example, during the Sino-Soviet alliance in the 1950s, Washington once played an important wedge role between Beijing and Moscow. In addition, the operation of the wedge strategy may

Timothy Crawford, "Preventing Enemy Coalitions: How Wedge Strategies Shape Power Politics," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Spring 2011), p. 156.

¹³ Zalmay Khalilzad, "The Case for Congagement with China," *National Interest*, June 19, 2017, http://www.nationalinterest.org/feature/the-case-congagement-china-21232

Michael D. Pixley, "Eisenhower's strategy in Taiwan Strait drove a wedge between the Soviet Union and China," *Military History*, Vol. 21, No. 26 (February 2005), pp. 13-24; Yasuhiro Izumikawa, "To Coerce or Reward? Theorizing Wedge Strategies in Alliance Politics," *Security Studies*, Vol. 22, Iss. 3 (August 2013), pp. 498-531; Hyon Joo Yoo, "China's Friendly Offensive Toward Japan in the 1950s: The Theory of Wedge Strategies and International Relations," *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (January-March 2015), pp. 1-26. Also refer to Chinese papers: Liu Jun, "The US Factor in the Formation and Breaking of the Sino-Soviet Alliance," *Journal of East China Normal University*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (May 2007), pp. 9-13; Zhong, Zhenming, "Theory of Wedge Strategy and the Efficiency of Power Balancing in International Politics," *Foreign Social Science*, No. 6

also transform the opponent country into a neutral one or an ally. ¹⁵ Therefore, this strategy may trigger the development of "power transition" in an international system, and the result will have an important impact on the orientation of the development of international relations.

In theory, to pursuing national survival and security in an anarchic international environment, state actors must pay considerable attention to obtain greater power for increasing their security. For getting maximized power, realists emphasize two approaches: the first is to enhance the state's material power; and the second is to strengthen state's security alliance. In addition, state actors can infiltrate, divide, influence and control its rival state's direction of internal and diplomatic policies through applying the flexible approaches of economy, trade, investment and foreign aid. These means not only can fail rival state's international alliance, but also can enhance the divider's relative power.

The rise of China's economic leverage in the Indo-Pacific region has been increasing regional countries' economic dependence on the Chinese market, and Australia is no exception. This situation not only wanes "China threat theory" in the region, but also reinforces China's dominance over regional economy. Even Australia's national security is based on the US-guided alliance, its trade and economic growth quite depends on China indeed. In the case of "security relies on the US and economy relies on China," Australia, a democratic ally of the US in the region, has thus become the main target of China's sharp power. China attempts to turn its economic influence on Australia into political one, trying to sway Australia's internal and foreign affairs. The questions to be discussed in this

⁽June 2012), pp. 76-84; Wang, Xiaohu, "The Wedge Strategy of the US and the Prealignment in the Asia-Pacific," *International Perspective*, No. 3 (March 2017), pp. 58-77.

¹⁵ Timothy Crawford, op. cit., p. 155.

paper are, how does China's sharp power affect the national security of Australia? And what responses Australia has made? In order to further analyze the questions, this paper will also inspect the implication of Chinese sharp power within the context of "wedge strategy" against US-Australian alliance.

II. Wedge Strategy with China's Sharp Power

United front work is at the center stage of Beijing's wedge strategy under China's sharp power, and the enlargement of China's influence in Australia is conducted in a complementary way. The operation of wedge strategy is primarily to use the resources of politics, economy, culture and diplomacy, and supported by the means of commitment, threat, reward and punishment to subvert the internal unity and international alliance of a target for abating the threat from the target(s); or rather, this strategy takes advantage of the asymmetry between free and unfree systems, allowing authoritarian regimes both to limit free expression and to distort political settings in democracies and their allies. In other words, the goal of such strategy is to hamper other countries' pursuits of their own national interests. Similarly, it is an important means for a rising power to undermine other countries' internal unity and external balance or containment policy. ¹⁶

The practice of wedge strategy is a common phenomenon in history and international relations, but its strategic thinking is not a product of modern Western international politics. As far as China is concerned, the strategy has existed in Chinese military thoughts and classics since the Spring and Autumn periods of ancient China about 2,500 years ago For example, in the famous Chinese military classic *Sun Tzu's Art of War* 《孫子 兵法》, the chapter of "Employing Spies" (用間) states the importance of

¹⁶ Timothy Crawford, op. cit., p. 159.

using spies to divide, to fail and to destroy the enemy's strength and unity; 17 and the chapter of "Attack by Stratagem" (謀攻) emphasizes the use of various strategies to weaken the enemy's national power, to undermine its internal unity, and to hinder the normal operation of its government. 18 Besides, in the traditional classic of *Six Secret Teachings* 《六韜》, the chapter of "Verbal Intimidation" (文伐) advocates to enlarge the contradictions within enemy, and then dividing, weakening and subverting the enemy. 19 The chapter of "Three Doubts" (三疑) highlights the need to use the strategy carefully to divorce opposing alliance, and to use the property to bribe the enemy's subjects and officials. 20 Meanwhile, the chapter of "Fighting Against Heavy Odds" (少眾) stresses that the approach of fighting against heavy odds is to ally oneself with great powers, to cooperate with neighboring states, and then to isolate the enemy. 21

For China, its surrounding environment and national security are equally important. To reduce the pressure of the US-led alliance on China's rise, the adoption of counter-US strategy has become the vital issue of Beijing's diplomatic activities. Though the means of wedge strategy are not newfangled practices, the manipulation of wedge strategy has certain security and policy implications for contemporary China.

A. The goals and types of Beijing's wedge strategy

At present, in the field of international politics, there are four strategic objectives in wedge strategy including: "realignment" (聯盟重組), "dealignment" (聯盟解除), "prealignment" (聯盟預阻) and

¹⁷ Meng-Li Chang ed., Art of War by Sun Tzu (Tainan: Wenguo Bookstore, 1996), pp. 231-254.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34.

¹⁹ Xi-Fei Wu, New Translation of Six Readings (Taipei: Sanmin Press, 1996), pp. 61-68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-74.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.

"disalignment" (聯盟分化). Realignment strategies seek to shift a target state from an opposing alliance to a friendly one. Dealignment means that a dividing state using a dealignment strategy tries to induce the target's neutrality, a less costly and less dangerous form of defection than realignment. A prealignment strategy seeks to preserve the neutrality of a target that is not yet formally allied but is prone to join the enemy camp. Finally, the disalignment means that a divider using a disalignment strategy seeks to weaken a target's cooperation within an opposing bloc, without trying to convert the target into a neutral or an ally. ²² In addition to the relatively broad scope of prealignment, other wedge strategic objectives are relatively clear.

B. Understand the importance of Beijing's wedge strategic operations

In the realist thinking of international politics, the theory of the balance of power is an essential guiding direction while national policy makers are dealing with foreign relations. Theoretically, the operation of power balancing includes "internal balancing" and "external balancing." ²³The former means that a state needs to strengthen its own military forces by performing military modernization process, the latter means that a state needs to ally with other states to resist external threats, weakening the united forces of the hostile alliance by conducting the methods of "bandwagoning," "balking," "buck-passing," "infiltrating" and so on. ²⁴ Accordingly, the notion of wedge strategy is closely related to external balance, and the CCP's united front work under sharp power in overseas is an application of external balance.

²² Timothy Crawford, op. cit., pp. 164-166.

²³ Jack Levy, "What Do Great Powers Balance Against and When?" in T. V. Paul, James Wirtz and Michael Fortmann eds., *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), p. 35.

²⁴ Jack Levy, *ibid.*, p. 169.

Moreover, the research of wedge strategy in the field of international politics has accumulated considerable historical experiences. In practice, studying wedge strategy can help national leaders/elites to recognize the possible origins of war, to make effective policies to cope with enemies, and to consolidate state's internal solidarity and external alliance. Other than the aforesaid, the study of the wedge strategy also helps scholars or policy makers to understand the reasons of the failure of power balancing strategy and can strengthen the research and discourse of balance of power in the field of international relations. ²⁶

Briefly, the research of wedge strategy has three meanings in terms of theory, reality and policy. First, theoretical study on the wedge strategy can increase the understanding of the concepts, means and mechanisms of the strategy. Second, the study of the wedge strategy in real world can deepen the understanding of global power struggle nowadays. Third, through the study of the strategy we not only can improve foreign policy decision-making, but also can amend our diplomatic behavior for national security.

Since the first and second world wars, Australia's national security has been almost depending on a base of its great power alliance, first the UK and then the US. So far, the preference for allying with great/super power(s) can be said to be the core of Australia's strategic culture that shapes its national security.²⁷ To date, Australia is not only the member of "The Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty" (ANZUS Treaty),

²⁵ Jacks Levy and William Thompson, *Causes of War* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 64-65.

John A. Vasquez and Colin Elman, eds., Realism and the Balance of Power: A New Debate (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003), pp. 23-48.

Paul An-Hao Huang, "Interpretation of the Security Concept of a Middle Power from Australia's 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper," *Taipei Forum*, January 3, 2018, http://140.119.184.164/view_pdf/427.pdf

but also the member of the "Five Eyes" (United Kingdom-United States Communications Intelligence Agreement in 1946)²⁸ along with the US, the UK, Canada and New Zealand. Base on the ANZUS structure, Canberra and Washington built the "Australia-US Ministerial Consultation" (AUSMIN) since 1985, which is the main annual forum for consultations between Australia and the US. For countering an expansionist China, Australia is trying to strengthen the "Democracy Diamond" strategic alliance (also known as the QUAD) with the US, Japan and India.²⁹ This shows that international alliance and diplomatic multilateralism are the basis for Australia's construction of a security environment.³⁰ In the face of the current situation of Australia's alliance with like-minded powers, China's operational wedge strategy through the carrier of sharp power is to divide the alliance for the strategic goal of disalignment through dividing Australia from US-led bloc by manipulating the approach of united front.³¹

Principally, the wedge strategy is broadly divided into two types: the "offensive wedge strategy" and the "defensive wedge strategy." The offensive wedge strategy means that states with offensive intent use wedge strategy to reduce the possibility of external containment and then cause the failure of opposing alliance's power balancing policy. The defensive wedge strategy seeks to undermine potential aggressors and to weaken or isolate

Andrew O'Neil, "Five Eyes and the Perils of an Asymmetric Alliance," *Australian Outlook*, July 27, 2017,

http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/five-eyes-asymmetric-alliance/

Cheng-fung Lu, "Australia and the Revival of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue,"

Prospect Journal, No. 19, April 2018, pp. 73-93; Dhruva Jaishankar, "The real significance of the Quad," The Strategist, October 24, 2018,
https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/the-real-significance-of-the-quad/

³⁰ Shinzo Abe, "Asia's Democratic Security Diamond," *Project Syndicate*, December 27, 2012,

http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-strategic-alliance-for-japan-and-india-by-shinzo-abe?barrier=accesspaylog

³¹ Jonas Parello-Plesner and Belinda Li, op. cit., p. 4.

major threats by preventing opposing alliance from using wedge strategy against itself. However, there is still controversial in the academic community about the distinction between the offensive wedge strategy and the defensive one.³² In terms of China's recent behavior of disalignment towards democratic countries such as Australia, this study thus classifies China's wedge strategy as the offensive one. From the phenomenon of China's rise, precisely, sharp power is the presentation of China's influence in democratic countries, and wedge strategy with united front work is its means for achieving its strategic purpose of uniting with lesser enemies to defeat great ones in the world.³³

III. China's Infiltration of Australia: Cases of the Chinese Wedge Strategic Practice

Jonas Parello-Plesner and Belinda Li, scholars at the Hudson Institute in Washington DC, recently published a report on "The Chinese Communist Party's Foreign Interference Operations: How the US and Other Democracies Should Respond." In the report, they use the term "Western Enablers" to describe the Westerners who are willing to cooperate with the CCP, promoting the expansion of China's international influence. ³⁴ Superficially, this term refers to many dignitaries in the US; obviously, the term also refers to pro-Chinese dignitaries in other countries. Australia turning to a fully open attitude towards China can directly trace back to the period of Kevin Rudd as the prime minister of Australia (first time in office, from 3 December 2007 to 24 June 2010; second time in office, from 27 June 2013 to 18 September 2013). Even though Rudd's term of office was less than three years, his pro-China policy has already caused great impact on

³² Timothy Crawford, op. cit., pp. 175-187.

³³ Alexander Bowe, "China's Overseas United Front Work: Background and Implications for the United States," U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Research Report, August 24, 2018, pp. 3-6.

³⁴ Jonas Parello-Plesner and Belinda Li, op. cit., p. 12.

Australia. Specifically, Rudd as a national leader, who ignored the threat of the CCP, is said to be responsible for the Chinese "silent invasion" of Australia.

Because China's political ideology is different from that of western democracies, the goal of the CCP's united front is to quell dissenting and negative voices at home and abroad. Beijing is trying to use available national resources at all costs to support united front work under its governmental organizations of national security and foreign affairs overseas, for keeping overseas Chinese dissidents under surveillance and control, affecting public opinion and government policy making in targeted states, and weakening its international alliances.³⁵ Apparently, China's infiltration of the West is getting serious, which is arousing the international society's attention to the invasion of China's sharp power.

In 4 June 2017, Australian media group Fairfax Media and Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) produced a TV program called "Four Corners" to discuss the issue of "Power and Influence: How China's Communist Party Is Infiltrating Australia." The program intended to investigate CCP overseas economic interference and political influence operations in Australian democratic system, and found that the CCP's targets ranging from prominent politicians and businesspeople to academics, students, and the Australian public. Dogged investigative reporting in Australia over the past year has produced an unusually detailed picture of Chinese influence operations against a frontline western ally and prompted an encouraging initial reply from Australian government, which is

³⁵ Alexander Bowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

Nick McKenzie, Richard Baker, Sashka Koloff and Chris Uhlmann, "The Chinese Communist Party's power and influence in Australia," ABC News, March 29, 2018, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-04/the-chinese-communist-partys-power-and-influence-in-australia/8584270

attempting to secure its democratic norms and processes against CCP interference via a legislative overhaul of campaign finance, lobbying, and espionage laws.

Indeed, the Australian media program has aroused great concern of international society. In order to explore the operation of China's united front work/sharp power within Australian territory in depth, the following analysis will focus on several dimensions in regard to wedge strategy.

A. Diplomatic interference

Sheri Yan (嚴雪瑞), the former head of the Global Sustainability Foundation, met with Roger Uren, a former Australian intelligence officer at the Australian Embassy in New York, when she went to the US in 1987 (while working for China International Broadcasting Corporation). At that time, Uren was collecting information and related data to write a biography of former CCP intelligence leader Kang Sheng(康生, 1898-1975), while Yan was his research assistant then. In 1992, after his tenure of the office had lapsed in the US, Uren was posted back to Canberra and finally got a promotion to the position of deputy director at the Office of National Assessments (ONA) before his retirement. During this time, Uren's wife Yan had become an important figure among the political and economic leaders in Washington, Beijing and Canberra through her fluent Chinese and English languages and flexible communication skills. 38

After Uren left office in 2001, he established Global Sustainability

³⁷ John Byron and Robert Pack, *The Claws of the Dragon: Kang Sheng, the Evil Genius Behind Mao and His Legacy of Terror in People's China* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1992). Roger Uren is under the pseudonym John Byron of the book.

³⁸ Chris Wood, "Why an obscure memoir by a former Australian diplomat and veteran of Hong Kong's Phoenix TV is creating a flutter," *Post Magazine*, June 9, 2017, http://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/short-reads/article/2097505/why-obscur e-memoir-former-australian-diplomat

Foundation, GSF and assigned Yen as the head of the foundation. Although the GSF is a non-profit organization, it engages in politics, business, media, mediation, consultation and lobbyism among the US, China, Australia and the UN as well. Yan's VIP guests at the time included Frank Lowy, the owner of Westfield Group, former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and John Howard, American computer software tycoon Peter Norton, and former US President Clinton, the former United Nations General Assembly President John Ashe, etc.³⁹

On October 16, 2015, Yan was arrested by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for bribing the former UN General Assembly President John Ashe with a million US dollars and was sentenced to 20 months imprisonment in New York court on 20 January 2016.⁴⁰ At the same time, the Australian Federal Police had searched many confidential documents of Australian intelligence agencies at her home. According to reports, it may be that Uren had illegally taken them home when he was working for ONA. The confidential documents include "Western intelligence agencies understand the details of Chinese intelligence mechanisms." Yan was also publicly identified by the media as a CCP spy with a great political influence in Canberra and Washington. If she had already handed over those confidential documents to the Beijing authorities, it would be the most serious national security issue to Australia.

Nick McKenzie, Chris Uhlmann, Richard Baker and Daniel Flitton, "Sheri Yan, jailed for bribing UN official, was target of secret ASIO raid in 2015," ABC News, June 6, 2017, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-05/sheri-yan-suspected-of-being-spy-secret-asio-raid/8585278

⁴⁰ The Associated Press, "Woman Involved in U.N. Corruption Case Is Given 20 Months in Prison," *The New York Times*, July 26, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/30/afternoonupdate/woman-involved-in-un-corruption-case-is-given-20-months-in-prison.html

⁴¹ Nick McKenzie, Chris Uhlmann, Richard Baker and Daniel Flitton, op. cit.

B. Political contributions

Almost all Western democracies ban foreign political contribution, but Australia is the only one exception. There is no legislation in Australia stating that government should prohibit political donations from foreigners; therefore, the members of Congress and even the members of the Cabinet may be affected by foreign political contributions, and even the governmental policy-making direction. The participation of Chinese rich and powerful businessmen in local politics is mostly based on the provision of political contributions. Buying influence with China-linked money has become an important way for the CCP to infiltrate Australian politics.

Chau Chak Wing (周澤榮) is a distinct example. He is a Chinese-born Australian property developer and billionaire philanthropist known for his business Kingold Group (僑鑫集團) based in Guangzhou, China. The Group is mainly engaged in land development and real estate transactions in Guangzhou, thus he becomes rich. The relationship between Chau and Yan is very close. Sheri Yan once served as an advisor to Chau and expanded the relationship between transnational political and economic nepotism for him. Chau also runs newspapers in China and Australia and is a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) of the CCP in Guangdong. Moreover, he has a very good relations with the CCP Propaganda Department and the CPPCC Shantou City Committee (政協汕頭市委員會). Several years ago, Chau was named in an FBI investigation in the case of bribery of the former president of the UN General Assembly, John Ashe. The FBI alleged Chau paid John Ashe 200,000 US dollars in November 2013 via Sheri Yan, who was suspected by ASIO of Chinese intelligence activity, on behalf of the CCP. Chau

strenuously denied any involvement.⁴²

Chau is famous for his political donations in Australia. He is a citizen of Australia, from Chaozhou, China, and known for the 70 million Australian dollars purchase of the house of James Packer in 2015. He donated 20 million for the construction of the "Dr. Chau Chak Wing Building," part of the University of Technology of Sydney in Sydney, and another 15 million for the construction of a new museum in the University of Sydney. He was Australia's largest overseas-based political donor, and once donated 4 million Australian dollar political donations to both the opposition (Australian Labor Party) and the ruling coalition (Liberal-National Coalition), so it is hard to see his political tendencies in Australia. 43 Because Australia had no legislation to prohibit foreign political donations back then (before 2018), so the Australian public opinion and intelligence agencies are in fact the most concerned about the issue is whether the CCP through their political donations to intervene in Australia's political operation and policy development? The approach of political donation may therefore become a weak link in the political operation of Australian political parties.

C. Policy impact

There is a special case of political donations in Australia that the Chinese people are ranked first among non-Australian donors. Here, taking Huang Xiangmo (黃向墨), a permanent Australian resident, for example. Huang is a member of the CPPCC Jieyang City committee (政協揭陽市委

⁴² Amy Remeikis and Katharine Murphy, "Chinese-Australian billionaire involved in UN bribery case, MP claims," The Guardian, May 23, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/22/chinese-australian-billionaire-involved -in-un-bribery-case-mp-claims

⁴³ Paul An-Hao Huang, "The CCP's Political and Economic Infiltration in Australia," Taipei Forum, August 24, 2017, http://140.119.184.164/view pdf/394.pdf

員會). In 2003, he founded Shenzhen Yuhu Investment Group(深圳玉湖投資集團)and Yuhu Group Co., Ltd. Now, he is president of the Australian branch of the China Council for the Promotion of Peaceful National Reunification, an organization run by the CCP's United Front Work Department. He is the pioneer of the United Front Work in Australia, 44 and gave a lot of political donations in Canberra. Like Chau Chak Wing, Huang also donated to both sides of the ruling party and the opposition, thus having a certain influence on Australian politics. 45

The CCP-linked donor Huang Xiangmo had one of the most controversial political donations, the year before the 2016 Australian election, Huang promised to donate 400,000 Australian dollars to the Labor Party, but just a few weeks before the election, he withdrawn the pledge, because there was a Labor Party member's speech mentioned that the Australian government should participate the US-led South China Sea Patrol. Huang regarded the speech as a challenge to China's sovereignty of the South China Sea. ⁴⁶ On the contrary, former Australian Senator Sam Dastyari, an Australian Labor Party member, was forced to resign as senator because he was accused of being disloyal to Australia by publicly backing Beijing's position on the South China Sea by accepting Chinese billionaire Huang's money and payment for travel. ⁴⁷ Clearly, Huang's behaviors were

⁴⁴ Alex Joske, "Framing the Australia–China relationship," *The Strategist*, April 24, 2018, http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/framing-australia-china-relationship/

⁴⁵ Staff writers, "Chinese donor Huang Xiangmo's \$2 million party challenge to Liberal and Labor," *NEWS.COM.AU*, March 2, 2018, http://www.news.com.au/national/politics/chinese-donor-huang-xiangmos-2-million-part y-challenge-to-liberal-and-labor/news-story/17d8d657e5347ec173d64cfa8f50cb99

⁴⁶ Editors, "Sam Dastyari contradicted South China Sea policy a day after Chinese donor's alleged threat," *The Guardian*, June 5, 2017, http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/jun/05/sam-dastyari-contradicted-south-china-sea-policy-a-day-after-chinese-donors-alleged-threat

⁴⁷ Katharine Murphy, "Sam Dastyari told to resign from Senate positions after China revelation," *The Guardian*, November 29, 2017, http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/nov/30/sam-dastyari-told-to-resign-fro

designated to influence Canberra's South China Sea policy with political donations, and ultimately to divide the relations between Australia and its allies on the issue of the South China Sea. In February 2019, the Australian authorities barred Huang's bid for citizenship and revoked his permanent residency, and he was "effectively barred from re-entering Australia." ⁴⁸

D. Port rental

In October 2015, the Northern Territory Government of Australia signed a lease agreement with the Chinese Landbridge Group (嵐橋集團) for a total of 506 million Australian dollars to lease the Port of Darwin terminal and facilities to the People's Liberation Army closely related business group. The Australian military senior official expressed deep concern about the group's 99-year leasehold right of Port Darwin in the Northern Territory. This case has raised concerns among the US and Australia and other allies, since their ships access to Port Darwin may need to be monitored by the Chinese side. It is noteworthy that this case has a possible connection with China's "One Belt, One Road" strategic layout in the South pacific. ⁴⁹

In the viewpoint of geopolitics, the position of Port Darwin has an important strategic value for regional security. On 16 November 2011, the former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard and US President Barack Obama announced that the US would station troops in Australia for the first

⁴⁸ Christopher Knaus, "'Give back my money': banned billionaire Huang Xiangmo hits out at political parties," *The Guardian*, February 8, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/feb/08/give-back-my-money-banned-billionaire-huang-xiangmo-hits-out-at-political-parties

m-senate-positions-after-china-revelation

⁴⁹ Summer Zhen, "Chinese company Landbridge wins 99-year lease on northern Australia's Darwin port," *South China Morning Post*, October 14, 2015, http://www.scmp.com/business/companies/article/1867514/chinese-company-landbridge-wins-99-year-lease-northern-australias

time since World War II. The agreement between the US and Australia would involve a contingent of 250 Marines arriving in Darwin in 2012, with the total number rising to a maximum of 2,500 troops by 2017 on six-month rotations as well as a supporting air element including F-22 Raptors, F-35 Joint Strike Fighters and KC-135 refuelers.⁵⁰

At the time, China and Indonesia had expressed concern about the Australia-US decision. Some analysts argued that an expanded US presence could pose a threat to security. Gillard announced that the first 200 US Marines had arrived in Darwin from Hawaii on late 3 April 2012. In 2013, further news of other expansion vectors was aired in US media, with no comment or confirmation from Australian authorities. The agreement between the two governments remains hidden from public scrutiny. Marine numbers based in Darwin have increased to more than 1,150 troops by 2014. Also, Darwin hosts biennial multi-national exercises named "Exercise Pitch Black," 51 which is a biennial three-week multi-national large force employment exercise conducted from Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Base Darwin and RAAF Base Tindal. The exercise typically hosts up to 2,500 personnel and over 100 aircraft from around the globe including participants from Australia, Canada, France (New Caledonia), Germany, Indonesia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand and the US. India first participated the exercise in 2018.

E. Technological plagiarism

According to the 2012 US-Australia Defense Trade Cooperation Treaty, Australia and the US agreed that military-related research in Australian universities should be included in the scope of defense control, but the

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Tom Westbrook, "U.S. Marines arrive in Darwin for Australia, China exercises," *Reuters*, April 18, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-australia-usa-defence-idUSKBN17K09N

Mike Yeo, "Exercise Pitch Black Concludes in Darwin," *The Diplomat*, August 26, 2014, http://www.thediplomat.com/2014/08/exercise-pitch-black-concludes-in-darwin/

Chinese National Defense University, in the name of cooperation and development sent military personnel to Australia for research and exchange. During the period of research and exchange for national scientific research projects, China's personnel plagiarized many technologies and transfer them to the Chinese military systematically. These research projects include know-hows in sensitive areas, such as space, artificial intelligence, unmanned vehicles and computer engineering, which may help the PLA to strengthen its military technological capabilities on the battlefield. ⁵² Moreover, the partnership between scientists of Australian Universities and researchers of Chinese military could jeopardize Australia's strategic alliance with the US and their mutual trust.

Scientists at Australian universities are collaborating with China's top military technology universities on programs beneficial to the PLA, which is the army of the CCP rather than Chinese people.

According to Clive Hamilton and Alex Joske's investigation, for example, the man at the core of many exchanges with Australian universities is Lieutenant-General Yang Xuejun (楊學軍), who has been a CCP member since the 1980s and was promoted to the party's powerful Central Committee at the 19th Party Congress; the Congress reappointed Xi as party chairman for another five-year term and elevated Yang to a status alongside Mao Zedong as a great leader. Yang is now the dean of the Military Science Research Institute at the National Defense and Science Technology University. He is an important PLA computer science expert and has worked closely with experts from the University of NSW and the University of Sydney in the field of supercomputer research and published

Tom Iggulden, "Australian universities accused of sharing military technology with China," *ABC News*, December 15, 2017, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-12-15/universities-sharing-military-technology-with-ch ina/9260496

lots of related academic papers. 53 Another example is Professor Xue Jingling (薛京靈) who is a computer engineer at the University of NSW. He has starting to accept the research grant and subsidy from the Chinese Academy of Military Sciences for the project of developing the Tianhe series supercomputers since 2008.54

These academic exchanges and research cooperation between China and Australia are just the tip of the iceberg. The acquisition of Australian computer technology will help the CCP to design advanced-sophisticated fighters and to test tactical nuclear bombs or missiles, which will increase the PLA's military deterrence and enhance China's hegemonic influence.

F. Academic manipulation

In general, people always thought that the academia is relatively neutral when doing China studies, and the academic community can conduct China studies in an independent and objective way, providing outside both positive and negative views on China. However, the neutral academic community is more beneficial to the CCP, because controlling the academic circle can shape the positive and bright opinions for China that is beneficial to Beijing, so the CCP does not give up its infiltration and control in academia.

Take the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI) at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS) for instance, the ACRI was established in 2014 and supported by Chau Chak Wing and Huang Xiangmo. The former Australian Foreign Minister Bob Carr was the first president of the institute

⁵³ Clive Hamilton and Alex Joske, "Australian universities are helping China's military surpass the United States," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, October 27, 2017, http://www.smh.com.au/world/australian-universities-are-helping-chinas-military-surpass -the-united-states-20171024-gz780x.html

⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

after he left from office.⁵⁵ In fact, UTS had a China Center, which is specializing in Chinese issues, but it was shut down due to UTS agreed Falun Gong members to hold painting exhibition at the center, thus the CCP pile the pressure on the University to close China Center, creating the pro-China ACRI to replace the original one through donations from Chinese businessmen Chau and Huang.⁵⁶

Furthermore, Associate Professor Chongyi Feng (馮崇義), who is a Chinese-born Australian citizen and a Chinese human rights expert at UTS, was concerned about Chinese human rights issues for a long time. His current research focuses on intellectual and political development in modern and contemporary China, exploring the intellectual and political changes, the growth of rights consciousness and democratic forces. In March 2017, Feng was detained by Chinese officials, unable to board his flight home to Sydney. He was held and interrogated for 10 days by China's security agents on suspicion of endangering national security before being allowed to return to Australia in April.⁵⁷ Given Feng is a dissent on China's human rights for the CCP, the institute refused him to participate in their research. Although Feng and the ACRI are both in the same school, the institute emphasized

Rachel Baxendale, "Huang Xiangmo's \$ 1.8m gift to Bob Carr's think tank queried," The Australian, December 13, 2017, http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/foreign-affairs/huang-xiangmos-18m-gift-to-bob-carrs-think-tank-queried/news-story/01b3a78639c266cc6124cd9e5cb65737

Jame Leibold, "The Australia-China Relations Institute doesn't belong at UTS," The Conversation, June 5, 2017, http://www.theconversation.com/the-australia-china-relations-institute-doesnt-belong-at-uts-78743

⁵⁷ Chang Pei-Yuan, "Feng Chongyi was forced to agree to shut up then China let him go," *The Liberty Times*, April 3, 2017, http://www.news.ltn.com.tw/news/world/paper/1091226; Emily Tate, "China Bars Professor from Returning to Australia," *Inside Higher Ed* (Washington D.C.), March 27, 2017,

http://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2017/03/27/china-bars-professor-returning-australia

that the institute is an independent research organization and academic research is not affected without him.

G. Inciting overseas students

China is one of the major countries that exports international students to Western countries. To recipient countries, having a large number of international students not only can increase the funding for higher education in local universities, but also can provide sufficient advanced academic research manpower. However, under the CCP's overseas intelligence work structure, international students are the most available objects to help China gain political leverage. At present, there are two dimensions of the CCP's monitor and control on overseas Chinese students as follows:

(A) Coordinate overseas Chinese scholar and student organizations

In addition to the Confucius Institutes in overseas, many "Chinese Students and Scholars Association," or so-called CSSA, have currently been established in major universities in the West. In many colleges and universities, the introduction of the CSSA's articles of association or the websites all mentions clearly that the CSSAs are supervised by the Chinese consulates in different countries.⁵⁸ It is worth noting that student cadres of the CSSAs are almost loyal and patriotic CCP members. They are the bridge between Chinese consulates and the local academic associations. Their main task is to assist the government in terms of intelligence work in campus.

The Chinese consulate always tries to control the CSSA directly through funding student activities and consultations. The purpose of providing money is to manipulate Chinese students to monitor social

⁵⁸ Anders Corr, "Ban Official Chinese Student Organizations Abroad," Forbes, June 4, 2017,

http://www.forbes.com/sites/anderscorr/2017/06/04/ban-official-chinese-student-organizations-abroad/

movements, Falun Gong, other dissidents and get related foreign information directly through the CSSA. Basically, offering money is a tacit agreement between the Chinese consulates and the CSSAs, but, in principle, those associations are established in Australia should not take the money of the foreign (Chinese) government, since the CSSAs are registered in Australia not in China, they should comply with the laws of the local country.

(B) Use overseas Chinese student patriotism

Meriden Varrall, Director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy, published a report titled "A Chinese Threat to Australian Openness" in the *New York Times* on 31 July 2017. The article mentions that the Chinese consulates not only monitor local Chinese scholars and international students, but also encourage CSSA students to report the people who publicly disagree with and criticizes the Chinese government.

There are currently about 150,000 visiting Chinese students studying in Australia. Since many overseas Chinese students have internalized the CCP's ideology and pro-Beijing position, they are angry and feel disgusted with the classroom or seminar of Japanese issues, cross-strait issues, Tibet issues, the South China Sea issues and even human rights issues. Moreover, they will try to stifle openness and debate in classroom.⁵⁹ This phenomenon is detrimental to Australia's freedom and openness of higher education environment. If the CCP intends to incite Chinese students' nationalism, then the freedom of academia and speech in the campus of Australian universities will be seriously challenged.

Merriden Varrall, "A Chinese Threat to Australian Openness," *The New York Times*, July 31, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/31/opinion/australia-chinese-students.html

IV. Can Australia Dull Chinese Sharp Power with United Front Work?

In recent years, China has spent a lot of money in Australia to set up Confucius Institutes and providing funds, grants and scholarships to sweeten scholars and students. Also, China is trying to influence political parties for interference, to manipulate the media for propaganda, to bribe politicians for political lobby for infiltration, to hire retired prime ministers, ministers, members of parliament, etc. with huge political contributions and high salary for working for policy influence. Those China's blatant behavior of interference and infiltration in Australia are incredible. This situation may damage Australia's national security.

Australians are increasingly concerned about China's growing influence in the country. According to "Dollars and Democracy Database" of the Law School at the University of Melbourne and the data from Australian Electoral Commission, there are almost 80% foreign political donations made to Australia are linked to China since the year 2000. Chinese donors poured just over 12.6 million into the Australian political process from 2000 to 2016, which represented 79.3% of all foreign donations, according to the analysis by the Dollars and Democracy Database of Melbourne Law School. An analysis of Australian Electoral Commission data suggests an overwhelming proportion of the millions spent by foreign donors comes from Chinese nationals or entities.

Under the influence of China's sharp power with money as its carrier, China's economic infiltration and political intervention is everywhere in Australia, which directly affects the direction of Australia's foreign policy.

⁶⁰ Luke Henriques Gomes, "Nearly 80 per cent of foreign political donations come from China, data shows," *The New Daily*, December 10, 2017, http://www.thenewdaily.com.au/news/national/2017/12/10/chinese-donations-australia/

Theoretically, transparency is the best defense to China's sharp power.⁶¹ In addition to Australian media's exposure of China's offensive behavior, the current Australian government's countermeasures are as follows:

A. Strengthen information/intelligence organization

Australia is concerned about foreign political interference, which will affect national security; In this respect, the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) has decided to fully investigate the intelligence system. The investigation plan will be led by Australia's former intelligence director Dennis Richardson, who will examine how the state and local intelligence agencies share information and data. Moreover, the relevant units at home and abroad will also cooperate with this action. Christian Porter, the Australian attorney general, also said that the investigation will be the ASIO's largest inspection operation since the 1970. Australia is affected by espionage and foreign intervention, the issue of national security continues to change, intelligence units need to have the ability to play as efficient organizations and tools to ensure national security in Australia. The ASIO director Duncan Lewis mentioned that the seriousness of contemporary espionage is more than in the Cold War, the current foreign intervention in Australia is on an unprecedented scale and attempts to influence and shape the perspectives of Australian.⁶²

⁶¹ Editorial Staff, "What to do about China's sharp power," *The Economist*, December 14, 2017,

http://www.economist.com/leaders/2017/12/14/what-to-do-about-chinas-sharp-power Tara Francis Chan, "Australia's intelligence chief warns of 'unprecedented' foreign interference with more spies now than during the Cold War," *Business Insider*, May 24, 2018,

http://www.businessinsider.com/australian-intelligence-head-sounds-alarm-over-unprecedented-foreign-interference-2018-5

B. Establish the anti-espionage department

The Australian Department of Home Affairs currently established a National Counter Foreign Interference Division that will include the ASIO, the Federal Police (AFP), the Department of Defense, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and other key Government agencies for fighting against foreign espionage. Furthermore, for improving the ability to respond to external threats and subversives, the Australian Government directly set a position for the "National Counter Foreign Interference Coordinator" inside the Ministry of Home Affairs in June 2018, which is similar to the position of the Australian Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, engaged in anti-foreign espionage policies, actions and community interactions.⁶³ The new team for anti-espionage project composed by ASIO and AFP will operate in the light of the current model of Joint Counter Terrorism Taskforce. According to the model, the federal police will send agents to join the joint anti-espionage task force, follow the operation of the FBI's anti-espionage department, investigating suspects who spy on target government on behalf of their governments.

C. Prevent subversion by legislation

Australian law originally did not prohibit political donations from other countries. The Australian government knew clearly about where the political donations were from and by whom. However, the political donations from China alone were opaque, and the Australian authorities did not know its sources and channels. That is to say, since China uses various methods to cover up the sources of fund, Australia has to reveal the facts through legalization. Therefore, the Australian authorities introduced the Electoral

⁶³ Nick McKenzie and Richard Baker, "AFP and ASIO to co-operate on China investigations," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, January 30, 2018, http://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/afp-and-asio-to-co-operate-on-china-investigations-20180129-p4yz0n.html

Legislation Amendment (Electoral Funding and Disclosure Reform) Bill 2017, trying to separate political donations from home and abroad to curb foreign intervention in internal affairs.

Additionally, in June 2018, the Australian government has articulated National Security Law Amendment followed the legislation and application of the US Foreign Agents Registration Act, ⁶⁴ which includes Anti-Espionage Law and Anti-Foreign Interference Law. In the new Bill, Australian government clearly states that all foreign companies or individuals are not allowed to provide political donations. ⁶⁵ Those who work for foreign government(s) or foreign institution(s) need to register, and people who interfere with Australian democratic development, policy direction, political rights or obligations will also be considered a crime, even if they are not involved in espionage.

D. Reinforce democratic education

Some newly Chinese immigrants in Western democracies still remain loyal to the CCP and hold nationalist sentiments towards China. Western democracies must pay special attention to the CCP's united front policy against the Chinese diaspora, because the counter-intelligence activities of the united front will threaten dissidents in overseas Chinese communities and challenge local democratic values. ⁶⁶ Frankly, the Australian government's legislative approach as a preventive measure cannot fully

⁶⁴ Foreign Agents Registration Act is a United States law passed in 1938 requiring that agents representing the interests of foreign powers in a "political or quasi-political capacity" disclose their relationship with the foreign government and information about related activities and finances. Refer to Justice, National Security Division, U.S. Department of "Foreign Agents Registration Unit (FARA)," http://www.fara.gov

⁶⁵ Michelle Grattan, "China furious, as Government and Labor unite on barriers against foreign interference," *ABC News*, June 8, 2018, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-06-08/china-angry-australian-anti-espionage-laws-polit ical-unity/9848116

⁶⁶ Jonas Parello-Plesner and Belinda Li, op. cit., p. 46.

counter foreign intervention, infiltration and subversion. Facing China's means of united front, democratic countries should enhance the democratic value of civil society through education and arouse public awareness to maintain a transparent, free and open democratic society. This would be best defense against China's sharp power.

E. Consolidate alliance relations

In response to China's subversion of democratic Australia, the most important thing is to call on the democratic countries to join hands to boycott China's red penetration. Australia's national security is mainly based on the alliance with the US. The Australian "2016 National Defence White Paper" ⁶⁷ and the "2017 Foreign Policy White Paper" ⁶⁸ both emphasize the importance of ensuring and strengthening the US-Australian alliance as the main axis of Australia's security strategy. This is also a basis for Canberra to engage with China and to construct a stable Australia-China relationship.

Obviously, Australia is strengthening the foundation of the US-Australian alliance for its interaction with China. Australia as an important power in the South Pacific region is targeted by China on strategic level in terms of the southward stretch of "One Belt, One Road" Initiative. Beijing, in recent years, tends to see Australia as its "big backyard" and tries to push the country to deviate from America's orbit and become an ally of China's hegemony.⁶⁹ Other than the aforesaid situation, for the purpose of shutting out China's technological sharp power in the South Pacific region, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands have signed on to a joint

⁶⁷ Australian Government, *2016 Defense White Paper* (Canberra: Department of Defense, 2016), pp. 14, 41-43.

⁶⁸ Australian Government, 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper: Opportunity, Security, Strength (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2017), p. 7.

⁶⁹ Jonas Parello-Plesner and Belinda Li, op. cit., p. 4.

undersea internet cable project, funded mostly by Australia, that forestalls plans by Chinese Huawei Technologies Co Ltd (華為技術有限公司) to lay the links itself. Some observers believe the decision was not only due to security concerns but also to counter China's growing influence in the region, particularly its use of loans and grants to build infrastructure projects. ⁷⁰

As Malcolm Davis, a defense analyst from the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), once mentioned, Beijing is "trying to intimidate" Australia. Likewise, Beijing is also trying to gain a strategic advantage in the region. "Ultimately, their goal is to have Australia become more pro-China, less pro-US, align with Beijing and distance itself from the US and ultimately end the alliance."

F. Transfer economic and trade market from China to India

Because Australia's economy and trade are quite relying on China's market, China (the CCP) can use the economic united front means (sharp power) to infiltrate and influence Australia's political society, economic development and foreign policy decisions. Moreover, during the US-China trade war currently, the economy and trade of Australia will be influenced by the spillover effect of the trade war. In order to avoid being infiltrated and affected by China's sharp power and the US-Sino trade war, Australia announced the report of "An India Economic Strategy to 2035" in April

⁷⁰ Liam Fox, "Australia, Solomon Islands, PNG sign undersea cable deal amid criticism from China," ABC News, July 12, 2018,

from China," ABC News, July 12, 2018 http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-07-12/australia-solomon-islands-png-sign-undersea-ca

ble-deal/9983102

Pail Birtles, "China lodges official complaint after Malcolm Turnbull's comments about foreign interference," ABC News, December 9, 2017, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-12-09/china-lodges-official-complaint-after-turnbulls-comments/9242630

2018,⁷² trying to improve the current situation of over-reliance on China's import/export market. The report planned to upgrade India to the top three import/export target market of Australia by 2035 to reduce the crisis of Australia's over-reliance on China's economic market.

According to Singapore's *The Straits Times*, the US-Sino trade war escalates, raising tariffs will result in the loss of 500 billion Australian dollars and 60,000 jobs of Australia in 10 years. Even if the trade war is no longer upgraded, Australia's GDP will fall by 0.3%, and the economic loss will be as high as 36 billion Australian dollars in five years.⁷³ In order to avoid national security from the impact of the Chinese sharp power (economic united front work) and the US-Sino trade war, the Australian government is full of confidence in strengthening bilateral economic and trade relations with India. It even believes that India should be preferred rather than China as a priority economic partner for the next 20 years.

The Australian authorities have now actively guarded against the impact of China's sharp power and wedge strategic operations in internal and external affairs. However, how to safeguard human rights and avoid witch hunting when confronting China's sharp power invasion within an open society is still a topic to be addressed. How can we consolidate the alliance to respond to China's offensive influence in the world? Not only Australia, but all democratic countries must face this question while engaging with a more aggressive China.

Peter N. Varghese AO, *An India Economic Strategy to 2035: Navigating from Potential to Delivery* (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia, 2018), https://dfat.gov.au/geo/india/ies/pdf/dfat-an-india-economic-strategy-to-2035.pdf

Jonathan Pearlman, "Australia fears fallout from US-China trade war," *The Straits Times*, September 29, 2018, http://https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/australianz/australia-fears-fallout-from-us-china-trade-war

V. Conclusion

The expansion of China's sharp power is mainly to influence and interfere the democracies through economic platform, and to infiltrate and divide the internal and external affairs of the target states through wedge strategic thinking. Beijing's purpose is to unite pro-China democracies to shrink the influence of the US in the region to gain the strategic leverage against the US.

In general, the results of China's economic infiltration and political intervention in democracies are sometimes difficult to observe, and their consequences are also unable to be recognized easily. Australia's response to China's invasion of sharp power was described by Beijing authorities as "irresponsible and paranoid." However, should the means did not have a substantial effect, Beijing would probably not have spent big money to buy influence in the first place. The truth is such "Chinese magic" does generate a certain political and economic rewards. However, there are just few China's clandestine activities of infiltration and subversion brought to light. Thus, the issue of China's behavior of wedge strategy under sharp power in the world still needs more time to observe and study.

Tolerance is set on the core value of our democracy, but political philosopher Karl Popper in his book of *Open Society and Its Enemies* mentioned that "unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance." Nevertheless, sharp power under authoritarianism is designated to do the opposite. Tolerance may no longer be a merit when the beliefs of the democratic system may be jeopardized by sharp power. Specifically, appeasement towards China's silent invasion of democracies will eventually lead to the collapse of entire democratic values and the erosion of national sovereignty, since the CCP is commonly hold a hostile attitude towards the idea of open society. The Australian case has already rung the bell through media, news and reports worldwide. Governments and citizens in the democratic world now look at themselves and try to re-examine the activities of the CCP within their own national borders.

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(請依個別刊物實際出刊項目,完整臚列)

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十一、 學位論文

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- (一)中文:作者姓名,〈篇名〉,發表於○○○研討會(地點:主辦單位,舉辦年月日),頁 x 或頁 x-x。
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十三、官方文件

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(若為社論、短評、通訊稿或作者匿名,則可不列作者欄)

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- (四) 英文雜誌: Author's full name, "Title of the Article," *Title of the Magazine*, Date, Page x or pp.x-x.

範例

張晏彰,〈臺美夥伴關係 印太安定力量〉,《青年日報》,2019 年6月19日,版3。

陳文樹、〈澎湖空軍基地的設立和演進〉、《中華民國的空軍》、 2019年6月12日,頁21。

Jason Pan, "Defense think tank inaugurated," *Taipei Times*, May 2, 2018, p.3.

Office of Defense Studies, "Commentary: 2012 Pentagon Report on Mainland China's Military Development," *Defense Security Brief*, July 2012, p.9.

十五、網際網路資料

- (一)請依照個別線上網站實際資訊,詳細臚列。
- (二)引用網路版報紙的一般報導,無須註明版次,但須附上網址,其餘體例不變。
- (三)引用電子報紙雜誌評論文章,或電子學術期刊論文,在 頁碼後面註明網址,其餘體例不變,無頁碼者得省略之。
- (四)直接引用機構網站的內容,請註明文章標題、機構名稱,日期與網址。

(五)中文:

1. 專書:作者姓名,《書名》(出版地:出版者,出版年),

《網站名稱》,網址。

- 2. 論文:作者姓名、〈篇名〉、《刊物名稱》,第 x 卷第 x 期, 年月,頁 x 或頁 x-x、《網站名稱》,網址。
- 3. 官方文件:官署機構、〈文件名稱〉(行政命令類)或《文件 名稱》(法律類),卷期(案號),日期,頁x或頁x-x、《網站名稱》,網址。
- 4. 報導:作者姓名,〈篇名〉,《媒體名稱》,日期,網址。 範例

王業立編,《臺灣民主之反思與前瞻》(臺北市:臺灣民主基金會, 2016 年),《台灣民主基金會》, http://www.tfd.org.tw/export/sites/tfd/files/download/book201608 30.pdf。

舒孝煌,〈美陸戰隊 F-35B 前進遠征與輕型航艦部署〉,《國防情勢月報》,143 期,2019 年 5 月,頁 36,《國防安全研究院》,https://indsr.org.tw/Download/%E5%9C%8B%E9%98%B2%E6%83%85%E5%8B%A2%E6%9C%88%E5%A0%B1-143.pdf。中華民國國防部,《106 年國防報告書》,2017 年 12 月,頁 1,《中華民國國防部》,https://www.mnd.gov.tw/NewUpload/歷年國防報告書網頁專區/歷年國防報告書專區.files/國防報告書-106/國防報告書-106-中文.pdf。

游凱翔,〈國防安全研究院掛牌 唯一國家級國防智庫〉,《中央社 》 , 2018 年 5 月 1 日 , https://www.cna.com.tw/news/aipl/201805010122.aspx。

(六)外文:

- 1. 專書:Author(s)' full name, *Complete title of the book* (Place of publication: Publisher, Year), p. x or pp. x-x, URL.
- 2. 論文:Author(s)' full name, "Title of the article," *Name of the Periodical*, Vol. x, No. x, Date, p.x or pp.x-x, URL.
- 3. 報導:Author's full name, "Title of the article," Name of the Media, Month Day, Year, URL.

範例

Robert D. Blackwill, *Trump's Foreign Policies Are Better Than They Seem* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2019), p. 1, https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/CSR%2 084_Blackwill_Trump_0.pdf.

Ralph A. Cossa, "Regional Overview: CVID, WMD, and Elections Galore," *Comparative Connections: A Quarterly E-Journal on East Asian Bilateral Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 1, April 2004, p.1,

http://cc.pacforum.org/2004/04/cvid-wmd-elections-galore/.

Colin Clark, "Mattis' Defense Strategy Raises China To Top Threat: Allies Feature Prominently," *BreakingDefense*, January 18, 2018,

https://breakingdefense.com/2018/01/mattis-military-strategy-raises-china-to-top-threat-allies-feature-prominently/

十六、第二次引註之格式

首次引註須註明完整之資料來源(如前述各案例),第二次以後之引註可採以下任一格式:

- (一)作者姓名,《書刊名稱》或〈篇名〉,或特別註明之「簡稱」,頁 x-x。
- (二)如全文中僅引該作者單一作品,可簡略為——作者,前引書(或前引文),頁 x 或頁 x-x。
- (Ξ) 某一註解再次被引述,簡略為——同註 x,頁 x 或 x-x。
- (四) 英文資料第二次引註原則相同: op. cit., p.x or pp.x-x(前引書,頁x或頁x-x。)
- (五) Ibid. p.x or pp.x-x. (同前註,頁 x 或頁 x-x。) 十七、文末之參考文獻
 - (一)參考文獻原則上與第一次引述的註釋體例格式相同,惟書籍、研討會論文及博碩士論文無須註明頁數。
 - (二) 所有文獻依前述註釋類別排列,並依中文、英文、

其他語文先後排序。

- (三)中文著作依作者姓氏筆畫排序,英文著作依作者姓氏字 母排序。
- (四)將書籍專章列為參考書目時,依專章作者排序。
- (五)翻譯作品依翻譯語文類別,中文譯作按譯者姓氏筆畫排序,英文譯作按原作者姓氏字母排列。
- (六)同一作者有多篇著作被引用時,按出版時間先後排序。
- (七)每一書目均採第一行凸排2字元。

出版源由

衡諸 21 世紀國防事務發展趨勢,為整合國防政策之專業研究能量,拓展國際交流合作,以提升整體國防思維,建構符合國家發展、最適資源配置之政策建議,國防部參酌各先進國家國防智庫運作與發展經驗,捐助設立「財團法人國防安全研究院」,並發行本刊。本院設立宗旨:

- 一、增進國防安全研究與分析。
- 二、提供專業政策資訊與諮詢。
- 三、拓展國防事務交流與合作。
- 四、促進國際戰略溝通與對話。

本刊係國防安全研究院所發行之綜合性政策學術期刊,旨在提供國防安全研究專家與學者之專業諮詢與討論平台,提升我國國防安全研究能量。

稿約

- 一、《戰略與評估》以探討國防事務、區域安全情勢及戰略研究等議題為宗旨,每年三、六、九、十二月出刊。本刊歡迎學有專精之學者、專家踴躍投稿。
- 二、論文請依一般學術論文規格撰寫,使用註解,說明來源,並以另紙書明中英文題目、姓名,兩百字以內之中英文摘要及四個關鍵詞。文長以一至二萬字為宜。來稿請附電子檔。來稿請一併示知服務單位、職稱、主要學經歷、研究專長、聯絡地址和電話。
- 三、本刊採隨到隨審方式,無截稿日期之限制。來稿均須經本刊正式審稿程 序,本刊對來稿有編輯與刪改權。
- 四、請作者自留原稿影本或電子檔,來稿未刊登者,本刊恕不退件。
- 五、本刊恕不刊登翻譯著作。
- 六、凡本刊刊登之論文,版權歸本刊所有;本刊所載文章為作者個人之意見, 僅供學術研究發展之參考,不代表本單位及任何機關政策或立場。
- 七、來稿如有違反著作權法,作者負完全之法律責任,另本刊不接受作者申 訴。
- 八、稿件請以掛號郵寄「10048臺北市中正區博愛路 172號『戰略與評估』編輯部」或電子郵件寄至 dsaj@indsr.org.tw。



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