



美國霸權的崛起歷程與海權論

The Rise of US Hegemony and The Influence of Sea Power upon History

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提 要

- 一、「海權論」原兼具帝國主義與霸權主義本質。「海權論」使美修正門羅主義，實踐帝國主義，而定於「以市場為中心的霸權主義」。
 - 1.The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660~1783 by Mahan carries the essence of both imperialism and hegemonism. Mahanism enabled the US to amend Monroeism, implement imperialism, and finally settle on market-centered hegemonism.
- 二、自一戰起，美國以「自決」與「全球開放」為其外交政策的指導原則；二戰後加以落實爭取全球經貿市場、海洋航道向美國開放。
 - 2.Since WWI, the US had adopted "self-determination" and "global openness" as the guidelines of its foreign policies; after WWII, the US put the guidelines into practice to win access to global markets and sea-lanes.
- 三、如果「全球開放」是美霸權骨幹，「海權論」可說是美國實踐「全球開放」、崛起成為霸權，並維持今日霸權於不墜的最重要憑藉。
 - 3.If "global openness" is the backbone of US hegemony, then Mahanism would be the key to America's global openness, rise to hegemony and preservation of contemporary superpower status.
- 四、當今美國提倡價值信念全球化的努力，有助於全球霸權地位的永久化。在「鈍性結盟」策略指導下，美國勢必更加依賴海軍武力。
 - 4.The US efforts for the globalization of its traditional values would help the perpetuation of its superpower status. With the guidance of "alliance-insensitive" strategy, the US will rely on its naval power more than ever.
- 五、美國的新海權思維正朝向全球海洋民主聯盟與掌握河岸環境發展；有助於美國在全球化時代鞏固霸權地位、延緩或阻礙多極體系的形成。
 - 5.America's thoughts on sea power is heading toward forging a League of Global Maritime Democracies and controlling the riverine environment, which would help the US consolidate its hegemony and defer or hinder the development of a multi-polar system.

關鍵詞：霸權主義、海權論、門戶開放、全球開放、全球化、美利堅治世

Keywords: hegemonism, Mahanism, Open Door policy, global openness, globalization, Pax Americana.



壹、前 言

1. Preface

「霸權」(hegemony)一詞源自於希臘，原義乃指政治上的領導地位；^{註一}即使在現代，霸權主義(hegemonism)仍遵循原義，指某國家、地區或集團以其優勢政治經濟影響力，支配其他國家的局面。^{註二}無論是冷戰時代的兩極對抗格局，或後冷戰時代的「一超多強」格局，美國都是名符其實的霸權。美國崛起成為霸權的歷史過程，與「海權論」有密切而曲折的關係。或有人以為出版於1890年的「海權論」早已過時，與現代國際文明社會脫節；然而觀諸美國今日在國際社會中種種鞏固優越地位的措施，仍與掌握全球海權息息相關。故而要探究美國之所以崛起成為霸權，以及今日維持霸權地位於不墜，仍然必須從「海權論」著手。甚至於當今的「全球化」，實由於美國憑藉「海權論」崛起成為霸權後，致力推動「全球開放」，因而建立全球化的政經體系，才有今日席捲全球之風潮。

"Hegemony" is a Greek word; originally it meant political leadership. Even contemporary definition of hegemonism still follows the original meaning and means the existence of dominance of one country, region, or group, with its superior political and economic influence, over another or others. In the past bipolarized Cold-War era and in the current diversified post Cold-War era alike, the US has always been a bona fide hegemony. Mahanism had made substantial and

sophisticated contribution to America's rise to hegemony. Some may argue that the work of Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660~1783*, published in 1890, is so obsolete that it has long been irrelevant to current world. However, it is discernible that America's measures to consolidate its predominance in the international community have a lot to do with advancing its grasp of the global sea power. Therefore, to explore how the US gained and maintains its hegemony, one still has to start with Mahanism. In fact, Mahanism has also contributed to the tide of globalization. It is Mahanism that enabled the US to ascend to hegemony, promote global openness, and facilitate the construction of global political and economic system, paving the way for the sweeping tide of globalization.

貳、19世紀——立足美洲、亞太擴張與「海權論」

2. 19th Century-Footing in US, Expansion in Asia and Mahanism

一、美國의立國與立足美洲

(1) Founding of the US and Gaining a Footing in America

促成美國崛起成為霸權的因素可以一直追溯到1776年，北美十三州殖民地居民脫離大英帝國時所鼓吹的「自決」主張；此實亦即美國賴以立國的核心價值。拿破崙戰爭(1804-1815)期間，歐洲諸帝國忙於相互征戰，無暇顧及美洲「新世界」的殖民地，是

註一 Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p66 note 2.

註二 The Free Dictionary, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/hegemony>；維基網站<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hegemonism>

以19世紀初拉丁美洲獨立運動才得以蓬勃發展。鑒於中南美洲許多原受西班牙殖民的民族，紛紛要求獨立；美國乃趁勢援引「自決」的道德價值，於1822年時承認許多民族的獨立國家地位。當俄國、法國、西班牙等列強重新站穩腳根，想重回美洲這個「新世界」再次建立殖民地時，美國門羅(James Monroe)總統乃於1823年警告歐洲列強，任何對美洲事務的干擾，都會被美國視為對其和平與安全的嚴重威脅；此即著名的「門羅主義」。^{註三}因此，美國以「自決」道德價值為名承認中南美洲的新共和國，加速西、法等舊帝國勢力在美洲的瓦解；而「門羅主義」則強調美洲是美洲人的美洲，一則阻斷歐洲列強在美洲重新建立殖民地的意圖，二則確保美國在美洲崛起的基礎。

The origins of the American hegemony can be traced to the values of self-determination on which the US was founded in 1776 in revolt by the settlers in the thirteen states against the European monarchy. "Self-determination" is the nucleus values upon which the US was founded. During the Napoleonic Wars (1804-1815), the European empires fought one another and had little time to look after their colonies in the "new world." As a result, independence movements thrived in Latin America in the 19th century. Many Spanish colonies in Central and South America requested for their independence one after another. Taking advantage of the favorable situation and citing the values of self-determination, the US began to extend recognition to the

new Latin American nations in 1822. When the Great Britain, France and Spain sought to reclaim their New World colonies, US President James Monroe issued a solemn warning to European powers that any interference in the internal affairs of the Americas would be considered by the US "as dangerous to our peace and safety." This later became the famous "Monroe Doctrine" or Monroeism. Hence the US extended recognitions to new republics in the name of liberal "self-determination" to speed up the collapse of the influence of the European powers in Latin America, and that the Monroe Doctrine served to prevent the European powers from regaining colonies and hereby ensure a base for the US to rise in America.

美國的門羅主義固然鞏固了美洲地盤，卻也孤立了自己，阻斷美國向海洋發展的機會。一直到1865年內戰結束後，美國仍專注於國內事務整建，不重視外交關係與海外利益。^{註四}同時，美政府也貶抑軍隊、大幅度裁減軍備。雖然內戰後的重建需求使景氣逐漸復甦，國內的迅速工業化也使製造業及商業領袖將眼光投向海外市場；然而，美國海軍卻自內戰結束後就被遺忘了；直到1880年代末期，美海軍仍任其艦艇在港內閒置荒廢，毫無振作意圖。^{註五}

Monroeism helped the US consolidate its footing in America; it also isolated the US from pursuing interests overseas, however. Even until the Civil War ended in 1865, the US was still preoccupied with affairs at home and did not pay

^{註三} 美國國務院，The Monroe Doctrine (1823)[網際網路] ([上網日 Aug 9 2002])，網址<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/50.htm>

^{註四} 鈕先鍾，西方戰略思想史（臺北：麥田，1995），頁394。

^{註五} Alton A. Lovvorn, Maritime Strategy Into The Twenty-First Century，網址<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1991/LAA.htm>



much attention to diplomatic relations and interests abroad. At the same time, the US government depreciated the values of the military and slashed its forces. Although the requirement for post-Civil War reconstruction helped the boom of the economy, and the rapid industrialization made manufacturers and business leaders cast their eyes to overseas markets, the US Navy had been forgotten after the Civil War ended. Until the late 1880s, the US Navy's wooden hulls were left rotting in the harbors and any thought of a maritime strategy was discarded quickly as the nation turned inward.

二、馬漢「海權論」的本質

(2) The Essence of Mahanism

工業革命自17世紀末發源於英國後，促使歐洲各帝國以驚人的速度發展並擴張。1860年代起，蒸汽動力更取代了風帆，強化了列強在全球經濟基礎上為財富和帝國命運而鬥爭的動能。艦艇航程因受燃煤站位置限制，歐洲各帝國對海外基地的需求更加殷切，自然加深了殖民地對帝國擴張的重要性。所謂帝國主義，原義即指歐洲各工業化帝國在海外掠奪殖民地以遂行擴張的政策。

^{註六} 因此，海權乃成為帝國主義的重要工具；而爭奪殖民地風潮自1880年代起進入史上最為澎湃洶湧之時期。

The industrial revolution originated in the United Kingdom in the late 17th century and promoted the European imperial powers to develop and expand with amazing speed. Since the 1860s, steam replaced sail as the driving force of ves-

sels, reinforcing the dynamics of the powers to struggle for imperial wealth and destiny on the basis of global economy. Because the voyage of vessels was greatly restricted by the positions of coaling stations, the European empires were even hungrier for overseas bases, aggrandizing the significance of colonies to the expansion of empires. Imperialism originally meant the industrialized European empires' policy of forcibly acquiring dependent territories for overseas expansion. Consequently, sea power had become an important tool of imperialism; and, since the 1880s, the competition for colonies became more intense than ever.

除落後的非洲早已幾乎全部陷入「人為刀俎，我為魚肉」的被殖民悲慘命運外，亞洲諸國也正紛紛淪落為帝國主義荼毒的目標。此外，尚有包括英國在內的一些歐洲列強，仍存有再次染指美洲的意圖。此發展一方面促使美國政府不斷重申「門羅主義」，抗拒歐洲帝國主義的入侵。^{註七} 然而另一方面帝國殖民主義所造成的國家富強，卻也啟發馬漢(Alfred Thayer Mahan)於1890年出版「海權論」(即"The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660~1783,「1660~1783海權對歷史的影響」)。

In addition to backward Africa where almost every piece of land had been seized by the European powers, many Asian nations were falling into preys of the imperialists. Moreover, some European powers, including the United Kingdom, still intended to target America for colonies.

^{註六} 各派學者對於帝國主義的定義繁多，有所謂舊帝國主義、新帝國主義、經濟帝國主義、文化帝國主義等主張；惟帝國主義的發展及流派演變並非本文探討重點，乃不予深究。本文謹依時序發展，取帝國主義在19世紀中晚期之典型原貌為定義標準。

^{註七} 英國向來反對「門羅主義」最力，一直到德國威脅日增，歐洲戰雲密佈，為拉攏美國，方於1911年承認「門羅主義」；參見馬漢，海軍戰略論（臺北，三軍大學，1989），頁15、77、98。

The tide of colonization on the one hand pushed the US government to reiterate the Monroe Doctrine to resist the European imperialism. On the other hand, the wealth and strength acquired from imperialism inspired Alfred Thayer Mahan to publish in 1890 his immortal work, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660~1783*.

眾所皆知，馬漢經由研究英、法、荷等強權崛起歷史而發現世界貿易、領土擴張，和海權是使國家強大的鎖鑰；此書也是史上第一部以爭奪制海權、殲滅敵人艦隊、控制海洋為首要任務的海權理論。他特別分析英國之所以能夠在18、19世紀稱霸，是因為它控制了世界的主要水道，除了巴拿馬運河之外，這些水道形成了大英帝國的運輸網路，促進英國在各地的貿易活動，與造就龐大的艦隊和船隊。經由英國的經驗和啟發，馬漢力促美國必須修正門羅主義，走出美洲迎向世界，進而控制重要海洋通道，才可獲得商業利益與國家利益。馬漢對海權所下的定義為：「海權在廣義上不但包括以武力控制海上任何地點的海軍力量，亦包括平時的商業與航運」。^{註八}因此，海權即為國家在海洋使用中的廣泛商業利益。^{註九}

As everyone knows, based on his research on the history of the rise of the United Kingdom, France and Holland, Mahan argues that world trade, territory expansion and sea power are the keys to national greatness. Mahan's work is also the first sea power theory that sets competing for command of the sea, annihilating enemy fleets and controlling the sea as the primary goals of naval actions. According to his observation and analysis, the reason that the UK ascended to

superpower in the 18th and 19th centuries was because it controlled the major sea-lanes of the world. These sea-lanes, except the Panama Canal, constituted the British transportation network, facilitated the British trade with the world, and helped the UK build up the magnificent merchant ships and the Royal Navy. Inspired by the success of the UK, Mahan strongly urged the US to modify the Monroe Doctrine, to walk out of America and explore the world, so as to control the major sea-lanes and augment commercial and national interests. Mahan defined sea power in the broad sense as including "not only the military strength afloat, that rules the sea or any part of it by force of arms, but also the peaceful commerce and shipping from which alone a military fleet naturally and healthfully springs, and on which it securely rests." Therefore, sea power represents immense commercial interests in the use of the sea.

然而世人所不熟悉的是馬漢對戰爭的道德觀及其對帝國主義的讚頌。美戰略學家黑騰賓特(John B. Hattendorf)對於馬漢的戰爭理念作出如后評論：

However, the world is not familiar with Mahan's sense of morality on war and his praise of imperialism. John B. Hattendorf, an American strategic, commented on Mahan's views on wars as follows:

在大多數著作中，馬漢所表達的觀念都是戰爭合理與否應視其結果而定。在1890年到1905之間，世界舞臺上所表演的一切都證明其信念，那也就是認為在目前及可預見的將來，戰爭還是有利的。在第一次海牙和平

^{註八} 馬漢，*海權對歷史的影響*（臺北：海軍學術月刊社，1990），頁23。

^{註九} John B. Hattendorf, "馬漢及其戰略思想", 收錄於「*海洋戰略與權力平衡*」(*Maritime Strategy and the Balance of Power*), John B. Hattendorf與Robert S. Jorjoan合編（臺北：海軍學術月刊社譯印，1994），頁85。



會議後，馬漢對於戰爭的道義方面曾評論如后：

在過去一步一步，人已依賴刀劍升到高位；而其最近的收穫，以及現有的情況，都顯示還沒有到踢掉一向替他服務的梯子。

註十

…馬漢是忠實地相信贏得戰爭的人，經常是那些具有道德目標，並為人群福利而戰的人：在美國奴隸已經為戰爭的解放；普魯士的戰爭曾帶來文化和政治的統一，加上偉大的經濟工業進步。人道的號召要求發動一個戰爭，以來結束西班牙在古巴和菲律賓的統治，正向公平待遇、聯合、平等成為英國人發動南非戰爭的理由一樣。…

僅當一個人對戰爭的觀察是以某一種戰爭為焦點，而且又確信帝國的統治是以歐洲和基督價值為基礎，他才會有這樣的觀念。根據這些基本假定，馬漢遂認為海軍權力是一種對民族競爭有貢獻的積極力量，並相信那代表「世界的最佳希望」。^{註十一}

Mahan, in the bulk of his writing, expresses the view that war is justified by its results. The events which were performed on the world stage between 1890 and 1905 confirmed his belief that warfare would be beneficial in the present and foreseeable future. Writing on the moral aspect of warfare at the time of the First Hague Peace Conference, he wrote:

Step by step in the past, man has ascended

by means of the sword, and his more recent gains, as well as present conditions, show that the time has not yet come to kick down the ladder, which has so far served him.

…Mahan had sincerely believed that war had always been fought and won by those with a moral purpose and for the good of all: the slaves had been freed by war in America; Prussia's wars had brought cultural and political unity accompanied by great economic and industrial progress. The call of humanity demanded a war to end Spanish rule in Cuba and in the Philippines, just as fair treatment, union and equality justified British action in the Boer War. …

Such a view can only come from a man whose observations of war were conditioned by focusing on one type of warfare and were paralleled by continuing faith in imperial rule based on European and Christian values. With these basic assumptions, Mahan described naval power as one of the positive forces which contributed to the rivalry of nations and which he believed represented 'the best hopes of the world.'

英、法等舊帝國主義者早於19世紀左右紛提出所謂「白人的負擔」、「神聖的使命」、「優等民族教化劣等民族之責」、與「積極的利他主義」等口號或說詞，以爭取國內民眾支持其政府自利的帝國殖民侵略政策。^{註十二}馬漢起而仿效英、法，在海權論一

註十 Alfred Thayer Mahan, Lessons of the War with Spain and Other Articles (Little, Brown, and Company, 1899), p230.

註十一 John B. Hattendorf, "Alfred Thayer Mahan and His Strategic Thought," in Maritime Strategy and the Balance of Power, ed. John B. Hattendorf and Robert S. Jordan (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), p85-86; John B. Hattendorf, "馬漢及其戰略思想", in 海洋戰略與權力平衡, ed. John B. Hattendorf and Robert S. Jordan, 海軍軍事參考譯著041 (臺北：海軍學術月刊社，1994)，p83-84.

註十二 Sidney Lens, The Forging of the American Empire: A History of American Imperialism from the Revolution to Vietnam (London: Pluto, 2003), p165-66; Parker Thomas Moon, Imperialism and World Politics (New York: Garland Publishing, 1973), p73-74. 「白人的負擔」原係英國人Rudyard Kipling所創觀念，「優等民族教化劣等民族之責」則源自法國。顯然美國人承襲英法兩國之口號與動機。

書中以道德的義務為藉口，爭取國內民眾支持美國政府走向帝國主義。^{註三}馬漢對戰爭的道德觀及其對帝國主義的讚頌，顯示「海權論」的本質為帝國主義。

Old imperialists such as the UK and France had already proffered in the 19th century such slogans or terms as "white man's burden," "divine commission," "[duty of the] superior [race] of civilizing the inferior races," and "aggressive altruism" to win domestic support of the government's self-interested policies for imperialistic colonization and aggression of other weak nations. Following the British and French predecessors, Mahan urged the American people, under the pretext of moral obligations, to support the US government's imperialism. His viewpoints of war morality and his praise of imperialism indicate that the essence of Mahanism is imperialism.

此外，馬漢在「美國現在及未來的海權利益」一書中主張：「藉由海上貿易及海軍優勢控制海洋，意味著坐擁支配世界的影響力」。^{註四}馬漢在「海權論」及許多相關的著作中，反覆陳述一個海權國家藉由控制世界的港口、海峽、及海上交通，因而能控制海洋，就可以掌控世界財富，在經濟上必然勝過陸權國家；海權國家在經濟上的優勢，自然形成政治上的領導地位。依據前文對霸權主義的定義，係指佔據政治上的領導或支配

地位；故而馬漢的「海權論」也兼具霸權主義的本質。

Moreover, in his *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future*, Mahan argued that "Control of the sea, by maritime commerce and naval supremacy, means predominant influence in the world." Mahan also repeatedly argued in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660~1783* and in many of his writings that with its control of the harbors, straits and maritime traffic, a sea power would control the sea, dominate the wealth of the world, and as a result, always outweighs a land power economically; and that a sea power's economic superiority will naturally lead to political leadership. The Greek word hegemony originally meant political leadership or dominance; accordingly, Mahanism also carries the essence of hegemonism.

三、美西戰爭

(3) Spanish-American War

馬漢在「海權論」中具體建議美國奪取加勒比海諸島嶼、夏威夷及菲律賓群島，俾利保護商業利益，確保海軍艦艇得以自由進出太平洋，及鞏固美國家利益。^{註五}馬漢的「海權論」起初在美國並未獲得重視，倒是在英國獲得激賞；馬漢因本著作獲英皇室頒贈爵位後，美國始對「海權論」給予崇高評價。受此激勵，馬漢更致力於闡揚海權在當代及未來對美國的重大利益。當巴拿馬運河

^{註三} Lens, *The Forging of the American Empire: A History of American Imperialism from the Revolution to Vietnam*, p13.

^{註四} 馬漢, *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future* (「美國現在及未來的海權利益」), [網際網路], 網址<http://ia331302.us.archive.org/1/items/theinterestofame15749gut/15749-8.txt>. 原文為: "Control of the sea, by maritime commerce and naval supremacy, means predominant influence in the world." 作者自譯。本文係馬漢1894年接受"North America Review"編輯邀稿而作。

^{註五} *The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War*, [網際網路] (美國會圖書館官方網站, [上網日 Sep 10 2004]), 網址<http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/chronology.html>, 馬漢, *海權對歷史的影響*, 頁27。馬漢, *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future*, [網際網路], 網址<http://ia331302.us.archive.org/1/items/theinterestofame15749gut/15749-8.txt>



仍在開鑿期間，馬漢更強調加勒比海的重大戰略價值；他舉英國視掌控地中海為保障其國家權益之必要條件為例，力促美國也必須獨霸加勒比海，以確保巴拿馬地峽不致為歐洲列強所用，而損及美國利益。^{註六}馬漢特別敦促美國政府必須將原屬自我孤立封閉的門羅主義，修正成為積極的對外政策；因此，他斷言「巴拿馬地峽就是門羅主義的樞紐」，並主張「門羅主義」積極地賦予美國對美洲的優先擴張權與控制權，以全面消除歐洲勢力入侵的可能性。^{註七}

Mahan made concrete suggestions in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660~1783* that the US should seize the Caribbean islands, Hawaii and the Filipino islands so as to protect the commercial interests, ensure free access of naval ships to the Pacific Ocean and consolidate national interests of the US. Originally, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660~1783* did not catch much attention in the US, but the UK highly valued the work. After the book won a noble title from the British King for Mahan, the US began to greatly admire the book. Encouraged by the success of the book, Mahan made more efforts to expound the vital interests of sea power to the US contemporarily and in the future. While the Panama Canal was under construction, Mahan was more emphatic about the strategic value of the Caribbean Sea. The Great Britain deemed control of the Mediterranean Sea a prerequisite to safeguard its national interests. Mahan strongly urged the US to model itself on the UK and to dominate the Caribbean Sea so as to ensure that the Panama Isthmus would

not be used by the European powers to undermine the US interests. Specifically, he urged the government to modify the originally self-isolated Monroe Doctrine as aggressive foreign policies; therefore he asserted that the Panama Isthmus was the pivot of Monroeism and maintained that the US was positively endowed by Monroeism with the preferential rights for expansion in and control of America to rule out completely any possibility of incursion of the European forces.

美國許多有識之士及軍政要員，包括先後擔任總統的叔侄——老羅斯福(Theodore Roosevelt)及小羅斯福(Franklin D. Roosevelt)，乃成為海軍主義者及馬漢「海權論」的信徒。是以美國政府不但在短短數年間急起直追，建立新式而強大的海軍艦隊，更於1898年發動美西戰爭，自西班牙手中奪取波多黎各、關島、菲律賓，並佔領古巴（稍後並強租關塔納摩灣）。美國之所以挑起美西戰爭，是拿日薄西山的西班牙帝國開刀，奪取上述西班牙殖民地，以便控制中美洲和加勒比海地區，作為鞏固其後院的基礎，並取得向遠東和亞洲擴張的基地。是以美西戰爭可說是美國遵循馬漢建議，走出門羅主義禁錮，實踐帝國主義，追求世界霸權之始。

Many American strategists, flag officers and high-ranking officials, including Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt, who later became the 26th and 32nd Presidents respectively, became navalists and followers of Mahanism. Consequently, the US aggressively built up a modern and powerful naval fleet in a few years. Then in 1898 America declared war

^{註六} 馬漢，海軍戰略論，頁174、269。馬漢，The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future，[網際網路]，網址<http://ia331302.us.archive.org/1/items/theinterestofame15749gut/15749-8.txt>

^{註七} 馬漢，海軍戰略論，頁93、174、269。

against Spain and snatched Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines from Spain and occupied Cuba (later the US forcibly rented Guantanamo Bay from Cuba). The reason that the US provoked Spain to go to war was that the latter was declining and the former decided to seize the aforementioned Spanish colonies which proved to be bases for the US to dominate Central America and the Caribbean Sea and to expand toward Far East and Asia. Accordingly, the Spanish-American War marks the inception of America's modifying Monroeism, carrying out imperialism and pursuing global hegemony, all of which result from Mahan's suggestion to the US government.

更值得注意的是美國在崛起成為霸權的初期，實則徹底背棄「自決」的核心價值。美西戰爭之初，美亞洲分艦隊司令George Dewey與菲律賓爭取獨立建國的起義軍首領Emilio Aguinaldo達成合作協議，允諾共同推翻西班牙殖民政府後承認菲律賓的獨立。起義軍輕信了美國的許諾，答應與美軍共同作戰。然而麥金利(William McKinley)總統卻下令美軍阻止菲律賓革命軍進佔馬尼拉。而且美軍早已與西班牙總督達成秘密協定，在不許菲革命軍入城情況下，西班牙把馬尼拉「轉讓」給美國。

More noticeably, the US had thoroughly abandoned the values of self-determination during its original rise to hegemony. When the Spanish-American War began, George Dewey, Commodore of the United States Asiatic Squadron, reached an agreement with Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the Filipino nationalists, that the US

would extend recognition to the Philippines after their joint efforts to overthrow the Spanish colonial government succeeded. The Filipino nationalists took the promise and collaborated with the US troops. However, before the war ended, US President William McKinley had ordered the US forces to prevent the Filipino nationalists from entering Manila, and Spain had secretly agreed to transfer the Philippines to the US.

美西戰爭結束後，美菲戰爭乃隨之而起。面對菲律賓獨立自決的要求，美國採取血腥武力鎮壓作為回應。自1899年初起至1902年7月美菲戰爭結束為止，共有兩萬名的菲律賓軍人及20萬名的菲律賓百姓喪命。^{註六}顯然美國此時對菲律賓行帝國主義式的殖民統治，完全違背其立國的核心價值——「自決」主張。此更印證馬漢的「海權論」，在初始本質上確實為帝國主義。然而馬漢事後論及美西戰爭時，卻斷言美西戰爭乃是為了順應人道號召、結束西班牙在古巴和菲律賓統治的行動；^{註九}而避免提及美菲戰爭中美國對菲律賓軍民的血腥鎮壓。

Therefore, after the Spanish-American War, Philippine-American War followed. Facing the Filipino quest for self-determination, the US responded with bloody military suppression. From early 1899 to July 1902 when the war ended, 20,000 Filipino soldiers and 200,000 Filipino civilians were killed. Obviously, America's imperialistic colonization of the Philippines at that time was a outright contradiction to its traditional values of self-determination upon which the US was founded. This was a further solid evidence that the original essence of Mahanism was impe-

^{註六} 馬漢，*The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future*，[網際網路]，網址<http://ia331302.us.archive.org/1/items/theinterestofame15749gut/15749-8.txt>

^{註九} Hattendorf, "Alfred Thayer Mahan and His Strategic Thought," 85; Hattendorf, "馬漢及其戰略思想", p83-84.



rialism. However, when mentioning the Spanish-American War, Mahan asserted that the war was conducted in conformity with humanitarian requirements to conclude the Spanish colonial rule in Cuba and in the Philippines. The bloody suppression of the Filipino soldiers and civilians committed by the US troops in the Philippine-American War was neglected altogether.

四、美國對華「門戶開放」政策

(4) The US "Open Door" Policy to China

美西戰後，美國既已拿下菲律賓立足亞洲，不免與其他歐洲列強發生爭奪遠東利益的矛盾。由於中國幅員廣大，物產豐饒，卻動盪不安，早已於19世紀中期起成為列強爭奪殖民利益的競技場。除臺灣已因中日甲午戰後於1895年依馬關條約割給日本外，眾多列強紛紛競相在中國瓜分租界地作為勢力範圍。美國了解太平洋地區日趨重要的利益，尤其聚焦於中國這一個廣大的市場；基於國家利益，美國希望在避免與列強衝突的情況下進入中國市場分一杯羹。

After the Spanish-American War, the US seized the Philippines and got a footing in Asia; inevitably, competition for the Far East interests between America and the European powers ensued. With its vast size, rich resources and constant instability, China had become an arena for the powers to compete for colonial interests since the middle of the 19th century. Taiwan was ceded to Japan under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 after China was defeated by Japan in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). In addition, many European powers were competing for spheres of influence in China. The US appreciated the increasingly important interests

in the Pacific region and specifically focused their attention on the immense market of China. For the sake of national interests, the US intended to get a share in the Chinese market without conflicts with the European powers.

1899年美國麥金利政府提出對華「門戶開放」(Open Door)政策並強烈敦促各國遵行，一方面幫助中國免於被列強瓜分，並獲得「平等、互惠」的自主貿易關係；另一方面使美國得以在不經任何戰爭耗損的情況下即能享有與列強同等的貿易利益。雖然歐洲列強皆視門戶開放政策為異端邪說，但面對美國這一個擁有龐大艦隊、國力蒸蒸日上的新興強權卻也無可奈何。是以美國的對華「門戶開放」政策，所體現的是以市場為中心的霸權主義，而非以殖民為目的。^{註平}

The McKinley administration declared the "Open Door" policy in 1899 and strongly urged the other powers to follow. The policy on the one hand prevented the further partition of China and helped China secure a self-governed trade relationship of equality and reciprocity. On the other hand, it enabled the US to enjoy equivalent trade interests with other powers without any war attrition. Although all the European powers considered the "Open Door" policy a heresy, on account of the magnificent fleet and the increasing national power of the US, they did not issue any physical challenge. Hence, this Open Door policy embodied the American hegemonism, which was market-centered rather than colonial.

然而，「門戶開放」政策為美國所帶來的不僅止於商業利益。「門戶開放」很自然贏得被帝國主義荼毒的中國之支持，而有助於提昇美國的國際地位。美國從中體悟到

^{註平} Neil Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p116.

「門戶開放」這種以市場為中心的霸權主義，從弱國所能獲得之政治、經貿利益，相較於帝國殖民列強在弱國之掠奪、瓜分與引起之怨懟，其間之差異實不可以道里計；於是漸捨帝國主義而確立「門戶開放」政策。亦即，「門戶開放」漸使美國與「帝國主義」分道揚鑣。

What the "Open Door" policy brought for the US was not limited to commercial interests. This policy naturally won the support of the imperialism-afflicted China and therefore served to promote the international status of America. The US realized that the market-centered hegemonism would harvest huge political and trade benefits from the weak nations. However, the European powers' exploitative imperialism only resulted in partition and hatred. The stark contrast convinced the US to abandon imperialism and firmly establish the "Open Door" policy. That is, the "Open Door" policy enabled the US to shed imperialism.

美國的「門羅主義」、帝國主義、與「門戶開放」政策雖目的各異，但誠如馬漢所言，美國在美洲捍衛「門羅主義」需要海權，在太平洋提倡「門戶開放」政策，也需要強大的海權為後盾；^{註二}事實上美國實踐帝國主義攫奪菲律賓更是憑藉海權，因此，「海權論」實為三者的共同交集。也可以說，「海權論」促使美國走出門羅主義的禁錮，踏上帝國主義的征途，終於抉擇「門戶開放」，而定於「以市場為中心的霸權主義」。

America's Monroeism, imperialism and "Open Door" policy respectively served different purposes. However, as Mahan asserted, the

US needs strong sea power to defend Monroeism in America and to promote "Open Door" policy in the Pacific region; actually, the US also depended on sea power to carry out imperialism and seize the Philippines. Consequently, the sea power theory promoted by Mahan, or Mahanism is the core set of Monroeism, imperialism and "Open Door" policy. Hence it can be argued that Mahanism prompts the US to break the deadlock of Monroeism, implement imperialism, and finally settle on market-centered hegemonism.

參、20世紀——美國外交、軍事政策與「海權論」

3.20th Century-US Foreign and Military Policies and Mahanism

一、重拾「自決」與推進「全球開放」

(1) Reasserting Self-Determination and Advancing Global Openness

第一次世界大戰期間，美國惟恐德意志帝國吞併所有列強一統歐洲，將嚴重危害美國的霸業雄心；威爾遜(Woodrow Wilson)總統乃在「十四點和平原則」中重新鼓吹「自決」主張，以自由主義理念的「民族自決」為名，對德意志帝國發動「建立世界新秩序」、弔民伐罪的戰爭。^{註三}威爾遜成功地将「自決」價值融合於全球霸業雄心之中，而使美國得以在歐洲及太平洋進行史無前例的國際冒險。^{註三}「民族自決」對於正遭受帝國侵略殖民、經濟剝削的受害民族而言，如大旱之望雲霓；被侵略殖民的國家或民族無不擁戴美國強權。因此，自從以「自決」為名加入歐戰起，美國將自利的霸權主義與表面

^{註二} 馬漢，海軍戰略論（臺北：三軍大學，1989），頁14、98、101。

^{註三} Neil Smith, American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization, p115-17.

^{註三} 同註三，p115-17.



上利他的「自決」道德價值相結合，使其得以宣稱其為不具帝國殖民主義意圖、道德良好的強權。^{註四}

During World War I, the US faced the likely victory of Germany and the ensuing dominance of German imperialism in Europe; this could have put an end to American hegemonic ambitions. In his famous "Fourteen Points," President Woodrow Wilson skillfully innovated American hegemony by incorporating the values of self-determination, which provided "a moral rationale" for "a liberal war against German imperialism" and enabled him to launch a "moral crusade for 'a new world order.'" Woodrow Wilson wove together American "global ambition and moral renditions" to support an "unprecedented international adventurism in Europe and the Pacific." "Self-determination" inspired all nations which were being plagued by imperialist aggression, colonization and economic exploitation to support the US. Hence, since America's participation in the European War, the marriage of self-interest hegemonism and seemingly altruistic liberal "self-determination" led the US to proclaim itself a moral power innocent of imperial pretensions.

威爾遜總統並在「十四點和平原則」中，主張「海洋自由航行」與「廢除關稅壁壘」；兩者可合稱為「全球開放」政策。「全球開放」性質上很像是對華「門戶開放」的擴張版；正如對華「門戶開放」為美國贏

得中國的市場、友誼與支持，「全球開放」可為美國贏得許多受帝國主義蹂躪之國家民族的市場、友誼與支持。可以說在第一次世界大戰期間，美國重新以自由主義的「自決」主張佔據道德高地，發動瓦解舊帝國勢力的戰爭；並企圖以「全球開放」擴大收割國際的政治、經貿利益。自此，美國以「自決」與「全球開放」作為外交政策的指導原則，俾利強化其國際領導地位。^{註五}

In the same document, President Woodrow Wilson also promoted free access to all the seas and elimination of tariff barriers, which together can be called "global openness." Global openness is very similar in nature to "Open Door" policy. As "Open Door" policy won for the US the market, friendship and support of China, so global openness won the market, friendship and support of many imperialism-ravaged nations. It can be argued that during WWI, the US re-claimed the highland of morality with the liberal idea of self-determination and waged a war to neutralize the old imperial powers' influence, and that the US also attempted to utilize "global openness" to reap international political and trade profits. Since then, America has adopted self-determination and global openness as the guiding principles of its foreign policies to consolidate its leadership in the global society.

第一次世界大戰結束後，德意志帝國雖然垮臺，但歐洲仍有英、法等國擁殖民地自重。這不僅違背殖民主義受害國對於「民族

^{註四} Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p79, 114; Kiki Caruson, "Book Review: American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2003): 687.

^{註五} Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, p79, 114; Kiki Caruson, "Book Review: American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy," 687. Bacevich在上述著作中僅提及美國以「開放」策略(strategy of openness)乙項作為外交政策的指導原則；本文作者將之修正為「全球開放」與「自決」。

自決」的獨立渴望，也妨礙美國賴以推進霸權的「全球開放」政策。迨第二次世界大戰結束，大部份的歐洲帝國都已經土崩瓦解，美國成為自由世界的霸主，乃開始將「自決」與「全球開放」落實為全球議程。

Although the German Empire collapsed after WWI, the United Kingdom and France still held many colonies. This not only contradicted the colonized nations' aspiration for self-determination, but also hindered America's global openness upon which the advancement of the US hegemony relied. Yet almost all of the European empires collapsed after WWII; the US became the leader of the free world and committed itself to the materialization of such global agenda of self-determination and global openness.

於是，「自決」成為國際政治的主流思想，並啟動去殖民化的風潮。眾多響應去殖民化、追求獨立自決的弱小民族國家，如眾星拱月般支持美國，更向美國開放市場，以爭取美國經援並鞏固雙邊關係。是以美國以「全球開放」在全球政治、經濟基礎上，爭取全球經貿市場、海洋航道向美開放，不但強化了美國的經濟優勢，更鞏固其全球超強的政治領導地位。美國雖然曾因韓戰與越戰而使經濟元氣折損，但本土從未發生大戰，並藉「全球開放」在自由世界建立起全球化的政經體系，有助於迅速恢復元氣。美國在厚實的經濟基礎上從世界各地吸收各類優秀人才，從事科技研發，發達高附加價值產業，因而形成良性循環，大舉提昇綜合國力。

As a result, "self-determination" became the mainstream thoughts of international politics and initiated the wave of de-colonization.

Many small and weak colonized nations poised for self-determination and independence gave their full support and opened their markets to the US in order to win America's economic aids and consolidate bilateral relationship. Hence "global openness" enabled the US to win access to global trade markets and sea-lanes, consolidating America's economic superiority and political leadership as a global superpower. Although the Korean War and the Vietnam War had sapped the economic strength of the US, no major war has ever occurred in the territories of the US. And, the US managed to advance global openness and establish in the free world a concerted political and economic system conducive to reinvigorate its economy. On the basis of strong and prosperous economy, the US recruited many outstanding talents in every field from all over the world, engaged in scientific and technical research and development, and built up many high value-added industries, which altogether led to an upward spiral of the economy and boosted its comprehensive national power.

而這全球政經利益的龐大收穫，實歸功於美國擁有龐大的軍艦及商船，得以在全球各大洋的任何一個角落自由進出，作為達成政策的有力後盾。有學者認為「全球開放」乃是美國霸權的骨幹，甚至於演變成美國支配全世界的雄心壯志。^{註六}如果說「全球開放」是美國霸權的骨幹，那麼「海權論」可說是美國實踐「全球開放」、崛起成為霸權，並維持今日霸權於不墜的最重要憑藉。

Such considerable political and economic gains can be attributed to the possession of the magnificent naval fleet and merchant vessels,

^{註六} Bacevich, American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy, p88; Smith, American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization, p52, 115.



which assures free access to every part of the oceans around the world and acts as a potent backing for the fruition of its policies. Some scholar argues that "global openness" is the backbone of America's hegemony and has even evolved into the US ambition to dominate the world. If global openness is the backbone for US hegemony, then one may argue that Mahanism provides the most important means by which the US realized global openness, rose to hegemony and maintains its contemporary superpower status.

二、近代戰爭對「陸權」、「海權」與「空權」的啓示

(2) Edification on "Land power," "Sea power," and "Air power" Given by the Wars in Recent History

1808年半島戰爭中，由於英國掌握英吉利與地中海制海權故，英軍乃得以與西班牙民族主義者聯手逐步將拿破崙大軍趕出伊比利亞半島；反法盟軍從此開始累積勝利戰果，終使擊潰拿破崙，粉碎其征服歐洲之夢。

In the Peninsular War in 1808, because the UK controlled the English Channel and the Mediterranean Sea, the British troops were able to unite the Spanish nationalists to drive Napoleon Bonaparte's large armies out of the Iberian Peninsula step by step. From then on, the anti-France allies staged successful campaigns, weakened and finally vanquished Napoleon, shattering his dream of conquering Europe.

第一次世界大戰期間，德國採取無限制潛艇戰，幾乎擊敗英法俄等協約國而贏得大戰。但美國威爾遜政府決定介入歐戰；美國並將大量反潛艦船派到英國海域專司獵殺潛艦，終於擊潰德潛艦部隊並掌握制海權，方能將200萬部隊運到法國去，抵銷俄軍崩潰

的不利影響，挽救了英國命運，並實質上保證協約國的勝利。

During WWI, Germany launched unrestricted submarine warfare, almost defeated the Entente Powers led by France, Russia and the British Empire and won the war. But the Wilson administration decided to intervene; the US sent a big number of surface combatants to the Great Britain waters to hunt and eliminate German submarines and managed to win control of the sea, which enabled the US to dispatch two million army troops to the French soil, offsetting the collapse of the Russian army, saving the destiny of the UK and assuring the final victory of the Entente Powers.

第二次世界大戰初，德國雖然率先以掌握空權作為閃電戰術的先鋒，而得以迅速席捲幾乎整個歐洲與北非，但始終無法獲得大西洋、北海、英吉利海峽及地中海等任一區域的制海權。反觀英美等同盟國因基本上全面掌握制海權之故，乃能貫徹投射增援兵力至關鍵戰區之意志，造成局部戰略突穿，而終於獲得勝利。韓戰中，盟軍從仁川進行突襲登陸以間接路線戰法打敗北韓，乃因麥克阿瑟掌握日本海及對馬海峽制海權為基礎。近則如1991年第一次波灣戰爭中，美軍因掌握紅海制海權，而得以在伊拉克南部突襲登陸成功。

In the early stage of WWII, although Germany used air power as the spearhead of its blitzkrieg and swiftly conquered almost the whole Europe and North Africa, after all it never succeeded in seizing control of any of the following maritime theaters, including the Atlantic Ocean, the North Sea, the English Channel and the Mediterranean Sea. On the contrary, the Allies took advantage of their control of the seas and

could always successfully project the reinforcement troops to the theater in concern and produce partial strategic penetration; finally, the Allies won the victory. In the Korean War, the Allies' control of the Japan Sea and the Korean Strait made possible the surprise landing in Inchon which enabled the UN troops to adopt indirect approach to defeat the invading North Korean People's Army and recapture Seoul. And, in the First Iraq War in 1991, the US took advantage of its control of the Red Sea and successfully landed in the south by surprise and swiftly routed the Iraqi forces.

誠如西方戰略家Colin S. Gray所言：

近代歷史的主要戰爭中，在在顯示握有海上優勢的集團享有時間上的便利，以及在大戰略的彈性上深獲利益。陸上霸權國家無論在戰鬥或戰役中獲得如何閃電式的勝利，海權國家最終會打倒陸權國家，而且設下步驟，使陸權國家的兵力分散而走上毀滅之途。^{註五}

As commented by Western strategist Colin S. Gary:

The major wars in recent history have repeatedly showed that the group with maritime supremacy enjoys convenience in time and benefits flexibility in grand strategy. No matter how a land power wins victory by blitzkrieg in a battle or a campaign, a sea power will eventually beat the land power and find steps to have the land power's forces dispersed and destroyed.^{註六}

聯合作戰乃海外戰爭特性，海軍的主要任務是贏得海洋關鍵戰略位置，投射兵力，對敵海岸達成局部破壞與毀滅，及製造政治姿態。之後，海軍由攻勢轉為守勢，負責維

持交通線，解除敵方艦隊在此海洋區域的任何進一步威脅。岸上戰事的繼續進行，直至以最終的「征服與佔領」達成戰爭的政治目的，主要是陸軍的任務，也通常是戰爭中暴力使用最多的階段。空權出現後雖使大型海戰逐漸淘汰，戰略空軍可能在戰爭初期，即可產生立即性及決定性的影響；戰術空軍則可使海空、陸空形成一體作戰型態，加速海戰與陸戰的戰果累積。

Joint operations is one of the characteristics of overseas campaign. The major tasks of the navy include securing key strategic maritime positions, projecting forces, ruining and destroying part of the coast of the enemy, and producing political posture. After these offensive goals are achieved, the navy engages in defensive missions, including maintaining sea lines of communication for its own use, and removing any further threat posed by the enemy fleet in the maritime theater. In turn, the army is responsible for the continuation of campaign ashore, and the final conquest and occupation which accomplish the political goals of the war; very often this is also the most violent stage of a campaign. The emergence of air power had phased out high-intensity fleet vs. fleet naval campaigns; strategic air forces may well produce immediate and decisive result in the early phase of a war, and tactical air forces is now often integrated in naval campaign and land campaign and therefore speeds up the accumulation of combat result.

亦即，空權及陸權也在戰爭的不同階段中擔綱扮演主角；但出動空軍及陸軍，有侵犯對手國主權、立即升高危機之虞。即使當今的空權及太空權有相當發展空間，甚至於

^{註五} Colin S. Gray, "海權與陸權", 收錄於「海權與戰略」(臺北:海軍學術月刊社譯印, 1992), 頁25。

^{註六} 原文散佚; 本段係本文作者自行翻譯。



已成為保障海權的要素；但落實到國際政治層面，其效益仍有相當侷限性。故考量地球四分之三面積為海洋覆蓋的現實，及就預防戰略及危機處理而言，仍須借重能佔據海洋關鍵戰略位置，投射兵力，及在瀕臨危機地區長期駐留製造政治姿態的海軍。

That is, air power and land power have their own major roles to play respectively in different phases of a campaign. However, the use of air force or army involves violation of the sovereignty of the state in concern and immediate escalation of a crisis. Although there is still plenty of room for the development of air and space power, which may have become a key factor in assuring sea power and naval supremacy, the practical utility of air and space power is quite limited in terms of international politics. Taking into consideration the reality that oceans cover almost three quarters of the earth's surface and the need for preventive strategy and crisis management, politicians still have to enlist the help of navy, a service capable of occupying strategic maritime positions, projecting forces, and producing political posture by stationing for long in the vicinity of a region with an impending crisis.

三、冷戰後期的擴張與「海權論」

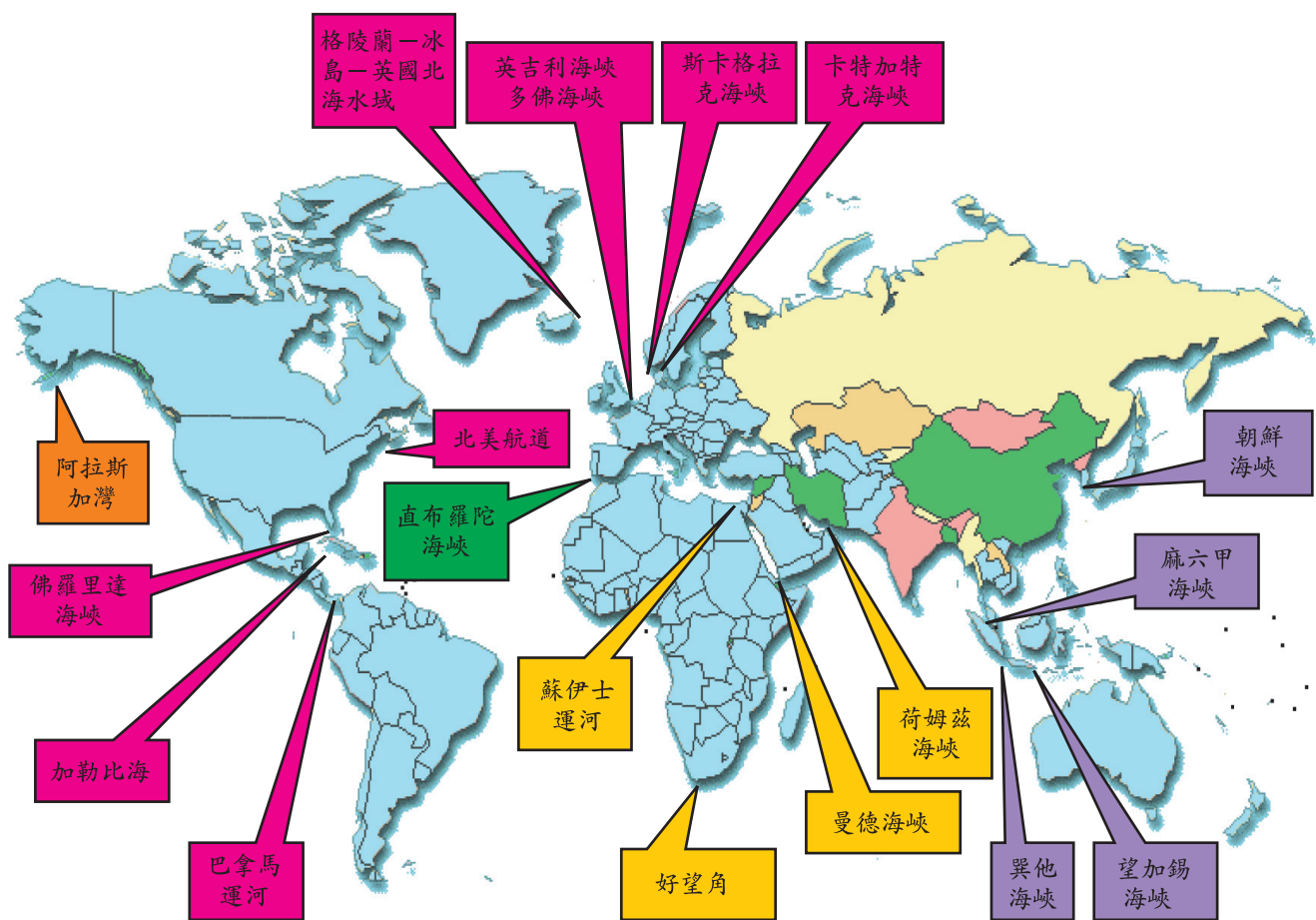
(3) Mahanism and America's Expansion in Late Cold-War Era

當馬漢在1890年出版「海權論」及1912年出版「海軍戰略論」時，曾列舉世界上主要的海上通道包括：多佛海峽、直布羅陀海峽、馬爾他島、亞歷山大港、好望角、麻六甲海峽、蘇伊士運河及聖勞倫斯河入口等處。美國除已遵照馬漢指導掌握上述各處外，1986年時，美國海軍更公然宣佈實施

「前沿戰略」：要控制世界海上16個最重要的航道扼制點。^{註元}美軍的意圖是，戰時藉由控制全球海上16條戰略要道扼制點，贏得對大洋的控制權。這16條戰略要道扼制點除包括上述的直布羅陀、麻六甲海峽、蘇伊士運河、好望角等4處外，另有12處，包括：阿拉斯加灣、北美航道、佛羅里達海峽、斯卡格拉克海峽、卡特加特海峽、格陵蘭——冰島——英國間的北海通道、巴拿馬運河、荷姆茲海峽、曼德海峽、巽他海峽、望加錫海峽、及朝鮮海峽等。

When *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660~1783* was published in 1890 and *Naval Strategy* published in 1911, Mahan enumerated the primary global channels including Dover Strait, Strait of Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, Cape of Good Hope, Malacca Strait, Suez Canal, and the entrance to St. Lawrence River. Following the instructions of Mahan, the US managed to obtain a good command of the aforementioned channels. In addition, the US Navy further declared in public to adopt "forward presence strategy" which aimed to control sixteen choking points of global sea-lanes. The US Navy intended to win a firm command of the oceans by controlling the most important choking points of global channels. These sixteen choking points include the aforementioned Strait of Gibraltar, Malacca Strait, Suez Canal, Cape of Good Hope, and also Alaska Bay, North America Channel, Florida Strait, Skagerrak Strait, Kattegat Strait, Greenland-Iceland-UK North Sea Channel, Panama Canal, Strait of Hormuz, Strait of Bab al Mandeb, Sund Strait, Makassar Strait, and Korean Strait.

^{註元} 戰場勝負的決定因素——八大海峽群卡住海上咽喉，[網際網路]（人民網官方網站，[上網日Jun 11 2007]），網址www.people.com.cn/BIG5/junshi/1078/2586566.html



資料來源：作者自繪。

附圖 美國前沿戰略部署控制航道一覽圖
Figure Choke Points Held by US Naval Forward Presences

謹簡述其中若干航道之重要性如后。如果瀕臨危機或在戰爭時期，其中的斯卡格拉克海峽及卡特加特海峽，可以有效地封鎖俄羅斯之波羅的海艦隊進入大西洋；格陵蘭—冰島—英國間的北海通道，連同原先的英吉利海峽及多佛海峽，可阻止北方艦隊進入大西洋；美軍在戰時若能完全控制朝鮮海峽，就可把俄羅斯的太平洋艦隊困在日本海，使其無法進入太平洋。此外，眾所周知，巴拿馬運河是連接太平洋與大西洋的航運要衝；荷姆茲海峽是西方國家的石油大動脈；曼德海峽是連通地中海—紅海—印度洋的戰略要衝；而巽他海峽與望加錫海峽，則是美軍穿梭於太平洋和印度洋的重要航道。

The significance of these channels is briefly

introduced as follows. In a crisis or war time, Skagerrak Strait and Kattegat Strait can be used to effectively blockade the Russian Baltic Fleet from entering the Atlantic Ocean. Greenland-Iceland-UK North Sea Channel, together with the English Channel and Dover Strait, can be used to prevent the Russian Northern Fleet from entering the Atlantic Ocean. And, the Korean Strait can be used in war time to trap the Russian Pacific Fleet in Japan Sea and deny its access to the Pacific Ocean. Furthermore, it is widely known that Panama Canal connects the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Strait of Hormuz is the oil artery for the West. Strait of Bab al Mandeb connects the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea and the



Indian Ocean. And, Sund Strait and Makassar Strait are used by the US Navy as an important channel between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean.

以上16條航道，均為全球海上貿易的紐帶、能源運輸「戰略生命線」、及海軍行動的重要航道和戰略要衝。此外，美在各處要道均有前進基地及兵力部署，以優勢的海上力量控制海洋；尤其，美國擁有12支戰力強大的航母戰鬥群，分別巡弋各大洋。以上事實，充分印證了以下馬漢對於海軍戰略的指導：

These channels represent the pivots of global maritime trade, strategic lifeline of transporting energy, important channels for naval actions and strategic key points. Besides, the US establishes forward presence bases along these sea-lanes and controls the oceans with superior forces; especially, 12 powerful US aircraft carrier battle groups cruise in the oceans. These facts effectively verify Mahan's instructions on naval strategy as follows:

(一)利用各種機會佔據海外優越位置、獲得適當基地、以利制海，遂行海外擴張。

A. Take any opportunity to occupy excellent positions and obtain proper bases abroad to facilitate command of the sea and overseas expansion.

(二)首要考量：那些位置或位置的鎖鏈足以影響海洋控制。

B. Foremost concern: which positions or chain of positions may influence command of the sea.

(三)「位置」的獲得將形成有利的「中央位置」（航線聚集點），可強化海軍兵力掌控海洋的態勢；因此佔有海峽、半島、運河等航路即為掌握海權的要素。

C. The acquisition of positions will provide

an advantageous "central position" (converging point of sea-lanes) which will help the naval forces strengthen its control of the sea; hence the occupation of such sea-lanes as straits, peninsula and canals is a critical element for control of sea power.

(四)最重要考慮：基地、目標、作戰線等這些因素，都環繞一個對海洋區域構成戰略關鍵的位置。

D. The most important concern: factors such as bases, targets and line of operations all revolve around a position which represents a strategic key point for a region on the sea.

(五)為求有效掌握重要位置，必須有優勢海軍控制交通線。

E. In order to control a critical position effectively, a superior naval force is required to control sea lines of communication.

美國掌握這些海上要道，名為維護全球航運暢通，維護世界各國在海上利益，維護世界和平；實則也是為保障美海軍艦隊得以自由進出全球各大洋，維護美在全球各地利益，保持國際戰略層面的優勢地位，掌握世界能源戰略的主動權，並在危機或戰爭時能封鎖敵國海上航運和海軍力量。故美國以控制國際戰略通道為手段，強化對全球事務的快速干預能力，完善全球威懾體系，維護其獨霸地位。

The US controls these important channels in the name of protecting global maritime transportation, safeguarding the nautical interests of all nations, and maintaining peace of the world. In fact, America's control of these channels also serves the following purposes: ensure free access of the Navy to every part of the seas, secure its global interests, maintain its strategic superiority, uphold its initiative in global energy strate-

gy, and in case of crisis or war, preserve America's capability in blockading the maritime transportation and naval forces of the enemy nations. Hence, the US strengthens its quick intervention capabilities, perfects the global deterrence system, and preserves its superpower status by consolidating its control of the international strategic channels.

「海權論」中，有一個可能值得商榷的論點是，誠如Rosinski所歸納馬漢有關制海權的立論：「因為『海是整體』，其中沒有任何部分可以劃分和設防，所以要對我方在海上或經過海上的利益提供有效保護，則唯一的方法就是把敵人逐出整個海洋之外…在海上，僅只爲了本身安全之故，我們也仍將被迫必須擊滅敵軍，並將其逐出海洋之外。」^{註二}此即所謂「完整的制海」或「絕對的制海」觀念。當今的「聯合國海洋法公約」(United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea，簡稱：UNCLOS)主張海洋利益國際共享、不容壟斷，與馬漢的「絕對的制海」觀有明顯矛盾；所以有許多人認爲馬漢以「絕對的制海」觀爲特點的「海權論」早已過時。然而值得一提的是，美國雖簽署但並未批准「聯合國海洋法公約」；亦即，美國爲追求其最大國家利益，仍保持運用武力的最大彈性，自認爲無須接受「聯合國海洋法公約」的束縛。^{註三}以上事實，證明「海權論」不但未過時，而且還是美國維持今日霸權於不墜的工具。

There is a problematic point in Mahanism. As Rosinski sums up Mahan's arguments on com-

mand of the sea, he thinks Mahan believes that because the sea is integral and there is no dividable and defensible place on the sea, to effectively protect our maritime interests, the only solution is to expel the enemy from the sea altogether; ... and that even simply for the sake of our own safety on the sea, we will still be forced to destroy the enemy forces and expel them from the sea. This is the so-called "complete command of the sea" or "absolute command of the sea." The current United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) maintains that the maritime interests shall be shared by the international community and shall not be monopolized by any country. This poses a stark contradiction to Mahan's argument for "absolute command of the sea." That is why many believe that Mahanism, which features "absolute command of the sea," has long been obsolete. However, it is worth mentioning that the US has signed but not yet approved the UNCLOS. That is, to pursue its maximum national interests, the US retains optimal flexibility in the use of force and declines to be restricted by the UNCLOS. These facts prove that Mahanism is still a pertinent tool for the US to preserve its hegemony.

肆、美國主導全球化時代的「海權論」新解

4. Mahanism Innovated in the Era of US-Dominated Globalization

^{註二} Herbert Rosinski, 海軍思想的發展，鈕先鍾譯（臺北：黎明，1977），頁5。

^{註三} 維基網站列舉當前美國政界與學界反對五大理由，參見<http://zh.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%E8%81%AF%E5%90%88%E5%9C%8B%E6%B5%B7%E6%B4%8B%E6%B3%95%E5%85%AC%E7%B4%84&variant=zh-tw>。本文作者以爲美國爲保有對可能敵對國家——「不負責任、獨裁腐敗的聯合國會員、流氓國家、失敗國家」——的主動反制權，故遲不批准該公約。



一、「全球開放」的擴張與美國價值的「全球化」

(1) Global Openness and Globalization of the US Values

前文述及美國在第二次世界大戰後，落實「全球開放」政策，爭取全球經貿市場、海洋航道向美開放。雖然1950年爆發韓戰後，全世界陷入兩極對抗的冷戰時代長達約40年之久，但美國的「全球開放」政策已經在自由世界成功地建立起全球化的政經體系。雖然「全球化」的歷史可遠溯至15、6世紀，並與歐洲列強侵略世界的帝國殖民史密不可分；^{註三}然而，第二次世界大戰後全球化政經體系的建立，無疑是當今全球化風潮的最重要基礎。因此，美國的「全球開放」，是當今全球化風潮的最大推力，而美國也是全球化的主要推動者與受益者。

It has been mentioned previously that after WWII, the US started its efforts to realize "global openness" to win access to global trade markets and sea-lanes. Although the international community was locked in the bipolarized Cold War for forty years following the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, America had carried out its "global openness" scheme and successfully erected a globalized political and economic system in the free world. The history of globalization can be traced back to the 15th or 16th century and is inseparable from the history of imperial colonization by the European powers; however, the erection of post-WWII globalized political and

economic system is the most important basis for the current sweep of globalization. Consequently, America's "global openness" provides the biggest dynamics for contemporary globalization and the US is the prime facilitator and beneficiary of globalization.

邇來「全球化」常被使用在國際關係的領域，以描述國際社會的成長與互動；然而，在冷戰二元體系對抗結束前，只有部分、不完整的全球化。^{註三}隨著鄧小平於1979年在中國大陸啟動改革開放，戈巴契夫(Mikhail Gorbachev)也於1986年在前蘇聯推動全面改革，不但造成中國共產社會的大轉型，也造成東歐共產政權的崩潰，及前蘇聯帝國的解體，最後只剩北韓仍頑守僵化過時的共產主義；全球化乃在1980年代末期起成為名符其實席捲全球的風潮。對於美國而言，這是美國一向所標榜「自由、民主、自決」等外交政策目標的勝利。^{註四}隨後冷戰結束，不但列寧主義、史達林主義、及毛主義都破產了，美國人對於自己的傳統價值信念更為堅定，也更相信其傳統價值信念應是放諸四海皆準。^{註五}

Recently "globalization" has been used in the realm of international relations to describe the growth and interaction of the global society; however, there was only part and incomplete globalization by the end of the bipolarized Cold War era. Following Deng Xiaoping's economic reform in Mainland China in 1979, Mikhail Gorbachev unleashed his economic reform in the for-

註三 林碧炤，全球化與當代中國，網址：http://ics.nccu.edu.tw/document/newsletter/04_04.pdf；鄧東波，永續性與全球化，網址：http://www.iis.sinica.edu.tw/~dongpo/sustainable_development/sd04.ppt#268,12，全球化起源。

註四 林碧炤，全球化與當代中國，網址：http://ics.nccu.edu.tw/document/newsletter/04_04.pdf

註五 施克敏，從華府看臺北（臺北：正中書局，1993），頁124。

註六 Michel Oksenberg, "Taiwan, Tibet and Hongkong in Sino-American Relations," in Living with China: U.S./China Relations in the Twenty-First Century, ed. Ezra F. Vogel (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), p60.

mer Soviet Union in 1986. Their reforms brought about the amazing transformation of the Chinese communist society, the collapse of the East European communist regimes and the demolition of the Soviet Union Empire. Finally, only North Korea still stubbornly sticks to the ossified, outdated communism. "Globalization" has swept the whole world since the late 1980s. For the US, this represents the victory of the goals of foreign policy—freedom, democracy and self-determination. With the collapse of Leninism, Stalinism and Maoism, American perception of its traditional values was reinforced; so were its assertions of their universal validity.

隨著冷戰結束及第三波民主化浪潮席捲全球，美國所倡導的全球化，並不單單涵蓋經濟此一面向，而「全球開放」的目標也不再僅以全球物質性的經貿市場及海洋航道向美開放為滿足；美國更希冀在精神思想領域上，促使國際社會的各類政治、文化、和價值板塊洞開，接受美國的傳統價值信念。

With the conclusion of the Cold War and the sweep of the third wave of democratization, globalization promoted by the US is not limited to the single aspect of economy; neither is the goal of America's global openness limited to access to material trade markets and maritime channels around the world. In terms of the spiritual field, the US anticipates to crack open the political, cultural and values plates globally and inject into the openings traditional American values and beliefs.

柯林頓(1993-2001)主政後，國家安全顧問雷克(Anthony Lake)於1993年在公開演說

中直指：「我們應強化主要民主市場之共有共享，此乃進行擴張的核心」。^{註5}這種提倡美國價值信念全球化的努力，有助於開創一個以一致價值觀為基礎的國際新秩序，也有助於使美國的全球霸權地位永久化。而美國的全球議程，正是利用全球化風潮擴大地緣戰略利益，提昇其影響力，將美國推向「美利堅治世」的高峰。

After Bill Clinton (1993-2001) took office, Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, indicated in a public speech in 1993: "we should strengthen the community of major market democracies—including our own--which constitutes the core from which enlargement is proceeding." Such efforts to promote globalization of American values serve to create a new world order based upon concerted values and help the perpetuation of America's hegemony. And, Washington's global agenda is to orchestrate the sweeping tide of globalization to expand its geo-strategic interests, promote its influence and proceed toward Pax Americana.

二、「美利堅治世」與美國海軍

(2) Pax Americana and the US Navy

冷戰結束後二極體系崩解；美國迅速把握緊跟蘇聯垮臺而來的戰略機遇，為「全球開放」的擴張與美國價值的全球化重新部署。在當今的多元政治結構中，很容易產生各種的危機，其中許多危機可以由前沿駐軍因應。除卻全球四分之三面積為海洋所覆蓋之因素外，全球四分之三的人口，及約同比例的全球資金及商務中心也位在濱海地區；這正是美國海軍對於其國家安全能夠帶來特

^{註5} Anthony Lake, From Containment to Enlargement, 網址<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/lakedoc.html>；西翁·布朗(Seyom Brown), 掌控的迷思——美國21世紀的軍力與外交政策 (臺北，國防部譯印軍官團叢書，民95年12月出版)，p49.



殊貢獻之處。^{註三}能佔據海洋關鍵位置，投射兵力，及製造政治姿態的海軍，首先成為戰略重新佈局的重點。

The bipolar system disintegrated after the end of the Cold War. The US quickly grasped the opportunity following the demolition of the Soviet Union and adjusted its strategic deployment to pave the way for the expansion of global openness and the globalization of US values. In contemporary diversified political structure, a wide spectrum of crises arise from time to time; many can be dealt with by forward presence. Three quarters of the earth is covered by the ocean. Besides, seventy-five percent of the earth's population and a similar proportion of national capitals and major commercial centers lie in the littorals. These are the places where the US Navy can make unique contribution to national security. With its capacities in occupying critical positions on the sea, projecting power, and producing political postures, the Navy became the focus of strategic redeployment right after the conclusion of the Cold War.

美國海軍於1992年9月提出「來自海上」(…From the Sea)的全新海軍戰略概念，不再以因應全球海上威脅為目標，而改為以因應區域強權的挑戰，利用海路投射美國兵力與影響力為目標；^{註四}這隨後成為全球化時代美國海軍的核心戰略概念。1994年美海軍再次提出「出擊——來自海上」(Forward…From the Sea)的文件，確立美海軍在戰爭爆發前的最重要任務為：在前沿駐軍地區從事交往工

作，並以預防衝突與控制危機為目標；一旦爆發戰爭，則勇猛作戰並贏得戰爭。^{註五}

The US navy issued … From the Sea in 1992 as a novel conception for its naval strategy. … From the Sea signaled a fundamental change in strategic landscape — no longer dedicated to dealing with a global maritime threat and instead to projecting power across the seas and influencing events ashore in response to challenges posed by regional powers. Ever since this has become the nucleus strategic conception of the US navy for the globalization era. In 1994, the US navy published Forward… From the Sea, stating that "the most important role of naval forces in situations short of war is to be engaged in forward areas, with the objectives of preventing conflicts and controlling crises;" and in wartime, "the naval forces are designed to fight and win wars."

在向海外傳播民主的國家戰略指導下，美國海軍在承平時時期擔負投射美國兵力與影響力的任務，其目標乃是要形塑安全環境，促進區域經濟與政治穩定，從而協助區域的民主體制成長茁壯，更進而成為美國的合作夥伴。^{註六}在承平時期的交往努力未能奏效時，美海軍在戰爭爆發前擔負的任務包括預防衝突與控制危機。戰爭初期，在現場的海軍戰鬥部隊負責形塑戰場環境，並展現阻斷侵略行動之能力。^{註七}同時，海軍航母戰鬥群即以其強大的指管通資情監偵系統及各類戰具，深入敵內陸實施戰略戰役縱深打擊。一旦衝突擴大，在海軍的戰場經營基礎上，

^{註三} Department of the Navy, *Forward…from the Sea*, 1997, <http://www.navy.mil/navydata/policy/fromsea/ffseanoc.html>

^{註四} "Forward… From the Sea," ed. Department of the Navy (1994), p1.

^{註五} Ibid. 英譯部分之強調性質斜體字係英原始文稿所用。

^{註六} *Forward… From the Sea-The Navy Operational Concept* (1997 [cited Sep 23 2007]); available from <http://www.navy.mil/navydata/policy/fromsea/ffseanoc.html>

^{註七} 同註六。

來自美國本土的陸上作戰部隊及戰略空軍即可加入作戰，確保獲得戰場的勝利。

Guided by the national strategy of spreading democracy abroad, the Navy's role in peacetime engagement is to project American influence and power abroad so as to shape the security environment, promote regional economic and political stability, foster the flourishing of democracies, which may well cooperate with the United States. In case peacetime engagement fails, the US navy performs the tasks of preventing conflict and controlling crisis before a war erupts. When hostilities break out, having combat-credible naval forces on scene shapes the battlespace and demonstrates its capability to halt aggression early in a conflict. At the same time, carrier battle groups employ their powerful C4ISR capabilities and various combat instruments to deliver firepower far inland when required by the mission. In larger-scale conflicts, on the basis of battlespace management by the navy, the army and strategic air force from the US soil will join the campaign to ensure the winning of victory in the battlefield.

十二支部署於世界各地的強大航母戰鬥群成為向美利堅治世推進的先鋒，美國的外交目標從而變得更為明確。柯林頓政府在1998年12月的「新世紀國家安全戰略」中，將民主、人權等列為需要借重美國採取行動捍衛的人道主義利益；更將向海外傳播民

主，與國家安全及經濟繁榮等，並列為國家的三大目標。^{註三}這些發展顯示後冷戰時期美政府最高層決策者，對於推進植基於統一價值觀的國際新秩序與「美利堅治世」充滿自信與使命感。

The twelve powerful aircraft carrier battle groups deployed all over the world became the vanguard to press forward toward Pax Americana; accordingly, the US diplomatic goals became clearer than ever. In A National Security Strategy for a New Century issued in December 1998, the Clinton administration further categorized democracy and human rights as humanitarian interests which demand action of the US; in addition, the same document enumerated enhancing national security, bolstering economic prosperity and promoting democracy abroad as the three national objectives. These documents indicate that since the end of the Cold War the paramount decision makers of the US government have been very confidently committed to a new world order and Pax Americana based upon unified values.

為此，不但美國採取單邊／干預主義的傾向越來越明顯，而且「軍事事務革新」帶來高戰力、高效率、低傷亡、低風險的願景，助長發動戰爭的可能性，戰爭乃可能成為美國決策者所青睞的外交手段而非最後手段；美國外交政策甚至有逐步軍事化的傾向。^{註四}凡是未接納並實踐美國道德價值的

註三 A National Security Strategy for the New Century, [internet] (White House, 1998[cited Sep 27 2007]), p5-6, available from <http://clinton2.nara.gov/WH/EOP/NSC/html/documents/nssr.pdf>. 西翁·布朗(Seyom Brown), 掌控的迷思——美國21世紀的軍力與外交政策, p50。

註四 Seyom Brown, 掌控的迷思——美國21世紀的軍力與外交政策 (The Illusion of Control: Force and Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century), trans. 李育慈 (臺北：國防部譯印軍官團叢書，2006)，14-15, 24, 48, 53, 57, 109, 45. See also Hans Binnendijk, "Introduction," in Transforming America's Military, ed. Hans Binnendijk (Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, 2002). Available from http://www.ndu.edu/inss/books/Books_2002/Transforming%20Americas%20Mil%20-%20CTNSP%20-%20Aug%202002/01_toc.htm



國家，都可能成為美國干預甚至聲討的對象。^{註四}最典型例證莫如美現任小布希總統在2006年國情咨文多次提及「民主」、「自由」口號，並對多國提出警告。^{註五}

Accordingly, the US tends more than ever to adopt unilateralism and interventionism; the promises of revolution in military affairs—high firepower, high efficiency, low casualties, and low risk—also add to the likelihood of waging a war. As a result, war might become a preferred instrument of diplomacy rather than the last resort, which would even lead to a militarization of American foreign policy. Those countries that do not accept and put American values into practice could become the target of American interventionism or even condemnation and military action. State of the Union Address 2006 is a classic example; in the address, US President George W. Bush repeatedly promoted democracy and freedom and issued warnings to many countries.

美國這種排他性的政治理念，及採取單邊／干預主義的強勢外交作為，激化了不同文明間的衝突，直接或間接導致九一一恐怖攻擊事件的發生。而且，國際社會講究的是現實主義，不相信美國的利他主義說辭；對美國權力快速膨脹充滿疑慮，也對日益增強的美式單邊／干預主義普遍反感，美軍駐防全球各地亦日漸蔓延反美的情緒。

America's exclusive political beliefs and aggressive unilateralist and interventionist diplomatic measures intensify its conflict with other civilizations, directly or indirectly contributing to the occurrence of the 9/11 Incident. Besides, the international community underscores real-

ism and disbelieves America's altruistic excuse; the rapid expansion of American power arouses suspicion and the increasingly intensifying US unilateralism and interventionism cause widespread discomfort; meanwhile, anti-US sentiment is spreading in places around the world where there are US military presence.

結果，對美而言，飛越領空的限制逐漸增加，海外部署權限亦持續縮減；美國在單邊／干預主義遭逢多元挑戰的狀況下，發展出「鈍性結盟(alliance-insensitive)」策略——不依賴外國政府和軍事組織合作的結盟形態；在此趨勢下，美國勢必更加依賴海軍武力，因為唯有海軍能持續確保通往世界大部分地區的能力；^{註六}是支持外交政策目標，維護國家利益的有力工具。

As a result, for the US, restrictions on passage across other countries' territorial airspace mounted and overseas deployment authority curtailed. Facing diverse challenges to its unilateralism and interventionism, the US develops an alliance-insensitive strategy—an alliance pattern that does not depend on cooperation with foreign governments and military institutes; in this trend, the US have to rely more on its naval forces, because only the navy continues to ensure access to most parts of the world and continues to play an important role in supporting diplomatic goals and securing national interests.

三、蛻變中的海權思維：「全球艦隊基地」與「千艦海軍計畫」

(3) Thoughts on Sea Power in Transformation: GFS and TSN

在後冷戰時期的多元化世界中，反制威

^{註四} 同註四，p48, 53.

^{註五} George W. Bush, State of the Union Address 2006，網址：<http://www.whitehouse.gov/stateoftheunion/2006/>.

^{註六} 西翁·布朗(Seyom Brown)，掌控的迷思——美國21世紀的軍力與外交政策，p135-136.

脅所需的軍事能力與以往圍堵、對抗單一強權所需的能力迥然不同。^{註四}特別是九一一事件後，恐怖主義、大量毀滅武器、海盜、禽流感、自然災害、環境污染、人口走私、跨國犯罪成為新的挑戰。美海軍為因應這一類所謂的第四代威脅，發展出「全球艦隊基地(Global Fleet Stations, GFS)」理念，將其兵力投射能力延伸至盟國的濱海及河口地區。^{註四}其具體要點包括：

In the diversified post-Cold War era, the military capabilities required for countering threats differ wildly from those required for containing and confronting the single rival power in the past. Especially, after the 9/11 Incident, terrorism, weapon of mass destruction (WMD), pirates, avian flu, natural disasters, pollution, human trafficking, and transnational crime have become new challenges. In response to the so-called fourth-generation threats, the US Navy has developed the Global Fleet Stations scheme designed to forward deploy a small fleet of shallow-draft ships and support vessels to littoral and riverine areas of its allies and partner nations. Its major points include:

(一)「全球艦隊基地」可能是陸基的設施或大型兩棲艦艇。^{註四}

A. The "Global Fleet Stations" project may use land-based facilities or large amphibious vessels.

(二)美國海軍所企劃的「海上部署」的行

動方案，計畫在國際水域，以大型突擊登陸艦與運輸艦構建自己的人工島嶼，當作臨時軍事基地，作為「全球艦隊基地」的一部分。未來美國新一代LHA(R)兩棲攻擊艦、LPD和LCAC登陸艦也將加入人工島嶼的行列。^{註五}

B. The US Navy may use large surprise attack landing ships and transportation ships to build its artificial islands in international waters as temporary military bases, part of Global Fleet Stations. In the future, LHA(R), LPD and LCAC landing craft will join the vessels for the use of artificial islands.

(三)「全球艦隊基地」可作為在聯盟國家水域巡邏的美海軍小型艦艇的基地；可提供備件、食物、維護人員、直升機、燃油和其他必需品。^{註五}

C. Global Fleet Stations is a self-sustain home base that provides spare parts, food, maintenance personnel, helicopter, fuel and other necessities to the small US vessels patrolling in the allies' waters.

(四)美國現正於佛羅里達州的基韋斯特(Key West)進行全球艦隊基地計畫的測試；未來，美國海軍也將在巴林、關島、印度尼西亞、菲律賓部署全球艦隊基地。^{註五}

D. The US is conducting test of the pilot program of GFS in Key West in Florida; in the future, GFS is going to be deployed in Bahrain, Guam, Indonesia and the Philippines.

^{註四} 同註四，p25.

^{註四} 美海軍部長辦公室，CNO Calls For New Maritime Strategy, (US Navy, 2006 [Oct 5 2007])，網址 http://www.navy.mil/search/display.asp?story_id=24207.

^{註四} 支援反恐需要 美國海軍考慮建立全球艦隊基地 (新華網引述自英國Jane's Defence Weekly, 2006 [Oct 4 2007])，網址：http://big5.xinhuanet.com/gate/big5/news.xinhuanet.com/mil/2006-06/16/content_4706886.htm

^{註五} 同註四。

^{註五} 同註四。

^{註五} 同註四。



「全球艦隊基地」雖仍處於初步開發階段，目前也僅以美海軍小型艦艇為支援對象；但無疑地其前景無限。「全球艦隊基地」使美海軍既可於聯盟國家水域巡邏，對於沒有意願的國家，也可在其附近的國際海域操作，可說是「鈍性結盟」思維的初步實驗。未來美軍將得以在全球各濱海地區採直接行動，迅速集結足夠兵力用於登陸，以及對地面行動提供海基空中支援，同時還可免除與他國交涉爭取部署臨時軍事基地所帶來的外交麻煩。亦即，21世紀的美國海軍，將從掌控重要航道及大洋制海權的戰略，向前推進到掌握任何有威脅或危機傾向的濱海地區制海權。這可從冷戰結束後，美海軍戰略思維由大洋大兵力對決的作戰轉為濱海作戰，並發展高精確度的「海戰場環境即時預報系統」，俾能精確地掌握作戰環境並投射武器至指定地點，獲得印證。^{註五}

The scheme of "Global Fleet Stations" is still in its initial phase and is designed to support small vessels for the time being. Yet undoubtedly it has huge potential. The GFS program will enable the US navy to patrol in the waters of allies; even for the countries that are not interested in forming alliance with America, the US navy may well still operate in the international waters nearby; therefore, GFS can be seen as a preliminary experiment of "alliance-insensitive" strategy. In the future, the US Navy will be able to take direct actions, quickly assemble sufficient forces for landing, and provide sea-based air support to ground actions in littoral areas. In addition, "Global Fleet Stations" will eliminate the diplomatic trouble associated with bargaining for temporary

military bases with foreign countries. That is, in the 21st century, the US Navy will not only control the important channels and the oceans, but will also press its command of the sea forward to include any threat- or crisis-prone littoral area. Since the Cold War ended, the US Navy has replaced its strategy of seeking primary campaign in the open ocean with conducting operations in the littoral areas. And, in order to correctly understand the battlespace environment and precisely project weapons to the designated spot, the US Navy has replaced the large-scale satellite surveillance system with the highly exact battlespace environmental prediction system. These are the clear evidences of the latest change in naval concept about command of the sea.

事實上，除上述列舉部署地點外，美國已在非洲的幾內亞灣(Gulf of Guinea)，包括從迦納(Ghana)以南到安哥拉(Angola)等沿岸十國及大西洋島國聖多美普林西比(Sao Tome e Principe)等共11國，作為「全球艦隊基地」的領航計畫實驗區；而美海軍駐紮該區的天數在2004年時僅6天，而迄2006的前6個月，駐紮該區天數已達180天。^{註六}顯示「全球艦隊基地」雖然是於2006年中由軍令部長馬倫(Michael Mullen)揭示的概念，但已經過一段時間的醞釀和實際驗證，並已使得美國海軍的前進部署較以前更為綿密。

In fact, in addition to the aforementioned regions, the US has conducted GFS pilot program in eleven countries located in Gulf of Guinea, from Ghana in the north to Angola in the south and the island Republic Sao Tome e Principe. Throughout 2004, the forward-deployed

^{註五} 毛正氣，「濱海環境作戰參數與海戰場環境即時預報模式」，國防雜誌，Vol. 22, No. 3 (2007): 7.

^{註六} Caitlin Harrington, US Urges African States to Address Maritime Security (Jane's Defence Weekly, 2006 [Oct 5 2007]), http://www.janes.com/defence/naval_forces/news/jdw/jdw061108_1_n.shtml

US naval forces spent only six days in Gulf of Guinea. However, in the first six months of 2006 alone, the days of US naval forward presence in that region numbered 180. This means that although Admiral Michael Mullen, the then Chief of Naval Operations, first advocated the idea of GFS only in mid-2006, it had been well contemplated and practically experimented for quite a long time before, and has strengthened the forward deployment of the US navy.

另外一項則是企圖打造全球海洋安全聯盟的「千艦海軍計畫」。對於因應第四代威脅，資訊的獲得和傳遞是反制行動成功的重要關鍵。美國在全球各地有龐大的投資和廣泛的利益，非常關切海上安全議題。美國深知無法獨自保障海上安全，必須爭取所有海上公私力量的合作。「千艦海軍計畫」乃應運而生。該計畫的說帖除以因應第四代威脅為目標外，特別再加上增進全球經濟利益的誘因。美國根據統計資料指出，2004年全球商船載運貨價值占全球出口總值的90%，約高達8.9兆美元；^{註五}據此強調在經濟緊密互賴的全球化時代，海上航行自由攸關全球商務成長速度，向國際倡導構築全球海上夥伴關係的必要性。

Another ambitious program is the Thousand-Ship Navy (TSN) designed to forge a league of global maritime security. In response to the fourth-generation threat, the acquisition and conveyance of information is the key for successful counter operations. The US has considerable investment and immense interests around the world; maritime security is the prime concern of the US. It realizes that it cannot safeguard maritime security alone and needs cooperation of all

public and private maritime institutions all over the world. TSN is designed to fulfill the goal. In the promotion document, the US points out that TSN will deal with the fourth-generation threat to safeguard maritime security and hereby advance global commerce. Statistics show that the world's commercial fleets carry around 90% of global exports, or about \$8.9 trillion, in 2004. The US thus stresses that in the highly interdependent globalization era, freedom of the seas is critical to enhancing the velocity of commerce and that it is imperative for the international community to construct global maritime partnership.

雖說參與千艦海軍計畫的成員，主權獲得尊重，不受任何國家指揮；但這可能只是名義上的平等關係而已。該計畫乃是要在海軍架構內構築與各國跨部會的全球海上夥伴關係、促進戰區安全合作，且使用美政府現用的海上治安與安全資訊系統為成員國相互通聯的資訊平臺，因此實質上，最終必然仍是以美國為領袖。

It is mentioned in the TSN promotion document that the sovereignty of member state will be respected and that nominally no member state will be dictated to by any other; however, this could be just nominal equality. TSN intends to construct interagency global maritime partnership within the structure of navies, promote theater security cooperation, and will employ the US government's Maritime Security & Safety Information System (MSSIS) for communication and information sharing between member states. Therefore, substantially the US will become the eventual leader.

其實，「全球艦隊基地」與「千艦海軍

^{註五} Global Maritime Partnerships ... Thousand Ship Navy, <http://www.deftechforum.com/ppt/Cotton.ppt>.



計畫」兩者都是為更有效投射美國兵力與影響力，掌握濱海制海權，以支持捍衛國家安全、繁榮經濟、向海外傳播民主人權的國家戰略目標。因此就理念而言，「全球艦隊基地」及「千艦海軍計畫」，與1992年的「來自海上」及1994年的「出擊——來自海上」，實屬脈絡一貫。

Actually, both GFS and TSN aim to more effectively project American forces and influence and secure sea control in the littoral areas, so as to support such national strategic objectives as enhancing national security, bolstering economic prosperity and promoting democracy abroad. In this sense, GFS and TSN are consistent with ...From the Sea published in 1992 and Forward ...From the Sea published in 1994.

四、美國新海權思維對國際政治的意涵

(4) Implications of the New Thoughts on Sea

Power for International Politics

「全球艦隊基地」與「千艦海軍計畫」可視為蛻變中的美國海軍戰略之兩面。「全球艦隊基地」代表鈍性結盟策略的體現，而「千艦海軍計畫」將使美國化身為海上航行安全此項公共財的最主要提供者，降低國際社會對於美國藉「全球艦隊基地」擴張海權的疑慮。可想而知，反對美國傳統價值全球化最力的俄、中等國，自然對該計畫也存有最深疑慮。然而，凡是對俄、中崛起感到不安的周邊國家，很可能以共同對付第四代威脅、促進全球經濟安全為名加入「千艦海軍計畫」。

GFS and TSN can be seen as the two sides of the US naval strategy in transformation. GFS represents the incarnation of alliance-insensitive strategy, while TSN will help the US play the

major provider of such public goods as maritime security and hereby ally the international suspicions that the US may intend to expand its control of the seas with GFS. Conceivably, Russia and China, the countries that oppose most the globalization of American values, have deepest suspicions of GFS and TSN. However, those peripheral countries that feel uneasy about the rise of Russia and China may join TSN in the name of tackling the fourth-generation threat and fostering global economic security.

千艦海軍計畫有極大潛力在促進戰區安全合作名義下，發展成區域聯合作戰之實；屆時各區域相關國家將更易於接受「全球艦隊基地」，利於美國落實將制海權向前推進到任何可能存在威脅的濱海地區。美國專業的國防期刊坦言「全球艦隊基地」與「千艦海軍計畫」的結合，對抗的對象包括從個別的恐怖份子到主要的國際競爭者。^{註5}

TSN has great potential to turn the nominal theater security cooperation into substantial regional combined operations; at that time the regional countries would be more inclined to accept the GFS arrangement, benefiting the US plan to advance its sea control to any littoral area with looming threat or crisis. A professional US defense journal clearly indicates that GFS and TSN, taken together, "are aimed at positioning the Navy to operate against a range of concentrated or diffuse threats ranging from major international competitors to individual terrorists."

值得一提的是，俄中聯手打造的「上海合作組織」，在其2006年高峰會的五周年宣言中，確立中俄戰略夥伴關係為上海合作組織的核心動力機制，尋求將美國勢力排除於

註5 Christopher P. Cavas, The Thousand-Ship Navy, <http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/2006/12/2336959>.

中亞之外的法理基礎，提倡尊重世界文明多樣性作為反美意識合理化的論述基礎，而其最終目標為瓦解美國單一超強體系並促成世界多極化。亦即，全球化時代中，國際政治雖然充滿合作的契機，但爭奪地緣戰略利益仍是引發衝突的主軸；單極霸權及新興多極強權間仍充滿既合作、又競爭的局面。

Noteworthy, the Declaration on the Fifth Anniversary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2006 erects the Russia-China strategic partnership as the nucleus dynamic mechanism of the SCO, seeks to establish a legal basis to rule out the US influence in Central Asia, promotes respect for diversified civilizations as the rationale of anti-America argument, and aims ultimately to disintegrate the US-dominated unipolar international system and facilitate a multipolar system. That is, chances for cooperation abound in the era of globalization, but scrambling for geo-strategic interests can still easily breed conflict among powers. The relations between the US and the emerging powers are mixed with cooperation and competition.

「全球艦隊基地」與「千艦海軍計畫」的結合，意味著美國的新海軍戰略對俄羅斯及中共等非民主國家體系將可能形成另類的協盟和圍堵。如此一來，「千艦海軍計畫」與其說是打造全球海洋安全聯盟，不如說是全球海洋民主聯盟；惟其結合「全球艦隊基地」掌握濱海地區制海權，對於非民主陣營所構築的圍堵密度和強度，將遠超過冷戰時代。這些發展，毋寧說是美國在全球化時代，為鞏固霸權地位、延緩或阻礙多極體系的形成，對「海權論」的創新詮釋。

The combination of GFS and TSN means that the new US naval strategy could form alternative alliance with and containment against the

undemocratic nations headed by Russia and China. In this sense, TSN is not so much a League of Global Maritime Security as a League of Global Maritime Democracies. In particular, combined with GFS which aims to consolidate US control of littoral area, TSN will deliver a policy of containment against the undemocratic camp far more intensively and effectively than ever. Hence, GFS and TSN and their combination can be seen as innovative exemplification of Mahanism by the US for consolidating its hegemony and deferring or even blocking the formation of a multipolar system in the era of globalization.

伍、結 論

5.Conclusion

美國崛起的歷程中，所標榜的理念，除原本帶有孤立主義色彩的「門羅主義」外，「自決」、對華「門戶開放」、「民族自決」、「全球開放」、「民主」、「自由」、「人權」等，都是屬於自由主義的偉大道德信念。當美國擴張時，這些美國自由主義派理念的服務對象也應運擴張；由北美十三州殖民地人民，向海外擴大為中國，受帝國侵略剝削的弱小民族，到所有生活於非民主國度、未享有民主自由方式的全球子民。

During its rise to hegemony, the US issued such arguments as Monroeism, self-determination, Open-door policy, racial self-determination, global openness, democracy, freedom and human rights. With the exception of the originally isolationism-tinctured Monroeism, each of the rest belongs to liberalism and carries great moral senses. As the US expanded, so did the audience served by these liberal beliefs, from the



early settlers in the thirteen states in North America, to include China and other imperialism-exploited nations. Nowadays, the enlarged audience includes all people that are not enjoying democracy and freedom in the world.

回顧美國自1890年代，排拒歐洲帝國主義以鞏固美洲地盤，實踐帝國主義奪取前進亞洲基地，敲開中國門戶與歐洲列強瓜分市場利益，兩次大戰前後爭取全球經貿市場及海洋航道向美開放，於冷戰後期掌控世界絕大部份戰略航道和海洋；再再都是美國追求國家利益，鞏固霸權的具體事證和歷程。當今全球化時代，美國甚至企圖開創確保美國永久獨霸的國際新秩序。

In retrospect, during its rise to hegemony, the US had achieved such feats as denying the European imperialism and consolidating its footing in America, realizing imperialism to snatch forward base in Asia, opening the door of China to share the market interests with the European powers, winning access to global markets and maritime channels, and taking control of the important sea-lanes and all of the oceans in the late Cold-War era. In the era of globalization, the US even attempts to create a new world order that would lead to the perpetuation of its single super-power status.

在國際關係理論中，自由主義與霸權主義乍看之下充滿矛盾。但美國政府每能將自利的霸權主義與表面上利他的自由主義信念結合，使其得以佔據道德高地，口頭上宣稱是濟弱扶傾、替天行道的強權，爭取國內廣大人民支持華府實踐增進國家利益的政策。以上論述並非否定美國所主張的任何偉大理念或價值，而是要強調：國際上並沒有所謂

的「利他主義」，美國的所作所為，其終極的行動準據，就是追求國家利益。大部份的美國人民也許不會接受全然自私自利的權力平衡策略，但如果美國政府所追求的目標，既能增進國家利益，又能冠以一套表面上合乎道德、利他主義的理由或說辭，則大概所有的美國人民都會支持其政府採取增進國家利益的權力平衡策略。^{註五}

In the theoretic field of international relations, liberalism and hegemonism seem contradictory to each other. However, the US always combines the self-interested hegemonism and seemingly altruistic liberal ideas together to enable itself to occupy the moral high grounds, claim itself innocent of imperialist intentions, and persuade the domestic public to support Washington's policies that would augment national interests. This argument does not mean to negate any great liberal belief of the US, but to stress that there is no altruism in international politics, and that national interests is the ultimate guidelines for all of the US actions. Most Americans may not accept purely self-interested balance of power strategy. However, if the goals pursued by Washington serve to enhance national interests and go along well with seemingly moral and altruistic pretexts, it's very likely that most Americans would be happy to support the government to adopt the balance of power strategy conducive to national interests.

更重要的是行動上，美國是馬漢「海權論」的忠實信徒。「海權論」使美國走出門羅主義的禁錮，踏上帝國主義的征途，抉擇「門戶開放」，而定於「以市場為中心的霸權主義」；美國更以強大的海權作為其「全球

^{註五} 本句係對大英帝國主義批判的改寫；參考Richard Koebner and Helmut Dan Schmidt, Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p219.

開放」政策的工具，締造美國的霸權地位。1815年，世界進入「不列顛和平」的時代，英國已控制海洋而無人敢向其挑戰；在當今全球化時代，美國所憧憬的「美利堅治世」，更是由於美國對馬漢「海權論」作出最新詮釋，方能支撐美國達成單邊／干預主義外交政策目標，強化並維持其霸權地位。總之，在可預見的未來，海權仍將是美國維持獨霸地位的憑藉！

Most importantly, in terms of actions, the US is a faithful follower of Mahan's work, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*. Mahanism prompts the US to break the deadlock of Monroeism, realize imperialism, and finally settle on market-centered hegemonism. America further employs its formidable sea power as a tool to implement global openness and ascend to global hegemony. With all the oceans under the British control, 1815 witnessed the advent of Pax Britania; no country dared to challenge the United Kingdom. In the era of globalization, it is America's innovative exemplification of Mahanism that empowers Washington to achieve its unilateralist, interventionist diplomatic goals, strengthen its hegemony status, and march toward Pax Americana. In short, in the foreseeable future, sea power will continue to be an important tool for the US to maintain its single superpower status.

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