

# 南海軍事發展概況

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- 伍、南海衝突及其預防
- 陸、結語

# 壹、緒言

# 南海要域 引來各國覬覦

## ECONOMY



**\$5.3 TRILLION**

in total trade passes through the South China Sea every year

Source: The White House

**11 BILLION**

barrels of oil in the South China Sea

**190 TRILLION**

cubic feet of natural gas in the South China Sea

Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration



**90%**

of Middle Eastern fossil fuel exports are projected to go to Asia by 2035

Source: World Energy Outlook 2012 prepared by the International Energy Agency (IEA)

COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS

## RISING TENSIONS



Percentage change in military spending by regional actors 2005–2014

Sources: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Military Expenditure Database



The cost of ten Coast Guard patrol boats that Japan is donating to the Philippines

Source: Philippine Daily Inquirer



China and Japan's level of "unfavorable" impressions of each other in 2015

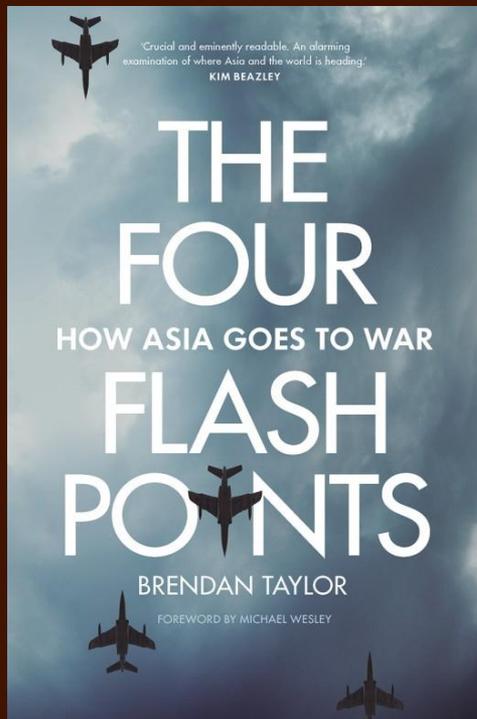
Source: The Genron NPO

COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS



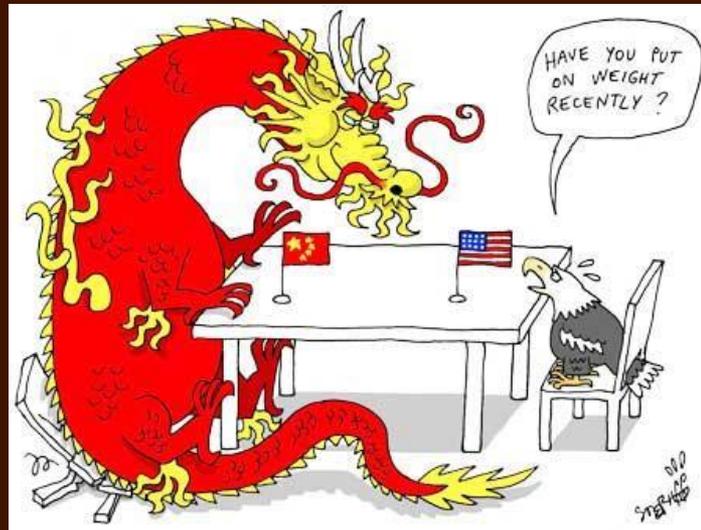
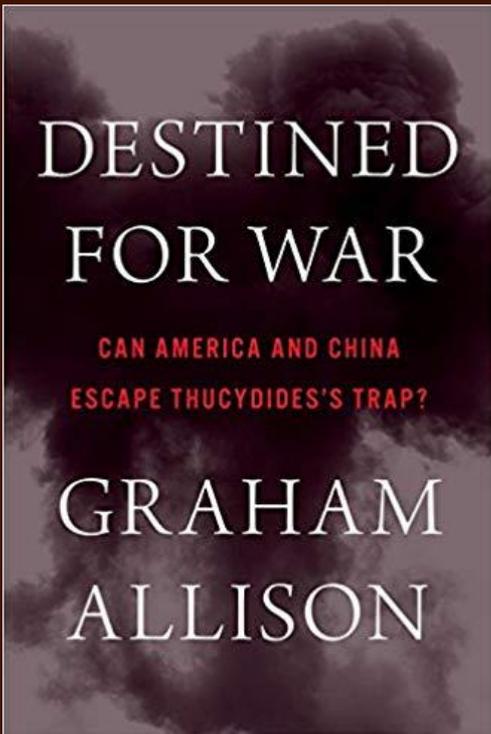
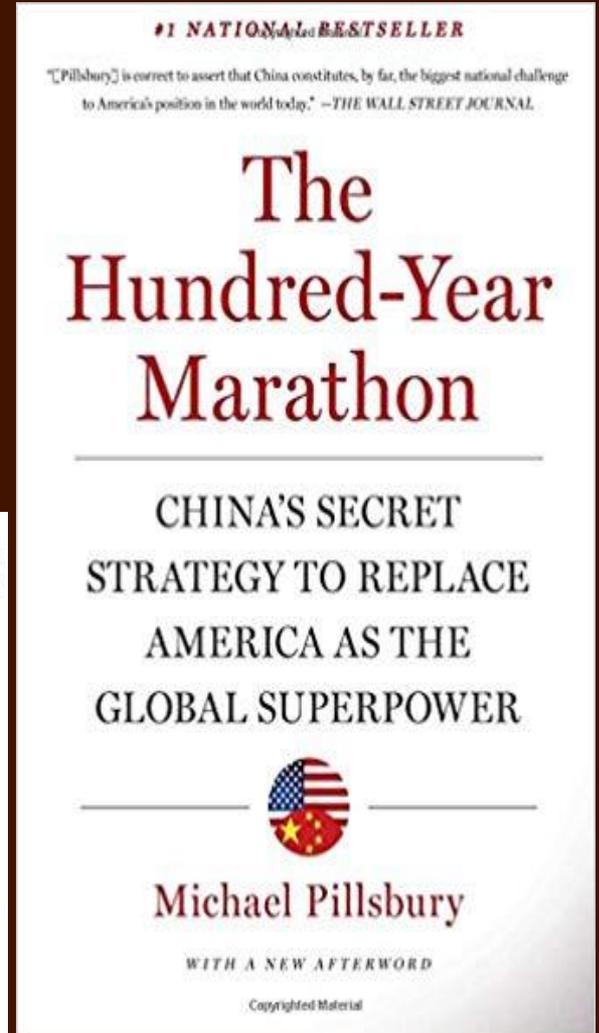
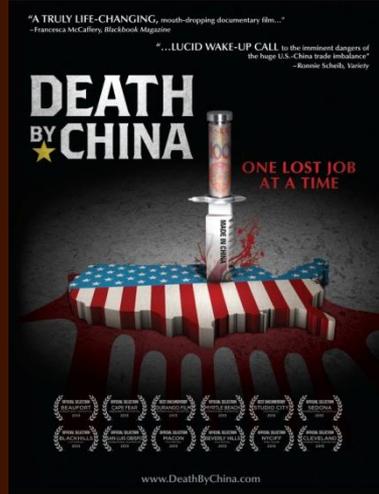
# 正在倒數計時的定時炸彈

## 四大引爆點：亞洲如何走入戰爭



來源: The Sun

# 修昔底德陷阱？



## 貳、南海各申索方軍力

# 南海主權 六方申索

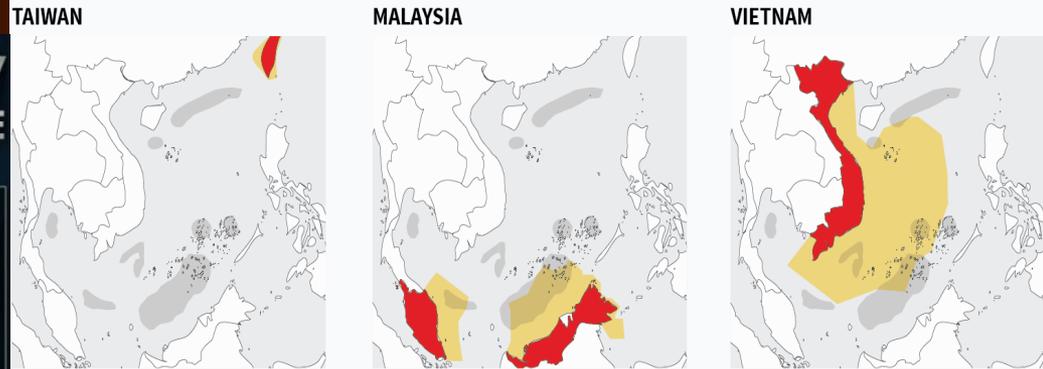
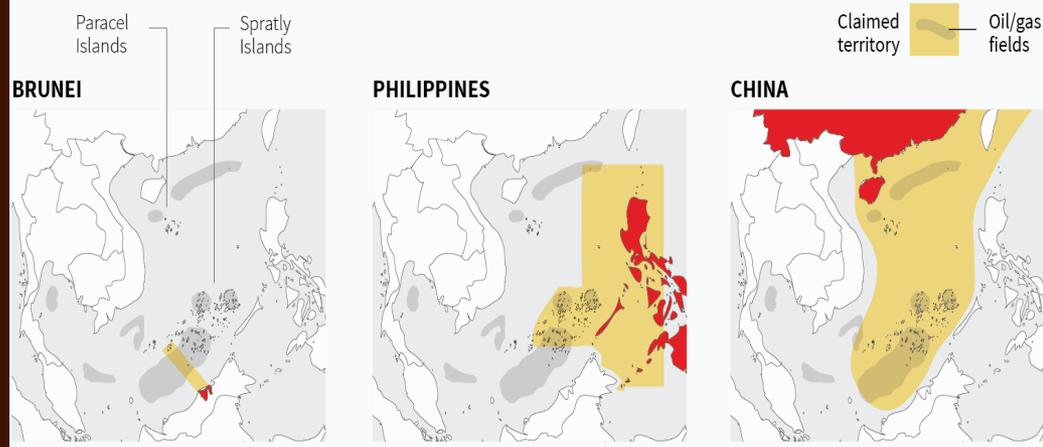
## 兩岸政府在南海的九段線和十一段線



\* 註：二戰後，中華民國政府為南海島嶼主權訂立了「十一段線」，中華人民共和國政府後來把範圍縮小至「九段線」

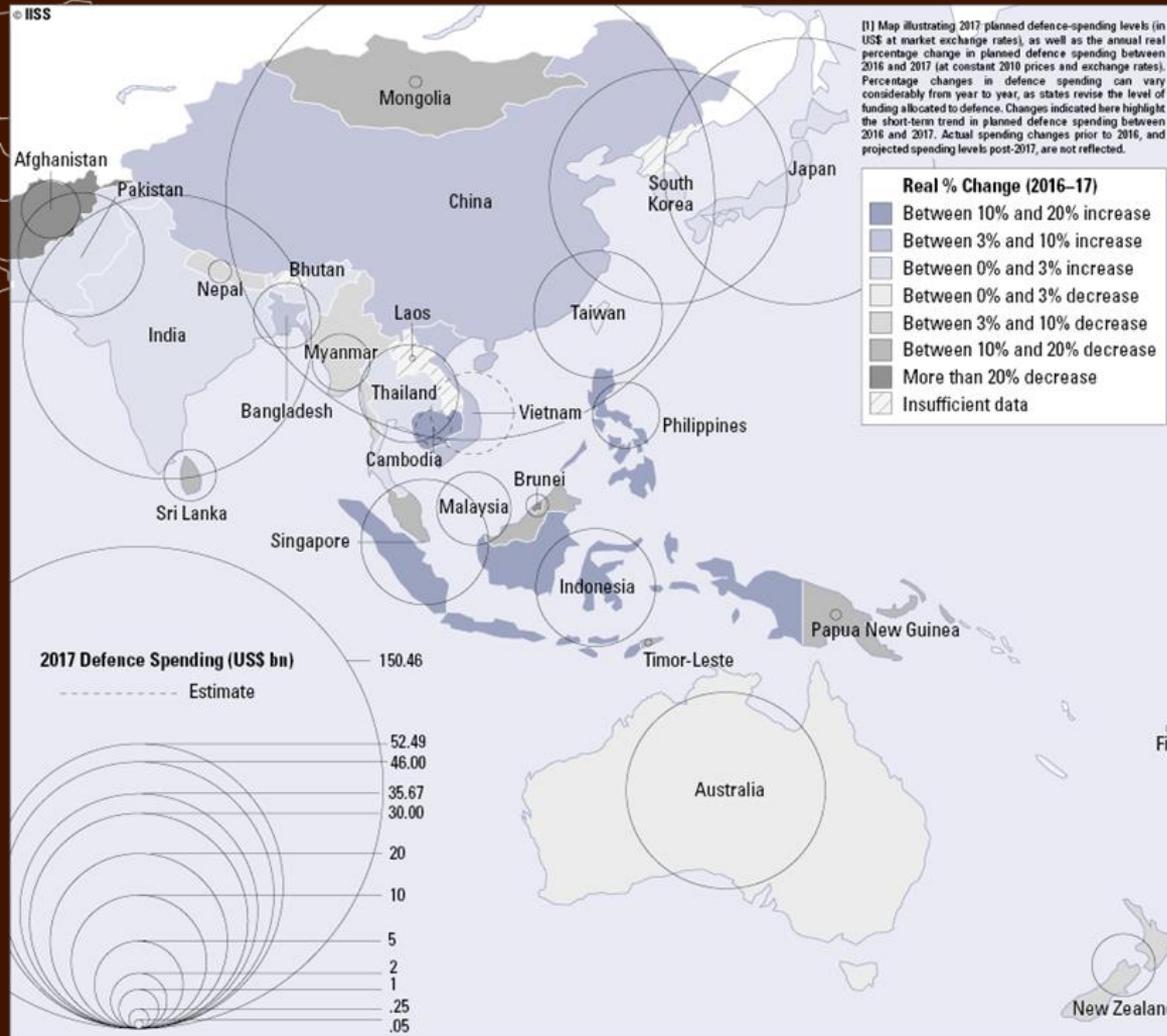
## Claims on the South China Sea

Six Southeast Asian nations and China contest all or parts of the Spratlys and Paracel islands in the South China Sea



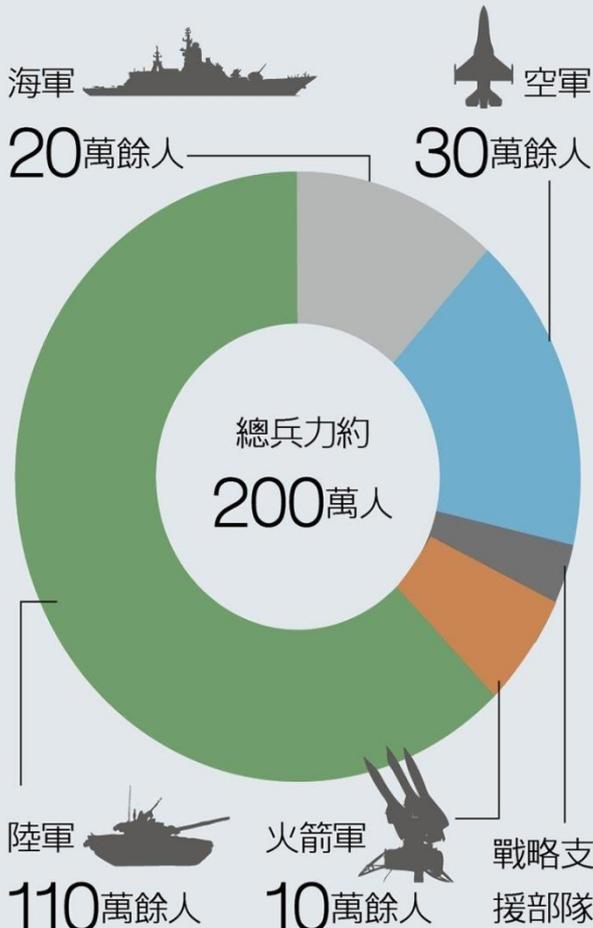
Sources: U.S. Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of State, Middlebury College, National Geographic

# 亞太各國軍事預算及增減



# 中國大陸

## 大陸軍力分布圖



資料來源／106年國防報告書

■聯合晚報

## 解放軍五大戰區主要任務



## MILITARY MIGHT AROUND THE WORLD

FORCES	UK	CHINA	U.S.	RUSSIA	FRANCE	ISRAEL
Total personnel	188,440	2.25m	1.38m	1.24m	225,000	187,000
Tanks	386	8,200	9,148	22,800	926	1,030
Artillery	877	14,000	5,178	13,585	787	2,783
Combat aircraft	356	1,900	18,169	1,263	1,023	1,230
Helicopters	458	491	4,593	2,625	892	386
Aircraft Carriers	2 (plus one in reserve)	1	11	1	1	0
Submarines	12	68	75	61	10	3
Other warships	71	591	308	169	100	13

Target: UK soldiers to face enemies with improved technology

# 南海申索方 軍力比較

## 2017年兩岸軍力對比

軍力對比	大陸	台灣
殲擊機	1271架	286架
運輸機	782架	189架
坦克	6457輛	2005輛
航空母艦	1艘	0艘
潛艦	68艘	4艘

資料來源：全球火力網站 製表：張國威

## Military balance in Asia

### EQUIPMENT

	China	N. Korea	S. Korea	Vietnam	Taiwan	Japan	Philippines	U.S.
<b>ARMY Personnel</b>	1,600,000	1,020,000	522,000	412,000	200,000	151,050	86,000	586,700
Main battle tank	6,840	3,500	2,414	1,270	565	777	n.a.	2,338
Light tank/Recce	750	560	n.a.	620	673	n.a.	7	1,928
AIFV	3,450	n.a.	290	300	225	68	36	4,559
APC	4,350	2,500	2,790	1,380	1,022	803	299	25,209
Artillery	13,014	21,100	11,038	3,070	2,254	1,773	254	5,899
Air defence (missile)	278	n.a.	780	n.a.	137	700	n.a.	1,296
<b>NAVY Personnel</b>	235,000	60,000	68,000	40,000	45,000	45,500	24,000	327,700
Aircraft carrier	1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4	n.a.	10
Cruiser	n.a.	n.a.	3	n.a.	4	4	n.a.	22
Destroyer	15	n.a.	6	n.a.	n.a.	32	n.a.	62
Frigate	54	3	13	2	22	11	1	13
Submarine	70	72	23	2	4	18	n.a.	72
PCC	216	382	110	68	51	6	62	55
Aircraft*	332	n.a.	16	n.a.	n.a.	78	n.a.	1,089
<b>AIR FORCE Personnel</b>	398,000	110,000	65,000	30,000	45,000	47,100	15,000	337,250
Aircraft*	2193	603	568	97	485	552	22	1,438

AIFV - Armoured infantry fighting vehicle APC - Armoured personnel carrier PCC - Patrol and coastal combatant

\* Fighters, bombers and anti-submarine warfare vehicles excluding helicopters. U.S. figures exclude special operation forces and reserve organisations.

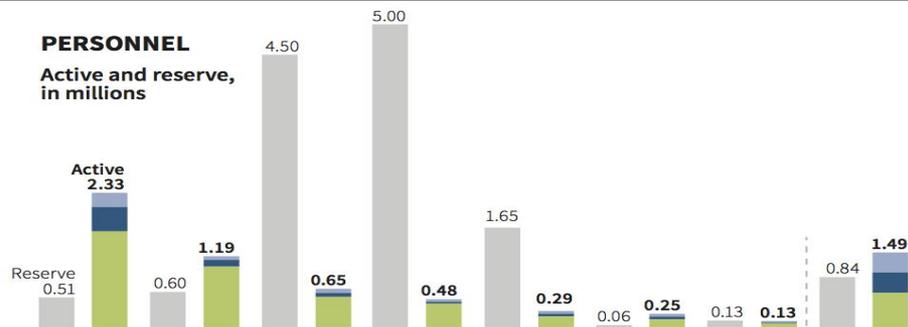
Source: The Military Balance 2014

G. Cabrera; F. Chan, 27/10/2014

REUTERS

### PERSONNEL

Active and reserve, in millions



## INDONESIA VS MALAYSIA

Comparisons of World Military Strengths: Indonesia and Malaysia. Indonesia outstrips Malaysia expenditures and might. If judged by numbers, Malaysia's military loses war with Indonesia. Here's a comparison:



Active Military Personnel



Tank Strength



Navy Ship Strength



Aircraft Strength



Annual Defense Budget



**MALAYSIA**  
Population:  
29,628,392

110,000



74



61



224



\$4.7 BILLION



**INDONESIA**  
Population:  
251,160,124

476,000



372



197



381

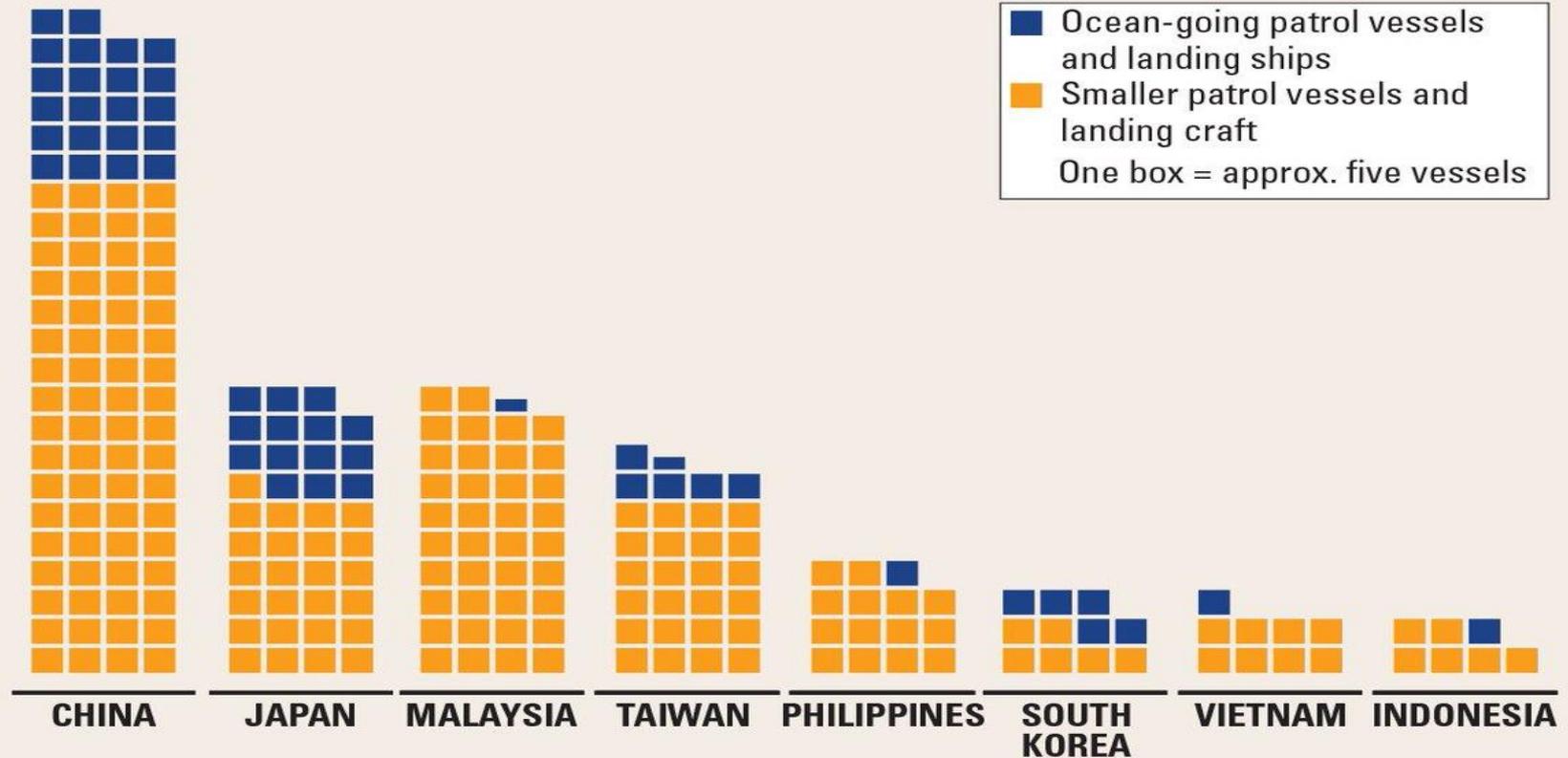


\$6.9 BILLION



# 亞太海警船艦比較

Figure 9.1: **Select Asia-Pacific countries' coastguard vessels: a comparison**

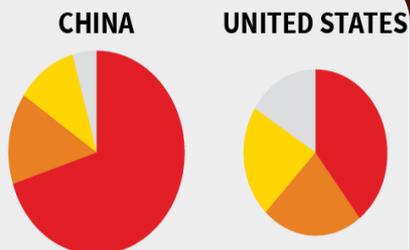


Source: IISS, *The Military Balance 2016*

# 中美軍力比較

## Big two

How China compares with the United States.



ACTIVE MILITARY PERSONNEL

**2,285,000**

**1,520,100**

### ARMY PERSONNEL

1,600,000

600,450

Main battle tanks	7,430+	2,338
APC*	2,900	23,866
Artillery	12,367+	6,477
Air defence (SAM)	302	1,281+

### AIR FORCE PERSONNEL

330,000

346,100

Combat aircraft	1,903	1,430
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### NAVY PERSONNEL

255,000

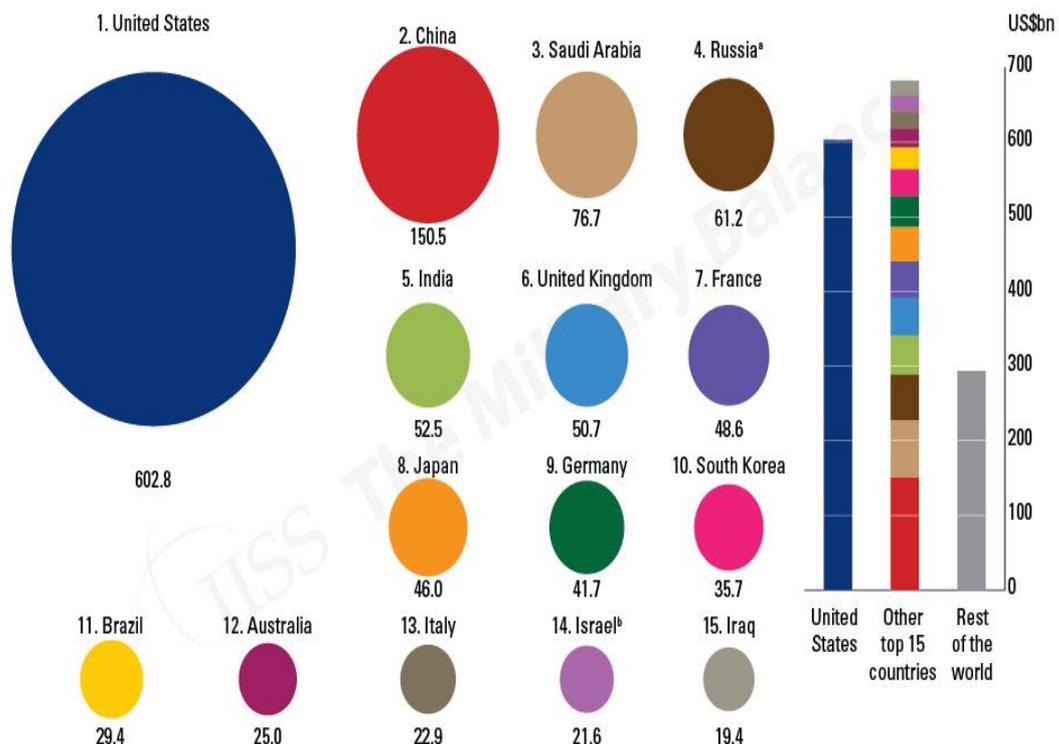
332,800

Surface combatants (total)	77	112
Aircraft carriers	1**	11
Cruisers	-	22
Destroyers	14	62
Frigates	62	17
Submarines	65	72
Patrol & coastal combatants	211+	41

\*Armored personnel carrier \*\* In active service but not currently combat operational.

Source: Military Balance 2013

## Top 15 defence budgets 2017\* US\$bn



\*Under NATO defence-spending definition; †Includes US Foreign Military Assistance

Note: US dollar totals are calculated using average market exchange rates for 2017, derived using IMF data. The relative position of countries will vary not only as a result of actual adjustments in defence-spending levels, but also due to exchange-rate fluctuations between domestic currencies and the US dollar. The use of average exchange rates reduces these fluctuations, but the effects of such movements can be significant in a number of cases. † At current prices and exchange rates

©IISS

# 叁、各方南海軍事部署

# 南海主權申索

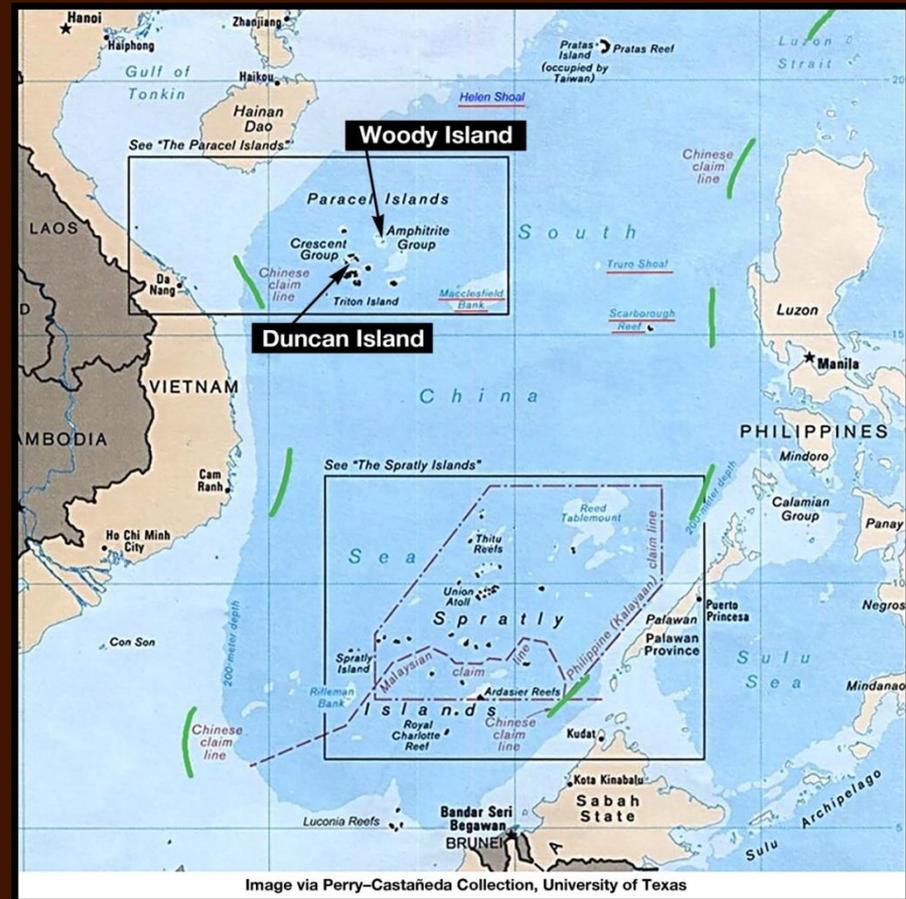
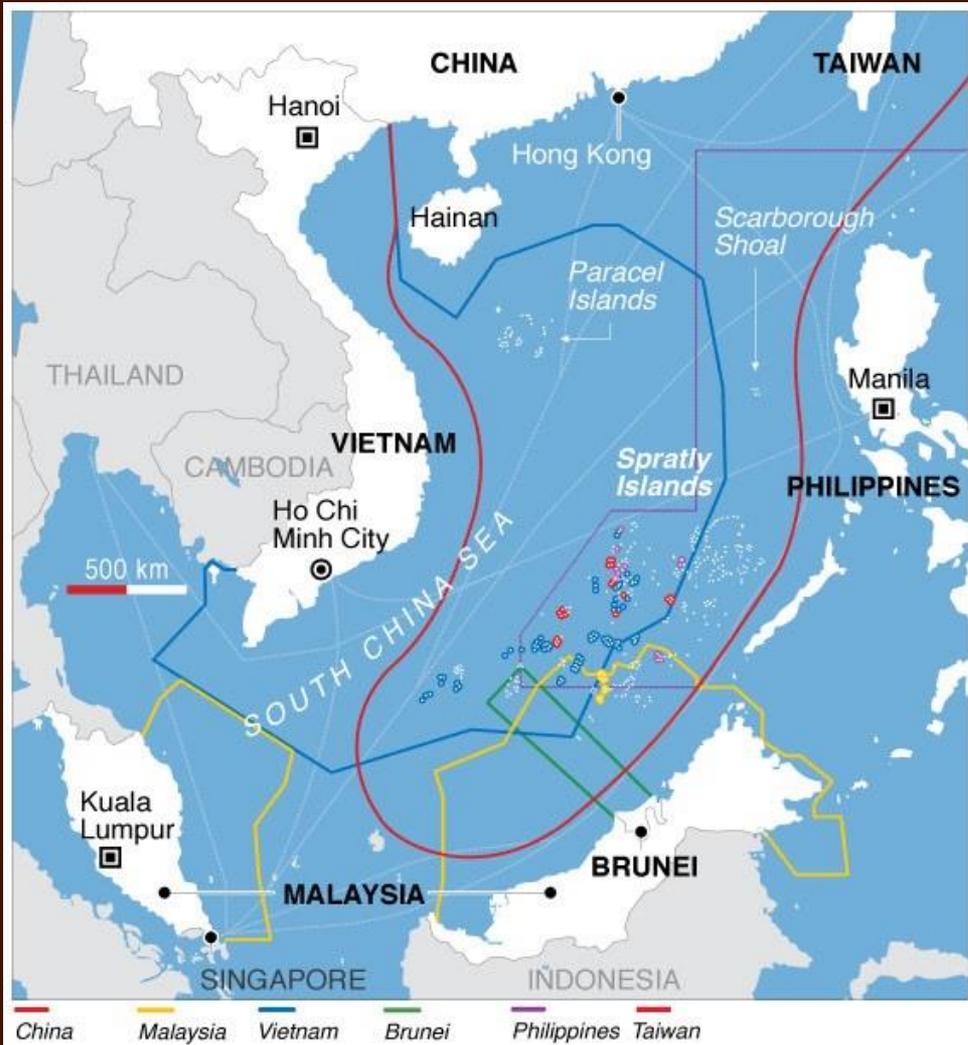


Image via Perry-Castañeda Collection, University of Texas





# 越南在南沙群島

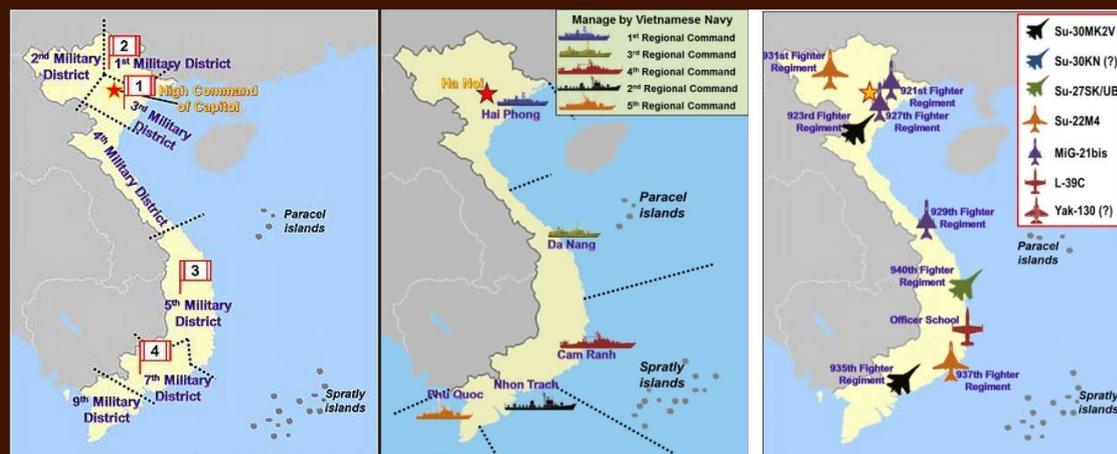
占有島礁 29

- 指揮中心: 南威島
- 堡壘化島礁 9
- 兵力

1500-2200+人

- 主要武器

高砲、各式火砲、  
坦克、武裝直升機、  
艦艇



## Disputed Spratly Islands



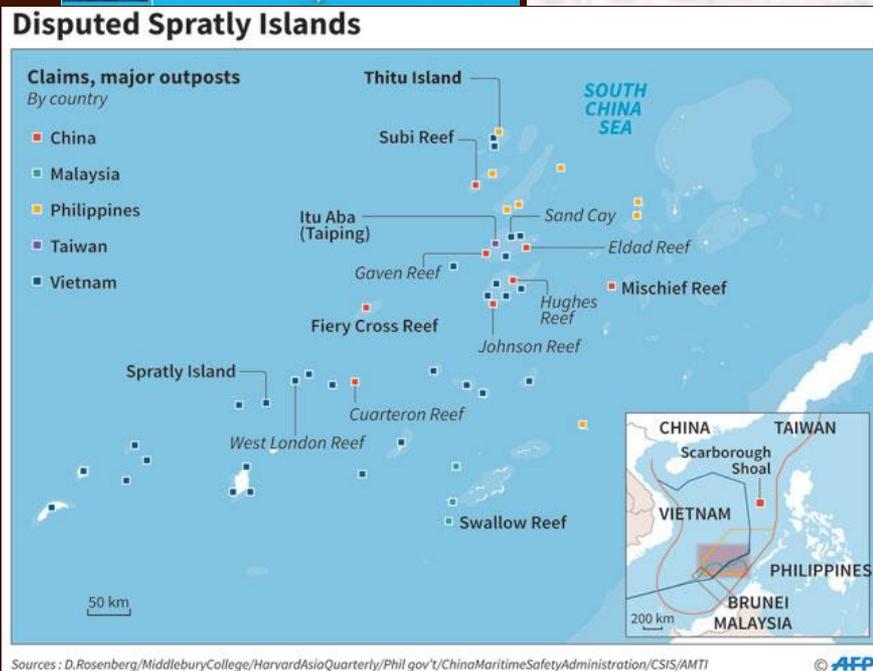
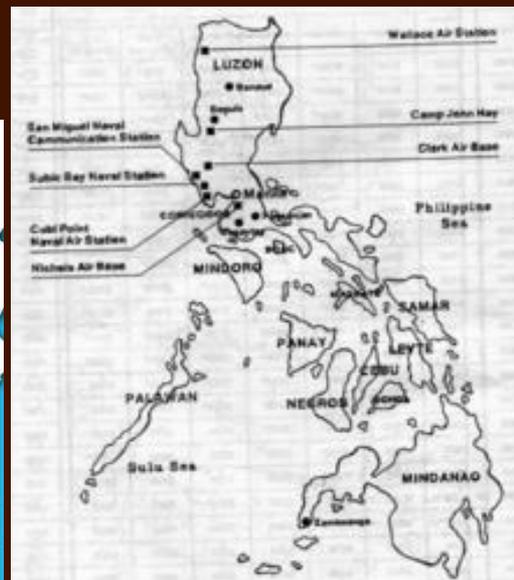
Sources : D.Rosenberg/MiddleburyCollege/HarvardAsiaQuarterly/Phil gov't/ChinaMaritimeSafetyAdministration/CSIS/AMTI

# 菲律賓在南沙群島

占有島礁 8

- 指揮中心: 中業島
- 兵力 60-200+人
- 主要武器

突擊步槍、手榴彈



# 馬來西亞在南沙群島

占有島礁 5

- 指揮中心: 彈丸礁
- 兵力 100+人
- 主要武器

輕兵器



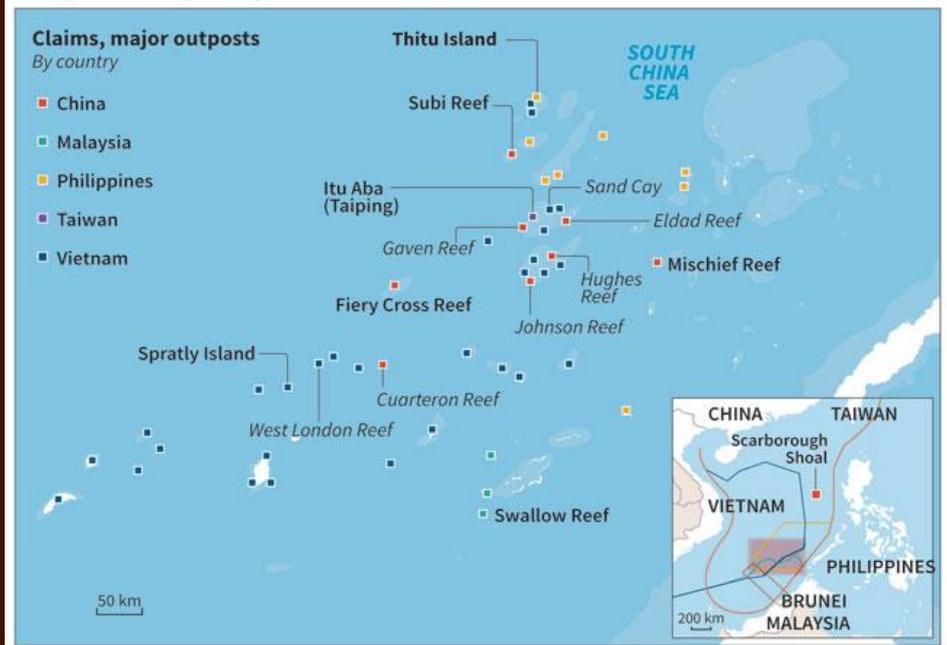
# 汶萊在南沙群島

占有島礁 1

未派軍隊駐島



## Disputed Spratly Islands



# 台灣在南海

占有東沙群島、南沙太平島

- 東沙群島

兵力 225人

- 南沙太平島

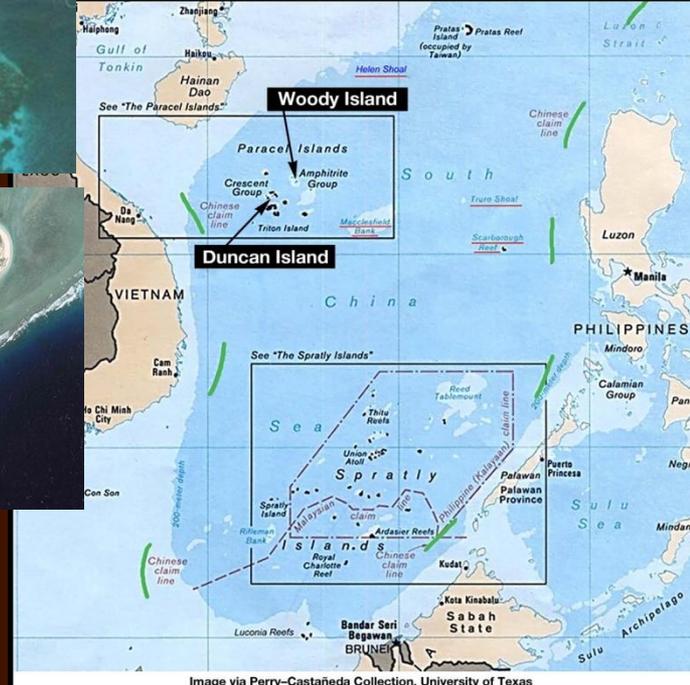
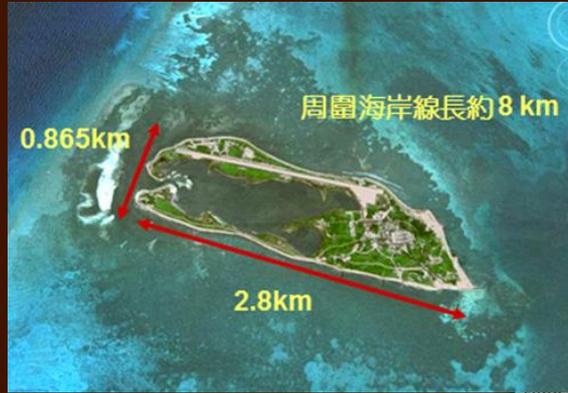
兵力 220+人

- 主要武器

20機砲、40高砲、

120迫砲、155榴砲、

反裝甲火箭、輕兵器



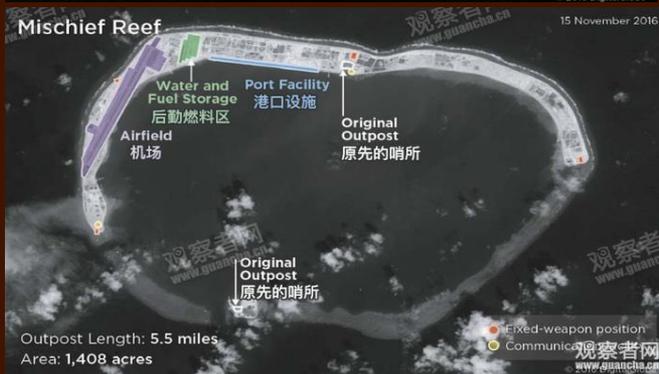
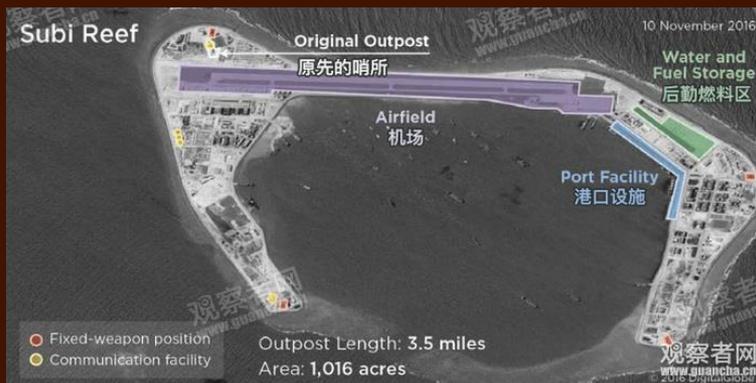
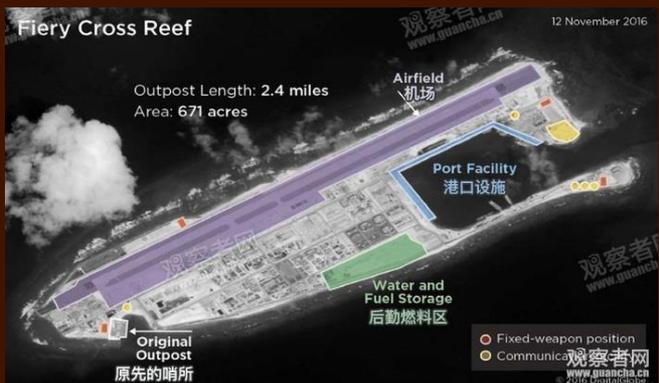
# 中國大陸在西沙群島



Duncan Island, Parcel Islands, South China Sea



# 中國大陸在南沙群島



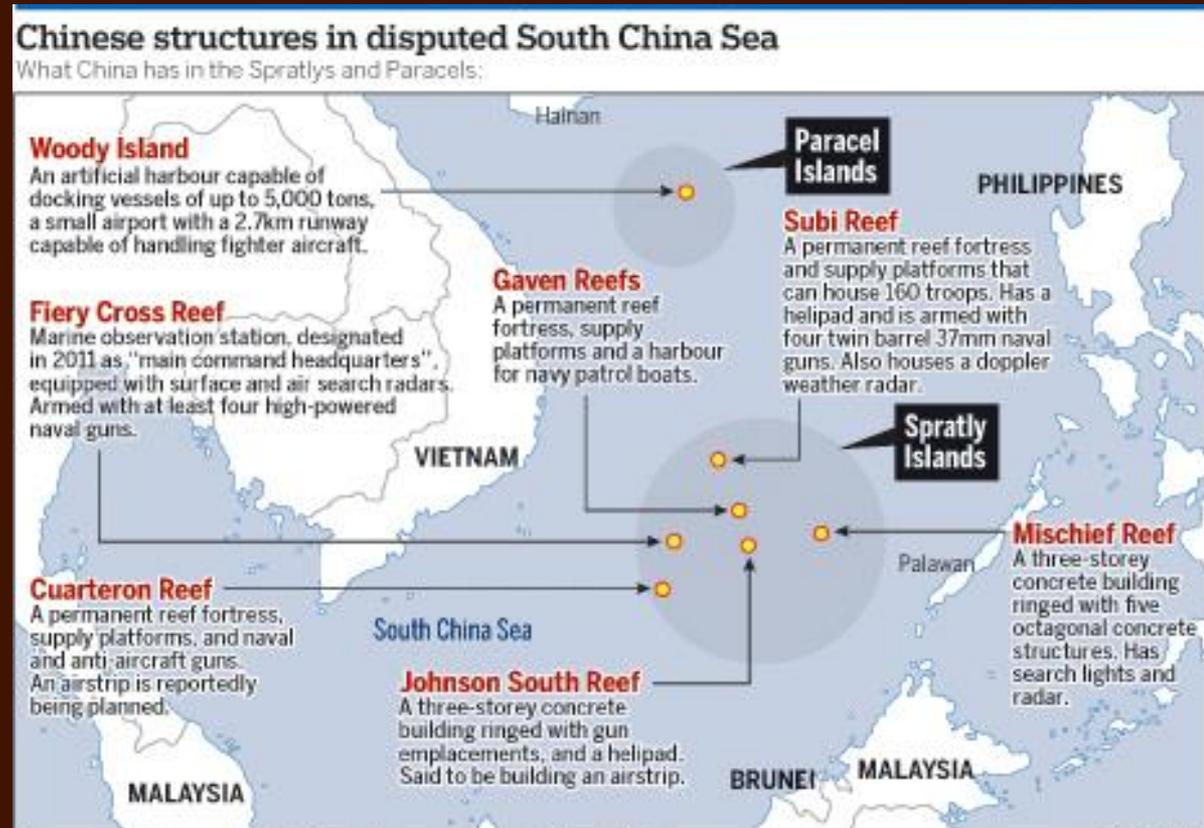
# 中國大陸南海兵力部署



- 西沙群島
- 指揮中心:永興島
- 海航團(1)
- 守備團(1)
- 兵力3000+人

➤部署殲擊機、戰轟機、防空及反艦飛彈、高砲、各型火砲、機場、直升機坪、碉堡、地下堡壘、大型碼頭、搜索雷達等

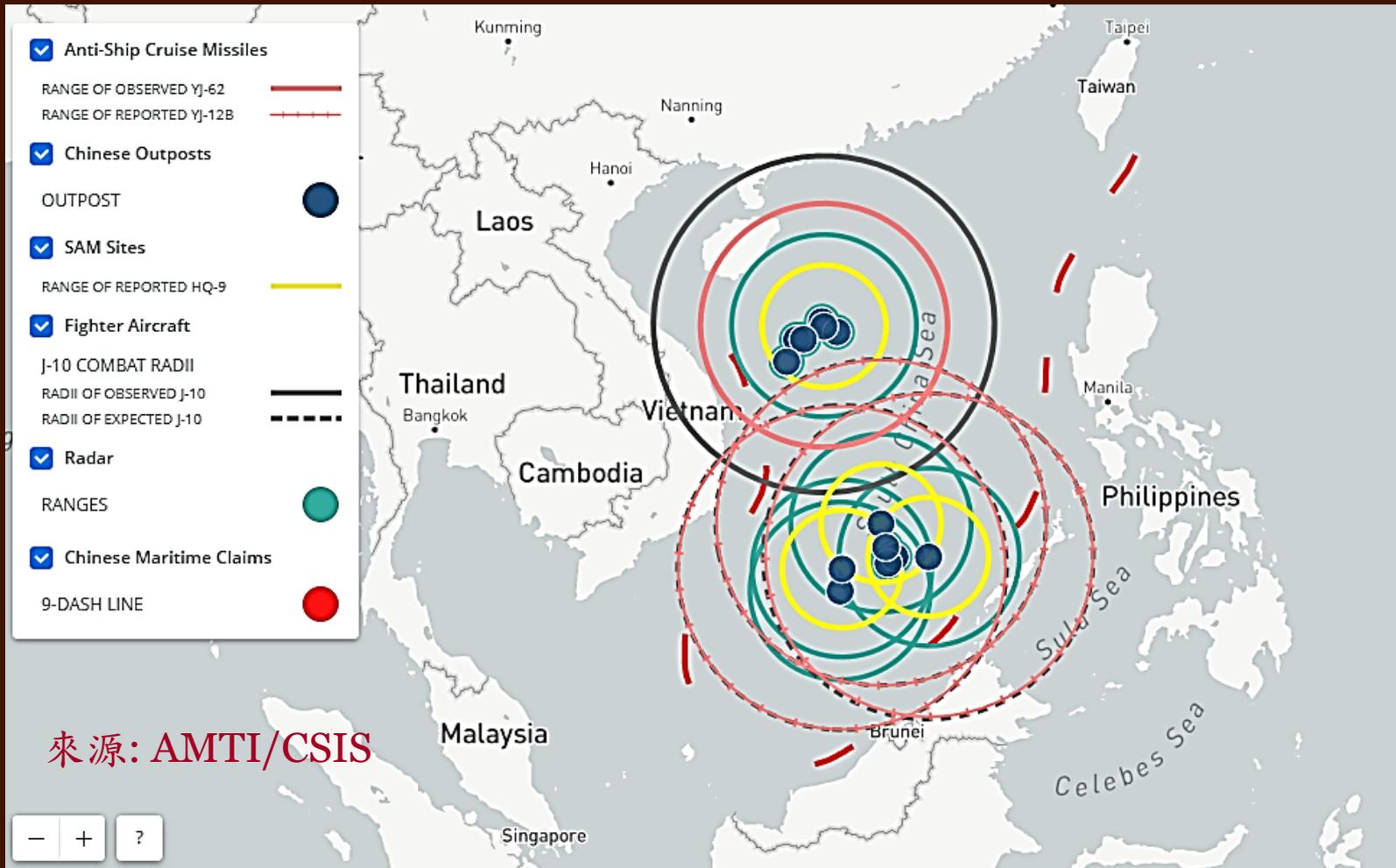
- 南沙群島
- 指揮中心:永暑島
- 填礁造島前
- 守備營(1)約500+人
- 現今2000-3500+人



# 中國大陸在南海的戰略鐵三角



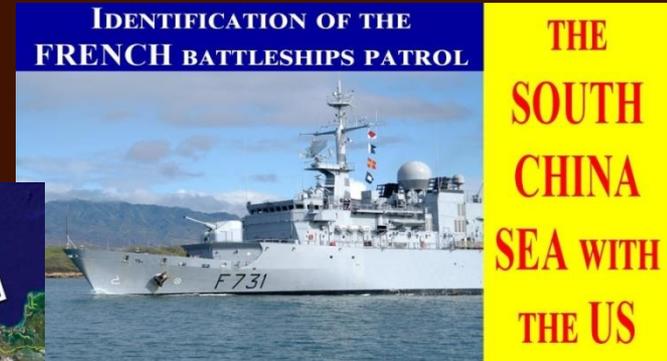
# 中國大陸在南海的軍事投射能力



# 肆、域外各國軍事介入

# 域外諸國藉機插足謀利

- 域外國家插足南海
- 世界五強齊現南海
- 越南的基洛潛艦
- 菲律賓獲贈艦艇
- 航行自由權...
- 美菲協防條約適用南海



**India Deploys 4 Front Line Ships To South China Sea On Active Deterrent Patrol**

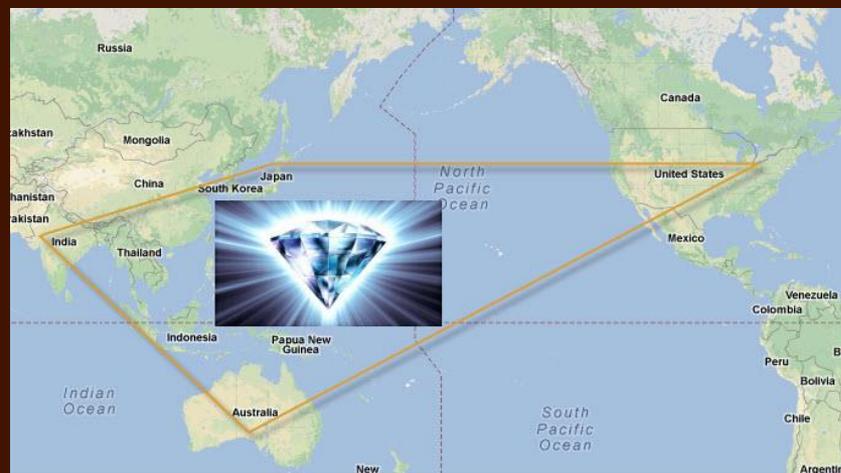
# 美國在南海的航行自由行動(FONOP)

\* 奧巴馬總統時期

2013.08.15	USS Curtis Wilbur (DDG-54)	航經南海
2015.05.21	US P-8A Poseidon	飛越永暑礁
2015.10.27	USS Lassen (DDG-82)	渚碧礁、美濟礁12海里內
2016.01.30	USS Curtis Wilbur (DDG-54)	中建島12海里內
2016.05.10	USS William P. Lawrence (DDG-110)	永暑礁12海里內
2016.10.21	USS Decatur (DDG-73)	永興島、中建島12海里外

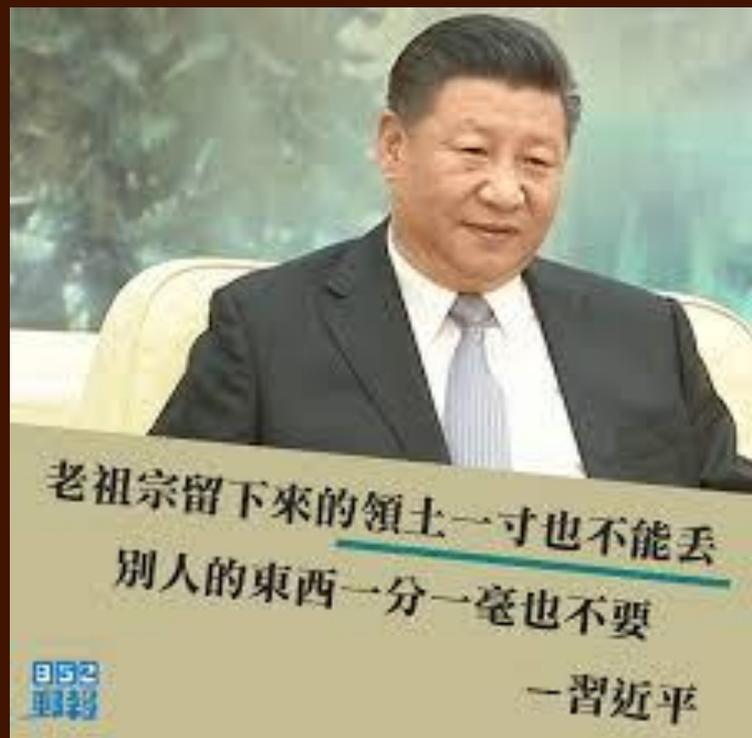
\*\* 特朗普總統任內至2018. 3. 23共執行6次

# 美國在亞太地區軍力部署



# 伍、南海衝突及其預防

# 中國大陸向世界宣告 捍衛主權、寸土必爭、不搞擴張、不是威脅

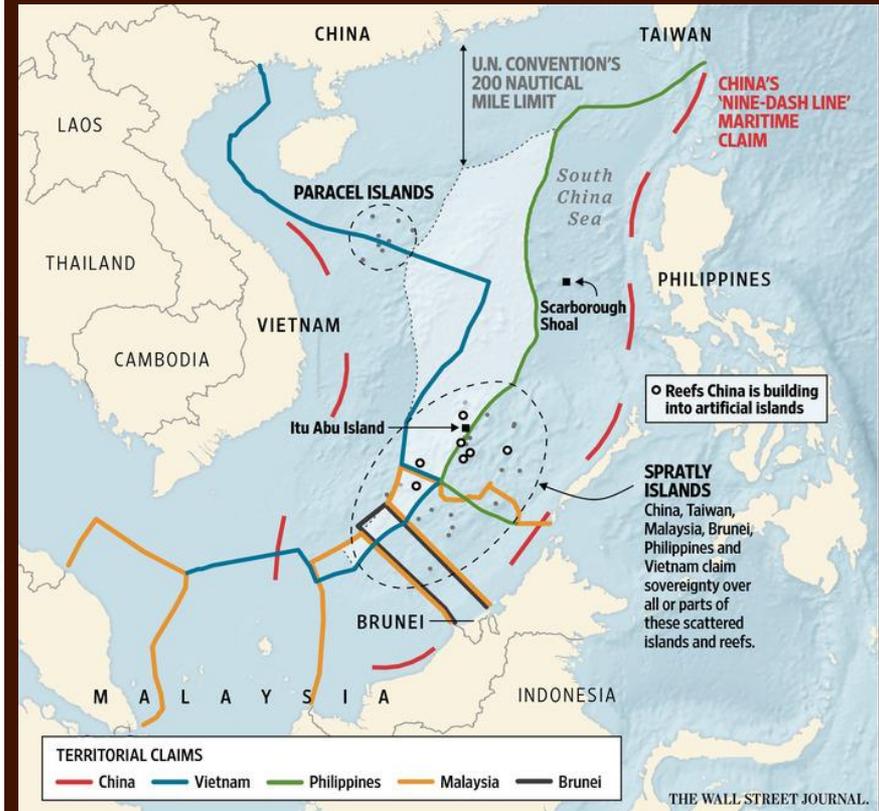
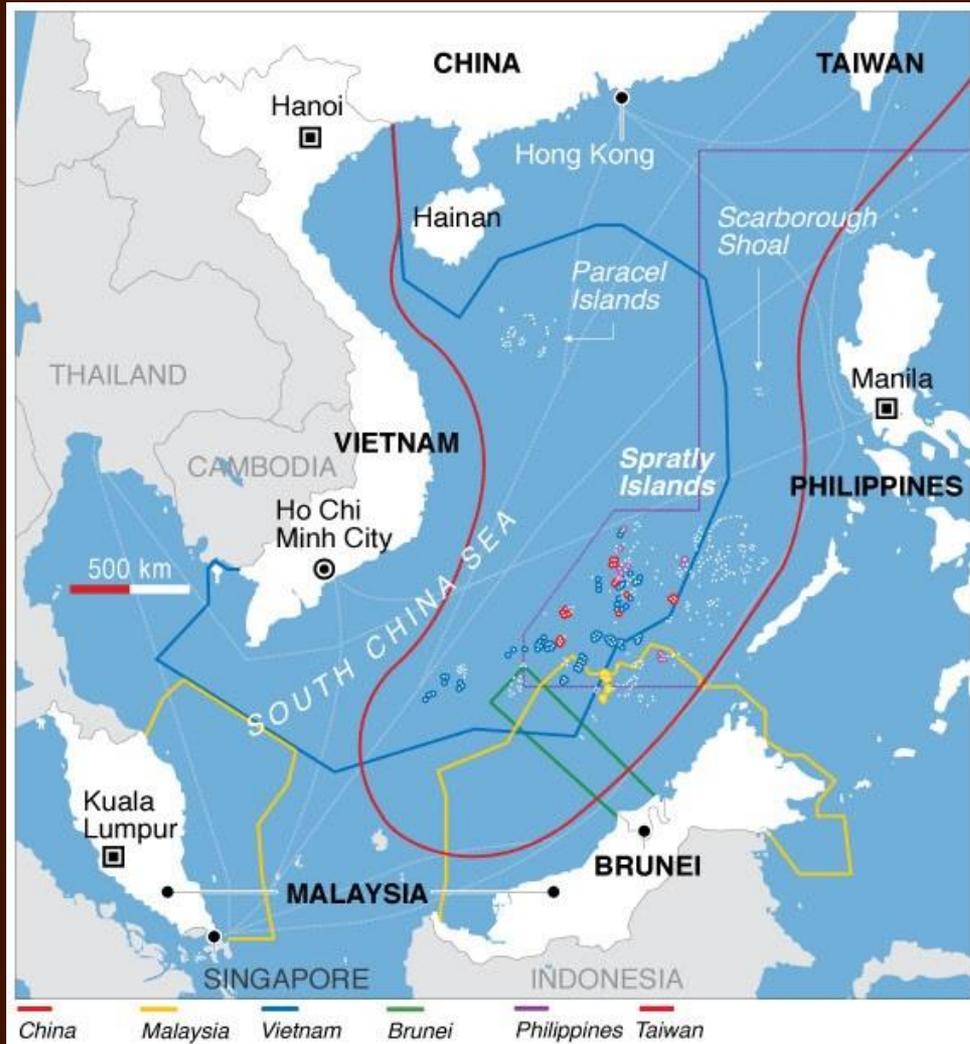


# 南海情勢風雨欲來的前兆？

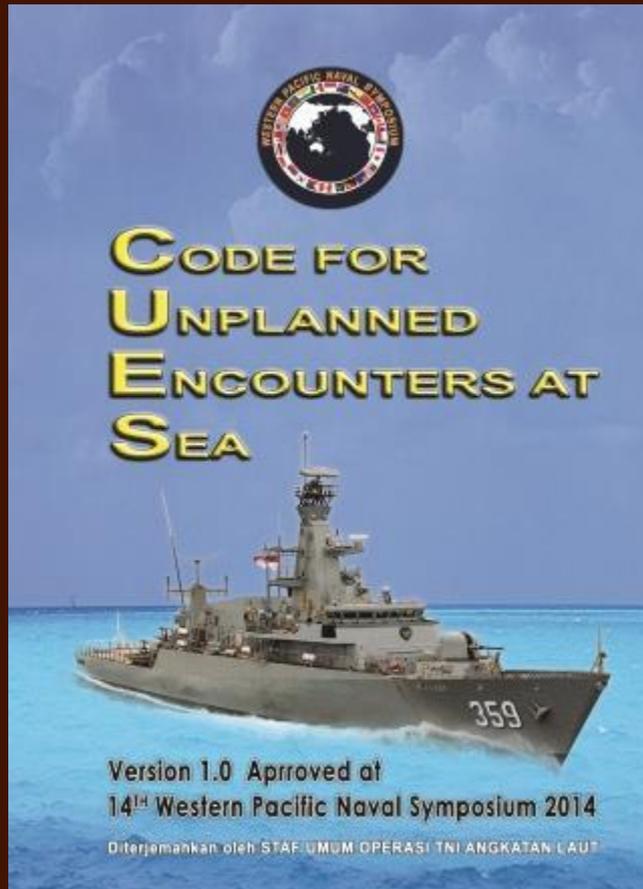
- 壹、仲裁未讓南海爭端翻頁
- 貳、杜特蒂現象仍潛藏變數
- 參、南海扮演中美競合槓桿
- 肆、中越衝突依舊蓄勢待發
- 伍、域外諸國藉機插足謀利
- 陸、南海仍是潛在衝突熱點
- 柒、南海資源有效開發運用
- 捌、南海互動牽連兩岸關係



# 維持現狀、衝突預防、合作互信



# 《海上意外相遇規則》 CUES



### 美軍艦南海挑釁位置圖

中國  
海南島  
南海  
越南  
菲律賓  
美濟礁 (事發地點)  
馬來西亞

中國聲稱擁有主權的九段線範圍

### 中美南海鬥法拆局

美國表明會將此類巡邏任務「常態化」，定期派軍艦進入中方人工島 12 海里範圍，中方未來或會有以下部署作回應：

- 出動軍艦跟蹤美艦，監視美艦行蹤
- 組織漁民護島，用大量漁船纏繞、逼停美艦，將美艦趕離 12 海里
- 軍艦火力警告美艦，甚至不惜以開戰威脅
- 用軍艦攔截、逼停美艦，要其離開 12 海里範圍

12 海里

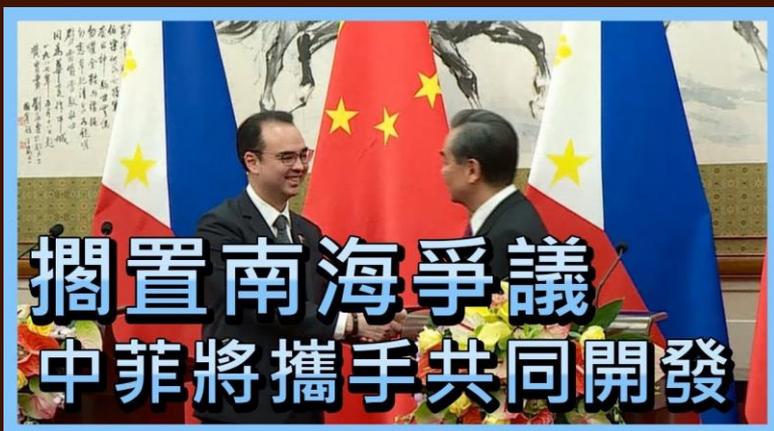
資料來源：綜合中外媒體報道

# 《南海行為準則》(COC)磋商

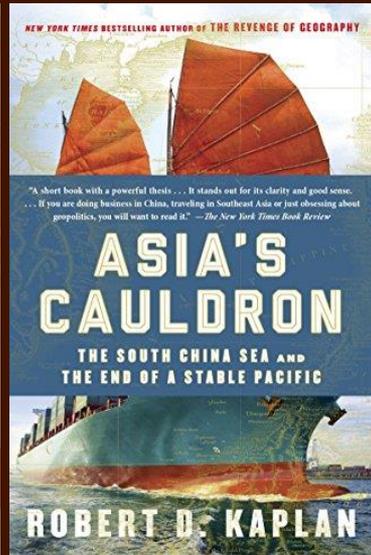
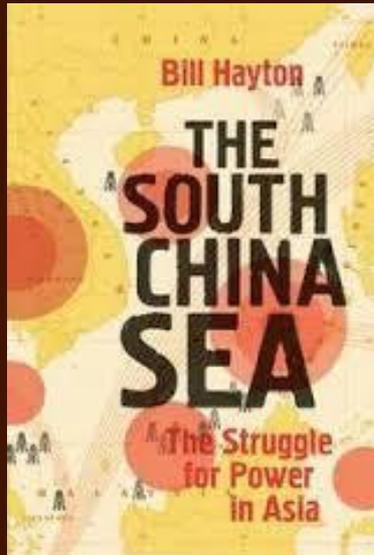
- 2018.8.3 東協與中國大陸完成《南海行為準則》(COC) 單一磋商文本草案



# 擱置爭議 合作開發



# 政治溝通與掌握話語權



➤ 在資訊時代，成功不僅只是結果為那方軍隊贏了，而更取決於誰的故事勝利。

— 奈伊 (Joseph S. Nye, Jr.)

哈佛大學甘迺迪學院

# 陸、結語

# HYBRID WARS 混合戰爭



# 超限戰 TRANSFINITE WARS (PREVIOUSLY, UN-RESTRICTED WARS)

<u>軍事</u>	<u>超軍事</u>	<u>非軍事</u>
原子戰	外交戰	金融戰
常規戰	網絡戰	貿易戰
生化戰	情報戰	資源戰
生態戰	心理戰	經援戰
太空戰	技術戰	法規戰
電子戰	走私戰	制裁戰
游擊戰	毒品戰	媒體戰
恐怖戰	虛擬戰(威懾)	意識形態戰

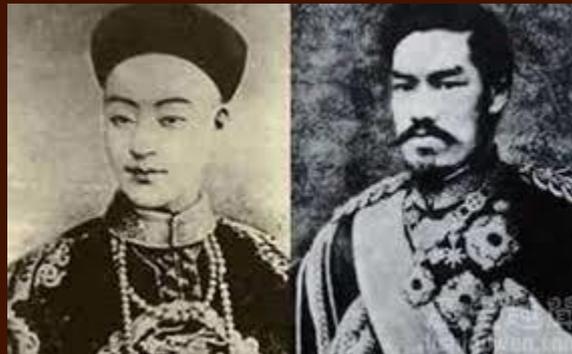
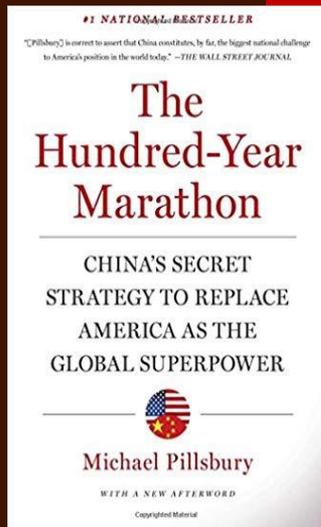
資料來源：喬良、王湘穗，《超限戰》，北京：解放軍文藝出版社，1999年2月，頁156-157。

真實世界不同於電影，不會有背景音樂提示  
關鍵情節，預示戰爭即將降臨。

—謝林(Thomas Schelling)

上兵伐謀與伐交  
不戰而屈人之兵，善之善者也。  
用兵之法，毋恃其不來，恃吾有以待之；  
毋恃其不攻，恃吾有所不可攻也。

—孫子兵法



# 僅憑希望不能成事

蔣夢麟有次與胡適、杜威結伴遊北京西山，看到一個屎蜣螂像西緒福斯那樣不斷地推著泥團上坡，不斷地失敗而不甘心，胡適與蔣夢麟佩服它的毅力，而杜威卻認為「它的毅力固然可嘉，它的愚蠢卻實在可憐。」「西方惋歎屎蜣螂之缺乏智慧，東方則讚賞它之富於毅力。」

強者為所能為，弱者逆來順受

"Right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."

- Thucydides



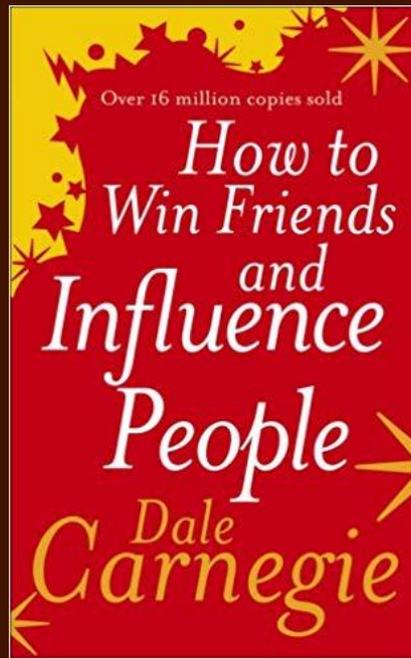
# 智勇双全、深謀遠慮、備周力強、寧靜致遠

左公柳拂玉門曉塞上風光好天山溶雪滄田  
 曠大漠飛沙旋落日沙中為子壘子似仙人島  
 迥心田碧玉叢、坐看孺子浪滔、想京樞陸塞  
 空遠班超澤唐先立經營早為年是匈奴右臂  
 才更是歐亞孔道經營趁早趁早趁早趁早  
 眼况射西域翹鵬

羅家倫先生玉門出塞歌 甲申孟春隴東薛重祿

大風起兮雲飛揚威加液內兮  
 歸故鄉安得猛士兮守四方

劉邦大風歌



智勇雙全



感謝  
敬請指教！