



美國的「區域海事安全倡議」 與台灣的海事安全

U.S. "Regional maritime security initiative" to Taiwan's maritime security

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今年六月初，在新加坡所舉行的第三次所謂「香格里拉對話」中，與會國防部長與官員所討論的議題主要有三：海事安全、朝鮮半島北韓核武威脅、以及美國所提出的「區域海事安全倡議」(The Regional Maritime Security Initiative，簡稱RMSI)。其中最引起爭議的討論是圍繞在「區域海事安全倡議」。美國認為有必要協助麻六甲海峽沿岸國維持此重要國際航道的安全，不受海盜與恐怖主義份子的襲擊，進而造成區域與全球經濟受到莫大影響。海峽沿岸國新加坡採支持美國的立場，但是另外兩個海峽沿岸國馬來西亞及印尼卻強力反對。

今年3月底，美國太平洋司令部總司令法戈(Thomas Fargo)在國會眾院軍事委員會做證時表示美國正研擬「區域海事安全倡議」，依此倡議將派遣美國海軍陸戰隊及特種部隊使用高速船隻前往麻六甲海峽進行打擊海上恐怖主義、海盜、防止大規模毀滅性武器之運送、取締防或範毒品走私及人口偷渡等海上不法情事，此倡議經媒體報

In early June 2004 a third round of the so-called "Shangri-la dialog" was hold in Singapore, major agendas raised by attending defense ministers and officials: Maritime security, North Korea's nuclear threat in the Korean peninsula, and "Regional Maritime Security Initiative" (RMSI) which was proposed by U.S.. The RMSI is the critical issue. In order to prevent attacks from pirates and terrorists which jeopardize the this area and global economic, the U.S. considered it necessary to offer necessary assistances to the countries along the Malacca Strait to maintain security of the international navigational road. While Singapore appeard receptive to the proposal, both Indonesia and Malaysia adamantly opposed it.

In March 2004, Thomas Fargo, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, testified the important of "Regional Maritime Security Initiative" (RMSI) in Congress, according to the testify the U.S. is planning to deploy U.S. marine corps and special forces operating on high-speed vessels to crack down illicit maritime crimes, such as maritime terrorism, piracy and prevent the transportation of large-scale weapons of mass destruction, crack-down or prevent drug trafficking and stowaway and etc. at the Malacca Strait. The proposal was high concerned by countries bordering the Malacca Strait as the news released.



導之後，引起麻六甲海峽沿岸國的高度關切。

馬來西亞與印尼對此倡議採取強烈反對態度，認為是侵犯了海峽沿岸國在其領海的主權、將造成區域外國家任意派遣船隻到麻六甲海峽進行執法的惡例、且與國際海洋法有關國際海峽無害穿越權之規定相抵觸。馬來西亞為此倡議對真正解決恐怖主義問題有大幫助，強調處理恐怖主義應正視其根本問題（root causes of terrorism）。此外，馬來西亞擔心此倡議有可能激怒極端回教恐怖主義份子，導致問題的惡化。馬國與印尼也認為麻六甲海峽之海事安全應由海峽沿岸國負責維護，不應假手外國。但新加坡認為航行於麻六甲海峽內之石油或天然氣輪、化學輪、或其他船隻遭受海上恐怖主義行動攻擊的可能性是相當高。

二〇〇〇年，美國軍艦科爾（USS Cole）在也門被回教民兵襲擊打出一個大洞。二〇〇二年法國的油輪林伯格號（Limburg）同樣也被襲擊。去年三月，在麻六甲海峽的一起海盜事件更引起全球反恐專家關注。該事件發生時，十名武裝海盜乘坐快艇突襲一艘印尼籍化學物品運輸船。在短短數十分鐘內，海盜搶走了價值數萬美元電子產品和現金。如果把海盜換成恐怖份子，電子產品和現金換成有毒化學物品，哪麼後果將不堪設想。事實上，美國與新加坡情資單位已收到恐怖主義份子襲擊從麻六甲海峽一直到波斯灣的美國

Malaysia and Indonesia had strong opposed this initiative reckoning that it would invade the sovereignty of territory sea of countries along the strait, let the foreign countries have excuses dispatch vessels in this area for law enforcement, and break the innocent passage of international law of sea. Malaysia reckoned that the initiative would not contributed toward resolving terrorism and emphasized that terrorism resolution lied in tackling the root cause of terrorism. Both Malaysia and Indonesia also conceded that the maritime security for the Malacca Strait ought to be maintained by countries around the strait, rather than relying on the other countries. Whereas Singapore reckoned that the probability of petroleum, natural gas, chemical transporting vessels and other types of vessels being attacked by maritime terrorist action remained highly.

In 2002, Cole, U.S. warship and Limburg, oil tanker of France were attacked by Muslim civilian soldiers of Yemeni. In March 2003, a piracy case that occurred in the Malacca Strait had grabbed the attention of anti-terrorist experts worldwide. In this case, ten armed pirates riding a fast boat ambushed an Indonesia-registered chemical transport vessel and rubbed electronic products worth ten thousands U.S. dollar and cash. Suppose to substitute the pirates with terrorists, and the electronic products and cash as toxic chemical substance, it would be a tragedy. In fact, the intelligence agency of the U.S. and Singapore had received intelligence pertaining to the terrorists' ambush plans against American vessels from the Malacca Strait to the Persian Gulf.



船隻的情報。

新加坡副總理兼國防部長陳慶炎在今年 5 月 21 日曾表示：「恐怖分子已在其他區域對海事目標發動襲擊，雖然類似的攻擊行動還沒在本區域發生，我們卻不能假設威脅不存在。目前已有清楚的跡象顯示恐怖分子打算攻擊停泊在新加坡的美軍軍艦，也在學習如何對本區域的海事目標進行恐怖襲擊」。因此，新加坡強烈支持美國所提出的「區域海事安全倡議」。

自「區域海事安全倡議」提出後兩個月期間，此倡議相當受國際媒體之注意，尤其今年 5 月 31 日是美國所主導遏阻大規模毀滅性武器「反擴散安全倡議」(Proliferation Security Initiative) 提出滿一週年紀念，而俄羅斯也在「反擴散安全倡議」度六次會議召開時加入已有十六國參與的「反擴散安全倡議」。此外，4 月下旬聯合國安理會一致通過一個遏阻大規模毀滅性武器擴散的決議案第 1540 號。「區域海事安全倡議」被認為是「反擴散安全倡議」的另一個配套計畫，主要由美國主導。

由於受到馬來西亞與印尼的強烈反彈，美國改口說「區域海事安全倡議」並沒有派遣美國海軍陸戰隊及高速船隻常駐麻六甲海峽的構想，而僅是尋求與海峽沿岸國之合作，尤其是情報資訊交換方面。出席「香格里拉對話」的美國強調此倡議仍在初期研議階段，不管未來如何決定一定不會損及海峽沿岸國領海主權。出席「香格里拉對話」的馬來西亞副總理兼國防部長納吉布。拉扎克表示馬國強烈反對美國派遣軍隊至東南亞協助區域內國家；但原則上同意與美國交換、共用有關封

Chen Ching Yen, Singapore vice premier and minister of national defense division, remarked on May 21 2004, "Terrorists had also launched attack on maritime targets in other regions, and although similar incidents had not happened in the region, we cannot hypothesize that such threats do not exist". While so far, there are clear indications that terrorists are on the move to attack U.S. military vessels that are docking in Singapore, and learning how to launch terrorist attack against the region's maritime targets". Therefore Singapore strongly supported the ground of U.S. regarding to "Regional maritime security initiative".

Within the two months since the debut of the "Regional maritime security initiative", the initiative had continued to grab the attention of the global media, particularly so at the one year anniversary of the introduction of the "Proliferation Security Initiative" by March 31 2004 that was spearheaded by the U.S. to curb weapons of mass destruction. While Russia had also joined the "Proliferation Security Initiative" then participated by 16 countries during the sixth proliferation security initiative meeting. Furthermore, a 1540 resolution had also been unanimously passed at the United Nations Security Council held in late April, intended to curb the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The "Regional maritime security initiative" was regarded as part of a package plan to the "Proliferation security initiative", and is directed by the U.S.

In the face of strong opposition from Malaysia and Indonesia, the U.S. had changed tone citing that the "Regional maritime security initiative" did not intend to involve US troops in anti-terrorist operations in Southeast Asia's waters and that its maritime security initiative for the region focused mainly on intelligence sharing. While attending the Shangri-la Dialog, the U.S. emphasized that the initiative was still at a drafting phase, and however it turned out no maritime sovereignty of the strait surrounding countries would be compromised. Najib Razak, minister of Malaysian defense division, strongly opposed that the U.S. deployed troops to Southeast Asia to facilitate the regional countries, but had agreed that his country was open to discussions with the United States and other nations on expanding cooperation in intelligence sharing and surveillance.



鎖或切斷恐怖份子財務與後勤給網絡的情報。麻六甲海峽航道保持安全通暢攸關台灣經濟貿易之發展與能源供給安全。我們對美國所提出的此新安全倡議應抱持何種態度？台灣海峽是重要國際航道之一，高雄與基隆也是國際重要港口。恐怖主義份子是否也有可能劫持、襲擊航行於台灣海峽或停靠高雄與基隆港的日本籍或美國籍油輪、貨櫃輪、化學輪、或載運石油、天然氣的船舶？正如參與美國所提出的「貨櫃安全倡議」一樣，我國是否有與美國就強化台灣海峽海事安全進行磋商的必要？「貨櫃安全倡議」、「反擴散安全倡議」、以及「區域海事安全倡議」都不是政府間的組織，而是一個合作性的活動。參與這些倡議與申請加入成為國際組織成員是有所不同。我國政府有關單位不但應注意最近國際間與區域內有關海事安全的發展，也應思考主動提出類如「台海海事安全合作倡議」或「南海合作安全倡議」的計畫。（作者任職於中央研究院歐美所研究員兼副所長）

Taiwan's economic, trade development, and energy depends on navigational security over the Malacca Strait. How does Taiwan view the "Regional maritime security initiative" proposed by the U.S.? The Taiwan Strait remains one of the vital international waterways, and both Kaohsiung and Keelung Ports are crucial international port. Would terrorists plan to hijack or ambush Japan-registered or America-registered oil tankers, container vessels, chemical tankes, or LPG navigating through the Taiwan Strait or mooring at the Kaohsiung or Keelung ports? According to the U.S. "Container security initiative", would there be need for R.O.C to negotiate with the U.S. about Taiwan Strait? The "Container security initiative", "Proliferation security initiative" and "Regional maritime security initiative" aren't government organizations but rather cooperative activities.

It's different between joining these kind of activities and being a member of international organizations. The R.O.C Government authorities not only need to keep watch the development of regional and international maritime security but also make an passive plan such as "Taiwan Strait maritime security cooperation initiative" or "South China Sea security initiative".

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