

王生荣 著

海洋大国与 海权争夺

sea powers
and sea

海潮出版社

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By Wang Sheng-rong

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序：马汉对海权历史的影响

虽然海权在马汉的先前时代就始终存在和发展着，但“海权”概念却与马汉的名字永远地联系在一起。

在马汉的时代，老牌世界强国英国、法国和俄罗斯开始衰落，新兴世界强国德国、日本和美国开始迅速崛起。马汉作为那个时代的代言人和预言家，他发明了“海权”概念，并用以解释世界列强的兴衰。

马汉及其巨著《海权对历史的影响》，不仅在他所处时代起过重要作用，而且其影响还传诸于后世。

在美国，马汉是美国总统西奥多·罗斯福的知音挚友。美西战争期间，时任海军部部长助理的罗斯福，曾极力推荐已退役的马汉参加海军战略委员会，作为海军部的顾问，参与指导大海战。通过这次战争，美国一跃成为世界海洋强国。尔后，美国在世界海权史上的地位与日俱增。

在日本，海军将领们对马汉的战列舰队决战理论推崇备至。依据这一理论，日本海军在甲午战争中打败了中国北洋海军；十年后，日本联合舰队又消灭了俄罗斯的太平洋舰队以及远涉重洋前来增援的波罗的海舰队主力，最终完全控制了东亚海权。第二次世界大战，日本陆军侵占东亚大陆，海军则向太平洋进攻。这样，日本就与称霸太平洋的海权强国美国发生了致命冲突。日本由于实行了向陆海两个方向出击的战略，最后既没能够保住在东亚的陆权，又丧失了在大平洋的海权。

在德国，威廉二世皇帝是马汉的狂热崇拜者。德皇任命了鼓吹

海权论的铁毕子为海军大臣,认为他能将德国引向海权强国的道路。铁毕子虽然在创建德国海军方面起过关键作用,但他却从根本上误解了马汉的海权思想,或者说把马汉的战列舰队决战理论推向了极端,而炮制出一个所谓的“冒险理论”。第一次世界大战,德国公海舰队在北海守株待兔式地等待与英国大舰队前来冒险决战,结果却错失了在大西洋夺取海权的时机。第二次世界大战,德国海军部向战列舰队决战理论提出挑战,邓尼茨元帅发明了“狼群潜艇战”,在大西洋绞杀同盟国的海上商船运输线,并不失时机地将战场扩大到地中海和加勒比海。但邓尼茨的潜艇战却将美国拖入了同盟国反潜战的行列,反而使德国海军陷入了两面作战的困境,最终也未能获取海权。

英国一直被马汉视为海权国家的楷模。但是,英国维持庞大的海洋帝国却成了脆弱的根源,第一次世界大战,德国公海舰队对北海的严重威胁,迫使英国海军力量从世界各地海上战略枢纽不断收缩,将主力舰队集中部署在本土周围。第二次世界大战,英国受困于大西洋生命线的争夺战,无力挽救海外殖民地的溃散,最终从世界海洋帝国的宝座上摔落下来,成为美国全球海洋战略中的一个小伙伴。

俄罗斯是一个典型的横跨欧亚大陆的陆权国家。从伊凡雷帝到彼得大帝和叶卡捷琳娜女皇(一译“叶卡特琳娜”),都不满足于在欧亚大陆心脏安睡,而将扩张势力不断向遥远的滨海前伸。苏联海军元帅戈尔什科夫是俄罗斯寻找出海口传统的集大成者,他撰写了《国家海权》一书,因之被西方学者称之为“20 世纪的马汉”。这位苏联新型海军的总设计师,领导建设了一支以核潜艇为主力的远洋攻击力量,从而为苏联与美国争夺世界海洋霸权提供了强力工具。

马汉的“海权”概念,还蕴含着极其深刻的地缘战略内涵。马汉第一次公开地揭示了世界列强争霸的秘密,即欧亚大陆边缘区是

海权国家与陆权国家的必争之地带。因此，马汉献策，海权国家要联合起来，从欧亚大陆边缘区遏制陆权国家俄罗斯向世界海洋的扩张。马汉的这一思想，对整个 20 世纪的欧亚大陆地缘战略格局产生了极其深刻的影响。

回顾 20 世纪，海权国家主导欧亚大陆地缘战略格局基本上呈现为三个历史阶段，期间中国饱经屈辱和磨难。第一个历史阶段，众多海权国家与陆权国家俄罗斯，在被马汉称之为亚洲大陆的“条形地带”展开争夺，20 世纪上半叶的中国，既遭受帝国主义的海上入侵，又遭受帝国主义的陆上威胁，成为任凭世界列强争夺和宰割的“政治羔羊”；第二个历史阶段，美国根据斯派克曼的“边缘地带”理论，依仗强大海权优势对欧亚大陆进行海上战略包围，中国这个“社会主义堡垒”被遏制近半个世纪。第三个历史阶段，冷战结束后，美国为确保其独一无二的首要地位和建立由它主宰的单极世界，依仗海上绝对优势确保对欧亚大陆的全局安排，在被布热津斯基称之为“大棋局”的战略中，中国被视为远东的“战略棋子”，欲加任意摆布。

历史已经告诉我们，历史还将告诉我们：未来的世界仍将是海权强国横行的世界，弱小国家若无强大的海权，就难以捍卫合法的海洋权益和领土安全。

然而，不同的国家，对海权有不同的理解。马汉的海权论作为帝国主义和霸权主义的工具，是为世界列强的侵略、扩张和强权政治服务的。中国则应坚持自己独特的海洋战略，以独立地管辖自己的海洋事务，有效地维护自己的海洋权益，坚决地捍卫自己的海洋安全。

当然，作为“海权”概念的解释者，马汉“海权论”最精华的思想，还是体现在对海权所依赖的客观条件的阐述上面，即海权与国家的地理位置、自然结构、领土范围、人口数量、国民性格和政府特征等要素密切相关。这一著名的“海权六要素”理论，客观地揭示了

培育、建立和发展海权的实质,值得我们在研究人类海权历史和世界列强海洋战略时加以参考和借鉴。

展望 21 世纪,仍将是海权强国控制全球海洋的世纪,所以我们对马汉海权论的影响仍不能低估。

王 生 荣

2000 年 8 月 20 日

INTRODUCTION:

The Influence of Mahan upon Seapower History

Seapower is always related to Mahan.

Seapower had been developing in the world before Mahan's time. In his lifetime, Germany, Japan, and the United States emerged as big powers, the older powers of Great Britain, France, Russia began to decline. Mahan was a mouthpiece and prophet in his time. He invented the conception of seapower and elucidated the influence of seapower on history. He also interpreted that seapower is one of the signs showing the rise and fall of world powers.

The influence of Mahan and his theory, we can say, has been exerted not only in his time, but also in subsequent times.

In the United States, Mahan influenced deeply upon his fellow and friend Theodore Roosevelt who was the 25th president of America. Roosevelt recommended Mahan to join the Naval Board of Strategy as a counselor during the American—Spanish War when America became a sea power. Consequently America was in the ascendant, rising in importance and influence in the world.

In Japan, admirals worshipped the battle—fleet supremacy theory of Mahan and believed the capital—ship technology of Britain. Japan defeated Chinese naval fleet during the Sino—

Japanese War in 1895. Ten years later Japan perished Russian Far East Fleet and Baltic Sea Fleet which came to reinforce the former through the three oceans during the Japanese — Russian War in 1904. During the Second World War, Japanese army invaded the East — Asian continent and navy attacked to the Pacific. It met with the major sea power USA who attempted to dominate the Pacific. Finally Japan either failed to catch hold of land-power in the East — Asian continent or lost seapower in the Pacific.

In Germany, Emperor Wilhelm II was a crazy adorer of Mahan, who sought to make Germany a major sea power. The Emperor appointed Admiral Tirpitz as Secretary of State of Naval Affairs. Tirpitz played a vital role in the creation and operation of the German Imperial Navy. But Tirpitz misinterpreted the thought of Mahan and adopted a risky theory. German High Sea Fleet waited passively for a decisive battle with Britain's Grand Fleet in the North Sea and lost the chance of seizing command of the sea during the First World War. In the Second World War, Germany attempted to win in defiance of the capital — ship theory. Marshal Donitz greatly improved the submarine tactics to fight the merchant fleet in the Atlantic, and extended the battle field to the Mediterranean and the Caribbean. As a result, submarine warfare of Donitz drew the United States to the anti — submarine warfare, German navy was between two fires and failed to obtain seapower.

Great Britain was a model of sea power in Mahan's opinion. But there was a great maritime empire needed to be maintained, from its home islands to the seven seas barring the Arctic Ocean.

During World War I, the Britain's naval main force fleets shrank from the many strategical hinges in the global to the North Sea near its home islands in order to breast the challenge of German High Fleet. After World War II, Britain lost many of its colonies and came down from the maritime empire throne, and became a little buddy of the United States.

Russia is a traditional land power country, its land bestrides the Eurasian continent. There was a tradition of seeking seaport from Ivan IV to Peter I the Great and Catherine II. The Soviet Union inherited the historical tradition. Marshal Gorshkov is called Mahan of the 20th century, he wrote a book *The Sea Power of the State* which enriched and developed the conception of seapower of Mahan. Gorshkov was an architect of the new Red Navy of USSR, who led an ocean-going navy construction which supported the superpower of the Soviet Union.

As inventor of seapower, Mahan was a geostrategist, he first opened out the fact of the struggle of the world powers, videlicet, the verge of the Eurasian continent was plundered by land power and sea powers. Mahan supposed that sea powers would unite to attack land power Russia, and would control the Eurasian continent further. The thought of Mahan influenced the whole 20th century.

Looking back the 20th century, the Eurasian geostrategic environment dominated by major sea powers had undergone an evolution of three phases in which China suffered long tribulation.

In the first phase, the struggle of seizing the Asian continent between sea powers and land power which Mahan called Middle Strip strategy. In this phase, China was a political lamb to

be invaded and exploited by major powers for half a century.

In the second phase,controlling the Eurasian continent by the United States, which Spykman named Eurasian Rimland strategy. In this phase,China was a socialist stronghold being besieged and restrained by the military alliances headed by the United States in the latter half century.

In the third phase,dominating the Eurasian continent by the United States which Brzezinski called Grand Chessboard strategy. In this phase,China is treated as a geostrategic chessman in the Far East and is weakened and suppressed by the United States who contrives to put itself above the Eurasian continent and attempts to upbuild its unipolar world and command the whole globe in the new century.

History has told us and will tell us that sea powers can run amuck in the global oceans,while small and weak countries can not control even their shores .

But seapower has different meanings to nations which hold on different strategic causes. As a tool of imperialism Mahan's seapower theory had served and are serving the needs for the aggression, expansion and hegemonism. China should map out her maritime strategy,in order to manage her maritime affairs independently , safeguard her maritime rights and interests effectively,defend her maritime security absolutely.

However,as an expositor of seapower, Mahan opened out the secrete of seapower;it relates to geographical position,physical conformation,extent of territory,number of population,character of people,and character of government. The famous viewpoint of Six Factors of seapower posted an impersonal truth. So

we should study of seapower history and maritime strategy of sea powers.

Looking ahead the 21st century, the world will be one in which sea powers dominate the oceans. We can say, the influence of Mahan's seapower theory can not be less evaluated.

Wang Sheng—rong

August 20, 2000

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POSTSCRIPT May Humankind Partake Seapower in the New
Century?

Seapower Development

导言：人类探索“海权”的历程

海权在马汉之前的所有时代都影响着世界。

但正如氧气一样，
它在任何时代都必然影响着人类，
要不是普利斯特列，
虽然它仍存在着，
却仍是一个不确定的、未被发现的因
素；

海权之于马汉也正是如此。

——“璫蒂库斯”

摘自《海权论的鼻祖马汉》