

## **The Relevant between Defence of Nansei Islands and the Indo-Pacific Strategy**

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### **Abstract**

Although the Indo-Pacific strategy has little difference from the past Asia-Pacific strategy in geographical scope, but it emphasizes the value of the Indian Ocean, which is easy to produce the illusion that the United States is biased towards the strategic interests in the South Asia. In fact, US Indo-Pacific strategy continues the ideas of the rebalancing and hopes to prevent China from leading the Asia-Pacific geopolitical strategy and even becomes a global military power. Because of the stagnation of US national power and the fact that Indo-Pacific strategy is closely related to the countries of the Indo-Pacific region, the United States has strengthened its strategic guarantees for the region and strengthened the military cooperation among these countries through the United States.

Undoubtedly, Japan plays an important role in the geopolitical strategy of the Western Pacific. Starting from the rebalancing of Asia-Pacific, Japan has become the most important military alliance of the United States in the Western Pacific. In the past, Japan must face the threats from the West like the nuclear threat of DPRK and the limited military threats from China. However, since China continued to expand its armaments and strengthened its long-range power projection capability to the Indian Ocean and the second island chain, Japan's military strategy to prevent threats in the north and west needs to be adjusted. In particular, China warships have repeatedly crossed the straits between Japanese main islands and entered the western Pacific from the first island chain near Miyako Island, which Japan must counter the possible military threat from the south. Because China has repeatedly demonstrated its tough stance on sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands, it has increased the strategic position of the Okinawa and the connected islands.

Japan plays an important role in the Indo-Pacific strategy and in preventing China's threat to the Southwest Islands which is the top priority of Japan. Therefore, it is necessary for Japan to strengthen the defense preparations for the southwestern islands. In addition to deploy monitoring equipment, long-range anti-ship and anti-aircraft missiles are indispensable. It is also important to set up airports on these small islands that provide advanced aircraft landings for emergency power projection. More importantly, Taiwan plays an important role also in the Western Pacific geopolitical strategy. To maintain peace and security in the Indo-Pacific region, Taiwan is absolutely indispensable. Japan's military preparations for strengthening the southwestern islands are as important as Taiwan's eastern defense deploy. It can make Japan and Taiwan closely in intelligent exchange and joint operation training.

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### **I. Introduction**

Since 2009, China has shown a tough stance on the sovereignty of neighboring territories because of its comprehensive national power and its expansion of armaments. After its naval strategy change from seashore, near sea and blue water, Chinese warships and aircraft excuses for joint training and counter pirates, frequently

shown in Asia-Pacific oceans. Some countries that have territorial disputes or potential strategic interests with China are also gradually improving their military prevention because China expands its power but its strategic intentions are unclear.

For example, Japan's Deputy Defense Minister Yamamoto Hiroyuki said at the Inauguration ceremony of the Marine Corps Mobilization Regiment, Japan security situation become more and more serious, and defense on the offshore islands is a crucial issue. Japan's Minister of Defense Takeshi Iwaya said at a press conference on two new military bases opening ceremony on March 26, 2019, "The front line of Japan's defense is in the Southwest. We hope to build a strong defense and deterrent power." It proves that even North Korea's problem still needs time to resolve now, but China's military builds up and frequent actions in the Western Pacific have already attracted the serious concern of neighboring countries. In particular, the countries may breaking conflicts with China in territorial issue already adjusted their national defense policies and military deployment. Japan has also begun to strengthen the defense deployment and training of the southwestern islands because of rising territorial disputes with China.

Although Japan's military deployment and adjustments to the southwestern islands are all after US's announcement of the Indo-Pacific strategy, in fact, the Indo-Pacific strategy is originally a continuation of US rebalancing strategy. Japan's military development and deployment on the southwestern islands started before the Indo-Pacific strategy released. Because United States Indo-Pacific strategy is focusing on how to counter China's expansion, Japan's deployment action will also receive US's support. Japan's operations in the southwestern islands have historical factors and turning points, but the formation of the Indo-Pacific strategy will undoubtedly help Japan to strengthen its defense plan against the PLA threat. This article explores the relations between Japan defense plan and deployment in southwestern islands and the Indo-Pacific strategy, and discusses possible conflict situation and operational strategies of Japan in this area, explores the opportunities and forms of future military cooperation between Japan and Taiwan.

## **II. West-Pacific Geo-Strategy Value under the Indo-Pacific Strategy**

In terms of the geographical scope of the US Indo-Pacific strategy, this strategy focuses on the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. Therefore, it is also said that the US Indo-Pacific strategy is initiative to counter China. According to the idea of geopolitical strategy, when a big country expands its strategic influence, if it faces another powerful country and expands outward, competition will occur in areas where the influence of the two countries overlaps, make the possibility of conflict increase. In the past, because of the containment strategy during the Cold War, US has already established a strong bio-alliance system with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region to counter the Communist countries, such as the United States - South Korea, the United States - Japan, the United States - Singapore, the United States - the Philippines, the United States - Thailand, the United States - Indonesia, the United States - Republic of China (Taiwan), etc.

However, after the end of the Cold War, the containment situation ended and US adopted the policy from containment to engagement, to encourage China to enter the international system, promote its democratization, or deal with regional issues in accordance with international norms. The alliance system constructed during the Cold

War has also become loose. China has adopted the policy "charming offence" to Southeast Asia countries since 2003, making Southeast Asia countries increasingly rely on China in economic needs. But China took a tough stance on the South China Sea issue from 2009, some countries that around the South China Sea could not against China alone. These countries also needed China's economic growth to help their development, so these countries policy change to "economy rely on China, security needs the US."

In order to increase the strategic assurance of the US in the Indo-Pacific region, expand the military and diplomatic chips to counter China, US propose the Indo-Pacific strategy, hope to connect the regional countries to prevent China threat maintain a free and open Indian and Pacific Ocean, protect their own interest. In particular, the countries which have territorial disputes with China or countries have major strategic interests contest are the target of this strategy. For example, US's DPRK issue and the role of Korea and Japan; the East China Sea issue and the role of Japan; Taiwan issue and the role of Taiwan; the South China Sea issue and the role of Vietnam, Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia; the South Asia, Indian Ocean issue and the role of India.

There are bilateral alliances or military cooperation system in the specific region between US and the local countries, there are also multilateral security mechanisms such as the Five-Eye Alliance or the US-Japan-India-Australia (QUAD) security architecture. US's free and open Indo-Pacific Strategy is support by these frameworks and system actually. If the Indo-Pacific strategy could divided into two parts, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, the area of responsibility of the QUAD, on the Indian Ocean mainly cooperates with India, other countries can participate the training and exercises under the defense mechanisms, such as the Malabar exercise.

The AOR in the Pacific is mainly in Japan and Australia. Because Australia is located in the South Pacific, and related to the South China Sea issue and concerns the Southeast Asian countries security situation. Japan is located in Northeast Asia, because Japan huge influence of the military power and the economy, is playing the important role in northeast Asia. Although Japan cancels the collective right of self-defense Japan has gradually expanded military implication to the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. Even establish a military base in Djibouti, Africa. Because Japan plays an important role in the US bilateral and multilateral security mechanism and has potential conflicts with China on the East China Sea issue, it must strengthen its ability to defend its deployment.

As the Japanese Defense Minister and Deputy Minister said, the southwestern islands have become the front line of Japanese defense, and military deployment must be increased. Otherwise, when Japan's own defense in the southwestern islands is weak, Japan will have no time to move forward to the safety of the South China Sea or other areas when breaking conflict in southwestern islands. Therefore, Japan is the key pillar of the US Indo-Pacific strategy in the Pacific, and Japan frontline in defense currently is in the southwestern islands. If it is impossible to ensure the defense advantage in the southwestern islands, it will limit the Japan military power concern only the homeland and offshore islands cannot support the US to maintain stability of Indo-Pacific region. This situation will affect the integrity of US Indo-Pacific strategy.

### **III. The Geo-Strategy Value of Japan Nansei Islands**

During the Cold War, the threat to Japan mainly came from the former USSR in the north and China and North Korea in the west. After the end of the Cold War, although the main security issues of the four northern islands dispute remained unresolved, at least this issue is still on the table of Japan and Russia to seek the best resolution without military way to force each other to abandon territory. North Korea's nuclear threat has no fundamental solution in the near future, but as far as Japan is concerned, missiles and nuclear attacks from North Korea have not been as urgent as the air and the sea from PLA in Senkaku or the southwestern islands. Because the southwestern islands are located in the side and rear of Japanese archipelago, if PLA navy and air force enter directly into the sea between the first island chain and the second island chain, not only in Okinawa, but also in Kagoshima and Ogasawara Islands (including Okinotorishima) will face the threat from PLA navy and air force, the sovereignty of the island and the economic interests of continental shed will be challenged.

Look at the map, the southwestern islands connect the Japanese islands of Kagoshima, Okinawa, Miyako, Ishigaki and Yonaguni, becoming the southwestern island chain connected the two major islands of Okinawa and Taiwan. In the past, when there was no direct air and sea threat to this area, it was the second frontline or the side and rear of Japan. However, because China's air and sea force is approaching from the back side, the direction of operation must be balanced with the southwest way, which also increases the geostrategic value of the southwestern islands. Since the tension is rising of the Senkaku issue, US and Japan have held several island-stretching exercises. The target islands, except the Senkaku also include the small islands connected the first island chain, such as Shimojishima, Miyako, Ishigaki and Yonaguni.

In addition, we can see from Figure 1 that if China and Japan breaking conflict in Senkaku, China can quickly dispatch warships and the marine to this area from the East China Sea Fleet, and the land-based aircraft can also be directly approach the Senkaku. If the Chinese aircraft carrier can cross the first island chain, the use of sea and air forces to deal with island sovereignty issues will be more flexible. In contrast, Japan's forces mainly guard the homeland in past, if conflict breaking in Senkaku or the southwestern islands area, the US Seventh Fleet's home port was in Yokosuka, the other sea and air forces will intervene or support from the base of Guam and Hawaii, the timeliness is insufficient. If Japan deploys a remote surveillance system on these islands, or increase the mobilization of air and sea power, it can be an early warning or deterrence. Even in the event of a conflict, can delay PLA power projection and cover US-Japan reinforcements troops.

Therefore, although the extended islands such as Kagoshima or Okinawa are different in size and basic construction, if the battlefield infrastructure can be carried out as early as possible, deploy enough mobile units or long-range force, it will constitute an effective blockade and counter-measure to PLA's intent to cross the first island chain.



Figure 1 The PLA air and sea power cross the first chain and second island chain

#### IV. The Relations of Japan Nansei Island Deployment and Taiwan Eastern Defence

Based on the above-mentioned geostrategic value and the changes in the situation of the Indo-Pacific region, the Abe government established the Mobile Division and the Brigade and the marine troops in 2013 according to the Japan Mid-Term Defense Plan formulated from the National Defense Program Guidelines to improve maneuverability and island defense capabilities in the southwestern islands. In 2014, the Abe Cabinet changed the policy of Japan's purely defense for 70 years after the WWII and canceled the collective self-defense power. In this context, the Japanese Defense Ministry established a Ground Self-Defense Force Base and formed a "Coastal Surveillance Force" on Yonaguni Island on March 28, 2016. It is composed of 160 military men. The main task is to monitor the sea from land base radar. The base on the Yonaguni Island can strengthen the collection of intelligence in the East China Sea and monitor the PLA's warships entering and leaving the Western Pacific, and to be the forward base if Senkaku breaking conflict.

Japan originally had a special unit of the Land Self-Defense Forces that mission is to defend and seize islands operation at the Sasebo base, which symbolized the transformation of the focus of the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force from northeast to southwest. If the offshore islands breaking conflict, these troops can mobilize to the island by transporting ship of Maritime Self-Defense Force in Navy Nagasaki base and the Sasebo base. For this mission is same as marine troops regiment, so the system changed to marine normal unit. The Japanese Self-Defense Force also changed 7 of its 15 divisions and brigades into a mobile division and a brigade to facilitate the dispatch of troops to the southwest in the event of an emergency, and to establish a commander of the ground forces that can command the Japanese National Land Self-Defense Force.

The Amphibious Rapid Deployment Brigade is a marine unit of the Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) responsible for conducting amphibious operations. It incorporates the former Western Army Infantry Regiment, which was the dedicated amphibious warfare unit of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force. On April 6, 2018, the Amphibious Rapid Deployment Brigade established. The newly established Marine Corps had about 2,100 men, including amphibious mobile company, amphibious tanks, special branch forces, reconnaissance units, and facility units, communications unit, the logistics support unit and the training unit, etc. This bridge is located in the Camp Ainoura in Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture.

March 2019, Japan had set up two new military base in Amami Oshima in Kagoshima Prefecture and Miyako Island in Okinawa Prefecture to reinforce the military defense in southwestern islands. The Japanese Self-Defense Force is plan to deploy some air-to-air, ground-to-ship missile units and garrison troops on Amami Island approximately 560 men in the future. The garrison force deployed on Miyako Island is about 380 men. After 2020, it will be equipped with ground-to-air and ground-to-ship missile units on Miyako Island, eventually forming a deployment scale of 700 to 800 men. In the name of restoring the airport runway of a civilian aircraft, Japan also deploy engineers on several islands such as Miyako and Ishigaki. When the construction of four islands including Amami, Okinawa, Miyako and Shigaki completed, it will provide a strategic support point from the southernmost tip of Kyushu to the southernmost tip of Okinawa, and build Japan's own mini island chain.

Japan's traditional military deployment was originally not directly related to Taiwan defense. However, after the construction completed of four bases in the southwestern islands, it was equivalent to completing Japan's regional military deployment in the Western Pacific and becoming Japan's strategic geopolitical responsibility in Indo-Pacific Strategy. Yonaguni Island is close to Taiwan, only 111 kilometers from Taiwan's Suao and only 110 kilometers from Hualien. If Taiwan is unable to establish a linked defense system with southwestern islands or Taiwan is occupied by China military action, the defense of the southwestern islands of Japan will cause a major defense gap, seriously endangering the southwestern security of Japan.

The line of 123 degrees east longitude cross Yonaguni Island, the 2/3 land of the western half of the island is cover by the Republic of China "Air Defense Identification Zone" (ADIZ), 1/3 land of the eastern land is cover by Japan's ADIZ. This situation make two countries cooperate in air defense urgently. When China aircraft crosses the first island chain and surround Taiwan, Taiwan and Japan exchange the intelligent of China aircraft will be a good beginning. After the cooperation of monitor and inform the China flight intelligent, next step will be the assume control mission. If surrounding aircraft hostility is discovered, it can be destroyed immediately. This is the importance of monitoring cooperation between Japan's military deployment in the southwestern islands and Taiwan eastern deployment.

Some arguments point out that Japan's deployment on Yonaguni, Ishigaki and Miyako Island may be used against Taiwan, may not be true. If Taiwan wants to send troops to seize the Senkaku, it will also be monitored and counterattacked by Japan's deployment in the southwestern islands. If this situation happens, there are no opportunities for defense cooperation between Taiwan and Japan. Based on the Indo-Pacific strategy, US will oppose Taiwan and Japan breaking conflict at Senkaku. Taiwan plays an important role in the Indo-Pacific strategy, will not neglect the importance of strategic cooperation between the US, Japan and Taiwan.

For example, Japan's Sankei Shimbun reported on March 29, 2019 that the Japanese Defense Ministry decided to deploy type 12 SSM anti-ship missile with a range of up to 400 km on Ishigaki Island in 2023. This deployment will decrease the

possibility of PLA war ship surrounding Taiwan actions. The PLA Navy often enters the Pacific Ocean from the East China Sea and frequently passes through the strait between Okinawa Island and Miyako Island. If Taiwan move its combat power to the east according to traditional operation concept, and China blue-water Navy and the second aircraft carrier served already, still frequently bypassing Taiwan, Taiwan will face the military threat of PLA from the eastern side. If Japan confirms the deployment of type 12 SSM anti-ship missile and Taiwan deploy the mobile HFIII anti-ship missile on eastern part of Taiwan, it will form a two-sided attack on the incoming PLA warships and increase PLA's risk on military action. Therefore, Taiwan and Japan cooperation in maritime surveillance and counter operation are very important.

In Taiwan defense predicted situation, naval power must move to outer sea area to reserve naval power. The eastern part of Taiwan and area that eastern of Okinawa are suitable location, but if PLA warships and air force totally control this area, Taiwan naval power may be blockade on the far sea. But PLA Navy ships try to cross the first island chain, they will face military threat from both sides, Taiwan and Japan. It could make Taiwan and Japan more space to cooperate in anti-ship and air-defense operation. Affected by the factors of diplomatic relations, Taiwan still has difficulties in cooperating directly with the Japanese navy and air force. However, if it is under the guide of the United States and conducts multi-regional military cooperation, it is easy to connect both data-links of weapon system, increase the air and sea deterrent to China.

## **V. Conclusion**

It is inevitable that PLA power will highlight the first island chain and move to the second island chain. The issue of the Senkaku islands sovereignty between Japan and China cannot be resolved in a short time. Unless China's military capability expansion and deployed four to six aircraft carrier battle groups, it will be possible to resolve the territorial issue. Most of the neighboring countries must be prepared early. China's military urgent threat to Japan and Taiwan national defense is same, so two countries can build a complete first island chain defense line together.

Under the strategic structure of US Indo-Pacific Strategy, US can be the leading role in this strategy bases on the QUAD and build up US-Japan-Taiwan defense cooperation framework. In the beginning, each state can increase their own strong defense network, to strengthen the joint surveillance, command and control, and then exchange the intelligent about the PLA actions in naval and air space. If breaking armed conflict in west-Pacific by accident or misunderstanding, each quasi-alliance of US, under US leading security framework should combine others operation plan in regional emergency plan to increase the effects on joint operation. These cooperation and abilities will let PLA's aircrafts and war ships are invisible, easy to monitor by Japan and Taiwan land base radar, and make PLA difficult to deterrent neighbor states.

# 日本西南諸島與印太戰略關係

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## 摘要

美國在制定印太戰略後，雖然與過去作戰地理範圍差距不大，但是強調印度洋的角色，容易產生美國是否偏重南亞地緣戰略利益的錯覺。事實上，美國印太戰略延續過去亞太再平衡的觀點，希望能夠預防中國主導亞太地緣戰略，甚至成為全球軍事強權後的準備。因為美國國力的停滯，加上這項戰略與印太區域國家息息相關，美國藉此強化對此區域的戰略保證，並以美國為中介，強化這些國家之間的軍事合作。

毫無疑問的，日本在西太平洋地緣戰略扮演重要角色，從亞太再平衡開始，日本因為美日安保成為美國在西太平洋最重要的軍事同盟。過去日本主要威脅來自西方的北韓，以及中共有限的軍事威懾。但是自從中國軍隊持續擴張軍備向外擴展，並且向印度洋及第二島鏈強化遠程兵力投射能力後，過去日本防範北部及西部威脅的策略必須要調整。尤其中國機艦屢次穿越日本領土內的海峽，以及從第一島鏈宮古海域進入西太平洋，已經使日本南部面臨可能的軍事威脅。因為中國屢次對尖閣群島展現擁有主權的強硬姿態，連帶使琉球群島及連接島群戰略地位增加。

日本在印太戰略扮演重要的角色，而在防範中國軍事威脅過程中，西南群島又是重中之重，因此日本有必要強化西南諸島防衛準備。除了遠距監視設備之外，遠程反艦及防空飛彈是不可或缺的。另外在這些小島嶼上設置提供先進戰機停降的機場也很重要，以做為緊急兵力投射之用。更重要的是，台灣在西太平洋地緣戰略上扮演重要角色，如果要維持印太區域和平與安全，台灣絕對是不可或缺的。日本強化西南諸島軍事準備與台灣強化台灣東部防衛作戰準備同樣重要，甚至增加協調合作的空間。

# 日本西南諸島與印太戰略關係

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## 壹 前言

從2009年開始，中國因為綜合國力增強，以及軍備擴張，對於周邊領土主權問題展現更強姿態。而其海軍戰略從近岸擴展至近海及遠洋之後，中國軍艦及飛機藉口聯合訓練及打擊海盜，頻繁出現在亞太水域。一些與中國有領土爭議或是潛在戰略利益競爭國家也因為中國擴張軍備但是戰略意圖不透明，逐漸提高防範作為。

例如日本防衛大臣山本明廣在每海軍機動團成軍典禮時說，環繞日本安全局勢日益艱峻，離島防衛至關重要。日本防衛大臣岩屋毅在2019年3月26日新設兩處軍事基地的記者會上稱：「日本防禦的最前線是西南地區，希望牢固構築防禦以及威懾力量。」這也證明，即使北韓問題根本解決尚需時間考驗，但是中國軍力擴張，以及頻繁於西太平洋活動，已經引起周邊國家關注。尤其那些可能與中國發生軍事衝突的國家，在國防政策與軍事部署上都已進行相應的調整。與中國及存在尖閣諸島爭議的日本，因為領土爭議的升高，開始強化西南諸島的防衛部署及訓練。

雖然日本企圖對西南諸島的軍力部署與調整都是在美國宣布印太戰略之後，實際上，印太戰略是亞太在平復的延禧，日本企於西南諸島的經營，並未因為美國轉為印太戰略而修正。因為美國在印太戰略關注中國在印太區域的擴張，日本部署行為也得到美國支持。日本在西南諸島的經營有其歷史因素及轉折，但是印太戰略的形成無疑有助日本對中國威脅防範。本文即在探討日本西南諸島經營與印太戰略的關係，並從日本具體軍事部署中，探討其衝突想定及作戰戰略，並思考日本與台灣未來軍事合作的機會與形式。

## 貳、印太戰略的西太平洋地緣戰略價值

攤開美國印太戰略的地理範圍來看，其主要聚焦在太平洋及印度洋的兩洋區域，所以也有人說，美國印太戰略是在抗衡中國的一帶一路倡議。如果就地緣戰略來說，當大國向外擴展戰略影響力時，如果面臨另一強國也向外擴展，在兩國影響力重疊的區域，就會產生競爭，使得衝突可能性升高。過去因為冷戰時期的圍堵，美國早已在亞太地區鄰近共產集權的區域建立堅強的同盟體系，如美國、韓國、美國、日本、美國、新加坡、美國、菲律賓、美國、泰國、美國、印尼、美國、中華民國（台灣）等。

但是在冷戰結束後，圍堵態勢結束，美國改採與中國交往的政策，<sup>1</sup>鼓勵中國進入國際體系，促進其民主化，或是依照國際規範處理區域議題。部分冷戰時期對峙的同盟體系也變得鬆弛，中國從2003年之後，對東南亞國家採取「魅力攻勢」，使得東南亞國家因為經濟需求，逐漸偏向中國。從2009年中國對南海議題採取更姿態後，部分國家無法單獨抗衡中國，在經濟上又需要中國經濟成長的帶動，使部分國家改採「經濟依靠中國、安全需要美國」的情況。

為了強化美國在印太區域的戰略保證，擴大美國抗衡中國的軍事與外交籌碼，遂提出印太戰略，希望以維持自由開放的印度太平洋的名義，連結印太區域國家，協助印太國家對中國的防範，確保本身戰略利益。尤其是與中國有領土爭議的國家或美國在該國具有重大戰略利益國家，都成為印太戰略的重點。如牽涉北韓問題的韓國及日本；因為東海釣魚台問題的日本；因為台海問題的台灣；因為南海問題的越南、菲律賓、新加坡、馬來西亞、印尼；因為南亞戰略利益的印度等。

因為在這區域之中，原本就存在美國與當地國家的雙邊同盟或軍事合作，也有一些如五眼同盟或美日印澳四邊安全架構的多邊安全機制，使得自由開放的印太戰略實際上就是由這些雙邊及多邊的安全體系所建構與支撐。如果將印太戰略區分為印度洋與太平洋，如就四邊安全架構的分工來分析，印度洋主要與印度合作為主，其他國家則參與安全機制的訓練及演習，如馬拉巴爾演習等。

在太平洋的分工主要則是日本及澳洲。因為澳洲處於南太平洋，而且因為南海議題影響東南亞國家，澳洲與東南亞國家利益攸關，澳洲偏重南海議題的處理。日本雖然位於東北亞，因為具備強大軍力規模與政治經濟的影響力，在東北亞具備重大影響力。日本在集體自衛權限制取消之後，軍力逐漸擴展到南海及印度洋，甚至在非洲的吉布地也設立軍事基地。因為日本在美國雙邊及多邊安全體系扮演重要角色，自己又在東海議題上與中國有潛在衝突，必須強化本身的防衛部署及能力。

誠如日本防衛大臣及副大臣所說，西南諸島已經成為日本防衛最前線，必須要強化軍事武力部署。否則當日本自己本身在西南諸島的防衛呈現空白的狀況，如果發生衝突，日本將無暇顧及南海或是其他

<sup>1</sup> 不同時期採取不同策略，如柯林頓時期的擴大交往；小布希時期剛開始的圍和策略，到後期的避險策略(Hedging)；歐巴馬時期的重返亞太或再平衡政策；川普的印太戰略等。

<sup>2</sup>

又稱五眼聯盟，一個以講英語為主國家的情報聯盟，在英美協定下組成國際情報分享機制，包括澳洲、加拿大、紐西蘭、英國和美國五國。歷史可追溯到第二次世界大戰時，同盟國發布的大西洋憲章，目前合作機制仍在運作，明顯以中國情報活動及威脅為主要目標。情報內容已擴展與日本、德國等分享。參見〈五眼聯盟與日德分享中國情報計畫：不要搞小圈子〉，《蘋果日報》，2018年10月13日，<https://tw.appledaily.com/new/realtime/20181013/1446758/>

<sup>3</sup> Dhruva Jaishankar, "The Real Significance of The Quad," *The Strategist*, October 24, 2018, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/the-real-significance-of-the-quad/>.

區域的安全。因此，日本是美國印太戰略在太平洋的主要支柱，日本國防最前線在西南諸島。如果無法在西南諸島確保防衛優勢，使日本軍力侷限本土防衛利益，無去協助美國維持印太區域穩定，影響印太戰略的完整性。

### 參、日本西南諸島的地緣軍事價值

冷戰期間，威脅日本的方向主要來自北方的前蘇聯及西方的中國及北韓，冷戰結束後，雖然北方四島的主權問題仍未解決，至少北方四島主權問題，日本及俄羅斯仍尋求在談判桌上解決，並未以軍事武力展現威脅對方。北韓核武威脅近期無根本解決的趨勢，但就日本而言，來自北韓的飛彈及核武攻擊並未如釣魚台或是西南諸島面對中國海空威脅般迫切。因為西南諸島位居日本群島的側後方，一旦中國海空軍力長驅直入，常態性進入第二島鏈每或，不僅是沖繩每或，連鹿兒島、小笠原群島(包括沖之島)，都會直接面對中國海空軍威脅，島嶼主權及大陸經濟每或的利益，都會受到嚴重影響。

從地圖上看，西南諸島連接日本鹿兒島縣、沖繩群島、宮古、石垣及與那國島，成為串聯第一島鏈中繩與台灣兩大島之間中的西南島鏈。過去無直接海空威脅時，屬於第二線或是後方島嶼的連線。但是因為中國海空武力從後方迫近，使得作戰方向必須兼顧西南方向，也使得西南諸島的地緣戰略價值升高。從釣魚台議題升高以來，美國與日本舉行了數次奪島演練，目標島嶼除了釣魚台之外，也包括直接第一島鏈的沖之島、宮古島及石垣島。

除此之外從圖一可以發現，如果中國與日本在釣魚台發生衝突，中國可以從東海驅逐派軍艦及陸戰隊介入，陸基飛機也可以直接鄰近釣魚台。如果中國航空母艦可以穿越第一島鏈，運用海空兵力處理島嶼主權問題將更具單性。反觀日本因為過去兵力主要防範本土威脅，釣魚台西南諸島發生衝突時，美國第七艦隊母港在橫濱，其他海空主力必須從關島及夏威夷介入或支援，時效上有所不足。如果日本在西南島嶼部署遠程監視系統，或對海空及制海武力，不僅可以及早預警，也可以產生嚇阻作用。即使發生衝突，也可阻帶中國部隊登陸，掩護美日後援部隊。

因此，鹿兒島或沖繩等延伸的島嶼，雖然大小不一，且基礎建設有所不同，如果能夠及早進行戰務經營，部署機動部隊或遠程武力，可以構成有效的封鎖與反制。



圖一中國海空武力出第一島鏈想定

### 肆、日本西南諸島軍事部署與台灣軍事部署關聯性

基於上述地緣戰略價值及印太區域情勢的變化，日本安倍政府於2013年根據長期國防政策指針《防衛計畫大綱》制定的《日本中期防衛力量整備計畫》規定要建立機動師團和旅團及海空兩棲部隊，以提高在日本西南諸島方面的機動能力及島嶼防衛能力。2014年安倍內閣通過解禁集體自衛權的重要修改，改變戰後70年來日本專守防衛的國防政策。在此背景下，日本防衛省2016年3月28日在與那國島(沖繩縣與那國町)成立陸上自衛隊基地並組成「沿岸監視隊」，有160人編制，主要任務是以地上雷達監視附近海空、飛機，與那國島雷達站可以強化蒐集東海每或之情報，監視中共軍艦出入西太平洋，一旦釣魚台發生衝突，也可扮演前進基地的角色。

日本原本於左世保基地設有陸上自衛隊離島防衛和奪取作戰的專門部隊，名稱為「西部方面普通科連隊」，象徵日本陸上自衛隊部署重鎮地或由東北向西南轉變，一旦島嶼戰事發生，這些部隊可通過長崎基地和左世保基地搭乘海上自衛隊的運輸艦前往島嶼。水陸機動團與此部隊任務與功能相同，但是編制已經改成陸戰隊。日本自衛隊將其15個師團、旅團中7個改變成了機動師團、旅團，以應發生緊急事件時可以迅速派兵前往西南，另新設可統一指揮日本全國陸上自衛隊的陸上總隊司令部。

水陸機動團屬於陸上自衛隊，前身是西方普通科連隊，主要執行登陸作戰。2018年4月6日日本陸上自衛隊下屬的水陸機動團成軍，新成立海軍陸戰隊約有2100人，包括水陸機動連隊、水陸兩棲戰車部隊、特科部隊、偵察部隊、設施部隊、通譯部隊、後勤支援部隊、訓練單位等，水陸機動團基地位於長崎縣左世保市浦基地。<sup>4</sup>

2019年3月，日本在鹿兒島縣的奄美大島以及沖繩縣的宮古島設置新的軍事基地，以加強日本西南地區的軍事防禦力量。日本自衛隊未來將在奄美大島部署約560人組成的地對空、地艦艦艇部隊以及警備部隊。在宮古島部署的警備部隊規模約380人，2020年以後將在宮古島加建地對空、地艦艦艇部隊，最終形成700人至800人的部隊規模。<sup>5</sup>另以恢復民用飛機的遠程機場跑道為名義，在宮古島和石垣島等多個離島，部署工兵。將來奄美、沖繩、宮古、石垣等四個島嶼建設完成後，就能提供從九州最南端延伸到沖繩最南端一線的彈道支撐點，建構日本自己的小型島鏈戰略。

日本傳統軍事部署本來與台灣並無直接關係，但是建構西南諸島四個基地後，等於完成日本在西太平洋的區域軍事部署，成為日本在印太戰略地區防衛責任。而緊鄰台灣的與那國島，距離台灣蘇澳僅有111公里，距離花蓮只有110公里。如果台灣無法建立連環防衛體系，或是遭中國所併吞，日本西南諸島防禦將造成重大缺口，嚴重危及日本西南方向安全。

與那國島上空的東經123度線畫設台灣和日本的防空識別線，與那國島西半部的2/3土地至台灣之間的空域是中華民國「防空識別區」(ADIZ)，東半部1/3土地則是日本的防空識別區，使兩國在空防合作更為迫切。當中國飛機穿越第一島鏈繞過台灣時，台灣與日本互相通報就是一個很自然的聯合。因為合作監控及通報下一步就是任務接管，如果發現敵意，就可以立即加以摧毀。這也就是日本西南諸島軍事部署與台灣東部海空監控，共同合作的重要性。

少部分人主張日本在與那國島或是石垣、宮古島的部署可能用來對付台灣，未必成立。如果台灣要派遣軍隊奪佔釣魚台，同樣也會受到日本在西南諸島部署的監控與反擊，如果事態演變至此，台日之間也沒有合作機會。美國基於印太戰略，必然反對台日衝突，而台灣又在印太戰略扮演重要角色，不會輕忽美日台戰略合作的重要性，與日本在釣魚台發生軍事衝突。

例如，日本《產經新聞》2019年3月29日報導，日本防衛省決定在2023年前在石垣島部署射程可延伸至400公里的地艦艦艇2型SSM反艦導彈；此舉將使解放軍從台灣東部海或「包夾」台灣的可能生大幅降低。解放軍海軍經常從東海進入太平洋，頻繁通過沖繩本島和宮古島間的海峽，台灣如根據傳統作戰，將戰力移往東部，中國海軍海軍建構及第二艘航母成軍，頻繁繞過台灣情況，使台灣面臨中國從東部攻擊的可能。若日本確能部署「12型反艦導彈」加上台灣的「雄三」，將使駛入的共軍艦艇形勢兩面攻擊，增加共軍海軍部署東部海或的風險。<sup>6</sup>由此可見，台灣與日本對於海上監控及反制合作

<sup>4</sup> 〈日本建戰後首支海軍陸戰隊準備對付中國〉，《BBC中文》，2018年4月8日，<https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-43693428>。

<sup>5</sup> 陳蹊 〈日本在西南兩處軍事基地日媒指中國是假想敵〉，《多維新聞網》，2019年3月26日，<http://news.dwnews.com/global/big5/news/2019-03-26/60125571.html>。

<sup>6</sup> 吳錫山，〈日部署400km反艦導彈陸「包夾」台灣夢碎〉，《新華網》，2019年3月30日，<https://www.msn.com/zh->

非常重要

在台灣防衛作戰想定中，常有海軍戰力保持疏佈的構想，通常以台灣東部及沖繩以東海域比較理想。但如果中國軍艦及空中武力控制這個區域的海空範圍，對台灣海軍戰力保持也會造成影響。反言之，穿越第一島鏈的共軍將面臨兩邊受敵的情況，使台灣及日本海空軍合作空間非常大。受到邦交因素影響，台灣直接與日本海空軍合作仍有困難，但在美國主導下，進行區域軍事合作，在武器系統資料鏈整合容易下，可以發揮協同效益。

## 伍、結語

中國軍力突出第一島鏈已經在所難免，與日本之間的釣魚台主權問題也無法短期內解決，甚至在中國軍力擴張，並擁有四到六個航母戰鬥群後，才可能將一一解決領土主權問題。這使得周邊國家必須及早防範。對日本及台灣而言，中國軍備擴張及威脅都是首當其衝，採取防衛部署方式也雷同，可以共同建構完整的島嶼防禦線。

在印太戰略架構下，可以美國為主導，在四邊安全架構下，建構西太平洋的美日台的防衛合作框架，從分別建立各自堅強防禦網開始，進而互通海空情報訊息，強化聯合監視與控制能力，使中國飛機艦船無所遁形，難以發生威懾效果。如果因為擦槍走火發生衝突，美日台之間也應該有將其他國家納入的緊急應變計畫，以發揮軍備同盟聯合作戰的效果。