National Security and Stability in the Asia-Pacific region under COVID-19

Conference Manual

國防大學政治作戰學院

FU HSING KANG COLLEGE , NDU . ROC

新冠肺炎下的國家安全與亞太區域穩定學術研討會

目錄

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		Moon Jae-in's Foreign Policy and the Development of Security Situation on the Korean Peninsula Ph.D. student ,Graduate Institute of International Politics,National Chung Hsing University, *Shu-Ping Chang*	San-Yi Yang Professor,Graduate Institute of International Politics ,National Chung Hsing University.	
		Taiwan's Participation in International Organizations and its future under the COVID-19 Outbreak Ph.D. student ,Graduate Institute of International Politics,National Chung Hsing University, *Shun-Hao Hsu*	Chih-Wen Ku Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science ,Fu Hsing Kang College, National Defense University	
12：10	Farewell			

貳、議事規則 Conference Rlue

◆ 《論文發表》各場次發表時間 80 分鐘
《Presentation》80minutes per session of presentation

項目 Category	三篇論文 3 papers	三篇論文 3 papers
主持人引言 Introductory Remark(Moderator)	8 分鐘 8 min	8 分鐘 8 min
發表人報告 Presentation(Presenter)	15 分鐘/人 15 min / person	15 分鐘/人 15 min / person
評論人講評 Comments(Commentator)	7 分鐘/人 7 min / person	7 分鐘/人 7 min / person
綜合討論 General Discussion	6 分鐘 6 min	6 分鐘 6 min

◆ 響鈴規則 Ringing Rules
- 時限前一分鐘：按鈴一響。
  One minute before：the bell rings one.
- 時限屆至：按鈴兩響。
  Time's up：the bell rings twice.
- 超過一分鐘：按鈴三響。
  One minute after the time limit：the bell rings three times.

◆ 綜合討論規則 General Discussion Rules
- 每位提問發言以兩分鐘為原則，時限屆至：按鈴兩響。
  Each guest has up to 2 minutes. Time's up：the bell rings twice.

◆ 其他議場規則 Other Rules
- 進入會場後，請將行動電話保持關機或是靜音模式，以利議事進行。
  After entering the venue , please turn off your mobile phone or switch to silent mode to facilitate the conference.

參、研討會論文

第一場次

主題:「新冠肺炎下的國家安全」

時間:09:10 – 10:30

主持人:蔡東杰教授

論文發表:

1. 視覺再呈現理論分析-中國好萊塢式軍事電影的國家形象建構
   (林疋愔)

2. Taiwan can help? Really can help? 新冠肺炎下的國際合作-中華民
   國的韌實力(鄭文凱、尹新豪)

3. 聯合國實踐新干預主義的困境:以量化研究分析現實
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From the Perspective of Visual Representation Theory: National Image Building in Chinese Hollywood-style Military Movies

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Abstract

This article adopts the theory of "visual representation" in the study of visualizing international relations to explore how movies – a type of unofficial discourse of popular culture can emulate the real world, materialize the "Chinese Dream," and become a metaphorical text for the representation of global power and national image. This study takes the plots of three Chinese Hollywood-style military movies, specifically: "Wolf Warriors 2," "Operation Red Sea," and "Wandering Earth" as primary texts for analysis. At the same time, subjective movie commentaries from the *Douban Movie Forum* are also selected for further elaboration. The study uses visual narrative analysis, symbolic analysis and textual analysis to deconstruct how these three movies reshape the imagination and identity of the "Chinese Dream" to form a bottom-up "affective communities of sense" that play a role in the discourse of international politics and national image.

Keywords: Visualizing International Relations, Visual Representation, Chinese Dream, Affective Communities of Sense, National Image

視覺再呈現理論分析-中國好萊塢式軍事電影的國家形象建構

林疋愔

摘要

　　本文採取視覺化國際關係研究中「視覺再呈現」的理論觀點，以《戰狼 2》、《紅海行動》和《流浪地球》三部好萊塢式軍事題材電影故事內容為文本，探討電影作為流行文化的非官方論述如何模仿真實世界，將「中國夢」具體化，成為全球權力與國家形象再呈現的隱喻文本，並選取豆瓣電影影評論壇的主觀性詮釋，運用視覺敘事分析法、符號學分析與文本分析等研究方法，嘗試解構三部電影如何重塑「中國夢」的想像與認同，形成由下而上的「情感共同體」，在國際政治與國家形象的論述上發揮作用。

　　關鍵詞：視覺化國際關係、視覺再呈現、中國夢、情感共同體、國家形象

Introduction

With the rise of China's economic, military and technological development, this Asian power is no longer an ordinary player in the international arena, and its every move attracts more international attention. Joshua Cooper Ramo points out that the greatest strategic threat to China today is its national image. The continuing economic and military growth and human rights issues have created a debate between the discourse of "peaceful rise" and "China threat". The exploration of linguistic symbols reflects the discrepancy between China's self-imagination and the international community's imagination of China, the roots of which are closely related to the country's image.[1]

The image of a country is a construction process, and the mass media plays an important role in shaping that image, serving as a powerful tool for the government to build its ideal image. Through this tool, audiences gaze at how a country projects its national image, expresses its identity through images, and seeks recognition.[2] As a part of mass media, movie is a kind of imaginative and subtle reshaping and dissemination of national image, constructing real understanding and identity through visualization and re-presentation of the virtual world, which not only expresses the subjective desires of the audience at the moment, but also has an impact on the real state of the country in turn. With the trend of globalization, the soft power of this popular culture is growing, becoming an effective way to export culture and express emotions, and making an important impact on both the relationship between government and society, mitigating conflicts and promoting peace, and constructing the image of the country.[3]

China draws on Hollywood movies to construct and spread the image of the United States, hoping to change the international perception of "threat theory" through cultural soft power.[4] In recent years, a large amount of money has been invested in supporting Chinese media and entertainment, and movie festivals have been used to raise awareness of Chinese cinema, with

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[1] Joshua Cooper Ramo, *Brand China*(London：Foreign Policy Centre, 2007), pp. 12-13.

[2] Catherine A. Luther, "National Identities, Structure, and Press Images of Nations: The Case of Japan and the United States," *Mass Communication and Society*, Vol.5, No.1, February 2002, pp.57-58.

[3] Calia Press-Barnathan, "Thinking About the Role of Popular Culture in International Conflicts," *International Studies Review*, Vol.19, No.2, June 2017, pp.166-184.

[4] 王安然，〈好萊塢電影與國家形象傳播關係研究〉，《傳播與版權》，第 9 期，2016 年 9 月，頁 162-163。

melodramatic movies gaining exposure with official support. [5] In retrospect, China's 2009 "The Founding of a Republic", 2011 "Beginning of the Great Revival", and 2017 "The Founding of an Army" are all "melody" movies that tell the story from a historical perspective, emphasizing the historical contribution and legitimacy of the Communist Party of China, losing elements of pop culture, failing to attract box office, and having great limitations on the construction of China's image cognition and emotional links to the audience.

In 2015, the structure of Chinese "melody" movies underwent a transformation. "War Wolf 2", "Operation Red Sea", "Wandering Earth" and other military-themed movies were released one after another and dominated the box office charts, and "War Wolf 2" even became the first Chinese movie and the first non-Hollywood movie to enter the global box office top 100. [6] It adopts a "Hollywood-style" narrative, breaking through the traditional national image construction of military movies in the context of war and revolutionary history, and combining it with international affairs such as transnational wars, non-traditional security, comprehensive strength, and protection of civil rights, etc. By mobilizing "affective communities of sense" in the movies, which visually moves and connects people, enhancing the sense of national identity on the one hand, and countering the Western narrative of China on the other. [7] This is the topic of visualizing IR's focus on visual representation in movie, [8] and the reason why this paper uses these three movies as research texts.

Visualizing International Relations is an interdisciplinary or post-disciplinary field of study that explores the production and transmission of political symbols present in movie images. In short, it explores how cinematic images gain meaning through the social construction

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[5] 主旋律電影最早是以 20 世紀以來中共的政治菁英與歷史事件為素材的歷史題材體現，90 年代後，主旋律電影題材出現以表揚共產黨幹部和社會公益的「好人好事」影片，1996 年，中國採用評選、金援等多項行政和經濟政策導引電影生產走向主旋律電影創作。

[6] 全球票房資料擷取自 Box Office Mojo，《Box Office Mojo》，〈https://www.boxofficemojo.com/?ref_=bo_nb_tt_mojologo〉（檢索日期：2021 年 2 月 4 日）。該網站以系統化、算法化方式追蹤票房收入，進行票房總排名及分析，並隨著時間及新的電影上映票房數據持續更新排名。目前《戰狼 2》仍是全球票房前百大唯一上榜的中國電影（排名 73），《紅海行動》排名 173，《流浪地球》排名 124。

[7] William A. Callahan, *Sensible Politics: Visualizing International Relations*(New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 2.

[8] William A. Callahan, *Sensible Politics: Visualize International Relations*, pp.1-13; Michael R. Pfonner & Patrick James, "The Visual International Relations Project," *International Studies Review*, Vol.22, No.2, June 2020, pp.192-213.

of visuality, reflecting the question of "who, how, where, and for what purposes" of real political power.[9] Therefore, this paper argues that it is important and enlightening to analyze how Chinese Hollywood-style military movies concretize the discourse of the "Chinese Dream" and the image of the nation, and thus speak for its power.

This paper adopts the "Theories of Visual Representation" as a research approach to investigate how movies, as "unofficial" discourses of popular culture, mimic the real world and become metaphorical texts for the representation of global power and national images.[10] Using visual narrative analysis, symbolic analysis, and textual analysis, this paper explores transnational military operations, international security narratives, and the audience's subjective interpretation of the emotionality of the movies, and the role of the "emotional community" in the perception of international politics and national images.

This paper consists of seven parts: Part 2 and Part 3 examine the theoretical perspectives of "visual re-presentation," the research progress and explain the research methods used; Part 4 and Part 5 examine how the Chinese model of Hollywood movies materializes the "Chinese dream" and how the image of China's rising nation is presented; Part 6 analyzes the content of Douban Movie Forum to understand the relationship between visual strategies and emotional identity; and Part 7 concludes.

The Progress of Visual Representation Theory Research

In the late 1980s, postmodernism challenged the positivist foundations of international political theory with a plethora of post-positivist approaches that retraced and mapped the boundaries of events in international relations.[11] The study of visualized international relations has been regarded as a field of debate and pluralism brought about by the "aesthetic turn," the "visual turn," the "image turn," and the "emotional turn" by western scholars. In particular, with the rapid development of digital communication technology, audiences are gaining access to information and constructing their perceived international world through the medium of

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[9] William A. Callahan, *Sensible Politics: Visualize International Relations*, pp.7-8.

[10] Roland Bleiker, "The Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory" *Millennium*, Vol.30, No.3, December 2001, pp.509-523.

[11] Roland Bleiker, Retracing and Redrawing the Boundaries of Events: Postmodern Interferences with International Theory," *Alternative*, Vol.23, No.4, October 1998, pp.471-497.

images. Scholars have called for attention to the relationship between images and cultural politics in an attempt to introduce international politics through theoretical production. [12]

Roland Bleiker cited postmodernist Jacques Derrida's "Theories of Representation" to illustrate the re-presentation of international relations theory, and used the "aesthetic turn" to refer to texts introduced into international relations studies, including visual art, movie, theater, comics, etc. The mimetic and aesthetic re-presentation of texts introduced into the study of international relations is to mimic the real object as much as possible and to disguise or reduce the gap or difference between the object and the re-presentation, as-it-really-is global politics. [13] In short, it is the re-presentation of international relations or global power through art and popular culture. Since then, the "aesthetic turn" has led to the emergence of "aesthetic IR"[14] and "cinematic IR." [15] As the cultural consumption of movie and television penetrates people's daily lives and plays a subtle role in national identity and imagination, scholars use "visual turn" as the evolution of "aesthetic turn" and try to develop theoretical research on the "visualizing international relations."

Since 2000, more and more international relations scholars have been using pop culture media as research material, and related research publications have been appearing in major international relations journals (e.g., Millennium, Global Discourse, and International Affairs) and well-known publishers (e.g., Routledge, Palgrave Macmillan, and Oxford University Press), indicating that this research topic has received much attention and attention from international relations scholars. According to Jutta Weldes, popular culture helps to establish and consolidate expectations of social behavior, to naturalize or normalize social order, to provide alternative perspectives that challenge the status quo of established power relations, and to help understand the nature and operation of power relations in world politics.[16] Cynthia Weber explores how

[12] Michael C. Williams, "International Relations in the Age of the Image," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.62, No.4, December 2018, pp.880-891.

[13] Roland Bleiker, "The Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory," pp.509-533.

[14] Cerwyn Moore & Laura J. Shepherd, "Aesthetics and International Relations: Toward A Global Politics," *Global Society*, Vol.24, No.3, July 2010, pp.299-309.

[15] Gerard Holden, "Cinematic IR, the Sublime, and the Indistinctness of Art," *Millennium*, Vol.34, No.3, August 2006, pp.793-818.

[16] Jutta Weldes, "Popular Culture, Science Fiction, and World Politics: Exploring International Relations," in Jutta Weldes, eds., To *Seek Out New Worlds: Exploring Links Between Science Fiction and Worl*

the myth function of international relations theory transforms specific cultural and ideological patterns in different contexts of power into universal truths. She argues that both IR theory and popular cinema are transformed through storytelling that makes sense of and takes for granted both, turning the mythological reinterpretation of cinema into fact.[17]

William A. Callahan proposes the concepts of "visibility" and "visuality", "visibility" is the visual construction of the social, while "visuality" is the visual performances of the international. He argues that visualized international relations are dominated by the symbolic analysis of visual images (photographs, movies, web clips, visual art) and extends his critical gaze to the perceptual space of "visual artifacts," such as map-making, veiling, wall-making and cyberspace manipulation, he discusses how visual images shape international political phenomena and influence the audience's perception of and reaction to them. [18]

In addition to international relations studies, there are also many studies in related security studies and geopolitical studies that focus on pop culture media, using diverse research methods to understand the complex connections between images and politics.Sean Carter and Derek P. McCormack analyze cinema as a collection of emotions and how they are manifested and amplified through geopolitical strategies of visualization.[19]

In the context of the post-9/11 Western war on terror and political anxiety, Simon Dalby analyzes the "Gladiator," "Black Hawk Down," and "Kingdom of Heaven," and re-presents the warriors depicted in the movies as Western military forces carrying out counter-terrorism missions, giving the Western military reality a moral and power legitimizing concept. [20] Highlighting the relationship and role of visuality in global politics and geopolitics,[21] Blake cites the visual images of the 9/11 attacks as an example of the clear connection between the

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d Politics (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.6-8.

[17] Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge,2005), pp. 4-7.

[18] William A. Callahan. *Sensible Politics: Visualizing International Relations*, pp.15-45.

[19] Sean Carter & Derek P. McCormack, "Film, geopolitics and the affective logics of intervention. Political Geography," *Political Geography*, Vol.25, No.2, November 2005, pp.228-245.

[20] Simon Dalby, "Warrior geopolitics: Gladiator, Black Hawk Down and The Kingdom Of Heaven. Political Geography," *Political Geography*, Vol.27, No.4, May 2008, pp.439-455.

[21] Roland Bleiker, "Mapping visual global politics," in Roland Bleiker, ed., *Visual Global Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.2-5.

highly emotional rhetoric and the spread of global fear, and the ensuing war on terror. He strives to provide a methodology of "assemblages" for interdisciplinary research, which explores the international political reality of visual images in non-causal terms by transforming heterogeneous things into each other through "rhizome" thinking.[22]

In summary, movie as a visual performance reflects the preferred presentation and content of different political positions, so that images can acquire meaning and value through the visual construction of society and international multi-sensory presentation, actively creating the rationality of the regime, constructing the imagination and identity of the national image, visually connecting the audience's emotions, and forming an "emotional community". The relationship between the political connotations of cinema and the international community has become a new milestone in the study of international politics, but the amount of relevant research literature from an Eastern perspective is still relatively scarce and deserves further development and exploration.

Research Methodology

This paper adopts visual narrative analysis, symbolic analysis and textual analysis to deconstruct the narratives of three Chinese Hollywood-style military movies, including "Wolf Warriors 2," "Operation Red Sea" and "Wandering Earth."

In the first part, to analyze the plot context, the presentation of the movie, the characters' characteristics, the time and space context, and other symbolic meanings, and explore how this kind of movie presents the "Chinese Dream" policy in concrete terms, shapes the national image, and constructs a collective identity.

In order to further explore the subjective interpretations of the three movies by the audience to generate an "emotional community". In the second part, the reviews of the three movies on Douban are selected as the textual analysis objects. Douban is currently one of the mainstream social networking sites in China, providing information on popular movies and allowing registered users to rate and comment on them. After removing the repetitive and meaningless reviews, the top 10 movie reviews with 5-star ratings and the number of likes and

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[22] Roland Bleiker, "Pluralist Methods for Visual Global Politics," Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Vol.43, No.3, May 2015, pp.872-890.

comments were extracted and analyzed.

The Symbiosis and Transformation of Chinese Movies and the Chinese Dream

In view of the long-standing loss of control over the shaping of the country's image, China has promoted a "going out" strategy to improve its international image. In April 2004, China adopted the slogan of "Capture the Chinese Dream, Show it to the World", hoping to integrate movie resources and let Chinese movies go out to expand international visibility and awareness, reproduce the Chinese Dream and shape the national image through sound and light images. [23] In particular, Xi Jinping's "China Dream,"[24] which is an appeal to the emotions, needs to be concretized through movies because of the infinite imagination of the "dream". Therefore, through an interactive examination of the logical framework and development strategies of his melody movies, it will be helpful to summarize the patterns and meanings of melody movies during the Xi Jinping period.

I. Symbiosis with Ideology: Policy Interventions in Chinese Domestic Cinema

In China's authoritarian system, which is led by the Party, movie is a tool for political propaganda and class struggle, and the development of the movie market has political connotations beyond economic benefits. Since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, the most important task of movie production and broadcasting was political propaganda, and it was brought under the jurisdiction of the government, which formulated production plans and allocated funds for movie production, and the government implemented centralized purchasing and marketing for nationwide distribution and screening.

Even after China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001, the movie industry was faced with the problem of opening up the market and having to compete with imported movies, and China still managed and fostered domestic movies through protective movie

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[23] 〈30 年，捕捉中國夢向世界展示〉，《電影數字節目管理中心》，2008 年 10 月 25 日，〈http://www.dmc c.org.cn/eportal/ui?pageId=683021&articleKey=448084&columnId=132108〉（檢索日期：2021 年 1 月 26 日）

[24] 〈習近平總書記 15 篇講話系統闡述『中國夢』〉，《人民網》，2013 年 6 月 19 日，〈http://theory.people. com.cn/BIG5/n/2013/0619/c40531-21891787.html〉（檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 10 日）

policies such as monopoly, quota and subsidy.[25]

However, in the face of the impact of popular entertainment culture and Hollywood movies, the past emphasis on grand historical narrative texts has made it difficult for them to gain the audience's attention. In other words, most melody movies are unable to enter the mainstream consumer market, or they are criticized for falsifying the box office,[26] not to mention entering the international movie market, resulting in the "melody dilemma."

II.The Turning of Visual Narrative Content: Hollywood Military Movies in Chinese Model

China is eager to follow the American Hollywood model of cultural export and is the fastest growing movie market in the world, driven by government policies. [27] Xi Jinping proposed that a good movie work should not only conform to the main theme, but also be a work that unifies social and economic benefits.[28] In short, it is a production model that must obey both political logic and market logic, not only to expand the domestic market and build consensus, but also to exert influence on regional and global cultural markets, and to achieve both domestic and foreign propaganda.

Under the policies of "enhancing soft power," "Chinese dream," "great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" and "telling a good Chinese story," a series of military-themed movies such as "War Wolf", "Operation Red Sea" and "Wandering Earth" have become the most vivid interpretations of melody movies, and have ignited the public's patriotism, heroism and national pride in the competition with imported movies represented by Hollywood.

The Chinese model of Hollywood movies also constructs a "Chinese dream" with a

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[25] 劉立行,〈中國電影產業支持性策略之政策法規分析〉,《國家與社會》,第 4 期,2008 年 6 月,頁 133-156;劉立行,〈開放與守門的辯證:中國電影產業改革歷程之制度分析〉,《傳播與社會學刊》,第 6 期,2008 年 7 月,頁 121–141。

[26] 〈中共官方抗戰片《百團大戰》票房近億引爭議〉,《BBC》,2015 年 8 月 30 日,〈https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/china/2015/08/150830_wwii_pla_film〉(檢索日期:2021 年 1 月 26 日)

[27] 〈600 億元年票房:中國成為全球電影市場發展主引擎〉,《新華社》,2020 年 10 月 17 日,〈https://news.cnstock.com/news,bwkx-202010-4604649.htm〉(檢索日期:2020 年 12 月 10 日)

[28] 〈中國電影:走在高品質發展的大路上〉,《求是》,2020 年 2 月 1 日,〈http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2020-02/01/c_1125497424.htm〉(檢索日期:2020 年 12 月 18 日)

"Chinese/Western binary opposition."[29] Leng Feng of the "War Wolf" series borrowed the heroic image of Rambo from "First Blood" and reproduced the "Chinese dream" of military duty and mission in a Hollywoodized narrative, as a Chinese hero who obeys the country, helps women and children, and is full of chivalry and tenderness. "Operation Red Sea" and "Wandering Earth" are transformed into nationalist and collectivist value systems, showing the modernization and professionalization of the dream of a strong military through modernized visual scenes of warships, tanks, drones and space stations, creating a just image of international humanitarian relief and strengthening the common body of human destiny, and discussing China's universal values and legitimate status in the world landscape.

The Visual Representation of National Image under the Rise of China

This paper will then analyze the visual narratives of the three movies, deconstructing the metaphorical image, imagination and emotional identity of the Chinese nation, and visually re-presenting the storyline of international relations.

I. The Image of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics as A Great Power

To convey the Chinese military's insistence on never trespassing on other countries' territory, "War Wolf 2" uses scenes from civil war in African countries to illustrate the visual narrative of the country and the military's dedication and duty to protect the lives of compatriots overseas, using Leng Feng, a Chinese special forces officer who symbolizes the "Self," to go to the hospital and factory to rescue Dr. Chen and his Chinese employees. On the contrary, Rachel, a doctor who represents the "other", asks the U.S. Embassy for help during the war, but receives no response and has to follow Leng Feng all the way.

In contrast, the camera brings to the image of Chinese soldiers on board a Chinese naval vessel helping to evacuate overseas Chinese, with the flag of "Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy" flying on the naval vessel, and the absence of other countries' naval vessels in the spatial scene, alluding to China's international role and status in the geopolitical environment and showing its friendly relationship with Africa.

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[29] 〈「好萊塢編劇教父」麥基：中國電影應拒絕模仿好萊塢〉,《人民網》,2016 年 5 月 29 日,〈http://culture.people.com.cn/BIG5/n1/2016/0529/c22219-28387738.html〉（檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 10 日）；良卓月,〈高仿好萊塢後,中國科幻的下一步怎麼走？〉,《深焦 DeepFocus》,2019 年 2 月 14 日,〈https://www.luoow.com/dc_tw/109945156〉（檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 10 日）

"Operation Red Sea" attempts to highlight the teamwork and collectivism of the Jiaolong commando team, a metaphor for the fact that China, unlike the U.S. model of managing the international community, is equally effective in combating international terrorist organizations, carrying out evacuation missions and assuming responsibility for maintaining world peace. "Wandering Earth," on the other hand, presents the imagination and emotional identity of the "human destiny community" in a virtual science fiction scenario of global disaster. China and Russia dominate the global governance system in the movie. The countries on the rescue mission include France, the United Kingdom, Korea, Japan and Indonesia, all of which are currently friendly with China. In contrast, the United States is "absent" from the movie, and India is not involved in the final rescue operation. The relationship between China, the United States, and India is metaphorically constructed as China being more capable of leading and more willing to adopt international cooperation to solve the crisis than the United States, visually presenting a sense of home country willing to sacrifice for the country and humanity.

II. Military Force and Technological Strength of the Presentation

The premiere of "War Wolf 2" at 8:01 pm on the 27th of 2017 is a tribute to the 90th anniversary of the founding of the CCP and a prelude to the 90th anniversary of the military parade. When the commander of the naval formation orders to open fire on the European mercenaries and anti-government forces who are slaughtering civilians, the 052D destroyer fires multiple missiles to show the visual impact of hitting the target precisely.[30]

In "Operation Red Sea," 054A guided missile escort ship, 071 dock landing ship, 904 island supply ship and other ships appeared with exciting background music.[31] The movie reconstructs the myth of "Linyi" carrying out the mission of evacuating overseas Chinese from Ye Men through drone attack, intercepting missiles by shipborne anti-aircraft guns and rescuing Chinese hostages held by terrorists.

China successfully launched the Shenzhou 10 and 11 spacecraft in 2013 and 2016.[32]

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[30] 〈《戰狼 2》展示多型現役裝備，軍事元素靠譜嗎？〉，《人民網》，2017 年 8 月 2 日，〈http://military.people.com.cn/BIG5/n1/2017/0802/c1011-29444280.html〉（檢索日期：2021 年 2 月 4 日）

[31] 林秀，〈《紅海行動》:重構世界史的衝動與失敗〉，《藝術評論》，第 5 期，2018 年 10 月，頁 77–84。

[32] 〈神舟十號載人飛船發射成功〉，《人民網》，2013 年 6 月 12 日，〈http://politics.people.com.cn/BIG5/n/2

"Wandering Earth" portrays China's hope for the rapid development of aerospace technology. Through science fiction equipment such as space stations and heavy-duty vehicles, special effects scenes, and the virtual story of rescue teams from various countries to save the Earth, the "space dream" of the Chinese nation and the imagination of a technological powerhouse are visually presented. Based on the realistic military strength of the country, the audiovisual image construction is an artistic display of China's military strength. For the audience, the image of a strong and strong China is a showcase of China's military strength and comprehensive national power through the appearance of various advanced equipment such as land, sea, air and space.

III. The Image of the Country in International Interaction

The three movies convey the core concepts of "those who commit crimes against China will be punished no matter where you are", "no matter where you are, remember that you have a strong motherland behind you", "we were not born in a peaceful era, but we are fortunate to be born in a peaceful country," "the brave are not afraid, the strong are not invincible," and the "dream of a strong nation," which presents the cultural political strategy of "China's position, international expression."

For example, in "War Wolf 2," the leader of the African Red Turban Army orders the army to "not kill Chinese," arguing that China's right to speak internationally is an important guarantee for the legitimacy of its regime, and holding up the five-star flag as a guarantee of safe passage through the war zone, both of which demonstrate the national position that the Chinese army will never enter the war zone at will unless Chinese citizens are physically harmed.

"Operation Red Sea" portrays war as bloody and violent, but the protagonist never initiates war, which is a metaphor for China's adherence to the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" in its diplomatic policy, that as long as you do not violate sovereignty, I will maintain peace, but if you insist on going to war, I will fight to the end. The end credits "South China Sea" with the line "You are about to enter China's territorial waters, please leave immediately" are an

013/0612/c1024-21815531.html〉（檢索日期：2021 年 2 月 4 日）；〈習近平同神十太空人聶海勝、張曉光、王亞平通話〉，《中國政府網》，2013 年 6 月 24 日，〈http://www.gov.cn/ldhd/2013-06/24/content_2432565.htm〉（檢索日期：2021 年 2 月 4 日）；〈神舟十一號載人飛船發射成功〉，《中華人民共和國國防部》，2016 年 10 月 17 日，〈http://www.mod.gov.cn/big5/topnews/2016-10/17/content_4747852.htm〉（檢索日期：2021 年 2 月 4 日）

emotional geographical writing through the movie, and a visual image to portray the legitimacy of its sovereignty in the South China Sea.

The "Emotional Community" under Visual Strategy

In order to further explore the subjective interpretations of the three movies by the audiences and to generate emotional communities, this paper selects representative movie review texts from Douban and summarizes three core axes: "review and extension of international politics," "emotional expression of the audience," and "identification and imagination of the national image," in order to understand the construction process of visual strategies on social and emotional identity.

I. Review and Extension of International Politics

'In March 2015, the civil war in Yemen heated up and the Chinese Navy fleet carried out the evacuation of Chinese citizens. Under the leadership of the Chinese government, the Chinese Navy ship Linyi carried the overseas Chinese from Pakistan and 10 other countries in Yemen to Jibdi safely. ...... This is the first time that China used armed warships to evacuate overseas Chinese from foreign countries, marking the beginning of the Chinese Navy's move towards global warfare.' 'The release of "Wandering Earth" coincides with a milestone achievement in China's space program. Despite lagging behind Russia and the United States by decades, China has now sent astronauts into orbit and is entering a new era of space exploration, even taking a leadership role.'

In addition to the events, the movies also gives the viewer a political association with "China as a strong backer," as expressed in the movie's commentary about the power of Chinese aid after a real war, disaster or virtual planetary crisis: *'The strength of the motherland is always one of the happiest things for the people. When ...... is outside of China, we often feel that we are no match for China, and that all of this requires a strong national power.'*

'The motherland will do its best to save you when you are in danger. Even if the earth is in trouble, we will not easily give up our home and our family.' Through the movie's portrayal of national security events, the audience's common memory and imagination of family and nation are evoked, linking the macro-level "nation" with the micro-level "family".

II. Expression of the Audience's Emotions

Audience comments on the movie focus on three aspects: "cherishing peace in the country," "tribute to Chinese soldiers," and "The expression

national self-confidence and security."

(I)Cherishing Peace in the Country

The global security issues and the bloody and violent war scenes in the movie, under the visual impact of the movie, prompt the audience to reflect on their own political situation, and then identify with the legitimacy and propriety of the CCP's regime to safeguard national security and stabilize social peace.

'Today's peace is not easy to come by, and I am glad I am in China, I am Chinese, compared to the people of those countries who are living in a death line, controlled by political and religious terror.' 'In times of peace, of course, we do not want war. Now that China has so many overseas projects and companies, there is no way to avoid protecting the interests of the country and the safety of its citizens. ...... is the main theme, but I like it.' Using pop culture as a medium, the virtual scenes of Chinese melody movies interact with the real environment in which the audience lives, and construct their meanings through discourse, becoming a collective visual memory.[33]

(II)Tribute to Chinese Soldiers

The movie uses symbols such as "Leng Feng," "Jiaolong Commando," "Liu Peiqiang" and "United Earth Government Rescue Team" to symbolize Chinese soldiers, supplemented by the visual impact and emotional touch of the "military parade" in front of the screen with advanced weaponry such as warships, tanks, drones and space stations, presenting the battle scenes and space technology again.

'The explosion, shooting and tank battle scenes in the movie are very realistic and shocking, and at the same time show the true national weapon, the Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy, who are far away from the motherland, and are concerned about the nation, where there is a need to appear immediately, they are brave enough to take an active role in the fight,

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[33] Lene Hansen, "How Images Make World Politics: International Icons and the Case of Abu Ghraib," *Review of International Studies*, Vol.41, No.2, April 2015, pp.263-288.

in order to protect the nationals, without any support, determined to fight to the death, ... *embodies the new era of the Chinese People's Liberation Army's dedication to self and fear of* *sacrifice of national heroism.'* This kind of movie is changing the traditional military theme movie characters inherent image at the same time, close the psychological distance with the audience, the military fearless sacrifice, the image of defending the country implanted in the hearts of people, catering to the new era background "China dream, strong army dream" goals and expectations, echoing the pride and confidence of the rise of China.

(III)The Expression of National Self-Confidence and Security

'Some of the reviews expressed their pride in China's rise, as their national self-confidence *and sense of security increased after watching the movie. China is already doing a good job of* *keeping its citizens safe. In a variety show, a Korean star described how he was shocked by the* *Chinese evacuation in Pakistan and disappointed in his own country; the U.S. has always* *claimed to respect human rights, but what about the reality? So, as a Chinese citizen, what* *reason do we have to belittle our motherland? What other reasons do we have for pandering to* *foreigners?'*

In contrast to the traditional representation of values, the characters' personalities and behaviors in the international political environment are presented on the screen through such national symbols as "five-star flag", "passport", "Chinese People's Liberation Army", and "military force", depicting the transformation of the national image construction under the visualization strategy. *'Whether it's the evacuation of Yehmen in reality or the evacuation of* *Yvonne in the movie, it shows that no matter where the Chinese people are, as long as you have* *a Chinese passport, the motherland will bring you home.' 'For the first time in a science fiction* *movie, I saw the Chinese leading the nations to save the Earth and all mankind, which is a* *realistic reflection of our greatly enhanced international status. Now we finally have a voice,* *we can finally say no to Hollywood, we can even say no loudly.'*

In summary, these three movies are closely linked to the Communist Party of China in their presentation of China's great national responsibility, national sentiment, and national image, and the "China Dream" policy of the Xi Jinping regime, which reproduces the "great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."

III. Identification and Imagination of the National Image

Some of the comments on Douban labeled the movie as "traitorous" for criticizing the patriotic elements of the movie, and they were criticized for constructing an anti-American identity through the comments and messages. *'The criticism of "Wolf Warrior 2" reflects some people's double standards and even national inferiority. Why can Hollywood movies promote the strong American melody and national consciousness, and why can't Chinese people make their own melody? Hollywood can promote individual heroism, why can't the Chinese?'*

Some of the ratings also support the "Chinese model" of heroes as responsible representatives of socialist powers by contrasting the image of Chinese heroes constructed in the three movies with that of Hollywood heroes in the US. *'Unlike the individual heroism promoted in Hollywood science fiction movies, "Wandering Earth" embodies China's vision and mission as a responsible power for the survival and development of mankind through this bold design, and proclaims the concept of the commonwealth of human destiny, providing a Chinese solution to the problems of all mankind.'*

'The director said that the American sci-fi movie is about abandoning the earth and digging new places for human habitation, while the Chinese is about not abandoning the earth and holding on to their homeland.' The related discussion also reflects the dichotomy of "Chinese/Western" cultural views and approaches to social relations and world order.

Conclusion

Against the backdrop of China's rapid rise in comprehensive national power, it is particularly important for China to narrate and communicate itself. This paper uses "visual representation theory" to deconstruct the visual narratives and analyze the text of "War Wolf 2", "Operation Red Sea" and "Wandering Earth" as well as the reviews of the three movies on Douban Movie Forum, and to explain the "China Dream" discourse and the dissemination of the image of a strong country in the three movies from a perceptual-political perspective, reflecting the change of China's mentality towards international politics and great powers.

First, the scenes in such Hollywood-style military movies become China's projection of and response to the international environment, reflecting its reshaping of the international order and national image, as well as implying the cultural political gambling between East and West. For the movie itself, the audience is not only an independent observer of the movie, but also a participant in the story. The audience's emotions resonate with the repeatedly presented symbols of "nation," and their imagination and identity of the nation are evoked, and the exciting scenes

and lines become a stage for emotional expression. It can be seen that both the adaptation of real international events and the presentation of virtual crises can be used as movie narrative themes, utilizing the political symbols implied by the dynamic dual structure of "visibility" (images, representations, ideologies) and "visuality" (the impact of movie scenes, the experience of appreciation) to connect with international issues such as national security, comprehensive national power, and civil rights.

Second, movie is an important means of national image representation and communication, reproducing power relations through the visual penetration of cultural consumption of movie and television into daily life, and realizing the virtual international role and imagination of self-image. The development of social networks in the new media era has changed the way of expression of national image construction, and also has a greater impact on the cognitive psychology of the audience. By interacting, linking and expressing emotions through online messages, national emotions are continuously regenerated and maintained. It forms a bottom-up "emotional community" that unites the masses and serves as a rebuttal to the "China threat" under the structure of Western discourse.

Third, as the movie industry gradually transforms from a propaganda tool to a mass entertainment commodity, it becomes a visual and audio narrative for audiences and movie producers to express their realistic dreams and emotions. By examining the content of the movies and critical texts, it is clear that Chinese melody movies do not try to attract foreign audiences through cultural soft power, but rather target domestic audiences. The party and governmental censorship system and the funding policy for melodramatic movies have made it difficult for Chinese movies to break away from the ideological framework. Especially on major Communist anniversaries, patriotic awareness is reinforced for domestic audiences in an attempt to align party rule and priority interests with international recognition.This kind of propaganda logic is not really a soft power for opposing democracies, rather, the CCP is more adept at seeking influence and respect through the expansion of its economic and military power, which is also reflected in the serious discrepancy between China's domestic and foreign box office figures in global box office statistics, becoming the fundamental problem of China's cultural soft power that makes it difficult to go global.

The visual narratives and Douban Movie Forum are used as texts for imagining and identifying with the "Chinese Dream," but they are also seen as real feedbacks of international relations, which enable the mutual textuality of the virtual real world and international political

practices. The mutual subjectivity of the three movies and the audiences, in terms of the Chinese box office and the public's evaluation of their release, has indeed developed the imagination and recognition of national emotions, expressing the Chinese public's vision of the position and role of "China" as a powerful nation in the international community.

Through the alternative view of "visual representation" in the study of visualized international relations, that can observe the intellectual process of visuality being theorized as a specific discourse of power.

Taiwan can help? Really can help? International cooperation under the COVID19-A resilient power of R.O.C.

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Abstract

The theory of international relations analyzes the power relations between countries from realism and examines the benchmarks of the country's external behavior according to the pattern of international power distribution. In other words, under anarchy, it is the country that really determines the international structures. Different international capacity allocation factors will form different international structures; then, these structures will determine the country's external behavior. However, since the outbreak and spread of the pandemic (COVID-19) happened in 2020, international power relations and structures have changed. In the past, power in international relations was understood to refer to the relationship between major powers in international organizations. But now, in the face of an unknown epidemic situation, we have observed that it is not whoever has power who can control the development of the epidemic. Taiwan, a small country, is not politically recognized by international organizations and even continuously excluded. Taiwan, however, still exerts their resilience to provide efforts and contributions to the global community's epidemic prevention. This article, from the perspective of neoliberal institutionalism, explores the cooperative relationships between Taiwan and the world in the implementation of epidemic prevention, explaining the international development trend of Taiwan in the post-pandemic era with the global common interest—survival issues.

Keywords: COVID-19, cooperation, international cooperation, neoliberal institutionalism, resilience

新冠肺炎下的國際合作-中華民國的韌實力

鄭文凱 尹新豪

摘要

在國際關係理論中，從現實主義分析國家間的權力關係，依國際權力分配的型態，檢視國家對外行為的基準，也就是說，在無政府狀態（anarchy）下，真正決定國際結構的是國家間能力分配因素，不同的國際能力分配會形成不同的國際結構，而不同的國際結構，會決定國家的對外行為;然 2020 年自新冠肺炎（COVID-19）疫情爆發及擴散後，國際間權力關係及結構產生了改變，以往認知國際關係中的權力乃是指國際組織中大國間的相互關係，面對未知的疫情狀態，我們觀察到不是誰掌握了權力，誰就可以控制疫情的發展，我國（小國）在政治上不被國際組織承認，甚至不斷被排除在外，但小國仍發揮韌實力提供在國際社會上防疫的努力及貢獻，本文以新自由制度主義觀點，探討我國與國際間執行防疫的合作關係，冀希以全球共同利益-「生存議題」，說明後疫情時代中華民國在國際上的發展趨勢。

關鍵詞：新冠肺炎、合作、國際合作、新自由制度主義、韌實力

Introduction

COVID-19 has been raging for more than a year and has so far caused more than 110 million people worldwide to be diagnosed. When looking back at the early stage of the pandemic, ROC Centers for Disease Control (CDC) was informed on the Internet on December 31, 2019, that 7 cases of atypical pneumonia occurred in Wuhan, China. According to the experience of Severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003, the risk of person-to-person contact was determined, so CDC notified formally to the World Health Organization (WHO) International Health Regulations (IHR). [34]We hope to obtain further information, but it showed no results. CDC immediately implemented quarantine on chartered flights from Wuhan to Taiwan and grasped the status of immigrants by applying control measures. This incident began to show Taiwan's isolation and helplessness in epidemic prevention, but our government still took immediate measures to implement crisis management. This is attributed to the common experience during the SARS period. A good civic culture was trained: wearing masks, washing hands frequently, keeping a safe distance, which reduced the risk of contact and infection.

ROC faces many difficulties in diplomacy. This threatens overall national interests and national security and marginalizes our international status. Even more, ROC cannot participate in multilateral or bilateral interactions in the international community. Under those diplomatic difficulties, the opportunities for participation in international organizations are most limited. Moreover, ROC is not a member of WHO and has not been recognized as a country in international politics. Under such a political background, ROC has independently faced international epidemics such as H5N1, SARS, MERS, and influenza. Unlike other countries, they have no countermeasures for the management and control of this epidemic. The spreading virus has caused a comprehensive security threat to the country's society, economy, and life.

In international relations, realism explores how state actors in power affect the operation of the international order. In this global pandemic threat, ROC has successfully prevented this pandemic without the support of international organizations. Thus, according to the theoretical viewpoint of "neo-liberal institutionalism" in international relations, this article, based on the standpoint of cooperation, discusses that "Taiwan can help" continuously break through the power structure of the past international system to maintain the best interests of global survival and security and provide formal international cooperation.

Cooperation and International Cooperation

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[34] Sheng-Fang Su & Yueh-Ying Han, "How Taiwan, a non-WHO member, takes actions in response to COVID-19", *Journal of Global Health*., VOL.10, NO.1, June 2020, pp1-5.

This article mainly discusses how ROC's special status in the world (unrecognized state, marginalization) with the concept of cooperation; fulfills the obligations of members of the international community and provides relevant assistance. Regarding the interpretation of "cooperation" in international relations, I, from the realism of international relations and the neoliberal institutionalism perspectives, am trying to find out the operation of power and systems in international interactions; as well as, under the COVID-19 circumstance, the international cooperation model that conforms to Taiwan.

Realist scholars such as Kenneth N. Waltz and Hans J. Morgenthau believe that the international society is presenting anarchy and that there is no government with the highest authority in the international society. Therefore, all countries need to continue to participate in the international system. Only by pursuing power or security can we survive. Power constitutes the interactive relationship between countries, that is, maximizes the interests of the country. The country may develop relations with other countries in a cooperative manner, but this relationship is difficult to maintain, and it emphasizes the form of competition. It is the norm in international relations. In such a competitive international society, as long as other countries can provide security protection, countries will adopt a cooperative model.[35]

Neoliberal institutionalism scholars Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye pointed out that we are living in an era of interdependence, the nature of world politics is changing, and the traditional categories of international affairs, that is, the balance of power between major powers and national security, etc., can no longer define existing threats and future possibilities. In terms of economy, communication, and human expectations, the world has become interdependent. International institutions can assist and promote countries' external consultations and exchanges. Involving adjustments and increasing the possibility of mutual cooperation, although it is difficult to change anarchy, the state will tend to voluntary cooperation for long-term absolute benefits.[36]

In the book "After hegemony" Keohane proposed a new theory of cooperation in response to the weakening of American hegemony. He believed that international cooperation can be achieved without hegemony, and that the order in world politics is Created by a dominant country, the maintenance of the international order requires the existence of a hegemonic country, and international cooperation also requires the continued existence of a hegemonic

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[35] Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979). Theory of International Politics. Reading, Mass., Addision-Wesley. P50-52.

[36] Robert, O. Keohane., & Joseph, S. Nye. Jr (1977). Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition. Boston: Little Brown.

country.[37] Regarding the relationship of hegemonic cooperation, the international order and hegemonic countries are not mutually antagonistic, nor can they replace each other. They are mutual symbiosis and can be realized through the role of international establishment. If cooperation is to be discussed, Keohane is right. Cooperation defines the relationship perspective of harmony, cooperation and dispute.

He believes that harmony is a state in which the policies of the actors can automatically promote the realization of the goals of other actors. [38] Therefore, cooperation is regarded as the result of the policy coordination process. When the policies of one country's government are regarded by the government of another country as being able to promote mutual understanding of their own goals, inter-governmental cooperation will occur. Keohane believes that the role of policy coordination is to make the behaviors and preferences of actors adapt and agree with each other, and cooperation will be achieved.

In the emergence of discord   in international relations, actors often intend to make the other party change their policies, and when the other party does not follow their expectations, disputes will arise. Keohane believes that disputes are such a state in which governments of various countries Regarding each other's policies as an obstacle to achieving their goals, and believing that each is responsible for the constraints on policy coordination, disputes often lead to policy conflicts when actors take inductive measures and encounter resistance. [39]

However, from the perspective of international relations, cooperation can be achieved when mutual policies are aligned through policy coordination between actors. Therefore, Keohane believes that the state of harmony tends to disappear in world politics. Self-interested stance, the pursuit of political goods such as power and wealth, so even in the presence of absolute interests, opposition and disputes are inevitable. Governments of various countries negotiate with each other in order to reduce possible conflicts. When national power opposes other countries for certain specific interests, even if there are sufficient potential common interests, a harmonious situation cannot be formed. [40]

Because neoliberal institutionalists believe that the state values absolute interests, the international system provides useful information about the distribution of interests of the state, resolves distribution disputes, and ensures equal distribution; thereby understanding each

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[37] Robert, O. Keohane., After Hegemony, op.cit., pp.31, especially chapter 3.

[38] Robert, O. Keohane., After Hegemony, op.cit., pp.51.

[39] Robert, O. Keohane., After Hegemony, op.cit., pp.52.

[40] Robert, O. Keohane., After Hegemony, op.cit., pp.54.

other's intentions, reducing the possibility of deception, or misunderstanding, and improving the state incentives for cooperation. How does international cooperation work? It is necessary to adopt International regimes. Thus, international regimes and international organizations will promote cooperation between countries. It also believes that if the cooperative relationship generates benefits, the countries will have the motivation to cooperate, and believes that in this state, the uncertainty, and the possibility of deception of international anarchy will be eliminated, which promotes the country to maintain a long-term cooperative relationship.[41]

The era of globalization continues to advance. Information technology, economic and trade flows, etc., have broken the geographical boundaries defined by traditional sovereign states, forming cross-border exchanges, contacts, interactions, and governance models. Global issues are important, namely global warming, public health, counterterrorism, food, energy, transnational crime, non-war military operations, etc. However, the community of nations currently is already an indivisible global village. Human issues such as disease, hunger, and natural disasters all required the international community members to face and resolve them.[42] While facing international issues, due to the limited power of the countries, it is necessary for international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, etc., to control those countries and to move forward with better development strategies.

As far as briefly discussing the views of international relations realism and neoliberal institutionalism on cooperation, I believe that in the era of globalization and the post-epidemic era, human survival and safety are absolutely the country's major interests. Conflict and cooperation are both for survival, and cooperation not only is interdependently needed but also can bring the benefits. However, these only illustrate the cooperation under the members of international organizations. Taiwan is a small member of the international community, and its participation in international affairs is marginalized. Obviously, Taiwan has provided the international communities' help in the prevention of COVID-19.

Resilience

The word "resilience" is an adjective, meaning soft and strong[43]. This term was a speech by

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[41] Robert, O. Keohane., & Lisa, L. Martin. (1995). The Promise of Institutionalist Theory. International Secirity,20(1),44-45.

[42] 黃秋龍，《非傳統安全論與政策應用》（台北：結構群文化，2009 年），頁 7。

[43] 教育部重編國語辭典修訂本，http://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/cgi-bin/cbdic/gsweb.cgi?ccd=N2Af17&o=e0& sec=sec1&op=v&view=0-1，檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 2 日。

President Ing-Wen, Tsai on the Double Tenth National Day Celebration on "Nation of Resilience, Forward into the World" in 2019. She pointed out that we have faced diplomatic offensives and military coercion without ever backing down. Also, the hardships of natural disasters and disease outbreaks have never defeated the ROC people's will to survive. Both indicated that the people in Taiwan have resilience. In the National Day speech in 2020, President Ing-Wen, Tsai delivered an address entitled "2020 Proud of Taiwan." She also talked about that due to the threat of COVID-19, 2020 has been a turbulent year for ROC and the world. This global crisis, however, has allowed the international community to see Taiwan's unique character and capabilities as an Island of Resilience.[44] In her speech, President Tsai believed that such characteristics and capabilities are reflected in the unity and cooperation of the people of Taiwan, the cooperation of all walks of life, and the cooperation of various government departments, which compliances with various epidemic prevention measures and proofs of the country's viability in adversity. The full text of these two speeches used the terms "resilience" 8 times in total.

ROC researcher Yu-Shao, Zhang commented on the content of the President's National Day speech and put forward the theory of resilience. Resilience is a way to counter the sharp power of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Taiwan's own democratic values are integrated into soft power, and economic competitiveness and national defense independence are hard power. These two are the basic power for the resilience that President Tsai mentioned. Soft power is the core that distinguishes the institutional differences between the two sides of the strait, and it is also the link between Taiwan's international establishment basic. Hard power is the umbrella to defend Taiwan's pluralistic society and democratic politics, and it is also a condition for participating in the global production division of labor.[45]

The author believes that our country has a special historical background, and this background has achieved a kind of tolerance and spiritual strength of the Taiwanese people. The CCP has continuously implemented cultural attacks and military intimidation against Taiwan, which marginalized Taiwan's diplomacy and is not recognized by the international community in politics. Under such far-reaching reasons, Taiwan still needs to survive. To meet these living conditions, Taiwan is constantly improving in the military and national defense, growing

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[44] 總統府新聞，〈團結台灣自信前行總統發表國慶演說〉，2020 年 10 月 10 日，https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/25628，檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 2 日。

[45] 張宇韶，〈蔡總統國慶講話觀察：韌實力是對抗中共銳實力的矛與盾〉，2019 年 10 月 12 日，https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/breakingnews/2943785，檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 2 日。

continuously economically, and becoming a unique model of democracy in the world. All the above have shaped our country. Resilience is the characteristics of softness and perseverance for the country. Under the embodiment of democratic values, this fully demonstrates the abilities of the people to cooperate for the survival of our country. These abilities are perseverance that can be shown by all the people, industry, government, academia, and other different roles in the country, which is able to face risks.

Prevention Strategy of COVID-19

Review of epidemic prevention measures, since the initial situation of the epidemic is unknown, the Ministry of Health and Welfare has studied the possibility of human-to-human transmission. The third level "Severe Special Infectious Pneumonia Central Epidemic Epidemic Command Center" was established on January 20 and was upgraded to the first level, the highest level, on the 27th of the same month to implement border control and quarantine measures. The border defense lines were also established to prevent the virus from entering. During this period, it has been announced that Chinese people are restricted from visiting Taiwan, and a total ban on travel to China for Taiwanese people. People with travel history in Hu-bei need to implement home quarantine and closely monitor the epidemic situation. At the same time, on the 30th of the same month, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the coronavirus an "International Public Health Emergency."[46]

As the situation of the epidemic is getting severely, countries around the world are still unable to find effective ways to control it. Based on SARS experience, our country immediately requires citizens to wear masks daily, wash hands frequently, avoid entering public places, and maintain safe social distance. At the same time, the main domestic mask manufacturers were assembled to establish a "mask national team", and 60 mask production lines were opened, which can produce about 4 million pieces per day. Through the way of control and rationing, it is thought that can not only provide for national use but also help other countries which have been hit hard by the pandemic.[47]

The control of the domestic epidemic depends on strengthening quarantine efficiency and isolation measures for infected persons. According to the National Institutes of Health, the quarantine and isolation strategies of various countries can be divided into three strategies. In the first strategy, only the symptomatic was isolated. The second strategy is to isolate the

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[46] 行政院衛生福利部，https://covid19.mohw.gov.tw/ch/cp-4838-53625-205.html，檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 5 日。

[47] "Pandemic preparedness in Taiwan", Nature Biotech Nology , VOL 38 ,august 2020,p 923–938 .

symptomatic, and asymptomatic with confirmed infection is also isolated. The third strategy is to isolate every person who is at risk (no matter with and without symptoms). Taiwan adopts the third strategy. The National Institutes of Health uses a mathematical model to show that the second strategy is 3.5 to 12.3 times more effective than the first strategy, depending on how many asymptomatic patients can be found. However, Taiwan's strategy (the third strategy) is 28.3 times more effective than the first strategy. This strategy greatly reduced the possibility of transmission since people who are quarantined can be released only after they are confirmed that they are not infected.[48]

According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the main factors for Taiwan's successful epidemic prevention are SARS experience, the central epidemic command center, open and transparent information, good resource allocation, timely border management, smart community epidemic prevention, advanced medical technology, and high-quality citizens, etc. All measures above are to prevent the occurrence of community infection. Once a community infection starts, the consequences are difficult to assess.

During this period, the number of confirmed cases in Taiwan was from abroad, while the number of local cases was less. The following briefly describes the cases in Taiwan. The first batch of Wuhan Taiwanese business planes returned to Taiwan on February 3, and 247 people were quarantined on 14 days, including 1 confirmed case; on the Aquarius cruise ship, 128 people were all negative, and home self-health management was performed on the 14th; the first death in Taiwan from coronavirus was on February 15th; on April 18th, the 3 members of the Pan-shi warship was diagnosed positive. As several major cases happened, but there is still no community infection situation in Taiwan so far. Since then, the epidemic has broken out, Europe and the United States have entered an uncontrollable pandemic. The border closures and emergency conditions have been raised. By the end of March, all countries around the world have upgraded their travel warnings to the third level.

The severe threat of the epidemic will inevitably cause social panic. Based on our existing SARS experience, our country has cooperated with the government's various epidemic prevention policies and measures. Before the vaccine is developed, this is the only thing we can do.

Analyze the Success on Pandemic Control. As of FEB. 21th, the statistics from CDC indicated that there were 942 confirmed cases and 7 deaths cases. Among those confirmed cases,

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[48] 國家衛生研究院，〈國衛院以實證與數學模型驗證台灣防疫成效〉，2020 年 10 月 22 日，https://www.nhri.edu.tw/News/more?id=d617f368786c46a7bfb3c147d8722f73，檢索日期 2020 年 12 月 5 日。

77 cases have been indigenous, 826 imported, 36 cases were from R.O.C. Navy Dun-mu Fleet, 2 cases were infected during the flights, and one remained unknown. Until now, the spread of COVID in Taiwan was sporadic.[49] Imported cases were the majority, and no significant scale of local transmission and cluster infection occurred. It was arduous but proud to control pandemic to such a degree while the whole global still under critical condition. The Ministry of Health and Welfare, leading and integrating all tasks at governmental departments, scheduled daily press conferences to provide correct information to the public that stabilizing people's minds. Chien-Jen, Chen, the former vice president, considered that the key point of this success is the democratic system. Since Taiwan relies on democracy with openness and freedom of expression that provides an information transparency environment for the Central Epidemic Command Center (CECC), the social credibility and consensus were built up rapidly. As a result, citizens united and led to a positive outcome.[50]

However, for many countries with democratic systems, such epidemic prevention results should also be achieved, but epidemic statistics show that highly democratized countries in Europe and the United States are still unable to effectively control the epidemic. There are many levels that can be compared and analyzed. Taiwanese citizens, like those in other East Asian countries such as Japan, tend to show a collectivist ideological orientation, which may well lead to their willingness to show obedience to public health measures and motives to transcend political parties. In addition, since our country has maintained a democratic system for more than 20 years, our collective solidarity has been expanded by "self-liberation from the triumphs of its dictatorship-era", which puts it in sharp contrast with larger neighbors, except in adversity. In addition to stimulating the unity of citizens, the nature of majority-minority dynamics in these countries further promotes a strong sense of national unity.[51]

ROC is a society with a single race (more than 90% of the population is composed of Han nationality and major ethnic minorities, who are aborigines). In this regard, in terms of political opposition, the opposition party's political party organization competition is more important than race competition. More importantly, in addition, despite the racial homogeneity, the more

[49] 行政院衛生福利部，https://covid19.mohw.gov.tw/ch/cp-4707-52357-205.html ，檢索日期 2021 年 2 月 21 日。

[50] 自由時報，〈台灣防疫成功關鍵 陳建仁：可貴在透明〉，2020 年 11 月 27 日，https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/breakingnews/3364706

[51] Dr. Philip Dandolov, "Unearthing the Secret to COVID-19 Successes in New Zealand and Taiwan", OPINION, December 8, 2020, https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/unearthing-the-secret-to-covid-19-successes-in-new-zealand-and-taiwan/,20201228.

inclusive citizens' concept of national identity tends to take precedence over the concept of indigenous people. Our country often struggles with real and perceivable existential threats. The existing threats may reflect real or imagined fears that the country may be annihilated due to the actions taken by foreign groups or natural forces. Taiwan has long faced the issue of unification and independence, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) verbal intimidation and saber rattling, and destructive natural disasters. Taiwanese citizens have long been aware of those risks. [52]In response to the pandemic, there are signs that as early as December 2019, the Taiwan government was seriously suspicious of COVID-19. The threat of the virus has been understated in China. CDC conducted strict inspections on passengers who took off from Wuhan on the 31st. In terms of health policy and management, Taiwan did learn from the experience of the SARS epidemic in 2002-2004 and the swine flu pandemic in 2009.[53]

The Application of Resiliency

The COVID-19 pandemic has created an unprecedented health crisis around the world. Since the relevant deployment and experience have been affirmed internationally, the ROC government has the ability and expectations to collaborate with countries overseas for the prevention of spreading under bilateral and multilateral frameworks. The fulfillment of assistant not only helps pandemic prevention but also demonstrates the Taiwanese government as a good force in the world.

In the past, ROC has actively carried out international epidemic prevention cooperation and international humanitarian assistance operations. For example, ROC and the United States issued the "the Taiwan-U.S. Joint Statement on a Partnership against Coronavirus" on March 18, demonstrating their determination to work together to fight the COVID 19 pandemic, cooperating and sharing vaccine research and development; Academia Sinica also held video conferences with EU officials to discuss cooperation in the development of rapid screening and vaccines. In addition, since April 2020, the Taiwanese government has donated a total of more than 50 million medical masks to support the first in more than 80 severely affected countries including the United States, Europe, diplomatic relations, new southbound policy target countries, Japan, and parts of Africa and the Middle East. Line medical staff. Taiwan will continue to provide more assistance to the international community in the three projects of

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[52] 風險感知係指人類對各種風險的主觀感受與評估，林宗弘、蕭新煌、許耿銘等，〈邁向世界風險社會？台灣民眾的社會資本、風險感知與風險因應行為〉，《調查研究—方法與應用》，第 40 期，2018 年 9 月，頁 134。http://journal.survey.sinica.edu.tw/files/paper/296_9c6a4ec6.pdf，檢索日期：2020 年 12 月 28 日。

[53] Dr. Philip Dandolov, "Unearthing the Secret to COVID-19 Successes in New Zealand and Taiwan", OPINION, December 8, 2020, https://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/unearthing-the-secret-to-covid-19-successes-in-new-zealand-and-taiwan/,20201228.

masks, medicines, and technology while ensuring that domestic demand is intact, to overcome difficulties. [54] Regarding government donation of masks to foreign countries, that is, "mask diplomacy", the results of the TVBS polling center on April 21, 2020, show that 71% of the people support the government's donation of 16 million masks, 18% do not support it, and 11% did not express an opinion. Polls showed that Taiwanese society was still willing to support the government's donation of strategic material masks, even in the severe situation of the pandemic.[55]

Although ROC has aided the international community and has performed well on this stage of pandemic prevention, can it change the status of the Republic of China in the international community? After the end of World War II and after the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the international order has maintained a superpower and multi-great power form. Under anarchy, the concept of global governance through the interaction of states, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations has also produced international institutions. The process of building up ideas and advocating or operating behaviors through consensus, forming a norm or rule that everyone can follow.[56]

In other words, ROC's position in the international establishment may not be able to make a breakthrough because of the results of pandemic prevention. Taking this mask diplomacy as an example, my country not only has the volume increased but also successfully turned the negative international image in the past into a positive image based on research conducted by Common Wealth Magazine and Taiwan's Artificial Intelligence Laboratory. This AI was used to analyze the "public opinion sentiment" on Twitter, the social platform most used by international political figures. However, only the image of our country has changed.[57]

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[54] 中華民國外交部,〈臺灣是國際社會的良善力量〉,https://www.mofa.gov.tw/cp.aspx?n=3FCC7ED69E5E3E5D,檢索日期:2020 年 12 月 28 日。

[55] TVBS 民意調查中心,〈三天零確診後疫情影響民調〉,採用市內電話及行動電話雙底冊調查方式,於 109 年 4 月 16 日至 21 日晚間 18:30 至 22:00 進行的調查,共接觸 1,298 位 20 歲以上台灣民眾,其中拒訪為 142 位,拒訪率為 10.9%,最後成功訪問有效樣本 1,156 位,在 95%的信心水準下,抽樣誤差為±2.9 個百分點以內。抽樣方法採用市內電話號碼後四碼隨機抽樣、行動電話後五碼電腦隨機抽樣,人員電話訪問,資料依電話使用行為組合估計及母體性別、年齡、地區、教育程度等變項進行統計加　　　　　　　權　　　　　　　處　　　　　　　理　　　　　　　。 https://cc.tvbs.com.tw/portal/file/poll_center/2020/20200422/1a2bc1f3a2d92ea84ed35df78e86c0de.pdf,檢索日期:2020 年 12 月 28 日。

[56] 鍾京佑,〈全球治理與國際建制:行為主體與行為模式〉,《國際關係學報》,第 21 期,2006 年,頁 127-128 https://nccur.lib.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/70834/1/113-140.pdf,檢索日期:2020 年 12 月 25 日。

[57] 天下雜誌,〈口罩外交真的有效嗎?推特大數據分析,台灣國際形象如何翻轉悲情〉,2020 年 5 月 7 日,https://www.cw.com.tw/article/5100177,檢索日期:2021 年 1 月 5 日。

In the 2020 US-China Economic and Security Review Committee (USCC) report, Chapter 4, "Taiwan," explained that the outbreak of the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) highlighted Beijing's political motives to exclude Taiwan from international organizations' consequence. Although Beijing tried to marginalize our country, Taiwan's excellent pandemic prevention efforts have won praise from countries around the world and have become a model for responding to the virus spreading, avoiding economic shutdowns, and maintaining normal social operations.[58]

Reviewing the initial stage of our national defense epidemic, making decisive decisions regarding the quarantine of chartered flights from Wuhan to Taiwan and restricting entry into the pandemic area (China). Is this strategy related to the political stance of the ruling party? In other words, different political parties in our country have different attitudes towards China in the past. The outbreak occurred in Wuhan, China. Considering geographical relations, my country is the front line of the epidemic area. It is reasonable to take corresponding measures, but if the pandemic is in Japan or the outbreak in South Korea, will the Taiwanese government adopt the same strategy? So, if different parties are in power, will they adopt the same approach? Our country has developed in this context. We must always worry about the political level. On the one hand, we must worry about China's repression and cultural attack, and military intimidation. On the other hand, we must be self-reliant to solve problems and achieve perseverance.

Many countries in the international community adopt the principle of "one China" and only recognize the sovereign state of the People's Republic of China. On the political level, Taiwan cannot join international organizations like the Republic of China, but it assists the development of the international community. I think there are still many private enterprises, research groups, non-governmental organizations, etc., that implement international cooperation in the application of resilience. Our government should vigorously promote Taiwan as a member of the international community, eliminate political considerations, and make efforts and contributions to the harmony and security of the international community.

Conclusion

"Neo-liberal institutionalism" proposed by Scholar Ke-Oh-Han, which corresponds to the "neo-realism" of international relations since the 1980s. The power of state actors is still an important factor governing the international order. However, the system and cooperation of international organizations and mutual independence are still important factors. In the past, the

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[58]2020 REPORT TO CONGRESS of the U.S.-CHINA ECONOMIC AND SECURITY REVIW COMMI SSION. https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/2020-12/2020_Annual_Report_to_Congress.pdf.20201220.

country continued to expand based on its national strength and grasped the power to influence the order.

However, facing uncontrollable threats such as the COVID-19. Achieving the function of dominance requires international organizations or competent national organizations to develop vaccines, provide experience sharing, and cooperate with each other. This cooperation is not dominated by power authority but creates global benefits for symbiosis and co-prosperity.

ROC is not recognized by the international community as a sovereign country, nor does it have a position in the international establishment. However, the main argument of neoliberal institutionalism is cooperation, but it is mainly based on Western European and American views. ROC is passive, or even excluded in the cooperation of international organizations. The word "Taiwan can help" shows the results of epidemic prevention, combined with the background of national development, to create resilience, and in the application of resilience. The future proposal will continue to be in the public diplomatically. "Taiwan can help" represents not only the help of providing masks but all aspects of the international community, with the goal of safeguarding the safety of all mankind. The "mask diplomacy" has changed the passive respect among international publicity. Although ROC is a small country, it contains a lot of energy from all walks of life, and our country can provide substantial help for human security.

COVID-19 has changed the way society operates. The diagnosis rate and death rate in European and American countries have been rising. Although Pfizer and Modena's vaccines have been administered in European and American countries, the protection of the vaccine has reached more than 94%.[59] In addition, with a new wave of variant viruses under the invasion of the virus this year (2021), we may need to be more cautious and fearful. The World Health Organization (WHO) stated on January 7, 2021, that it is expected that from January to February, the world's poorest countries are expected to start Received the vaccine, and the Bei-Jing Sinovac vaccine currently in clinical trials in Brazil has a protective effect of 78%, which is not as good as that of European and American countries as high as 90% or more.

The effectiveness and the productivity of the vaccine are the expected and promising cures for pandemics. However, even with the general distribution of vaccines, it is still hard to stop the spread of pandemics. Industries in Western countries require a large amount of labor, mostly from developing countries. However, the spread and control of viruses through population flow is also a hidden concern.

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[59] 新冠疫苗藥物最新進展，聯合新聞網，20210107，https://udn.com/news/story/7016/5155244，檢索日期：20210110。

It conceivable that power can determine which countries can allocate vaccines with higher protection, but what cannot be changed is that the aggressiveness of the virus itself in the post-epidemic era. It is unchangeable to control the aggressiveness of viruses with the uneven efficacy of distributed vaccines to each country, resulting in the inconsistent of protection between countries. Like the wooden bucket theory, the wood chips of a wooden barrel are different in height, and the water level can never reach the highest level.

Finally, did the COVID-19 arose from Wuhan. ROC did the epidemic prevention strategies of different political parties in China produce different epidemic prevention results? In the face of this unmanned war, ROC continues to work hard to prevent the epidemic and maintain a normal life. Whether it still has the opportunity to bring the contribution of international community cooperation under the framework of the COVID-19　is worthy of continuous and in-depth study.

Analyzing the Dilemma of the Practices of UN's New Interventionism: A Realism with Quantitative Method

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Abstract

From the end of the Cold War to the beginning of the 21st century, new international security situations and challenges emerged. The biggest threat was the humanitarian disaster caused by ethnic conflicts, civil wars, or government failures within the country. "New interventionism" emerged in this context. .

However, in international interventions, the degree of UN involvement is different. For example, in the Kosovo incident, the international military stationed intervened; on the other hand, the Syrian civil war, at the UN meeting, because China and Russia exercised their veto power, they avoided the UN. Intervention. Therefore, whether the United Nations interferes in international violations should be related to the interaction between the permanent members of the Security Council and the interfered country.

This article takes 20 countries as the research object and assumes that "the relationship between the two sides' "arms sales" and "international trade" will affect the degree of UN intervention." Using the fuzzy qualitative comparative analysis method (fsQCA) to analyze the United Nations intervention in international human rights violations from 1990 to 2019, explore the influence of the above factors on the degree of international intervention, and present it in the form of statistical charts, to clearly understand the impact of the two factors on international intervention.

The results of the study show that the closer the interest relationship between the intervened country and the permanent members of the UN Security Council, the lower the degree of intervention, and vice versa; on the other hand, the influence of two factors on the degree of international intervention, the influence of the "quantity of arms sales" Sexuality is "higher" than "international trade." The above versification of all shows that the "new

interventionism" uses humanitarian intervention in the name of morality, but it is deeply influenced by realism in the process of practice, and it has become a tool for powerful countries to legally interfere in other countries.

Keyword：Realism、New Interventionism、Humanitarian aid

聯合國實踐新干預主義的困境：以量化研究分析現實主義之觀點

李佳珊

摘要

冷戰結束至 21 世紀初期，出現新的國際安全局勢和挑戰，最大的威脅是國家內部的族群衝突、內戰或是政府失靈所造成的人道災難，「新干涉主義」便是在這樣的背景下興起。

然而，國際干涉的行動中，聯合國介入的程度卻有所不同，例如：科索沃事件中，國際派駐軍隊介入；反觀，敘利亞內戰，在聯合國會議上，卻因為中俄行使否決權，而避開聯合國的干涉行動。因此，聯合國是否干涉國際違權事件，應與安理會常任理事國跟被干涉國間的互動有關。

本文以 20 個國家為研究對象，假設「雙方的『軍售數量』與『國際貿易』關係，將影響聯合國干涉程度」。以模糊質性比較分析法(fsQCA)分析 1990~2019 年聯合國干預國際違反人權事件，探究上述因素對於國際干預程度之影響，並以統計圖表之方式呈現，一目了然兩項因素對於國際干預之影響。

研究結果，當被干預國與聯合國安理會常任理事國之利益關係越密切，干預程度較低，反之亦然；另一方面，兩項因素對於國際干預程度之影響性，「軍售數量」之影響性「高」於「國際貿易」。上述驗證皆說明了「新干涉主義」以道德之名行人道干涉，但是實踐過程中深受現實主義影響，成為強國合法干涉他國的工具。
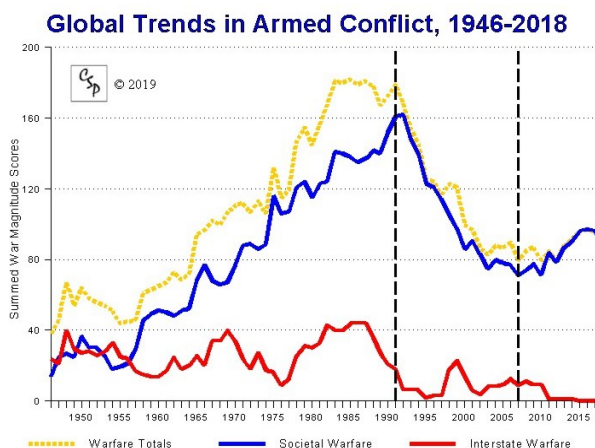
關鍵詞：聯合國、新干預主義、現實主義、人道援助

1. Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, the greatest threat to peace and security is the humanitarian disaster caused by ethnic conflicts within the country, civil war, or government loss.

According to the research of the Center for Systemic Peace, Georgo Mason University, detailed statistics on the trend of international conflicts since World War II, as shown in Figure 1, presents the trend of international wars and conflicts between countries gradually reduced, and mainly based on internal conflicts.

Figure 1: Global Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2018

Source: Center for Systemic Peace, accessible
http://www.systemicpeace.org/CTfigures/CTfig03.htm

If just following the international law of nonintervention principle and prohibiting the use of force in other countries, how could we facing humanitarian disasters in Bosnia, Malaysia, Asia, Sudar, Congo and Haiti?

"New interventionism" emerged against this background. Since the 1990s, the United Nations Secretary-General 's report and the Security Council have made a series of resolutions to revise the traditional nonintervention principle and give a law foundation for the new interventionist (Jin juan Ye, 2010: 165-166).

New-interventionism has become a kind of legal or legitimate military intervention under multilateral authorization (Doyle, Michael W., 2001: 221). It through military intervention into a country 's dispute, and into conflict prevention.

The legitimacy of intervention in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction comes from the authorization of the United Nations Security Council. Because the permanent members of the Security Council have the "veto power", they have become the key role in the resolution of military intervention.

However, in the international intervention of conflict case, not all countries will be subject to strong intervention. For example: in the case of Kosovo or Libya conflict, the U.N. stationed troops to intervene; on the contrary, when the humanitarian crisis caused by the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 2014, the international community only expressed its condemnation. The practice of new interventionism has not been universal, and there must be factors that affect the resolutions of the UN Security Council.

From the perspective of realism, the behavior of the state is nothing more than the pursuit of "interests", so the researcher propose that when there's a humanitarian crisis in the country, the level of international intervention is related with the interests of "military trade" and "economic trade" of the intervened countries and the permanent members.

In this paper, fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) is used to conduct a causal analysis of various permutations and combinations of two factor variables (arms sales, economic and trade) and outcome variables (international intervention). To further explore the limitations of the UN Security Council in the practice of new interventionism, why can't U.N. treat all intervened countries equally?

2. From the Nonintervention principle to New-interventionism

2.1 Nonintervention Principle

The Nonintervention Principle means "States or international organizations shall not directly or indirectly interfere in all matters within the sovereign jurisdiction of other countries for any reason or in any way during their interactions" (Jianming Shen, 2001:7). Therefore, the principle of non-interference not only refers to the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force against other countries, but also includes respect and non-interference in the affairs of other countries (Yongming Yang, 1996: 101).

Traditional international law holds that sovereignty is equal and that other countries should not interfere in internal affairs(Ayman Abu Alhaj,2013: 131). Therefore, Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations clearly states: "In order to achieve the purpose of maintaining the security of international peace, the United Nations and Member States shall abide by the principle of sovereign equality of all Member States" (para.1), "their international "Dispute" (para. 3), "Do not use threats or force in its international relations ... infringe the territorial integrity or political independence of any Member State or country" (para.4), "This Charter shall not be deemed to authorize the United Nations to" interfere in Essentially an event under the domestic jurisdiction of any country ... "(para.7)(United Nations,1945).

In December 1965, the U.N. General Assembly adopted "the Declaration on the Non-interference in the Internal Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty"(UNGAR,1965). In October 1970, the U.N. adopted "the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among Nations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations"(UNGAR,1970). In both documents, the importance of the principle of national sovereignty and equality was re-emphasized. The U.N. General Assembly adopted the "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States" on December 9, 1981, emphasizing that in the economic, social, military and other aspects, all countries have obligation to avoid interference with any country(UNGA, 1981-1982).

It can be seen that in the past, the international community believed that national sovereignty, internal affairs, and diplomacy were inviolable as international principles, unless Chapter VII of the Charter took place, that is, international peace was threatened and infringed, the UN

Security Council could pass a resolution to intervene with "non-defensive" weapons. Otherwise, even if a country has a civil war, it is still considered to belong to that country 's jurisdiction (Ayman Abu Alhaj,2013: 137-142).

2.2   New- Interventionism

In the second half of the 20th century, as the US-Soviet war ended, a new international security situation and challenges emerged. First of all, in view of the fact that the cause of the war is the dictator 's violation of domestic human rights, the international view that "human rights are above sovereignty" and "the principle of non-interference in internal affairs do not apply to human rights issues" holds that sovereign states have an obligation to protect human rights and weaken the traditional concept of absolute sovereignty(Father Robert Araujo, 2000: 1477-1532; Cristina Lafont, 2017: 47-73). Second, due to the impact of globalization, countries cannot avoid the impact of spillover of human rights conflicts within a country(Bruce D. Jones & Stephen John Stedman, 2017:34).

In order to protect international human rights, the 1945 Charter of the United Nations established new human rights principles. According to Article 1 of the Charter: "Maintaining international peace and security ... by peaceful methods and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, adjustments or solutions are sufficient to destroy peace. International disputes or situations "(para. 1), "promote international cooperation to solve international problems of an economic, social, cultural, and human welfare nature, and promote and encourage respect for the rights and fundamental freedoms of all mankind "(para. 3). Through legislation, the name of international human rights has rightly attracted the attention of other countries and even the international community. At the same time, to "internationalize" human rights issues, if the country adopts human rights violations that affect peace and security, it will no longer be a single domestic jurisdiction (Lawrence M. Friedman,1993: 189-198).

On June 20, 1999, Clinton (William J. Clinton) proposed the "new interventionism" of concept of humanitarian which interfering in foreign affairs for protecting human rights and stopping genocide. It's also called "new Clintonism"(Shah, Anup., 2000), emphasizing "civil war is not internal affairs, human rights are above sovereignty, and sovereignty knows no borders", and "moving threats" (Stedman, 1992/93: 1-4).He believes that it is necessary to intervene in various world crises and even human rights issues. When the United States is seriously threatened, it will cooperate with allies to force military intervention (Allan Metz, 2002: p.207; Brendan Simms, D. J. B. Trim, 2011: 365-380; Douglas Brinkley, 1997: 110-127).

In December 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) released "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) (ICISS., 2001: 1-91). The core of R2P is that the sovereign state has the responsibility to protect its citizens from the persecution of four kinds of crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. It advocates that the state has the responsibility to protect all its citizens. The international community is responsible for this task (Alex Bellamy, 2010: 143-169). Therefore, in order to protect the universal human rights value, the United Nations or the international community should or must intervene if necessary.

However, intervention requires reasonableness and legitimacy. The UN Charter is signed by almost all countries, thus providing the legal source and authority for the use of force

(Badescu, Cristina G., 2007: 58). Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter states: " In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf." The Council shall determine whether there is a threat or acts that disrupt peace in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter , and take measures to maintain international peace.

Article 42 of the Charter: "Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." According to the spirit of the charter, only the Security Council can use force. In fact, the Security Council authorizes the use of force through the "authorized execution" model and the "authorized resolution" (Blokker, Niels., 2000: 542-545; Yongming Yang, 2001: 186-187).

Therefore, New Interventionism advocates using force to intervene in a country 's internal conflicts, breaking the absolute exclusivity of national sovereignty, expanding the purpose and scope of the use of force, and accepting legitimate intervention (Danish Institute of International Affairs, 1999: 23-26).

3. Analysis of United Nations interference in international violations

3.1 Major international violations after the 1990s

The researcher listed the international humanitarian crisis incidents that occurred after the 1990s, covering 20 countries including **Bosnia-Herzegovina, China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti**, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Palestine, Libya, Myanmar, Russia, Rwanda, Serbia-Kosovar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Timor-Leste and Yemen, distributed in America, Europe, Asia, Africa.

3.2 The form and level of UN interference

According to Article 39 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN: " The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security"(Charter of the UN, 1945).

Therefore, the UN Security Council can judge the situation according to Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter and intervene in countries that disrupt peace, as shown in Table 1, including three forms, armed interference, economic interference and diplomatic (political) interference.

Table 1

Intervention content of Chapter VII of the UN Charter

Article	Content
41	The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

42	Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. <u>Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.</u>

Source: collated by researcher.

Richard Little proposes three stages of international intervention in his writing. The first stage is only material or economic assistance, the second stage is limited military participation, and the third stage is military operation participation. He believes that international intervention is divided into three forms, the first is "military force", the second is "economic sanctions" and the third is "spreading propaganda"(Richard Little, 1975: 9).

In Martin Binder research on international intervention, he believes that the Security Council 's response to humanitarian crises is not just military intervention or "doing nothing", but various forms of intervention have different levels of intervention. Judgment of the level of intervention of the Security Council depends first on its coercive or intrusive nature, that is, to what extent it violates the principle of sovereignty, and secondly on the cost of intervention in terms of financial resources and personnel. After considering the above two indicators, he suggested seven levels of international intervention, in order from highest to lowest: military humanitarian interventions, "robust" peacekeeping operations, economic sanctions, substantial "traditional" peacekeeping operations, observer missions, humanitarian assistance, complete inaction or non-intervention (Martin Binder, 2017: 67-68).

Based on the research classification of scholar Martin, the researcher divided the international intervention (I) from low to high into 1 to 7 levels, and regarded verbal condemnation (admonition) as no action (level 1). As shown in Table 2.

Table 2

UN intervention form and level classification

International intervention	**Level**
military humanitarian interventions	7
"robust" peacekeeping operations	6
economic sanctions	5
"traditional" peacekeeping operations	4
observer missions	3
humanitarian assistance	2
complete inaction or non-intervention	1

Source: from *The United Nations and the Politics of Selective Humanitarian Intervention* (pp.67-68), by Martin Binder, 2017, Cham, Switzerland : Palgrave Macmillan. Copyright 2017 by Palgrave Macmillan.

Combining Table 1 and Table 2, the researcher summarized the degree of intervention by the United Nations in the humanitarian crisis incidents of the 20 intervention countries in Table 3. If the same humanitarian crisis incident, but the UN responded to more than one, only the most strong reaction. As a result, it has been found that the level of international interference in violations by various countries is different.

Table 3

Level of UN intervention in humanitarian crisis

Number	Intervened country	Level
1	Bosnia-Herzegovina	7
2	China	1
3	DPRK	5
4	DRCongo	5
5	Haiti	6
6	India	3
7	Indonesia	1
8	Iraq	5
9	Israel	1
10	Libya	7
11	Myanmar	1
12	Pakistan	3
13	Russia	1
14	Rwanda	7
15	Serbia (Kosovar)	5
16	Somalia	7
17	Sudan	6
18	Syria	3
19	Timor-Leste	6
20	Yemen	5

Source: collated by researcher.

4. Analyze the practice of new interventionism from the perspective of realism

Realist scholars believe that "interest" is one of the goals pursued by the country and can

also be regarded as a bargaining chip for international interaction. Humanitarian intervention is indeed one of the ways to end the civil war in a timely manner, but humanitarian intervention has nothing to do with morality. The purpose of humanitarian intervention is to maintain justice, but the powerful countries use excuses to package and whitewash their foreign military activities. The motive and purpose of the country 's intervention in humanitarian intervention have been questioned. Humanitarian interference has been criticized by scholars as a state 's selective intervention (Michael Mandelbaum, 1999: 2-8).

Chris Brown believes that the country won't enter the country for humane intervention for just benevolence. The purpose of humanitarian intervention usually means that the state interfered with other countries for the purpose of protecting the country (Chris Brown, 2002: 134-145).

Regarding the content of "national interests", realists believe that international politics is a state's struggle for power for its own interests. Hans Morgenthau pointed out that "as long as the world is still politically constituted by the state, then the final thing in international politics is actually the last Language can only be the national interest "(Stanley Hoffmann, 1990: 94) Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff Jr. proposed that" power is the purpose of politics, and interest is the essence of politics "(James Daugherty , Robert L. Pfaltzgraf, 2004, 82).

National interests are divided into security and economic interests. The two interests affect each other and are inseparable. Therefore, this section will analyze the relationship between the intervened   country and the permanent members from the perspective of "interests", and discuss the two aspects of the "military trade relationship" and the "economic trade relationship" between the both side.

4.1   The "Military Trade" Relationship between the Intervened Country and the Permanent Member

In the process of pursuing interests internationally, military trade relations among countries also play an important role. Among them, arms trade is an important indicator because of the benefits it brings and its international influence. Generally speaking, the international and domestic arms trade usually involves a large amount of economic and financial resources, often reaching a deal agreement worth billions of dollars, so it is closely related to international political and military issues. The benefit for the government of the supplier country is to maintain viable weapons production and technology, employment, and tax revenue, and even exert influence on the government of the receiving country; for the receiving country, it is possible to establish or strengthen friendly political forces with the supplier country through the purchase of weapons Relationship and other interests (Christian Catrina, 1994: 196). T. Wheelock believes that manipulating the arms transfer relationship can force or entice the receiving country to make its policies or actions meet the expectations of the supplier country. He calls this "leverage" (T. Wheelock, 1978: 123-137).

Paul Levine, Fotis Mouzakis, Ron Smith (2003: 55-77)believe that international arms sales activities are based on economic motives. Christopher Sprecher, Volker Krause (2006: 363-369) found that arms sales are an alliance between nations. Wang Bin (2016) believes that arms export as a special form of international trade can not only bring huge economic benefits, but also help exporters gain political and diplomatic influence and controlling power and changing the contrast of regional forces play a key role in the country 's foreign strategy, and can even achieve effects that cannot be achieved by other political, diplomatic, and economic means.

Other studies also point out that weapons are the state Partial extended deterrence strategies (Fearon, James D., 1994: 236–269; Huth, Paul K. & Bruce Russett., 1993: 61–73; Huth, Paul K., 1988: 423–443; Signorino, Curtis S ., Ahmer Tarar, 2006: 586–605).

Zhu Qichao (2002: 41-45) pointed out in " Why do we sell dead? Analysis of the Evolution of Contemporary International Arms Trade Motivation ": "International arms trade has always been a powerful lever to adjust international political relations and promote national strategies, and therefore enjoys a special status in the field of international politics and economy." . The article analyzes the motivational choices of major arms trading nations such as the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, and France, and reveals the unique role of arms trade in promoting the defense technology industry, coordinating relations between countries, and achieving national security development strategies.

The importance of military relations is further verified by the fact that the former US Secretary of State Henry Alfred Kissinger promised to provide Israel with a large number of new weapons in exchange for the Israeli leadership through the 1975 Sinai Disengagement Agreement (Andrew J Pierre, 1982: 16) .

All in all, the arms sales relationship affects the development of relations between exporting countries (supplier countries) and importing countries (receiving countries), other relevant countries, and even major global powers. It affects diplomatic decisions among countries. When facing the issue of humanitarian intervention, military trade relations will be one of the considerations for "selective" intervention.

4.1.1. The "sum" of the arms trade volume between the intervened countries and permanent members

In this regard, the researcher compiled from the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database. Since this article explores the post-Cold War case, the data presents the cumulative total of "import and export transactions" in the arms trade between the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the intervened countries from 1990 to 2018. The top five are in order India, China, Russia, Pakistan, Israel, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

The cumulative amount of arms trade (import and export) between the intervened countries and the permanent members from 1990 to 2018

No.	UN permanent members / Intervened countries	China	France	Russia	UK	US	Total
1	Bosnia and Herzegovina	12	0	0	0	87	99
2	China	0	4315	35331	1220	39	40905
3	D.P.R. of Korea	369	0	489	0	0	858
4	DRCongo	1	50	0	0	28	79
5	Haiti	0	0	0	0	0	0

6	India	0	2032	39613	2850	3334	47829
7	Indonesia	350	582	1147	1272	1126	4477
8	Iraq	37	194	2147	10	4699	7087
9	Israel	350	85	4	241	15072	15752
10	Libya	0	10	90	0	4	104
11	Myanmar	3100	16	1660	5	0	4781
12	Pakistan	10208	1641	693	579	3897	17018
13	Russian Federation	35331	5	0	2	16	35354
14	Rwanda	14	5	68	0	0	87
15	Serbia(Kosovar)	0	0	97	0	0	97
16	Somalia	2	2	0	2	1	7
17	Sudan	568	0	997	0	0	1565
18	Syrian Arab Republic	76	0	2184	0	0	2260
19	Timor-Leste	18	0	0	0	0	18
20	Yeman	150	2	1180	0	36	1368

(Unit: million)

Source: from SIPRI Arms Transfers Database (Sequentially arranged according to the size of English letters)。[60]

Note: see SIPRI Trend Indicator Values (TIVs). [61]

4.1.2. Number of "individual" arms trades between the intervened countries **and the permanent members**

As mentioned earlier, the closer the arms sales relationship between the two countries, the more interests involved. Since the Security Council 's resolution requires only one permanent

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[60] SIPRI, "International Arms Transfer Database", visited date: Feb. 21 ,2020,《*SIPRI*》, http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php. Database data updated to 2018.

[61] SIPRI is an independent international research organization devoted to the study of conflict, arms, arms control and disarmament issues. It was built in 1966 and uses public data to provide policy makers, researchers, media and interested public in various countries with information, analysis and recommendations in the above fields.

member to exercise veto power to exert influence, even if the overall arms trade of the interfered country is not high, if it is closely related to the arms trade of a single permanent member, it can affect the intervention decision of the major power.

Therefore, the researcher here will further analyze the "number of individual arms trades" between the intervention country and the permanent members. According to the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, the researcher will compare the arms trade volume of the five permanent members with the top 20 (Intervened) cases are listed, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Number of "individual" arms trades between Intervened countries and permanent members (top 20)

UN P.M. / Intervened countries	China		France		Russia		UK		US	
	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank	No.	Rank
China			4315	2	35331	2	1220	9		
DPRK	369	12								
India			2032	7	39613	1	2850	3	3334	20
Indonesia	350	13	582	20	1147	17	1272	7		
Iraq					2147	10			4699	16
Israel									13895	7
Myanmar	3100	2			1660	14				
Pakistan	10208	1	1641	10			579	17	3897	18
Russia	35331	1								
Sudan	568	9			997	19				
Syria					2184	9				
Yemen					1180	15				

Note: The quantities listed here are the quantities of arms "exported" by the permanent members of the Security Council to the intervened countries, and the quantity imported from the intervened countries is negligible, because the number of intervened countries usually exported to the permanent member is very low, with the exception of Russia. According to the data in the table, when Russia is listed as intervened countries, it appears to be "exported" to China. The reason is that Russia is a major exporter of arms sales, and the amount of imports from the permanent members of the Security Council is very low, so it is ignored.

According to the unification results in Table 5, the bilateral arms trade with the single

permanent member of the Security Council ranks among the top 20 intervened countries, including China, North Korea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Myanmar, Pakistan, Russia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen.

This data statistic helps to make up for the lack of a single observation of the overall arms trade volume. For example, although the "sum" of arms trade between North Korea and the permanent members is not high (858 millions), but when observing arms sales relations between intervened countries and one single permanent member, it can be found that the trade volume between North Korea and China is 369 (millions), and it ranks 12th among China's arms exporters.

When the intervened countries maintain a close arms trade relationship with one single permanent member of the UN Security Council, it is reasonably inferred that when a humanitarian crisis occurs in the intervened country, UN tends not to take intervention because of the interests of the major powers.

4.2   Economic Trade relations between the Intervened Country and the Permanent Member

Under the trend of economic globalization, the closer and closer the economic interdependence of various countries, relatively, the contagion of the financial crisis and the economic crisis and the role of proliferation will expand and develop rapidly. Once an economic crisis occurs in a country, it will inevitably affect the economies of other countries, and the economic imbalance of a country will inevitably affect other countries. Therefore, the concepts of economy and security, which belong to the same domain, began to integrate, and the concept of so-called "economic security" appeared (Bangyan Xu, 2004: 9-11).

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye (2001: 21-25) pointed out in the book "Power and Interdependence" that the state 's interdependence will bring about trade interaction. When there is a high degree of interdependence (trade is frequent), the possibility of using force will be reduced. American scholar George Friedman believes that after the end of the Cold War, relative to military confrontation during the Cold War period, it has turned to an era of economic and trade dominance, emphasizing that economic cooperation development has priority over military competition (George Friedman, Apr . 2, 2013).

Scholar Zhang Yuanqing (2003: 104) also found that trade interdependence can enhance international peace. Chinese scholar Chu Shulong (2003: 52) also proposed that the world's interdependence will make the national power more restricted because it tries to bring losses to the other side. Behavior may also bring corresponding losses to oneself. Therefore, in international relations, the economic trade relations between the two countries will inevitably affect each other 's foreign policy, because any choice will have an impact on both sides, and must be cautious.

The researcher sorted it out from the International Trade Centre (ITC). [62]From 2001 to

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[62] Founded in 1964 and headquartered in Geneva, it is a subsidiary of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The official websi te only provides international trade import and export data after 2001.

2018, the cumulative total of "import and export trade" between the countries with interference in international trade and the permanent members, the top five statistics are China, India, Russia, Indonesia, Israel, in order. As shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Cumulative total amount of "import and export trade" between intervened countries **and UN permanent members from 2001 to 2018**

o.	UN P.M. Intervened countries	China	France	Russia	UK	US	Total
	Bosnia - Herzegovina	1,679,123	3,287,269	4,279,642	956,656	1,412,742	11,615,432
	China		974,599,902	956,771,642	1,111,280,794	7,886,458,925	10,929,111,263
	DPRK	61,005,247	252,101	1,945,863	156,686	179,262	63,539,159
	DRcongo	42,763,420	3,994,905	195,826	835,967	5,560,741	53,350,859
	Haiti	4,230,704	924,821	71,302	389,156	28,757,906	34,373,889
	India	867,200,659	142,741,094	113,053,364	239,386,522	869,317,323	2,231,698,962
	Indonesia	583,468,649	38,829,940	28,594,509	42,305,922	356,966,536	1,050,165,556
	Iraq	199,167,720	24,510,503	4,860,004	5,850,107	227,363,210	461,751,544
	Israel	129,383,930	49,641,405	40,434,770	73,097,186	566,652,659	859,209,950
0	Libya	55,438,757	55,324,428	2,776,202	23,463,726	32,306,531	169,309,644
1	Myanmar	123,225,080	2,550,604	1,844,092	2,843,836	3,904,715	134,368,327
2	Pakistan	178,114,571	20,849,003	7,002,093	36,488,498	94,391,176	336,845,341
3	Russia	1,002,236,486	327,788,608		245,389,404	470,413,875	2,045,828,373
4	Rwanda	1,853,724	604,894	137,228	306,833	970,868	3,873,547
5	Serbia	7,639,367	11,614,668	19,771,653	5,425,804	5,380,545	49,832,037

	(Kosovar)63						
6	Somalia	2,745,970	263,074	11,074	164,404	434,940	3,619,462
7	Sudan	152,831,082	5,966,179	5,083,048	7,065,620	2,874,578	173,820,507
8	Syria	22,694,814	11,775,204	11,420,918	3,677,336	6,456,992	56,025,264
9	Timor-Leste	889,622	31,301	1,944	24,310	101,340	1,048,517
0	Yemen	27,883,678	3,002,491	1,913,942	1,887,337	7,473,900	42,161,348

(Unit：US Dollar thousand)

Source: collated by researcher, retrieved from International trade centre(ITC) **(Sequentially arranged according to the size of English letters)**

5. Using fuzzy sets (fsQCA) to analyze the impact of "interests" on international intervention

5.1 Basic concepts of fuzzy sets

Although the research of fuzzy set analysis is through quantitative analysis, the numbers in the fuzzy set are not to define a clear critical point (0 or 1), but to define the different levels of members (ie research cases) between the two limits

(Zadeh L., 1965: 338-353).

Therefore, in this analysis process, the researcher can refer to the past literature results of each variable and the prediction direction of the study, and use the purpose of continuous variables for calibration. In order to indicate the clearly defined membership level and the specified set, the scope of membership that is consistent with its own research topic is defined, which is called "membership" (B. Hesketh, RG Pryor, M. Gleitzman, and T . Hesketh, 1988: 425-454; R. Zwick, DV Budescu, and TS Wallsten, 1988: 91-125).

According to this, the membership of fuzzy concepts usually has subjective awareness (Berlin Wu, 2005: 4), and fuzzy sets combine quantitative data and qualitative analysis in the

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[63] The data between Serbia (Kosovar) and the permanent members from 2001 to 2005 is the transaction data of Serbia Montenegro at that time. Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992. The Federation was reorganized and renamed "Serbia and Montenegro" on February 4, 2003. On May 21, 2006, Montenegro held an independent referendum. After the independence faction won, it officially announced its independence from Serbia on June 3. On June 5 of the same year, the Serbian Parliament also declared its independence and became the legal successor of Sémont. Sémon was thus disintegrated and disappeared from there.

calibration of set membership, so they have both qualitative and quantitative features.

This study mainly refers to the setting method proposed by the scholar Charles C. Ragin's fuzzy qualitative comparison analysis method (fsQCA), and uses the software designed by it to perform correlation analysis such as consistency and truth table.[64]

Using fsQCA to analyze the causal relationship between variables as following.

5.2 Fuzzy scores setting of factor variables and outcome variables

In the first step, the researcher "assigns" the factor variables and the outcome variable to obtain the original value, and further normalizes the original variable value using the numbers in the 0-1 interval, and converts the original value of the factor variable and the outcome variable into Fuzzy value. This process is also known as "Assignment" and "Calibration", which is to calibrate the "membership scores" of each variable.

Next, the "calibration" of fsQCA is to use the numbers in the 0-1 range to "standardize" the original subjective assignment. The value obtained after the standardized "calibration" is called the "membership scores" of the variable . The membership score of the fuzzy set ranges from 0 to 1, in which three anchor points (that is, membership degree) need to be set, which are full membership, (represented by a score of 1), and crossover point (represented by a score of 0.5, representing semi-subordination) and full nonmembership (indicated by a score of 0), setting three different degrees of membership for different variables (Charles C. Ragin, 2008: 29-33).

5.2.1. Fuzzy membership of the "outcome" variable

The setting of outcome variable (the fuzzy-set membership scores of the degree of international interventionof) in this study is according to the setting of Martin Binder. He uses fuzzy set theory to convert different degrees of international intervention into fuzzy-set membership scores. Given that military intervention is the strongest response to humanitarian crises, military intervention cases are completely "strong responses to humanitarian crises," so their affiliation score is (1). In contrast, a situation of complete inaction in the face of huge human suffering can be regarded as non-intervention, so its score is (0). According to this standard, Martin 's converted fuzzy set scores are as follows: military intervention (1), "powerful" peacekeeping mission (0.8), economic sanctions (0.64), traditional peacekeeping (0.48), observation mission (0.32), humanitarian Aid (0.16), no action (0) (Martin Binder, 2017: 67-68).

5.2.2. Fuzzy membership of the "factor" variables

The factor variables in this study included Military Trade (MT) and Economic Trade (ET) between the intervened countries and the permanent members. Before setting the fuzzy set (membership) scores of various factors, anchors must be set first, that is, set 0 (completely not

[64] Download the fsQCA software webpage, reference: http://www.u.arizona.edu/~cragin/fsQCA/software.s html. The instruction manual for using the software can refer to: Charles C. Ragin, "USER'S GUIDE TO Fuzzy-Set / Qualitative Comparative Analysis," July 2017, http://www.socsci.uci.edu/~cragin/fsQCA/d ownload/fsQCAManual.pdf.

affiliated), 0.5 (cross point), 1 (fully affiliated) (Charles C. Ragin , 2008: 75). Because the fuzzy set (membership) score is a series of consecutive numbers, the researcher finds the median of 20 sets of numbers and sets the anchor to 0.5 (cross point). Based on this, calculate the situation that each factor variable is continuously distributed in the fuzzy set score and the number in the 0-1 interval.

The researchers anchored the "factor" variables and the "outcome" variable for assigning fuzzy set (membership) scores, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7

An anchor list for assigned to fuzzy set (membership) scores of "factor variables" and "outcome variable"

Variable	Indicator	Membership scores	Qualitative anchors		
			0.00	0.50	1.00
(1) Military Trade(MT)	Total arms sales	Continuous	0	1466.5	47829
	Individual arms sales(Top 20)	Dichotomous	0	-	1
(2) Economic Trade(ET)	International trade	Continuous	1,048,517	98,953,743	10,929,111,263
Interventionm	Intrusiveness of reaction	Seven-value scheme	Inaction	→	Military intervention

Source: collated by researcher.

According to Table 7, analyze the fuzzy set (membership) scores of the "factor" variable and the "result" variable, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8

List of scores of fuzzy sets (membership) of factor variables and outcome variable

No.	Intervened Country	Factor variables		Outcome variable
		Military Trade Fuzzy Scores	Economic Trade Fuzzy Scores	Intervene Level Fuzzy Scores
1	Bosnia-Herzegovina	0.03	0.06	1
2	China	1	1	0
3	DPRK	1	0.32	0
4	DRCongo	0.03	0.27	0.64
5	Haiti	0	0.17	0.8
6	India	1	0.6	0.32
7	Indonesia	1	0.54	0
8	Iraq	1	0.52	0.64

9	Israel	1	0.54	0
10	Libya	0.04	0.503	1
11	Myanmar	1	0.502	0
12	Pakistan	1	0.51	0.32
13	Russia	1	0.59	0
14	Rwanda	0.03	0.02	1
15	Serbia (Kosovar)	0.03	0.25	0.64
16	Somalia	0	0.02	1
17	Sudan	1	0.503	0.8
18	Syria	1	0.28	0.32
19	Timor-Leste	0.01	0.01	0.8
20	Yemen	1	0.21	0.64

Source: collated by researcher. (Sequentially arranged according to the size of English letters)

5.3　　Establish Truth Table

Using fsQCA software to establish the truth table, you can get 2^k (presence / absence) condition factor variable combinations, and evaluate the corresponding results of various combinations (Charles C. Ragin, 2008: 124-125). For example: Assumption affects international There are 2 factor variables for intervention (A, B), and $2^2=4$ combinations of factors will be obtained.

Using fsQCA software to statistical analysis the data in Table 8. We could get results in the truth table of the " Two factor variables and the outcome variable " , as shown in Table 9, the relevant descriptions are as follows:

Table 9

The truth table of "Two factor variables and the outcome variable"

MT	ET	Cases numbers	Intervene Level	Cases	raw consist.
0	1	1	1	LBY	1
0	0	7	1	BIH,DCO,HTI,RWA, XKX,SOM,TLS	0.937192
1	0	3	0	DPRK,SYR,YEM	0.453675
1	1	9	0	CHN,IND,IDN,IRQ, ISR,MMR,PAK,RUS, SDN	0.368606

Source: fsQCA software calculation results. (Arranged in descending order of related consistency)

First of all, the combination of factors in the truth table will be the Nth power of 2, so there are two factors in this study, and there will be four kinds of combination of factors.

Secondly, the degree of intervention (I) in the truth table is set by the researcher to 0 (low degree of intervention) or 1 (high degree of intervention), which is based on raw consistency. The higher the correlation between this combination of factors and international intervention, that is, the higher the degree of international intervention. On the contrary, when the consistency score is less than 0.75 or even 0.8, there is a considerable inconsistency. Ideally, the score should be higher than 0.9. The reason is that the consistency below 0.75 means that the combination of this factor and the international intervention is low, that is, the international intervention will be less likely (Charles C. Ragin, July, 2017: 40-41; Ray Kent, Apr. 2008: 6).

In summary, the researchers set the degree of intervention in the first to second rows to 1, which means that when these two factors are combined, the international community is more inclined to "strong" intervention actions to the intervened countries. The degree of intervention in the third to fourth lines is set to 0, which shows that when these two factors combine, the international community is more inclined to "limited" interventions to the intervened countries.

According to the statistical results in Table 9, the analysis is as follows:

1. When "military trade" and "economic trade" conditions between intervened countries and the permanent members of the Security Council are both "non-existent", the UN tends to strong   intervene, for example: the second row (0,0). On the contrary, "military trade" and "economic trade" conditions between intervened countries and the permanent members of the Security Council are both "existent", the UN tends to limited   intervene, for example: the fourth row (1,1).

2. When "military trade" and "economic trade" conditions between intervened countries and the permanent members of the Security Council, one is "exist" and the other is "non-exist", for example: the first and third rows (0,1), (1 , 0), there are the following situations:

(1) The "existence" of military trade and the "non-existence" of economic trade, leading a limited international intervention.

(2) The "non-existence" of military trade and the "existence" of economy trade, leading a strong international intervene.
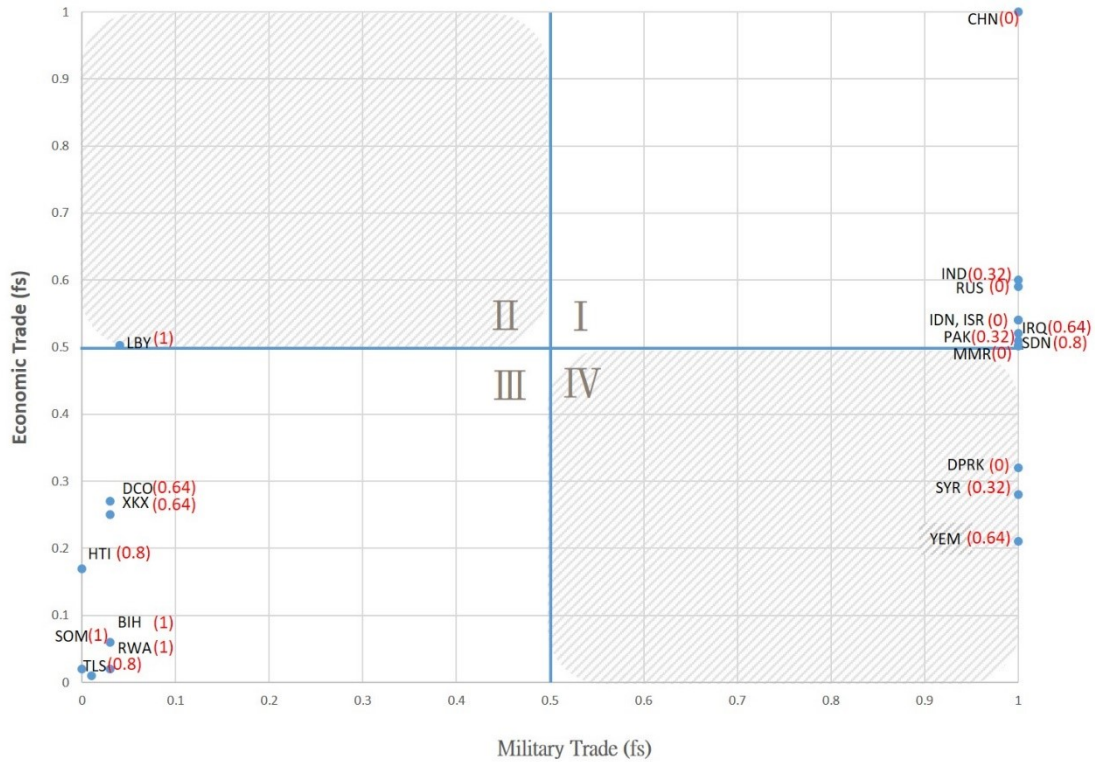

In summary, it can be seen that the influence of the "military trade" factor is heavier than the "economic trade" factor. When the "military trade" relationship exists, there will be "limited intervention".

In other words, if a country only maintains economic trade relations with the permanent members of the Security Council but does not have close military relations, it is more vulnerable to strong international intervention in the event of a humanitarian crisis.

Then, according to the data in Table 9, draw a quadrant map of "Military trade and economic trade relations between the interfered countries and permanent members", and mark

the level of international intervention received by each country.

Figure 2: Military trade and economic trade relations between

the interfered countries and permanent members

Note: The number in parentheses represents the level of international intervention. For the blocks falling in the white area (quadrants I, III), the XY axis values are all high, which is negatively correlated with the level of international intervention; for the blocks falling in the slash area (Ⅱ, IV quadrant), the XY axis value is only one value "high", the level of international intervention is uncertain.

Examining the correlation between the distribution of the two factors (military trade, economics trade) and the level of international intervention in Figure 2, the following situations were found:

(1)   As for the white blocks (quadrants I and III), the upper right corner represents high values of military trade and economic trade, and UN tends to have limited intervention; the lower left corner represents low values of military trade and economic trade, and UN tends to strong intervention. This shows that the changes in military trade and economic trade have a "negative correlation" with international intervention.

(2)   The slash block (Ⅱ, IV quadrant) represents low military trade and high economic trade (Ⅱ) or high military trade and low economic trade (IV). The former, such as Libya, suffered strong international intervention. The latter, such as Syria and North

Korea, have received limited international intervention. It can be seen that in influencing international intervention, the "military trade" factor has more influence than the "economic trade" factor.

6.   Analyze the limitations of "new interventionism"

6.1   Humanitarian is the slogan, and interest is the kingly way-The relations of military trade and economic trade affect the level of international intervention.

First, in the first and third quadrants of Figure 2, it is found that the military trade and economic trade relations between the intervened countries and the permanent members are roughly negatively related to the level of intervention of the United Nations. The closer to the upper right of the figure, the lower the level of intervention, and the closer to the lower left, the higher the level of intervention.

6.1.1   If the two factor variables are both high (the first quadrant), taking military intervention may affect interests. The United Nations tends not to use military interference or to a limited interference.

For example, in 2014, the Iraqi Civil War between the Iraqi government and the Islamic State, a rebel armed religious Islamic radical terrorist organization, resulted in thousands of Iraqi refugees (BBC News (Chinese), June 12, 2014). According to United Nations data, more than 1 million Iraqis have been displaced. This is called a "third-level emergency", which is the highest level of humanitarian crisis. After the incident, the UN Security Council did not have any proposal for military intervention by member states, and only adopted Resolution 2170 to impose economic sanctions on relevant Iraqi personnel.

This is closely related to the interests of Iraq and major powers such as the United States and China. For the United States, the Congressional Research Services Department pointed out in the 2016 "Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015" report that the two sides have close arms sales relations (Amnesty International, Dec. 8,2015; Catherine A. Theohary,Dec.19,2016). [65] For a long time, the United States and Iraq have oil and other economic trade interests. Therefore, the United States believes that the security and stability of the region contributes to the interests of both parties (Leng Xuemei, 2012: 107-110). China is the largest customer of Iraq's oil purchases, and the purchase volume has already accounted for almost half of Iraq's oil production, nearly 1.5 million barrels per day (New York Times Chinese Network, June 4, 2013). Since 2014, Iraq has also become one of China's three major crude oil suppliers (Hide, 2015: 119-120) Therefore, with regard to the Iraq issue, China has always supported its maintenance of national independence and territorial integrity, supported accelerated political reconstruction and national reconciliation, and opposed military intervention (Liu Zhongmin, Fan Peng, 2015).

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[65] Between 2011 and 2013, the United States and Iraq signed a billion-dollar contract to sell 140 M1A1 Abram main battle tanks, F16 fighter jets, 681 portable needle-punched missiles, Hawk anti-aircraft turrets and other equipment. In 2004, the United States has shipped small arms and ammunition worth more than US $ 500 million to the Iraqi government; in addition, the "Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015 report" published by the Congressional Research Service also showed that the number of US-Iranian arms sales ranked second in 2015.

6.1.2 If the two factor variables are both low (the third quadrant), the United Nations has no benefits in intervened countries. If necessary, UN tends to use military intervention under the name of humanitarian.

Take the Bosnian War as an example. The conflict between Bosniacs and Serbs broke out in an independent referendum held in March 1992. The war ended in 1995, killing about 200,000 people and making 2 million refugees. The responds of the great powers are different.

Since there is no major benefits in Bosnia, the United States adopted a wait-and-see attitude at the beginning. After President Clinton took office, he declared the independence of Bosnia and promoted military intervention. Germany based on geopolitical relations do not support the split of Yugoslavia. France has switched from opposing intervention to military intervention. the United Kingdom supports intervention based on consideration of relations with the United States and Germany. Russia fears that military intervention will affect the status of its Slavic people and neighboring countries, it initially opposed to intervention, and finally changing to act in concert with the West. China also adhered to its consistent position and opposed the use of force to interfere in the Bosnian conflict, but did not want to offend the United States head-on, so it voted to "abstain" replacing "rejection" in United Nations Resolution 770 (Zhang Qixin, 2004: 352-357).

Finally, from August 30 to September 14, 1995, NATO bombed the Bosnian Serb armed forces under the authorization of the United Nations and under the leadership of the United States.

In summary, when the interests of the interfered country and the permanent members of the Security Council are closely linked, and the whole body is launched, the United Nations tends not to adopt military intervention to avoid affecting the interests of the countries. In the Iraq case, the Security Council only made economic sanctions. China also expressly opposes military interference. Conversely, when the interests of the interfered countries and the permanent members of the Security Council are low, humanitarian military intervention has little impact on interests. Therefore, there's no interest to confront with the United States, China has no objection to the UN's military intervention in Bosnia.

6.2 Choose the best of two options- the benefits are difficult to balance, choose "great benefit" and give up "small benefit"

Second, in the second and fourth quadrants of Figure 3, only one factor variable has a high numerical value, indicating that the interfered countries still has a "partial" interest relationship with the permanent members of the Security Council, but the level of intervention by the UN are very different. Taking Libya, Yemen as examples, analysing the cause are as follows:

6.2.1. Libya-China and France support intervention based on "bigger interests"

In 2011, the Jasmine Revolution set off a whirlwind in Libyan, and large-scale demonstrations demanded the resignation of Muammar Gaddafi, who had been in power for 60 years. The Gaddafi government ignored the needs of the people and adopted bloody methods of repression. On February 26, 2011, the Security Council quickly and decisively acted in accordance with Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the UN, unanimously adopted Resolution 1970, demanding that the Libyan government end the violence and report the situation to the International Criminal Court (S / RES / 1970). In addition, the African Union and the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference set up an ad hoc High Level Committee in response to the conflict in Libya; the League of Arab States called for the establishment of a

restricted area and a safe area to protect the Libyan people and foreign citizens (Wu Zhizhong, 2011: 64). The international community has condemned the systematic violation of human rights by the Gaddafi government.

Libya is located in the second quadrant of figure 2 (high economic trade, low military trade), and has the closest economic trade relations with China and France. Wang Jinyan (2012: 40-44) pointed out that the Libyan crisis will affect economic interests such as China 's oil imports, contracted engineering projects, and non-governmental trade exchanges. Therefore, when the UN proposed the Resolution No. 1973 on March 17, 2011, it established a no-fly zone.

At that time, China should reasonably use the veto power, but considering the intentions of the League of Arab States and the African Union (United Nations Security Council, Jan. 12, 2012), and only cast a abstention, but it has repeatedly reiterated respect for Libya 's sovereignty and territorial independence and resolve the current crisis in Libya through peaceful means (Wu Zhizhong, 2011: 67).

The French government claims to support the intervention based on the spirit of humanity (Jiang Yanxian, 2012: 66-72); however, academics hold a different view. French scholar Villerme of King's College de Londres believes that France sends troops just for self-interest (Jean-Baptiste Jeangène Vilmer, 2011); Hansey, the head of the energy plan of the L'Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI), believes that oil interest is an important factor in this French military intervention (Philippe Bernard, 2011), because assisting the political adversity of Gaddafi to help France to provide a normal supply of oil resources in Africa.

Therefore, the military intervention adopted by France in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1973 is not a purely humanitarian intervention, which actually hides the motive of interest.

6.2.2. Yemen-China and Russia give up the "small" benefits in "Yemen " in exchange for the "big" bnenfits in "Iranian"

The Yemen Civil War was a five-year civil war conflict from 2012 to 2019. The conflict between the Yemen government led by President Hadi and Houthis, the domestic opposition, has triggered a war of agents between the neighboring countries Saudi Arabia and Iran. According to statistics, there were numerous casualties during the Civil War, and about 80% of Yemen 's population (24 million people) needed humanitarian assistance and protection (OCHA, Feb. 19, 2019; Jeremy M. Sharp, 2019: 13-14).

The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2140 on February 26, 2014, condemning the armed attacks on civilians by both parties and imposing economic and travel ban sanctions against specific individuals (S / RES / 2140). On January 16, 2019, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2452 and established the United Nations Mission to support the Hodeidah Agreement (UNMHA) during the period of continuous extension of its mission until July 15, 2020. (S / RES / 2452)

In February 2018, the United Kingdom submitted a draft condemning Iran and putting pressure on it (S / 2018/156), but under the veto power of Russia, the bill was not passed (New York Times, Feb. 26, 2018). Until the content eliminates the part about Iran's non-compliance, it was finally approved with 13 votes in favor, 0 votes against, and 2 abstentions (China, Russia) (S / RES / 2402; UNsc13225).

On February 25, 2020, the same situation took place again. The UN Security Council wanted to propose a draft sanctioning Yemen and condemning Iran. After China and Russia expressed their opposition, the content related to Iran was eliminated. The voting result was 13 votes in favor and 0 against. , 2 abstentions (China, Russia), passed Resolution 2511, and extended Yemen sanctions for one year (S / RES / 2511)

From the Figure 2, Yemen's "interest" relationship with the permanent members of the Security Council is "low economic trade, high military trade". Since 1990, Yemen and Russia have accumulated arms trade, and Yemen ranks among Russian exports in 15th. In 2009, Russia and Yemen signed a arms deal worth up to about US $ 1 billion (Zvi Magen, 2013: 45).

On the other hand, the Yemen civil war involved Iran and Arab proxy wars, of which Iran has close contacts with China and Russia. First, China and Iran have established in-depth partnerships in the past few decades, from energy economic trade, arms sales and defense cooperation, and even Iran has played the role of China 's original strategic balance against the United States (Michael D. Swaine, 2010: 1-19; Willem van Kamenade, 2010: 99–114; Scott Harold, Alireza Nader, 2012: 1-2). Furthermore, Russia 's close military relationship with Iran stems from the Yeltsin period, when Russia and Iran reached an important arms agreement, selling Tehran jets, tanks and submarines, and building a nuclear reactor for Iran to promote the development of its nuclear weapons (Robert O. Freedman, 2006: vii). In addition, Russia has a strong interest in Iran 's huge natural gas resources, and the development of Iran 's energy resources is in line with Russia 's economic interests (Robert O. Freedman, 2006: 7; Dmitri Trenin, Alexey Malashenko, 2010: 21). Recently, at the end of 2019, the three countries have been holding joint military exercises shows the close relationship between them (CNN News, Dec. 27, 2019).

Although Yemen has a close relationship with Russia in arms sales, when Iran, an ally of greater interest, is condemned internationally, China and Russia choose to "abstain" and give up "small benefits" in exchange for "great benefits", barely accepting economic sanctions against Yemen.

To sum up, when the interfered countries and the permanent members of the Security Council have only a "partial" interest in economy trade or military trade, whether the UN intervenes or not is up to the big or small interests between both sides. "Choose the best of two options" has become the standard of choice for major powers. For example, in the Libya conflict, China regards "international image" and France regards "oil interests" as "great benefits", and regards the "economic interests " between the two countries and Libya as "small profits". In the Yemen war, China and Russia regard "military and economic trade with Iran" as "great benefits," and regard   "military interests with Yemen" as "small benefits."

Thus, after considering "Choose the best of two options," the international community decides to intervene strongly.

7.   Conclusion

The practice of new-interventionism is well known under the international slogan "Humanitarianism". However, according to the analysis of "realism", the UN intervention is often related to the benefits and costs under consideration, especially when the decision-making power falls on the five permanent members of UN Security Council, the support or opposition of each bill must have its considerations.

Researcher believe that this consideration is the military and ecnomic trade relationship between the interfered countries and the permanent members.

The findings of this study are as follows: First, when the intervening countries and the permanent members have high interdependence (both military and economic trade are high), if the UN sanctions the countries, it will affect the interests of the permanent member, so they tend to limited intervention. On the contrary, if the interdependence is low (trade and arms sales are low), and the interference does not affect the interests of the permanent members, they will not oppose strong intervention if necessary.

Second, when only the "partial interests" (military or economic trade) of the   intervened countries are close to the permanent members, the permanent members of the parliament will "choose the best of two options,"   giving up "small benefits"   in exchange for "great benefits".

Third, regarding the influence of international intervention, the benefit of "military trade" is higher than the benefit of "economics trade".

In a word, analyzing the practice of "new interventionism" of the UN from a realist perspective, when it comes to benefits such as military or economic trade, the country will choose a beneficial result.

Therefore, although new-interventionism is a humanitarian advocacy, it still inevitably becomes a tool for legal intervention by major powers under international realism, and it also highlights the limitations of international institutions in implementing the moral actions of "new interventionism."

第二場次

主題:「新冠肺炎下的亞太區域穩定」

時間:10:50 – 12:10

主持人:楊三億教授

論文發表:

1. 當代混合戰爭的作戰構想與實戰創新之研究－以臺海混合戰爭的想定分析(張育君、莊捷)

2. 文在寅的外交政策與朝鮮半島安全局勢的發展
   (張書屏)

3. 全球新冠疫情下臺灣在國際組織的參與與未來
   (徐舜浩)

Hybrid Warfare Studies and Analysis of the Taiwan Strait War Scenario Analysis

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Abstract

During the Crimea Crisis 2014, Russia perfectly explains the connotation and focus of hybrid warfare. Because Ukraine's threat to Russia and Taiwan's threat to the PRC has similar situation. This paper focus on hybrid warfare studies, firstly, it explains the concept and meaning of hybrid warfare. Secondly, it explores the operation style, phases, and impact of hybrid warfare on military warfare. Finally, it analyzed that if the PRC aims for a Crimean-style hybrid warfare, what specific threats does hybrid war pose to Taiwan.

Keywords: Hybrid warfare, Crimean Crisis, Taiwan Strait War, political warfare, Information Warfar

當代混合戰爭的作戰構想與實戰創新之研究－以臺海混合戰爭的想定分析

張育君　莊捷

摘要

　　進入 21 世紀以來，急劇變化的國際形勢和卓越發展的軍事技術，構成現代戰爭的多維性、複雜性與多變性。傳統軍事理論與作戰樣式產生歷史性的變革，從非三位一體戰爭、第四代戰爭、複合戰爭，一直到超限戰等戰爭研究，都從不同觀點思考未來戰爭的面貌和對新型戰爭形態進行實踐與探索。在這麼多新戰爭研究領域當中，其中以「混合戰爭」（Hybrid Warfare）最具代表性及爭議性。

　　混合戰爭的表現形態複雜，作戰行動界限模糊，同時並存大規模的傳統軍事作戰與小規模的非傳統軍事作戰，將作戰樣式賦於多元融合的新戰爭形態。混合戰爭無法利用檢測與歸因測量戰爭的臨界值，換言之，當防守方尚未意識戰爭時，實際上戰爭已經開打；當防守方意識這是戰爭時，攻擊方已幾乎贏取勝利。

　　2014 年克里米亞危機中俄羅斯成功詮釋混合戰爭思維的內涵與作戰重心。由於烏克蘭面對俄羅斯的威脅，與臺灣面對中共的威脅，有非常相似的情形，本文以近年來受歐美各主要軍事強權國家所重視的「混合戰爭」為研究對象。透過文獻分析法與歷史軌跡追蹤法，探討其本質以及此項構想如何為中共實踐在臺海戰爭下，首先說明混合戰爭概念定義、特徵與趨勢發展；其次探討混合戰爭的作戰樣式、階段，以及對軍事作戰的影響；最後據以分析，中共若以克里米亞式的混合戰爭為目標，嘗試推導未來臺海戰爭中作戰思維與實戰想定的發展情勢，藉由研究分析瞭解，混合戰爭對我國形成哪些具體威脅。

關鍵字：混合戰爭、克里米亞危機、臺海戰爭、政治作戰、資訊戰

Introduction

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the rapidly changing international situation and outstandingly developed military technology constitute the multidimensionality, complexity, and variability of modern warfare. [1] Historical changes have taken place in traditional military theories and combat styles. Fourth-generation warfare, compound warfare, new-type warfare, non-triad warfare, and unrestricted warfare, all of which consider the outlook of future warfare from different perspectives and practice new forms of warfare And explore.[2] Among so many new warfare research fields, "Hybrid Warfare" (Hybrid Warfare) is the most representative and controversial. The former believes that World War III must be presented in the form of hybrid warfare, [3]while the latter believes that hybrid warfare must be presented. It's just an old concept with new technology, nothing new.[4] In any case, it is certain that hybrid warfare has become one of the most profound and extensive war studies in contemporary times, and has received great attention from European and American countries and even the CCP.[5]

The emergence of hybrid warfare changes the original appearance of war. It is necessary to integrate the country's overall strategic resources and adopt leading and comprehensive measures to effectively respond.[6] Hybrid wars originated in the United States and matured in Russia.[7] During the Crimean crisis in 2014, Russia perfectly interpreted the connotation and focus of hybrid warfare thinking and redefines that full-

[1] Van R. Paul, Robert H. Scales, "Preparing for War in the 21st Century," *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 2003, pp. 4-5.

[2] Jean M. Rickli, "The Impact of Globalization on the Changing Nature of War," *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*, February 7, 2007, < https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/92740/Brief-24.pdf >.

[3] Carmen Rotaresscu, "UKRAINIAN HYBRID WAR – QUO VADIS?," *Scientific Bulletin*, Vol. 20, No 39, 2015, pp. 151-159.

[4] Alex Deep, "Hybrid War: Old Concept, New Techniques," *Small Wars Journal*, March 2, 2015, https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/hybrid-war-old-concept-new-techniques>.

[5] Håkan Gunneriusson, "Hybrid Warfare and Deniability as Understood by the Military," *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, Vol. 48, No. 2, August 2019, pp. 267-288.

[6] Bastian Giegerich, "Hybrid Warfare and the Changing Character of Conflict," *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2016, pp. 65-72.

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Published by: Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes

[7] Antonio Missiroli, "From Hybrid Warfare to "Cybrid" Campaigns: The New Normal?," *The Center for Security Studies*, September 19, 2019, <https://css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/a59d89dd-1179-453b-ab02-ade9097cf646>.

scale war is no longer the only feasible way for the country to pursue political interests to achieve goals.[8] Western countries regard this case as a model, as a blueprint for countries to resolve geopolitical issues in the future.[9] At present, the CCP is also continuously expanding the field of research on hybrid warfare.[10] Because Ukraine faces Russia's threats and Taiwan faces thePRC's threats, there are very similar situations. How to effectively prevent and respond to thePRC's use of overall national resources to implement comprehensive measures on Taiwan The threat of mixed war with non-traditional methods has become one of the most important research topics in Taiwan's national security at this stage.

This article takes the "hybrid war" that has been valued by major military powers in Europe and the United States in recent years as the research object, and explores its essence and how this concept can be implemented by the CCP under the Taiwan Strait War. Through document analysis and historical trajectory tracking, first Explain the conceptual definition, characteristics, and trend development of hybrid warfare; secondly, discuss the combat style, content, and influence of hybrid warfare on military operations; finally, based on analysis, if the CCP aims at Crimean hybrid warfare, try to deduce the future Through research and analysis to understand the development of combat thinking and actual combat scenarios in the Taiwan Strait war, what specific threats hybrid wars pose to our country.

Definition, Characteristics and Development of Hybrid War Concept

This research first explains the conceptual definition, characteristics and trend development of hybrid warfare:

(1) Conceptual definition of hybrid war

The term hybrid warfare in the field of war research originated in the United States at the beginning of the 21st century. As the discussion flourished

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[8] Ayodele A. Otaiku, "A Framework for Hybrid Warfare: Threats, Challenges and Solutions," *Journal of Defense Management*, Vol. 8, No. 3, August 3, 2018, p. 9-10, *Longdom*, < https://www.longdom.org/open-access/a-framework-for-hybrid-warfare-threats-challenges-and-solutions-2167-0374-1000178.pdf >.

[9] Ayodele A. Otaiku, "A Framework for Hybrid Warfare: Threats, Challenges and Solutions," p. 3.

[10] 汪川，〈混合戰爭對我國的威脅和啟示〉，《知遠戰略與防務研究所》，2019 年 12 月 12 日，< http://www.knowfar.org.cn/article/201912/12/910.htm>。

and deepened, the academic community became more aware of the rich diversity of its ideas.[11] This new conflict dispute term has gradually widely known and accepted. In addition to the more common names of Hybrid Warfare, various synonyms such as Hybrid Warfare, mixed threat, mixed influence, or mixed adversary are used to refer to the complex concepts of Hybrid Warfare.[12] At present, the general academic circles tend to use the term "hybrid war", while the US military tends to use "hybrid threat" to refer to the concept of hybrid war.[13] In addition, the abstract meaning of hybrid warfare is often regarded as synonymous with all nonlinear threats. 2019 "UK Ministry of Defense's Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre" Strategy Analyst and "Multinational Capability Development Campaign (MCDC) Countering Hybrid Warfare" Project leader, Sean Monaghan (Sean Monaghan), in 2019 "Anti-Hybrid War" What about the future joint forces? 〉 (Countering Hybrid Warfare So What for the Future Joint Force?) The article mentioned that because the two terms of hybrid warfare and hybrid threat are commonly used together, it is difficult for the defender to understand the unique nature of the threat challenge. It cannot formulate any countermeasures strategy. For this reason, he clearly distinguished between the two concepts of hybrid war and hybrid threat, which represented disagreement. He pointed out that hybrid war described the change in the nature of war (war against violence), which was brought about by the increasing complexity of armed conflict. Under the challenge, the attacker will use a combination of military and non-military means of war to neutralize the proportion of conventional military use; while the mixed threat stems from the nonviolent revisionist grand strategy, which seeks benefits to target The fragility of the whole society is the goal, destroying the function, unity or willingness of its goal, while reducing and subverting the status quo. Revisionist participants use this strategy to gradually achieve their goals, while avoiding retaliation by using the gray area, the space between peace and war, unless violence also includes indirect military confrontation.[14] Monaghan believes that hybrid wars

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[11] Ayodele A. Otaiku, "A Framework for Hybrid Warfare: Threats, Challenges and Solutions," p.4.

[12] Joshua Ball, "What Is Hybrid Warfare?'," *Global Security Review*, June 10, 2019, < https://g lobalsecurityreview.com/hybrid-and-non-linear-warfare-systematically-erases-the-divide-between-w ar-peace/>.

[13] Monaghan, Sean. "Countering Hybrid Warfare So What for the Future Joint Force?," *PRISM*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2019, pp. 83-85

[14] Monaghan, Sean. "Countering Hybrid Warfare So What for the Future Joint Force?," *PRISM*,

and hybrid threats are likely to occur in the same time and space and are initiated by the same attacker.

What is the definition of hybrid warfare? It can be said that the benevolent see benevolence, and the wise see wisdom, and everyone is different. There are still many controversies in terms of semantics and practical meaning, so there is still no consensus and generally accepted definition. U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Frank G. Hoffman was the first scholar to use the term "hybrid war" to describe this complex concept. He believed that traditional scholars distinguished conflicts into large-scale traditional wars or Small-scale non-traditional wars are an oversimplified classification standard. Therefore, he classified armed conflicts that cannot be classified as wars or peacetimes as "mixed wars." For the definition of hybrid warfare, Hoffman believes that it is: "an indefinable war mode, ambiguous opponents and diverse technical applications."[15] The U.S. Army defined mixed threats as force and irregular force in 2008 and 2011 respectively, and the combination of diversification and dynamics of terrorism and criminal organizations to achieve synergistic effects,[16] and this type of warfare will be become more and more common.[17] The former United States Joint Forces Command (United States Joint Forces Command) defined hybrid warfare as an entity that flexibly uses regular force, irregular force, terrorism and criminal activities on the battlefield, and tailored various methods for itself, mixed threats. Or the challenger may be a combination of state and non-state actors, not a single entity.[18] In 2010, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization described hybrid warfare as "an opponent that can simultaneously use traditional and non-traditional aggression methods to achieve its goals." The definition of the "European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats" established in 2017[19]: "Hybrid warfare is a means

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Vol. 8, No. 2, 2019, pp. 86-87.

[15] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars* (Arlington, V.G: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, 2007), pp. 57-58.

[16] George C. Casey, "America's Army in an Era of Persistent Conflict," *Army Magazine*, October 2008, p. 28.

[17] U.S. Army, *Field Manual 3-0 Operations C-1* (Washington, DC: Headquarters. Department of the Army, 2011), p.11.

[18] Russell W. Glenn, "Thoughts on Hybrid Conflict," *Small Wars Journal*, February 24, 2009, <https://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/188-glenn.pdf>.

[19] NATO, "BI-SC Input for a New NATO Capstone Concept for The Military Contribution to Countering Hybrid Threats," *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, August 25, 2010, <https://www.act.nato.int/images/stories/events/2010/20100826_bi-sc_cht.pdf>.

and method of attacking opponents' vulnerabilities, and the range of methods and methods used is quite wide."[20]

In summary, the definition of the concept of "hybrid warfare" is vague, complex, and diverse. It is used to outline a flexible and complex dynamic battlefield space. The highly adaptable and flexible response required makes it the organism constantly adjusts itself as the environment changes. Hybrid warfare is a type of war that is dominated by military force and creates multiple fusions. There are no restrictions on the way of operation. It can be defined as: "The mode of war is complicated and difficult to distinguish, and the space of war is dimensional. Multi-sources, diverse forms of war opponents, rich innovations in war methods, blurring the boundaries of the war, and at the same time giving a synergy effect of physical attack and psychological deterrence.

(2) Connotative characteristics of Hybrid Warfare

Hybrid warfare is mainly embodied in two aspects. On the one hand, it inherits the rationality and self-control of limited warfare; on the other hand, it has the infinite possibilities of developing various innovative forces and multiple methods.[21] According to the aforementioned conceptual definitions, the development of hybrid warfare gradually revealed several main features:

<1> Because of the complex and difficult to distinguish changes in the war mode, it is a mixture of war modes such as regular warfare and irregular warfare, covering politics, economy, energy, people's livelihood, military and other fields. In the military field, there are both large-scale traditional military operations and small-scale non-traditional military operations with decisive effects. The frequency of conflicts cannot be clearly distinguished. Coupled with the integration of information warfare, electronic warfare, and cyber warfare under modern conditions, the form of warfare that intersects reality and virtuality will surpass the dimensions of traditional warfare under multi-directional development.[22]

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[20] Hybrid CoE, "Countering hybrid threats," *The European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats*, 2017, <https://www.hybridcoe.fi/hybrid-threats/>.
[21] Amos C. Fox, Andrew J. Rossow, "Assessing Russian Hybrid Warfare: A Successful Tool for Limited War," *Small Wars Journal*, August 8, 2016, <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/assessing-russian-hybrid-warfare-a-successful-tool-for-limited-war>.
[22] Yuriy Danyk, Tamara Maliarchuk and Chad Briggs, "Hybrid War: High-tech, Information and Cyber Conflicts," *Connection: The Quarterly Journal s*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2017, pp. 5-24.

<2> The opponents of the war are diverse. The attacking party can be a state actor or a non-state actor, international organizations, multinational corporations, political groups, terrorists, religious fanatics, nationalists, or other radicals with distinctive characteristics.[23]

<3> The means of war are innovative and rich. The opponents comprehensively use political, diplomatic, economic, military and other strategic resources and strategic means to combine conventional and unconventional, traditional and non-traditional, symmetrical and asymmetrical tactics, psychological offensive and defensive warfare and other technologies, forces or other technologies. Disruptive influence as an effective combination. Through the manipulation of political and ideological conflicts,[24] covert actions, secret sabotage or asymmetrical low-intensity conflicts, and continuous adjustment and adaptation as the environment changes, such as pirate attacks, illegal immigration, ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts, and basic attacks Facilities, guerrilla tactics, terrorist actions, transnational crimes, the release of fake news, a series of natural disasters, etc., and even assist domestic rebels or separatists to achieve strategic goals. Such actions are plausible to avoid being held accountable deniability).[25]

<4> The main body of combat focuses on exerting and expanding its own advantages to weaken the opponent's advantage, influence and willpower. It may be a regular military force in a real environment, a lone wolf carrying out a terrorist attack, a thug, a criminal or a computer hacker in a virtual space.[26] Comprehensive composition of guest, network navy, etc. Combat entities take coordinated actions to attack the defender's institutional or system vulnerabilities through a variety of means, paralyze the defender's overall operating system, thereby weakening military and economic strength, and often

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[23] Vladimir Rauta, "Towards a typology of non-state actors in 'hybrid warfare': proxy, auxiliary, surrogate and affiliated forces," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, September 2019, pp. 1-3,

Taylor & Francis Online, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09557571.2019.1656600?journalCode=ccam20>.

[24] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars,* p. 24.

[25] Vijay K. Ahluwalia, "Hybrid Warfare: Battlegrounds of the Future," *CLAWS Journal*, Winter 2019, pp. 21-22.

[26] Scott Jasper, Scott Moreland, "The Islamic State is a Hybrid Threat: Why Does That Matter?," *Small Wars Journal*, November 2, 2014, <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-islamic-state-is-a-hybrid-threat-why-does-that-matter>.

able to deal heavy blows to well-equipped defenders. Or produce a synergistic effect of psychological deterrence.[27]

<5> The separation of war and peace, internal and external, local and national, and national and international relations with friends and enemies. It is impossible to use detection and attribution to measure the critical value of war, resulting in blurred boundaries of the scope of war. The purpose is to influence the decision-making of different forms of organizations at various levels of the region and the country, and to benefit and obtain the assistance of an agent when the entity destroys and damages the target, so as to achieve a winning strategic victory.[28] In other words, when the defender has not yet realized the war, the war has actually begun; when the defender realizes that it is war, the attacker has almost won the victory.

Although most scholars consider hybrid warfare as a theory,[29] it can be found from the connotative features of hybrid warfare that hybrid warfare is not a theory but a concept, and it is a collective term. For the attacker, it means that various effective means can be used alone or in combination to achieve its strategic objectives. Especially after the integration of information technology into the Hybrid Warfare perspective, it constitutes the expansion and diversity of the research level of Hybrid Warfare, because of its own laws. , And a flexible and adaptable structure, creating innovative, complex, uncertain, catastrophic and destructive methods.[30] For the defender, hybrid warfare is a form of war that cannot be clearly distinguished from the boundaries of the war, opponents, and means. Its ambiguity hinders the existence of threats to the defender's consciousness and how to deal with such wars.

(3) Trends in hybrid warfare

The connotation of hybrid warfare is mainly based on the use of asymmetric warfare.[31] In fact, war modes like this have appeared in history.

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[27] Sean Monaghan, *MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Countering Hybrid Warfare* (Oslo: Multinational Capability Development Campaign, 2017), pp. 36-37.
[28] The European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats , "Countering hybrid threats," *Hybrid CoE*, <https://www.hybridcoe.fi/hybrid-threats/>.
[29] Stephen M. Dayspring, *Toward a theory of hybrid Warfare: The Russian conduct of war during peace* (Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, USA, 2015), pp. 15-17.
[30] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars,* p. 26.
[31] Laura M. Herta, "Hybrid Warfare – A Form of Asymmetric Conflict," *International conferen*

North Atlantic Treaty Organization Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg pointed out that hybrid warfare can be pursued at the earliest. The new Trojan War,[32] and modern wars such as the Vietnam War in 1974, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and the Lebanese Hezbollah attack on Israel in 2006 are also manifestations of mixed wars. Hybrid warfare is considered to be a new type of warfare. It is the profound impact of technology on the evolution of warfare. The rapid development and widespread use of modern, advanced and revolutionary technologies have changed traditional combat styles and increased information warfare, electronic and cyber warfare. For the strategic trends of the new war model, the first difference is the evolution from a mechanized military type to an informationized military type, and the second difference is the innovative ability of mentality and way of thinking.[33]

In March 2005, the "National Defense Strategy" took the lead in putting forward the view that the United States will face the challenge of "mixed threats" in the future. [34] From this moment on, the United States has incorporated the thinking of Hybrid Warfare into the contents of relevant documents such as national security and military security. In November of the same year, former Secretary of Defense James N. Mattis (James N. Mattis) and Hoffman wrote an article "Future War: The Rise of Hybrid Warfare" in the "US Naval Institute Proceedings." Hybrid Mindset and Operationalizing Innovation: Toward a Theory of Hybrid) for further research and exploration of hybrid warfare. They believe that although hybrid warfare is not a new thing, the difference is that it will become blurred and incomprehensible in terms of war forces and war boundaries. Distinguishing, the combination of conventional and unconventional means is full of challenges for overall combat.[35] The results of the Lebanese War that broke out in Israel and Lebanon in 2006 shocked the U.S. military and opened up the driving force to study hybrid warfare. The Potomac

ce KNOWLEDGE-BASED ORGANIZATION, Vol. 23, No. 1, July 2015, pp. 139-14.

[32] Jens Stoltenberg, "Zero-sum? Russia, Power Politics, and the Post-Cold War Era," *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*, March 20, 2015, <https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_118347.htm>.

[33] Ayodele A. Otaiku, "A Framework for Hybrid Warfare: Threats, Challenges and Solutions," p.7.

[34] U.S. Department of Defense, *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C., March 2005), p. 2.

[35] James N. Mattis, Frank Hoffman, "Future Warfare: The Rise of Hybrid Warfare," U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, Vol. 132, No. 11, November 2005, *Miitary News For Canadians*, <http://milnewstbay.pbworks.com/f/MattisFourBlockWarUSNINov2005.pdf>.

Institute for Policy Studies of the United States began to work on related research on hybrid warfare.[36] In 2007, Hoff Mann's book "Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars" (Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars) is one of the most important research results of this center. Hoffman conducted a systematic discussion on the thinking of Hybrid Warfare. In the book, he clearly pointed out that the future US military will face a mixed type of warfare, and it needs to win a war that closely links tradition and informality. Hoffman believes that the strategic thinking context of hybrid warfare is the continuation and development of fourth-generation war, compound warfare, unrestricted warfare, and asymmetric warfare. In addition, US Army Major John R. Davis Jr addressed the Huaihai Campaign in his book "The Hybrid Mindset and Operationalizing Innovation: Toward a Theory of Hybrid." (1948-1949), the Portuguese Battle of Torres Vedras in the Peninsular War (1809-1811) and the Second Lebanon War in 2006 (July-August 2006) and other three battles were analyzed and the results confirmed Under different war backgrounds and eras, the concept of hybrid warfare exists throughout military history.[37]

In view of the US military's mature definition of the concept of hybrid warfare and its large amount of research results, the Russian military has also begun to participate in research on hybrid warfare, hoping to narrow the distance with the US military. In 2013, General Valery Gerasimov, Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Army, explained his views on modern wars and future wars in his article "The Value of Science Is in the Foresight" , Indicating the future development direction of Russian military thought.[38] He referred to previous military conflicts, especially the color revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East, and proposed the overall concept of hybrid warfare to verify that the nature of war is changing.[39] Whether it is a state of war or a state of peace,

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[36] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars,* p. 26.
[37] John R Davis, Jr, *The Hybrid Mindset and Operationalizing Innovation: Toward a Theory of Hybrid* (Sant Nagar, Delhi:PN, 2014), p. 14.
[38] Valery Gerasimov, "The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Reth inking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations," Military Review, Januar y-February 2016, *Michigan State University*, pp. 23-25, <https://jmc.msu.edu/50th/download/21-conflict.pdf>.
[39] Valery Gerasimov, "The Value of Science Is in the Foresight: New Challenges Demand Reth inking the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations," Military Review, Januar y-February 2016, *Michigan State University*, pp. 26-29, <https://jmc.msu.edu/50th/download/21-conflict.pdf>.

the boundary between the two has become blurred. From modern conflicts, it is concluded that non-military means that cannot be regarded as purely military means. Asymmetric actions have been widely used, making it possible for the defending side to neutralize military power. These operations include the use of special forces and internal resistance forces to establish a permanent combat front on the entire territory of the enemy country, as well as the continuous development and perfection of intelligence, equipment, and methods. In other words, the real rules of war have changed. Non-military means are playing an increasing role in achieving political and strategic goals, and in many cases they have surpassed the power of traditional weapons in terms of effectiveness. Since 2014, Russia has used tactics that integrate political, economic, diplomatic, military, cultural, and media elements in actual combat in Ukraine and Syria. This new tactic has been called "Gerasimovism" by Western countries. Doctrine), which is the mixed war of Russification. In March 2017, General Gerasimov revised the aforementioned article and published an article "According to the Experience of Syria" (According to the Experience of Syria), which listed Hybrid Warfare as a key research direction for experts from the Academy of Military Sciences. Based on the experience on the Syrian battlefield, the article re-discussed the elements of war, and further concluded that mixed methods have become a feature of any modern armed conflict, and systematically elaborated Hybrid Warfare with Russian characteristics. The smallest cost achieves the highest result.[40]

As Russia's local wars in Ukraine and Syria have achieved very significant results, they have aroused the attention and concern of Europe and the United States, and have invested in Hybrid Warfare research. In 2015, the National Military Strategy of the United States listed "hybrid warfare" as a key threat pattern for US military needs. In the same year, the British International Strategic Research described "hybrid warfare" as "the third type of conflict" in the "Military Balance 2015" research report. With the increase of imitators, the thinking and practice of "hybrid warfare" is urgent;[41] 2017 The EU has formally established a Challenge Center for Combating Hybrid Attacks to deal with

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[40] Monica M. Ruiz, "A Shift in Russian Doctrine," *RKK ICDS*, August 11, 2017, <https://icds.ee/en/a-shift-in-russian-doctrine/>.
[41] IISS, "Hybrid Warfare: Challenge and Response," Military Balance (London U.K.: Institute for International Strategic Studies, 2015), pp. 17-20.

future threats. In addition, some scholars have put forward critical views. For example, Danny Pronk believes that various measures taken by hybrid warfare to affect, intimidate, intimidate, or destroy the interests of the defender, in fact, it is the former US State Department diplomat George Ken South (George F. Kennan) created Political Warfare (Political Warfare) in 1948.[42] If you go deeper, you can find that the diplomatic, intelligence, economic and other means used in hybrid warfare, as well as the strategy of combining special forces to carry out propaganda, subversion, and sabotage behind enemy lines, to generate psychological deterrence, are consistent with the connotation of the six wars of political warfare in my country.[43] The difference lies in the use of information technology, other than the same in essence.

Combat style and action content of Hybrid Warfare

Hybrid warfare subverts our definition of traditional war thoughts and concepts. As Hoffman quoted in his work, conflicts between nations in the 20th century have been replaced by hybrid warfare and asymmetric warfare. Between soldiers and civilians, And it is already difficult to distinguish between organized violence, terror, criminal acts and war. In the past, we understood that the state of war meant that one country declared war on another country. So how should terrorist acts and criminal acts be defined?[44] By the way, can these persons who commit terrorist acts and criminal acts be classified as combatants?

Hybrid warfare is based on the US military's reflections on past wars, especially the influence of terrorist challengers, and the study of cross-domain warfare started. The 2005 National Defense Strategy pointed out that due to the overwhelming influence of US military superiority, the future enemy will be forced to reduce traditional forms of war and turn to non-traditional, asymmetrical or irregular forms.[45] This research attempts to show its mode of operation from the United States' research thinking on hybrid warfare, and then according to Russia's actions in the Crimea crisis:

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[42] Danny Pronk, **"The Return of Political Warfare,"** *Clingendael Institute*, December 12, 2018, <https://www.clingendael.org/publication/return-political-warfare >.
[43]政治作戰六戰分別為，思想戰、心理戰、謀略戰、情報戰、組織戰、群眾戰。
[44] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars,* p. 11.
[45] U.S. Department of Defense, *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America.* pp.6-7.

(1) Combat style of Hybrid Warfare

Hoffman pointed out that the most complex attackers in the future may seek to combine multiple types of potential conflicts with combat synergy and greater influence. These potential conflict types not only integrate the types of wars, but also have different types. The enemy is in the same battlefield space. Because the enemy cleverly avoids fighting in open space, it is helpful for him to find the weakness of the target, and the use of unexpected and unpredictable attack patterns results in the ambiguity of the nature of the war. As stated in "The Art of War: Imagination and Reality",[46] "The soldier is like water, the shape of water, avoiding heights and tending downwards: the shape of a soldier, avoiding the reality and hitting the void; water controls the flow due to the ground, and the soldier wins because of the enemy. Therefore, soldiers are impermanent, and water is impermanent; they can win because of changes in the enemy." Hybrid warfare is a mixed and complex type of warfare that achieves the effects and results of the war under the conditions below the constitutive war. Its means are characterized by the simultaneous combination of military and non-military, conventional and unconventional means. Russia's annexation of Crimea's combat style embodies Sun Tzu's art of war and avoids confrontation with NATO at the lowest level of military operations.[47]

Clausewitz's definition of means of war focused on physical power,[48] but with the development of time and technology, power has evolved from the physical power of the army, navy, and air force into a more vague definition. Hybrid innovation is the core and most important manifestation of the combat style of hybrid warfare. It is mainly manifested in complexity, uncertainty, catastrophe and destructiveness, combined with various formal and informal, symmetrical and asymmetrical capabilities and technologies under modern conditions. In the process of innovative application, various forces and elements are constantly expanding, developing infinite changes in various means and methods.[49]

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[46] Frank G. Hoffman, *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars,* pp. 55-58.
[47] Amos C. Fox, Andrew J. Rossow, "Assessing Russian Hybrid Warfare: A Successful Tool for Limited War."
[48] Carl von Clausewitz, in Michael Howard and Peter Paret ed., *On War* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 75.
[49] Philip M. Breedlove and Janusz Bojarski, *NATO's Response to Hybrid Threats* (Rome: NATO Defense College, 2015), pp. 129-131.

According to the research report of "MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Countering Hybrid Warfare" (MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Countering Hybrid Warfare), on the whole, hybrid warfare is an environment that changes with time and space. The scope of vulnerabilities takes the best overall effect, and achieves the common goal by complementing each other. Therefore, the methods of hybrid warfare are divided into five areas: military, politics, economy, society, and information.[50] The methods in these five areas are: military warfare, special warfare, etc. in the military field; diplomatic warfare, legal warfare, and proxy warfare in the political field; economic warfare, trade war, and energy war in the economic field. In the social field, it conveniently covers mass warfare, terrorist attacks, illegal immigration, piracy, corruption, criminal acts, ethnic and religious conflicts, etc.; in the information field, it covers public opinion warfare, propaganda warfare, information warfare, media warfare, and cyber warfare. , Electronic warfare, etc. The attacker aims at the key vulnerabilities and vulnerabilities of the defender, by strengthening the vertical attack formed in a single field, or the horizontal attack formed by the simultaneous use of multiple fields, resulting in a linear corresponding effect or a nonlinear spillover effect.[51] For example, the meaning of thePRC's military exercises on Taiwan is often more political than military. It has a warning effect on the United States and a psychological deterrent to the people of Taiwan.

(2) The operational phase of hybrid warfare

Any stable geopolitical country is based on the trust between the government and the people. The country relies on its resources and subordination. Under this principle, the process of hybrid war conception can be divided into three stages, and all stages can be they all combine material and psychological means to destroy this trust.[52] Each stage is dominated by non-military means, but as the goals of each stage are achieved, the degree of participation of military means is also increasing. The specific loopholes of the

[50] Sean Monaghan, *MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Countering Hybrid Warfare* (Oslo: Multinational Capability Development Campaign, 2017), p. 13.
[51] Sean Monaghan, *MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Countering Hybrid Warfare,* p p. 14-15.
[52] Frank G. Hoffman, "Hybrid Warfare and Challenges," *Joint Force Quarterly,* Issue. 52, 1st Quarter, 2009, p.36.

target object are used to make the next stage before the actual realization of each stage. Get ready. It must be noted that, due to the innovative concept of hybrid warfare, its combat style has numerous combinations of complex changes, which can be used alone or in combination. Therefore, it is impossible to accurately indicate which combat style should be used in each stage. This combat style is used in a certain stage or due to the continuity of the combat style may appear in three phases at the same time. Everything is based on what strategic goal the attacker wants to achieve. Therefore, we can only outline the outline of the combat style used in each stage of hybrid warfare. Then, according to the thinking connotation of the hybrid war concept, these three interlocking stages of action are described:[53]

In the preparation phase, in order to create favorable conditions for the implementation phase and consolidation phase, it may be one year or more. This phase has the following actions. Attackers often target extremists on the defensive side.[54] These people have long been dissatisfied with the current mainstream social values and have the potential to oppose the current order. At the same time, through the spread of false news, domestic politics, inequality of wealth, gender equality, racial discrimination, religious conflicts and other issues of common concern have been occupied by the people.[55] After instigation, internal conflicts and confrontations have been generated, undermining the existing political and social systems, and breaking the country's various A tear occurs between the layers.[56] For example, in order to aggravate the instability of the political environment, refer to the unfair and illegal behavior of the government, and then use huge funds to support influential political elites, political parties, dissidents, mainstream media, multinational companies, and society in the defense side.[57] Organizations and other agents strive for their support, influence the formulation of government

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[53] Amos C. Fox, Andrew J. Rossow, "Assessing Russian Hybrid Warfare: A Successful Tool for Limited War."

[54] Dennis Prange, "Asynchronous Warfare, Part 2: Strategy and Phases," Lastline, April 16, 2019, < https://www.lastline.com/blog/asynchronous-warfare-part-2-strategy-and-phases/>.

[55] Vladimir I. Batyuk, "The US Concept and Practice of Hybrid Warfare," Journal Strategic Analysis, Vol. 41, No. 5, 2017, pp. 464-477.

[56] Ofer Fridman, *Hybrid Conflicts and Information Warfare: New Labels, Old Politics* (Boulder, C.O.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2019), pp. 3-5.

[57] James K. Wither, "Making Sense of Hybrid Warfare," *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2016, pp. 73-87.

policies, and then subtly accept the cultural orientation and social value identification of the invading country.[58]

In the execution phase, the attacking side launched an invisible aggression that cannibalize the whales, fully penetrated into every corner of the defending side, and adopted low-frequency armed attacks.[59] The attacker continued to absorb a large number of extremists, radical groups, and insurgent organizations within the defense.[60] After Jin attracted mercenaries and intelligence personnel to form an anti-government armed force organization, it began to launch two main levels of hidden aggression.[61] First, in the aforementioned implementation stage, on the basis of the opposition and tearing of the political, economic, social, ethnic, religious and other environments that have been provoked, inject more external stimuli into the real environment, such as small-scale riots. It created intense conflicts between demonstrators and law enforcement agencies, expanded social ripple effects, aroused the anger of the masses, evolved into large-scale regional social protest actions, and then expanded into national social protest actions.[62] Participants used protest actions to surround government buildings, block important transportation, people's livelihood, industry and other critical infrastructure.[63] The anti-government armed forces formed by the aggressor countries pretend to be local armed forces and take advantage of the situation to occupy key infrastructure, which in turn affects the functioning of the government and society, and causes turbulence in the overall

[58] Harley Balzer, "The Ukraine Invasion and Public Opinion," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Winter/Spring 2015, pp. 79-93.

[59] Waseem A. Qureshi, "The Rise of Hybrid Warfare," *Notre Dame Journal of International & Comparative Law*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2020, pp. 192-196.

[60] Haroon Siddique, Tom McCarthy and Alan Yuhas, "Crimean parliament seizure inflames Russian-Ukrainian tensions – live," *The Guardian*, February 27, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/27/ukraine-pro-russian-gunmen-seize-crimea-parliament-live-updates>；Bridget Kendal, "Ukraine crisis: Crimea leader appeals to Putin for help," BBC NEWS, March 1, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26397323>.

[61] Patrick J. Cullen, Erik R. Kjennerud, *MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Understanding Hybrid Warfare,* pp.20-23.

[62] Vitaly Shevchenko, ""Little green men" or "Russian invaders"?," *BBC NEWS*, March 11, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26532154>.

[63] Simon Shuster, "Putin's Man in Crimea Is Ukraine's Worst Nightmare," *Time*, March 10, 2014, < https://time.com/19097/putin-crimea-russia-ukraine-aksyonov/>；Alexander Lanoszka, "T Russian hybrid warfare and extended deterrence in eastern Europe," *International Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1, January 2016, pp. 175-195.

U.S. Army Special Operations Command, *Little Green Men": A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013–2014*, pp. 56-57.

environment. In addition to turning the fostered opposition political forces into a legal ruling power, it even provides separatists with an opportunity to subvert national or regional power.[64]

In the consolidation phase, the attacker uses one-sided legislative methods or high-sounding excuses to dispatch large conventional troops based on various realities, or demonstrate strong deterrence in a situation of full-scale conflict, bringing fear to the defending people. The sense of fear and fear forced the government to choose to give up resistance and avoid unnecessary bloodshed and sacrifice.[65] Without recognizing its role as a party to the conflict, the opposition forces supporting the defending side, which is the current new regime, were fully upgraded to provide a strong military backing for the consolidation of the new regime and legitimize the establishment of a state regime. In order to ensure that in the case of the realization of the interests of the defender, a long-term or permanent military presence is used to maintain a superior position in the region. In the end, in order to seize the territorial sovereignty of the defender, in addition to military force, the attacker uses public opinion to guide or support the internal policy of the new regime to generate self-determination. In the form of a comprehensive referendum, the defender's territory is included in the attacker's territory. Sovereignty scope.[66]

(3) The main body of Hybrid Warfare

According to Hoffman's analysis of Hybrid Warfare, in current and future conflicts, the actors of the attacker can be divided into state actors and various non-state actors. State actors, in simple terms, are generally recognized sovereign states or countries widely recognized internationally, while non-state actors include rogue states, international organizations, terrorist organizations,

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[64] Jovana Marovic, **"Wars of Ideas: Hybrid Warfare, Political Interference, and Disinformation',"** *Carnegie Europe*, November 28, 2019, <https://asiatimes.com/2020/05/china-updates-its-art-of-hybrid-war/r>

[65] Elinor Sloan, **"Hegemony, power, and hybrid war',"** *DOC Research Institute*, November 22, 2018, < https://doc-research.org/2018/11/hegemony-power-hybrid-war/>.

[66] "Over 96 percent of Crimea voters choose to join Russia," *Euronews*, March 17, 2014, <https://www.euronews.com/2014/03/17/over-96-percent-of-crimea-voters-choose-to-join-russia>. ; Taras Kuzio, Paul D. Anieri, "Annexation and Hybrid Warfare in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine," *E-International Relations*, June 25, 2018, <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/06/25/annexation-and-hybrid-warfare-in-crimea-and-eastern-ukraine/> ; "UN Security Council action on Crimea referendum blocked," *United Nations NEWS*, March 15, 2014, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2014/03/464002-un-security-council-action-crimea-referendum-blocked>.

armed organizations, extremism, separatism, or similar to Islam. Countries, this quasi-national type, and even possibly unpredictable actors such as multinational corporations are included.[67]

Hybrid warfare is not only difficult to distinguish between actors and the use of means. After NATO identified the emerging threat of hybrid warfare in 2010, it incorporated the "NATO's Bi-Strategic Command Capstone Concept" (NATO's Bi-Strategic Command Capstone Concept) to provide a solution.[68] A comprehensive analysis framework used to identify and discuss the scope of hybrid warfare threats and to deal with or respond to them. NATO proposes that the attacker will use traditional or non-traditional means and capabilities at the same time, alone or in a mixed application, in response to the constant changes in the external environment, with different permutations and combinations, to achieve the strategic goals pursued.[69] In this conceptual framework, the subject of combat operations is not clearly defined, but the ambiguity is indirectly recognized; in the field of Hybrid Warfare research, combat subjects can be said to be almost ignored. In order to further sort out the indistinguishable ambiguity of the concept of hybrid warfare in the combat boundary, from the use of traditional or non-traditional means and capabilities, the combat subjects of hybrid warfare are simply divided into conventional combat subjects and unconventional combat subjects to understand the combat subjects of hybrid warfare. The connotation of behavior.

Conventional combat entities basically refer to military forces. In the concept of hybrid warfare, military forces can engage in regular combat operations, carry out armed attacks, conduct military interventions, divert attention from military operations, or serve as the fifth column.[70] Classes and badges, wearing non-standard clothing, equipped with typical armed technology or equipment unique to the national level, in the combat area, not only to gain

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[67] Vladimir Rauta, "Towards a typology of non-state actors in 'hybrid warfare': proxy, auxiliary, surrogate and affiliated forces," pp. 9-10.

[68] Sascha D. Bachmann, "Hybrid Threats, Cyber Warfare and NATO's Comprehensive Approach for Countering 21st Century Threats – Mapping the New Frontier of Global Risk and Security Management," *Amicus Curiae*, Vol. 88, January 2011, pp. 14-17.

[69] NATO, "BI-SC Input for a New NATO Capstone Concept for The Military Contribution to Countering Hybrid Threats," *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation*.

[70] Thalif Deen, "The Fifth Column Understanding the relationship between corruption and conflict," *Transparency International Defence and Security*, July, 2017, <https://ti-defence.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/The_Fifth_Column_Web.pdf>.

the recognition and support of local residents, but to integrate with local residents to carry out ambiguity Combat mission. In other words, conventional military forces can use irregular tactical formations to switch between conventional combat subjects and unconventional combat subjects. [71] Unconventional combat subjects can be said to be the most important and core combat subjects in the hybrid war concept.[72] In unconventional combat entities, the sources of their forces are complex and diverse, and their coverage shows a complex pattern of numerous changes and combinations. [73] Unconventional combat entities, such as the real and virtual environment as a benchmark, the real environment may be composed of political elites, political parties, dissidents, mainstream media, multinational corporations, and social organizations, as well as radicals, Paramilitary armed forces such as terrorist members, extremist organizations, insurgent groups, and criminal groups. In the combat operations of Hybrid Warfare, the mode between overt and obscured actions can be switched. They can lay down their weapons, disguise the demonstrators, join the ranks of social protests, incite mass emotions, intensify internal conflicts, strive to expand the situation and escalate violence event. They can also hide in schools, hospitals, public places or critical infrastructure, place bombs or other attacks, and even use innocent civilians, especially women and children, because the identity of unconventional combat subjects is blurred during the attack. As human shields. In a virtual environment, cyber hackers and cyber navies can use a few simple computer commands to seize information from various government agencies and departments, carry out various types of attacks and sabotage actions against system vulnerabilities, and further paralyze the country's overall finance and transportation. Systems such as transportation, transportation, and communication have caused various social systems to be paralyzed, and the online community has led to the guidance of public opinion, transforming the hearts and minds of the people, and the entire country is facing collapse and collapse. In short, it is difficult to distinguish between paramilitary forces and civilians in the main body of irregular warfare, which means more

[71] Fabrizio Minniti, "Hybrid Warfare and Hybrid Threats," *European Eye on Radicalization*, April 16, 2018, <https://eeradicalization.com/hybrid-warfare-and-hybrid-threats/>.
[72] Rene Ridderhof, "From Classic Wars to Hybrid Warfare," *Peace Palace Library*, July 27, 2017, <https://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/2017/07/from-classic-wars-to-hybrid-warfare/>.
[73] Axel Hagelstam, "Cooperating to counter hybrid threats," *NATO Review*, November 23, 2018, <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2018/11/23/cooperating-to-counter-hybrid-threats/index.html>.

violence and reasonableness, and the means can achieve multiplying effects, which will increase the denial of the attacker and cause the defender to deal with the mixture. The threat decision-making process faces a dilemma.[74]

Scenarios for Hybrid Warfare under the Taiwan Strait War

On July 9, 2020, German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer pointed out in the "2019 Annual Report on the Protection of the Constitution" that we know that the Chinese treat us It is different from what we experienced in the Cold War. For critical infrastructure, energy supply or the current 5G network, we must consider how to protect ourselves. [75] Therefore, Germany has hesitated to allow Chinese telecommunications equipment manufacturer Huawei to participate in the local 5G network construction. He once said that it was clear from the period of the new crown epidemic that China is undoubtedly a strategic competitor, firmly defending its fundamental interests. He warned that Germany is facing a "hybrid threat from China," which includes the injection of funds from China, the acquisition of important German companies and enterprises, and the theft of important German commercial and industrial secrets. Seehofer further explained that the so-called mixed threat means that in addition to military pressure, a country also uses economic pressure, public opinion propaganda, and hacker attacks to achieve strategic goals. Seehofer's exposition provides us with a reference basis for the possibility of PRC's Hybrid Warfare. Based on the combat concept of Hybrid Warfare, and based on the PRC's previous measures against Taiwan, this research has begun to be fully prepared to derive the next Taiwan Strait war. Scenarios for Hybrid Warfare operations, which can provide possible development models for future wars in the Taiwan Strait:

(1) Preparations for the Taiwan Strait War

For a long time, the CCP has imposed military force and various forms of coercion on Taiwan under the one-China principle, and conducted various exercises around the Taiwan Strait. From the perspective of the exercises, the

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[74] Patrick J. Cullen, Erik R. Kjennerud, *MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Understanding Hybrid Warfare,* pp. 10-11.

[75] "Interior Minister: Seehofer warns of China's "hybrid threats"," Press FROM, July 5, 2020, <https://pressfrom.info/uk/news/cars/-445234-interior-minister-seehofer-warns-of-china-s-hybrid-threats.html>.

CCP used missiles to attack the island first. Then send air force and navy to attack, and finally send troops to land. However, such an approach will undefeat the peaceful rise strategy promoted by the CCP, and it will also be subject to international public opinion. If it is really decided to attack, the US intervention must also be taken into consideration. If you make an inference from this, you will find that the traditional military attack mode is a feasible way in terms of tactics, but it is not practical at the strategic level. In other words, the possibility of the PRC's military reunification with Taiwan cannot be said to be completely absent, but the probability is low.[76] It can be said that the Taiwan Gulf does not need urgent consideration at this stage. Instead, it is a mixed war with low cost and better attack effects.[77] The CCP will take this as the entry point for the Taiwan Strait war.

The power of technology in the information age has had a huge impact on contemporary times. Facts have also proved that the Russian cyber army "troll factory" successfully affected the 2014 Crimean crisis and the 2016 US presidential election. On November 3, 2018, the Ministry of National Defense confirmed that the CCP has established an exclusive self-media "Troll Factory", which specializes in producing fake news on Taiwan, and has its standard operating mode. It first releases obscure messages to attract the media's attention to making news.[78] There are countless cases of targeting issues ranging from government policies such as the Kansai Airport incident, Dean Su's pen-throwing incident, cross-strait relations such as the incident of Xiaoming's return to Taiwan, to military defense such as the military purchase of Kaizi.[79] These false news were first launched by the Chinese media "Global Times", "Taiwan Strait", "Taiwan Net", etc., and the content of the report was then guided by well-known social media to follow the trend and launch a "cognitive space war" against Taiwan. The entire community system Participate

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[76] 鍾麗華，〈為扶植親中政權！中國「巨魔工廠」拿台灣選舉練兵〉，《自由時報》，2018 年 11 月 4 日，< https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/1244319>。

[77] 國防部保防安全處，〈108 年 3 月第 1 週我們的心聲專文：熟稔保密作為，防範洩密違規〉，《國防部政戰資訊服務網》，2019 年 3 月 4 日，<https://gpwd.mnd.gov.tw/Publish.aspx?cnid=149&p=5650>。

[78] Samantha Bradshaw, Philip N. Howard, *The Global Disinformation Order: 2019 Global Inventory of Organised Social Media Manipulation*（Oxford, U.K.: University of Oxford, 2019), pp.9-16.

[79] 〈台灣大選在即 中國「間諜」王立強案再發酵〉，《BBC NEWS》，2020 年 1 月 9 日，<https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-51047296>。

in it and gradually spread like a virus. The Ministry of National Defense has pointed out that the number of cyberattacks in my country's government departments can range from as low as 20 million to as high as 40 million or more per month. This indicates that thePRC's troll factory has accurate analysis and has carefully planned and fabricated false information to cause the people of Taiwan. Believing a lie to be true, even in the face of a lot of hard evidence, it is impossible to reach a reasonable consensus.[80]

According to the "Global Disinformation Order: List of Global Organized Manipulation of Social Media in 2019", a preliminary estimate of 300,000 to more than 2 million people engaged in social media supervision in the mainland is estimated by the People's Liberation Army's establishment of the "Strategic Support" at the end of 2015. Forces" active military personnel in the establishment. The CCP has set Taiwan as a testing ground for cyberattacks, and even intervened in the 2018 Taiwan Mayor and County Mayor elections as the first demonstration of the effectiveness of the training. The incident of Wang Liqiang, a Chinese "spy" in 2019, indirectly proves that the Chinese Communist Party's intelligence organization has interfered in Taiwan's 2020 presidential election. This election has two extreme spectrums in the general family. It is called a generational struggle. To a certain extent, intervention is effective. Yes, it succeeded in triggering generational opposition and completely tearing apart family relations in Taiwanese society. It was described as going directly into the minds of all Taiwanese, reaching the realm of "entering the island, entering the household, entering the brain".[81]

(2) The execution stage of the Taiwan Strait War

During the Kuomintang and Communist Civil War, the CCP rebellion started by encircling cities from the countryside, and organized unarmed mass groups in major cities to show amazing mass mobilization energy. This can be seen from the people's support. From historical experience, the PRC's best methods in Hybrid Warfare are mass warfare and special warfare. Especially with the rapid advancement of science and technology, the emerging Internet, communications and other communication media provide convenience for the

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[80]游凱翔,〈2020 大選世代差異 掀民意海嘯〉,《中央通訊社》,2020 年 1 月 13 日,<https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/202001120154.aspx>。
[81]曾韋禎,《全面滲透:中國正在遙控臺灣》(臺北:主流出版有限公司,2019 年),頁 13-15。

CCP to instigate mass warfare and special warfare. Sex, action to maximize the benefits.

After the resumption of cross-strait exchanges in 1987, exchanges in all aspects became closer. [82] According to statistics from the Immigration Department of the Ministry of the Interior from 103 to June 30, 109, there were 421,633 people entering Taiwan under the name of various legal exchanges, and from 104 to According to data on June 30, 109, the total number of residents in Hong Kong and Macau in the mainland was 466,807 and the number of settlers was 244,311.[83] In addition, according to preliminary estimates by the Mainland Affairs Council, as of the end of 2019, the number of terrestrial students in Taiwan was 8,353. These numbers are very impressive.[84] They represent the opportunities and ways that the CCP, which has never given up on annexing Taiwan, can strengthen its united front, infiltrate and absorb Taiwan through these personnel, and how many potential personnel are there. In the past, our most familiar slogan, "The spy is by your side," refers to the reason why many important generals and leaders played an important role in the KMT civil war, leading to the reversal of the military situation. In the 21st century today, thePRC's red penetration of Taiwan can be said to be pervasive from top to bottom, from the outside to the inside, covering a wide range, up to the core areas, targeting political and business elites, representatives of public opinion, intellectuals, Veterans of active duty, civil servants, and parliamentary assistants who have no official status who go to the roadside to sell salty and crispy chicken are all intelligence targets actively sought by the CCP. In recent years, the CCP has turned to fund and support specific multinational companies, social media, criminal groups, etc., such as Want Want Group, Content Farm, Bamboo Union Gang, etc.[85] This has been disclosed by the media, and it is reasonable to suspect that there are more organizations. The group has not been disclosed and is continuing to operate.

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[82] 〈大陸地區人民進入台灣地區〉,《中華民國內政部移民署》, 2020 年 8 月 17 日, <https://gpw d.mnd.gov.tw/Publish.aspx?cnid=149&p=5650>。

[83] 譚有勝,〈大陸首度暫停 陸生來台就讀〉,《工商時報》, 2020 年 4 月 10 日, <https://ctee.com.t w/news/china/250047.html>。

[84] 〈賣鹽酥雞、大腸包小腸當副業? 真實身分是「共諜」〉,《東森新聞》, 2016 年 11 月 16 日, <https://ctee.com.tw/news/china/250047.html>。

[85] 謝孟穎,〈口罩也擋不住的「資訊戰」犯罪學教授:最該小心中國在台灣的「代理人」〉,《風傳 媒》, 2020 年 3 月 30 日, <https://www.storm.mg/article/2461454?page=1>。

Under the flood of false news, the CCP has raised issues of unification and independence, the issue of provincial nationality, same-sex marriage, generational hatred, and inequality between the rich and the poor, which has plunged the interior into an unjudgeable confusion. At this time, use hidden personnel, absorbed extremists, radical groups, etc., to launch demonstrations and protest actions to expand the incident, causing chaos, riots, and assassinations. Under the cover of violent demonstrations, the armed fifth column personnel, including thePRC's lurking personnel, assimilated mobs, criminal groups or extremists, used low-intensity armed occupation and blockade the island's important government management institutions and key infrastructure to spread fear and thoroughly Destroy the modern social structure of Taiwan.[86] These fifth column personnel are like the little green men of Russia in Crimea. They cannot be identified without any identification marks. The CCP can completely deny the relationship with these fifth columns in international public opinion.

(3) The stage of consolidation of the Taiwan Strait War

In the consolidation phase of the Taiwan Strait War, the CCP implemented proxy warfare, legal warfare, military warfare, and diplomatic warfare. The CCP has long used profits to lure and subsidize pro-China political forces and established a proxy model. From local temple beliefs, local village cadres, members of parliament, and leaders of reunification political groups, they are all targets that the CCP attempts to support, such as the Chinese Reunification Promotion Party. Both the Patriotic Union have a clear pro-China position.[87] In terms of unity and promotion of the party, it is a pro-Central unity political party with one country, two systems as the purpose of establishing the party. Politically, it supports the CCP and opposes Taiwan's independence. The masses are frequently mobilized to promote reunification activities, and the CCP national flag is raised in an eye-catching manner. Legislator Qiu Yiying even pointed out that the reunification promotion party receives about 23 million

[86] 2019 年 1 月 16 日台灣智庫諮詢委員董立文在「一國兩制下香港經驗的真相與困局」座談會表示，中國改變香港的「秘密力量」或「第五縱隊」，這種力量也存在於台灣。鍾麗華，〈董立文：中國第五縱隊 深入台港〉，《自由時報》，2019 年 1 月 17 日，<https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/1244319>。

[87]謝君臨，〈被控接受中國金援在台滋事 檢調搜索統促黨約談白狼〉，《自由時報》，2018 年 8 月 7 日，<https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/society/breakingnews/2511496>。

Taiwan dollars in financial aid from the CCP every year. With the support of thePRC's funds, the CPC was able to take root in the central and southern regions, provide red connections, and deepen local power. The impact of local people's identification with the CCP regime is unimaginable revival.[88]

Just as the Crimean Crisis Fifth Column occupied the blockade of the Legislative Yuan, the fostered pro-China political forces would replace the original regime as the legal governor, and proposed to follow the Crimea referendum to decide whether to reunify or not, as Taiwan's future ownership Conclusive. The division and tearing of society and the intensification of the people's tendency to renounce Taiwan, the result of the referendum will undoubtedly be a one-sided trend, and eventually lead to unification. At this time, due to the chaotic political situation and serious antagonism between ethnic groups, the situation of social turmoil was caused, which provided the most reasonable reason for the CCP to send troops. With the consent of the new regime, troops formally entered Taiwan's territory on the grounds of protecting the lives and property of various types of exchange personnel, residents, land born, land mates, and land mate children in the territory. Regarding international public opinion, no matter how the United States or other countries condemn it, the CCP must take Taiwan as China's internal affair as its proposition, and its troops stationed in Taiwan will be based on humanitarian assistance in order to exclude international interference. While international public opinion is offensive and defensive, the CCP has gradually completed its military control over Taiwan. Once the deployment is completed, the United States and neighboring countries will have no opportunity to react or intervene.

On May 2, 2019, the National Security Bureau pointed out in the official report of the "China's Disinformation and Heart Warfare" by the "Legislative Yuan's 9th Session of the 7th Session of the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Committee" that the CCP is copying Russia's annexation of Crimea.[89] The model uses Taiwan's democratic society, free and open information, and legal deficiencies and loopholes in order to spread controversial messages to

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[88]天下編輯部,〈白狼的統促黨比你想的更接地氣!宮廟、農漁會、深綠鄉鎮都有它〉,《天下雜誌》,2018 年 8 月 13 日,<https://www.cw.com.tw/article/5091632>。

[89]國家安全局,〈中國假訊息心戰之因應對策〉,《中華民國立法院》,2019 年 5 月 2 日,<https://lis.ly.gov.tw/lydbmeetr/uploadn/108/1080502/01.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0ApykPJIB6pBcxpuIIepNTCN3JXWMH6vektu7PIHvTo8SvVjk2dLFbJfM >。

carry out "cognitive warfare" against Taiwan. On September 30, 2019, Chairman Zhang Anle expressed the hope that the Chinese Kuomintang would return to power to reunify Taiwan with mainland China under the Crimean model.[90] This shows that the CCP has replicated the mixed war with Russia and implemented a smoke-free sentry against Taiwan. Of war. According to the National Security Bureau, if the fake news continues to spread for another three to five years, it will affect the election results and bring about major changes in Taiwan,[91] and it also represents the progress of the PRC's mixed war against Taiwan into the implementation stage.

Conclusion

As a new type of warfare, hybrid warfare has unlimited space for development. It is mainly due to the vague characteristics of hybrid warfare, which constitutes its essence of multiple and complex nature. The combat style presents a trend of continuous expansion and innovation, through conventional and unconventional means, or traditional and unconventional methods. Traditional methods are combined with each other to form countless combinations of complex methods, and it is difficult to use a dictionary to enumerate all the types of changes. This article is mainly based on the connotation of Hybrid Warfare, constructing a clear framework of its conceptual thinking, analyzing the combat styles used by Russia in the Crimean crisis, inferring the change pattern of follow-up means, and constructing a mixed war between the CCP against Taiwan under the Taiwan Strait War Basic architecture.

The research in this article finds that according to the conception of Hybrid Warfare, the people of Taiwan are living in an era of Hybrid Warfare. The CCP has already launched a smokeless form of war. It will affect the people of Taiwan without being aware of it. The future form of war in the Taiwan Strait will be subverted past concepts. The three elements of CCP-style Hybrid Warfare are: cognitive distortion is the core, information media is the medium, and military deterrence is the fundamental, waiting for a mature harvest time. First of all, the PRC no longer uses

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[90]蔡宗霖，〈統促黨慶大陸十一國慶現場遭警方驅離〉，《工商時報》，2019 年 10 月 1 日，< https://m.ctee.com.tw/livenews/lm/20191001003382-260409 >。
https://www.chinatimes.com/realtimenews/20191001003382-260409?chdtv
[91]歐陽夢萍，〈國安局：中共複製俄羅斯手法 對我進行認知作戰〉，《中央廣播電臺》，2019 年 5 月 2 日，< https://www.rti.org.tw/news/view/id/2019390 >。

traditional military force that is too costly and ineffective, but instead uses low-cost, hybrid warfare with a multiplier effect. Second, the PRC spreads false news through social media platforms, deliberately inciting people's emotions, intensifying internal opposition in Taiwan, expanding contradictions and rifts, and completely breaking down the normally fragile social system. Third, the enemy attacked is ambiguous. When small-scale demonstrations evolve into large-scale violent conflicts, whether these protesters are armed forces sent by the PRC, lurking personnel, or terrorist organizations that have been absorbed the disguise of criminal groups and mobs is indistinguishable. Fourth, by fostering pro-China political forces, establishing an agency model, long-term management of the place, and providing necessary funds and assistance, the PRC achieves subtly effects in the long term, recognizes the PRC's ideology and values, and accepts the legitimacy of PRC's rule. On the issue of the referendum on the unification of Taiwan and the mainland, these people, as well as the socially opposed ethnic groups absorbed by the PRC, together with mainlanders, land mates, and land mate children with legal status in Taiwan, will be potential supporters of the PRC regime. Fifth, the PRC will send military troops to Taiwan in a high-sounding humanitarian aid, and it will send troops with the consent of Taiwan's legal regime. No matter how international public opinion is attacked, it will not change the fact that the PRC has a military presence in Taiwan. In other words, the people of Taiwan can no longer distinguish a state of war or a state of peace. When the People's Liberation Army stepped into the land of Taiwan without a single soldier, it marked the completion of the PRC's final stage of consolidating Taiwan's territorial sovereignty. The use of force is the annexation, and the beginning is the same end.

Finally, we can further infer that the outbreak of the new coronavirus from the mainland at the end of 2019. At first, the leaders of the United States and other countries in the world all blamed the PRC for the source and responsibility of the global spread of the epidemic. Regardless of the truth, the new coronavirus does constitute a condition for the expansion and diversity of mixed war elements, successfully causing a global panic and becoming the worst attack in the 21st century. Under the continuous impact of the new coronavirus, will the CCP take this opportunity to bring the medical system to the brink of collapse, attack and disintegrate the potential vulnerabilities of Taiwan's systems or loopholes caused by various factors, so as to achieve the multiplier effect of future aggression , Is the focus of follow-up observation.

Moon Jae-in's Foreign Policy and the Development of Security Situation on the Korean Peninsula

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Abstract

In the face of rising powers in international relations, countries in order to survive under the balance of power usually adopt risk-averse strategies in addition to strengthening their own strength or seeking allies. After the Cold War ended, South Korea's diplomatic decision-making fluctuated between the United States and China. After Moon Jae-in was elected president, he adjusted the former government's excessively pro-American attitude, tried to restore the normalization of relations between South Korea and China, and actively participated in China's " Belt and Road Initiative " economic model to create Greater diplomatic space and national development are aimed at improving bilateral relations in order to obtain economic benefits and reduce threats.

Keyword：Moon Jae-in, Summit, U.S.-Korea Alliance, THAAD, Medium-and-

Small Countries

文在寅的外交政策與朝鮮半島安全局勢的發展

張書屏

摘要

　　國際關係中國家面對崛起強權，在權力平衡下為求生存，除加強自身實力或尋求盟友外，通常採取避險戰略。冷戰結束後，南韓的外交決策在美、中兩強間擺盪，文在寅當選總統後，調整前政府過度親美態度，力求修復韓、中關係正常化，積極參與中國「帶路倡議」經濟模式以開創更大外交空間及國家發展，目的在改善雙邊關係，以獲取經濟利益並削減威脅。

　　關鍵詞 :文在寅、首腦、美韓同盟、中小型國家

Introduction

In the study of international relations, the power of a country determines the strength of a country, focusing on the interaction between big countries. It is mainly because big countries are more influential than small and medium-sized countries on the international stage, which often reflects that big countries are sufficient to control other weak and small countries or dominate international events. Direction, relatively weak small and medium-sized countries can only respond through different strategic choices in order to achieve the purpose of survival. In an anarchic international system composed of countries, the power distribution model represents the composition of large countries and small and medium-sized countries. The balance of power occurs repeatedly. The interaction between large countries and small and medium-sized countries and the competitive relationship between countries for survival constitute the overall picture of international relations. For small and medium-sized countries facing rising powers or strong neighbors, "contend", "rebel" or "haven" are all options, but the former two may make small countries pay more. In comparison, the latter's "risk aversion" is a relatively advantageous countermeasure for small and medium-sized countries, so it has become the focus of research.

What this article is trying to answer is about South Korean President Moon Jae-in's external security strategy choices under the competition between the United States and China since he took office in May 2017, and what changes and adjustments have been made relative to the previous government? July 27, 1953 At the end of the Japan-Korea War, the South and North Korean governments signed an armistice agreement with North Korea in Panmunjom, and delineated the boundary with the 38th parallel of north latitude. Providing South Korea with protection against North Korea's aggression has also provided a basis for the United States to station troops in South Korea, and it has become a forward base for the United States to resist China. However, under the influence of geopolitics, South Korea is now facing an external security environment. In addition to North Korea's continuous missile tests and nuclear weapons threats, the rise of a powerful China has given South Korea to face more different challenges. Under the power structure of the United States, China, and foreign countries, The flexible foreign policy of choosing a "hedging" strategy is included in South Korea's main consideration.

In May 2013, Park Geun-hye (Park Geun-hye) visited the United States. The two sides upgraded the Korea-U.S. alliance "comprehensive strategic alliance" to "global partnership"; in June of the same year, they broke the routine of visiting foreign

countries and listed China as the second country to visit. , I saw the importance of improving the relations between China and South Korea for the first time, hoping to move towards a strategic pattern of "relying on the United States for security" and "relying on China for the economy." After Park Geun-hye stepped down, Moon Jae-in, in order to repair bilateral relations with China and adjust the pro-US policy, actively promoted the South and North Korea summit, in an attempt to create a new situation for the North Korean situation under the framework of the major powers since the Cold War. The development of bilateral trade and China's influence on North Korea will help South Korea achieve peace and reunification on the Korean Peninsula. How Moon Jae-in continues to hedging strategy among the United States is full of challenges and difficulties.

Choice of Security Strategies in Medium-and-Small Countries

Traditional international relations theory focuses on the study of relations between major powers. The most powerful country in the system establishes order. The main reason is that major powers are more influential than small and medium-sized countries on the international stage, which is often reflected in the ability to control other weak countries or dominate the direction of international events. , Relatively weak small and medium-sized countries can only respond through different strategic choices in order to achieve the purpose of survival. Kenneth N. Waltz maintains that the relevant international political theory is the theory of power balance. The minimum requirement of a country for each single actor is to survive. The means for a country or its leaders to survive is to divide the balance into internal and external. The former The methods adopted include enhancing economic capabilities, military strength, or adopting wise strategies, while the latter adopts strategies to strengthen and expand their alliances or weaken the opponent's power.[92] 。

Small and medium-sized countries are relatively weak in the international system. They often need to respond to pressure from neighboring powerful countries or neighbors. If they fail to counterbalance, they may be annexed or retaliated by the powerful. If they choose to obey, they can temporarily survive. However, in the face of the various requirements of major powers, they can usually only accept the order and

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[92] Kenneth N. Waltz,. *Theory of international politics*. Massachusetts, (MA:Addison-Wesley, 1979),

pp.117-118.

lose the dominance of national sovereignty. G. John Ikenberry pointed out that the United States has been the hegemony in East Asia since the Cold War, dominating and controlling the regional order in East Asia by providing security, promoting market opening, and forming alliances. The difficulty is that the East Asian region is no longer in the old tradition where the United States dominates hegemony. The region has formed a two sets of parallel hierarchical systems. In addition to the aforementioned US-led security system, it is mainly due to the rise of China in the region and the continued deepening of its economic dependence on neighboring countries , Evolved into an economic system dominated by China in East Asia. In this relationship, due to the balance of power constraining China, the "strategic dilemma" has caused small and medium-sized countries to become wary of the growing threat from China and turn to the United States for security guarantees. Small and medium-sized countries have also avoided adopting a balancing strategy against China in power competition. , But to reduce the threat by gaining benefits through economic exchanges.[93]

Scholar Wu Yushan believes that small and medium-sized countries now distinguish between the maritime alliance led by the United States and the continental alliance represented by mainland China and Russia in the international system. They are located on the strategic fault lines of East Asia. Small and medium-sized countries deeply feel the two powers and the two powers. Competitive pressures between groups to resist each other. The choice of small and medium-sized countries under the two powers is mainly how to face the powerful, especially the power balance measures adopted in the face of the rising power of neighboring countries. For weak countries, it is bound to pay a huge price to contend or obey, which will cause major damage to national security interests. The choice of a hedging strategy is to communicate with and guard against target countries on the one hand, and the purpose of hedging is to improve bilateral relations and obtain economic benefits. And reduce the threat.[94]（吳玉山 2019,4-10）。 The state adopts a hedging goal to avoid undesirable results through the use of strategies, especially when the state is formulating a countermeasure, obedience

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[93] G. John Ikenberry. "*Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China, and Middle State Strategies*

in East Asia. " Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 131, No. 1, 2016, pp. 9-35.

[94] 吳玉山，〈兩強間中小國家的抉擇：一個理論的視角〉，吳玉山、楊三億主編，《中小型國家在

兩強之間的抉擇》 (臺北：五南，2019 年)，頁 4-10。

or neutral strategy, it cannot immediately make a decision to choose the contingency plan.[95]

In the face of power competition, the pursuit of security is still the supreme goal of a country, especially in order to obtain the guarantee of survival, the country can safely pursue power or develop the economy. The "balance of power" occurs repeatedly, explaining the response and strategic choices of small and medium-sized countries when they face power. For smaller and weaker countries, whether it is to increase military strength or seek foreign aid for alliances, countermeasures will eventually require high costs and costs; to obey, it may be necessary to follow the arbitrary domination of the powerful and affect the fundamental interests of the country. In the East Asian region, most small and medium-sized countries in the East Asian region face the influence exerted by the United States and the rising China. If they do not choose to move closer to either side, they will be able to maintain their national autonomy. Taking risk aversion seems to be the most beneficial goal for these countries. Most countries choose to rely on the United States for security and rely on China's diplomatic strategy model for economy and trade. This is reflected in the fact that these countries are still wary of the threat of China's rise. If China's core interests lie in territorial integrity and choose to expand, small and medium-sized countries will want the United States. Power will intervene in the balance, otherwise, it will maintain China's dominant economic position in the region and reduce threats and pressures. The denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the peaceful reunification of South and North Korea are the core of South Korea's interests. On the basis of the South Korea-US alliance, it has always maintained flexible adjustments to US policy. Adjacent to a powerful China, South Korea's foreign policy adopts a risk-averse strategy. The U.S. and China seek greater diplomatic space between the competition and cooperation.

After democratization, successive presidents have had their influence on the strategic layout of the peninsula

This article focuses on the US-China competition, the interactive relationship

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[95] Evelyn Goh. *Meeting the China Challenge:The U.S. in Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies.*

(Washing, DC:East-West Center,2005), pp. 1-3.

between South Korea and major powers, and how to make strategic choices in the face of powers to meet national interests and security. Looking back at history, after the Korean War ended, South and North Korea established their respective governments. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea led by Kim Il Sung and the Republic of Korea led by Lee Seungman. Due to the post-war confrontation between South and North Korea, South Korea was to protect the survival of the country. Relying on U.S. military assistance and garrison to strengthen its own national defense security, and adopting complete obedience to the United States in the selection of security strategies.

In the early days of the establishment of the Korean government, the main target of security threats was North Korea, and there has been a strong confrontation between the two sides until Jin Dazhong won the presidential election in 1998, and relations with North Korea improved for the first time. Kim Dae-jung believes that North Korea should implement a "sunshine policy" that uses softness to overcome strength. After half a century of North-South confrontation and mutual mistrust, it has been difficult to achieve the goal of reunification. Therefore, Kim Dae-jung believes that the top priority should be resolved through peace, reconciliation and cooperation, and called North Korea ceases missile deployment and research and development, and terminates its nuclear weapons program in exchange for food aid and the U.S. suspension of economic sanctions.[96]

Although it was difficult to reach consensus between South and North Korea during this period due to discussions on armaments and political issues, some progress was made in economic and trade relations and exchanges, which basically eased the tension. Until Roh Moo-hyun's presidency, he continued this policy with regard to North Korean relations, hoping to reduce conflicts and confrontations through bilateral cooperation and exchanges. However, in terms of security, U.S. assistance in armaments was still maintained, and opposition conservatives believed that dialogue and dialogue with North Korea should be reduced. Exchange is the national interest and policy of South Korea. Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun have been criticized by conservatives during their administrations, believing that they have given too much compromise and assistance to North Korea's policies. This action violated the policy of

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[96] 朱松柏,〈南北韓新政府的統一政策及其進展〉,《問題與研究》, 第 38 卷第 11 期,1999 年 1

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　月,頁 21-22。

the US Bush administration to treat North Korea as a target of anti-terrorism sanctions and caused changes in South Korea-U.S. relations.[97]

In February 2008, Li Ming Bo (Li Ming Bo) became South Korea's 17th president. He flaunted a pro-American foreign policy and asked North Korea to give up nuclear weapons research and development before granting economic assistance. This represented the conservative government's hard-line attitude towards North Korea. The peaceful means of North Korea for ten years. The most important key decision on foreign relations and security policy in South Korea's political history lies in the political confrontation between the left and the right. Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun represent the leftist government. After the party represented by the ruling party failed in the election, Lee Myung-bak, who swung to the right, was elected president and canceled the past. The pro-North Korean "sunshine policy" and "peace and prosperity policy" require North Korea to abandon nuclear weapons in exchange for further economic assistance.

The security strategy adopted by Lee Myung-bak completely returned to the security of the United States in the spectrum, and North Korea was distrusted in the external security threat environment, so that the opposition parties believed that Lee Myung-bak turned his head to the right, which may bring uncertainty to South Korea. Until March 26, 2010, when the Cheonan ship patrolled between Baengling Island and Daqing in the Yellow Sea, it exploded and sank due to unknown reasons, causing the deaths of 46 officers and soldiers on the ship. The investigation was ultimately inconclusive. At that time, public opinion was leaning toward North Korea. The torpedo was used to sink the Cheonan ship, but North Korea denied it. On November 23 of the same year, South Korea held an annual routine military exercise near Yanping Island. After the exercise began to fire dozens of artillery shells, North Korea counterattacked with artillery fire. The two sides began to fire each other, resulting in two South Korean soldiers and two civilians on the island. Many people were killed and injured. The North Korean wounded were not actually announced. Observation of the facts Lee Myung-bak's foreign policy is different from the previous two presidents' willingness to open their minds to negotiations with North Korea, instead of taking a conservative line of resistance. He believes that North Korea is a troublemaker and is not sufficient for

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[97] 李明，〈李明博總統時期的韓國政黨政治：與外交安全的連結〉，林碧炤、鄧中堅與邱稔壤主編，《和平倡議與東亞區域安全》（臺北：五南，2013 年)，頁 139-141。

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communication and trust. In the end, serious and tensionsc onflicts have deepened the two countries.

In February 2013, Park Geun-hye took office as the president of South Korea, which has changed differently from the foreign policy of the previous government. During Lee Myung-bak's presidency, due to the surrounding environmental factors, and the then U.S. President Barack Obama's role in maintaining the East Asian Alliance system Adjustment, plans to expand and deepen the alliance between the United States and South Korea. The United States is an official military ally and security guarantee for South Korea. The Roh Moo-hyun government adopted a conservative strategy during the period of Roh Moo-hyun's administration. It did not want the United States to intervene and participate in the Northeast Asian conflict, oppose the US military in South Korea and participate in the US missile defense system. "Strategic partnership" to position each other, but after Obama proposed the Asia-Pacific rebalancing strategy, the United States and China presented a competitive situation. Threats from North Korea made South Korea seek further cooperation with China in the South Korea-US alliance.[98] Park Geun-hye hopes to use China's influence to further deter North Korea from halting nuclear weapons tests and ballistic missile tests in the face of the North Korean issue, reduce South Korea's security threats, and move toward the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. During the period, Park Geun-hye broke the conventions of previous presidents and adjusted the order of visiting countries after taking office to China first, then Japan. This shows that he attaches great importance to China and tried to adjust the pro-American line during the Lee Myung-bak administration.

In September 2015, Park Geun-hye went to Beijing to participate in the "70th Anniversary of Victory in the Anti-Japanese War and the World Anti-Fascist War" military parade in September 2015, despite American pressure and dissuasion, further improving relations with China and planting variables for the trilateral relations between the United States, China and South Korea. However, due to North Korea's nuclear test again in January 2016, the United States under the pressure of "using North Korea as its name" deployed the THAAD missile system (Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, referred to as THAAD) in Sin Chau, South Korea. The key to policy change

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[98] 盧業中，〈擺盪在兩強之間：文在寅總統時期的韓美中關係初探〉，吳玉山、楊三億主編，《中小型國家在兩強之間的抉擇》（臺北：五南，2019 年），頁 181-190。

is domestic conservativeness. The lobbying of forces and military-industrial interest groups, as well as pressure from the United States, and to ensure that North Korea will turn South Korea back to the United States when the situation in North Korea is urgent, to prevent Park Geun-hye from being rejected by the new government after he steps down due to the "Faith Gate" incident.[99]

From the historical context, it has been discovered that the "North Korea issue" has always been a fundamental factor affecting the development of the US-South Korea alliance. After the Cold War, the US-South Korea alliance has been showing ups and downs. After the Korean War, the United States regarded North Korea as an enemy in an attempt to isolate and disintegrate its regime. The move undoubtedly pushed South Korea to the forefront of the conflict, causing differences between the United States and South Korea on this issue. In addition, North Korea's withdrawal from the six-party talks in 2007, the return of the United States to Asia in 2009, and the Cheonan ship and Yanping Island incident in 2010 allowed the United States to take this opportunity to facilitate Security Framework of the Trilateral Alliance of the United States, Japan and South Korea.[100]

Due to the rise of China and the deepening of its economic dependence, Park Geun-hye adopted a hedging strategy in the US-China relationship. Regardless of US pressure, he joined the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in March 2015. In September of the same year, Park Geun-hye participated in the Chinese military parade, actively promoting a trilateral alliance for the United States. The relationship casts variables; however, North Korea continued its military threats during this period. After Park Geun-hye hopes to use China to exert pressure on North Korea without receiving a positive response, the Obama administration seized the opportunity to resolve the historical dispute between Japan and South Korea, pulling into South Korea to form three The Bian Alliance also caused a deadlock in the relationship between South Korea and China because of the THAAD missile system.

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[99] 蔡東杰，〈朴槿惠親信門風暴對南韓內外影響分析〉，《戰略安全研析》， 第 140 期，2016 年 12 月，頁 48-53。

[100] 蔡東杰，〈美韓關係與東北亞安全前景〉，《戰略安全研析》， 第 95 期，2013 年 3 月，頁 21-24。

The U.S. and China compete for the balanced diplomacy

Since the East Asian region is no longer the old tradition, only the United States dominates the hegemony. The region has formed a two parallel class system, mainly the United States-led security system and China-led economic system. South Korea adopts a balance strategy between the two powers. , Adjusting to maintain a distance from the United States on the basis of the alliance between South Korea and the United States, and strengthening economic cooperation with China. In March 2017, Park Geun-hye was eventually impeached and stepped down due to the turmoil at the gate of the cronies. At a time of domestic political turmoil, Moon Jae-in was elected as the 19th president of South Korea on behalf of the Democratic Party of South Korea. Although Park Geun-hye's internal and diplomatic issues need to be resolved urgently , Especially focusing on the North Korean issue and how to adjust policies in US-China relations. In addition, in order to learn from the failure of the "Sunshine Policy", Moon Jae-in proposed the "Moonshine Policy" (The Moonshine Policy, or New Sunshine Policy) in order to improve relations with North Korea. However, the new generation of young people in South Korea are concerned about the rising unemployment rate and the gap between the rich and the poor Wait for the problem to be more concerned.[101] Therefore, in the minds of the South Korean people, economic problems may be greater than their concerns about international diplomatic affairs.

Although Moon Jae-in inherits the "sunshine faction" passed down by Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun, he adopts an open and moderate attitude towards North Korea's policy, hoping to resolve the relationship between South and North Korea through dialogue and cooperation. However, the influence of South Korea's foreign policy lies primarily in the influence of the international system and regional order, and the South Korean president plays an important role in foreign policy decisions. After the democratic transition, the conservative government (Roh Tae-woo, Kim Young-san) and the progressive democracy after the first party rotation Ten years of government (Kim Dae-jung, Roh Moo-hyun), and then the second political party to take over the conservative government (Lee Myung-bak, Park Geun-hye), the attitude towards North Korea is swinging between closeness and toughness, but foreign policy still hopes to escape the oppression and influence of the surrounding major powers , Towards the

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[101] 王繼舜,〈中國大陸的朝鮮半島戰略走向:文在寅出任總統後的觀察〉,《戰略安全研析》,第 147 期,2017 年 4 月,頁 25-27。

goal of "middle power diplomacy".[102] South Korea's diplomatic strategy has been actively cooperating with China in recent years and has become a major diplomatic partner. It has promoted a diplomatic policy that takes into account South Korea's relations with the United States and China, and strengthened its cooperative relations with the mainland. South Korea's "China" relationship has become a major consideration in its diplomatic strategy.[103]

In order to resolve the agreement reached between the previous government and the United States to allow THAAD to deploy in South Korea, which led to a deadlock and dilemma in the relationship between South Korea and China, and undermined the cooperative relationship and economic trade, Moon Jae-in made a new proposal to China before visiting Beijing in December 2017. "No commitment" means "no more purchases of the THAAD system in the future", "South Korea will not participate in the US missile defense system", and "The military cooperation between South Korea and the United States and Japan will not develop into a military alliance" and other policies, expressing good intentions. The THAAD system is the "sensitive issue" that China is most concerned about. In addition to strengthening bilateral common interests in the peaceful development of the Korean Peninsula, the goal is to deepen economic cooperation with the mainland.[104]

China's concern is that the THAAD system's radar function coverage is too large, which is beyond the original plan to only protect South Korea from North Korea's nuclear weapons and missile threats. According to reports, the THAAD system's X-ray radar coverage of up to 2,000 kilometers is sufficient to reach China. The PLA's long-range missile launch base deployed in the Northeast.[105] China solemnly protested to South Korea about the possibility of its own military bases being investigated and

[102] 董思齊,〈文在寅總統的韓半島政策:韓國中等強國的外交戰略〉,吳玉山、楊三億主編,
《中小型國家在兩強之間的抉擇》 (臺北:五南,2019 年),頁 199-205。

[103] 河凡植,〈從文在寅總統上任來評析南韓與中國大陸關係〉,《展望與探索》,第 16 卷第 1
期,2018 年 1 月,頁 28-34。

[104] 李明,〈文在寅訪華後的中韓關係〉,《海峽評論》,第 325 期,2018 年 1 月,頁 18-22。

[105] BBC 中文網,〈中國為何對薩德如此憂心忡忡?〉,2017 年 4 月 4 日,< https://www.bbc.c
om/zhongwen/trad/world-39488097>。

searched.

China and South Korea have historical origins. From Mao Zedong's participation in the Korean War during the Cold War, assisting Kim Il Sung in launching a plan to unify the Korean Peninsula, and forming a confrontational relationship with South Korea. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1992, they became South Korea's successors through economic and trade interaction. Outside of the United States and Japan, the third largest trading partner, the successive presidents of South Korea listed economic development as an important national policy, taking geopolitics and international strategies into consideration, and at the same time, considering the changes in domestic and foreign situations, and formulating strategic objectives for foreign countries. Economic and trade strategies, and promote domestic reforms through foreign pressures for opening up.[106]

By 2003, China had become the largest export market surpassing the United States. In 2014, the trade volume between South Korea and China (235.4 billion U.S. dollars) was twice that of South Korea and the United States (115.6 billion U.S. dollars). "Joining the AIIB, regardless of U.S. pressure and opposition.[107]

In order to strengthen trade cooperation with China, South Korea will allow South Korean companies to invest in China, thereby gaining access to China's huge market and business opportunities. However, due to the unresolved THAAD issue, China issued a "restriction order" against South Korea. Anti-Korean sentiment in the country is high. Many companies have suffered serious impact. The first is the supermarket invested by the Korean Lotte Group in China. Protested and boycotted by the public.[108] This led to a complete withdrawal from the Chinese market. The "Korea Restriction Order" has not been lifted so far. In addition to affecting corporate

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[106] 張玉和，〈中韓貿易的變遷：從互補到競爭〉，《南京財經大學學報》，第 2005 卷第 5 期，2005 年 10 月，頁 32-35。

[107] 蔡東杰，〈文金會與兩韓戰略競合分析〉，《全球政治評論》， 第 64 期，2018 年 10 月，頁 64-65。

[108] 紐約時報中文網，〈中國人憤怒抵制韓國貨 樂天集團首當其衝〉，2017 年 9 月 3 日，

< https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-41139346>。

investment in China, it has also prevented the huge business opportunities of South Korea's film and television industry from entering China. Although the South Korean government has actively resolved it through diplomatic means, China's economic sanctions on South Korea have not ceased (although The Chinese government has not issued a plan to restrict Korea, but the cultural industry has refused to cooperate with Korea). When Moon Jae-in took office as president, in response to China's adjustment of its pro-US policy and seeking greater diplomatic space, he proposed the "New Northern Policy", [109] Strengthen cooperation with the Independent National Association countries, China, Mongolia, and Russia, and claimed that the policy is compatible with the "Belt and Road" initiative during the visit to China in December 2017.[110] Although the "New Northern Policy" focuses on Russia, the cooling of US-Russian relations may consolidate Sino-Russian cooperative relations. Strengthening cooperation with Russia will contribute to the common interests of peace and security on the Korean peninsula, win Russia's support for the "Panmunjom Declaration", and expand with neighboring countries. Diplomacy, the establishment of a peace mechanism in Northeast Asia.[111]

From 2016 to 2017, North Korea continued to develop nuclear weapons and test long-range missiles. In September 2017, it conducted its sixth nuclear test explosion, which heated up the crisis on the Korean Peninsula and triggered strong condemnation from neighboring countries.[112] Moon Jae-in served as the head of Roh Moo-hyun's House of Secretary of the House of Cheong, and promoted the first six-party talks in August 2003, which is bound to continue the "sunshine policy". He questioned the

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[109] 新北方政策由總統府內「總統北方合作經濟委員會」負責推行,打造從朝鮮半島和俄羅斯遠東,再擴展到東北亞和歐亞大陸的經濟區域,提升韓國經濟展望與發展,其中最主要為「九橋戰略規劃」(9-Bridges Project),包含天然氣、鐵路、港口、電力、北極航道、船舶建設、農業、漁業、工業等 9 項合作領域。

[110] 蔡東杰,〈文金會與兩韓戰略競合分析〉,頁 63-70。

[111] 新華網,〈文在寅訪俄為何要推新北方政策〉,2018 年 6 月 15 日,< http://m.xinhuanet.com/ 2018-06/15/c_1122990549.htm >。

[112] 赫海威,〈中國人憤怒抵制韓國貨 樂天集團首當其衝〉,《BBC 中文網》,2017 年 3 月 10 日,<https://cn.nytimes.com/china/20170310/china-lotte-thaad-south-korea/zh-hant/>。

domestic society about being excessively pro-North Korea, and tried his best to clarify that he actively talked with North Korea based on South Korea's security defense To strive for the autonomy of South Korea's foreign policy.[113] In 2018, South and North Korea started ice-breaking contact due to the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics. On April 27, Moon Jae-in facilitated the third summit between the two Koreas. After 11 years of misconduct, the leaders of South and North Korea met again. North Korean leader Kim Jong-un crossed the 38-degree line to visit the South Korean president. Jae-in, the two signed the "Panmunjom Declaration" at the Peace House, which also briefly brought the imagination of peace to the South Korean people. Then, on May 26, the leaders of South and North Korea held the second "Wenjin Fair" in Panmunjom, emphasizing the reaffirmation of implementation. "Panmunjom Declaration"; Immediately after September 18-20, bilateral leaders issued the "Pyongyang Declaration" to end hostilities in Pyongyang. Moon Jae-in took the initiative on the Peninsula issue and actively promoted the bilateral summit situation. Part of the dominant power was regained by the Olympics and the summit, and the situation on the Korean peninsula has been forced to develop under the guidance of the pattern of great powers.[114]

Although Moon Jae-in has taken the initiative to create peace between South and North Korea, if Kim Jong Un can implement the "Pyongyang Declaration" and cease to be aggressive, there will be a short-term opportunity for the United States to be unable to solve the North Korean issue and urgently intervene in South Korea and demand the deployment of military installations. However, Moon Jae-in is still unable to ask the United States to withdraw the THAAD system completely. If he does not want to get too close to the United States, it will affect the interests of the United States in East Asia. It seems impossible to completely exclude US interference. However, in the face of the turmoil in the international situation, the relationship between China and the United States has deteriorated in recent years, making it seem difficult for South Korea to be among the two powers, as former President Roh Moo-hyun said during his presidency, to avoid the US-China confrontation from being involved in the dispute. Moon Jae-in said that relations with North Korea had stalled after his meeting with Kim Jong-un, resulting in the freezing of relations between the two Koreas. He was strongly criticized by domestic opposition parties and raised public doubts, followed by

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[113] 李明，〈文在寅的內政與外交初探〉，《海峽評論》，第 318 期，2017 年 6 月，頁 31-40。

[114] 蔡東杰，〈文金會與兩韓戰略競合分析〉，頁 59-62。

government abuses of power and corruption scandals, as well as failure to shut down due to the new crown epidemic. While the border with China was questioned overly overwhelming, governance satisfaction was once significantly lagging behind. Fortunately, the Democratic Party won an overwhelming victory in this election called 2020 rescued by the epidemic. As a result, after the democratization process of South Korea in 1987, a single political party The most seats won in the election. In the 21st parliamentary election, the "Common Democratic Party" led by Moon Jae-in and the "Common Citizen Party" jointly won 180 seats out of 300 seats. The vote also set a record for parliamentary elections since 1992.[115] The crisis of poor polls at the end of 2018 due to the economic downturn and the impasse in North Korea's policy.

Furthermore, the decline in the influence of the United States is still the focus of East Asian observation. In August 2019, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo held a tripartite meeting with the foreign ministers of Japan and South Korea in Bangkok, but failed to resolve the situation in South Korea and Japan. Requisitioning issues are antagonistic.[116]On the other hand, during the Obama era, the influence of Japan and South Korea in promoting the reconciliation of the comfort women issue and the signing of the Agreement on the Protection of Confidential Military Intelligence (GSOMIA), but Donald Trump prefers bilateral relations. For Japan and South Korea They are less concerned about friendship, and they are confident that they can maintain alliances with Japan and South Korea, that is, they can satisfy the strategic interests of the United States in Northeast Asia. Sheila Smith, a senior researcher at the Foreign Relations Association of the US policy think tank, criticized the recent deterioration in the relations between Japan and South Korea. It seems impossible to repair, causing structural changes that weaken Northeast Asia's security system. If the bilateral confrontation reaches its limit, a unified military and strategic alliance will be forced to "disintegrate" to some extent.[117]

Especially in the face of the rise of China and the weaker influence in the

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[115] 中央社，〈武漢肺炎疫情助攻選情 韓國國會大選執政黨席次逾半〉，2020 年 4 月 18 日，<https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/202004160045.aspx>。

[116] 中央社，〈學者：日韓關係緊繃 貿易戰短期難解〉，2019 年 8 月 4 日，<https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/202004160045.aspx>。

[117] 何思慎，〈日、韓對立危及美日韓同盟〉，《海峽評論》，第 345 期，2019 年 9 月，頁 15-18。

post-U.S. era, most Asian countries have economically established trade partnerships with China, and it will be difficult for them to form a comprehensive military cooperation alliance with the United States. Moreover, in the long-standing order created by the international system headed by the United States, the United States has provided public finances so that most countries have more security guarantees, and are naturally willing to take the initiative to cooperate directly with the United States and do not resist American advantages. On the other hand, the current international situation is becoming more complex. Due to geopolitical influences, most small and medium-sized Asian countries have to deal with the complicated relations and situations of neighboring countries, and the ruling party faces pressure from internal public opinions. For example, the United States and South Korea cannot reach a certain consensus on the costs to be borne by South Korea in the Special Agreement on the Sharing of Defense Costs. After the beginning of the post-American era, small and medium-sized countries have more opportunities to create risk-averse strategies. Under these conditions, Moon Jae-in regained some of his dominant advantages, adjusted the pro-US policy, and actively improved South Korea-China relations.

Conclusion

In the field of international relations, the source of the research on the strategic choice of small and medium-sized countries is how to face rising powers. In the law of power balance, in order to survive, in addition to strengthening its own strength or seeking allies, the country adopts a risk-averse strategy based on one aspect of communication, On the one hand, the target countries should be prevented from joining the international order led by any party. The purpose is to improve bilateral relations in order to obtain economic benefits and reduce threats. After the Cold War, South Korea's diplomatic decision-making oscillated between the United States and China. After Moon Jae-in was elected president, he adjusted the excessive pro-US attitude of the previous government, tried to restore the normalization of relations between South Korea and China, and actively participated in China's "Belt Road Initiative" economic model.

In East Asia, South Korea's main threat has always been North Korea, but the most influential North Korea is China. Representing the political elites of the left and right wings as the president, he has absolute dominance in foreign policy. From the time when Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun were in power, they started the "sunshine policy", striving for equality between South Korea and the United States and strengthening diplomacy with the mainland; in Lee Myung-bak's period, he was

extremely distrustful and tough on North Korea Advocating that North Korea should abandon its nuclear weapons has room for negotiation. The security strategy is completely turned to the United States. The bilateral military exercises to intimidate North Korea. Although the purpose is to force North Korea to stop threats to the Korean Peninsula, this move has stirred China's sensitive nerves, believing that the United States intends. In the sword pointing to China.

In the early days of his taking office, Park Geun-hye became more dependent on China's economy. He wanted to use Chinese influence to force North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons. However, in 2016, North Korea still launched nuclear tests and missile test threats, and domestic conservative forces returned to the US camp. In the short-term, the competition between the United States and China will be difficult to ease. In addition to the uncertainty in the North Korean issue, South Korea-China cooperation cannot resolve the THAAD issue in the short-term. Moon Jae-in can only respond by applying for the "three non-commitments." After the Cold War, the United States has always provided South Korea with an umbrella for security. The stagnant deployment of THAAD will affect the interests of the United States and test Moon Jae-in's continued hedging strategy between the United States and China.

Taiwan's Participation in International Organizations and its future under the COVID-19 Outbreak

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Abstract

Since 2020 , the COVID-19 outbreak in the world . Due to its geographical proximity to China, Taiwan has faced the raging epidemic head-on, upholding past experience in combating SARS, successfully preventing the spread of the epidemic, and becoming a model student in the world's epidemic prevention. The Taiwan authorities have even extended the epidemic prevention experience, effectiveness, and materials to countries from all walks of life, constructing a diplomatic path belonging to Taiwan, which not only consolidates the existing diplomatic countries, but also allows other non-diplomatic countries to feel the positive image and power of the Taiwan authorities. Under the circumstances, China's arrogant attitude and image, as well as the spread of the epidemic, will be weakened and weakened, which will undoubtedly increase my country's international influence and image. The conclusion of this study is that there is still international suppression and resistance under the "one China" principle. As an active agent of international relations, Taiwan, if it can uphold the positive and positive actions of diplomacy in this epidemic, I believe that more like-minded partners will support and join us in the near future. , Will one day shake the inherent international structure and make Taiwan a long-term foothold on the world stage .

Keywords: the COVID-19, epidemic prevention, one-China principle, construction

全球新冠疫情下臺灣在國際社會的參與與現況

徐舜浩

摘要

自2020年開始新冠肺炎疫情擴散全球，臺灣因地理位置鄰近中國，正面迎擊疫情的肆虐，秉持以往對抗ＳＡＲＳ經驗，成功防堵疫情擴散，成為世界防疫的模範生。臺灣當局更將防疫經驗、成效及物資，推廣至各界各個國家，建構出屬於一條臺灣的外交路，不僅鞏固現有邦交國，更讓其他非邦交國家都能感受臺灣當局正面形象與力量，相形之下，中國大國蠻橫態度及形象，以及本次疫情的擴散，彼消我長，無疑增加我國在國際間的影響力及形象。本研究結論目前國際仍然存有「一個中國」原則的打壓與抵制，臺灣作為國際關係的能動者，若能秉持這次疫情外交的正面積極作為，相信不久將有更多志同道合的夥伴支持與加入我們，終有一日將會撼動固有的國際結構，使臺灣長久立足於世界的舞台。

關鍵字：新冠肺炎、防疫、一個中國原則、建構

Introduction

From 2020 year ending Currently, the world's most important event than the 2019 novel coronavirus disease drug (COVID-19) spread of the epidemic, from December 1, 2019 International Day authoritative medical journal "The Lancet" (The Lancet) announced the first patient onset; December 30 people in mainland China Wuhan Central hospital Dr Li Wenliang, including the outbreak news release on the Internet, 2020 January 30 World Health Organization (World Health Organization , referred to as W HO) announced the new coronavirus epidemic constitution "International Public Health Emergencies",[1] Since then, the global spread of the epidemic, as of February 28,2021 cumulative days the world more than 137.4 million people were infected, resulting in more than 250million deaths,[2] So far, the global spread continues, and even variant pneumonia viruses are continuing to spread.

United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres once said that the new crown pneumonia pandemic is the most serious global crisis since World War II. It is not only a public health crisis, but also a human crisis. The new crown pneumonia is at the core of society.[3] The origin of the virus is diverse. Western countries, led by the United States, have pointed out that the virus was leaked from the Wuhan Institute of Virology in China . Former U.S. President Donald John Trump and Secretary of State Pompeo (Michael Richard Pompeo) made public On occasions, the new coronavirus was called "Chinese virus" and "Wuhan virus" on many occasions, which caused dissatisfaction in China. Based on February 2020 Journal of Medicine study "The Lancet" that crown the

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[1] 〈新冠病毒疫情爆發至今大事記〉,《BBC NEWS 中文網》(2021/1/1 瀏覽),https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/chinese-news-51382117.

[2] 〈冠狀病毒（COVID-19）統計〉,《GOOGLE 新聞網》(2021/2/28 瀏覽),https://news.google.com/covid19/map?hl=zh-TW&gl=TW&ceid=TW%3Azh-Hant.

[3] 〈聯合國祕書長：新冠肺炎是二戰後最大危機〉,《聯合新聞網》(2021/1/1 瀏覽),https://udn.com/news/story/120944/4462689.

new emerging viruses and other pathogens, as derived from wild animals; March "Nature" (Nature) Journal study reported that identified the virus "can not be man-made.[4] Although the relevant reports have eliminated the virus deliberately created doubts for the Chinese, it is an indisputable fact that the virus has flowed out of China; in addition, China initially concealed the severity of the epidemic and neglected the risk of human-to-human transmission, which caused the spread of the epidemic throughout the country. Serious trashing and condemnation.

Taiwan is located on the west side of mainland China, separated by the Taiwan Strait. The closest straight line distance is only 130 kilometers . According to the statistics of the Immigration Department of the Ministry of the Interior in 2019 (before the epidemic), there are nearly 2.7 million people from the mainland entering and leaving Taiwan , an average of monthly There are 225,000Chinese guest,[5] It shows that the exchanges between the two sides of the strait are very frequent. It also represents the initial outbreak of the Wuhan epidemic in mainland China at the end of 2019. At that time, it was approaching the Chinese Lunar New Year holiday. A large number of people moved . In view of the experience of SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus, SARS-CoV) in 2003 , the Chinese government immediately notified the World Health Organization (WHO) "International Health Regulations" (IHR) by e-mail on December 31 . Contact the window and asked them to provide further information , and because the information on the epidemic situation was unclear at the time, various rumors were numerous. In order to make all parties highly vigilant, we specifically mentioned "atypical pneumonia" in the e-mail, especially "patients have

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[4] 林祖偉,〈肺炎疫情：新冠病毒到底哪來的？科學界的幾種說法〉,《BBC NEWS 中文網》(2021 /1/1 瀏覽),https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/science-52133480.

[5] 〈統計資料〉,《內政部移民署全球資訊網》(2021/1/1 瀏覽),https://www.immigration.gov.tw/5385/7 344/7350/8883/?alias=chinatotaiwan2&sdate=201901&edate=201912.

been involved." "Isolation treatment", so that public health professionals can determine that the case is at risk of "person-to-person transmission" ;[6] Also in January 20,2020 date of the establishment by the Health and Welfare Ministry Disease Control Department , " Central special serious infectious pneumonia epidemic command center", co-ordination and integration of human resources ministries, best attempts to prevent the spread of the epidemic.

In April 2020 , President Tsai Ing-wen accepted the invitation of the American Time magazine "TIME" to write a special article titled "President of Taiwan: How My Country Prevents the COVID-19 Outbreak" to share with the international community Taiwan's successful epidemic prevention experience in the face of Wuhan pneumonia, and at the same time Because of Taiwan's epidemic prevention, the Chinese League of Professional Baseball took the lead in the world on April 12, and was listed as one of the important events in 2020 by the magazine. In addition, the CNN report pointed out that Taiwan, Iceland, South Korea and Germany's epidemic prevention strategies are correct. They are the "four major countries with successful epidemic prevention." When the global epidemic spreads, Taiwan still has no measures of lockdown, suspension of classes, and classes, and no large-scale community infections. All walks of life are still Can operate in an orderly manner, and can even hold large-scale ball events,[7] And actively carry out international epidemic prevention cooperation and international humanitarian assistance operations. Since April, a total of more than 50 million medical masks have been donated to support countries including the United States, Europe, AIA, new southward policy target countries, Japan, and parts of Africa and the Middle

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[6] 〈我國通報世界衛生組織(WHO)電郵內容事實陳述之聲明〉,《衛生福利部疾病管制署網》(2021 /1/1 瀏覽),https://www.cdc.gov.tw/Bulletin/Detail/tYbH45jTug67FTIh-iYv4A?typeid=9.

[7] 王芊凌,〈台灣防疫再被看見！登 CNN 與德、韓、冰島稱「四大防疫成功國」〉,《Heho 健康網》 (2021/1/1 瀏覽),https://heho.com.tw/archives/78990.

East. First-line medical personnel in more than 80 countries with severe epidemics including the region, etc. , have continued to provide more assistance to the international community in the three projects of masks, medicines and technology while ensuring that domestic demand is intact , so that the world can understand "Taiwan Can Help, and Taiwan is Helping!", the effectiveness of the epidemic prevention is obvious to all.[8] Taiwan on a new crown pneumonia epidemic prevention successful experience, and actively prevention experience and materials to assist countries in the world fight against the epidemic, greatly enhance the international visibility and a good image, but still can not participate in 2020 World Health Organization year 's World Health Assembly , It is really embarrassing , and it also reveals China's long-term international identity and role positioning. This article discusses China's identity, the participation of international organizations and the changes in international interactions between the new crown epidemic from the perspective of constructivist actors and structural interactions in international relations. Explain the opportunities and prospects of Taiwan's international participation in the future.

A Discussion on Taiwan's Identity

For a long time, there has been a problem of national identity within Taiwan, explore Taiwan's modern history, from AD 1895 Sino-Japanese War defeat of the Qing Dynasty, the Japanese annexation of Tai Wan , to August 15, 1945, Japan's defeat in World War II and declared surrender , Taiwan and Japan ended 50 during the reign of years, then 1949 in the second civil war defeat, since the ROC government retreated to Taiwan , Taiwan Wan residents can be classified as belonging to the Austronesian "aboriginal" according to language or cultural identity, district , belonging to the Sino-Tibetan language family, with Taiwan "Holo people" Bay of provincialism and

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[8] 〈臺灣是國際社會的良善力量〉,《中華民國外交部全球資訊網》(2021/1/1 瀏覽),https://www.mofa.gov.tw/cp.aspx?n=3FCC7ED69E5E3E5D.

"Hakka", and after the war from the mainland provinces gradually moved to Taiwan 's "mainlanders" (and its descendants) four kinds of groups ,[9] There are also new residents who later acquired the nationality of the Republic of China through cross-border marriages (including mainland spouses after the end of the Cold War in 1991) or other reasons . It seems that the composition of the people is diverse and complex, but most of the ethnic groups still originate from mainland China and Taiwan. Under the long-term separation from mainland China, the issue of sovereignty and national identity has been politically simplified to the issue of reunification and independence, which has always been Taiwan's most important political divergence point .[10] Naturally, there are two mainstream public opinions that some people advocate cross-strait reunification, and some people advocate that Taiwan should be independent . Today, there are still many discussions and disputes about Taiwan's sovereignty and identity. However, the Republic of China government has been in Taiwan for more than 70 years since 1949. Since the first election of the president in 1996 , it has undergone three party rotations, and the people of Taiwan have been The constitution guarantees and enforces civil rights, and Taiwan's sovereignty is actually owned by the government of the Republic of China.

Constructivism international relations scholar Alexander Wendt , in its " international community's political will manage theory ," a book that, in essence, there are five basic national characteristics, namely are: (1) system - legal order; (2) The only organization that can legally use organized violence; (3) Sovereign organization; (4) Society; (5) Territory,[11] Regarding the above characteristics, the Republic of China is

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[9] 王甫昌，〈「文化特性」與／或「社會位置」：台灣四大族群的族群定義〉，《The New Lens 關鍵評論網》(2021/1/1 瀏覽)，https://www.thenewslens.com/article/107361.

[10] 曾建元，〈國民主權與國家認同〉，《中華人文社會學報》，第四期，2006 年 3 月，頁 44。

[11] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University P

essentially a sovereign and independent country ; the special essay "Problems of the Agents and Structures of International Relations Theory" published by Winter in 1987 is regarded as the introduction to social constructivism. He emphasized that international relations, like other social sciences, must not only observe phenomena, but must start from structure. Society has a social structure, and international politics also has a structure. It defines, restricts, and regulates the active person, that is, the state.[12] State as the basic unit of international relations, interactive, Taiwan and other countries should enjoy sovereignty should be treated internationally , in fact counterproductive.

After World War II ended in 1945 , the United States and the Soviet Union became the two superpowers in the world. However, the Communist International led by the Soviet Union quickly rediscovered the world. In 1947 , then US President Truman invested funds to assist Europe and other places in order to prevent the spread of communism in the world. Reconstruction also opened the beginning of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the same time, our country since the civil war defeat than 1949 retreated to Taiwan, has since split, for all mainland People's Republic of China; Taiwan, Republic of China was all. As a victorious country in World War II, China has jointly established the United Nations, the World Health Organization and other international organizations and orders with the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and other countries. Mainland China and the Soviet Union are both communist countries. The two sides signed the "Sino-Soviet Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Treaty" in 1950 . China, through the Soviet Union, continued to actively speak out on international occasions and attempted to join the United Nations. The international community maintained the existence of "two Chinas"

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ress,1999), p. 201.

[12] 林碧炤,〈國際關係的典範發展〉,《國際關係學報》,第二十九期,2010 年 1 月,頁 46。

for a period of time. However, in order to effectively prevent and block the Soviet Union, China actively divided the relationship between China and the Soviet Union until 1971. On October 25, 2005, the Republic of China was forced to withdraw from the United Nations that it participated in. In February 1972, the then U.S. President Nixon visited mainland China and became the first U.S. president to visit China after the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party. It also opened up contacts between the two countries. The era also means that there can only be one China in the world , and that is the People's Republic of China. Taiwan later applied to join the United Nations and other international organizations many times, but was rejected by this principle or opposition from the CCP.

According to Alexander Wendt 's interaction theory, the basic point of view is that identity and its corresponding benefits come from the learner. Because the actor responds according to the way the meaningful other treats itself, this response strengthens the learner's identity and interests. This is the reflection evaluation or mirror reaction,[13] Facing Taiwan's long-term difficulties in international relations, we must do more, because when we show goodwill to countries in the world, we can change this realistic environment through the reaction of agents and structures. and China have the same status or identity of our country, to the point I have to face the power play, was able to secure the sovereignty of the Republic of China in the international community's.

Current status and obstacles to participation in the World Health Organization

The World Health Organization (WHO) is a subsidiary of the United Nations and was established on April 7, 1948. It is the world's largest public health agency. It

[13] [13] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1999), p. 320.

aims to pursue the highest level of human health. It states in its charter that "health is a basic human right and is universal. Value does not differ based on race, religion, political beliefs, economic or social circumstances. ",[14] Under this premise, China's medical industry is developed and can actively participate in and assist in the prevention and control of major diseases in the world. In the past SARS epidemics, it has accumulated rich experience and energy in epidemic prevention, and it should have joined the organization for a long time. Greater efforts and contributions have been made in the work. However, facing the severe test of the new crown pneumonia epidemic, all countries in the world are struggling to prevent the epidemic. Taiwan has once again been absent from important international organization meetings, which also highlights China's external forces in the international space. The compression and limitation.

The United Nations was founded in 1945 , and the Republic of China is one of the founding countries. [15] In 1946, we worked together to promote the establishment of the WHO organization. In 1971 , the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 2758 to admit the Chinese Communist regime. The seat of the "Republic of China" in the United Nations was replaced by the "People's Republic of China", resulting in WHO membership It was also cancelled in 1972. Our complex in 1997 , "Republic of China (Taiwan)" as an observer apply to join the WHO, was Zhong mainland China to "one China principle" and "sovereignty" blocked. Every year since then, the membership case was rejected by the WHO for the same reason. [16] From

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[14] 〈參與世界衛生組織(World Health Organization, WHO)〉,《衛生福利部國際合作組網》(2021/1/1 瀏覽),https://dep.mohw.gov.tw/ooic/cp-3431-36670-119.html.

[15] 〈我國加入「世界衛生組織」問題之探討〉,《立法院網》(2021/1/1瀏覽),https://www.ly.gov.tw/Pages/Detail.aspx?nodeid=6586&pid=83857.

[16] 〈陸委會國際媒體記者會聲明稿〉,《中華民國大陸委員會網》(2021/1/1瀏覽),https://www.mac.gov.tw/cp.aspx?n=6ED529FBF24465B3&s=F696D8D4D51E0318.

these to the new situation by the World Health Assembly's point of view, the CCP has put pressure on countries to stop Tai Wan participation in international organizations and international non-governmental organizations, also continue to obstruct Tai Wan people get assistance from the World Health Organization. For example, in 2003 Taiwan SARS spread of the epidemic, when WHO officials to stop the powerful Communist Tai Wan assess the SARS situation, WHO officials found until the situation critical, non come Tai Wan not. In 2005, the Chinese Communist Party to "four basic proposition" and signed with the WHO "memorandum of understanding" what has been mentioned Chinese mainland , "the first time agreed to" Taiwan to "China , Tai Wan" name (Taiwan, China) to participate in the activities of WHO, adding Chinese delegation at the WHO meeting, the Chinese delegation sat in the back row, while in China agree, WHO and Tai Wan available for technical assistance and exchanges.

According to WHO regulations, members, associate members and observers can participate in the Health Assembly (WHA). Among them, members must have "country" qualifications, and deputy members and observers can apply on their behalf by their overlord country, and can participate at the invitation of the WHO Director-General. Our country hopes to use "meaningful participation" to promote joining the WHO as an "observer", but it will face the dwarfing problems of "identity, name, functionality, contact channels, and participation methods". If our country accepts it, its national character and status will be dwarfed, so it was strictly rejected at that time . Also in 2006 the post-disaster health tsunami reconstruction conference held in Phuket, Thailand, the CCP again to stop World Health Organization accepted Tai Wan medical experts and reporters to participate.[17] n 2008, the KMT's Ma Ying-jeou to run for President successfully, Taiwan under the name "Chinese Taipei" to become an

[17] 〈肺炎疫情加美國支持 台灣能否重返世衛大會〉,《BBC NEWS中文網》(2021/1/1瀏覽),https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/chinese-news-52559064.

observer in the WHA, two 009 since 8 years in a row have the participants. However, in 2016, the then WHO Director-General Margaret Chan added the UN General Assembly Resolution 2758 and WHA Resolution 25.1 to emphasize the "One China" principle for the first time in the invitation letter. 20 16 Nian Tsai Ing-wen won the election, not appointed. Then Tai Wan still have to participate in WHA. But in 2017 either mainland's Taiwan Affairs Office spokesman Ann Mountain time, announced that due to the DPP government refused to recognize the "1992 consensus", so Tai Wan participation in international conferences basis no longer exists. At the 70th WHA, the World Health Organization failed to follow its charter and the international community's call for Taiwan's participation in the WHA, succumbing to political pressure and not inviting me to the meeting.

On January 22, 2020, due to the new crown pneumonia epidemic, WHO convened an emergency expert committee to carefully evaluate whether the new crown pneumonia outbreak constitutes a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC),[18]and requires global medical institutions to combine existing findings with Research and work together to stop the spread of the epidemic. Although this important meeting has not yet reached a consensus, all regional experts and scholars who have confirmed cases have received invitation letters. Only Taiwan, which has confirmed cases, is still excluded from the door of formal cooperation. In the tight global epidemic at the moment, Tai Wan again denied access to prevention puzzle, not just the risk of Taiwan, but also an obstacle to the global epidemic prevention work.

However, in the past the government uphold the anti- SARS experience and energy, and actively attempts to prevent the spread of the epidemic, and proactively

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[18] 陳莉雅，〈從SARS到新冠肺炎，台灣因「一個中國」原則被拒於WHO門外再度成為話題〉，《端傳媒網》(2021/1/1瀏覽)，https://theinitium.com/article/20200124-taiwan-sars-who-wuhan-pneumonia/.

epidemic prevention materials and experience to assist countries in the world fight against the epidemic, have obtained international affirmation States, and therefore in 5 Yue 18 on May 73 th, "World Health Before the "WHA" conference was held in the form of a video conference, important people and organizations from many countries have supported Taiwan's return to WHO in various ways (as shown in the attached table). In addition, our diplomatic countries have also sent letters to WTO Secretary-General Tedros Tedros, Calls formal proposal to invite Taiwan as an observer to attend the WHA, was WTO Counsel Solomon (Steven Solomon) to the one-China principle refused to invite Taiwan to the participants and said that the possible involvement of the WHA, or to obtain observer status by the 194 Member States To decide, the WHO Secretariat has no right to decide. However, the proposal until November 9 resumed videoconference decision day, resumed when the final is still rejected after protests by Chinese representatives.

List of countries all over the world voice their support for Taiwan's participation in the World Health Assembly	
unit	Support method
United States	The Bureau of International Organizations Affairs of the US State Department issued 5 tweets on May 1 to support Taiwan's participation in WHA, and added the tag #TweetForTaiwan at the end of the post, emphasizing that Taiwan promotes disease-related scientific cooperation and information transparency, and the response method has always been a world model.
United States	"Foreign Policy" (Foreign Policy) magazine reported on April 29 that the United States and Japan, together with Australia, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, are co-signing a letter to WHO Secretary-General Tedros Tedros, requesting Taiwan to attend the WHA year. meeting. In addition, the United States is seeking support from key allies and hopes to restore Taiwan's status as a WHO observer, laying the foundation for the global containment of Wuhan pneumonia and confrontation with China.

United States	US Secretary of Health and Human Services Alex Azar II said in a bilateral conference call with Minister of Health and Welfare Chen Shizhong on April 27 that the United States will continue to fully support Taiwan's participation in WHO and global health affairs, so that Taiwan can share with the international community, Contribute to its health profession.
United States	During a telephone roundtable meeting with reporters on March 30, US Secretary of State Pompeo stated that the State Department will fully abide by the "Taipei Act" and do its utmost to assist Taiwan in playing an appropriate role in the World Health Assembly (WHA). Republican Senator Jardner, the sponsor of the "Taipei Act", applauded his speech and said: "The United States must use all policy tools to play an important role in Taiwan's good power in the world and ensure that China will never have the right to veto."
United States	Former US ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley launched a countersignature on April 23, asking the US Congress to investigate China's hidden epidemic, support Taiwan's entry into the World Health Organization, and move important medical manufacturing industries back to the United States.
Canada	Canadian Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland (Chrystia Freeland) reiterated in Congress on April 29 that the Canadian government supports Taiwan's clear position as an observer to the World Health Assembly. Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau publicly supported Taiwan as a WHO observer as early as January 30 when it was asked by Congress.
Nicaragua	Nicaragua's ruling Sandin Party (FSLN) heavyweight MP and Chairman of the Friends of Taiwan Group Figueiroa and several Nicaragua media executives successively reposted President Tsai Ing-wen's tweets to express their support for Taiwan's joining the WHO and participating in the WHA. Assist in international epidemic prevention work. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that Nicaragua's Vice President Mu Liyou also expressed his support for Taiwan's participation in the WHA through the Nicaraguan Embassy in Taiwan.
Central South America	Paraguay (countries with diplomatic relations), Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Mexico, a total of 67 members of the "Formosa Club" from 10 countries signed a letter to the Taiwan Embassy Office. Express support for Taiwan's participation in the WHO system and WHA.

Japan	Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe stated at the Senate Budget Committee on April 29 that he had directly told the Secretary-General of the World Health Organization that the Tedrosse virus knows no borders and supports Taiwan's participation in the World Health Organization. The Japanese government spokesperson and Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga said on April 15 that since the WHO should not create a geographical gap in dealing with international health issues, he supports Taiwan's participation in the WHA as an observer. Japanese Deputy Prime Minister Taro Aso also publicly affirmed that Taiwan's epidemic prevention achievements are among the best in the world.
Australia	Members of Parliament from the ruling and opposition parties in Australia spoke for Taiwan, calling on the WHO to grant membership in Taiwan, and also criticized this United Nations specialized agency for its ineffective handling of the epidemic. Senator Paterson of the Australian ruling Liberal Party said: "Given the outstanding performance (Taiwan) has so far in fighting the coronavirus, it is shameful and dangerous for them to continue to be excluded."
European Union	The Ministry of External Affairs of the European Union stated on May 1 that, especially in the current situation of the coronavirus outbreak, it is committed to discussing with partners and seeking pragmatic solutions. In areas where Taiwan's standards and capabilities can bring additional value, Taiwan should be included. World Health Assembly.
Lithuania	More than 200 Lithuanian political and intellectual elites jointly sent a letter to the President on April 22, calling on Lithuania to support Taiwan's participation in international organizations such as the World Health Organization, and to raise the issue of Taiwan's recognition in the European Union.
Germany	Christoph Skutella , a member of the German Liberal Democratic Party (FDP) member of the Bavarian State Parliament , said "Thank you Taiwan" in traditional Chinese on Facebook on April 7th, and attached the flag of the Republic of China to thank you, and pointed out that Taiwan should join the WHO , Can contribute to global epidemic prevention.
France	Gaudier, Vice Chairman of the Friends of the Taiwan Group of the French National Assembly, Batiste, Member of the Socialist Party, Member of the Liberal Party, Jubier, Vice-Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Greau, and Commissioner Cadick all asked the French government for written or oral questions. Remarks on the issue of Taiwan's accession to the WHO.
Netherlands	In February, many heavyweight congressmen from the Netherlands used tweets, joint letters to the WHO Secretary-General, oral questions and other practical actions to express their support for Taiwan's

	international participation.
Sweden	The Vice Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Swedish Parliament, Vamak, and Rosenberg, a member of the Taiwan Friends Group, used the method of speech or questioning in February to support Taiwan's participation in the WHO and call on the government to take action. Swedish Foreign Minister Linde responded that he would work hard to get Taiwan to participate.
Diplomatic countries	Yeshiva Frattini, Paraguay, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Saint Kitts and Nevis, the Marshall Islands, Nauru and eight allies have spoken quite Taiwan to join WHO or its associated technical meetings. Among them, the representative of the Marshall Islands called on the WHO to leave no political factors behind. The virus will not stop at the border. It should ensure that no one is threatened by risks, and hope that Taiwan will participate in the WHO technical meeting. The representative of Haiti emphasized that the Wuhan pneumonia outbreak certificate cannot exclude any country.
Diplomatic countries	Nicaragua, Palau, Swatini, Saint Lucia, Marshall, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Belize, Haiti, Nowru, Paraguay, Tuvalu, Guatemala, Honduras, All 14 friends including Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (referred to as Saint Vincent) wrote to WHO Secretary-General Tedros Tedros, formally calling for Taiwan to attend the WHA as an observer.
United States	US Republican Senator in 2 021 Nian 2 Yue 8 filed legislation that would require suspension of Jinyuan Shi Wei, leading up to the WHO guide class substitutions when, and Taiwan's inclusion into Member States[19]. Nearly 40 US House of Representatives in 2021 Nian 2 Yue 1 8 Ri co-sponsored the bill, to help regain Taiwan WHO observer status. Bill requires the US Secretary of State, after each WHA observer status of Taiwan not, are required to explain what the United States has changed or very sophisticated units as[20].
Canada	Taiwan president plus MPs Friendship Association, Liberal Party Congressman Shige

[19] 〈美議員提法案暫緩金援世衛直至台灣成會員國〉,《中央通訊社網》(2021/2/28 瀏覽),https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/202102100006.aspx.

[20] 〈近 40 位美議員提法案助台灣取得世衛觀察員身分〉,《聯合新聞網》(2021/2/28 瀏覽),https://udn.com/news/story/6813/5260238.

	Luo in 2021 Nian 2 Yue 17 Ri to Taiwan's successful fight against SARS, wrote to the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs Jianuo require the Canadian government to support Taiwan's meaningful participation in global security at stake And developing international organizations[21]. Canadian Representative Michael Cooper once again stood up high-profile. On the 9th, he published a special article calling on "The Trudeau government must embrace Taiwan in diplomacy and trade." He counted out the various reasons in the article. Trudeau should not hesitate any more.[22]

Source : Central News Agency   report , compiled by the author.

2020 Nian until now has not alleviated the global epidemic, the epidemic prevention work in Taiwan is not only self-control, to better reach out to the world and greatly increase Taiwan's visibility in the international arena, as well as the accumulation of a lot of good and positive image, if 2020 is the best time for China to join the WHO , and it is not an exaggeration at all. However, mainland China has adopted a long-term strategy of suppressing Taiwan's participation in world organizations or related activities, which led to a missed opportunity in the end, which was counterproductive.

However, as far as Taiwan is concerned, whether it is really necessary to join the World Health Organization, the international community often considers this matter in politics. However, in the face of unknown and endangering viruses that endanger human life, maintaining the safety of the people is also what a leader should do; In addition, since the end of World War II, countries headed by the United States including China have established an international system and order, and also created a World Health Organization that promotes human health and safety. If Taiwan can join, it will

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[21] 〈加國眾議員史葛洛致函外長挺台入國際組織〉,《中央通訊社網》(2021/2/28 瀏覽),https://www.cna.com.tw/news/aipl/202102180018.aspx.

[22] 〈加拿大議員古柏再挺台 籲杜魯道政府「擁抱台灣」〉,《中央通訊社網》(2021/2/28 瀏覽),https://www.cna.com.tw/news/firstnews/202102110035.aspx.

be first-hand in the face of the epidemic. Based on the information and data of Taiwan, Taiwan has advanced medical technology, health insurance system and medical resources cheaper than many countries, in addition to maintaining the health of the people of the country, it has made a greater contribution to the promotion of international epidemic prevention work. It is a pity that in international relations, the interests and relations of major powers are emphasized. This time, Taiwan's expectations have failed again.

This time, Taiwan seems to have been suppressed by the "One China" principle by the Chinese authorities on international occasions, and it has failed to join the WHO . However, Taiwan's proactive actions in this epidemic prevention, apart from being closer to our friendly diplomatic countries, have also led European and American countries to support our country's accession to the World Health Organization, and the amount of positive feedback it has received is the most in recent years. If it doesn't just confirm Winter 's reflection and evaluation, it depends on our international interaction and actions to get corresponding feedback and benefits. At present, our country has not been able to make a breakthrough in the principle of One China, but if the government can continue to operate a friendly country and strive for the recognition of countries around the world , over time may have different actions or opportunities.

Under the COVID-19 outbreak, the Trend of U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations

Taiwan's role and positioning in the international arena has long been influenced by the United States and mainland China . China 's GDP surpassed Japan in 2011 and became the world's second largest economy. In 2012 , Chinese President Xi Jinping came to power. He changed the traditional tradition of hiding his powers and bidding his time by adopting more active and proactive actions and proposing the "Belt and Road" strategy. It plans to extend its power to Central Asia, Pakistan and the Middle

East. In 2015 , it proposed the strategic development of "Made in China 2025" to accelerate the transition from a manufacturing power to a manufacturing power, and continue to expand the trade deficit with the United States. According to data from the US Department of Commerce, In 2017, the trade deficit between China and the United States reached 375.2 billion U.S. dollars, the total amount hitting a record high.[23] Mainland China is relying on its economic growth and the rapid rise of influence in the world, so many experts and scholars regard it as a potential threat to the hegemony of the United States.

Faced with the ever-expanding trade deficit and China's influence around the world, the former US President Trump criticized mainland China for controlling the exchange rate of RMB to US dollars during the 2016 election campaign, which gave mainland China more advantages in exporting goods. Wen said: "The CCP uses currency depreciation (which makes U.S. companies face difficulties in competition), imposes heavy taxes on U.S. exports to China (but the U.S. has not done so against China), or builds large-scale military installations in the South China Sea. Some people have asked us (the United States) if it's okay to do this? I don't think so!". Therefore, after Trump took office, he constantly threatened to make mainland China a currency manipulator, forcing him to reduce the trade deficit as soon as possible. Trump formally signed a presidential memorandum on March 22, 2018. In response to the huge trade deficit faced by the United States and China and the theft of American business and corporate intellectual property by Chinese companies , the "Section 301" was introduced in accordance with Article 301 of the 1974 Trade Act. "In April , the U.S. Trade Representative announced that it would impose additional tariffs on Chinese

[23] 斯影,〈美中兩國從接觸走向對抗,進入「新冷戰」雙邊關係路在何方〉,《BBC NEWS中文網》(2021/1/1瀏覽),https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/world-53751041.

imports. China also responded with a tough stance. Since then, the Sino-US trade war has begun.

The first wave of the U.S. tariff trade war against China was launched on July 6, 2018, imposing 25% high tariffs on 1,300 items worth 34 billion U.S. dollars imported from China; the second wave was in August Launched on the 23rd to impose a 25% tariff on US$16 billion imported from China; the third wave was launched on September 24. First, a high tariff of 10% was imposed on US$200 billion imported from China. It will increase to 25% on the 1st. If China has retaliatory measures, it will impose additional tariffs on another US$260 billion worth of Chinese exports to the United States. Covered commodities including chemicals, motor vehicles, aircraft, ships, panels, etc.; fourth wave in 2019 Nian 8 Yue 13 Ri launch further Chinese imports for the remaining approximately 3 , 0 $ 2.00 billion worth of goods levied 15 % tariff which covers Commodities include consumer goods and information products such as smart phones and laptops, almost all-encompassing.[24]

Until December 13, 2019 Japan-US bilateral negotiations to agree on the first phase of the agreement, Trump also in its major agreement tweets praised the completion of the history, announced the suspension of 12 months 15 Ri tax and halved since 9 month levied 120 billion goods 15 % tariff which is 7 .5 %. China also announced the suspension of tariffs on US counter-measures have been implemented and lowered; January 15, 2020, the two sides signed an agreement at the White House, although all clear in the short term, the United States continued implementation of 2 5 0 billion Tariffs on U.S. dollar goods, and depending on whether China's

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[24] 吳福成，〈中美貿易戰對 「中國製造2025」之挑戰〉,《臺灣經濟研究月刊》，第41卷第11期(2018年)，頁88。

implementation is not effective or not, it will restore tariffs or raise tax rates. Therefore, the tension between China and the United States has not yet resolved.[25]

While the two countries have not been in a trade war from breathing, followed by a new crown virus outbreak has killed as many as the United States 2 , 021 more than people diagnosed, 35 more than million people have died, is the world's most serious outbreak The countries of the United States will undoubtedly have a huge impact on the U.S. economy, people's livelihood, and medical care. Trump once expressed dissatisfaction with the epidemic in a tweet, ignoring WHO warnings and protests in Beijing, calling the new crown pneumonia "C hinese Virus " (Chinese virus), and requesting the subordinate intelligence departments to thoroughly investigate whether China is concealing the epidemic and the virus. Whether it flows from the Wuhan Research Institute and requires China to be responsible and compensate for it. Driven by the United States, many Western countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany called on China to investigate the source of the virus, and China fell into a diplomatic dilemma. Against this background, China deliberated on Hong Kong's "Maintenance of National Security" bill at the National People's Congress that opened on May 22. It was quickly passed and implemented at the end of June, causing Europe and the United States to vigorously criticize and set off a wave of anti-China attacks. Inspur, one after another, has been confronting human rights issues such as China's wolf war-style diplomacy around the world, the political propaganda of Confucius Institutes, the red infiltration, stealing secrets, interference in other countries' internal affairs, and the persecution of Uyghurs in Xinjiang. From the United States, Australia, Japan to the United Kingdom, more and more After watching each other

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[25] 徐遵慈，〈美中貿易戰的進展、回顧與影響〉，《經濟前瞻》，第188期(2020年)，頁12。

closely, many countries followed up and joined the ranks of prohibiting Huawei from participating in 5G network construction.

For the Taiwan-U.S. bilateral relationship, the best strategy for Taiwan and the U.S. is to place a bilateral bet. On the one hand, the U.S. deepens relations with Taiwan, whether it is the passage of the Taiwan Travel Act or the Taipei Act. "(Taiwan Allies International Protection and Enhancement Initiative (TAIPEI) Act of 2019), etc., but on the other hand, it also deals with China to meet China's need for Taiwan's "One China Principle". For example, Trump has declared The United States abides by the "One China Policy.[26] For Taiwan, it is the best strategy to maintain the US quasi-ally, but at the same time not guilty of China's expectations for cross-strait relations.[27] 另 In addition, according to the "Taiwan Relations Act", defensive weapons are sold to Taiwan to assist Taiwan in self-defense. Since June 2017, the Trump administration announced the sale of torpedoes, missiles, launch systems, remote-controlled precision ammunition and other weapons to Taiwan for a total of about 1.42 billion U.S. dollars; in 2018, it sold transport aircraft, fighter jets and related logistics support systems for about 330 million U.S. dollars; 2019 sell tanks, anti-aircraft missiles,F-16V fighters, about 102 billion dollars; 7 , 10 , 11 , 12 month2020 basis 5 times the sale of heavy torpedoes, the Patriot missile life extension case, missiles, rocket systems, according to the new investigation pods, harpoon coastal defense systems , unmanned aircraft, battlefield communications system messages and technical support and other weapons, namely 58.4 billion US dollars, a total of Trump within any Dui Tai 11 times the arms

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[26] 白宮表示，在習近平要求下，川普同意「信守我們的『一個中國』政策。」 請見 Mark Landler & Michael Forsythe," Trump Tells Xi Jinping U.S. Will Honor 'One China' Policy," The New York Times, February 9, 2017, <https:// www.nytimes.com/2017/02/09/world/asia/donald-trump-china-xi-jinping-letter. html>。

[27] 馬準威,〈美中貿易戰對美中臺關係發展之影響〉,《遠景基金會季刊》,第二十一卷第四期 (2020 年 10 月),頁 78。

sales, as many as 5 times focused on the 2020 year serious Stirring the CCP's sensitive nerves. The epidemic and the election situation, coupled with the influence of the anti-China hawks in the United States, have caused an outbreak of resentment accumulated over the past decade. It also makes the best comment on the relationship between the United States and China, which is changing in a "free-fall" style.

Conclusion

Since Taiwan withdrew from the United Nations in 1971 , although Taiwan has actively participated in international affairs and tried to return to the world arena such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization , due to the suppression and resistance of mainland China, Taiwan's status in the international arena has gradually declined, and the countries with diplomatic relations have also increased. There has been less and less, especially in recent years, with China's rapidly growing economic power and military power, and the rapid increase in international influence and day by day, Taiwan seems to have no space to gain a foothold in all deteriorating environments . However, the crisis turned around. In this new crown epidemic, due to its geographical proximity to China, Taiwan faced the raging epidemic head-on, upholding previous experience in combating SARS, successfully preventing the spread of the epidemic, and becoming a model student in the world's epidemic prevention.

Even so, the Taiwan authorities have extended their epidemic prevention experience, effectiveness, and materials to countries from all walks of life, constructing a diplomatic path that belongs to Taiwan, which not only consolidates existing countries with diplomatic relations, but also allows other non-diplomatic countries to feel the positive image and power of the Taiwan authorities. In contrast, the arrogant attitude and image of China's great power, as well as the spread of the epidemic, will no doubt increase my country's international influence and image.Although China's participation

in the World Health Organization and the General Assembly last year was still strongly obstructed by China, international organizations still have the suppression and resistance of the "One China" principle. As an active agent of international relations, Taiwan, if it can uphold the positive and positive actions of this epidemic's diplomacy, I believe that soon more like-minded partners will support and join us, and one day it will shake the inherent international structure and make Taiwan a long-term foothold on the world stage .

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