

後疫情時代下

# 歐亞區域穩定與 國家安全學術研討會 會議手冊暨論文集

**Stability in the Eurasian region and  
national security under post-pandemic era**

## 主題

- 後疫情時代下的歐亞區域穩定
- 後疫情時代下的國家安全

## 時間

- 4月15日9點10分至12點10分

## 地點

- 國防大學復興崗校區皓東樓綜合教室



# **Stability in the Eurasian region and national security under post-pandemic era Contents**

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Session 1

- A. The Hybrid Warfare and Gray Zone Warfare in the Strategic Constellation of Taiwan Strait
- B. The China's Foreign Policy towards Iraq: A Kurdistan Perspective
- C. Under the Trend of Global Governance: Local Reflections on National Defense Education

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- A. Discussion on the Application of Grey Zone Strategy – taking UUV as an example
- B. Immigration, Colonization and the Formation of Cultural Hegemony: The Perspective of the Receiving State
- C. The Study of EU's Foreign Policy combination to China: The Application of Two- Goods Theory Model



# NO1. Agenda

Time	活動			
08:30   09:00	Registration			
09:00   09:10	Opening Ceremony	Dean of Fu Hsing Kang College, General Chen		
Time	Subject	Presenter	Commentator	Host
09:10   10:30	<b>Stability in the Eurasian region under post-pandemic era</b>	<b>The Hybrid Warfare in the Strategic Constellation of Taiwan Strait</b> Graduate Students, Graduate Institute of Political Science , NDU , <i>Yu-Ruei Chen</i> Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute of Political Science , NDU , <i>Hsing-Hsiang Liu</i>	<b>Zong-Han Wu</b> Assistant Researcher , Institute for ational Defense and Security Research	<b>Ming-Xian Weng</b> Professor and Director , Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies , Tamkang University , Tamkang University
		<b>China's Strategy in the Persian Gulf</b> PhD student at Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies, College of International Affairs, Tamkang University , <i>Ali Fattah</i>	<b>Ming-Xian Weng</b> Professor and Director , Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies , Tamkang University	
		<b>Under the Trend of Global Governance: Local Reflections on The All-Out Defense Education</b> PhD student at the Department of Public Administration and Policy, National Jinan University, <i>Tzu-Wen Chien</i>	<b>Yi-Xu Xie</b> Associate Professor , School of International Affairs , Ming Chuan University	
10:30   10:50	Tea Break			
10:50   12:10	<b>National security under post-pandemic era</b>	<b>Disussion on China' s Application of Gray Strategy-taking Underwater Unmanned Vehicles as an example</b> Graduate Students, Graduate Institute of Political Science , NDU , <i>Chuan-ping Wang</i> Graduate Students, Graduate Institute of Political Science , NDU , <i>Min-jun Hsieh</i> Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute of Political Science , NDU , <i>Chih-wen Ku</i>	<b>Chih-Mei Luo</b> Professor, Department of Public Administration and Policy, Taipei University	<b>Shun-You Liao</b> Professor and Director , Graduate Institute of International Politics , National Chung Hsing University
		<b>Immigration, Colonization and the Formation of Cultural Hegemony: The Perspective of the Receiving State</b> PhD Student of Graduate Institute of International Politics , National Chung-Hsing University, <i>Yi-Xin Liu</i>	<b>Shun-You Liao</b> Professor and Director , Graduate Institute of International Politics , National Chung Hsing University	
		<b>The Study of EU's Foreign Policy combination to China: The Application of Two-Goods Theory Model</b> PhD student of Graduate Institute of International Politics ,National Chung Hsing University, <i>Wei-pei Lai</i>	<b>Yi-Hao Su</b> Assistant Professor , Department of Political Science , Taiwan University	
12:10	Farewell			



## No 2.Rules of procedure

《Presentation》 80minutes per session of presentation

Session	Session1	Session2
Category	3 papers	3 papers
Introductory Remark(Moderator)	8 min	8 min
Presentation(Presenter)	15 min / person	15 min / person
Comments(Commentator)	7 min / person	7 min / person
General Discussion	6 min	6 min

### ◆ Ringing Rules

- One minute before : the bell rings one.
- Time's up : the bell rings twice.
- One minute after the time limit : the bell rings three times.

### ◆ General Discussion Rules

- Each guest has up to 2 minutes. Time's up : the bell rings twice.

### ◆ Other Rules

- After entering the venue , please turn off your mobile phone or switch to silent mode to facilitate the conference.



## **No 3. Paper publication**



## Session 1

Subject : Stability in the Eurasian region under under post-pandemic era

Time : 09 : 10 - 10 : 30

Host : Ming-Xian Weng Professor

Paper publication :

A. The Hybrid Warfare in the Strategic Constellation of

Taiwan Strait , *Yu-Ruei Chen , Hsing-Hsiang Liu*

B. China's Strategy in the Persian Gulf , *Ali Fattah*

C. Under the Trend of Global Governance: Local

Reflections on The All-Out Defense Education , *Tzu-Wen*

*Chien*



# The Hybrid Warfare in the Strategic Constellation of Taiwan Strait

Yu-Ruei Chen

(Graduate Students, Graduate Institute of Political Science)

Hsing-Hsiang Liu

(Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute of Political Science)

## **Abstract**

"Hybrid warfare" is a compound that arises as the security environment changes. Security threats pose serious challenges to all countries. From the traditional security fields such as politics, economy, military and diplomacy that are related to the survival and development of the country, to the impact on people's livelihoods, social security, financial order, terrorist attacks, violent crimes, information network security, etc., it also covers traditional and non-traditional security issues, spanning virtual and real space. When attackers take a threat offensive without warning against the target country and the people, whether it is a government department or the public, they should establish a correct understanding of this new form of threat and respond carefully to ensure the greatest safety and well-being of the country and the people.

**Keywords:** Hybrid warfare, security issues, non-traditional challenges, strategic layout

# 臺灣海峽戰略佈局下之混合戰

陳煜睿

(政戰學院政研所研究生)

劉興祥

(政戰學院政治系助理教授)

## 摘要

「混合戰」(Hybrid warfare)是一種隨著安全環境變遷所產生的複合式安全威脅，對各國帶來嚴峻挑戰。從攸關國家生存發展的政治、經濟、軍事、外交等傳統安全領域，到影響民眾生計、社會安全、金融秩序、恐怖攻擊、暴力犯罪、資訊網路安全等等，同時涵蓋了傳統和非傳統安全議題，跨越了虛擬和實境空間。當攻擊者對目標國家、民眾採取無預警的威脅攻勢，無論是政府部門或是社會大眾，皆應對這種新形態威脅建立正確認知，並且審慎因應，以確保國家和民眾最大安全福祉。

**關鍵詞：**混合戰、安全議題、非傳統挑戰、戰略佈局

# China's Strategy in the Persian Gulf

Ali Fattah.

(PhD student at Graduate Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Studies, Tamkang University)

## Abstract

For decades, the Middle East, an area where the US has been the predominant external actor, occupies a space in which China has sought to forge close ties with emerging regional powers to secure access to vital energy resources, expand its commercial reach, and enhance its political influence. Since the Obama administration, the United States of America has been trying to disengage from the Middle East Region (Rebalance or Pivot Strategy). This trend has led the regional powers including Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey to seek new allies and compete more fiercely. China is the biggest winner in the Middle East Post-America. Beijing is the largest buyer of the region's oil, and the Middle East markets consider one of the most important markets for Chinese goods. Currently, China is the only external power with strong political and trade relations with each major country in the Middle East. For Washington, this means that the Middle East is re-emerging as an arena for great power competition.

**Keywords: Middle East, Persian Gulf, China, Iran, Saudi Arabia**

# 中國對波斯灣之戰略

方雅立

(淡江大學國際事務學院博士生)

## 摘要

數十年來，美國一直是中東地區的主要的外部行為者，中國則已開始尋求與該地新興區域強權建立緊密連結，以確保獲得重要能源資源、擴大其商業範圍並增強其政治影響力。自歐巴馬政府時期至今，美國一直試圖脫離中東地區（再平衡或重返亞太戰略）。這一趨勢致使伊朗、以色列、沙烏地阿拉伯及土耳其等區域強權尋求新的盟友，且更加激烈地競爭。中國是「後美國時代中東」的最大贏家，該地區石油的最大買家。中東市場被認為是中國商品銷售最重要的市場之一。目前，中國是唯一與中東每個主要國家都具有穩固的政治和貿易關係的外部大國。對華盛頓來說，這意味著中東正在重新成為大國競爭的舞台。

**關鍵字：**中東、波斯灣、中國、伊朗、沙烏地阿拉伯

# Under the Trend of Global Governance: Local Reflections on The All-Out Defense Education

Tzu-Wen, Chien<sup>1</sup>

(PhD student at the Department of Public Administration and Policy, National Jinan University)

## Abstract

“Think Globally, Act Locally.” Under the trend of economic globalization and regional integration, local governance is not an opposition force against global development. On the contrary, it is an indispensable force in the process of globalization. It actively responds to the opportunities, pressures and challenges brought about by globalization, and uses its local strength to turn around and influence the world. On the other hand, in the wave of global governance, as social problems become more complex, countries are gradually facing the situation of being unable to govern. State power has a tendency to “move up,” “move down” and “move out.” In the changing process of the state power, what difficulties and challenges does the government encounter in the administration of national defense education in the context of pluralistic (decentralized) governance and requirements for effective governance? What kind of local reflection and response can there be? These are the focuses of this article. This study argues that the current challenge for national defense education lies in (1) The degree of integration of regulations and plans is insufficient; (2) Insufficient local actors and limited local resources; (3) There are gaps in the promotion of national defense education between the central and local governments; (4) Insufficient awareness of social education in the national defense education policy. According to the above dilemma, the strategies proposed in this study are: (1) Open up channels for electronic participation in national defense education; (2) Make good use of the network of local national defense organizations; (3) Linking corporate social responsibility and university social responsibility; (4) Integration of operating mechanisms. It is hoped that the national defense education can be promoted and rooted at the local end.

**Key Words:** global governance, local governance, multi-level, All-Out Defense Education

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# 全球治理趨勢下：全民國防教育的在地思考

簡子文

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## 摘要

「全球思考，在地行動」，在經濟全球化以及區域一體化的趨勢下，地方治理並非是抗拒全球發展的反對勢力。相反地，它是全球化進程中不可或缺的一股力量。它積極回應全球化帶來的機遇、壓力與挑戰，並以在地的力量，回過頭來影響全球。另一方面，全球治理浪潮中，隨著社會問題漸趨龐雜，國家逐漸面臨無法治理的情況。國家權力角色逐漸有著上移、下移及外移的傾向。在國家角色轉變的過程中，政府的全民國防教育施政，在多元（去中心）化統治，及有效治理要求的環境中，遇到哪些困境與挑戰？可以有怎樣的在地反思與回應？乃本文關注的焦點。本文認為，目前全民國防教育的挑戰在於（一）法規與計畫整合程度不足；（二）地方行動者不足，且地方資源有限；（三）中央與地方政府全民國防教育推展具有結構斷層；（四）全民國防教育政策之社會教育意識不足等四端。根據以上困境，本文提出的策略有（一）開闢全民國防教育電子參與渠道；（二）善用全民國防地方組織網絡；（三）社會企業責任與大學社會責任的鏈結；（四）運作機制的整合等四項，期能讓全民國防教育推展，向地方末梢扎根。

**關鍵字：** 全球治理、地方治理、多層次、全民國防教育

## Session 2

Subject : National security under post-pandemic era

Time : 10 : 50 - 12 : 10

Host : Shun-You Liao Professor

Paper publication :

A. Disussion on China's Application of Gray Strategy-taking Underwater Unmanned Vehicles as an example,

*Chuan-ping Wang, Min-jun Hsieh, Chih-wen Ku*

B. Immigration, Colonization and the Formation of Cultural Hegemony: The Perspective of the Receiving State, *Yi-Xin Liu*

C. The Study of EU's Foreign Policy combination to China: The Application of Two-Goods Theory Model,

*Wei-pei Lai*



# **Disussion on China's Application of Gray Strategy- taking Underwater Unmanned Vehicles as an example\***

**Chuan-ping Wang**

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**Min-jun Hsieh**

(Graduate Students, Graduate Institute of Political Science)

**Chih-wen Ku**

(Assistant Professor, Graduate Institute of Political Science)

## **Abstract**

This article discusses the legal status of Unmanned Underwater Vehicles (UUVs) and the assumption of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) gray area strategic application in combination with UUVs. The CCP has cooperated with Russia to develop underwater robots since 1992. Based on this, it has subsequently developed the Qianlong series of underwater vehicles with independent intellectual property rights to explore the South China Sea environment. Compared to my country, the CCP's R&D energy has long been ahead of us. If the CCP uses gray zone strategic means to combine with the Quianlong series, it will weaken the engagement capability of our naval fleet, and even our key infrastructure such as submarine cables in important network hubs in East Asia will be greatly affected. However, the United States is also aware that the CCP may gain sea power in the waters of the Indo-Pacific region due to the development and application of UUVs. For this reason, it not only emphasizes trade and arms sales cooperation with Taiwan, but also increases future budget for research and development of artificial intelligence. In order to respond to the scientific and technological combat methods that the CCP may adopt, this article will put forward the hypothesis of how the CCP combines the application of UUVs under the strategic framework of the gray area. Under such a threat, how should our country respond? This will be discussed further in the succeeding sections.

**Keywords: Gray strategy, Underwater unmanned vehicle, UNCLOS**

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\* It is a draft please do not cite.

# 中共灰色戰略運用之探討-以無人水下載具為例

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謝明峻

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## 摘要

本文主要討論無人水下載具(UUVs)的法律地位以及中共如何透過 UUVs 作為灰色戰略運用的工具。中共自 1992 年起即與俄羅斯合作研發水下機器人，後續在這些基礎上，發展出自主知識產權的潛龍系列水下載具，用於探勘南海地質環境。然中共對於 UUVs 的運用早已領先我國許多，如 UUVs 作為灰色戰略之應用，有可能會削弱我海軍之接戰能力，亦有可能對東亞重要網路樞紐的海底纜線等關鍵基礎設施產生威脅。美國為因應中共因 UUVs 之研與應用，在印太地區海域取得某種程度的海上作戰優勢，而開始增加未來預算，聚焦於人工智慧及 UUVs 與戰術戰法的研發，以應對中共可能採取的新型態的作戰方式。因此，在上述研究背景下，本文將分析 UUVs 的可能法律地位，並研析中共如何在灰色地帶戰略下應用 UUVs 之可能方式？最後，探討我國在此威脅下之因應方式。

**關鍵字：**灰色戰略、無人水下載具、聯合國海洋法公約

# **Immigration, Colonization and the Formation of Cultural Hegemony: The Perspective of the Receiving State**

Yi-Xin Liu

(Ph.D. Student of Graduate Institute of International Politics at National Chung-Hsing University)

## **Abstract**

Two seemingly unrelated concepts "Immigration and Colonization" actually have almost the same development trajectory in Taiwan. With the evolution and needs of contemporary Taiwanese society, ethnic issues in Taiwan have been discussed by Mainlanders, Hakka and the Islanders, transformed into a framework for debate on ideology and internal issues.

Nowadays, Taiwanese society has gradually been paid more and more attention to immigrants and new residents, and the cohesion and identity of this ethnic group has also increased the importance of ethnic identity. In addition to the unity of the group itself, another very important factor in the cohesion of the ethnic group is "belief". In particular, religious beliefs are often an important indicator of cohesion of ethnic cultures.

On the other hand, the evolution and influence of religion has often become an important force for political power and social stability, especially in countries in the Western world and the Middle East, where religion is often a decisive force for social stability. , ideas and discourses, and then form an alternative discourse hegemony or even cultural hegemony, which can become a topic worthy of discussion.

This article will discuss and sort out this topic through historical, philosophical, semantic and cultural studies, mainly hoping to interpret and discuss its development process and current state in the process of sorting out. In particular, it focuses on how ethnic culture is constructed through discourse and beliefs and customs. By using the analytical framework of the English School and discourse structure.

**Keyword: Colonization, Immigration, Ethnic group, English School**

# 移民、殖民與文化霸權的形成-接收國家的視角

劉易鑫

(國立中興大學國政所博士生)

## 摘要

移民與殖民這兩個看似完全不同的概念，事實上有近乎相同的發展軌跡。隨著當代台灣社會的演進與需求，台灣的族群問題已然由原本的外省、客家及本省的討論，轉變成為意識形態與內部問題的爭論架構。

如今台灣的社會已然漸漸的因外來移民以及新住民的逐漸受到重視，此一族群的凝聚與認同也相對的提升了族群認同的受重視程度。在這之中，族群的凝聚除了本身群聚聚落的團結之外，另一個很重要的因素即是「信仰」。尤其是宗教方面的信仰往往是凝聚族群文化的一項重要指標。

另一方面，宗教的演變與影響，經常性的成為政權與社會穩定的一項重要力量，尤其在西方世界國家與中東國家，宗教往往是一股決定性的社會穩定力量，宗教又如何透過其思想、理念與話語進行建構，進而形成一種另類的話語霸權甚或文化霸權，則可成為一個值得探討的主題。

本文將透過透過歷史、哲學、語意及文化研究進行此一主題的討論及梳理，主要希望在梳理的過程當中對其發展過程與現今的狀態進行詮釋與探討。尤其著重在族群文化如何透過話語及信仰習俗建構。運用英國學派以及話語結構的分析架構下，普遍認為能動者與結構是相互建構及互相構成的，因此現有的社會狀態與能動者的能力也同樣呈現出一種變動的狀態；傳統建構主義將能動者定義為國家，結構則為國際體系或國際社會；由此若將能動者定義至族群，結構定義為社會體系，則是否依然可以從中找到答案，不啻為一種討論內部因素的主題討論方式之一。

**關鍵字：**殖民、移民、族群、客家、外省、本省、英國學派

# **The Study of EU's Foreign Policy combination to China: The Application of Two-Goods Theory Model**

Wei-pei Lai

(Ph.D. Student of Graduate Institute of International Politics at National Chung-Hsing University)

## **Abstract**

Since the global outbreak of COVID-19 in early 2020, the EU has gone through several waves of epidemic ups and downs, and the overall economy has been deeply hit. Only trade with China grown against the trend, and China has become the EU's largest trading partner. The "China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI)" negotiated for many years was also signed in December 2020. It is generally believed that maintaining and deepening diplomatic, economic and trade relations with China in the post-epidemic era is the EU's best strategic choice at this stage. However, in May 2021, the European Parliament overwhelmingly approved the suspension of ratification of the China-EU Comprehensive Investment Agreement on the grounds of China's oppression of Xinjiang Uyghurs. Based on the analysis of the "Two-Goods theory", this study points out that the EU's decision to "change" is actually a rational choice of the EU based on subjective preferences and objective national strength.

**Keywords :** COVID-19, China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment, Two-Goods theory, Rational choice

# 歐盟對中外交政策組合之研究— 應用兩財貨理論模型

賴威沛

(國立中興大學國政所博士生)

## 摘要

自 2020 年初全球爆發新冠肺炎 (COVID-19) 以來，歐盟歷經數波疫情起伏，整體經濟受創頗深，唯獨與中國的貿易往來逆勢成長，中國一躍成為歐盟之最大貿易夥伴。一般認為，在後疫情時代持續維持並深化與中國的外交與經貿關係是歐盟現階段最佳策略選擇。然而歐洲議會卻於 2021 年 5 月以中國壓迫新疆維吾爾族的人權問題為由，以壓倒性多數暫緩批准於 2020 年底歷經多年談判達成的「中歐全面投資協定 (China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment, CAI)」。透過「兩財貨理論」分析，本文指出，歐盟選擇「改變現狀」其實是歐盟在主觀偏好與客觀國力下的理性選擇。

**關鍵字：**COVID-19、中歐全面投資協定、兩財貨理論、理性選擇

















# 2022

## 後疫情時代下 歐亞區域穩定與國家安全 學術研討會會議手冊暨論文集

**Stability in the Eurasian region and  
national security under post-pandemic era**



國防大學政治作戰學院

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Department of Political Science