

TAIWAN'S FIGHT FOR INTERNATIONAL SPACE

Michael C. Burgoyne

The Taiwan Strait separating Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) has long been considered a geopolitical flashpoint. Both sides continue to plan and prepare for a kinetic attempt by the PRC to coerce Taiwan into unification. However, the gains in the conflict between these two entities have largely been made in non-kinetic ways: fights over diplomatic recognition and attendance in international bodies, among others. The battleground in which this non-kinetic fight has taken place has come to be labeled “international space,” where Taiwan is striving for meaningful participation in the international community—broadly defined and evaluated in this chapter as diplomatic relations and participation in inter-governmental organizations (IGO)—and the PRC is trying to isolate the island from these interactions.

Having its roots in the Chinese civil war that culminated in the 1940s, this fight is crucially important for both sides. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) sees Taiwan as a matter of legitimacy. The Party portrays itself as a staunch defender of sovereignty and territorial integrity to its citizens, yet Taiwan remains outside its control, which it feels could delegitimize it in the eyes of the populace. Constricting Taiwan's international space is a way to leave Taiwan with no other choice than eventual unification. Taiwan sees itself as a separate country in a practical sense, with a strong, advanced economy and many advantages; yet it is only recognized as a country by 14 nations, and lacks representation in many IGOs. Taiwan's fight for international space is ultimately a fight for its survival as a separate entity from the PRC.

This chapter will provide a backdrop of Taiwan's fight for international space by briefly covering the history and motivations for this conflict from the 1940s onward. It will then highlight various PRC and Taiwan decisions from January 2019 until the present, and how these decisions potentially altered third-party perceptions of the PRC and Taiwan. I will use the COVID-19 pandemic as both an example of how the PRC constricts Taiwan's international space through its influence in IGOs, as well as a significant time in history that highlights decision-making by both Taiwan and the PRC to audiences worldwide. Finally, the chapter will conclude by showing how decisions by Taiwan and the PRC during this period could lead to increased international space for Taiwan.

HINDSIGHT: HISTORY AND MOTIVATIONS

The conflict started before World War II in the Republic of China (ROC), when the ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) unsuccessfully tried to eliminate a nascent CCP. This failure led to the mythology of the Long March, and a civil war for the possession of China. This civil war straddled World War II, when both sides called a pause in the fighting to address the Japanese invasion. The second half of the civil war mostly concluded in 1949, when the KMT led by Chiang Kai-Shek fled across the Strait to Taiwan, leaving the CCP to consolidate its gains on the Mainland.

Though Taiwan has been at the center of this seven-decade struggle, it was only newly acquired by the ROC at the conflict's onset. Japan acquired Taiwan from the Qing Dynasty in 1895 after defeating the Qing in the Sino-Japanese War. After it was defeated in World War II, Japan relinquished Taiwan, and the KMT-led ROC took possession of it. Taiwan and various groupings of islands just off the coast of the Mainland, retained by the KMT and called the ROC, became the last defensible bastions for the KMT after it fled the Mainland. Chiang Kai-Shek intended to remain on Taiwan only long enough to build up sufficient combat power to eventually defeat the CCP and retake the Mainland. Mao Zedong, the leader of the CCP, fully intended to pursue Chiang Kai-Shek across the strait and finish "liberating" Taiwan. Despite various conflicts in the 1950s, and a 21-year artillery duel between the Mainland and Kinmen Island that concluded in 1979, neither side succeeded uniting Taiwan and the Mainland.

This history hints at one of the factors contributing to Taiwan's ongoing fight for international space, and that is the historical importance the PRC ascribes to Taiwan. The CCP intended to "liberate" Taiwan during

the civil war, as it promised to do to Mainland provinces, though this took on renewed importance after the KMT fled there in 1949. At that point, CCP intentions toward Taiwan also included finishing the revolution and defeating the KMT.

Over time, the CCP derived legitimacy from making the PRC strong enough to resist foreign influence or incursions into its territory, hearkening back to 1841, the First Opium War, and the beginning of the Century of Humiliation. In this context, Taiwan took on the label of a domestic matter, and an issue of sovereignty, from which the CCP could not visibly back down after linking it to the Party's legitimacy. In 2003, PRC officials first labeled Taiwan as a "core interest," which served to further elevate Taiwan as an extremely sensitive issue the PRC deems non-negotiable.¹ Thus, in many ways, the CCP has linked its legitimacy to successfully unifying with Taiwan as a province of the PRC.

Taiwan is also an issue of strategic importance to the PRC. Taiwan sits in the middle of what is referred to as the First Island Chain, which encompasses Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines as a part of the greater whole. If the PRC were to engage in combat off its eastern shoreline, it would be significantly hindered by a neutral Taiwan, or one allied with a hypothetical adversary. For this reason, Taiwan is not just an ideological issue, but one of practical import.

The PRC has never renounced its claim to Taiwan, and it has continued to pursue its goal to acquire Taiwan through several means. Analysts point to the arms race across the Strait that has tilted in Beijing's favor in recent decades as a way Beijing can force unification through the use of its military might or the threat of it. Simultaneously, as outlined below, the PRC has constricted Taiwan's international space by poaching its diplomatic allies and restricting its access to intergovernmental organizations with the aim that eventually Taiwan would have no choice but to accede to unification.

Diplomatic Relations

Shortly after its founding in 1949, the PRC had 12 countries recognize it in lieu of Taiwan. It established the One China Principle, whereby countries acknowledge there is one China, with Taiwan as a part of it, and forced countries to make a decision to support one or the other. Over the years, the two governments competed over diplomatic recognition, bribing and cajoling states through "checkbook diplomacy" to win diplomatic part-

ners. The number of countries recognizing the PRC instead of Taiwan grew until more countries recognized the PRC than Taiwan. In 1971 when then U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger met with PRC Premier Zhou Enlai, it was only a matter of time before Taiwan would lose the recognition of the United States as well.

As of this writing, 14 countries and the Vatican formally recognize Taiwan. After a pause during Ma Ying-Jeou's presidency, the PRC resumed actively enticing Taiwan's diplomatic partners to switch recognition to the PRC, using promises of lucrative trade and investment deals, among other incentives. Interestingly, many of the countries that have switched recognition to the PRC retain unofficial relations with Taiwan and maintain organizations that conduct embassy-like functions. Though they are no longer official diplomatic partners of Taiwan, some of these countries, such as the United States, continue to selectively advocate for Taiwan in international settings, and thus work to increase its international space.

Intergovernmental Organizations

In the 1970s the PRC applied pressure in the United Nations (UN) to switch official recognition of "China" from the Republic of China (Taiwan) to the PRC in an effort to acquire one of the permanent five seats on the Security Council, as well as to eventually isolate Taiwan from the UN. In 1971, the UN Assembly passed Resolution 2758, which granted the PRC the China seat in the Security Council as well as the representation of China to the UN. Being expelled from the UN was a major setback for Taiwan, drastically reducing its say in international affairs, and constricting its space to operate.

Being voted out of the UN was significant to Taiwan not only because of its absence in the UN plenary body, but also because it lost ready access to the other subordinate bodies within the UN. Crucially, many of these bodies are involved with or are responsible for setting rules and standards for many aspects of daily life in the relations between governments, and the conduct of international commercial and social activity. The debate during the first several months of the COVID-19 pandemic about Taiwan's interactions with the World Health Organization finds its roots in this action. As a result of PRC efforts to enforce its One China Principle and reduce Taiwan's ability to operate in the international environment, Taiwan is only allowed to participate in IGOs where statehood is not a requirement, which significantly limits its participation in these

bodies. The concomitant rise of PRC influence in these bodies means the PRC can either formally or informally prevent Taiwan from being invited or attending.

Today, Taiwan participates in 59 IGOs in some capacity, including the World Trade Organization, Asian Development Bank, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.² Taiwan constantly works to preserve its membership and roles in these organizations, while seeking greater participation in IGOs denied to it in order to increase its international space.

INSIGHT: A SERIES OF FATEFUL DECISIONS

Prior to January 2020, and Taiwan President Tsai Ing-Wen's re-election, it was much simpler to forecast the near-term trajectory of Taiwan-PRC relations, or to identify what each side of the Strait would do to advance its interests. Put simply, the PRC would continue to isolate Taiwan by poaching more of its diplomatic allies, limit Taiwan's participation in international organizations—particularly when Taiwan's president was from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)—and try to tie Taiwan's economy more tightly with its own. Taiwan, in turn, would continue its efforts to manage its relationship with the PRC while preserving its remaining diplomatic allies and key partners, seek participation in international organizations when possible, and work to diversify its economy through efforts such as the New Southward Policy and perhaps by signing free trade agreements with interested countries. The details would have been different from before, but the two parties would essentially have remained in a holding pattern.

However, a series of decisions by CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping and Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-Wen have caused the near-term trajectory of the relationship to be more uncertain. The first of these decisions was made by Xi Jinping on January 2, 2019 when he gave a speech on the 40th anniversary of the Message to Compatriots, originally made by former paramount leader Deng Xiaoping in 1979 to the citizens of Taiwan to announce a policy of "peaceful reunification." Through the intervening years, the verbiage used by CCP senior leadership to describe reunification between the PRC and Taiwan has stayed mostly consistent. In the 2019 speech, however, Xi Jinping used a turn of phrase to describe the 1992 Consensus that sounded similar to the description of the One Country, Two Systems formula used in Hong Kong, which has also been offered to Taiwan as an example of a unification model. The 1992 Consensus is an

understanding reached between KMT and CCP representatives in 1992 that formed the basis for Cross-Strait improvements under KMT administrations, and was the framework KMT presidential candidate Han Kuo-Yu used to promise better relations with the PRC under his future administration.³ Tsai Ing-Wen decided to use Xi Jinping's phrasing to her advantage, though, and successfully associated a Han Kuo-Yu presidency with an intent to reunify with the PRC under a One Country, Two Systems framework. This association became even more damning for the KMT when Taiwan voters witnessed large scale protests in Hong Kong—already managed by Beijing under a One Country, Two Systems framework—which started in June 2019. Han Kuo-Yu was never able to shake this association, and this sequence of events led to a decisive victory and a second term for Tsai Ing-Wen and the DPP in the January 2020 presidential elections.

The re-election of Tsai Ing-Wen provided her the political capital and confidence of the Taiwan populace to decisively manage the COVID-19 challenge. The PRC and Taiwan offer a stark contrast in how they handled the epidemic, and moreover, provide examples of consequential decision-making that impact Taiwan's difficult fight for international space. Upon learning of the virus in late December, Tsai Ing-Wen immediately directed measures be put in place to prevent the spread of the virus in Taiwan, to include restricting travel from Wuhan, and aggressive testing and contact tracing measures. Officials also worked to share what they knew domestically, with friends and partners, and with the World Health Organization (WHO). Many of these actions taken by Taiwan can be attributed to Taiwan's experience with the SARS in 2003, and the painful lessons it learned as a result.⁴ As of the end of July 2020, Taiwan has had one of the greatest successes globally, containing the spread of the virus.⁵ In contrast, the PRC was widely seen as lacking transparency and decisive action during the initial outbreak in Wuhan, which allowed uncontrolled spread throughout Wuhan and the surrounding province of Hubei before Xi Jinping ordered the city be put into a severe lockdown on January 23, 2020. At this point, however, the PRC had missed the opportunity to successfully contain the virus, and it was declared a pandemic on March 11, 2020.

The World Health Organization, responsible for preparing for health emergencies such as a pandemic, and for coordinating and assisting with responses, has been accused of responding slowly to COVID-19, and perhaps even pandering to the PRC while the PRC was controlling the virus narrative for its own purposes. The WHO's actions from January 2020 to the present provide an interesting glimpse of the relations between an

IGO, the PRC, and Taiwan, and how those relations impact Taiwan's international space.

The reporting in the news about the WHO-PRC-Taiwan triangle since the outbreak of the virus has not been favorable to the WHO. From the start of the crisis, Taiwan claimed it was trying to communicate with the WHO but was unsuccessful. The WHO responded that it was able to communicate with Taiwan, though eventually it was clarified that Taiwan was expected to go through the PRC to communicate with the WHO. On April 11, Taiwan released the contents of an email it sent to the WHO on December 31, 2019, in which it claimed it warned about human transmission, while the PRC did not confirm human transmission until three weeks later, on January 20.⁶ This highlighted a question that had been asked in various media outlets before the disclosure: why wasn't Taiwan allowed to communicate with the WHO during a crisis, especially when the data they had available could potentially sharpen the international response and save lives. This question grew more relevant the longer Taiwan continued to outperform most other nations containing the virus. After public gaffes when WHO officials wouldn't even say the name "Taiwan" in televised interviews, this attention reached a high point in late May, when the World Health Assembly (WHA), presumably under pressure from the PRC, refused to allow Taiwan observer status in its annual meeting.⁷

From February on, the United States remained critical of Taiwan's predicament, which was included within criticism regarding the perceived influence of the PRC over the WHO. This criticism culminated in May, when the U.S. administration published a letter to the WHO, complaining about its handling of the pandemic, including criticism of its handling of Taiwan.⁸ The publication of this letter was followed swiftly by an announcement that the United States was pulling out of the WHO.⁹ These public quarrels, coupled with Taiwan's own successful "mask diplomacy" raised Taiwan's profile internationally in a positive way, and drew attention to the PRC's influence over the WHO.

In addition to its actions regarding Taiwan during this period, Xi Jinping has overseen an opportunistic pursuit of PRC objectives during the pandemic, which has been strident in defense of its actions. Notably, People's Liberation Army forces were part of the first lethal clash in at least 45 years along the Sino-Indian Line of Actual Control in Aksai Chin in June 2020, and Beijing subsequently pursued a new claim in Arunachal Pradesh, which has soured relations with India and prompted a backlash among Indian citizens.¹⁰ It has also been more active in pursuing its claims

in the South China Sea, and it levied tariffs on Australian exports, suspected in part due to Canberra proposing an inquiry into the origins of the virus.¹¹

Perhaps one of the most consequential decisions Xi Jinping has made, though, is how he handled the protests in Hong Kong. As a party that prioritizes domestic stability, the CCP watched with alarm as large-scale protests started in Hong Kong in June 2019 over an extradition law proposed by the Chief Executive of Hong Kong, Carrie Lam. These protests continued unabated largely until the pandemic struck, with bouts of violence throughout. To control the situation and muzzle the protests, the PRC's National People's Congress voted to effect a National Security Law for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region that rolled back many of the democratic rights under the One Country, Two Systems formula, agreed to under the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984. Under this law, many activities such as protesting or speaking ill of the CCP could be labeled sedition or subversion, and numerous pro-democratic figures have been arrested as a warning to the populace. Many Western countries saw this as a breach of trust, and taken together with other PRC activities abroad, indicated a pattern of assertive behavior by Beijing.¹²

FORESIGHT: GAINS IN INTERNATIONAL SPACE ON THE HORIZON?

The decisions Xi and Tsai have made, starting in January 2019 and into this time of the pandemic, have the potential to significantly impact Taiwan's international space. In so many cases, it is not just decisions made specifically between Taiwan and the PRC, regarding their relationship, that are impactful. Taiwan and PRC decision-making that affects other nations or IGOs also have the ability to influence Taiwan's fight for international space. In particular, this period of time inclusive of the pandemic has involved many highly visible decisions by Xi and Tsai that affected other nations, not least of which being the ways they have managed the pandemic. Future gains in international space will be most visible in Taiwan's participation in IGOs, and in its diplomatic relations.

International Organizations

The question about whether Taiwan can increase its international space by participating in international organizations depends on at least two conditions: whether the PRC is able to successfully stymie Taiwan's efforts to

participate in these organizations, and the perception by other countries of Taiwan's ability to add value to an organization when it has the opportunity to participate. History shows the PRC has been successful in thwarting Taiwan's participation in international organizations. However, the trend lines for both of these conditions may be changing. Taiwan has consistently shown itself to be a responsible participant in the global community, and more visibly since the advent of the virus. Since then, Taiwan has made smart, timely, and practical domestic decisions, which have been accompanied by first-rate transparency and communication with its populace. Furthermore, it has taken these best practices, and done nothing less than show nations struggling to grapple with containing the virus how to do so through both its example and its outreach. By any objective measure, Taiwan has shown it has a lot to offer the world as it responds to COVID-19.

In contrast, the perception of the PRC has not been as favorable, and that is not even considering the criticism it has received regarding its initial lack of transparency and its handling of the outbreak in Wuhan. By obstructing Taiwan's contributions to the WHO, and participation in the WHA, it seemed to place its narrow geopolitical concerns ahead of international cooperation, and the overall mission of the WHO. It is not purely academic when one asks how many lives could have been saved if the WHO could have disseminated some of Taiwan's best practices throughout the international community.

An additional, more long-term concern of the PRC is the growing perception that it has an undue influence in international organizations, and this influence is self-serving. The WHO's complicity in PRC misinformation in January, along with its handling of Taiwan have shown a lot of people otherwise not aware of or concerned about Cross-Strait relations how enmeshed the PRC is in the governance of international bodies, and how it chooses to use this influence.¹³ The PRC may have overplayed its hand regarding Taiwan's interaction with the WHO, and this may bring unwanted scrutiny on its interactions and objectives in international organizations. Due to both Taiwan's competence in combating the virus, as well as rising concern among primarily Western countries about the PRC's influence in international organizations, Taiwan is likely to garner international support to meaningfully participate in certain IGOs, and thus be positioned to expand its international space through participation in these forums.

Diplomatic Recognition

Taiwan's gains in diplomatic relations will be more indirect than those in IGOs. In the near term, Taiwan will likely maintain diplomatic relations with its existing partners, and this is primarily due to the actions both Taiwan and the PRC have taken with their respective partners. Taiwan has continued to meaningfully support its diplomatic allies with expertise and shipments of personal protective equipment (PPE) and other supplies. For its part, the PRC has linked support for other nations with its One Belt One Road (OBOR) projects, touting the value of being a part of the signature initiative.¹⁴ Additionally, the PRC has recognized the increased financial stress many of the OBOR recipient countries are experiencing due to the pandemic and has indicated willingness to discuss suspending loan interest payments and perhaps other measures short of debt forgiveness with its partners.¹⁵ In short, and based on media reports of these actions, there does not seem to be a driving reason for countries to switch diplomatic partners. This situation could change if the pandemic creates conditions where Taiwan's diplomatic allies need more aid and support than Taiwan can provide, and countries decide to switch recognition to the PRC to meet domestic needs in this period of crisis.

A shift in diplomatic support could occur in the mid-term, and contrary to the customary trend of diplomatic partners switching from Taiwan to the PRC. In particular, the United Kingdom (UK) is perceived to be taking a harder line on the PRC due to PRC behavior regarding the pandemic and the situation surrounding Huawei's intent to supply 5G equipment to the UK. However, it was after the announcement in May of a Beijing-imposed National Security Law on Hong Kong that the UK became more vocal about its concerns regarding the PRC. The UK was among other countries in condemning the move as a violation of the One Country, Two Systems principle, and has responded by offering a path to UK citizenship for several million Hong Kong citizens. In July, it rescinded its commitment to allow Huawei to install 5G components in the UK despite persistent PRC lobbying, which was a significant blow to the PRC tech company.¹⁶ More relevant, though, are the resulting statements and articles indicating more support for Taiwan from government officials, likely driven by the PRC's actions on Hong Kong.¹⁷

While these statements do not signal anything as drastic as a change in diplomatic recognition, they likely indicate a closer relationship between Taiwan and the United Kingdom moving forward. Besides the obvious questions about what this change could portend for bilateral trade, UK

support for Taiwan participation in IGOs, or even support in the event of a cross-Strait crisis, it potentially creates room for other countries to voice similar support for Taiwan, and thus prompt a recalibration of their relations with the PRC. Countries directly affected by Beijing's more assertive behavior recently in South Asia, the South China Sea, or in Oceania may already be considering these actions. Obviously, this would be deeply concerning to the PRC, as its diplomatic relations with countries are predicated on other countries accepting the PRC's One China Principle. Traditionally, the PRC is critical of any deviations from how it interprets compliance to the One China Principle, and it especially calls out deviations from historical norms of how countries practice unofficial relations with Taiwan. Then President-elect Trump's interview in January 2017 when he stated the One China Policy was up for negotiation is illustrative of the sensitivity Beijing ascribes to this Principle, which resulted in the PRC's condemnation of the statement, as well as Chinese media calling for closing of the PRC Embassy in the United States.¹⁸ While diplomatic recognitions may not change in the near term, the statements and actions by the UK government may prompt other countries to examine their relationships with the PRC and Taiwan, and modify them in a way that could enable more international space for Taiwan.

CONCLUSION

Taiwan and the PRC have engaged in various forms of conflict over the decades, though the battleground over international space is one where the two sides continue to strive. The PRC has made great gains in this fight over the past several decades, stripping Taiwan of many of its diplomatic allies, and constricting Taiwan's attendance in IGOs. Decisions leading up to the 2020 presidential election in Taiwan and since, though, have potentially created an opportunity for Taiwan to recoup some of its losses, and increase its space. While the foresight described in this chapter will not be completely accurate, it has been afforded the benefit of time, and the actions Taiwan, the PRC, and others have taken to influence trend lines regarding Taiwan's fight for international space.

Taiwan and the PRC are ultimately the main two determinants of Taiwan's international space, and it is important to emphasize that any gains Taiwan makes will result from what it will have done right, but maybe more so due to what the PRC will have done wrong. The PRC, through its baffling assertiveness on all fronts and at all times, its tone-deaf messaging,

and its almost frantic pursuit of its objectives has created the opening Taiwan is taking advantage of. If these trends hold—competent, confident Taiwan as a contributor to the international community, and a PRC intent on using COVID as an opportunity to pursue its objectives at other countries' expense—then the foresight expressed in this chapter may drastically underestimate the amount of international space Taiwan ultimately gains.

Notes

- 1 Michael Swaine, "China's Assertive Behavior--Part One: On 'Core Interests,'" *China Leadership Monitor* no. 34 (Winter 2011), <https://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/winter-2011>.
- 2 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), "IGOs in Which We Participate," <https://www.mofa.gov.tw/enigo/default.html>
- 3 The 1992 Consensus is a formulation whereby the CCP and the KMT agreed there was "One China with Different Interpretations." Under this framework, both Taipei and Beijing purport to be the ruling administration of this "One China," which is where this different interpretation comes into play.
- 4 Ing-Wen Tsai, "President of Taiwan: How My Country Prevented a Major Outbreak of COVID-19," *Time*, April 16, 2020, <https://time.com/collection/finding-hope-coronavirus-pandemic/5820596/taiwan-coronavirus-lessons/>.
- 5 James Griffiths, "Taiwan's Coronavirus Response Is among the Best Globally," CNN, April 5, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/04/asia/taiwan-coronavirus-response-who-intl-hnk/index.html>.
- 6 Taiwan Center for Disease Control, "The Facts Regarding Taiwan's Email to Alert WHO to Possible Danger of COVID-19," April 11, 2020, https://www.cdc.gov.tw/En/Bulletin/Detail/PAD-lbwDHeN_bLa-viBOuw?typeid=158.
- 7 Huileng Tan, "Taiwan 'disappointed and Angry' about Being Excluded from WHO Meeting, Says It Is Developing Its Own Coronavirus Vaccine," CNBC, May 19, 2020, <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/05/19/taiwan-says-it-is-disappointed-and-angry-being-excluded-from-who-meeting.html>.
- 8 The White House, Letter to Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Director-General of the World Health Organization, May 18, 2020, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Tedros-Letter.pdf>.
- 9 Brianna Ehley and Alice Miranda Ollstein, "Trump Announces U.S. Withdrawal from the World Health Organization," *Politico*, May 29, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/29/us-withdrawing-from-who-289799>.
- 10 "India Now Says 20 Troops Killed in China Clash," *BBC News*, June 16, 2020, sec. Asia, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-53061476>. Suhasini Haidar, "China Doubles down on Claims on Eastern Bhutan Boundary," *The Hindu*, July 5, 2020, sec. International, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/days-after-demarche-china-doubles-down-on-claims-on-eastern-bhutan-boundary/article31993470.ece>.

11 Bhavan Jaipragas, “Coronavirus Headlines, but South China Sea Will Be Asean’s Focus,” *South China Morning Post*, June 25, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3090601/coronavirus-headlines-south-china-sea-will-be-aseans-focus>. Scott Waldron, “China’s Tariffs on Australian Barley: Coercion, Protectionism, or Both?,” *The Diplomat*, June 19, 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/chinas-tariffs-on-australian-barley-coercion-protectionism-or-both/>.

12 Dan De Luce, “Amid Pandemic, China Flexes Muscles from Hong Kong to the Himalayas,” NBC News, June 21, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/world-focused-covid-19-china-flexing-its-muscles-hong-kong-n1231635>. Kurt M. Campbell and Mira Rapp-Hooper, “China Is Done Biding Its Time,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 15, 2020, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-07-15/china-done-biding-its-time>.

13 Courtney J. Fung and Shing-Hon Lam, “China Already Leads 4 of the 15 U.N. Specialized Agencies — and Is Aiming for a 5th,” *Washington Post*, March 3, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/03/03/china-already-leads-4-15-un-specialized-agencies-is-aiming-5th/>.

14 Kirk Lancaster, Michael Rubin, and Mira Rapp-Hooper, “What the COVID-19 Pandemic May Mean for China’s Belt and Road Initiative,” Council on Foreign Relations, March 17, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/what-covid-19-pandemic-may-mean-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative>.

15 James Kynge and Sun Yu, “China Faces Wave of Calls for Debt Relief on ‘Belt and Road’ Projects,” *Financial Times*, April 30, 2020, <https://www.ft.com/content/5a3192be-27c6-4fe7-87e7-78d4158bd39b>.

16 Rhyannon Bartlett-Imadegawa, “UK Turns on China over Hong Kong, Huawei and Coronavirus,” *Nikkei Asian Review*, June 6, 2020, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/UK-turns-on-China-over-Hong-Kong-Huawei-and-coronavirus>. Hadas Gold, “UK Bans Huawei from Its 5G Network,” CNN, July 14, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/14/tech/huawei-uk-ban/index.html>.

17 Jeremy Hunt, “China’s Hostility to Taiwan Threatens the Global Order,” *The Times*, June 4, 2020, sec. comment, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/chinas-hostility-to-taiwan-threatens-the-global-order-t8299kkp0>. David Maddox and Marco Giannangeli, “China Warning: Britain Prepares to Back Taiwan and DEFEND State against Beijing Aggression,” *Express.co.uk*, May 31, 2020, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1289273/china-news-taiwan-britain-military-aggression>.

18 Caren Bohan and David Brunnstrom, “Trump Says U.S. Not Necessarily Bound by ‘one China’ Policy,” *Reuters*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-china-idUSKBN1400TY>.