

TAIWAN SECURITY ISSUES
Stanford University
Fall Quarter 2020
Version 2.1

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EASTASN 168/268

Time: M-W 4:00-5:20pm

Classroom: virtual classroom online

Canvas site: F20-EASTASN-168-01/268-01

Description:

Taiwan has carved out a place for itself in the world that far outstrips its geographic size and population. With less than 24 million people, its economy is among the 20 largest in the world today, and Taiwanese firms are key links in the multinational production chains that crisscross the Indo-Pacific. It is a major trading partner and long-standing friend of the United States in an increasingly volatile region. It is also one of the most successful cases in the Third Wave of democratization, and it remains by many measures the most liberal democracy in Asia. But it is threatened by the rise of the authoritarian People's Republic of China (PRC), an economic juggernaut and rapidly modernizing military power which asserts the right to rule over Taiwan and has relentlessly sought to extend the island's diplomatic isolation and economic dependence on the Chinese mainland. As a consequence, Taiwan's long-term security is as imperiled as any democracy in the world today.

The cross-Strait relationship is crucial for regional and global security, because it is still the issue that could most plausibly draw the United States and the PRC into an armed conflict. Taiwan is also important as a democratic model: it provides a powerful counterexample to the argument that liberal democracy is inappropriate for Chinese-speaking or "Asian values" societies, including the PRC. And as one of the shining political "successes" of the Third Wave, democratic failure there would be deeply tragic.

This course will provide a broad overview of Taiwan's place in the security environment of East Asia. Topics to be covered include:

- History of US-Taiwan-PRC relations from 1945 to present.
- Economic security issues: trends in cross-Strait trade and investment, PRC use of economic integration as political tool.
- Hard security issues: changes in the cross-Strait military balance, the US-Taiwan security partnership, Taiwan defense and security planning and challenges.
- Sharp power issues: PRC United Front strategy and tactics, "grey-zone" activities, covert and corrupting activities and the threats to democracy in Taiwan.
- Diplomatic issues: Taiwan's ambiguous status in the contemporary inter-state system, formal isolation and its practical consequences.
- Domestic politics and the quality of democracy: influence of PRC threats and activities on Taiwan's democratic politics, strengths and weaknesses of contemporary political system to PRC influence operations.
- Other contemporary challenges: Taiwan's response to COVID-19; energy security, sustainable development, and climate change;

This course will be integrated with the fall 2020 quarter programming of the [Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific](#) at the Hoover Institution. It will feature a combination of guest presentations by outside

speakers as part of the PTIP's fall conference agenda, online lectures and discussions led by the instructor, and student presentations. Some course events may be open to the public. In keeping with the University's current COVID-19 prevention policies, the course will meet entirely online.

Course Materials:

Required Books:

Richard Bush, *At Cross Purposes: US-Taiwan Relations Since 1942* (M.E. Sharpe, 2004). Electronic copy available for checkout through Stanford Libraries.

Dafydd Fell, *Government and Politics in Taiwan* 2nd Edition (Routledge, 2018). Electronic copy available for checkout through Stanford Libraries.

Other readings will be posted to the Canvas site. Some of the readings are excerpts from books; these will be posted as pdfs or available electronically through Stanford Libraries. Most of the rest are also available online through Stanford University library's various electronic journal databases (e.g. MUSE, JSTOR).

Newspaper Reading

Because we will refer regularly to current events in this course, you are expected to follow the news in Taiwan on a daily basis. I recommend the *Taipei Times*, Taiwan's primary English-language daily newspaper, available online at www.taipeitimes.com. In addition to these, I have posted a list of other online media resources (both English- and Chinese-language) on the Canvas site under Pages.

Additional Readings and Resources

I may occasionally assign other materials, and I will also post additional resources for your research projects on the Canvas site. I also will make frequent use of the Canvas announcement tool and will keep you up to date of course assignments, activities, and any changes via that system, so double check that you can access your official Stanford email account to ensure you receive these notifications.

Zoom and Other Challenges of an Online Teaching Environment

I am following University guidelines and running this class through the assigned Zoom classroom space linked on the course Canvas page. Given that we are all participating remotely, this format poses some obvious challenges—different time zones and spotty internet access being the most obvious. In addition, Zoom fatigue is a real thing! It's hard to pay attention to anything online for an hour straight; if you have several classes in the same day you may well be braindead by the time you get to this one.

So, I am going to record class lectures, and I will make slides and the recording available for asynchronous viewing to anyone registered for the course. You are encouraged to attend the lectures and show your (virtual) face in Zoom in real time, and to ask questions there. But I recognize this may not be feasible for everyone for all kinds of legitimate reasons, and you will not be penalized if you are unable to attend lectures live.

However, roughly half our class meetings will be discussions, rather than lecture. These *are* important to attend live: they are your chance to interact directly with me and your peers in a less-structured environment. They also will not be recorded. So if you have to triage and decide which sessions to attend live and which to watch later, please prioritize the discussion days. If you think you might struggle regularly to attend the discussion sections, please contact me directly to work out an accommodation.

Course Requirements:

Attendance and Participation

This course will include a mix of lecture and discussion. In general, I will use Wednesday's class to introduce the topic and motivating questions for that week's material, and the next Monday's class will be a discussion of the readings. Assigned readings for each week should be completed before the discussion. Lecture classes and conference panel sessions will be recorded, and materials made available online. You are encouraged, but not required, to attend these sessions live.

I expect students to attend every discussion class. Missing any class meeting will have a significant impact on your ability to contribute to the course. More than two unexcused absences (those not due to religious exemptions, major illnesses, or university-approved activities) will lower your final letter grade one interval (e.g. A to A-) per absence. In addition, arriving late to class can be disruptive and is an inconvenience to the rest of us; habitual tardiness will likewise adversely affect your grade.

That said, I recognize that "pandemic life" makes this harder—family members need something pronto, your dog starts barking and won't shut up, construction workers have picked today to jackhammer right outside your window and you need to relocate to someplace quieter—and I will be as lenient as I can be on this requirement. The simple rule of thumb here: if something outside your control comes up and prevents you from participation, let me know as early as you can, and we will work out a way to get you caught up.

Discussion

As befits an upper-level seminar, student-driven discussion is a central part of this course. To this end, you should come to our weekly discussion prepared to talk about all of the assigned readings. Note that the reading load is moderate-to-heavy, and that we will only hold discussion once a week; please plan accordingly.

Discussion Questions

Before 8am on the day of our discussion session, please post a one- or-two paragraph question or comment about at least one of the assigned readings or recent news items to the Canvas discussion page. I will use these to structure our class discussion around what you find odd, perplexing, controversial, or otherwise worth talking about. This question can ask for a clarification—for instance, about evidence or the argument that you do not understand. Or it can be a substantive issue that you think would be helpful to discuss in class—for instance, how does a reading or recent development in Taiwan relate to something from the lecture? It can even be a critique—say, "this reading sucks, and I want to talk about why!" These questions are due before every discussion class (i.e. once a week). You may miss up to two questions before your discussion grade is adversely affected.

Also, since we are currently in an all-online format and it is hard to engage in free-wheeling conversation over Zoom, I encourage you to use these discussion prompts to engage with each other as well. If one of your classmates posts a discussion question, you can also make your contribution for the week by responding to that question in the forum. This is a chance for you to speak directly with (and argue with—respectfully, of course!) your peers.

A final note here: if you are responsible for a recap (see next item), you are not required to post a discussion question for that week—just concentrate on preparing a good recap!

Lecture and Panel Recaps

At the beginning of each discussion section, we will have one student give a 5-8 minute summary of the previous lecture and/or panel presentation. This presentation should be verbal (so no power points or

handouts!)—think of it as a “cliff notes” briefing of the topics discussed in the previous session. This assignment has a couple objectives: to remind everyone what we previously covered, and to set the stage for that day’s discussion. You will each be responsible for giving one summary presentation to the class. I will pass around a sign-up sheet for recaps on Wednesday, September 16.

Note that this course is integrated with the Hoover Institution’s Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific fall conference, and some of the recaps will cover the materials from a panel rather than a lecture. The conference panels meet from 4:00-5:30pm on Mondays and Thursdays, and the topics are:

- October 12: Security and Defense Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific
- October 15: Sharp Power, Natural Resources, and Sustainable Development
- October 19: Economic Interdependence: Dangers and Opportunities Ahead
- October 22: PRC Influence and Interference
- October 26: Democracy, Good Governance, and Pluralism
- October 29: China’s Rise and Prospects for Security and Stability in the Indo-Pacific

During the weeks of the conference, the panels will replace our Monday class (the time is the same, 4:00-5:30pm), but we will still meet for discussion on Wednesday. You are encouraged to attend these while they are live, but the Thursday panels, especially, may create conflicts for some of you. So, like our class lectures, all conference panels will be recorded and made available to you for later viewing through Canvas.

Commentary Paper on a Weekly Topic

One of the most common forms of media content about Taiwan is the “commentary,” such as what you will find in online magazines like [The Diplomat](#), [Foreign Policy](#), [The National Interest](#), and [The Atlantic](#). These typically take one of two forms (and sometimes both): analysis or advocacy. An *analytical commentary* provides a detailed discussion of a contemporary political or social issue, informed by a theoretical framework that is meant to help the reader better understand what is happening and why. An *advocacy commentary* presents a clear opinion, often with a recommended set of principles, policies, or courses of action that the writer seeks to persuade readers should be followed.

To give you practice writing in this genre, you will write a ~1000 word commentary on one of the topics of the course or the fall PTIP conference. Your commentary should be on a topic of relevance to security issues in contemporary Taiwan and should be clearly related to one of our motivating questions or themes. But you are otherwise free to choose the topic, the analytical framework and the position you wish to advocate for. To help stimulate your thinking, I have included several recent commentaries relevant to each week’s theme in Canvas.

The first draft of your commentary will be due on **Friday, October 9, by 5pm**. Response papers should be submitted by uploading the paper via the Canvas assignment feature. Your paper should be double-spaced and numbered, using 12-point Times New Roman font, with your name, class number, week and date in the upper left-hand corner. For references, it is now standard in these commentaries simply to include links within the text, [like so](#), rather than footnotes or a bibliography.

I will read your drafts and return them to you with comments and recommendations the following week. You will then have an opportunity to revise and resubmit your draft. Your final commentary draft is due **Friday, October 23, by 5pm**.

Final Research Paper

Students registered for 5.0 credit hours will need to complete an original 8-10pp. research paper on a question of your choosing. (Students registered for 3.0 credit hours are not required to write a research

paper, only to give a final presentation.) Your final paper is your chance to explore in much more depth a topic related to Taiwan security that especially interests you. You should decide on your research topic no later than Friday, October 23. You will submit a research question and discuss your paper topic with me the following week of October 26-30. I will provide additional guidelines for the research paper and presentation in a hand-out distributed during the first few weeks of class.

Final Presentation

In the last week of the course, you will give a 10-12 minute presentation based on your research findings. For those of you writing a final paper, this is also another chance for you to get feedback from your peers and me before the final version is due on November 20.

Grading:

For students registered for 5.0 credits, your course grade will be determined as follows:

- Attendance, participation, and discussion: 30%
- Lecture/panel recap 10%
- Commentary:
 - first draft: 5%
 - final draft: 20%
- Final research project:
 - research question: 5%
 - presentation: 10%
 - final paper: 20%

For students registered for 3.0 credits, your course grade will be determined as follows:

- Attendance, participation, and discussion: 35%
- Lecture/panel recap 15%
- Commentary
 - first draft: 5%
 - final draft: 20%
- Final research project
 - research question: 5%
 - presentation: 20%

Other Stuff:

Online Course Issues

Following University policy, this course will be offered entirely online. We will use the University's Zoom classroom to conduct our classes and discussions. I acknowledge that we are all dealing with the inconveniences and frustrations of trying to conduct academic activities from home during a global pandemic, and that we are all feeling our way forward during this unprecedented time. This course is no exception: there may be abrupt changes to the format and cadence of our activities, and I ask for your patience as we collectively figure out what works best.

Privacy and Security

Some of the topics we will cover in this course may be politically sensitive. Our class sessions will not be open to the public, and they are accessible only to registered Stanford students. However, most of the

panels of the Hoover Program on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific annual conference will be public and recorded and hosted on our website. I encourage your direct participation in the Q&A sessions at the end of these panels. But, recognizing that some students may be uncomfortable appearing in public forums, active engagement in these sessions is not required. If you have particular concerns about privacy or security, please contact me directly.

Email

Email is the easiest way to reach me—I check frequently, and will do my best to reply promptly. (The one exception is on the weekends, when I do not typically read email: I will respond on Monday.) I will also send important class announcements to your email account via the Canvas announcement function, so please make sure you have a working email account and check it regularly.

Office Hours and Open Chat Sessions

Office hours are for your benefit. I urge you to sign up for my (virtual) office hours to talk about any questions you may have about the class or to discuss a topic touched upon in class or in the readings. There will be at least two mandatory one-on-one virtual meetings with me: one during the second week of class to discuss your interests, and the second as you choose your research topics for the end of the course.

Academic Dishonesty

I expect that you will follow Stanford's Honor Code in all matters related to this online course. You are encouraged to meet virtually and exchange ideas with your classmates while studying and working on the course, but you are individually responsible for your own work and for understanding the material. You are not permitted to copy or otherwise reference another student's work, or to engage in plagiarism in your research paper. We will discuss citation and formatting guidelines for your commentaries and research papers in class. Nevertheless, you are responsible for understanding the University's Honor Code policy and the proper use of citations of sources.

Simply put, don't do it. If I suspect that you have plagiarized a paper or cheated on a course assignment, I will follow university procedures to the letter, up to and including receiving a failing grade for the course and referral to the Office of Student Conduct and Community Standards. Dishonesty has no place in the classroom. If you are not sure what constitutes a violation of this policy, please ask!

Special Accommodations

I am happy to work with students who feel they may require an accommodation for observance of religious holidays, for a disability, or for other kinds of personal issues that may arise over the term. If you anticipate needing a special accommodation, please get in touch with me early in the term.

Tentative Schedule

0. Introduction: Taiwan and Its Place in the World

Monday, September 14. Introductions, Overview of Course, Historical Background

Readings:

1. Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters*, excerpt
2. Bush, *At Cross Purposes*, Ch. 1 (pp. 3-8)

1. US-Taiwan Relations: The View from Washington DC

Wednesday, September 16. Lecture

Readings: Bush, *At Cross Purposes*, full book.

1. Skim Ch. 2-4;
2. Focus on Ch. 5-7;
3. Skim Ch. 8

Monday, September 21. Discussion

2. US-Taiwan-PRC Relations: The View from Taipei

Wednesday, September 23: Lecture

Readings:

1. Szu-yin Ho, "Cross-Strait Relations," in *Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years*.
- 2.

Monday, September 28: Discussion

3. Cross-Strait Relations: The View from Beijing

Wednesday, September 30. Lecture

Readings:

1. Xin Qiang, "Selective Engagement: Mainland China's Dual-Track Taiwan Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2019.
2. Chengxin Pan, "Normative Convergence and Cross-Strait Divergence: Westphalian Sovereignty as an Ideational Source of Conflict," in *New Thinking about the Taiwan Issue*.
- 3.

Monday, October 5. Discussion

4. Taiwan Defense Issues

Wednesday, October 7. Lecture

1. Readings: conference papers for Panel 1 (3000 words each, available 10 days before the conference)

***** Commentary Drafts Due, Friday, October 9, 5pm *****

5. Program on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific: Fall Conference Presentations
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Monday, October 12. 4:00-5:30pm. Panel 1. “Security and Defense Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific”
[the panel will replace this week’s lecture]

Chair: James Ellis (Hoover)

Discussant: Joseph Felter, Chen-wei Lin

- The Changing Balance of Military Power in the Indo-Pacific Region, Philip Saunders (NDU)
- Indo-Pacific Strategies: The Perspectives of Key Partners and Allies, Tsetsuo Kotani (JIIA)
- Taiwan’s Overall Defense Concept and Its Global Partnerships, Chyungly Lee (NCCU)

Wednesday, October 14. Class discussion on previous lecture and Panel 1: defense issues.

Thursday, October 15: 4:00-5:30pm. Panel 2. “Sharp Power, Natural Resources, and Sustainable Development” [panel will be recorded and made available on canvas; students are encouraged to watch live if possible]

Chair: Minxin Pei, Clairmont McKenna

Discussant: Elizabeth Economy, Hoover

- The Intensifying Competition over Fisheries, Kuan-hsiung Wang (NTU)
- Oil and Gas Development in the South China Sea, Emily Meierding (Naval Postgraduate School)
- Oceania and the Geopolitics of Resource Extraction, Transform Aquorau (iTuna Intel)

Monday, October 19. 4:00-5:30pm. Panel 3. “Economic Interdependence: Dangers and Opportunities Ahead”

Chair: David Lampton (Johns Hopkins-SAIS)

Discussant: Tom Fingar (Stanford APARC)

- Economic Coercion as a Tool of PRC Foreign Policy, Christina Lai (Academia Sinica)
- Taiwan’s New Southbound Policy: A Framework for Economic Security, Ian Chen (NSYSU)
- Competing Paradigms of Development Assistance in the Indo-Pacific, Johnathan Pryke (Lowy Institute)

Wednesday, October 21. Class discussion on Panels 2 & 3: Sharp Power and Economic Interdependence

1. Readings: conference papers for Panels 2 & 3

Thursday, October 22. 4:00-5:30pm. Panel 4. “PRC Influence and Interference”

Chair: Glenn Tiffert (Hoover)

Discussant: John Pomfret

- Identifying United Front Platforms in the Indo-Pacific, James To (Asia-NZ Platform)
- Media and Civil Society Influence Operations in Southeast Asia, Maree Ma (Vision Times, AUS)
- Online Disinformation and Propaganda, Puma Shen (NTPU)
- How Asians View the Competition for Influence between China and the US, Yun-han Chu (Academia Sinica and NTU)

***** Final Commentary Drafts Due, Friday October 23, 5pm *****

Monday, October 26. Panel 5: “Democracy, Good Governance, and Pluralism”

Chair: Lanhee Chen (Hoover)

Discussant: Larry Diamond (Hoover)

- The Indo-Pacific Transparency Initiative Meets the Belt and Road, Lavina Lee (Macquarie)
- Tackling Local Clientelism and Corruption: Taiwan’s Experience, Chin-shou Wang (NCKU)
- Countering Sharp Power: Lessons from Taiwan, Kharis Templeman (Hoover)

Wednesday, October 28. Class discussion on Panels 4 & 5: PRC Influence and Interference; Democracy, Good Governance, and Pluralism

1. Readings: conference papers for panels 4 & 5

Thursday, October 29. Panel 6. “Prospects for Security and Stability”

Keynote: HR McMaster (Hoover)

Chair: Larry Diamond

Panelists:

- Amy Zegart (Hoover)
- James Ellis (Hoover)
- Michael Auslin (Hoover)
- Tom Fingar (Stanford APARC)
- Orville Schell (Asia Society)

6. Special Topics (students work on research presentations)
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Monday, November 2: Lecture on Taiwan’s domestic politics

Readings:

1. Dafydd Fell, *Government and Politics in Taiwan*. Chps 1-5.

Wednesday, November 4: Class discussion on PTIP conference, Taiwan domestic politics

Monday, November 9: Lecture on 2020 elections and counter-influence campaign

Readings:

1. Kharis Templeman, “How Taiwan Stands Up to China,” *Journal of Democracy*.
2. TBD

Wednesday, November 11: Class discussion on 2020 elections

7. Student Presentations

November 16 and November 18: Student presentations of research projects

*****Final research papers due last day of classes, November 20*****