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*A Report of the CSIS Freeman  
Chair in China Studies*

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# Taiwan's Marginalized Role in International Security

## *Paying a Price*



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# Acronyms

AADMER	ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response
ADMM	Asian Defense Ministers Meeting
ADRC	Asian Disaster Reduction Center
AEG-SAF	Aviation Safety Experts Subgroup
AEO	Authorized Economic Operator
AIT	American Institute in Taiwan
AML/CFT	anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism
AMLDD	Anti-Money Laundering Division
APCERT	Asia-Pacific E-Commerce Computer Emergency Response Team
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APG	Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering
APG	AADMER Partnership Group
ARATS	Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CGA	Coast Guard Administration
CISR	Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific
CSI	Container Security Initiative
CTITF	Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force
CTTF	Counterterrorism Task Force
CTWG	Counter Terrorism Working Group
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EPWG	Emergency Preparedness Working Group
EU	European Union
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FIU	financial intelligence unit
GGE	Group of Government Experts
HACGAM	Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies Meeting
HADR	Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief
IACP	International Association of Chiefs of Police
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICDF	International Cooperation and Development Fund

IGO	international governmental organizations
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INGO	international nongovernmental organization
Interpol	International Criminal Police Organization
IOSCO	International Organization of Securities Commissions
IPPAS	International Physical Protection Advisory Service
ISC	Information Sharing Centre
ISPS	International Ship and Port Facility Security
ITDB	Incident and Trafficking Database
IWWN	International Watch and Warning Network
JCG	Japan Coast Guard
KMT	Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang
MMoU	Multilateral Memorandum of Understanding
MRA	mutual recognition agreement
NCDR	National Science and Technology Center for Disaster Reduction
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NPCGF	North Pacific Coast Guard Agencies Forum
NPT	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
ODSG	OCHA Donor Support Group
PADF	Pan American Development Foundation
PEG	Port Expert Group
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
ReCAAP	Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia
RIMPAC	Rim of the Pacific
RSEG	Road Transportation Safety Experts Group
SARP	standards and recommended practices
SEF	Straits Exchange Foundation
SLOC	sea lines of communication
TEL	Telecommunications and Information Working Group
TEU	Twenty-foot equivalent unit
Tokyo MOU	Port State Control Committee of the Memorandum of Understanding on Port State Control in the Asia-Pacific Region
TPT-WG	Transportation Working Group
UN	United Nations
UN.GIFT	United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking
UNISDR	UN International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNOCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WCDRR	World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction
WCO	World Customs Organization
WINS	World Institute for Nuclear Security
WMD	weapons of mass destruction

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# Executive Summary

Taiwan's ambiguous sovereignty status has led to its exclusion from the vast majority of international organizations. This marginalization has left a critical void not only in the security of Taiwan's 23 million citizens but also in the security of the world at large. Taiwan's omission from international security organizations has created new blind spots for terrorists and criminals to exploit. Despite possessing both the means and the desire to serve as a responsible stakeholder, Taiwan can neither benefit from most international security bodies nor share its considerable reservoir of knowledge and expertise for the common good. This report considers eight areas of international security that stand to benefit from Taiwan's inclusion: counterterrorism, law enforcement, maritime security, nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear security, transportation security, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), human security, and cybersecurity.

Taiwan faces many obstacles in joining international organizations, but the majority of these impediments stem from Mainland China's continued objection to Taiwan's increased "international space." Beijing views Taiwan as part of its sovereign territory and thus seeks to prevent Taiwan from joining or even participating in organizations that require statehood—and many that do not. Absent an agreement with Taiwan that forever enshrines the existence of "one China," the Mainland fears that the island could leverage its presence in international organizations to achieve independence.

Beijing's obstruction of Taiwan's participation in international organizations is harmful to its own interests. First, Mainland China faces growing threats to its security, including non-traditional threats such as terrorism and nuclear proliferation, that require more effective global cooperation. These threats are inherently international, and the exclusion of competent and willing parties like Taiwan creates dangerous gaps in the fight against them. Second, by placing its concern for sovereignty and territorial integrity above the needs of Taiwan's people, Beijing is undermining its objective of reunification. Third, absent Taiwan's inclusion in international security mechanisms, expanded interaction between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, while beneficial to cross-Strait stability, creates new risks to the Mainland's security.

Despite consistently strong opposition from Beijing, Taiwan has managed to enhance its participation in international security organizations in several ways, including through participation in a small number of nongovernmental organizations and via informal channels and workarounds with friendly nations. Taiwan is especially active in security-related groups under Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), in which it is a member

economy, and it voluntarily adheres to the rules and regulations of many organizations that it is barred from joining, including the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the UN Palermo Protocol, and the World Customs Organization's SAFE Framework.

The United States plays a critically important role in Taiwan's security. While working within the bounds of its own "One China" policy, the United States supports Taiwan's active participation in international organizations. Steps the U.S. government can take to further enhance Taiwan's involvement in international security cooperation include: 1) appealing to other nations to back Taiwan's membership where possible and its enhanced participation where membership is unattainable; 2) raising with senior Chinese leaders the security risks of marginalizing Taiwan from international security collaboration; and 3) bringing concerns about Taiwan's exclusion directly to international organizations that have a security focus.

Taiwan must make its own full faith efforts to demonstrate that it is qualified for and deserves expanded participation in international organizations. It needs to actively publicize its advanced expertise and willingness to contribute to global security endeavors, intensify its diplomatic efforts to obtain support from other countries for an increased role in international security cooperation, and work to convince Mainland China that obstructing Taiwan's international role is contrary to Chinese interests, including its goal of reunification.

## Selected Policy Recommendations

- To enhance Taiwan's situational awareness of transnational threats, Taiwan should be granted access to databases such as Interpol's I-24/7 list of criminals, the International Atomic Energy Agency's Incident and Trafficking Database system, and the International Civil Aviation Organization's (ICAO) secure database.
- Taiwan should be allowed to enter the Financial Action Task Force and to join HADR organizations such as the Asian Disaster Reduction Center.
- To ensure that Taiwan remains up to date on international safety standards, procedures, and best practices, the island should be allowed enhanced participation in organizations such as the International Maritime Organization, ICAO, and the International Physical Protection Advisory Service.
- Taiwan should be afforded opportunities to participate in international multilateral exercises led by the United States, among them the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) and Cyber Storm.
- To build its case for greater participation in international organizations, Taiwan should seek to be a role model in following and enforcing international norms. It should encourage its nongovernmental organizations to participate in international HADR and human security organizations, and declare its voluntary compliance with nonproliferation regimes such as the Proliferation Security Initiative, even when it has no representation.

# 1 | Introduction

Taiwan is consistently marginalized in the international community—particularly so in the realm of security. Unable to participate in decisionmaking and information sharing in most international organizations due to its ambiguous sovereignty status, Taiwan is rendered both less secure and significantly constrained in its ability to contribute its demonstrated experience and knowledge to the international community.

Increased globalization and interconnectedness makes the world more vulnerable to widespread security threats. Terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, and cyber attacks are examples of threats that are not confined inside a single country's borders, nor can they be eradicated by one government alone. Such threats to a state's security are inherently international and must be dealt with on an international basis. By not including Taiwan in the international regimes and organizations that seek to mitigate these global threats, the world is left with a missing link in an otherwise integrated fight, and the 23 million people on Taiwan are more vulnerable than citizens elsewhere.

Taiwan faces many obstacles in joining international organizations, most of which stem from Mainland China's continued objection to Taiwan's increased "international space." Under Kuomintang (KMT) rule in Taiwan, both Beijing and Taipei adhere to a "One China" policy, but they disagree on how to define "One China." The two sides agree that there is only one sovereign country called China and that both Mainland China and Taiwan comprise that country, but they disagree on which of their two governments is the legitimate government of all of China. Beijing views Taiwan as part of its sovereign territory; therefore, it seeks to prevent Taiwan from joining or even participating in organizations that require statehood—and many that do not.

Tensions across the Taiwan Strait ran especially high in the mid 2000s due in large part to provocative actions by Taiwan's president Chen Shui-bian—actions that seemed aimed at achieving formal independence for Taiwan. Relations have warmed since President Ma Ying-jeou came to power in Taiwan in 2008, but of the stumbling blocks that remain, one significant point of contention is Taiwan's role in international governmental organizations (IGOs). Beijing continues to view increased international participation by Taiwan as a challenge to Mainland China's sovereignty and works to obstruct almost all of Taiwan's attempts to expand its role in IGOs. Taiwan, meanwhile, continues to do what it can to protect itself but is often forced to rely on informal mechanisms with a few friendly nations. For example, Taiwan is excluded from the International Criminal Police Organization's (Interpol)

system of alerts and its database on criminals and therefore must obtain such information through government agencies in the United States.

This report seeks to increase global awareness of the challenges that Taiwan faces in its quest to participate in international security organizations and regional forums. In addition, it explores avenues for expanding Taiwan's participation that could lead to greater security for the people of Taiwan. Also considered are ways in which Taiwan can and should be able to contribute its significant knowledge and skills to addressing security problems within regional and international security organizations. The report examines Taiwan's participation in eight key areas: counterterrorism, law enforcement, maritime security, nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear security, transportation security, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), human security, and cybersecurity. Taiwan has substantial knowledge of and expertise in each of these topics; at the same time, its exclusion from related multilateral bodies jeopardizes its security in all eight areas. Other significant areas such as environmental security and food and water security are not addressed in the report; they remain to be studied.

## 2 | Counterterrorism

The threat of terrorism, like many other challenges facing the world today, is increasingly global in nature. Unless and until every nation cooperates in the fight against terrorism, the space for terrorist organizations will continue to grow. Many nations struggle to keep terrorist groups within their borders at bay and often seek help from international bodies in this struggle. Perhaps precisely because of the international and pervasive dimensions of the threat, the majority of traditional counterterrorism organizations are housed in the United Nations (UN). Unfortunately, because of Taiwan's lack of membership in the UN, the island is unable to participate in any of the UN-associated organizations, including the UN Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), which houses several active working groups that seek to strengthen coordination and coherence of the counterterrorism efforts in the United Nations system. CTITF's working groups attempt, among other things, to identify and bring together stakeholders and partners on the issue of abuse of the Internet for terrorist purposes, and to assess the best ways to prevent and respond to terrorist attacks involving weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Without the expertise and guidance provided by CTITF's working groups, Taiwan is unable to implement the most up-to-date best practices developed therein. It cannot, for example, request or accept assistance from a CTITF working group that assists members in the development of public-private partnerships for the protection of vulnerable targets, and is therefore left to develop such partnerships on its own. Lack of access to these working groups leaves both Taiwan and the international community more vulnerable to terrorists threats.

Although Taiwan does not face a serious domestic terrorist threat, the island is at risk as host of mega-events that often attract terrorist activity. In 2009, for example, 103 countries participated in the World Games, which were held in the city of Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan. In order to ensure that potential terrorists are kept away from mega-events, up-to-date lists of suspicious persons are typically transferred automatically to the host country through Interpol's global network. With membership in Interpol, countries have immediate access to the I-24/7 system, a list of suspicious persons and criminals worldwide that is continually updated by the membership of the international police organization. As a non-member, however, Taiwan is forced to create its own suspicious persons database, which is cobbled together based on incomplete and untimely information from various friendly nations and Taiwan's own domestic intelligence.

When making security arrangements for the 2009 World Games, as well as for the Taipei-hosted 2009 Deaflympics, Taiwan had to rely solely on the United States to vet athlete and

media lists. Several suspicious persons were identified in this manner and were not permitted to enter Taiwan. In 2017, Taipei will host the Summer Universiade, an international sporting competition for student athletes, which is second only to the Olympics in the number of participants and countries represented. More than 9,000 athletes from over 170 countries are expected to attend. Authorities on Taiwan and, indeed, the larger international community would benefit greatly from Taiwan's enhanced cooperation with Interpol, including access to the I-24/7 database, prior to the 2017 games.

Taiwan is also barred from participating in the UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee, which is designed to enhance the ability of UN member states to prevent terrorist attacks within their respective borders as well as across regions.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, Taiwan does not benefit from the counterterrorism technical assistance or advanced counterterrorism practices shared by the committee.<sup>2</sup>

Taiwan faces obstacles in participating in regional counterterrorism mechanisms as well. For example, in response to the events of 9/11, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) leaders agreed to enhance counterterrorism cooperation among member countries. But even as a long-standing APEC member, Taiwan faced initial roadblocks from Beijing that prevented its participation in APEC counterterrorism measures and groups such as the APEC Counterterrorism Task Force (CTTF) and a counterterrorism initiative to inspect civilian airports in May 2003.<sup>3</sup> Beijing stated at the time that the new APEC counterterrorism measures were necessary and agreed to join, but it opposed Taiwan's participation. As the *Country Reports on Terrorism* published by the U.S. Department of State in April 2006 asserted, "China's objections to Taiwan's participation have impeded broader cooperation on APEC counterterrorism and nonproliferation initiatives."<sup>4</sup>

Due in large part to U.S. support for its increased participation, Taiwan has been active in APEC counterterrorism activities. After APEC upgraded the task force into the Counter Terrorism Working Group (CTWG) in July 2013, Taiwan participated in several events, among them the third APEC CTWG meeting held August 8–9, 2014, in Beijing. The CTWG focuses on financial counterterrorism, money laundering prevention, secure infrastructure, and Internet security, among other topics. Under the framework of the CTWG, Taiwan and the United States cohosted the first APEC Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience (CISR) workshop in Taipei on October 16–17, 2014, to establish a basis for coordinating on CISR practices and policies, which will facilitate greater security in trade and travel across the APEC region.<sup>5</sup>

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1. "Our Mandate," UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee, <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/index.html>.

2. Ibid.

3. Charles Snyder, "China's 'Taiwan Complex' Hurting War on Terror: U.S.," *Taipei Times*, April 30, 2014, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2006/04/30/2003305311>.

4. U.S. Department of State, "East Asia and Pacific Overview," chap. 5 in *Country Reports on Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, April 28, 2006), <http://m.state.gov/md64336.htm>.

5. "APEC Project Database," Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, 2014, <https://aimp2.apec.org/sites/PDB/Lists/Proposals/DispForm.aspx?ID=1526>.

Despite the fact that Taiwan has not been an active participant in UN-based and other international and regional organizations related to counterterrorism, Taiwan has sought “to implement, to the maximum extent possible, all UN resolutions concerning combating terrorism.”<sup>6</sup> In August 2011, for example, Taiwan implemented antiterrorism policies in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1373, which stipulates international counterterrorism procedures, calls for suppression of the financing of terrorism, and encourages global cooperation.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in January 2004, Taiwan established a cabinet-level Counterterrorism Control Office (CTCO) to combat terrorism in Taiwan and the surrounding region.<sup>8</sup> In 2012, CTCO was reorganized as the Office of Homeland Security, which combines intelligence from different state apparatuses for research, analysis, and consultation.<sup>9</sup> The Office of Homeland Security also facilitates international cooperation on counterterrorism. For example, it organizes annual conferences on homeland security attended by officials and experts from a number of countries, including the United States, members of the European Union (EU), Malaysia, and Israel.<sup>10</sup> The most recent conference, held in Taipei on July 28–29, 2014, was attended by U.S. Department of Homeland Security officials at the deputy assistant secretary level.<sup>11</sup>

In 2011, the Taiwan government devoted NT\$550 million to establish a new national counterterrorism training center located in Taoyuan County. According to officials of the Taiwan National Security Bureau, the center is intended to enhance Taiwan’s counterterrorism cooperation with the United States in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>12</sup> Construction is scheduled for completion by the end of 2015,<sup>13</sup> and will include sites for simulations as well as facilities for the training of counterterrorism personnel.<sup>14</sup> U.S. officials have suggested that the new center could be used to train counterterrorism special units from other U.S. allies in the region.<sup>15</sup> As of June 2014, however, the project has been postponed due to

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6. U.S. Department of State, “East Asia and Pacific Overview,” chap. 2 in *Country Reports on Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, April 30, 2008), <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2007/103706.htm>; Charles Snyder, “U.S. Hails Taiwan’s Anti-terror Role,” *Taipei Times*, May 2, 2008, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2008/05/02/2003410816>.

7. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Public Diplomacy Coordination Council, “Anti-terrorist Actions Taken by the Republic of China in Accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001),” *Foreign Policy Reports*, March 29, 2002, [http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News\\_Content3.aspx?n=4BAF9BD5400A05D9&sms=BA5E856472F10901&s=D0773DFB23DA2859](http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News_Content3.aspx?n=4BAF9BD5400A05D9&sms=BA5E856472F10901&s=D0773DFB23DA2859).

8. “East Asia and Pacific Overview,” 2008, 81.

9. FuWei Chang, “The Study of Counterterrorism Mechanisms in Taiwan” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2013), 2, [http://calhoun.nps.edu/public/bitstream/handle/10945/38897/13Dec\\_Chang\\_Fuwei.pdf?sequence=1](http://calhoun.nps.edu/public/bitstream/handle/10945/38897/13Dec_Chang_Fuwei.pdf?sequence=1).

10. Shih Hsiu-chuan, “Executive Yuan to Host Homeland Security Conference,” *Taipei Times*, November 29, 2012, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2012/11/29/2003548894>.

11. Author conversation with U.S. official, September 30, 2014.

12. “訓練中心延宕 衝擊台美反恐合作 [Completion of the Training Center Postponed, Damaging Taiwan-U.S. Counterterrorism Cooperation],” *自由時報 [Liberty Times Net]*, June 3, 2014, <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/focus/paper/784327>.

13. Lo Tien-pin and Yao Yueh-hung, “Delays Plague Counterterrorism Center,” *Taipei Times*, June 4, 2014, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2014/06/04/2003591964>.

14. Jichang Shen, “反恐訓練中心動工 後年底啟用 [Construction of the Counterterrorism Training Center Begins; the Center Will Start Operating by the End of the Year After Next Year],” *自由時報 [Liberty Times Net]*, July 12, 2011, <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/paper/507862>.

15. Lo and Yao, “Delays Plague Counterterrorism Center.”

construction delays, putting on hold any plans for expanded regional cooperation on counterterrorism.

Taiwan also contributes to regional and global counterterrorism efforts in a major way by tackling the financing of terrorist organizations. As a regional financial center and an international financial hub, the island can be exploited for money laundering, a main source of funding for terrorist groups. As former director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) Douglas Paal pointed out in a speech given at AIT in 2002, the most important function for Taiwan in global counterterrorism measures is to combat money laundering and the financing of terrorism.<sup>16</sup> In 1997, under the name of Chinese Taipei, Taiwan became a founding member of the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG). The APG, which also includes China, Hong Kong, and Macau, is an autonomous international organization devoted to international cooperation in anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism (AML/CFT). Taiwan also participates as a full member in the Egmont Group, an international network of over 140 financial intelligence units (FIU) that is committed to the effective implementation and enforcement of AML/CFT. In addition to Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau, but not China, are participants in the Egmont Group.

Despite such active involvement in both the APG and the Egmont Group, Taiwan is not a member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which is the primary global “policy-making body” that seeks to “set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system.”<sup>17</sup> Related regional groups worldwide, including APG, set their own mandates according to the standards developed at FATF Plenary Sessions.<sup>18</sup> Since it is not an FATF member, Taiwan is not able to contribute to the development of the rules and regulations that ultimately govern its own AML/CFT policies. Taiwan does have some opportunity to participate in FATF meetings, however, as APG is an associate member and the Egmont Group has observer status within the larger FATF organization. Taiwan’s FIU, the Anti-Money Laundering Division (AML/D), which is housed under the Ministry of Justice, actively seeks further participation in international groups; according to a statement on its website, the AML/D spares no efforts “to participate in the APG, the EGMONT GROUP, (and) FATF meeting(s) under the umbrella of the APG, and establish possible channels to exchange AML/CFT intelligence with foreign counterparts.”<sup>19</sup> The most recent statistics, published in 2014, indicate that the AML/D in Taiwan has signed Agreements and Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) with 34 foreign counterparts to facilitate information exchanges on AML/CFT.<sup>20</sup>

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16. Xilin Chen, “反恐 包道格讚揚台灣貢獻 [Counterterrorism: Douglas Paal Praises Taiwan’s Contributions],” 中国时报 [China Times], September 11, 2002, [http://forums.chinatimes.com.tw/report/911\\_year/news/T9191102.htm](http://forums.chinatimes.com.tw/report/911_year/news/T9191102.htm).

17. “About Us: Who We Are,” FATF, <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/pages/aboutus/>.

18. “About APG,” APG, <http://www.apgml.org/about-us/page.aspx?p=c735e62b-802b-4895-bda8-b7cf81766943>.

19. Ministry of Justice of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Investigation Bureau (MJIB), Anti-Money Laundering Division, “Contributions to International Efforts Directed at AML/CFT,” <http://www.mjib.gov.tw/en/mlpc/cooperation.html>.

20. Ibid.

**Table 1. Taiwan's International Information Exchanges, 2009-2013**

<i>International information exchanges</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2013</i>
Requests from overseas FIUs	39	20	76	37	41
Requests to overseas FIUs	8	12	5	15	16
Spontaneous exchanges	17	12	7	22	22
Questionnaires and Other Matters	2	5	2	0	0
Total	66	49	90	74	79

*Source:* Ministry of Justice of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Investigation Bureau, Anti-Money Laundering Division, <http://www.mjib.gov.tw/en/mlpc/yearbook/2013yearbook.pdf>.

Taiwan's AMLD has a strong record of excellence. In 2007, the division underwent a mutual evaluation conducted by APG and was rated first-class compliant by FATF standards—one of only 12 FIUs worldwide to receive such a rating.<sup>21</sup> Typically, a first-class compliance rating from a mutual evaluation would warrant membership in FATF according to FATF's own membership policy.<sup>22</sup> Taiwan has repeatedly expressed its interest in joining FATF, but its ambiguous sovereignty status, along with Mainland China's continued objection to Taiwan's participation, has unfortunately kept the island from becoming a member.

Even though FATF recently pledged to expand its membership beyond the current 36 members, Taiwan remains unable to join. FATF's membership policy uses the word "country" to describe the process and criteria for becoming a member,<sup>23</sup> which gives Beijing room to object to Taiwan's enhanced participation. Nevertheless, Hong Kong and all other members—except for two regional organizations (the European Commission and the Gulf Co-operation Council)—participate as "member jurisdictions." With this ambiguity in terminology ("jurisdiction" v. "country"), and Taiwan's commitment to high AML/CFT standards, Taiwan should be permitted to join FATF as a full voting member.

FATF additionally hosts expert meetings and seminars several times each year and invites representatives from nonmember bodies to participate. Most recently, in June 2014, Taiwan attended a FATF-organized Targeted Financial Sanctions Experts' meeting under the umbrella of the APG. Significantly, FATF labeled the 51 participants "jurisdictions and organizations," leaving sufficient ambiguity for Taiwan to join. Taiwan was able to share its demonstrated expertise and significant experience with other participants and should similarly be allowed to participate in all future FATF expert meetings.

In addition to its efforts to expand international cooperation, the AMLD in Taiwan has been developing some limited Track II cross-Straits cooperation on AML/CFT. On November 19–20, 2012, AMLD and Fu Jen University jointly organized "The Cross Strait Forum on

21. MJIB, "Overview of Anti-Money Laundering Division (AMLD)," <http://www.mjib.gov.tw/en/mlpc/historical.html>.

22. "About Us: Process and Criteria for Becoming a FATF Member," FATF, <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/pages/about-us/membersandobservers/membershipprocessandcriteria.html>.

23. Ibid.

Criminal Law: Current Developments and Prospects.” Scholars from Taiwan, Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macao joined the discussion to begin development on, among other topics, cooperation on AML/CFT.<sup>24</sup>

Due to the transnational nature of terrorism, Taiwan’s low level of integration into international counterterrorism regimes poses risks to the national security of Taiwan and other countries. Moreover, as an important international transportation and economic center, Taiwan is able to collect valuable information in the fight against terrorism. Taiwan’s absence from international counterterrorism regimes, and its associated inability to contribute this valuable information, greatly reduces the effectiveness of these regimes and organizations. Global counterterrorism capabilities and the national security of countries—even those included in the various international counterterrorism regimes—are thus severely diminished.

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24. MJIB, “Anti-Money Laundering Annual Report,” 2012, <http://www.mjib.gov.tw/en/mlpc/yearbook/2012/yearbook.pdf>.

# 3 | Law Enforcement

Taiwan's indistinct statehood status, paired with Beijing's continued opposition, prevents membership and blocks related benefits for the island in international law enforcement agencies that play a critical role in public safety worldwide. Taiwan enjoyed full membership in Interpol from 1964 to 1984 through its National Police Administration (NPA) but was ejected in 1984, when the People's Republic of China (PRC) applied for membership.<sup>1</sup> Taiwan has since appealed multiple times for its membership to be restored, but to no avail. As mentioned in Chapter 1, nonmembership prevents Taiwan from gaining access to Interpol's I-24/7 global police communications system, which provides real-time information on criminals and global criminal activities.<sup>2</sup> Taiwan is thus forced to acquire second-hand information on international criminals and criminal activity from friendly countries like the United States. This secondhand information is provided only upon request, and day-to-day information is therefore frequently both outdated and incomprehensive, which leaves Taiwan far more vulnerable to international criminal activity inside its borders. Equally important, Taiwan is unable to share the information it gathers on criminals and suspicious persons with Interpol directly, which puts the rest of the world's countries at greater risk. Interpol's constitution does allow for observers at its meetings by "police bodies which are not members of the Organization,"<sup>3</sup> providing at least a basis for Taiwan's NPA to participate. Taiwan has not yet been invited to observe, however, and it remains excluded from all of Interpol's coordinated meetings and activities.

Despite Taiwan's lack of membership, the island continues to cooperate with Interpol on crime fighting where it can, though this cooperation is extremely limited. Taiwan and Interpol have worked together to apprehend and repatriate wanted fugitives on occasion, among them an embezzling suspect who was arrested in the United States and repatriated in 2011.<sup>4</sup> Cooperation with other countries in fighting crime could be markedly enhanced, however, if Taiwan were a member of this global body. For example, Yang Shih-wen, a Taiwanese national accused of forgery in Shanghai, lived freely in Taiwan for eight years,

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1. Michael Fooner, *Interpol: Issues in World Crime and International Justice* (Boston: Springer, 1989).

2. Togzhan Kassenova, "Policy Forum 11-30: A 'Black Hole' in the Global Nonproliferation Regime: The Case of Taiwan," NPASNet Policy Forum, September 8, 2011, <http://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-policy-forum/a-black-hole-in-the-global-nonproliferation-regime-the-case-of-taiwan/>.

3. Interpol, Office of Legal Affairs, "Constitution of the ICPO-INTERPOL," <http://www.interpol.int/About-INTERPOL/Legal-materials/The-Constitution>.

4. U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement, "Fugitive Taiwanese Embezzling Suspect Captured in LA, Returned to Taiwan" (news release, February 10, 2011), <http://www.ice.gov/news/releases/1102/110210losangeles.htm>.

despite an existing Interpol warrant, until Taipei was finally tipped off by the Mainland in 2012.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Wang You-tseng, a Taiwanese entrepreneur wanted for embezzlement and fraud, has been detained in the United States since 2006; Taiwan claims that its inability to seek Interpol help has obstructed efforts to extradite him.<sup>6</sup> With no avenue to cooperate on arrests or repatriation cases and incomplete knowledge of existing warrants for criminals inside its territory, Taiwan's citizens and financial systems are unduly put at risk.

Cross-Strait crime has been a major concern for both Taipei and Beijing, leading to the Agreement on Joint Cross-Strait Crime-Fighting and Mutual Judicial Assistance in 2009 that allows for the exchange of documents and evidence, as well as joint investigations, repatriation, and preemptive information sharing. In September 2009, in the first instance of cooperation under the agreement, 43 suspects were apprehended in Taiwan; eight Taiwanese organized crime suspects and their Chinese accomplices were arrested in Mainland China. In 2010, cross-Strait cooperation led to the unearthing of a number of telecommunications and money-laundering cases leading to the arrest of nearly 800 criminals.<sup>7</sup> By 2012, the two sides were arresting approximately 600 wanted fugitives annually, most of them accused of economic crimes and hiding in the other's territory.<sup>8</sup> Many of these arrests have taken place with unprecedented cooperation and joint operations with counterparts in neighboring countries like Indonesia, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Thailand. The cross-Strait agreement still has some kinks to be worked out, including the quality of due process standards and levels of information exchange, but it is a step in the right direction.

In 2004, as a part of its internal efforts to combat crime, Taiwan integrated its resources dealing with policing, telecommunications, the Internet, finances, and law to deal with the issue of economic fraud. The expectation was that these efforts would allow greater international cooperation on law enforcement. Taiwan's Financial Supervisory Commission has been a member of the International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO) since 1987, which has proved important for Taiwan in efforts to identify and curb economic fraud in equity markets. Three other Taiwan-based regulatory commissions, including the Taiwan Stock Exchange, have also joined IOSCO as affiliates. In 2011, Taiwan became a full signatory of the IOSCO Multilateral Memorandum of Understanding Concerning Consultation and Cooperation and the Exchange of Information (MMoU). Signatories to the IOSCO MMoU are required to share, without encumbrance and with all members, any investigative material pertaining to equity markets. The memorandum allows exchange of information among members in compliance with the IOSCO MMoU, as well as with domestic laws and regulations. This is a rare and welcome instance of the elevation of Taiwan's participation in an organization of which Mainland China is also a member.

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5. "Shanghai Forgery Suspect Apprehended in Taiwan," *Want China Times*, May 1, 2012, <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20120501000022&cid=1103>.

6. "Interpol Non-Membership Causing Fugitive Problems," *Taipei Times*, February 10, 2007, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2007/02/10/2003348400>.

7. Kassenova, "Policy Forum 11-30: A 'Black Hole' in the Global Nonproliferation Regime."

8. Jerome A. Cohen and Yu-Jie Chen, "Cross-Strait Cooperation in Fighting Crime," Council on Foreign Relations, July 6, 2011, <http://www.cfr.org/world/cross-strait-cooperation-fighting-crime/p25434>.

Taiwan's attempts at building similar relationships to control narcotics trafficking have met with partial success. While the island is not a major producer of narcotics, its location relative to major shipping channels leaves Taiwan exposed as a potential transshipment point. It has collaborated with the United States through the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) since the 1990s to reduce its use as a conduit for drug trafficking. The success of the strategy has been lauded by the U.S. State Department, which no longer considers Taiwan a major route for narcotics circulating in the region. The United States acknowledged as recently as 2013 that Taiwan's inability to participate in the United Nations obstructs its full involvement in international counternarcotics efforts.<sup>9</sup>

Taiwan has used its membership in certain multilateral organizations to register its presence in the international policing community. The first among these is the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), believed to be the world's largest nonprofit organization of police executives; Taiwan joined IACP in 1985, soon after it was expelled from Interpol. In 2004, Taiwan successfully managed to have its title changed at the IACP to "Taiwan" from "Taiwan, China," despite protests from Beijing. Taiwan hosted the Asia-Pacific meeting of the IACP in January 1998 and the Asia/Pacific Executive Policing Conference in 2009, again despite objections from Beijing. Membership in the IACP allows Taiwan to coordinate with other police bodies to share lessons learned and best practices in over 100 countries. Taiwan is also a member of the International Association of Airport and Seaport Police through its NPA, which strives for collaboration and sharing of intelligence in ports of entry of member states.

Additionally, Taiwan conducts limited bilateral law enforcement cooperation through its Coast Guard Administration (CGA). The CGA cooperates on a bilateral basis with other coast guards in the region—including those in Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam—to combat human trafficking and drug smuggling. With Japan, Taiwan's CGA has mutual visits and working-level meetings annually. The CGA has also conducted a table top exercise and other drills with the Philippines. Taiwan's CGA cooperates with the U.S. Coast Guard in the areas of monitoring longline fishing, maritime law enforcement, human trafficking, and drug smuggling.

Taiwan's CGA is in the midst of a decade-long modernization program that will augment its inventory to more than 170 ships, including two 3,000-ton patrol ships that joined the fleet in November 2014.<sup>10</sup> The additional vessels are expected to help the CGA with increased patrols in both the South China Sea and the East China Sea to maintain law and order, protect natural and maritime resources, and watch out for smugglers, pirates, and illegal immigrants. On a multilateral basis, however, Taiwan is often unable to participate in the development

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9. U.S. Department of State, Office of the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights, "2013 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report: Country Reports—South Africa through Vietnam," Washington, DC: Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, March 5, 2013, <http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2013/vol1/204052.htm>.

10. Joseph Yeh, "Taiwan's Coast Guard Administration Unveils 3,000-Ton Patrol Ship in Kaohsiung," *Asia One*, April 19, 2014, <http://news.asiaone.com/news/asia/taiwans-coast-guard-administration-unveils-3000-ton-patrol-ship-kaohsiung>.

of policies to defuse increasing tensions in the region because of the CGA's limited participation in regional exercises, activities, and organizations.

There is some noteworthy cooperation between Taiwan's CGA and its Mainland counterpart, the former having participated in biannual sea drills with Chinese law enforcement vessels since 2010. The first cross-Strait cooperative venture on law enforcement was a drill with China's Maritime Search and Rescue Center involving 14 rescue vessels, three helicopters, and more than 400 participants from both sides. The scenario entailed rescuing passengers after a collision of two ferry ships in the waters between Taiwan's Kinmen Island and the Chinese city of Xiamen. To avoid controversy, all vessels and helicopters refrained from using their respective national flags, using drill flags instead. This was the first joint exercise after the PRC's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) and Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) signed an agreement in November 2008, agreeing to cooperate on maritime rescue. A similar exercise was conducted in September 2012, with 18 vessels and two helicopters from Taiwan, and 11 ships and one helicopter from China, simulating a total of eight different scenarios, including a passenger airplane crash landing at sea. The Mainland and Taiwan held the third biannual sea drill in August 2014, in which 33 vessels, four helicopters, and approximately 550 personnel participated. The exercise simulated an emergency response to a collision between a passenger liner and a cargo ship. It included police information exchanges, emergency response coordination, rescue mobilization, and rescue work.<sup>11</sup>

Despite this extensive cooperation with Mainland China, Taiwan's CGA is nonetheless extremely restricted in its regional multilateral cooperation efforts. Taiwan is not, for example, a member of the North Pacific Coast Guard Agencies Forum (NPCGF), which was established in 2000 by the Coast Guards of the United States, Japan, Russia, and Korea as "a venue to foster multilateral cooperation by sharing information and establishing best practices in the North Pacific Ocean."<sup>12</sup> The organization now has six official members, Canada and China having joined later on. Taiwan is the only Coast Guard that operates regularly in the North Pacific Ocean that is not a member of NPCGF. It is therefore unable to attend plenaries, expert working group meetings and multilateral exercises. Taiwan also cannot participate in coordinated patrols to combat illegal fishing, or in NPCGF's information exchange system. According to the USCG, NPCGF has hosted "numerous bilateral and multilateral operations and exercises . . . focused on transnational crime, maritime security, and maritime governance issues including anti-piracy and armed robbery against ships, drug interdiction, migrant interdiction, marine safety, and environmental protection."<sup>13</sup> While Taiwan is excluded from these exercises and other activities hosted by NPCGF, its coast guard cannot contribute to nor learn from developing norms and practices in its own region.

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11. "Cross-Strait Marine Rescue Drill Held," Xinhua, August 7, 2014, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-08/07/c\\_133540391.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-08/07/c_133540391.htm).

12. Canadian Coast Guard, North Pacific Coast Guard Forum, <http://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/e0007869>.

13. Michael Arguelles, "In the Spirit of Cooperation: The North Pacific Coast Guard Forum," *Proceedings of the Marine Safety & Security Council* 71, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 29, [http://www.uscg.mil/proceedings/archive/2014/Vol71\\_No1\\_Spr2014.pdf](http://www.uscg.mil/proceedings/archive/2014/Vol71_No1_Spr2014.pdf).

Taiwan is also not a member of the Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies Meetings (HACGAM), which seek to promote “cooperation and collaboration amongst the Asian Region Coast Guard Agencies in responding to challenges affecting their respective national maritime domain and to a greater extent, the Asian region.”<sup>14</sup> HACGAM’s 19 members meet on an annual basis to develop cooperative best practices for maritime security, as well as to enhance mutual understanding among Coast Guards in increasingly tense areas—a mission that is critical to the maintenance of stability in the East and South China Seas. As Taiwan’s CGA is very active in both the East and South China Seas, it would be beneficial for all involved to create some room for the island to participate in HACGAM meetings; such participation would help increase its own understanding of other CGAs in the region, which, in turn, would likely lower the risk of maritime incidents. HACGAM meetings are often attended by observers and sponsors,<sup>15</sup> which leaves the door open for Taiwan to participate, as observership does not raise issues of sovereignty that would upset HACGAM member Mainland China. Furthermore, Hong Kong participates fully in HACGAM using the designation “area” as opposed to “nation,” which Taiwan could also use. The upcoming 2015 annual meeting will be hosted in Japan, and Taiwan should be invited to participate at least at the observer level.

Taiwan’s many shipping vessels, as part of an international fleet, face significant threats from piracy. The island’s location in the Pacific Ocean and its dependence on fishing as a source of livelihood has often exposed fishermen to attacks from pirates, at times leading to the death of crew members. In one particular case in 2009, fishing vessel *Win Far 161* was held by pirates for more than a year before being released, resulting in the deaths of three sailors.<sup>16</sup> Taiwan considered using its navy to tackle the piracy issue, but the absence of formal recognition from countries in the region poses significant logistical and diplomatic hurdles for any naval activity—some as basic as the resupplying of ships. Taiwan has been unable to participate in most major global antipiracy exercises and platforms, including the Combined Maritime Forces operation in the Gulf of Aden and NATO’s Operation Ocean Shield.

In one success story, Taiwan worked with the EU’s Naval Force (NAVFOR) Somalia–Operation Atalanta, which was launched as a cooperative platform to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia and in the Indian Ocean. In October 2011, the European Union announced that these operations would be carried out “in accordance with relevant UN Security Council Resolutions and international law,” and would operate through maritime forces working in the area, including those from Taiwan, along with China, India,

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14. “9th Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies Meeting (HACGAM) at Pattaya, Thailand, from 29-30 October, 2013,” Indian Ministry of Defense, Coast Guard, 2013, <http://www.indiancoastguard.nic.in/indiancoastguard/sar/Brief%20on%20HACGAM.pdf>.

15. Ibid. The ninth HACGAM in Pattaya was attended by seven observers from Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), two sponsors of the Nippon Foundation, two coordinators each from the Nippon Maritime Centre and Japan Association of Marine Safety (JAMS), and two observers from ReCAAP ISC.

16. “Somali Pirates Free Taiwanese Fishing Boat,” BBC News, February 11, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8510938.stm>.

Japan, and others.<sup>17</sup> In February 2012, Taiwan announced further cooperation with the European Union in fighting piracy, along with the adoption of EU safety guidelines by all Taiwanese vessels.<sup>18</sup> According to Taiwan officials, relations between Taiwan and the European naval forces have been active since their start in 2011, and communication through antipiracy-related intelligence and communication channels is open and frequent. EU officials in charge of antipiracy issues have visited Taiwan five times since 2011 to meet with their counterparts, and their discussions have been very helpful in Taiwan's efforts to build up antipiracy capabilities.

Despite this enhanced multilateral cooperation and its demonstrated efforts to adopt international guidelines, Taiwan is unable to participate in the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP), and its associated Information Sharing Centre (ISC) based in Singapore. The ReCAAP ISC aims to "facilitate communications and information exchange among participating governments to improve incident response by member countries . . . [and] analyze and prove accurate statistics of the piracy and armed robbery incidents to foster better understanding of the situation in Asia."<sup>19</sup> Due to its nonparticipation in ReCAAP, Taiwan is unable to contribute to or benefit from information exchanges among member states via the ISC's secure, web-based Information Network System, which operates on a 24/7 basis. It is therefore not fully informed about developing piracy situations and cannot notify other regional actors of its own piracy incidents in a timely manner. ReCAAP's agreement allows for cooperation with "organisations and like-minded parties on joint exercises, information sharing, capacity building programmes, or other forms of cooperation, as appropriate, and agree[d] upon among the Contracting Parties."<sup>20</sup> Taiwan, as a like-minded party, should be permitted to find avenues for cooperation on information sharing with ReCAAP either through official government channels or relevant Taiwan-based organizations. Beijing should not block this type of organizationally sanctioned, unofficial cooperation, as it benefits regional and international security as well as the security of the Taiwan people.

Taiwan's lack of participation in law enforcement bodies like Interpol and regional coast guard organizations creates insecurity for both the people of Taiwan and for the larger international community. Out of date and incomplete, the information to which Taiwan has access does not allow its government to effectively combat crime. With such extensive cooperation between Mainland China and Taiwan on law enforcement via coast guards, and some existing cooperation with other regional coast guards, including those of the Philippines and Japan, incorporating Taiwan into regional multilateral coast guard forums is the obvious next step to create more stable and secure maritime domains in the Asia-Pacific. Taiwan should be permitted to join HACGAM as an observer, which would not raise

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17. European Union External Action, "Common Security and Defence Policy: EU Maritime Operation against Piracy: EU NAVFOR Somalia–Operation Atalanta," October 26, 2011, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009\\_2014/documents/sede/dv/sede200312factsheeteunavfor\\_/sede200312factsheeteunavfor\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/sede/dv/sede200312factsheeteunavfor_/sede200312factsheeteunavfor_en.pdf).

18. Rachel Chan, "Taiwan, EU Beef Up Anti-Piracy Cooperation," *Taiwan Today*, February 15, 2012, <http://taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=186309&ctNode=420>.

19. "About ReCAAP," ReCAAP ISC, <http://www.recaap.org/AboutReCAAPISC.aspx>.

20. Ibid.

issues of sovereignty, and should likewise be able to find some avenues for cooperation on information sharing with ReCAAP. Similarly, Taiwan should be permitted access to Interpol's I-24/7 network so that it can both contribute to and benefit from what would be a more comprehensive fight against criminals across the globe. Finally, Taiwan's NPA should be permitted to observe at annual Interpol General Assembly meetings, as Interpol's Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly allow for observership by nonmember police bodies. This would open the door for Taiwan to interact with other law enforcement agencies, and the NPA could begin to build support to gain access to Interpol's secure databases.

# 4 | Maritime Security

As a claimant in the increasingly contentious disputes in both the East China Sea and the South China Sea, Taiwan's Coast Guard has encountered more and more frequent incidents with others who claim the same territories. In June 2008, for example, a Japan Coast Guard (JCG) vessel reportedly hit and sank the *Lien Ho*, a Taiwanese fishing vessel near the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyutai Islands.<sup>1</sup> In May 2013, a fisherman from Taiwan was killed when the Philippine Coast Guard opened fire in waters that both claim as their Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). In another incident in September 2009, the JCG arrested a fishing boat captain from Taiwan for allegedly fishing in Japanese waters. The issue escalated to the point where CGA minister Wang Ginn-wang claimed that, if faced with hostility from Japanese ships, the CGA would not refrain from opening fire.<sup>2</sup> In a bilateral attempt to deescalate tensions, Japan and Taiwan signed a fishing agreement in April 2013 that had been under negotiation since 1996. The agreement delineated mutually agreeable coordinates where the two sides would conduct fishing activities without disruption from the other's coast guard. Even after the signing of the agreement, however, face-offs have continued.<sup>3</sup> The persistence of such incidents in the East and South China Seas underscores the need for multilateral cooperation among regional coast guards and other relevant maritime bodies. There are a number of multilateral forums that fit this bill, but Taiwan is often unable to participate in them.

Taiwan's exclusion from multiple maritime organizations and activities of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)—such as the ASEAN Maritime Forum and Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum, the ASEAN Regional Forum subgroups on maritime issues, and the Asian Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM)-Plus Maritime Security Field Training Exercises—is a clear detriment to the island's safety and security. However, because Taiwan is not a dialogue partner with ASEAN and is unlikely to become one due to Mainland China's opposition, it is barred from participating in these forums.<sup>4</sup> As a result, Taiwan, the world's tenth-largest cargo shipper, is excluded from contributing to and learning about new

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1. Shih Hsiu-chuan, "Taiwan, Japan Ink Fisheries Agreement," *Taipei Times*, April 11, 2013, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2013/04/11/2003559323>.

2. Wen Shin Kuo, "Coast Guard Vows to Protect Protesters," *China Post*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2012/09/25/355425/Coast-Guard.htm>.

3. "Taiwan Ships, Aircraft Drill Inside China's ADIZ in East China Sea," Focus Taiwan News Channel, February 26, 2014, <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201402260023.aspx>.

4. "Taiwan Lobbies ASEAN Member States for Dialogue Partner Status," *Jakarta Post*, August 18, 2008, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/08/18/taiwan-lobbies-asean-member-states-dialogue-partner-status.html>.

developments in the application of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), freedom of navigation, maritime connectivity and capacity building, as well as current regional and global security challenges.<sup>5</sup> Taiwan is also not a member of the International Maritime Organization (IMO), a specialized agency of the United Nations that acts as the global authority for the security, safety, and environmental performance of international shipping. Because Taiwan is not a member and does not participate through its nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), it is unable to access firsthand the latest regulatory framework for the shipping industry.<sup>6</sup>

Even though Taiwan is excluded from formal maritime security regimes, it makes a strong effort to adhere to the international agreements of such regimes. For example, Taiwan follows the International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code of the IMO, which the island's commercial ports fully implement. Created in response to 9/11, the ISPS Code is a comprehensive set of measures that enhances the security of port facilities and ships. The code's standardized framework for risk evaluation allows governments to determine and carry out appropriate security measures to address changes in maritime threats. Since Taiwan is neither a member of the IMO nor a contracting state to the IMO's International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (1974),<sup>7</sup> its compliance with the ISPS Code is strictly voluntary. Another important port security group to which Taiwan does not belong is the Port State Control Committee of the Memorandum of Understanding on Port State Control in the Asia-Pacific Region (Tokyo MOU).<sup>8</sup> Port State Control (PSC) is an important facet of maritime security, providing for the inspection of foreign ships in national ports to ensure that a ship and its operation meets international safety standards. Despite its lack of Tokyo MOU membership, Taiwan has been implementing its own PSC system since 2003, thus contributing to the fight against substandard shipping practices despite limitations.<sup>9</sup>

Taiwan has tried to boost its maritime security participation through NGOs and low-visibility bilateral cooperation. One such multilateral NGO is the International SLOC Group, a Track II organization composed of serving and retired government officials, naval officers, and academics who analyze, discuss, and publish on sea lines of communication (SLOC) issues.<sup>10</sup> The group's membership is made up of "territories," each represented by individuals affiliated with a relevant research institution of that member country but who are operating in a private capacity. The only requirement for membership is the active management

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5. "ASEAN Benefits From Maritime Cooperation," Maritime Security.Asia, October 4, 2012, <http://maritimesecurity.asia/free-2/asean-2/asean-benefits-from-maritime-cooperation/>.

6. "About IMO: Membership," International Maritime Organization, <http://www.imo.org/About/Membership/Pages/Default.aspx>; "About IMO: NGOs in Consultative Status," International Maritime Organization, <http://www.imo.org/About/Membership/Pages/NGOsInConsultativeStatus.aspx>.

7. "FAQ on ISPS Code and Maritime Security," International Maritime Organization, [http://www.imo.org/blast/mainframe.asp?topic\\_id=897#who](http://www.imo.org/blast/mainframe.asp?topic_id=897#who).

8. "About Tokyo MOU," Tokyo MOU.org, [http://www.tokyo-mou.org/organization/about\\_tokyo\\_mou.php](http://www.tokyo-mou.org/organization/about_tokyo_mou.php); "Memorandum of Understanding on Port State Control in the Asia-Pacific Region," <http://www.tokyo-mou.org/doc/memorand.pdf>.

9. Rong-Her Chiu, Chien-Chung Yuan, and Kee-Kuo Chen, "The Implementation of Port State Control in Taiwan," *Journal of Marine Science and Technology* 16, no. 3 (2008): 207–13, <http://jmst.ntou.edu.tw/marine/16-3/207-213.pdf>.

10. "Home," The International SLOC Group, <http://www.slocgroup.org/index.htm>.

of SLOC-related research and the readiness to coordinate SLOC research activities in their territory on behalf of the SLOC Group. Taiwan's representatives have shown their readiness to coordinate such activities by hosting four SLOC Group conferences since 1986, and by contributing valuable research to the work of the organization.<sup>11</sup> However, even though Taiwan has been an active member since the organization's inception, it does not currently have a representative.<sup>12</sup> Once again, Taiwan's inactive status should be viewed as a missed opportunity to demonstrate its role as a responsible maritime nation that contributes to the protection of regional sea lines.

The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) is another example of an NGO in which Taiwan scholars participate, but only under strict conditions approved by Mainland China. CSCAP aims to provide an informal yet structured process for regional confidence building and security cooperation among countries and territories in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>13</sup> Taiwan's participation has been possible through CSCAP's flexible arrangement, which allows nonmembers to partake in working group activities. Through CSCAP, select experts from Taiwan can engage in exchanges with other CSCAP members, including the United States, Japan, Vietnam, Singapore, Australia, and China, as well as attend major CSCAP events, including those involving maritime security, such as the Study Group on Facilitating Maritime Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.

To enhance Taiwan's maritime security, along with the security of the region in which it resides, Taiwan should be permitted greater access to the IMO, beginning with enhanced participation through international nongovernmental organizations (INGO) in which it already takes part. Such INGOs have consultative status with the IMO, including the International Association of Ports and Harbors and the IAASP. Taiwan could also seek to establish its own INGO—one that has the capability to make a substantial contribution to the work of the IMO; if granted consultative status, the island would gain access to the latest regulatory framework for the shipping industry. Additionally, Taiwan should pursue and be approved to expand either formal or informal channels with the Tokyo MOU and the PSC organizations of other nations. Finally, Taiwan should attempt to increase bilateral cooperation with the relevant parties in friendly countries like Japan and the United States.

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11. "International SLOC Group Activities," The International SLOC Group, <http://www.slocgroup.org/confpubs.htm>.

12. E-mail communication with authors, August 7, 2014.

13. "CSCAP Charter," CSCAP, <http://www.cscap.org/index.php?page=cscap-charter>.

# 5 | Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security

Taiwan makes every attempt to adhere to all international nuclear nonproliferation and safety standards, despite being kept out of many of the formal organizations and regimes related to nuclear weaponry. Its further integration into international nuclear regulatory bodies is stifled by its ambiguous sovereignty status and Beijing's persistent opposition to the island playing an international role separate from Mainland China. Taiwan is not a member of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, and the island has extremely limited interaction with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the main international body that promotes the peaceful use of nuclear energy and inhibits its use for any military purpose. This is especially worrisome because Taiwan has such a large contribution to make to international nuclear safety and nonproliferation standards, and the world is left considerably less secure by Taiwan's lack of participation. As Togzhan Kassenova of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace states, "Taiwan is effectively a legal and political 'black hole' in the realm of international nonproliferation cooperation."<sup>1</sup>

Taiwan is an important global supplier of high-tech, dual-use goods and technologies, which have, at times, fallen into the wrong hands due to a lack of coordination between authorities on Taiwan and international partners through bodies that govern nuclear nonproliferation. There have been multiple recorded cases in which Taiwan companies and Taiwan nationals have been caught smuggling WMD-sensitive goods to states like Iran and North Korea.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the production and consumption of dual-use technologies, Taiwan has a highly advanced civilian nuclear energy program, which by its very nature increases the flow of sensitive nuclear materials and technology through the island.

Despite Taiwan's nonparticipation in international regimes like the NPT, authorities in Taipei do their best to adhere to the provisions of the treaty. After Taiwan lost its UN seat to

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1. Kassenova, "Policy Forum 11-30: A 'Black Hole in the Global Nonproliferation Regime.'"

2. Toshinao Ishii, "Taiwan Firm Sold DPRK Precision Equipment," *Free Republic*, November 27, 2007, <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1930938/posts>; "Illegal Export Linked to North Clinic, Bio-War Lab," *The Japan Times*, August 12, 2006, [http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2006/08/12/national/illegal-export-linked-to-north-clinic-bio-war-lab/#.U9lCJ\\_ldWS0](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2006/08/12/national/illegal-export-linked-to-north-clinic-bio-war-lab/#.U9lCJ_ldWS0); U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Miami), "Taiwan Exporter Charged, Arrested for Exporting Missile Components to Iran" (news release, February 4, 2010), <http://www.ice.gov/news/releases/1002/100204miami1.htm>.

Mainland China in 1971, it also lost rights to coordination with related international organizations. The NPT and the IAEA would henceforth coordinate only with Beijing, and the standard agreements pertaining to Taiwan were voided. In order to ensure the safeguarding of nuclear materials in Taiwan, a trilateral agreement was then signed between Taiwan, the United States, and the IAEA (INFCIRC/158).<sup>3</sup> The IAEA regularly inspects Taiwan facilities in the same manner that they conduct inspections across the globe. Furthermore, Taiwan voluntarily took on additional safeguard responsibilities in 1998 to incorporate the IAEA Model Additional Protocol, and in January 2014, Taiwan and the United States renewed their formal commitment to peaceful nuclear cooperation. The United States now considers Taiwan to be bound by the NPT. This most recent U.S.-Taiwan agreement incorporates a new 123 Agreement and includes the so-called “gold standard” commitment to nuclear safety. In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 30, 2014, Thomas Countryman, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for International Security and Nonproliferation, boasted, “The AIT-TECRO agreement is unique, one of the strongest 123 agreements that the United States has ever negotiated, and one that will ensure the continued ability of U.S. industry to work with its partners on Taiwan.”<sup>4</sup>

Taiwan and the larger international community nonetheless suffer from the island’s continued nonparticipation in nuclear security and nonproliferation regimes. Taiwan was not invited to participate in the Nuclear Security Summit, which has convened three times since 2010 to coordinate activities aimed at preventing nuclear terrorism around the globe. Taiwan is also precluded from endorsing the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)—an informal arrangement among countries initiated by the United States in 2003—which seeks to interdict shipments of WMD and related goods to terrorists and countries of proliferation concern and “to develop procedures to facilitate the exchange of information with other countries.”<sup>5</sup> At the most recent PSI meeting on May 28, 2013, more than 70 countries and three international organizations participated. Taiwan was not invited to this meeting, despite a PSI principle stating that the initiative “seeks to involve in some capacity all states that have a stake in nonproliferation and the ability and willingness to take steps to stop the flow of such items at sea, in the air, or on land.”<sup>6</sup> Although Taiwan exemplifies the characteristics sought after by the PSI, the island is unable to exchange information or share expertise with the other 104 states that have endorsed the initiative. It has also been excluded from the nearly 50 interdiction exercises held since the PSI’s creation—exercises that are intended to enhance the capacity of concerned parties to cooperate.

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3. “Agreement between the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America for the Application of Safeguards,” International Atomic Energy Agency, INFCIRC/158, March 8, 1972, [http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/Others/inf\\_circ158.pdf](http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/Others/inf_circ158.pdf).

4. Thomas M. Countryman, “Administration Policy Related to Agreements for Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation (123 Agreements),” (testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 30, 2014), [http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Countryman\\_Testimony2.pdf](http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Countryman_Testimony2.pdf).

5. “Proliferation Security Initiative,” U.S. Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/c10390.htm>.

6. “Proliferation Security Initiative: Statement of Interdiction Principles,” U.S. Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/c27726.htm>.

Despite its exclusion, Taiwan has contributed to PSI efforts. In one widely reported incident in 2003, acting on U.S. intelligence, Taiwan detained and confiscated 158 barrels of phosphorus pentasulfide, a chemical used to produce rocket fuel, from a North Korean vessel docked in Taiwan.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that U.S. efforts to persuade Mainland China to endorse the PSI Statement of Interdiction Principles have not succeeded, as Beijing continues to cite concerns about the legality of interdictions.

Taiwan also suffers from a lack of access to the IAEA's Incident and Trafficking Database (ITDB) system, which was "established in 1995 to record and analyze incidents of illicit trafficking in nuclear and other radioactive material."<sup>8</sup> The ITDB shares information with participating states "on incidents ranging from illegal possession, attempted sale and smuggling to unauthorized disposal of material and discovery of lost radioactive sources."<sup>9</sup> All participating states are able to record suspicious incidents with the ITDB, and the ITDB Secretariat then carries out analyses to seek out possible trends in the flow of illicit materials. This analysis is subsequently disseminated to the ITDB's participating states. Because Taiwan has no access to the ITDB, it cannot share recordings of illegal possession or attempted sale of radioactive material in Taiwan with the Secretariat, thus rendering the Secretariat's analyses of global trends incomplete and putting all participating states at greater risk. Furthermore, Taiwan does not receive timely information on incidents involving nuclear materials or on developing trends that could have a great effect on Taiwan's safety. This is dangerous not only for Taiwan but for the larger international community; everyone would benefit from allowing Taiwan access to the IAEA's ITDB.

Additionally, nonparticipation in the IAEA prevents Taiwan from requesting a review of its physical protection systems for nuclear materials under the guidance of the International Physical Protection Advisory Service (IPPAS), a service created by the IAEA, which, "at the request of a Member State . . . assembles a team of international experts who assess the State's system of physical protection, compare it with international best practices and make recommendations for improvements."<sup>10</sup> Taiwan is left to develop its own internal review of physical protection systems with some limited guidance from the United States. International IPPAS inspections will be especially critical for Taiwan in the coming decade, as they begin to decommission all six of their nuclear reactors—an area in which Taiwan has zero experience.<sup>11</sup> Guidance and suggestions for best practices by IPPAS would certainly help to maintain the safety and security of nuclear materials in Taiwan as they undergo the decommissioning process.

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7. Robert Marquand, "Ship's Seizure Sends Warning to North Korea," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 12, 2003, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0812/p06s02-woap.html>.

8. "Incidents of Nuclear and Other Radioactive Material Out of Regulatory Control: 2014 Fact Sheet," IAEA Incident and Trafficking Database, <http://www-ns.iaea.org/downloads/security/itdb-fact-sheet.pdf>.

9. Ibid.

10. "International Physical Protection Advisory Service," International Atomic Energy Agency, <http://www-ns.iaea.org/security/ippas.asp>.

11. Tiehlin Yen, "Nuclear Security: A Pressing Issue Taiwan Is Overlooking," *Want China Times*, March 14, 2012, <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20120314000074&cid=1703>.

Another international body in which Taiwan is not represented is the World Institute for Nuclear Security (WINS), an INGO established in 2008 with the main objective of “providing an international forum for those accountable for nuclear security to share and promote the implementation of best security practices.”<sup>12</sup> Although it has participated in some of the nuclear security events cosponsored by WINS,<sup>13</sup> Taiwan has not yet gained membership in any capacity. As an INGO, WINS has membership requirements that are far less strict than more traditional, international organizations; thus, it provides a good opportunity for Taiwan to engage in dialogue on nuclear security with other countries. In fact, WINS membership “is open by application to individuals and legal entities,” and the group invites applications from the broadly defined “organisations and individuals that have accountabilities for nuclear security and who wish to contribute to the goals of WINS.”<sup>14</sup> With low barriers for membership and enhanced opportunity for international dialogue on nuclear security, Taiwan should encourage companies and individuals responsible for domestic nuclear security to seek membership in WINS.

On the cross-Strait front, Taiwan “signed a nuclear safety agreement with China in 2011, which demands each side of the Taiwan Strait share information on the safety of their nuclear power plants.”<sup>15</sup> Mainland China has a clear interest in ensuring that Taiwan maintains best practices in nuclear security; it should not oppose or otherwise interfere with Taiwan’s inclusion in the activity of international bodies that regulate the safety of nuclear materials. First, Mainland China would do well to foster an environment in which IPPAS inspections of Taiwanese facilities are possible. This would aid Taiwan in developing best practices that comport with international standards, thus maximizing safety at their nuclear facilities. Second, Mainland China should desist from any actions to block Taiwan’s companies and individuals from participation in IGOs like WINS; because these IGOs do not require statehood, Taiwan has every right to join them.

Efforts by Beijing, however, are only part of the battle. Taiwan must make its own full faith efforts to demonstrate to the international community that it is qualified for and deserves more participation in international organizations related to nuclear security and nonproliferation. Clearly, the island has a demonstrable and exemplary record, but it is difficult to identify official policies regarding nonproliferation and nuclear security that are in line with international standards. Taiwan should seize the opportunity to become a nonproliferation role model by formally declaring adherence to international practices and policies, whether or not it participates in the regimes that develop those policies. It can support both the PSI and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism by adhering formally and voluntarily to their statements of principles, and further seek out bilateral

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12. “Introducing WINS: Mission and Vision Statements, Quarterly Fact Flyers, and Annual Reports,” World Institute for Nuclear Security, [https://www.wins.org/index.php?article\\_id=52](https://www.wins.org/index.php?article_id=52).

13. National Nuclear Security Administration, “Workshop at Nevada National Security Site Brings Together Experts from a Dozen Countries” (news release, April 4, 2014), <http://nnsa.energy.gov/mediaroom/pressreleases/wins>.

14. “Registration Info,” World Institute for Nuclear Security, [https://www.wins.org/index.php?article\\_id=11](https://www.wins.org/index.php?article_id=11).

15. Yen, “Nuclear Security.”

exercises and activities that observe these principles. It can furthermore announce the adherence it already practices with IAEA standards, Nuclear Security Summit National Commitments, and WINS best practices. Taiwan should additionally seek out bilateral and multilateral cooperation with regional partners to further expand dialogue on nuclear security and nonproliferation.

# 6 | Transportation Security

Taiwan is a major international transportation hub. Taipei Taoyuan International Airport is the 14th-busiest airport worldwide in terms of international passengers, and the 10th-busiest in terms of international freight traffic.<sup>1</sup> Several ports in Taiwan are also centers for container shipping. In 2012, Taiwan's Kaohsiung Port ranked as the 13th-largest port in the world. That same year, Taiwan handled 13,977,000 TEU, accounting for approximately 7.4 percent of the total throughput in East Asia and 2.3 percent of the world total.<sup>2</sup> In 2013, as the Kaohsiung Port began handling larger containers, the number of container boxes passing through the port increased from 9.78 million to 9.94 million.<sup>3</sup>

Taiwan's importance to global shipping creates the crucial demand for a high level of transportation security and safety. In the Asia-Pacific region, Taiwan has clearly demonstrated its desire to cooperate with other countries to meet this goal. Under the name of Chinese Taipei, Taiwan has been actively involved in the APEC Transportation Working Group (TPT-WG), which is designed to enhance the safety of APEC transport systems in all transportation modes—sea, air, and land.<sup>4</sup> As part of its efforts to increase transportation security at ports without undermining efficiency, the TPT-WG set up the Development of Port Expert Group (PEG) in 1996 to facilitate sharing of information among ports in the APEC region. Taiwan was very active in this group from its inception, and because of the island's proven high-tech capabilities, it was put in charge of coordinating the technical standards and technology development aspect of the PEG. Moreover, in May 2003, Taiwan proposed the idea of establishing a Road Transportation Safety Experts Group (RSEG) to improve road safety in the APEC region; it later cochaired the group with the United States.<sup>5</sup> During the 24th APEC Transportation Working Group Meeting in 2004, the RSEG met as a group for the first time. The meeting was attended by 11 APEC member economies, in addition to a representative from the International Association of Traffic Safety Science. Mainland China, however, chose not to send a representative. In addition, Taiwan is

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1. "ACI Annual World Airport Traffic Report: International Passenger Traffic Monthly Ranking," Airports Council International, May 2014, <http://www.aci.aero/Data-Centre/Monthly-Traffic-Data/International-Passenger-Rankings/Monthly>.

2. Port Rankings, International Association of Ports and Harbors, <http://www.iaphworldports.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=PMewveDCUUG%3d&tabid=4879>.

3. Lee Hong Liang, "Kaohsiung Port Handles 9.94m TEU in 2013," Seatrade Global (Singapore), September 22, 2014, <http://www.seatrade-global.com/news/asia/kaohsiung-moves-994m-teu-of-throughput-in-2013.html>.

4. "Home: Transportation," Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, <http://www.apec.org/Groups/SOM-Steering-Committee-on-Economic-and-Technical-Cooperation/Working-Groups/Transportation.aspx>.

5. "Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation: The 24th Transportation Working Group Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand, August 16–20, 2004," <http://www.iot.gov.tw/fp.asp?xItem=105935&ctNode=102&mp=2>.

**Table 2. Taiwan Sea Transportation Data (2012)**

Sea Transportation	Imports and exports carried by national and foreign vessels	Exports	46.5 million megatonnes
		Imports	166.1 million megatonnes
	Freight handled at seaports	Loading	284.6 million revenue tons
		Unloading	406.3 million revenue tons

Source: Council for Economic Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (Taiwan), *Taiwan Statistical Data Book 2013*.

involved in the APEC TPT-WG Aviation Safety Experts Subgroup, in which China is also a participant.

Since the events of 9/11, Taiwan has been cooperating with the United States extensively on shipping safety, especially container security. The Container Security Initiative (CSI) was created by the U.S. Customs Service (now U.S. Customs and Border Protection) as a part of its efforts to develop global counterterrorism programs.<sup>6</sup> The Kaohsiung Port in southern Taiwan is one of the 20 seaports that Customs and Border Protection included in the first-phase implementation of the plan.<sup>7</sup> Since 2005, officials from both the United States and Taiwan have been working together on implementing the CSI in Kaohsiung, as well as in the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan. Taiwan has successfully interdicted hundreds of illicit shipments through the CSI, including an August 2005 shipment labeled plastic toys that actually contained US\$2 million in counterfeit currency, and a January 2007 shipment that contained pseudoephedrine, which can be used to make narcotics—both bound for ports in the United States.

Cooperation with the United States is further extended through Taiwan's participation in the Megaports Initiative, which is another U.S.-led initiative aimed at assisting foreign customs bodies to enhance detection capabilities for special nuclear and other radioactive materials in containerized cargo.<sup>8</sup> Megaports notably examines *all* containers passing through the harbor, as opposed to CSI, which only examines those bound for the United States. Former AIT director William Stanton called the cooperation “a potent symbol of the commitment of Taiwan and the United States to international maritime security.”<sup>9</sup> In September 2013, the United States transferred control over the operation and maintenance of the radiation detection systems at the port of Kaohsiung to local authorities.<sup>10</sup> With the significant progress that Taiwan has made in this area, the island is considered a model in implementing the Mega-

6. “CSI: Container Security Initiative,” U.S. Customs and Border Protection, <http://www.cbp.gov/border-security/ports-entry/cargo-security/csi/csi-brief>.

7. “U.S. Wants Kaohsiung in Shipping Security Program,” *Taipei Times*, August 7, 2003, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2003/08/07/2003062620>.

8. “Megaports Initiative,” U.S. Department of Energy, National Nuclear Security Administration, <http://nnsa.energy.gov/aboutus/ourprograms/nonproliferation/programoffices/internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5>.

9. “Megaports Initiative Completes Installation in Kaohsiung Harbor,” News and Events, PR-1107E, American Institute in Taiwan, February 2, 2011, <http://www.ait.org.tw/en/pressrelease-pr1107.html>.

10. “U.S. to Hand Over Control Over Radiation Detection System to Taiwan,” *Global Post* (Kyodo News International), September 25, 2013, <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/kyodo-news-international/130925/us-hand-over-control-over-radiation-detection-system-t>.

ports Initiative. It has interdicted more than 200 radioactive shipments since 2005, including a June 2011 shipment containing Cesium-137 from the Netherlands, which was handed over to Taiwan's Atomic Energy Council, and a March 2014 shipment also containing Cesium-137, which was shipped back to the country of origin, Guatemala.

Taiwan's exemplary performance in the CSI and Megaports programs provide examples of contributions Taiwan can make to international security if given the opportunity. Exclusion of Taiwan from these programs would have created dangerous security gaps in the international shipping and nonproliferation systems. Holes in the system do remain, however, including the previously mentioned fact that Taiwan is unable to report interdictions of illicit materials to the IAEA through the ITDB. These incidents therefore go largely unnoticed by the larger international community.

Despite clear efforts to ensure transportation safety, Taiwan still faces a large number of obstacles in joining a number of international transportation organizations. For example, because Taiwan is not a member in the World Customs Organization (WCO), it cannot contribute to the WCO's work aimed at enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of customs administrations and promoting trade safety.<sup>11</sup> However, the Taiwan government still complies with global standards by promoting the shipping security initiatives proposed by various international organizations. Taiwan has followed the WCO SAFE Framework of Standards to Secure and Facilitate Global Trade (a set of maritime customs clearance procedures) since 2006, as well as the WCO Data Model, which calls for members to implement a supply chain security system that will be certified and inspected by other WCO members. WCO SAFE additionally promotes the share of information among agencies of different countries in order to better protect shipping safety. While Taiwan has implemented its own supply chain security system, including WCO SAFE Authorized Economic Operator (AEO) programs, its lack of WCO membership prevents cooperation, certification, and inspection, as well as the sharing of critical information among WCO member countries. In an attempt to minimize this gap, Taiwan has signed AEO mutual recognition agreements (MRAs)<sup>12</sup> with the United States in 2012, Singapore in 2013, and Israel in 2013. Taiwan should seek out more friendly countries with which to sign MRAs in order to further enhance its shipping safety and security practices.

Taiwan also continues to face obstacles in its quest to expand its participation in the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which is a specialized UN agency that sets the standards and regulations for aviation safety, security, efficiency, regulation, and environmental protection. Taiwan was a founding member of ICAO in 1944, but its membership was nullified after losing representation in the United Nations. Taiwan launched its effort to "rejoin" the organization in 2009. The island's exclusion from ICAO has prevented its civil aviation authorities from obtaining timely information regarding ICAO standards

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11. "Home: Project Origin," CPT Single Window, [http://cptsw.customs.gov.tw/en/Introduction\\_detail\\_01.asp](http://cptsw.customs.gov.tw/en/Introduction_detail_01.asp).

12. Mutual recognition agreements allow both countries to recognize and validate the risk determination of cargo. This is done to lower the burden on customs agencies from having to independently validate supply chains around the world.

**Table 3. Taiwan Aviation and Rail Data (2012)**

	<i>Rail &amp; Motor Carrier Traffic</i>	<i>Civil Aviation Traffic</i>
<b>Passenger Traffic</b>	2.1 billion persons	45.4 million persons
<b>Freight Traffic</b>	667.1 million megatonnes	1.7 million megatonnes
<b>Number of Flights</b>	N/A	404,695

*Source:* Council for Economic Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, R.O.C. (Taiwan), *Taiwan Statistical Data Book 2013*.

and recommended practices (SARPs), which has impeded Taiwan's efforts to maintain civil aviation practices that comport with evolving international standards. SARPs are international conventions that set guidelines for aviation safety and ensure consistency of policies in the aviation community. Taiwan also lacks access to ICAO's secure database, which contains critical information on flight safety and environmental protection. Taiwan's continued inability to access ICAO's secure database, to receive technical assistance in implementing new regulations, and to participate in technical meetings hosted by ICAO poses ongoing inefficiencies and risks for aviation safety in Taipei's Flight Information Region.

Taiwan did participate in the 38th International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) Assembly in September 2013 as an invited guest of the ICAO Council president, but it fell short of its hope to become an observer. The island's presence at triennial ICAO Assemblies does not guarantee involvement in ICAO Council and technical meetings, nor access to ICAO's secure database. It remains to be seen whether the island's participation will be sustained and whether it will gain much-needed access to information within ICAO.

# 7 | Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief

Taiwan's NGOs have played a prominent role in humanitarian relief efforts both domestically and regionwide. The island has a large number of volunteers and NGOs with a high level of competency and experience, ensuring the efficiency and effectiveness of Taiwan's numerous humanitarian assistance programs. Many of these internationally renowned NGOs demonstrate Taiwan's desire and qualifications to contribute to global HADR efforts. For example, the Taiwan-based Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, founded in 1966, currently has nearly 10 million volunteers and donors in 50 countries, and has provided relief in more than 85 countries.<sup>1</sup> As part of its disaster relief efforts after Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013, Tzu Chi set up free medical clinics that saw thousands of patients, served 190,000 hot meals, built more than 50 prefabricated classrooms, and implemented a cash-for-work program that enabled residents to buy materials for rebuilding.<sup>2</sup> Through contributions such as this, Tzu Chi has earned well-deserved recognition from the international community. As early as 1998, the Tzu Chi Foundation received the International Human Rights Award from the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, the so-called "Little UN."<sup>3</sup> Active NGOs such as the Tzu Chi Foundation have made significant contributions to boosting Taiwan's international image, and therefore its credentials, for broadened participation in global HADR efforts.

By engaging in "disaster diplomacy," Taiwan NGOs play a prominent role in helping the island participate in international HADR groups. For example, its participation in the Red Cross Society facilitates Taiwan's cooperation with other nations. The Taiwan Red Cross Society worked directly with the Japanese Red Cross Society in the aftermath of the March 2011 tsunami in Japan. Taiwan's Red Cross delivered NT\$2.49 billion (US\$85.8 million) raised by the Taiwan public to the Japanese Red Cross Society for emergency relief and post-disaster reconstruction projects.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, after the devastating 2008 earthquake in Sichuan Province, the Taiwan Red Cross Society sent substantial financial and medical aid and

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1. "About Tzu Chi," Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, February 24, 2010, [http://www.us.tzuchi.org/us/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=96&Itemid=182&lang=en](http://www.us.tzuchi.org/us/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=96&Itemid=182&lang=en).

2. "Disaster Relief: The Love and Blessings from Tzu Chi," Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, December 16, 2013, [http://www.us.tzuchi.org/us/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2287%3Athe-love-and-blessings-from-tzu-chi&catid=187%3Atyphoon-haiyan&Itemid=539&lang=en](http://www.us.tzuchi.org/us/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2287%3Athe-love-and-blessings-from-tzu-chi&catid=187%3Atyphoon-haiyan&Itemid=539&lang=en).

3. "Our Founder: Awards and Recognitions," Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation, December 4, 2009, [http://www.us.tzuchi.org/us/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=257&Itemid=295&lang=en](http://www.us.tzuchi.org/us/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=257&Itemid=295&lang=en).

4. "Taiwan: Charities Call for Continued Support of Japan Quake-Tsunami Victims," *The China Post*, March 11, 2013, <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/foreign-affairs/2013/03/11/372711/Charities-call.htm>.

personnel to Sichuan,<sup>5</sup> working together with other countries' Red Cross branches. The Taiwan Red Cross Society cooperated significantly with staff from the Red Cross Society of China to help train personnel from Gansu and Sichuan in the implementation of a cash transfer program.<sup>6</sup>

Taiwan NGOs' "disaster diplomacy" also reaches regions beyond the Asia-Pacific. Eden Social Welfare Foundation, a Taiwan NGO aimed at helping people with disabilities, has done work in a number of countries, including China, Vietnam, Mozambique, Afghanistan, and Iraq.<sup>7</sup> For example, in response to the 2001 earthquake in El Salvador, in addition to providing immediate relief efforts, Eden invited an El Salvadorian delegation to Taiwan to study post-earthquake reconstruction. NGOs like Eden enable Taiwan to play a role in international organizations despite being barred from membership. Currently, Eden participates in five international organizations, including International Association Volunteer Efforts, the largest volunteer network in the world.<sup>8</sup>

President Ma Ying-jeou has publicly recognized the importance of NGO and governmental HADR efforts for Taiwan's regional integration and international engagement. He cites humanitarian work as a main factor in Taiwan's second line of national defense: enhancing Taiwan's contributions to international development.<sup>9</sup>

In 2003, in an effort to better coordinate and centralize Taiwan's HADR efforts, the government established the National Science and Technology Center for Disaster Reduction (NCDR). One of the center's core missions is to facilitate the exchange of disaster-related information with international partners. The center is also devoted to researching new technologies and training personnel for HADR missions. In addition, the Taiwan government established the Taiwan International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF) in 1996, which is affiliated with the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Aside from supporting Taiwan's government in carrying out international humanitarian assistance programs, the Taiwan ICDF also cooperates with NGOs to fulfill its mission. From June 1 to September 30, 2014, the Taiwan ICDF implemented a relief program, working with World Vision Taiwan, to help localities in the Leyte Province in the Philippines with the rehabilitation of rural health units and Barangay Health Centers damaged by Typhoon Haiyan.

Changes in the operational readiness and training of Taiwan's armed forces were made in response to the government's new HADR priorities,<sup>10</sup> in part due to domestic pressure

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5. "Taiwan's Red Cross Sends Members to Quake-Hit Province," China.org.cn, September 22, 2014, [http://china.org.cn/china/2013-04/24/content\\_28628620.htm](http://china.org.cn/china/2013-04/24/content_28628620.htm).

6. "China: Sichuan Earthquake," *International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Operations Update*, no. 27 (May 12, 2010): 18, <http://www.ifrc.org/docs/appeals/08/MDRCN00327.pdf>.

7. "Our Themes: International Relief," EDEN Social Welfare Foundation, <http://engweb.eden.org.tw/newpage/intro2.php>.

8. Ibid.

9. Ma Ying-jeou, "Building National Security for the Republic of China" (transcript of speech), Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 12, 2011, [http://csis.org/files/attachments/110512\\_President\\_Ma\\_CSIS\\_0.pdf](http://csis.org/files/attachments/110512_President_Ma_CSIS_0.pdf).

10. Fu S. Mei, "Taiwan's Defense Transformation and Challenges under Ma Ying-Jeou," *China Brief* 11, no. 7 (April 22, 2011), [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=37838&no\\_cache=1#.U-JpJ\\_ldVyx](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=37838&no_cache=1#.U-JpJ_ldVyx).

**Table 4. Taiwan's International HADR Operations**

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Disaster</i>	<i>Diplomatic Ally?</i>	<i>Did China interfere?</i>	<i>What was sent?</i>
Macedonia	1999	Instability in neighboring Kosovo	Yes, at the time	Indirectly, through use of its UN veto	10 medical and engineering personnel; a military helicopter from the Ministry of Defense was also donated
Indonesia	2004	Tsunami	No	Yes, insignia on planes were blocked out and the C-130 had to land in Singapore. Taiwan and Taiwan NGOs were also prevented from participating in the Jakarta summit in 2005.	C-130 Hercules transport aircraft
Indonesia	2006	Earthquake	No	No information available	C-130 Hercules transport aircraft
Philippines	2009	Typhoon	No	No information available	C-130 Hercules transport aircraft
Haiti	2010	Earthquake	Yes	No	1 C-130 Hercules transport aircraft to the Dominican Republic, military doctors
Philippines	2013	Typhoon	No	No	2 C-130 Hercules transport aircraft (multiple sorties), navy frigate <i>Chung He</i> (two trips)
Palau	2013	Typhoon	Yes	No information available	Navy Kang Ding-class frigates, <i>Chung He</i> and <i>Kun Ming</i>
Malaysia	2014	Missing Airplane	No	Yes, Taiwan was compelled to withdraw its ships and aircraft after Mainland China objected, demanding that Malaysia disinvite Taiwan, deny Taiwan's ships from refueling, and refer to the sole citizen from Taiwan on the passenger list as Chinese.	2 C-130 Hercules transport aircraft, Tian Dan frigate, and a Lafayette-class frigate

*Source:* This table was compiled by Jessica Drun, graduate student at Georgetown University.

after Typhoon Morakot hit Taiwan in August 2009. The island's perceived inadequate response to Morakot prompted Taiwan's Legislative Yuan to pass an amendment to the Disaster Prevention and Rescue Act of July 13, 2010 that transformed the task-oriented Disaster Protection and Prevention Commission into a new permanent office.<sup>11</sup> The law now requires that the Ministry of National Defense activate a rescue response in the event of a disaster, making the military a critical component of Taiwan's HADR policy.<sup>12</sup>

The military's new HADR focus provides Taiwan with an even greater capacity to contribute to regional HADR cooperation. After the devastation of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, the Taiwan Air Force flew 18 flights with C-130 Hercules cargo planes carrying 150 tons of relief supplies between November 12 and November 21, and the Taiwan Navy delivered hundreds of metric tons of relief supplies to the Philippines authorities and Taiwan NGOs on the ground.<sup>13</sup> Another example of the contribution of Taiwan's military to regional HADR came after Malaysia Airlines Flight 370 went missing while carrying 239 passengers from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing on March 8, 2014.<sup>14</sup> In response to a request from Malaysia, Taiwan attempted to join the search effort, which involved 26 countries, nearly 60 ships, and 50 aircraft at the peak of operations.<sup>15</sup> Both Taiwan's Navy and Coast Guard dispatched vessels, and the Taiwan Air Force sent two C-130 aircraft to search over the South China Sea. Taiwan was compelled to withdraw its ships and aircraft, however, after Mainland China objected, demanding that Malaysia disinvite Taiwan from the search effort, deny Taiwan's ships from refueling at Malaysia's ports, and refer to the sole citizen from Taiwan on the passenger list as Chinese.<sup>16</sup> Taiwan was thus unable to participate in the humanitarian search efforts, despite demonstrated excellence in HADR experience and activities.

Regardless of Taiwan's demonstrated capability and desire to contribute to regional and international relief efforts, the island is prevented from partaking in multilateral HADR exercises and activities. Taiwan's military is not included in exercises held under the ADMM-Plus mechanism. The ADMM-Plus is a platform for ASEAN and its eight Dialogue Partners to strengthen cooperation. Five areas of practical cooperation were identified at the inaugural ADMM-Plus in 2010: maritime security, counterterrorism, humanitarian assistance and disaster management, peacekeeping operation, and military medicine—all areas to which Taiwan could make substantial contributions as well as derive benefit from multilateral cooperation. Taiwan should make efforts to participate in the newly established ASEAN HADR coordination center located in Singapore's Changi Command and Control Center. The

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11. "Government to Set Up Standing Disaster Response Office," *Taiwan Today*, July 14, 2010, <http://www.taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=110527&CtNode=436>.

12. Ibid.

13. Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in the Philippines, "Update on POC Relief Aid to the Philippines in the Wake of Typhoon Haiyan" (press release no. 330, December 6, 2013), <http://www.roc-taiwan.org/PH/fp.asp?xItem=456367&ctNode=4695&mp=272>.

14. Ansuya Harjani, "Timeline of Flight MH370," CNBC-Asia-Pacific News, March 24, 2014, <http://www.cnbc.com/id/101485972#>.

15. Seow Bei Yi, "MH370: Straits Times Web Special Highlights Sea and Air Assets Used in the Hunt," *The Straits Times* (Singapore), April 9, 2014, <http://www.straitstimes.com/news/singapore/more-singapore-stories/story/mh370-strait-times-web-special-highlights-sea-and-air-a>.

16. Author conversation with U.S. official, July 28, 2014.

center is seeking support from all ASEAN countries, as well as from regional disaster relief organizations. According to the Singapore Armed Forces, the center “will not just collate and share information among its partners but also take the decision deploying a response team within 48 hours of a disaster to ground zero.”<sup>17</sup> Taiwan should attempt to join in this type of information sharing in its region and contribute its expansive HADR experience and knowledge to the developing organization. Taiwan is not included in the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC), the world’s largest multinational maritime exercise (hosted every other year by the United States), although it is seeking to participate in humanitarian aid drills.<sup>18</sup> The United States missed an opportunity to include Taiwan when it invited the PRC to join in 2014 and, at a minimum, should permit Taiwan to be an observer in 2016.

Taiwan is also denied participation in activities under UN-related disaster relief groups, including the UN International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR), which aims “to serve as the focal point in the United Nations system for the coordination of disaster reduction and to ensure synergies among the disaster reduction activities of the United Nations system and regional organizations and activities in socio-economic and humanitarian fields.”<sup>19</sup> Moreover, it is excluded from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), which is “responsible for bringing together humanitarian actors to ensure a coherent response to emergencies.”<sup>20</sup> Because it is barred from these organizations, Taiwan is unable to contribute its wealth of HADR-related knowledge and expertise, and it is equally unable to learn the most up-to-date HADR policies and practices that are shared at multilateral expert meetings. UNOCHA did send a disaster advisory team to Taiwan after Typhoon Morakot in 2009, but only after receiving the green light from Beijing. The OCHA representatives commended Taiwan for its excellent relief efforts in the aftermath of Typhoon Morakot.<sup>21</sup> Taiwan was able to participate in one UNOCHA-hosted Regional Policy Forum for Asia and the Pacific from May 28–29, 2013,<sup>22</sup> but has not been able to attend any other UNOCHA-related meetings. The UNISDR is currently organizing the third World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (WCDRR), to be held in March 14–18, 2015, in Sendai City, Japan, and should consider ways to include representatives from Taiwan. WCDRR welcomes participation from relevant NGOs and “other groups,” including academia and research institutions, but Taiwan was not able to partake in either of the previous two WCDRR meetings.

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17. Jermyn Chow, “Regional Disaster Centre Starts Work to Sharpen Military Response,” *Asia One Singapore*, September 12, 2014, <http://news.asiaone.com/news/singapore/regional-disaster-centre-starts-work-sharpen-military-response>.

18. “Taiwan to Continue to Seek RIMPAC Participation: Official,” CNA, July 7, 2014, <http://www.wantchina-times.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20140707000021&cid=1101>.

19. “Home: Our Mandate,” United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, <http://www.unisdr.org/who-we-are/mandate>.

20. “Home: Who We Are,” United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, <http://www.unocha.org/about-us/who-we-are>.

21. “UN Dispatches Disaster Advisory Team,” *Taiwan Today*, August 24, 2009, <http://taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=60118&ctNode=452&mp=9>; “United Nations Commends Taiwan on Disaster Relief Efforts,” Kuomintang Official Website, September 2, 2009, <http://www.kmt.org.tw/english/page.aspx?type=article&mnum=112&anum=6812>.

22. “Regional Policy Forum for Asia and the Pacific,” United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, <http://www.unocha.org/what-we-do/policy/events/regional-policy-forum-asia-and-pacific>.

On the regional front, Taiwan is able to fully participate in APEC working groups on HADR. In fact, the majority of Taiwan's regional HADR cooperation falls under their participation in APEC's Emergency Preparedness Working Group (EPWG), which is mandated to coordinate and facilitate emergency and disaster preparedness within APEC. Dr. Li Wei-sen, the secretary general at Taiwan's NCDR, serves as the cochair of the EPWG, along with his Japanese counterpart, Mr. Kyoshi Natori, who is the executive director of the Tokyo-based Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC).

Taiwan's government has also done HADR work in regions outside of the Asia-Pacific. Immediately after the earthquake in Haiti in 2010, the Taiwan government initiated the inter-ministerial coordination mechanism under the International Humanitarian Rescue Missions plan,<sup>23</sup> and donated US\$300,000 to the Pan American Development Foundation (PADF) for reconstruction work.<sup>24</sup> A Taiwan Air Force C-130 also delivered six tons of medical supplies for the earthquake victims.<sup>25</sup> In 2012, Taiwan and the PADF signed a multiyear agreement to start a regional disaster assistance and reconstruction fund for Latin American and Caribbean countries. Due to the active role that Taiwan played in relief efforts after the Haiti earthquake, Taiwan was invited by Dominican Republic president Leonel Fernández to participate in the World Summit for the Reconstruction of Haiti on April 14, 2010, to exchange views on long-term aid to Haiti.<sup>26</sup>

The regional and larger international community could benefit greatly from Taiwan's ample experience and expertise in HADR, and Taiwan should be able to contribute to related organizations, activities, and exercises. Both UNISDR and UNOCHA have loose participation requirements and seek to work with all relevant stakeholders across the globe to fulfill their missions. Such stakeholders include regional entities like the ADRC and civil society organizations like the Red Cross. Although there is an information page on UNISDR's website for Taiwan (China), Taiwan is unable to participate in the majority of relevant meetings via official government channels or its NGOs. UNOCHA is funded by both the UN regular budget and the OCHA Donor Support Group (ODSG), which comprises voluntary contributors from a diverse set of donors. The ODSG meets regularly at the technical level to act as a sounding board for OCHA policies and procedures. Because both UNISDR and UNOCHA's participatory requirements are so relaxed, Mainland China has little argument against Taiwan's enhanced participation in related meetings. Taiwan should therefore be permitted to participate in UN meetings on disaster risk reduction. Taiwan has much to contribute to these meetings, and their organizational missions can only be enhanced by the island's inclusion and participation, either at the official or unofficial level. Taiwan's NGOs could

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23. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Department of NGO International Affairs, "Taiwan Assists Haiti with Relief Work Immediately after Devastating Earthquake" (press release, January 13, 2010), [http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News\\_Content.aspx?n=BD8C1D680FE8E4DF&sms=662FB927E64E0F1A&s=00C79C07CE201C52](http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News_Content.aspx?n=BD8C1D680FE8E4DF&sms=662FB927E64E0F1A&s=00C79C07CE201C52).

24. Pan American Development Foundation, "Taiwan Contributes to PADF's '3Rs' in Haiti" (press release, May 12, 2011), <http://www.padf.org/press/release/taiwan-contributes-to-padfs-3rs-in-haiti>.

25. "Taiwanese C-130 Lands in Santo Domingo," *Taipei Times*, January 26, 2010, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2010/01/26/2003464420>.

26. Lee Shu-hua and Deborah Kuo, "Humanitarian Aid Integrates Taiwan into World Community: Ma," CNA, February 1, 2010, [http://www.cna.com.tw/proj\\_tl\\_eng/Detail.aspx?Category=6&TNo=9&ID=201003300008](http://www.cna.com.tw/proj_tl_eng/Detail.aspx?Category=6&TNo=9&ID=201003300008).

also seek to join the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response (AADMER) Partnership Group (APG), which is a consortium of civil society organizations that assist in the implementation of the agreement.<sup>27</sup> The current APG chair is Oxfam Great Britain, and other members include World Vision, an international organization in which Taiwan is already highly active. APG encourages membership by ASEAN civil society organizations, other international NGOs, and international organizations. Through its home-based NGOs like the Tzu Chi Foundation, Taiwan could seek to join APG. Membership would provide an opportunity not only to interact with regional partners but also to build relationships with ASEAN groups that work on HADR, potentially creating inroads to participation in related groups such as the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management.

In addition, Taiwan could contribute to international HADR efforts through its state-of-the-art National Fire Agency Training Center (NFA Training Center) in Zhushan, Nantou County, which was established in 2010. The NFA Training Center is a 2.7 square mile campus that offers “training simulations ranging from shipboard evacuations by helicopter to swift water training to urban SAR in collapsed buildings.”<sup>28</sup> As one of the three largest such training facilities in the world, the Center is able to train more than 700 people at a time. Participants in training courses have included representatives from the Korean Coast Guard as well as firefighters from Korea<sup>29</sup> and the Philippines.<sup>30</sup> The Center could provide training for law-enforcement agencies and first responders throughout the region, and could host multinational HADR training exercises.

The DPP, Taiwan’s main opposition party, has proposed additional steps that Taiwan could take to enhance its capacity to carry out HADR missions at home and abroad. These include building a 10,000 ton hospital ship to provide peacetime emergency medical assistance to Taiwan’s off-shore islands as well as foreign populations and developing Taiping Island (Itu Aba) as a forward base for foreign HADR missions in the South China Sea.<sup>31</sup>

Taiwan has significant capability and expertise to contribute to regional and international HADR efforts, and the international community loses out by excluding Taiwan from multilateral exercises and organizations, especially those that take place in the Asian region. Taiwan can and should be allowed to contribute to larger HADR coordination efforts worldwide.

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27. “Who We Are: Members,” AADMER Partnership Group, <http://www.aadmerpartnership.org/who-we-are/members/>.

28. National Fire Agency Training Center—Taiwan, December 18, 2013, <https://www.tdisdi.com/national-fire-agency-training-center-taiwan/>.

29. Ibid.

30. Zheng Minghua, “National Fire Agency Holds 2012 Chinese-Filipino Youth Firefighter Training Camp” (消防署訓練中心承辦2012菲律賓華僑商青年消防研習營), National Fire Agency Press Release, Republic of China (Taiwan), Ministry of the Interior, May 3, 2012, <http://enews.nfa.gov.tw/print-news.asp?NewsNo=17612&enlarge=1>.

31. Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan, “DPP defense policy blue paper no. 8: humanitarian assistance and disaster relief,” December 4, 2014, <http://english.dpp.org.tw/wp-content/uploads/PUB-08.pdf>.

# 8 | Human Security

Every year 80,000 victims are trafficked across international borders.<sup>1</sup> In Asia (including South Asia), more than 10,000 cases of human trafficking cases were recorded between 2007 and 2010 alone.<sup>2</sup> Taiwan is a major destination and, to a lesser extent, a transit territory of men, women, and children subjected to sex trafficking and forced labor.<sup>3</sup> There were 845 cases of human trafficking recorded in Taiwan between 2008 and 2013, accounting for approximately 9 percent of the total number of cases in Asia (see Table 5).

Despite the fact that Taiwan is not a UN member state, its numerous pieces of legislation tackling the problem of human trafficking are consistent with the “3P paradigm” proposed in the United Nations Palermo Protocol,<sup>4</sup> which emphasizes combating human trafficking through three approaches: prosecution, protection, and prevention. Taiwan’s Human Trafficking Prevention Act, enacted in 2009, incorporates the 3P paradigm and establishes a solid framework for combating human trafficking. In recognition of its efforts to fight human trafficking, Taiwan has been listed as a tier one country in the U.S. human trafficking report published by the U.S. Department of State for the past five years.<sup>5</sup>

Even though Taiwan’s legislation strictly follows the “3P paradigm,” Taiwan cannot ratify the Palermo Convention, in which the “3P paradigm” is proposed, due to its lack of membership in the UN.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Taiwan is also unable to ratify other international legal instruments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Stockholm Declaration

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1. “Human Trafficking Statistics,” Polaris Project, <http://www.cicatelli.org/titlex/downloadable/human%20trafficking%20statistics.pdf>.

2. “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons,” United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, [http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/Trafficking\\_in\\_Persons\\_2012\\_web.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/Trafficking_in_Persons_2012_web.pdf).

3. “2013 Trafficking in Persons Report Taiwan (Tier 1),” American Institute in Taiwan, 2013, <http://www.ait.org.tw/en/2013-trafficking-in-persons-report-taiwan.html>; *Trafficking in Persons Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2013), <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/210737.pdf>.

4. “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime,” United Nations General Assembly, 2000, [http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final\\_documents\\_2/convention\\_%20traff\\_eng.pdf](http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf).

5. “Taiwan: U.S. Ranks Taiwan Tier 1 in Combating Human Trafficking,” Underrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, June 20, 2013, <http://www.unpo.org/article/16090>; “Taiwan Gets 4th Tier 1 Ranking in U.S. Human Trafficking Report,” *Taiwan Focus*, June 20, 2013, <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aipl/201306200014.aspx>.

6. “Penal Matters,” chap. 18 in *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons*, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, September 26, 2008, <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/countrylist-traffickingprotocol.html>.

**Table 5. Number of Human Trafficking Cases in Taiwan**

Year	Cases	Persons	Exploitation Type			
			Labor		Sex	
			Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons
2008	165	601	40	106	113	452
2009	118	335	35	102	83	233
2010	115	441	41	110	76	346
2011	151	437	72	179	80	259
2012	169	458	34	57	136	408
2013	127	334	46	103	84	219

Source: “2013 Trafficking in Persons Report,” National Immigration Agency, Republic of China (Taiwan), <https://www.immigration.gov.tw/public/Data/45131753971.pdf>.

and Agenda for Action.<sup>7</sup> Taiwan is barred from joining other UN-affiliated anti-human trafficking organizations as well. In March 2007, the UN launched the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT). The organization’s steering group coordinates participating organizations and their members in order to ensure the most efficient and effective delivery of activities to eradicate human trafficking. UN.GIFT clearly states the organization’s stance that human trafficking “cannot be dealt with successfully by any government alone,” and it seeks to work with multiple stakeholders—not only sovereign governments but also businesses, academia, civil society, and the media.<sup>8</sup> Despite the clear avenues for participation through either local businesses or civil society, Taiwan is still excluded from any collaboration with UN.GIFT at the governmental or nongovernmental level.

At the regional level, Taiwan participates in APEC anti-human trafficking discussions where possible. In September 2013, Taiwan joined an APEC-hosted Pathfinder Dialogue titled “Combating Corruption and Illicit Trade across the Asia-Pacific Region,” which was attended by policymakers from over 20 APEC, ASEAN, and Pacific Island Forum economies.<sup>9</sup> This is the only APEC dialogue that addresses human trafficking directly. Other large regional anti-human trafficking organizations are largely off-limits to Taiwan, including those housed under an ASEAN framework.

Because of its inability to become a member of any UN-based organization, Taiwan’s already limited participation in intergovernmental anti-human trafficking agencies is largely confined to NGO participation. Since 1988, the Taipei Women’s Rescue Foundation

7. “Global Monitoring Report on the Status of Action against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: Taiwan,” ECPAT International, 2006, [http://www.humantrafficking.org/uploads/publications/Global\\_Monitoring\\_Report-TAIWAN.pdf](http://www.humantrafficking.org/uploads/publications/Global_Monitoring_Report-TAIWAN.pdf).

8. “UN.GIFT,” United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, <http://www.ungift.org/knowledgehub/en/about/index.html>.

9. “Bangkok, Thailand,” APEC Pathfinder Dialogue with ASEAN/PIF Partners Combating Corruption and Illicit Trade across the Asia-Pacific Region, September 23–25, 2013, [http://www.apec.org/~media/Files/Groups/ACT/20131027\\_PathfinderDialogue\\_ChairsSummary\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.apec.org/~media/Files/Groups/ACT/20131027_PathfinderDialogue_ChairsSummary_FINAL.pdf).

has been providing medical assistance to women who are victims of human trafficking, while also helping them to prosecute human traffickers.<sup>10</sup> Taiwan also participates in the End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT), a global network of organizations that seeks to end the trafficking of children.<sup>11</sup> For the past 20 years, ECPAT Taiwan has been working with child victims of human trafficking. Mainland China is not a member of ECPAT and therefore has limited ability to impede Taiwan's participation, but Taiwan has nonetheless been excluded from government level representation at the international conferences of the World Congress against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents co-organized by ECPAT International.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to its active involvement in social organizations, Taiwan has limited bilateral cooperation with other countries on human trafficking. Taiwan has signed memoranda on fighting human trafficking with Mongolia, Indonesia, Vietnam, and The Gambia, among other countries. And in May 2014, Taiwan became the first in the Asia-Pacific region to sign a memorandum of understanding with the United States on fighting human trafficking.<sup>13</sup> The signing of the U.S.-Taiwan MOU not only demonstrates Taiwan's willingness to continue to cooperate with others in the battle against human trafficking but also affirms Taiwan's substantial ongoing efforts and competency in fighting human trafficking.

Human trafficking is a transnational security threat, and in order to sufficiently and effectively combat it, regional and international cooperation is critical. As a responsible, developed society, Taiwan has a moral responsibility to contribute to the fight against human trafficking, but its ability to do so remains limited by Mainland China's opposition to expanding its international role. Human trafficking, however, is an area in which the individual rather than the state reaps the benefits of increased international coordination. Nations take on the fight against human trafficking less to maintain the security of the state and more because they recognize the inhumane nature of the threat. There are really no reasonable grounds for Mainland China to oppose Taiwan's attendance at the World Congress against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents, for example. Taiwan's many NGOs that work on this issue have extensive knowledge and experience to contribute, and they can continue to learn about new developments and best practices from enhanced interaction with other nations that seek to stop human trafficking.

Taiwan could seize the opportunity to play a more active role in anti-human trafficking through APEC. Cooperation on anti-human trafficking under the APEC framework is currently extremely limited. The most developed forum for dialogue is the aforementioned Pathfinder Dialogue, which has only met once. Taiwan, as a full member of APEC, therefore has an opportunity to take a leading role in the fight against human trafficking. Taiwan

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10. "About TWRF," Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation, <http://www.twrf.org.tw/p1-about2.asp>.

11. "What We Do," End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes, ECPAT International, <http://www.ecpat.net/what-we-do>.

12. "Global Monitoring Report on the Status of Action against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: Taiwan," ECPAT International, <http://www.humantrafficking.org/countries/taiwan>.

13. Republic of China (Taiwan), Taipei Mission in the Republic of Latvia, "ROC, US Sign Memorandum of Understanding on Fighting Human Trafficking" (press release, June 3, 2014), <http://www.roc-taiwan.org/LV/ct.asp?xItem=514033&ctNode=7925&mp=507>.

could offer to host the second Pathfinder Dialogue in Taipei in 2015, demonstrating to the world its commitment to international cooperation against human trafficking. Friendly nations like the United States would view this as a spur to international cooperation and development, and it would boost the overall perception of Taiwan in the international community.

# 9 | Cybersecurity

Taiwan faces enormous challenges in the sphere of cybersecurity, but at the same time it presents a unique opportunity to others in the international community. Mainland China, now notorious for conducting both cyber espionage and cyber theft around the world, uses the island of Taiwan for target practice to develop new cyber-theft techniques before moving on to larger targets like the United States. As recently as August 14, 2014, Taiwan's minister of science, Simon Chang, stated that Taiwan is attacked by Mainland Chinese hackers on an almost daily basis, with some severe attacks at least every few months.<sup>1</sup> Taiwan's Executive Yuan alone receives approximately 2,000 external attacks on a weekly basis, the majority of which originate from the Mainland. Taiwan is thus uniquely positioned to assist the international community in protecting itself from cyber theft. If Taiwan were more integrated into the emerging multilateral cybersecurity organizations and exercises worldwide, the island would be able to share information on the new techniques that Mainland China is developing *before* others become victims of the same types of attacks themselves.

Taiwan has already demonstrated its willingness to participate in regional cybersecurity groups and organizations. It joined the Asia-Pacific E-Commerce Computer Emergency Response Team (APCERT) as an operational member in 2003. APCERT aims, primarily through information sharing and technology exchanges, to “maintain a trusted contact network of computer security experts in the Asia Pacific region to improve the region's awareness and competency in relation to computer security incidents.”<sup>2</sup> “Operational members [of APCERT] are Government, National or leading non-for-profit CSIRT and CERT in the Asia Pacific region with an interest in incident response and IT security that actively contribute to the goals of APCERT.”<sup>3</sup> Similar to the APEC structure, APCERT identifies members as “economies” rather than “states,” which enabled Taiwan to join as a full operational member without complications regarding sovereignty.

In addition, Taiwan participates in cyber-related working groups under the APEC framework. APEC's focus is on law enforcement and technical cooperation on cyber issues at the CERT level. The organization developed an initial APEC-wide cybersecurity strategy in

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1. “Cyberattacks from China Persist: Science Minister,” *Taipei Times*, August 14, 2014, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2014/08/14/2003597396>.

2. “About APCERT: Mission Statement,” Asia Pacific Computer Emergency Response Team, <http://www.apcert.org/about/mission/index.html>.

3. Ibid.

2005, which outlined goals to develop partnerships, raise awareness, and encourage R&D on cybersecurity.<sup>4</sup> APEC's Telecommunications and Information Working Group (TEL) additionally houses a Security and Prosperity Steering Group, which seeks to address cybersecurity directly. In 2010, Chinese Taipei hosted the biannual APEC TEL meeting and 18 APEC member economies attended to discuss the security of the Internet, among other telecommunications agenda items.<sup>5</sup> In a further example of international cooperation in cybersecurity, Taiwan conducts its own offensive and defensive cyber drills and has invited representatives from Thailand, the United States, and Malaysia to observe them.

Not surprisingly, the island is still largely excluded from most international mechanisms to combat cyber crime. Taiwan cannot attend the UN-based Group of Government Experts (GGE) on Information Security, which was created in June 2013. The United States has been working with other nations through the GGE to create norms and agreement on responsible state behavior in cyberspace since its creation.<sup>6</sup> By not being able to participate in the GGE, Taiwan is unable to contribute to the development of "rules of the road" for cybersecurity. It is similarly excluded from all cybersecurity groups conducted under the auspices of ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum.

Taiwan has twice applied to observe U.S. Cyber Storm's biennial exercises, but has not yet been invited. During Cyber Storm IV, the National Cybersecurity and Communications Integration Center sponsored the International Watch and Warning Network (IWWN) Exercise, which was held on March 20–21, 2013, and 11 of the 15 IWWN nations participated in the event; Taiwan, which is not an IWWN member, was not included.

Taiwan is currently participating actively, where possible, in global and regional efforts to combat cyber crime. As the international community begins to shape more focused, targeted organizations and exercises on cybersecurity, it would do well to remember Taiwan's unique place and well-developed skill set in this area. Taiwan should be present at the start of any new working groups and related exercises so that it can contribute to the critical information-sharing practices that will be developed therein.

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4. "APEC Strategy to Ensure Trusted, Secure, and Sustainable Online Environment," endorsed November 2005, [http://www.apec.org/~media/Files/Groups/TEL/05\\_TEL\\_APECStrategy.pdf](http://www.apec.org/~media/Files/Groups/TEL/05_TEL_APECStrategy.pdf).

5. National Communications Commission, "Taiwan Hosts APEC TEL41, 18 Member Economies Discuss ICT Development," June 30, 2010, [http://www.ncc.gov.tw/english/content\\_field\\_detail.aspx?site\\_content\\_sn=215&is\\_history=1&pages=0&sn\\_f=29](http://www.ncc.gov.tw/english/content_field_detail.aspx?site_content_sn=215&is_history=1&pages=0&sn_f=29).

6. James A. Lewis, "Asia: The Cybersecurity Battleground" (statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, July 23, 2013), [http://csis.org/files/attachments/130723\\_jimlewis\\_testimony\\_v2.pdf](http://csis.org/files/attachments/130723_jimlewis_testimony_v2.pdf).

# 10 | Conclusion

Marginalizing Taiwan from the international community has a cost, not only for Taiwan's 23 million people but also for the rest of the world. By not including Taiwan in the international regimes and organizations that seek to deter and combat global threats such as terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons, the world is left with gaps in the comprehensive fight for enhanced security. Ways must be found for the people of Taiwan to be better protected and to contribute their well-developed knowledge, skills, and resources to international security endeavors.

The main impediment to Taiwan becoming integrated into international security organizations and activities is Mainland China. Beijing fears that, absent an agreement with Taiwan forever enshrining the existence of "one China," the island could leverage its presence in international organizations to achieve independence. This fear persists even though China's substantial economic clout makes it unlikely that many nations would recognize Taiwan as a separate, independent country. As of late 2014, Taiwan has 22 diplomatic allies, most of which are small, impoverished nations that extend official diplomatic recognition in return for aid. If not for an agreed-upon "diplomatic truce" between Beijing and Taipei, some of these nations would have already shifted their diplomatic allegiance to Mainland China. So long as a large number of the world's nations stand up together and call for including Taiwan as an observer in all UN-affiliated organizations with a security focus, Beijing will have little choice but to concede.

Beijing's obstruction of Taiwan's participation in international organizations is harmful to Chinese interests in several ways. First, China faces growing threats to its security—threats that require more effective global cooperation. Chinese concerns about terrorism domestically and abroad are rising. Links between domestic separatist groups and international terrorism have expanded. For example, hundreds of Chinese citizens are fighting alongside the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS).<sup>1</sup> Terrorism is an inherently international threat, and the exclusion of competent and willing parties like Taiwan creates dangerous gaps in the fight against it. In his speech at the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit, Chinese president Xi Jinping highlighted the need to ensure the safety of nuclear materials and facilities and respond to various nuclear security challenges. He called for "a concerted, global effort" to make the international nuclear security process a "global undertaking." "The amount of water a bucket

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1. Teddy Ng, "Xinjiang Militants Being Trained in Syria and Iraq, Says Special Chinese Envoy," *South China Morning Post*, July 28, 2014, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1561136/china-says-xinjiang-extremists-may-be-fighting-middle-east>. "About 300 Chinese said fighting alongside Islamic State in Middle East," Reuters, December 15, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/15/us-mideast-crisis-china-idUSKBN0JT0UX20141215>.

can hold is determined by its shortest plank,” Xi maintained.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the international effort to enhance nuclear security should not be undermined by the exclusion of Taiwan.

Second, Beijing’s goal of peaceful reunification can only be achieved by winning the hearts and minds of the people of Taiwan. Opinion polls in Taiwan consistently show that the majority of people living on the island attach great importance to the issue of international space and view Beijing’s efforts to thwart Taiwan’s participation in the international community as proof of Mainland China’s hostility toward Taiwan. The people of Taiwan view IGO participation as essential to their security, interests, and dignity. By placing its concern for sovereignty and territorial integrity above the needs of Taiwan’s people, Beijing is undermining its objective of reunification as well as denying the international community the benefits that can be derived from Taiwan’s participation.

Third, expanded interaction between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, while beneficial to cross-Strait stability, has created new risks to the Mainland’s security. With 616 cross-Strait flights per week flying between 10 airports in Taiwan and 54 airports in China, the potential for criminals or terrorists to transit Taiwan en route to the Mainland has increased. Moreover, Mainland Chinese tourists are visiting Taiwan in ever larger numbers, and the Chinese government has a stake in ensuring their security. Guaranteeing the safety of Chinese athletes—as well as the safety of athletes from other nations—who participate in the 2017 Summer Universiade in Taipei should be a top priority for Beijing. While expanded law enforcement cooperation between Beijing and Taipei is helpful in identifying illegal activity, it cannot provide the security that would result from including Taiwan in IGOs and other multilateral activities that enable information sharing and other forms of collaboration.

Supporting Taiwan’s active participation in international organizations and activities is one of the ways that the United States plays a critically important role in Taiwan’s security. Within the bounds of the “one China” policy as observed by the United States, Washington vigorously encourages UN agencies and global organizations to expand opportunities for Taiwan to participate in meaningful ways in their work. In order to strengthen global security and the well-being of the people of Taiwan, the United States should redouble its efforts to increase Taiwan’s involvement in international security cooperation. Steps the United States can take include: 1) appealing to other nations to back Taiwan’s membership where possible and support its enhanced participation where membership is unattainable; 2) raising with senior Chinese leaders U.S. concerns about the security risks of marginalizing Taiwan from international security collaboration; and 3) bringing concerns about Taiwan’s exclusion directly to international organizations that have a security focus. At the same time, Taiwan must do its part by persistently publicizing its advanced expertise and willingness to contribute to global security endeavors, intensifying its diplomatic efforts to obtain support from other countries to increase its role in international security cooperation, and convincing Mainland China that obstructing Taiwan’s international role is contrary to Chinese interests, including its goal of reunification.

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2. Statement by Xi Jinping at the Nuclear Security Summit, The Hague, March 24, 2014, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjdt\\_665385/zyjh\\_665391/t1140583.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1140583.shtml).

# Appendix I: Summary of Specific Recommendations

## Counterterrorism

- Taiwan should be permitted to join the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) as a full voting member using the title “member jurisdiction” rather than “country” to avoid sovereignty issues.
- With its demonstrated expertise in anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism, Taiwan should be allowed to participate in all FATF expert meetings, either as an observer or as a full member using the title “member jurisdiction.”
- Taiwan should complete construction of the new counterterrorism training center and, working with the United States, it should use this as a platform to strengthen coordination with regional nations on counterterrorism.

## Law Enforcement

- Taiwan should be permitted to find avenues for cooperation on information sharing with the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP), either via official government channels or via relevant Taiwan-based organizations.
- Taiwan should be invited to join the upcoming 2015 Heads of Asian Coast Guards Agencies Meeting in Japan as an observer, which will not raise issues of sovereignty.
- Taiwan should be permitted access to Interpol’s I-24/7 network, so that it can both contribute to and benefit from what would be a more comprehensive fight against international criminals across the globe.
- Taiwan’s National Police Administration should be permitted to observe at annual Interpol General Assembly meetings, as Interpol’s Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly allow for observership by police bodies that are not members of the organization.
- Taiwan’s Coast Guard Agency should seek out new avenues for bilateral cooperation with neighboring countries.

## Maritime Security

- Taiwan should be permitted greater access to the International Maritime Organization (IMO), beginning with enhanced participation through INGOs that have consultative status with the IMO.
- Taiwan should consider establishing its own INGO—one that has the capability to make a substantial contribution to the work of the IMO and might eventually be granted consultative status with the IMO.
- Taiwan should pursue and be approved to expand either formal or informal channels with the Tokyo MOU and the Port State Control organizations of other nations.
- Taiwan should attempt to increase bilateral cooperation on maritime security with friendly countries like Japan and the United States.

## Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security

- Taiwan should be permitted access to the International Atomic Energy Agency's Incident and Trafficking Database system so that it can both contribute to and learn from analyses of international trends in the flow of illicit materials.
- Taiwan should be allowed to request an official review of its physical protection systems for nuclear materials by the International Physical Protection Advisory Service, especially as it undertakes the decommissioning of six nuclear reactors over the next decade.
- Taiwan should encourage companies and individuals responsible for domestic nuclear security to seek membership in the World Institute for Nuclear Security.
- Taiwan should seize the opportunity to become a nonproliferation role model by formally declaring adherence to international practices and policies, whether or not it participates in the regimes that develop those policies. It can support both the Proliferation Security Initiative and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism by adhering formally and voluntarily to their statements of principles, and further seek out bilateral exercises and activities that observe these principles.
- Taiwan should seek out bilateral and multilateral cooperation with regional partners to further expand dialogue on nuclear security and nonproliferation.

## Transportation Security

- Taiwan should be permitted access to the International Civil Aviation Organization's (ICAO) secure database.

- Taiwan should be granted observership in the ICAO Council, which meets on a regular and continuous basis, and allows for noncontracting parties, international organizations, and other bodies to be granted observer status.
- Taiwan should be invited to be an observer at the next ICAO Assembly in 2016. The United States and other friendly nations should encourage ICAO president, Dr. Olu-muyiwa Benard Aliu of Nigeria, to extend an invitation of observership to Taiwan.
- Taiwan should seek out friendly countries with which to sign Authorized Economic Operator (AEO) mutual recognition agreements in order to minimize some of the information sharing gaps created by lack of World Customs Organization membership.

## Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief

- Taiwan should be permitted to join the Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC) as a full member, as it previously hosted ADRC meetings in Taipei and cooperates with the organization on a regular basis.
- Taiwan should seek enhanced participation in the UN International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, both of which have relatively relaxed participatory requirements.
- As host of the upcoming UNISDR third World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, to be held March 14–18, 2015, in Sendai City, Japan should consider ways to include representatives from Taiwan.
- Through its home-based NGOs like the Tzu Chi Foundation, Taiwan should seek to join the ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response Partnership Group (APG).
- The United States should, at a minimum, permit Taiwan to be an observer at RIMPAC 2016, and if possible allow Taiwan to participate in HADR exercises.
- Taiwan should seek to participate in the newly created ASEAN HADR coordination center in Singapore.

## Human Security

- Taiwan should promote active coordination between its many NGOs and companies and the UN Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking.
- As an active participant in End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT), an international NGO, Taiwan should be permitted to attend the World Congress against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents that ECPAT cohosts annually.

- Taiwan should consider offering to host a second APEC Pathfinder Dialogue on “Combating Corruption and Illicit Trade across the Asia-Pacific Region,” in Taipei in 2015, to further demonstrate to the world its commitment to international cooperation against human trafficking.

## Cybersecurity

- As the international community begins to shape more focused, targeted organizations and to conduct exercises on cybersecurity, it would do well to remember Taiwan’s unique place and well-developed skill set in this area. Taiwan should be present at the start of any new working groups and related exercises so that it can contribute to the critical information sharing practices that will be developed therein.
- The United States should consider allowing Taiwan to participate in biennial Cyber Storm exercises.

# Appendix II: Taiwan's Limited Participation in International Organizations by Subject

*Note:* This list is a sample of the major organizations in which Taiwan has limited or no participation; it should not be considered comprehensive.

<i>IGO / Agreement</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Details</i>
<b>Counterterrorism</b>		
Financial Action Task Force (FATF)	Voluntarily adhering	Despite its nonmembership in FATF, Taiwan is a member of both the Egmont Group and the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG), both of which base their standards on those used by FATF. APG rated Taiwan's anti-money laundering measures as first-class compliant by FATF standards.
UN Security Council Resolution 1373	Voluntarily adhering	Statehood is required for all signatories. Nevertheless, Taiwan has implemented antiterrorism policies in accordance with the resolution.
UN Security Council Resolution 1455	Not a signatory	Statehood is required for all signatories.
UN Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation in CTITF and any of the working groups under its auspices, such as the CTITF Working Group on Preventing and Responding to WMD Terrorist Attacks and the Working Group on Countering the Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes.

(continued)

<i>IGO / Agreement</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Details</i>
<b>Law Enforcement</b>		
Interpol	Voluntarily adhering	Although Taiwan was ejected as an Interpol member in 1984, its National Police Agency has cooperated with Interpol on several criminal cases. Nonetheless, nonmembership limits Taiwan from cooperating with Interpol on a routine basis, and it prevents Taiwan from accessing Interpol's I-24/7 network of suspicious persons.
	Workaround	Taiwan requests suspicious persons lists from the United States on a case-by-case basis.
UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	Not a signatory	Statehood is required for all signatories.
UN Office on Drugs and Crime	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies Meeting	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
<b>Maritime Security</b>		
International Maritime Organization (IMO)	Voluntarily adhering	Although Taiwan cannot participate in the IMO, its commercial ports are adhering to the International Ship Port Facility Code of the IMO.
Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum; ASEAN Regional Forum subgroup on maritime issues	No participation	China's objections prevent Taiwan from participating in these extended ASEAN forums and subgroups.
Gulf of Aden: Combined Maritime Forces (CMF)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
Port State Control Committee of the Memorandum of Understanding on Port State Control in the Asia-Pacific Region (Tokyo MOU)	Voluntarily adhering	Despite its lack of membership in the Tokyo MOU, Taiwan implemented its own Port State Control system that meets or exceeds all Tokyo MOU requirements.
The Rim of the Pacific Exercise (RIMPAC)	No participation	Despite a stated desire to participate in Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief exercises at RIMPAC, Taiwan has not yet been invited to participate.

<i>IGO / Agreement</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Details</i>
<b>WMD Nonproliferation &amp; Nuclear Security</b>		
Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)	Voluntarily adhering	Although unable to coordinate with the NPT, Taiwan established strict nonproliferation controls and safeguards with some guidance from the United States in a voluntary effort to comply with the treaty.
	Workaround	AIT and TECRO renewed the US-ROC 123 Agreement in January 2014, which commits Taiwan to peaceful nuclear development and in effect binds Taiwan to the NPT.
International Atomic Energy Association	Voluntarily adhering	Despite its lack of membership in the IAEA, Taiwan implemented the IAEA's 93+2 safeguards, which greatly increase nuclear transparency.
	Workaround	A trilateral agreement between Taiwan, the US and the IAEA, INFCIRC/158, provides Taiwan with regular inspections by the IAEA and incorporates the IAEA Model Additional Protocol.
Multilateral Export Control Regimes (MECRs): the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Australia Group, the Wassenaar Arrangement	No participation	Statehood is required for participation in all MECRs.
IAEA's Incident and Trafficking Database system (ITDB)	No participation	Taiwan is not an IAEA member state, and therefore cannot contribute to the ITDB.
International Physical Protection Advisory Service (IPPAS)	No participation	Taiwan is not an IAEA member state, and is therefore may not request an IPPAS review of its physical security systems. Taiwan is left to design its own systems with limited US guidance.
Security Council Resolution 1540 – Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction	Not a signatory	Statehood is required for all signatories.
Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)	Voluntarily adhering	Statehood is required for all signatories. Nonetheless, Taiwan stated in 2002 that it would abide by the CWC.

*(continued)*

<i>IGO / Agreement</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Details</i>
Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)	Informally cooperating	Although Taiwan is excluded from PSI, it follows the principles of PSI and has contributed to its success.
Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction	Voluntarily adhering	Although not able to sign the convention, Taiwan has been compliant with the treaty and its policies are consistent with the Biological Weapons Convention.
Nuclear Security Summit (NSS)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism (GICNT)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.

## **Transportation Security**

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	Voluntarily adhering	Taiwan's civil aviation authority has complied with ICAO standards and the rules established by the Convention on International Civil Aviation.
	Workaround	Taiwan obtains certain information on ICAO meetings indirectly from the United States.
World Customs Organization (WCO)	No participation (WCO main body)	Taiwan is not a WCO member, but does participate in two technical committees (Technical Committee on Customs Valuation and Technical Committee on Rules of Origin).
	Voluntarily adhering	Taiwan follows WCO's SAFE Framework of standards and the WCO Data Model, despite being unable to formally cooperate with the WCO.
	Workaround	Taiwan has Authorized Economic Operator Mutual Recognition Agreements with the US, Singapore and Israel, allowing customs cooperation and information exchanges with these countries.
UN Convention on offenses and certain other acts committed on board aircraft	Voluntarily adhering	As an original signatory of the convention, Taiwan continues to adhere to its principles. However, Taiwan is no longer a UN member state and its signature is now considered null and void.
UN Convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation	Voluntarily adhering	As an original signatory of the convention, Taiwan continues to adhere to its principles. However, Taiwan is no longer a UN member state and its signature is now considered null and void.

<i>IGO / Agreement</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Details</i>
Convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of aircraft	Voluntarily adhering	According to the U.S. State Department Office of the Legal Adviser, Taiwan is currently adhering to the convention.

### **Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief**

Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC)	Workaround	Taiwan has hosted ADRC workshops despite lack of formal membership.
UN International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR)	Workaround	Taiwan's minimal participation in ADRC gives it the opportunity to interface with UNISDR on projects such as the Regional Synthesis Report on Hyogo Framework Agreement Implementation in Asia and Pacific, but this interaction is limited.
Pacific Disaster Center (PDC)	Workaround	Taiwan's participation in the APEC Emergency Preparedness Working Group provides it the opportunity to work with PDC on some projects such as the Workshop on Hazard Mapping and Risk and Vulnerability Assessment.
ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response Partnership Group (APG)	No participation	Statehood is required for full participation in this group. However, Taiwan NGOs could seek to become partners in APG.
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM) Plus	No participation	Taiwan has not been invited to participate in ADMM Plus.

### **Human Security**

UN Palermo Protocol	Voluntarily adhering	Although Taiwan is not a UN member state, Taiwan's Human Trafficking Prevention and Control Act was enacted in 2009 and is consistent with the Palermo Protocol.
UN Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide	Voluntarily adhering	As an original signatory of the convention, Taiwan continues to adhere to its principles. However, Taiwan is no longer a UN member state and its signature is now considered null and void.
UN Convention on the Rights of the Child	Voluntarily adhering	Although not a UN member state, Taiwan has based its child protection laws on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
UN Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.

*(continued)*

<i>IGO / Agreement</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Details</i>
UN Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UNGIFT)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
World Congress Against Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents	No participation	Although Taiwan is a member of End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes, it has been excluded from governmental level representation at the international conferences.
<b>Cybersecurity</b>		
UN-based Group of Government Experts on Information Security	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.
ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Workshop on Cyber Security	No participation	Taiwan is not a member of the ARF, and is therefore not allowed to participate.
Convention on Cybercrime (Budapest Convention)	No participation	Statehood is required for participation.

## Appendix III: CSIS Delegation Members

A delegation led by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) spent August 11–15, 2014, in Taiwan, discussing the issues in this paper extensively with senior officials and scholars.

Governor George F. Allen  
*President, George Allen Strategies, LLC*  
*Former Governor of Virginia and Former U.S. Senator from Virginia*

Ms. Susan Allen  
*Former First Lady of Virginia*

Ms. Bonnie S. Glaser  
*Senior Adviser for Asia*  
*Freeman Chair in China Studies*  
*Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Mr. Alan D. Romberg  
*Distinguished Research Fellow and Director, East Asia Program*  
*Henry L. Stimson Center*

Dr. Phillip C. Saunders  
*Distinguished Research Fellow, Center for Strategic Research*  
*Director, Center for Study of Chinese Military Affairs at the Institute for National Strategic Studies*  
*National Defense University*

Mr. Walter B. Slocombe  
*Senior Counsel*  
*Caplin & Drysdale*

Mr. William Tobey  
*Senior Fellow*  
*Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*  
*John F. Kennedy School of Government*  
*Harvard University*

Ms. Alison Williams  
*Director*  
*The Chertoff Group, LLC*

Ms. Jacqueline A. Vitello  
*Research Associate and Program Coordinator*  
*Freeman Chair in China Studies*  
*Center for Strategic and International Studies*

## About the Authors

**Bonnie S. Glaser** is a senior adviser for Asia in the Freeman Chair in China Studies, where she works on issues related to Chinese foreign and security policy. She is concomitantly a senior associate with CSIS Pacific Forum and a consultant for the U.S. government on East Asia. From 2003 to mid-2008, Ms. Glaser served as a senior associate in the CSIS International Security Program. Prior to joining CSIS, she worked as a consultant for various U.S. government offices, including the Department of Defense and the Department of State. Ms. Glaser has written extensively on various aspects of Chinese foreign policy, including Sino-U.S. relations, U.S.-China military ties, cross-Straits relations, China's relations with Japan and Korea, and Chinese perspectives on missile defense and multilateral security in Asia. Her writings have been published in the *Washington Quarterly*, *China Quarterly*, *Asian Survey*, *International Security*, *Problems of Communism*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, *New York Times*, and *International Herald Tribune*, as well as various edited volumes on Asian security. Ms. Glaser is a regular contributor to the Pacific Forum quarterly e-journal *Comparative Connections*. She is currently a board member of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and she served as a member of the Defense Department's Defense Policy Board China Panel in 1997. Ms. Glaser received her B.A. in political science from Boston University and her M.A. with concentrations in international economics and Chinese studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

**Jacqueline A. Vitello** is a research associate and program coordinator with the Freeman Chair in China Studies at CSIS, where she works on projects that pertain to Chinese foreign and security policy, U.S.-China bilateral relations, and cross-Straits relations. Prior to joining CSIS, she completed a Boren fellowship in Taiwan, where she conducted research on U.S.-Taiwan relations. She also worked with the MacArthur Center for Security Studies in Taipei, as well as with the CSIS Freeman Chair in 2012. Ms. Vitello graduated with an M.A. in international security from the University of Denver's Josef Korbel School of International Studies. She received a B.A. in international affairs and a B.S. in chemistry from Florida State University.



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Cover photo: Taiwan aid workers provide disaster relief in the Philippines after Typhoon Haiyan (2013).  
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