



University of
Nottingham
Taiwan Research Hub



Universität
Zürich
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University of Zurich and
University of Nottingham

20-21 June 2024

**Changing dynamics
in geopolitics:
Implications for
Taiwan**

2024 Joint Conference Programme

Co-organised by Dr Simona Grano, University of Zurich and Dr Chun-yi Lee, University of Nottingham

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 shook the world. Subsequent discussion focused on whether the invasion would embolden aggressive, authoritarian regimes to invade other democracies. China's military threats against Taiwan, and its heightened rhetoric over the island, are a case in point. Almost two years later, the war in Ukraine continues unabated, while military conflicts and crises proliferate around the world, the most recent being that between Israel and Hamas.

How can we understand such evolving geopolitical challenges within a global context, and what do they represent for the future world order—and its stability—in the Indo-Pacific region? Against the backdrop of China's continued threats against Taiwan, especially in light of the upcoming presidential elections scheduled for January 2024, this joint conference invites scholars to provide different perspectives from Europe, the UK, the US, and the Asia-Pacific region on geopolitical security (including conventional, cyber, economic, and border security), as well as other threats faced by democratic systems.



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Day ONE Thursday 20 June 2024

8:30-9:00 registrations

9:00-10:30: **Panel I The 'Tilt' in Indo-Pacific**

Richard Higgott, Distinguished Professor of Diplomacy, Brussels School of Governance, Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of Siena, Visiting Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Study, European University Institute and Emeritus Professor of International Political Economy, University of Warwick.

Ideas have Consequences: From 'Asia Pacific' to 'Indo Pacific', the Conflicting Relationship Between Globalisation and Geopolitics.

Alex Tan, University of Canterbury and National Chengchi University
When Elephants Play: Middle Power Agency and Indo-Pacific Security

Max Dixon, University of Portsmouth,
'The most dangerous place on Earth?': The emergence of Taiwan in Australian and British foreign policy after Ukraine.

Raian Hossain, University of Nottingham,
Complex Geopolitical Turbulence in the Indian Ocean Region: US-China-India Triangular Strategic Competition & Implications for Taiwan

10:30-10:45: coffee break

10:45-12:00: **Panel 2 Taiwan's soft and hard strategies**

Ming Shih Shen, Institute for National Defence Security Research (INSDR),
Taiwan Defence Strategy and US's Supporting Operation

James Lee, European and American Studies at Academia Sinica and Alice Hung Academia Sinica,
(Present through Teams),
The Concepts and Implementation of Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait

Alan Yang, National Chengchi University,
Navigating the geopolitical crisis in the Indo-Pacific region with Warm Power Diplomacy: How the New Southbound Policy transforms “Taiwan Contingency” to “Taiwan Relevancy”?

12:00-13:00 Lunch

13:00-14:30 **Panel 3 Information and psychological warfare**

Gary D. Rawnsley, University of Lincoln,
The information landscape and changing dynamics in Geopolitics

Bo-jiun Jing, University of Oxford,
UK-Taiwan Cooperation in Cyber Security: Opportunities and Challenges

Plamen Tonchev, Institute of International Economic Relations (IIER),
Can the Self-Concept Theory Shed Light on the Tense Relations between the PRC and Taiwan?"

14:30-14:45 break

15:45- 16:15 **Panel 4 Taiwan-Europe**

Yi-Chian Chiu, University of Oxford,
Why Does Taiwan Matter to Europe? Examining British, French, and German Perspectives on Nancy Pelosi's Visit to Taiwan in 2022

Justyna Szczudlik, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM),

Poland-Taiwan ties under the bigger framework of EU and CEE countries' changing relations towards Taiwan and China

Ragnhild E. Siedler, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI),
Wargaming Taiwan 2027: Consequences of a Great-Power Conflict in the Asia-Pacific for Norway

Giovannipaolo Ferrari, University of Salerno, DISUFF, Italy & University of Lille, CeRIES, France
Vatican diplomacy in a changing global landscape: tackling geopolitical challenges from Ukraine to Taiwan

16:15-16:30 break

16:30-17:30 **Panel 5 Taiwan- Ukraine**

Tommy Hall, Kellogg College, University of Oxford,
Unpacking Challenges in Taiwan's World News Landscape: A Discursive Analysis of the Online News Narratives about the Russo-Ukrainian War

Arthur Nadiiev, Bettina Renz and Chun-yi Lee, University of Nottingham
The war in Ukraine, China and Taiwan/ What can be (un)learned from the war in Ukraine?

Jackson Yeh and Ashley Esarey, University of Alberta (hybrid presentation),
What Taiwan can learn from the Winter War?

18:00

Bus from the conference venue to the dinner venue



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Day TWO Friday 21 June 2024

9:00- 10:30 **Panel 6 Taiwan's role in a fast-changing geopolitics context**

Guan Yi Leu, University of Mary Washington (Present through Teams),
Taiwan's Economic Activism: Strategies in Response to US-China Competitive Economic Initiatives in the Indo-Pacific

Christopher Dent, Edge Hill University,
Taiwan and Trade's New Risk Agenda of the 2020s

Minako Morita Jaeger, University of Sussex,
Japan's trade and economic security policies towards China and their implications for Taiwan

Yung Lin, Leiden University,
How to view Taiwan in the 21st Century East Asia Security? – Is Taiwan a Conflict Maker or Peace Maker in this Region?

10:30-10:45 break

10:45-12:00 **Panel 7: China's leverage in the geopolitics' twists and turns**

Jacques deLisle, University of Pennsylvania,
Make Law Not War: China's Efforts to Manipulate International Legal Norms to Undermine Taiwan

Tao Wang, University of Manchester
How Propaganda Shores up War Support: Evidence from China

Jerome Gapany, Military Academy (MILAC) at ETH Zurich,
Seeing Through the Mist: The role of civil militias in China's Grey Zone Tactics

12:00-13:00 lunch

13:00-14:30 **Panel 8: Turbulent triangular relationship: US-China-Taiwan**

Nigel Inkster, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS),
US-China competition and the implications for Taiwan

Shelley Rigger, Davidson College,
Domestic Politics in Taiwan and the US: Implications for Cross-Strait Relations

Yifei Zhu, Institute for Security & Development Policy, Sweden
Institutionalising the Status Quo: How Rules of Game in the Taiwan Strait were Created, Maintained
and Disrupted amid Geopolitical Changes

14:30-15:30 publication discussion



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Participant Biographies

Yi-Chuan Chiu

Yi-Chuan Chiu is a DPhil student in Area Studies (China) at the University of Oxford. Before starting his doctoral studies, he obtained an MSc in Contemporary Chinese Studies at the University of Oxford and an MA and BA in Political Science at National Taiwan University. His ongoing doctoral project focuses on how national identity influences the perceptions and reactions of Taiwan, China, and the US during the 1996 and 2022 Taiwan Strait Crises. Other research interests of Yi-Chuan include cross-strait relations, US-China relations, and Chinese grand strategy. His academic observations have been published on different platforms, such as the National Australian University's East Asia Forum. He is also active in academic societies and is the current Co-president of the Oxford Chinese Studies Society and the President of the Oxford University Taiwanese Students Society.

Jacques deLisle

Jacques deLisle is Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law, Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania, and Chair of the Asia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

His writings on Taiwan's international status and cross-Strait relations, China's engagement with international law, and U.S.-China relations have appeared in *Orbis*, *The Journal of Contemporary China*, *Asia Policy*, *The China Review*, *Administrative Law Review* and many law reviews, foreign affairs and area studies journals, and edited volumes. He is the co-editor of, and contributor to, *The Party Leads All* (Brookings, 2022); *After Engagement: Dilemmas in U.S.-China Security Relations* (Brookings, 2021); *Taiwan in the Era of Tsai Ing-wen* (Routledge, 2021); *To Get Rich is Glorious: Challenges Facing China's Economic Reform and Opening at Forty* (Brookings, 2019); *China's Global Engagement: Cooperation, Competition, and Influence in the 21st Century* (Brookings, 2017); *Political Changes in Taiwan under Ma Ying-jeou* (Routledge, 2014), *China's Challenges* (University of Pennsylvania, 2014), and other edited volumes.

He has often served as an expert witness on Chinese law and China's approach to international law, and as a participant in U.S. government and international foundation projects involving law reform in China and issues of international law involving China.

Christopher M. Dent

Christopher M. Dent is Professor of International Political Economy at Edge Hill University. His main research interests focus on the relationships between trade, energy and climate change, as well as East Asia's impact on the global economic system. He is the author of 14 books and over 100 academic articles and other papers. From 2021 to 2022, Christopher Dent served as a Specialist Adviser to the UK's International Trade Select Committee, advising Members of Parliament on Britain's trade policy and free trade agreements. He has in addition been a consultant advisor to the British, Australian, Chilean, German, Swedish, Japanese, South Korean, Lao PDR, Falkland Islands and United States governments, as well as the Asian Development Bank, European Commission, ASEAN Secretariat, APEC Secretariat, Secretariat for Central American Economic Integration and Nike Inc. Christopher Dent is also the founder and leader of SustainNET (<https://sites.edgehill.ac.uk/sustainnet>) and Lancashire Climate Action Network (LancsCAN - <https://sites.edgehill.ac.uk/lancscan>).

Max Dixon

Max Dixon is a South Coast Doctoral Training Partnership ESRC-funded PhD student at the University of Portsmouth, researching Taiwan in British foreign policy from 1996 to 2021 supervised by Dr Isabelle Cockel. Max has an undergraduate degree from the University of Warwick as well as two master's degrees, including from the University of Portsmouth where he received a Taiwan Studies award for his MA dissertation outlining Chinese foreign policy towards Hong Kong and Taiwan and the University of Southampton, where he received a Dean's List award for his MSc dissertation charting the emergence of Taiwan in British and Australian foreign policy. Moreover, Max has undertaken research for current MPs on China, Hong Kong and Taiwan and has worked as a Research and Administration Assistant for the European Association of Taiwan Studies since 2022.

Ashley Esarey

Ashley Esarey is associate professor of political science at the University of Alberta. He is co-author, with Hsiu-lien Lu, of *My Fight for a New Taiwan: One Woman's Journey from Prison to Power* (2014) and co-editor of *Taiwan in Dynamic Transition: Nation Building and Democratization* (2020), *Greening East Asia: The Rise of the Eco-Developmental State* (2020), and *The Xi Jinping Effect* (2024). He has published in such journals as *Asian Survey*, the *Journal of Contemporary China*, and *Political Psychology*. Current research concerns Chinese political communication, security studies, renewable energy, and Taiwan history.

Giovannipaolo Ferrari

Giovannipaolo Ferrari is a lecturer at the Department of Human, Philosophical, and Educational Sciences at the University of Salerno and is an associated researcher at the CERIES laboratory of the University of Lille in France. He earned his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Salerno and in Linguistics from the Université Paul Valéry Montpellier in France. He has taught at the Université Paul Valéry Montpellier in France and in China at the Dalian University of Foreign Languages in Dalian and the University of Nottingham, the British university's Chinese campus in Ningbo, China. Among his recent publications are: 'The russian-ukrainian conflict and the role of china: analysis of the 'peace plan' and geopolitical strategy' (2023); 'Tennis coaching in China before and during Covid-19: The mediatisation of a precarious profession' (with P. Diana and Y.

Tan, 2023); 'The use of metaphor in defining the pandemic phenomenon' (with P. Diana, 2022); 'Covid-19: A epochal social change' (with P. Diana and P. Dommarco, 2021).

Jérôme Gapany

Jérôme Gapany holds a Master's degree in Asian Studies from the University of Geneva and the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. He continued his research as a PhD student in Social and Political Sciences at the University of Lausanne, where he specialised in China's urban policy and cross-strait relations. Jérôme Gapany joined the Military Academy (MILAC) at ETH Zurich as a research associate in May 2023. His current research focuses on China's strategic cooperation and security developments in the Asia-Pacific region.

Simona Grano

Simona Grano is currently a Senior Lecturer at the University of Zurich, with a focus on Chinese and Taiwanese studies. She is a research fellow of the European Research Center on Contemporary Taiwan (ERCCT) in Tübingen, Germany, and a research associate of SOAS, London. Simona is the author of *Environmental Governance in Taiwan: a new generation of activists and stakeholders*, published in 2015 by Routledge. Her articles have appeared in the *Journal of Civil Society*, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, *China Information*, *Asiatische Studien*, *Taiwan in Comparative Perspective*, *Orizzonte Cina* and *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*. Her latest co-edited volume: *China-US Competition: Impact on Small and Middle Powers' Strategic Choices*, was published by Palgrave Macmillan in January 2023.

Tommy Hall

Tommy Hall is a Marshall Scholar, currently reading for an M.St. in Diplomatic Studies at the University of Oxford. At Oxford, Tommy serves as the Book Review Editor and Opinion Editor for STAIR (St. Antony's International Review). Prior to his current studies, Tommy graduated from West Point with a B.Sc. in Foreign Languages: Chinese in 2022. In 2023, he completed an M.A. in Chinese Studies at SOAS, University of London. Additionally, Tommy is the founder of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies' Human Rights Initiative (HRI). His peer-reviewed work has previously been published in the Army Cyber Institute's *Cyber Defense Review*. Tommy often presents research on the intersection between technology, diplomacy, and foreign policy, with an emphasis on the United States' connection with Taiwan and China.

Richard Higgott

Professor Richard Higgott is currently Distinguished Professor of Diplomacy, Brussels School of Governance (<https://brussels-school.be/team/richard-higgott>), Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of Siena,, Visiting Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Study, European University Institute and Emeritus Professor of International Political Economy, University of Warwick. His latest book is *States, Civilisations and the Reset of World Order*, London, Routledge, 2022. Keywords: national identity, ethnic identity, democracy, Taiwan, Ukraine

Raian Hossain

Raian Hossain is a Doctoral Researcher at the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham (UK). He is currently a visiting Research Fellow at the Graduate Institute of Development Studies at National Chengchi University (NCCU), Taiwan and is a recipient of flagship MOFA Taiwan Fellowship 2024. Mr Hossain is also a lecturer (on study leave) at the Department of Global Studies and Governance, Independent University, Bangladesh (IUB). Previously, he has experience working in a leading South Asian think tank and was involved in policy-relevant research and numerous track 1.5 and 2 initiatives. His research interests include Indo-Pacific studies, small and middle powers, Asian geopolitics, comparative International Relations, the Taiwan Issue in Sino-US Relations, and Bangladesh politics and foreign policy.

Nigel Inkster

Nigel Inkster CMG is Senior Advisor to the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and Director for Geopolitics and Intelligence at Enodo Economics. In IISS he worked first as Director for Transnational Threats and Political Risk then as Director for Cyber Security and Future Conflict. In the latter capacity he was involved in para-diplomatic dialogues on cybersecurity and military cyber stability with China and Russia. He also served from 2017 to 2019 as a Commissioner on the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace.

Prior to joining IISS he served for thirty-one years in the British Secret Intelligence Service. From 2004 to 2006 he was Assistant Chief and Director for Operations and Intelligence. His publications include: -

China's Cyber Power, Routledge for IISS 2016

The Great Decoupling: China, America and the Struggle for Technological Supremacy, Hurst 2020.

Bo-jiun Jing

Dr Bo-jiun Jing is a Senior Research Fellow at the Oxford Taiwan Studies Programme in the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies (OSGA). His research centres on Taiwan-Southeast Asia relations, Taiwan's cybersecurity strategy, and Indo-Pacific international relations. Dr Jing authored the monograph titled Taiwan and Southeast Asia: Opportunities and Constraints of Continued Engagement (University of Maryland School of Law, 2016). Previously, he served as the Head of the Taiwan Studies Project and Research Fellow at the Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP) in Sweden, a Research Associate at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore, and an Associate Researcher at the Mainland Affairs Council in Taiwan. He holds a PhD in International Political Economy from King's College London, an MA in International Relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and a BA in Political Science and Economics from National Taiwan University.

Yung Lin

Yung Lin is a PhD candidate at Institute of Security and Global Affairs, Leiden University. Her PhD project is funded by Taiwan's Ministry of Education to investigate whether public diplomacy has become a solution to East Asia's conflict and to answer it from the comparative perspective between China and Taiwan in the years 2000 – 2020. In this project, she used the document analysis on Taiwan's annual diplomacy reports as well as conducted semi-structured interviews with Taiwanese expats in China, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and Singapore. She is currently a tutorial lecturer of Global Political Economy in BA International Studies at Leiden University. Before doing the PhD, she had an MA in International Studies and Diplomacy from SOAS, University of London in 2017 September and had worked in investment

research and business intelligence at The Risk Advisory Group London and Third Bridge Group Limited in London covering East Asia market until 2019.

Chun-Yi Lee

Dr Chun-Yi Lee is Associate Professor at the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham. She is also the Director of Taiwan Research Hub at Nottingham. Chun-Yi's first book was published by Routledge in 2011: *Taiwanese Business or Chinese Security Asset*. The book is under Leiden Series in Modern East Asia History and Politics. In 2010, Chun-Yi received the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) standard grant with Prof Andreas Bieler on a three-year project, 'Globalisation, national transformation and workers' rights: An analysis of Chinese labour within the global economy'.

In 2014, Chun-yi received a two-year research grant from the Chiang-Ching-kuo (CCK) Foundation in Taiwan in relation to 'Chinese Investment in Taiwan: Challenge or Opportunity for Taiwan's Industrial Development'.

Chun-yi edited numerous books since 2018, most recently In 2023, along with Michael Reilly, Chun-yi edited a book: *China, Taiwan, UK and the CPTPP: Global Partnership or Regional Stand-off?* published by Palgrave. Currently, Chun-yi is working on her second single authored monograph on the topic of 'Sticky Decoupling: Geopolitics and Semiconductor supply chain'.

James Lee

James Lee is an Assistant Research Professor at the Institute of European and American Studies at Academia Sinica, Taiwan. He received his PhD from Princeton University and has held research positions at the University of California, San Diego, the European University Institute in Florence, and the NATO Defence College in Rome. His research interests are in U.S. foreign policy and the security of Taiwan.

Guan-yi Leu

Guan-yi Leu is an assistant professor at the Department of Political Science and International Affairs at the University of Mary Washington, in Fredericksburg, Virginia, the United States. Dr. Leu has published research and contributed commentaries to the *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, *Issues & Studies*, *Pacific Affairs*, *East Asian Studies*, and *Tamkang International Review*. She has also contributed to several books, such as *East Asian Regional Integration and Challenges [Dongya quyu zhenghe yu tiaozhan]* (2019), *Introduction to Mainland China Studies [Zhongguo dalu gailun]* (2020), and *The Strategic Options of Middle Powers in the Asia-Pacific* (2022). Previously, she was a faculty member at the Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies at National Cheng-Chi University, in Taipei, Taiwan. She was also a visiting research fellow at the Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, in Taiwan.

Minako Morita-Jaeger

Dr. Minako Morita-Jaeger is an international trade policy expert with broad experiences across the globe. Prior to her work in academia, she worked in practice as an economic affairs officer at the UNCTAD; WTO services trade negotiator at the Japanese Delegation to the WTO; and a principal trade policy analyst at the Japan Business Federation. Her areas of expertise include: Free Trade Agreements; WTO; digital trade governance; economic security; UK trade policy; and

Asia-Pacific trade policy. She holds a PhD in International Relations from the LSE; an MA in European Economic Studies from the College d'Europe; an MA in International Law and Economics from the World Trade Institute; and a BA in economics from Keio University.

Artur Nadiiev

Artur is a Doctoral Researcher in the School of Politics and International Relations. His research focuses on Ukraine's national identity and its foreign policy. Artur's supervisors are Prof. Bettina Renz and Dr Anna Meier.

Prior to arriving in the UK, Artur has interned at the Parliaments of Canada and Ukraine, and has taken part in various projects under the Belt and Road Initiative in China.

Before starting his PhD at the University of Nottingham, Artur completed an MPA degree at Zhejiang Normal University, a BA in Philology at Luhansk Taras Shevchenko National University, and a BA in Pedagogy at Stakhanov Pedagogical College, LNU.

Gary Rawnsley

Professor Gary D. Rawnsley is Head of the School of Social & Political Sciences and Professor of Public Diplomacy at the University of Lincoln, UK. For forty years he has been researching and writing about international communications and their intersection with international politics, with particular reference to propaganda, soft power, and public and cultural diplomacy. The author and editor of 16 books, his latest publications are, *The Research Handbook of Political Propaganda* (Edward Elgar, 2021); *The Routledge Handbook of Soft Power* (Routledge, 2nd edn., 2023); and *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Media* (Routledge, 2nd edn., 2025). He has also published in, among others, *The China Quarterly*, *International Affairs, Issues & Studies*, *Media, War and Conflict*, and *Parliamentary Studies*.

Bettina Renz

Dr Bettina Renz is Professor of International Security at the School of Politics & IR. She obtained her MA and MSc in Russian Studies at the University of Edinburgh and completed her PhD at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham in 2005. She has previously lectured at King's College London at the Royal Air Force College and was an ESRC Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Birmingham's European Research Institute.

Shelley Rigger

Shelley Rigger is Brown Professor of East Asian Politics and Vice President for Academic Affairs/Dean of Faculty at Davidson College. She has a PhD in Government from Harvard University and a BA in Public and International Affairs from Princeton University. She has been a Fulbright scholar at National Taiwan University (2019), a visiting researcher at National Chengchi University in Taiwan (2005) and a visiting professor at Fudan University (2006) and Shanghai Jiaotong University (2013 & 2015). She is a non-resident fellow of the China Policy Institute at Nottingham University and a senior fellow of the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI). She is also a director of The Taiwan Fund, a closed-end investment fund specializing in Taiwan-listed companies. Rigger is the author of two books on Taiwan's domestic politics, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (Routledge 1999) and *From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party* (Lynne Rienner Publishers 2001). She has published two books for general readers, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (2011) and *The Tiger Leading the Dragon: How Taiwan Propelled China's Economic Rise* (2021).

She has published articles on Taiwan's domestic politics, the national identity issue in Taiwan-China relations and related topics. In 2019-20 she was a Fulbright Senior Scholar based in Taipei, where she worked on a study of Taiwan's contributions to the PRC's economic take-off and a study of Taiwanese youth.

Ragnhild E. Siedler

Ragnhild E. Siedler is Senior Researcher at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI). She is leading a newly established research project on China's implications to Norwegian security. This project aims to inform Norwegian scenario development and defence planning on issues related to China's rise as a global power and particularly its military modernization. During her ten years at FFI, Ragnhild has conducted applied research on joint operations, cyber security, electromagnetic warfare, and security policy in support of decision makers in the armed forces and the MoD. She has also conducted several types of wargames and is one of FFI's experts in wargaming methods. Ragnhild holds a MA in Political Science from the University of Oslo, and she has served seven years in the Norwegian Armed Forces.

Ming Shih Shen

Dr. Ming Shih Shen is the director and associate professor, Graduate Institute of Strategic Studies and International Affairs, war College, National Defense University, ROC, Taiwan. He also is a adjunct associate professor, Tamkang University. He got his Phd of Political Science from National Defense University, MA from National Chengchi University, Taiwan and BA from ROC Taiwan Military Academy. He had been to the IDSA(India) for visiting fellow. His research topics include PLA, National Security, Strategic Theory, Civil-Military Relations.

Justyna Szczudlik

Justyna Szczudlik (詩麗娜) PhD, Deputy Head of Research, and China analyst with the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). Former Head of Asia-Pacific Program (2016-2021). She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Warsaw (2015), an MA in Chinese Studies from the University of Warsaw (2008) and an MA in Political Science from the University of Wrocław (2002). She studied Chinese language at the College of Advanced Chinese Training, Beijing Language and Culture University (2005-2006), and at the National Cheng-chi University in Taipei (2013 – Taiwan Fellowship). Her research focuses on China's foreign policy, especially China-EU and China-Central and Eastern Europe relations, as well as Cross-Strait relations.

Alex Tan

Alexander C. Tan is Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Canterbury, University Chair Professor of Political Science at the National Chengchi University (Taiwan), Honorary Professor of the New Zealand Defence Force Command and Staff College, Fellow of the John Goodwin Tower Center for Political Studies (Dallas, USA), and Founder and Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for Indo-Pacific Affairs. Alex received his PhD in political science from Texas A&M University, MA Economics from the University of California at Santa Barbara, and AB Economics from the Ateneo de Manila University. He was visiting scholar at universities in the US, UK, Germany, Japan, and Taiwan and represented NZ in Track II

security/economic dialogues. Alex writes extensively in the areas of parties & elections, political economy, Taiwan and Asian politics, and international relations of the Asia-Pacific and his recent publication includes a co-edited volume *Asia Pacific Small States: The Political Economies of Resilience* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2023). Alex is editor of *Frontiers in Political Economy* and editorial board member of international academic journals such as *Political Behavior*, *Asian Survey*, *Political Science*, *Politics and Governance*, *Issues and Studies*, *Journal of Asian Security & International Affairs*, *Politicka Misao*, *Journal of Electoral Studies*.

Plamen Tonchev

Mr Plamen Tonchev has been Head of Asia Unit at the Institute of International Economic Relations (IIER), Greece, since 1998. Plamen is a founding member of the European Think-tank Network on China (ETNC) and a contributor to its annual reports. He sits on the EU Chapter of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (EU CSCAP) committee. Mr Tonchev's work on China dates back to the 1990s. The list of his recent publications on China includes "China's Road: Into the Western Balkans" (EU Institute for Security Studies - EUISS, 2017); "Along the Road: Sri Lanka's Tale of Two Ports" (EUISS, 2018), "China's Image in Greece, 2008-2018" (co-authored, IIER, 2018); "China's Shift to a New Economic Model: From Quantitative to Qualitative Growth?" (Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco, 2019); "China's Soft Power in Southeast Europe" (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2020); "Impact of COVID-19 on ASEM Connectivity" (co-authored, European Commission, 2020), etc.

Tao Wang

Tao Wang is a Hallsworth Research Fellow in Chinese Political Economy at the University of Manchester, where he earned a PhD in Politics in 2021. His research lies at the intersection of informal institutions, political representation, and public opinion, with a regional focus on East Asia. His current work centres on constituency service in Taiwan, examining the ramifications of informal rules such as *guanxi*. He is also developing studies on authoritarian public opinion and foreign affairs, one of which aims to address the sources of popular support in China for Russia's war in Ukraine. Tao's research has been published in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *the British Journal of Social Psychology*, *the Journal of Contemporary China*, etc.

Alan Yang

Alan H. Yang is a distinguished professor of Southeast Asian studies at the Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies (GIEAS) and deputy director of the Institute of International Relations (IIR) at National Chengchi University (NCCU), Taiwan. He has been engaging in think tank diplomacy and currently works as the executive director for NCCU's Center for Southeast Asian Studies which serves as the secretariat of the Consortium of Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA), and also the executive director of Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation (TAEF), a leading pilot think tank based in Taipei for promoting Taiwan's New Southbound Policy (NSP) advocated by President Tsai Ing-Wen.

Dr. Yang's research interests cover international relations theories, international relations and regionalism in Southeast Asia, environmental governance and disaster resilience, border politics and politics of resistance in Southeast Asia, foreign policy and soft power analysis with specific focus on China's Confucius Institute and Taiwan's NSP.

Dr. Yang's latest publications include *China's Soft Footprint in Southeast Asia*, co-edited with Dr. Maris Diokno and Dr. H.H. Michael Hsiao and "Weaponized Interdependence: China's Economic

Statecraft and Social Penetration against Taiwan.” He is also a frequent contributor to Global Taiwan Brief, The National Interests, The Diplomat, PacNet Commentary, Taiwan Insight, Rappler and East Asia Forum.

Jackson Yeh

Dr. Jackson Yeh is trained as a political sociologist and is currently a research associate at the Taiwan Studies Program at the University of Alberta, Canada. He received his doctorate from the University of Hong Kong. His research interests focus on China Factors in Hong Kong, Hong Kong-Taiwan Relations, and Hong Kong Politics and Society, among others. Jackson YEH is also an active social observer; he has written extensively on current affairs with particular emphasis on Taiwan and Hong Kong issues.

Alice Yi-Rong Hung

Alice Yi-Rong Hung is Research Assistant at the Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. She received her MSc in interpreting and translation studies from Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh in 2022. Her research interests range from identity and ideology issues in the practices of translation and interpreting in cross-strait relations to vicarious trauma on interpreters.

Yifei Zhu

Yifei Zhu is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Security & Development Policy in Sweden and an affiliated researcher at the Institute of East Asian Studies (IN-EAST) at the Universität Duisburg-Essen in Germany.

His research interests encompass economic-security dynamics in international relations, state-business relations in economic governance, technological and industrial policy (specifically in the ICT industry and semiconductors), regionalism and institutional analysis. His primary research focus is on East Asia, particularly on East Asia (China, Taiwan and South Korea), the “China factor” in the region, and its links with Europe and the US.

He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the Freie Universität Berlin in Germany, with a dissertation on Taiwan's political economy and cross-strait relations. Additionally, he holds an M.A. in International Politics and American Studies from the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies.



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Discussant and Participant Biographies

Chris Hung

Chris Hung has 20 years' experience of undertaking information technology research. His research areas include semiconductor, information system, consumer electronics, and macroeconomics. He leads or has led several large-scale projects regarding semiconductor SoC, smart electronics, digital content, online entertainment survey, new online service platform, smart home, industrial reforms, and telematics. Prior to joining MIC, he worked as a research manager of a leading securities firm, providing investment analysis for Taiwanese companies. Chris Hung holds a Master's degree in Economics from New York University. He is an APIAA-certified industrial consultant.

Vanessa Ho

Vanessa Ho (Szu Ying Ho) is an Industry Analyst at the Market Intelligence & Consulting Institute, specializing in policy research in the digital economy and the interrelation between geopolitics and emerging technology development. Prior to joining MIC, she served as a research assistant in the Policy Research Division at the Science & Technology Policy Research and Information Center, National Applied Research Laboratories. Vanessa holds a Master's degree in Translation and Interpretation Studies from Fu Jen Catholic University and a Bachelor's degree in Chinese Literature from National Central University.

Yingfen Lin

Yingfen Lin researches in the areas of digital economy and labour economics, focusing on policy research in digital transformation, data governance, and in the smart urban context, green city and social inclusion. She leads several research collaborative projects with global institutes including IMD Business School and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). She is also experienced in establishing foreign relations and links to promote both diplomatic alliances and international business collaboration. Yingfen Lin holds a PhD in Labour Economics from the University of Sheffield and a MSc in Statistics and Management Science from University of the West of England.

Scott Pacey

Scott completed his PhD at the Australian National University. His research focused on Taixu and other modern Buddhists in the republican period, and then later in Taiwan. Since then, Scott's interests have expanded to include dialogue between religions, principally Buddhism and Christianity, Buddhism in the West, and new religious movements. Besides spending time at National Taiwan University and the National Central Library in Taipei during his PhD, Scott has held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and been a visiting scholar in the Department of Philosophy at Fu Jen Catholic University. Scott has taught on a range of subjects, taking a multidisciplinary approach that draws from religious studies, history and sociology.

Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley

Dr Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley is Research Associate, Centre of Taiwan Studies, SOAS University of London. She is also Research Associate at the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. Ming-Yeh was Secretary-General, European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS, 2012–2018), and is the founding Editor-in-Chief, *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* (2018–present), co-sponsored by EATS and Academia Sinica. She worked as a researcher at the University of Nottingham (1999–2005) and became Head of Chinese Studies at the University of Nottingham Ningbo China (2005–2007). Before she joined SOAS in 2013 and Academia Sinica in 2018, Ming-Yeh researched and taught East Asian film industries at the University of Leeds (2007–2013).

Michael Reilly

Michael Reilly has been a Senior Fellow in the Taiwan Research Hub in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham since 2015. A former British diplomat, his final position was as the British representative in Taiwan from 2005 – 2009. From 2011–2014 he was the chief representative in China for aerospace company BAE Systems. He is a member of the Advisory Board of the Global Taiwan Institute and was a Visiting Fellow at Academia Sinica in Taipei in 2016 and 2019. He has written and co-edited several books about international relations and trade policy, mainly relating to East Asia, including *The Great Free Trade Myth: British Foreign Policy and East Asia since 1980*. (2020).

Andrew Yeh

Andrew Yeh is the Executive Director of the China Strategic Risks Institute. He is the Co-Founder of Labour Friends of Taiwan (UK) and previously served as Secretariat Manager at the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China (IPAC). His research has covered Europe's role in responding to greyzone contingencies across the Taiwan Strait.

Suisheng Zhao

Suisheng Zhao is a Professor and Director of the Center for China-US Cooperation at Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver. He is the founder and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary China* and the author and editor of more than two dozen of books. His most recent book is *The Dragon Roars Back: Transformational Leaders and Dynamics of Chinese Foreign Policy* (Stanford University Press, 2023). A Post-Doctoral Campbell National Fellow at Hoover Institution of Stanford University, he received his Ph.D. degree in political science from the University of California-San Diego, an M.A. degree in Sociology from the University of Missouri, and BA and M.A. degrees in economics from Peking University.