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The development of US-Czech cooperation within the constraints of the EU's foreign policy framework

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Singin' in the Rain of Liberal Democracy

*A Path Forward for Czech-United States Collaboration towards
Taiwan*

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Introduction

Today, more scholars than ever are arguing that the European Union (EU) policy towards Taiwan is in need of a revamping.¹ Indeed, EU member nations, such as Lithuania, have slowly taken measures, such as opening up a “Taiwanese Representative Office”, that run counter to traditional EU ways of dealing with Taiwan. While the EU has largely abided by an interpretation of the “One-China Principle” that aligns closely with that of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), increasing hostility towards the Republic of China (Taiwan) from the PRC necessitates a policy change that can not only help preserve the status-quo on the Taiwan Strait but also strengthen the relationships between liberal democracies.

Of focus will be the role that the Czech Republic can play in this policy change. For many political realists, small to medium sized states like Taiwan and the Czech Republic are assigned a fate of being dominated by their larger neighbors and superpowers.² However, this paper seeks to demonstrate that the Czech Republic, despite its relatively smaller status, can initiate and carry out considerable impacts far larger than its physical size would suggest possible. This is in large part due to the Czech Republic’s membership within the European Union (EU) and in particular, the EU’s consensus-based decision-making model and the chance for all member states, regardless of size, to have chance to take charge of the EU Presidency. As such, this paper is formulated around the topic of Czech-US cooperation on Taiwan with the June-December 2022 Czech Republic EU Presidency in mind.

Why Taiwan?

¹ Ferenczy, Zsuzsa Anna. Time for the EU to Embrace Taiwan | CEPA. 25 Oct. 2021, <https://cepa.org/time-for-the-eu-to-embrace-taiwan/>.

² Galal, Abdelraouf Mostafa. “External Behavior of Small States in Light of Theories of International Relations.” *Review of Economics and Political Science*, vol. 5, no. 1, Jan. 2019, pp. 38–56. Emerald Insight, <https://doi.org/10.1108/REPS-11-2018-0028>.

While various scholars have clearly stated as to why relations between liberal democracies and Taiwan are important, it is worth reiterating and focusing on a few factors that make strong relations with Taiwan compelling, namely its location, role in global tech supply chains, and liberal democracy.

Most prominent is the fact that Taiwan is a like-minded partner for the Czech Republic, America, and the European Union. Domestically and internationally, Taiwan supports the Western rules-based system of governance based on human rights, a liberalized society and market, as well as democratic free-will.³ These are many of the same values that the Czech Republic and America promote and are looking to improve on. On this matter, the Taiwanese flavor of democratic governance offers lessons on effective governance in matters such as public health. Taiwan's model of COVID-19 containment and subsequent collaboration with non-state actors, such as academic institutions, has shown their respect of a Western conception of human rights as well as their desire to contribute as a partner.⁴ Moreover, Taiwanese companies such as Taiwan Semi-Conductor Manufacturing Company, Foxconn, and Mediatek, are important to upholding the global industrial and commercial tech industry with their products impacting everyone from large multinationals like Apple to your average Czech consumer who needs a new phone or laptop.⁵ Taiwan in general represents a significant trade partner and source of foreign direct investment (FDI) who can help ensure the stability of strategic supply chains and transparent regulation of data protection.

While these issues alone may motivate some to move to reinforce any relationship with Taiwan, some level of justification needs to be provided for shifting pre-existing EU and Czech

³ Ferenczy, Zsuzsa Anna. Time for the EU to Embrace Taiwan

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Tsai, Ming-Yen. Taiwan: The EU's Ideal Supply Chain Partner in Asia. 27 Sept. 2020, <https://www.eupoliticalreport.eu/taiwan-the-eus-ideal-supply-chain-partner-in-asia/>.

policy towards the Taiwan-China issue. Perhaps the best justification comes from the EU itself. A 2021 EU report approved by the European Parliament argues that improving relations with Taiwan is in fact not shifting existing pre-existing EU policy but rather reinforcing EU foreign policy.⁶ Specifically, while the EU has been supportive of maintaining the status quo on the Taiwan Strait, the PRC has moved towards upsetting the peaceful status quo by increasing threatening activities towards Taiwan through military and gray-zone activities including cyberattacks and fly-bys through Taiwan's Air-Defense Identification Zone.^{7 8 9}

As such, it can be argued that a Czech-led effort to increase EU relations with Taiwan is not upsetting the current diplomatic situation with China but rather enforcing the status quo that EU-Taiwan and EU-China relations are built upon. To continue the EU's previous One-China policy towards Taiwan would risk having Taiwan pulled, possibly by force, into the PRC's sphere of influence and failing to defend the liberal values of democratic societies. The reprehensible invasion of Ukraine has demonstrated to the liberal democratic world what the price of non-intervention is. As French MEP Raphael Glucksmann observed "[Taiwan's] success in building up democracy while being confronted with threats is a goldmine for [the EU]."¹⁰

Revising and Strengthening the Czech Model

⁶ Weimers, Charlie. REPORT on a European Parliament Recommendation to the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy on EU-Taiwan Political Relations and Cooperation. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-9-2021-0265_EN.html. Accessed 2 May 2022.

⁷ Reuters. "Taiwan Again Warns Chinese Aircraft in Its Air Defence Zone." Reuters, 14 Mar. 2022. [www.reuters.com, https://www.reuters.com/world/china/taiwan-jets-scramble-again-china-air-force-enters-air-defence-zone-2022-03-14/](https://www.reuters.com/world/china/taiwan-jets-scramble-again-china-air-force-enters-air-defence-zone-2022-03-14/).

⁸ Lin, Bonny, et al. A New Framework for Understanding and Countering China's Gray Zone Tactics. RAND Corporation, 30 Mar. 2022. [www.rand.org, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RBA594-1.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RBA594-1.html).

⁹ Follain, Adela Lin. "China Ramps Up Cyberattacks on Taiwan - BNN Bloomberg." BNN, 19 Sept. 2018, <https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/china-ramps-up-cyberattacks-on-taiwan-1.1140201>.

¹⁰ Chung, Lawrence. EU Parliamentarians Say They Want to Learn from Taiwan How to Counter Threats from Beijing | South China Morning Post. 4 Nov. 2021, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3154877/eu-parliamentarians-say-they-want-learn-taiwan-how-counter>.

With the need to reevaluate traditional relationships with Taiwan established, I argue that we can look to a revised “Czech Model” to not only grow ties with Taiwan but also address what the Americans and Czechs have called the “China Challenge”. As some scholars have defined it, the Czech Model is a diplomatic framework where bilateral public diplomatic and economic initiatives are combined, to further strengthen relationships.¹¹ More specifically, the goal of this model is to *institutionalize* relationships with the Taipei government. As many international relations scholars have noted, relations between governments are often cyclical, subject to domestic, economic, and other pressures.¹² As such, if the Czech Republic, US, and EU genuinely want a stronger relationship with Taiwan for the sake of Taiwan and not just to oppose the PRC, specific actions need to be taken to ensure that the relationships can not just survive but thrive throughout different administrations.

This model has mostly been used in the context of Central and Eastern European relationships with Taiwan, but such framework and its individual components can be revised to become more extensive. One of the proposals that differ the most from the current Czech Model is the inclusion of multilateral support as politics and national security are inseparable elements. In addressing these matters, the Czech EU Council Presidency would be furthering the dialogue with the United States on the Indo-Pacific that has already been accomplished by the French Presidency.¹³

Political and Defense Support

¹¹ Remžová, Dominika. “The Czech Model: A New Era for Taiwan’s Diplomacy in Europe?” Chinaobservers, 13 Nov. 2020, <https://chinaobservers.eu/the-czech-model-a-new-era-for-taiwans-diplomacy-in-europe/>.

¹² Kohout, Franz. “Cyclical, Hegemonic, and Pluralistic Theories of International Relations: Some Comparative Reflections on War Causation.” *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2003, pp. 51–66.

¹³ Programme of the Presidency - French Presidency of the Council of the European Union 2022. <https://presidence-francaise.consilium.europa.eu/en/programme/programme-of-the-presidency/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

Of priority to the Czech Republic, the United States, and Taiwan is the political and defense situation of Taiwan as that is at the core of Taiwan's disputed identity. Such situation could be improved through a Czech-led EU diplomatic outreach to Taiwan done in conjunction with the United States. At the center of this diplomatic outreach is a recognition that Taiwan must be viewed as not simply an issue viewed within the framework of relations with China. A diplomatic outreach could be done through three specific approaches, each of which has benefits and challenges that will be spelled out. Of note and in deviation from the previous Czech Model, is the inclusion of an explicitly defense-oriented approach on cybersecurity.

Promoting Greater Exchanges with Taiwan

In recent years, political exchanges with Taiwan have intensified with dialogues opening between Taiwanese actors and increasingly higher holders of political offices in America and Europe. In the last twelve months, we have seen three congressional delegations, including the Chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, visit Taiwan to discuss issues relating to regional security and ties between the US and Taiwan.¹⁴ Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the House, is also planning to visit Taiwan in the near future.¹⁵ The first official European Parliament delegation to Taiwan was conducted in the same timeframe as well.¹⁶ However, taking before the EU delegation to Taiwan was the 2020

¹⁴ Chung, Lawrence. "US Congressional Group Lands in Taiwan, Will Meet President Tsai." South China Morning Post, 14 Apr. 2022, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3174224/us-foreign-affairs-committee-senators-head-taiwan-meeting-tsai>.

¹⁵ Ellis, Samson, and Cindy Wang. "Pelosi to Visit Taiwan in First Such Trip for 25 Years, FNN Says." Bloomberg.Com, 7 Apr. 2022. [www.bloomberg.com, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-04-07/pelosi-to-visit-taiwan-in-first-such-trip-for-25-years-fnn-says](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-04-07/pelosi-to-visit-taiwan-in-first-such-trip-for-25-years-fnn-says).

¹⁶ Chung, Lawrence. EU Parliamentarians Say They Want to Learn from Taiwan How to Counter Threats from Beijing

visit to Taiwan by Czech Senate President Milos Vystrcil who echoed President JFK by saying “I am Taiwanese” in a speech to Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan.¹⁷

All of these trips have led to greater awareness of the Taiwanese issue in each representatives’ respective countries as well as greater support for the politicians involved. A natural step forward would be to synchronize these trips and include figures of higher offices so that, to the international community, they represent not only a singular trip made by a couple representatives from America or Czechia but rather a sign of united support for Taiwan from liberal democracies. A united statement by EU member states and America that any Chinese invasion would risk an economic and political rift with the liberal West would greatly boost morale for Taiwan itself. This is particularly important in Taiwan where 53.8% of the population, up from a little over a quarter, believe that Taiwan would be left without allies in the event of a Chinese invasion.¹⁸ Studies have shown that Taiwanese resilience in the face of Chinese aggression has largely been due to the persistent belief that they would be supported by foreign countries if anything serious were to happen to Taiwan.¹⁹ Maintaining this belief and morale through these combined visits from figures of higher offices is essential to preserving a Taiwanese liberal democracy. Moreover, from a domestic lens, these trips help to bolster the

¹⁷ Welle (www.dw.com), Deutsche. “‘I Am Taiwanese’: Czech Official Angers China after Taipei Speech | DW | 01.09.2020.” DW.COM, <https://www.dw.com/en/i-am-taiwanese-czech-official-angers-china-after-taipei-speech/a-54781326>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

¹⁸ Ryugen, Hideaki. “Half of Taiwanese Don’t Believe U.S. Would Send Troops If China Invades.” Nikkei Asia, 27 Apr. 2022, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/Half-of-Taiwanese-don-t-believe-U.S.-would-send-troops-if-China-invades>.

¹⁹ Graham Junior, Thomas, and Mariana Budjeryn. “Taiwan vs. Tyranny: The US Must Redouble Its Commitment to Secure This Shining Hill of Democracy in East Asia.” Just Security, 8 July 2021, <https://www.justsecurity.org/77361/taiwan-vs-tyranny-the-us-must-redouble-its-commitment-to-secure-this-shining-hill-of-democracy-in-east-asia/>.

visiting politicians' support and profile given worsening views on China by European and American voters.²⁰

However, these visits are not simply useful from a symbolic political perspective. Rather a combined visit represents an opportunity for representatives from liberal democracies to discuss issues that they have in common and share information about strategies that promote better governance and human rights protections. This is not just a hypothetical benefit but something already happening. For example, the goal of the 2021 European Parliament delegation gained significant knowledge from their Taiwanese counterparts' expertise on addressing interference and manipulation campaigns from hostile countries.²¹ Moreover, when countries come together to learn from Taiwan's experiences, they not only learn from Taiwan but also each other. This has significant implications for issues ranging from trade and economic issues, human rights, disinformation, to industrial and digital policies.

Promoting Greater Taiwanese interaction with the world

As basic as the motto "Taiwan can Help" is, Taiwan's domestic and international response to COVID-19 has shown that Taiwan is willing and able to be a partner to the rest of the world. As such, America has publicly supported Taiwan's inclusion and participation in international organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO). While certain MEPs and EU member states have similarly come out with statements supporting Taiwan's inclusion, the EU as a whole has not come out with a message of support. As the President of the Council of the EU, the Czech Republic has significant influence over the policy direction of the High

²⁰ Silver, Laura, et al. "Unfavorable Views of China Reach Historic Highs in Many Countries." Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, 6 Oct. 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/10/06/unfavorable-views-of-china-reach-historic-highs-in-many-countries/>.

²¹ Chung, Lawrence. EU Parliamentarians Say They Want to Learn from Taiwan How to Counter Threats from Beijing

Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Of course, the Czech Republic is unlikely to create unanimous support among EU member states for such kind of support for Taiwan considering that states like Hungary are still relatively China-friendly. However, Czechia is still in a position to promote the establishment of an EU foreign policy stance of supporting Taiwan's membership/observer status in various international organizations such the WHO, International Civil Aviation Organization, and others under the United Nations Umbrella.

Actions such as these to promote the profile of Taiwan in the international space is particularly important to establishing Taiwan as an entity separate from the PRC. This not only helps provide support for Taiwan, a goal of Czechia and America, but also makes it harder for the PRC to portray any invasion of Taiwan as an internal affair and therefore makes the likelihood of an PRC invasion lower. While some worry by arguing that this kind of prominence of the Taiwanese state may make a Chinese invasion of Taiwan more likely as China may begin to think that a military reunification is the only possible method of reunification. However, one can look to the Declaration for the Future of the Internet that was signed by Czechia, Taiwan, America, and several other countries to see that such fear is relatively unfounded so long certain guardrails are adopted. Specifically, in this example, Taiwan was named as "Chinese Taipei", the name of the entity that usually represents Taiwan in international organizations and fora like the World Health Assembly.²² The use of "Chinese Taipei" allows for Taiwan to participate and makes Taiwan a prominent player in the international arena of digital governance but makes no statement on Taiwan's sovereignty with regards to the PRC.

²² Chien, Amy Chang. "What's in a Name? For Taiwan, a Lot." The New York Times, 4 Feb. 2022. NYTimes.com, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/04/sports/olympics/taiwan-chinese-taipei-republic-china.html>.

Other policy suggestions for the promoting the profile of Taiwan include joining the Global Training and Cooperation Framework (GTCF) and cooperating with non-state Taiwanese actors to promote effective public health policies for Global South countries. The Global Training and Cooperation Framework is a platform administered jointly by the US, Taiwan, Australia, and Japan with a goal of sharing Taiwanese expertise on matters as diverse as linguistic history to marine debris policy with global partners. While the Czech Republic has allowed for the hosting of GTCF workshops in the Czech Republic, they have not yet cohosted a workshop like Sweden and the Netherlands have done.²³ Doing this would not only enhance relationships with the US and Taiwan but also allow for the sharing and learning of innovative Czech, Taiwanese, and American ideas.

Regarding the latter option, stability in the Global South, specifically African countries, has been a key policy priority for some time, especially under the French Presidency.²⁴ Some political scientists have also argued that stability and development are key components to the development of democracy, something in line with the Czech Republic's foreign policy priorities.²⁵ The Czech Republic can help continue this policy objective and strengthen Czechia's own policy goals in the Indo-Pacific region by encouraging collaboration between European, American, and Taiwanese institutions on matters of public health in African states. As with the previous proposal, these public health initiatives that encompass foreign policy have already been worked on by individual states such as Taiwan and America. For example, Taiwan is already providing support to Somaliland through the Taiwanese Ministry of Health Development

²³ China (Taiwan), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of. "1st GCTF Workshop for Europe Staged in Czech Republic." Taiwan Today, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 17 Sept. 2021, <https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?unit=2&post=207870>.

²⁴ Programme of the Presidency - French Presidency of the Council of the European Union 2022.

²⁵ Radu, Madalina. Political Stability - A Condition for Sustainable Growth in Romania? - ScienceDirect. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2212567115013246>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

program while the Czech Republic signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Kenya on health workforce exchange, capacity building, and medical specialty training.²⁶ ²⁷ Unifying efforts on these matters also provides more proactive developmental aid that can be just as salient as the very visible Chinese developmental efforts in Africa. While Chinese developmental efforts have been attacked as “debt trap efforts”, that description is not necessarily embraced by the majority of African stake-holders.²⁸ As such, the liberal democratic West should make efforts to provide the concrete benefits in competition.

Collaboration on Cybersecurity

While there’s significant amounts of area of cooperation on the issue of defense between the Czech Republic, Taiwan, and the US, perhaps one that is of major concern for all three is cybersecurity. Luckily, all three of these countries are significant actors in the cybersecurity space.

According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the United States remains the dominant player in terms of offensive and defensive capabilities.²⁹ While the US capability for offensive cyber operations is significantly more developed than that of other countries, its defensive capabilities remain weaker, a weakness exacerbated by the lack of coordination historically held by the public and private sector.³⁰ This area of improvement was highlighted by

²⁶ Staff. “Taiwan and Somaliland Ink a Major Medical Cooperation Agreement.” Somaliland Chronicle, 17 June 2021, <https://somalilandchronicle.com/2021/06/17/taiwan-and-somaliland-ink-a-major-medical-cooperation-agreement/>.

²⁷ Kenya and Czech Republic Set to Enhance Bilateral Ties Focusing on the Health Sector – MINISTRY OF HEALTH. <https://www.health.go.ke/kenya-and-czech-republic-set-to-enhance-bilateral-ties-focusing-on-the-health-sector/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

²⁸ Selormey, Edem, and Josephine Appiah-Nyamekye Sanny. “Africans Welcome China’s Influence but Maintain Democratic Aspirations.” Afrobarometer Dispatch, no. No. 489, Nov. 2021, p. 23.

²⁹ IISS. “Cyber Power – Tier One.” International Institute for Strategic Studies, <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/research-paper/2021/06/cyber-power---tier-one>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

³⁰ Ibid

the Colonial Pipeline ransomware attack which has since spawned greater coordination between American governmental entities and private entities affected by cyberattacks. However, that is simply one part of the equation. Something just as important is learning the kind of cyberattacks that may be used in a possible attack and repairing the flaw as soon as it is found.

Similar to the United States is the Czech Republic, one of the foremost leaders on cybersecurity in Europe and one of the first countries to create an agency dedicated to cybersecurity. Moreover, the National Cyber and Information Security Agency (NUKIB) have identified, in the National Cyber Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, Russia and the PRC as the most critical state-sponsored cyber threats and have taken steps to address these issues. Like the United States, one of the greatest flaws with the Czech cybersecurity system is an inability to keep up with all the new cyberattack tactics.³¹ Other challenges named by the NUKIB include the increasing amount of mobile malware, risks associated with the Internet of Things (IoT), and insufficient security of small and medium companies as well as the digitalization of public administration.³² Naturally, these concerns faced by the EU are very similar to those faced by the Czech Republic.

This flaw could possibly be filled in by Taiwan as public and private Taiwanese businesses face large amounts of cybersecurity threats from China. According to Chen Chi-mai, former Vice Premier of the Executive Yuan, 60% of cyberattacks against Taiwan originated from mainland China.³³ According to researchers, Taiwan's unique political status makes it the default target of choice for Chinese cyber criminals and so many of the new kinds of cyberattacks are

³¹ National Cyber and Information Security Agency - Strategy / Action Plan. <https://www.nukib.cz/en/cyber-security/strategy-action-plan/>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

³² Ibid

³³ "Taiwan Government Faces 5 Million Cyber Attacks Daily: Official." France 24, 10 Nov. 2021, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20211110-taiwan-government-faces-5-million-cyber-attacks-daily-official>.

often tested first in Taiwan.³⁴ The Industry Development Group of the National Information and Communication Security Taskforce promotes the integration of industrial, governmental, and academic resources to develop innovative solutions to the cyber challenge faced by Taiwan.³⁵ Like the NUKIB, the cybersecurity plan involves inter-ministerial collaboration with the Ministry of Economic Affairs in charge of industrial cyber capability development, Ministry of Education in charge of talent cultivation, and etc.³⁶ With these similarities in cybersecurity strategy and industries, collaboration on the governmental and private level is very attractive for all those involved.

On the governmental level, collaboration could be focused on Taiwanese IoT security standards and testing sites. While the security of IoT is a serious problem that the Czech and American governments have been focusing, Taiwan has created their own “IoT Security Industry Standards” that helps promote uniform “video surveillance system cybersecurity standards”.³⁷ The EU’s Toolbox for 5G security is a similar policy that establishes stricter security requirements for telecommunications equipment. Based on these standards, Czechia, Taiwan, and America could work together to establish their own interoperable IoT security standards that strengthens the cybersecurity capabilities of their respective IoT devices.

With Taiwan being a testing ground for Chinese cyberattacks, collaboration on the governmental and private level could be established to share intelligence and information on the best strategies for cyberattack mitigation. For example, the Taiwan Cybersecurity Center

³⁴ Gold, Michael. “Taiwan a ‘testing Ground’ for Chinese Cyber Army.” Reuters, 19 July 2013. [www.reuters.com, https://www.reuters.com/article/net-us-taiwan-cyber-idUSBRE96H1C120130719](https://www.reuters.com/article/net-us-taiwan-cyber-idUSBRE96H1C120130719).

³⁵ Policy Strategy - TWNCERT 國家電腦事件處理中心. https://www.twncert.org.tw/policy_strategy. Accessed 9 May 2022.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ IoT Cybersecurity: Taiwan Can Help. <https://www.sdmmag.com/articles/98769-iot-cybersecurity-taiwan-can-help>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

(TWISC) has worked with Dutch academic partners on this very matter.³⁸ More on the private side is the possibility of business collaborations that involve establishing cyber capability-building institutions for local high-tech communities in America and Czechia or the broader European community. Likewise, such efforts could be conducted by the US in the Czech Republic as the Czech Republic cooperation with the US on the Taiwan issue brings Czechia and the US closer together.

Challenges

Naturally, these proposals of joint action between the broader EU community, Czech Republic, and US have a major collective action problem. While Europe has generally united against the Russian invasion, many have questioned whether any EU President, including the Czech Republic, will be able to lead the EU to stand up against China in favor of Taiwan, especially given the economic costs for some of the EU's larger members. In response, we should first note that the EU and America have already begun to cooperate on the issue of China, as reflected in the 2020 "New EU-US Agenda for Global Change" which lists "increased EU focus on the challenges...in the Indo-Pacific region" as one of its goals.³⁹ Since then, the EU has adopted with overwhelming support both an "Indo-Pacific Strategy" and the previously mentioned 2021 report on EU-Taiwan relations. These signs of support and the aforementioned domestic political benefit of standing up to China offer a compelling reason to engage in strengthened relations with Taiwan in a principled pragmatic manner to ensure peace in the Taiwan Strait. For the Czech Republic in particular, it should be noted that relatively little risk

³⁸ HSD Foundation. Cyber Security Roadmap Taiwan Instrument to Explore New Opportunities. <https://securitydelta.nl/news/newsitem/2077-cyber-security-roadmap-taiwan-instrument-to-explore-new-opportunities>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

³⁹ Mamer, Eric. "EU-US: A New Transatlantic Agenda for Global Change." European Commission - European Commission, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_2279. Accessed 9 May 2022.

exists for the kinds of de-facto economic sanctions that China has taken with states that it perceives as helping Taiwan.⁴⁰ At the same time, it should be noted that even if the Czech Republic is not able to convince every EU member state of the necessity of these proposals, which is very likely, the Czech Republic is still in a position to create a coalition of the willing that can ally and coordinate with the US on the aforementioned policies. This would still provide for the Czech Republic and the US the benefits mentioned above.

That being said, China has a very clear red line that is essential to their foreign policy: the One-China Principle. That in it of itself has various interpretations but the most basic understanding of this Principle is that even if the PRC and ROC (Taiwan) are politically separate, the ROC cannot be allowed to become the Republic of Taiwan (ROT), shedding any semblance of a Chinese political identity. Any step towards a ROT would almost certainly result in a Chinese invasion as the Chinese citizenry has become steadfast in their belief that Taiwan is an essential part of China. While the proposed policies do not take any step forward towards providing diplomatic recognition to a ROT or even the ROC, the Czech Republic and America will have to be tactful in interactions with Chinese officials and indeed to the broader world. Explanations as to the motivations of this EU policy shift should be prefaced with the EU's desire to maintain a peaceful status-quo in the Taiwan Strait, a status-quo in which Taiwan and China constructively cooperate to work out a solution to this issue. EU, Czech, and American officials should make it clear that while they support a peaceful Taiwan Strait and stronger relations with Taiwan, they do not support Taiwanese divergence from the One China Principle (i.e. Taiwan declaring itself to be Republic of Taiwan instead of the current Republic of China).

Economic Collaboration

⁴⁰ Remžová, Dominika. "The Czech Model: A New Era for Taiwan's Diplomacy in Europe?"

One of the things that have made the Czech Model so effective is its combination of public diplomacy and economic initiatives. After all, no matter how important a certain ideology or project is, there needs to be incentives for all involved to be fully devoted and want to cooperate. Taiwan provides an interesting scenario as its incredibly well-connected status in the global supply chain means that it's inexorably connected to the PRC. Even if the political situation were stable between the two entities, some current policies in both states, such as Taiwan's National Security Law and China's COVID-19 policies, make economic cooperation difficult. As such, there is an economic opportunity for the Czech Republic and other states that have a relatively free economic market that is conducive to economic cooperation.

Collaboration on Global Supply Chains

In the wake of the COVID-19 crisis, many governments including America, the Czech Republic, and the EU have recognized the need to diversify and strengthen supply chains for not simply economic security but also for the protection of consumers.⁴¹ Vulnerabilities in critical supply chains allow for natural events and disasters as well as unfriendly states to hamper access to materials critical for industrial and consumer applications.⁴² Broader are the negative knock-on effects that these vulnerabilities inflict upon the innovation, productivity, and long-term investment for entities in America, the Czech Republic, and EU.

Of note is the technology industry's supply chain, much of which is based in China. To address such vulnerabilities, the American Department of Defense announced an investment into rare earth element mining outside of China and the Biden Administration has tried to strengthen

⁴¹ Hippold, Sarah. "Diversifying Global Supply Chains for Resilience." Gartner, <https://www.gartner.com/smarterwithgartner/diversifying-global-supply-chains-for-resilience>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

⁴² Department of Defense. Securing Defense-Critical Supply Chains. Feb. 2022, p. 78.

American semiconductor chip manufacturers.⁴³ Semiconductors are an issue of critical importance as they form the basic components of the “brains” of many critically important electronic devices, ranging from communication to military systems. While the Biden administration has had a degree of success with this project, industry analysts such as Morris Chang (founder of TSMC) have argued that it’s impossible for the US to domestically build a full semiconductor chip supply chain.⁴⁴ In that case, another more collaborative approach is that of strengthening the tech capabilities of the EU and Central/Eastern European countries.

Namely, the Czech Republic, as leader of the EU Council could cooperate with America and Taiwan to invest in semi-conductor capability-strengthening in Europe as well as the building of semiconductor plants in Central and Eastern Europe. On the part of America, it would be considerably more secure in terms of national security if semiconductors were manufactured in a friendly, NATO ally. For its part, the Taiwanese government has expressed interest in such kind of cooperation with the EU on semiconductors and other critical tech supplies in order to foster better relations with each other.⁴⁵ They have even encouraged Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company to diversify the construction of a semiconductor fabrication site (fab), leading TSMC to look at potential European sites for a fab.⁴⁶ Naturally, were the Czech Republic able to be selected as a target for capacity-building or a site of a fab, there would surely be immense economic benefits. As analysts have observed, the Czech

⁴³ “FACT SHEET: Biden-Harris Administration Announces Supply Chain Disruptions Task Force to Address Short-Term Supply Chain Discontinuities.” The White House, 8 June 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/06/08/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-announces-supply-chain-disruptions-task-force-to-address-short-term-supply-chain-discontinuities/>.

⁴⁴ Cheng, Ting-Fang. “TSMC Founder Chides U.S. Plan for Full Chip Supply Chain Onshore.” Nikkei Asia, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Tech/Semiconductors/TSMC-founder-chides-U.S.-plan-for-full-chip-supply-chain-onshore>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

⁴⁵ Blanchard, Ben. Taiwan Sees “enormous” Room for Chip Cooperation with EU. <https://www.nasdaq.com/articles/taiwan-sees-enormous-room-for-chip-cooperation-with-eu>. Accessed 9 May 2022.

⁴⁶ Ibid

Republic's location, political leadership, and strong manufacturing capabilities make it uniquely suited to being the destination for global supply chain relocation.⁴⁷

At the same time, Taiwan has expressed concerns over the funding rules that the EU has on plants of critical importance such as semiconductor fabs, as those rules limit the amount of possible cooperation on this matter. As the President of one of the two legislative bodies in the EU, the Czech Republic could propose legislation or work with the Parliament during the Conciliation Committee to prioritize the revamping of funding rules that can accommodate for Taiwanese funding. At the very least, in its Formal Triad meetings with the Commission and Parliament, the Czech Republic could push for the easing of funding rules for fabs.

Supporting an EU-Taiwan Bilateral Investment Agreement (BIA)

Besides to sharing similar core values, Taiwan and the EU have a strong trade relationship with the EU being the largest contributor of FDI in Taiwan while Taiwanese investment has created over 60,000 jobs in the EU.⁴⁸ Given this and the EU and American goals of trying to diversify and strengthen vulnerabilities in the global supply chain, a natural next step is to establish an EU-Taiwan Bilateral Investment Agreement (BIA).

Naturally, the Czech Republic, as currently one of the major grantees of Taiwanese FDI, would greatly benefit through increased amounts of investment and job creation from Taiwanese small and medium enterprises. Even more importantly is the regulatory side. An EU-Taiwan BIA would increase the size and capabilities of Taiwanese and European service companies by standardizing service-related, such as scientific, financial, and technology, regulations. Previous investment treaties that Taiwan has acceded to in the past and their behavior since have

⁴⁷ Remžová, Dominika. "The Czech Model: A New Era for Taiwan's Diplomacy in Europe?"

⁴⁸ Tsai, Ming-Yen. Taiwan: The EU's Ideal Supply Chain Partner in Asia.

demonstrated that Taiwan is a trustworthy partner that would abide by the terms of the Agreement. Of course, on the American side, the BIA would be welcome especially considering how it would allow for a diversification of the supply chain away from China-related vulnerabilities.

As the President of the EU Council, one of the EU institutions involved in establishing trade agreements, there is significant amounts of leverage that the Czech Republic has on this matter. For investment agreements, there are generally two roles that the Council plays: authorizing a negotiating mandate to the Commission to negotiate a new investment agreement on behalf of the EU and signing the Commission's negotiated agreement.⁴⁹ Given the timeline for an investment agreement to take place, it is rather unlikely that the latter can occur. Rather the Czech Republic can use its agenda setting powers in the Council to push for a positive consensus on the issue of a BIA with Taiwan and hopefully eventually authorize the Commission to start an impact assessment and negotiations with Taiwan. While that takes process, the Czech Republic can, in its various capacities, support the economic and investment policy dialogues between the EU and Taiwan, such as the European Investment Forum that first started in 2020.

Challenges

While strengthening relations with Taiwan has its own benefits, it is almost guaranteed that the EU or its member states will receive some lashback from the PRC. As such, it is important to analyze how certain challenges facing the Czech Republic/EU and America can be addressed through the relationship with Taiwan. This can serve as an extra incentive for

⁴⁹ Wu, Chien-Huei. Toward an EU-Taiwan Bilateral Investment Treaty: A Roadmap. SSRN Scholarly Paper, 2937454, Social Science Research Network, 2017. papers.ssrn.com, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2937454>.

policymakers when conducting a cost-benefit analysis of the proposed shift to strengthened relations with Taiwan.

With everything related to investment and economics, there is a particular concern with commitment and the damage in soft power and relations if promises are not fulfilled. Overstretched promises, whether in the form of overly ambitious political statements by the recipients or economic offers presented by donors, can inflate expectations on both sides. If they are not delivered upon, such promises will undermine mutual trust in the long run. This is not just hypothetical but a clear result from the missed opportunities that China and President Zeman have promised.⁵⁰ Even now, Taiwanese investment in the Czech Republic remains higher than China's on a per-capita and gross level. Not just China but Taiwanese private corporations have had a history of vocally supporting the Taiwanese government's foreign policy goals but not carrying them out. One can simply look to Foxconn's promised Wisconsin factory which was never built. Taiwanese lawmakers must carefully coordinate with their industry counterparts to understand how much support will be provided to the private partners and what the latter are expected to carry out.⁵¹

Clearly, Taiwanese and Czech governments will need to be careful and purposeful when articulating the political goals and substantive results expected of the fund and deals. A key difficulty in their path is the relatively cheaper costs of doing things in China instead of Taiwan. Luckily, Taiwan's National Developmental Fund has created a 200 million USD Central and Eastern European Fund administered by the venture capital fund Taiwan Capital. The CCE

⁵⁰ Garlick, Jeremy. "Chinese Investments in the Czech Republic: Opportunity or Threat?" Chinaobservers, 12 Feb. 2020, <https://chinaobservers.eu/chinese-investments-in-the-czech-republic-opportunity-or-threat/>.

⁵¹ Patel, Nilay. "A Former Foxconn Executive Tries to Explain What Went Wrong in Wisconsin." The Verge, 19 Apr. 2022, <https://www.theverge.com/23030465/foxconn-lcd-factory-wisconsin-alan-yeung-trump-scott-walker-wisconn-valley-dome-decoder-interview>.

Fund is designed to promote strategic tech investment in central and eastern Europe (CEE), part of which could be used for the policy proposals discussed above.⁵² Moreover, the US could play an important role in uplifting and making sure that these investment deals are carried out to its fullest.

While domestic political issues could be a barrier, they may provide an unexpected benefit for the Czech Republic, namely that of a uniting effect that a focus on Taiwan could have on the coalition government. Because of the diversity of the governing coalition, some scholars fear a repeat of the 2009 Czech Presidency of the EU where the Czech government fell during their EU presidency. Indeed, significant differences on European policies exist between the coalitions such as the more EU-integrationist Pirates and TOP09, who support a uniform approach towards integrating the European Union, and Euro-skeptic sympathetic ODS, who believe in a European Union that is doing “less but better”.⁵³ Differences go beyond this issue and reach the realm of foreign policy where the current Czech government is quite divided on the issue of Israel and its alleged human rights abuses.

For the Czech Republic to effectively lead the EU Council Presidency, there is a need for the coalition government to not to collapse and instead unite around issues and positions that coalition partners can agree on. On the case of foreign policy, Taiwan offers a compelling uniting factor on which Czech Republic can focus to have a productive EU Council Presidency and avoid internal disagreements on issues like Israel.

Conclusion and Recommendations

⁵² Lin, Chia-nan. Central, Eastern Europe Fund to Be Created - Taipei Times. 7 Jan. 2022, <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2022/01/07/2003770908>.

⁵³ ODS. “Silný program pro silné Česko – ODS.” Občanská demokratická strana, <https://www.ods.cz/volby2017/program/zahranicni-politika>. Accessed 1 May 2022.

While the EU's interpretation of the One-China Principle has served the EU well for a while, current rapidly changing circumstances require a dramatic policy shift that balances certain hard lines set by the PRC, the EU's own security goals, as well as a need for the EU to recognize and support fellow liberal democracies. Such policy shift could be inspired by rebuffed Czech Model and taken in conjunction with the United States. Naturally speaking, a strengthened Czech Model would perhaps be best accomplished by the Czech Republic. As the previous points have made clear, the Czech Republic, as the incoming President of the EU Council and a major CEE state, has significant influence and powers that would allow it to pioneer an enhanced EU policy towards the Asia-Pacific region. Specifically, the Czech Republic should:

- Promote, alongside of America, more public diplomatic exchanges between Taiwan and the liberal democratic order so as to make it clear that there is multilateral support for preserving a peaceful status-quo
- Proactively develop greater interactions between Taiwan and the rest of the world through mechanisms, such as the Global Cooperation and Training Framework, to institutionalize working relationships between state and non-state Taiwanese and Western entities.
- Encourage collaboration between Czech, American, and Taiwanese entities to strengthen and standardize cybersecurity procedures and regulations. Such collaboration would create a free cyberspace that protects human rights while contributing to a successful and innovative tech industry
- Actively enhance and welcome Taiwanese investment in the Czech Republic and European Union, allowing for diversification of the global tech supply chain. The Czech

Presidency should work towards easing funding rules in regards to Taiwanese investment in European tech sectors

- Use the EU Council Presidency to push for a bilateral investment agreement with Taiwan and the granting of a negotiating mandate for the Commission. Outside of the Presidency, the Czech Republic can also open BIA negotiations with Taiwan and encourage fellow CEE member countries to do the same

Throughout these actions, the Czech Republic, EU, and the US should be actively supporting the restoration and development of dialogue and official and informal, such as nongovernmental channels, communication channels across the Taiwan Strait. In the end what the Czech Republic, EU, and US want is a peaceful Taiwan Strait that upholds the current status-quo and to have good economic relations with all parties of the Taiwan Strait. These proposals are a modest step that the Czech Republic can take towards that larger goal.

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