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臺灣兵役制度改革之研析

A Study of Military Service Reform in Taiwan

Student: Hu Su-Jung

Advisor: Alex Chiang

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研究生：胡書蓉

Student: Hu Su-Jung

指導教授：姜家雄

Advisor: Alex Chiang



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Abstract

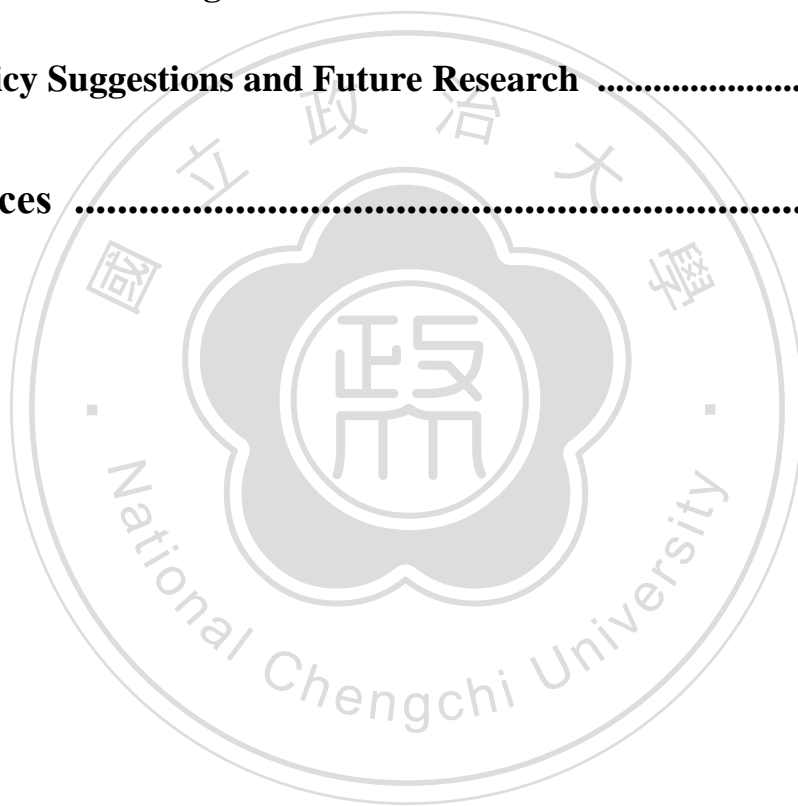
This study sought to examine those factors that make voluntary enlistment feasible among most advanced industrial countries nowadays. Also aims to find out factors that lead Taiwan to follow the global trend to change from conscription to voluntary enlistment, the intention behind such a policy, challenges or problems has occurred or might emerge in the future, and how to deal with them. In order to answer the questions, this study used literature analysis and comparative method to collect related materials to analyze global trend and development of military service, make comparison of different types of military service systems and study policies of Taiwanese military service and reform in detail. Analysis of this study shows that on the way of changing from conscription to voluntary enlistment, Taiwan faces several limitations such as low recruitment rates of professional soldiers, poor military discipline, a lack of public interests, rigid legal regulations, threats to national security, insufficient supporting programs, uneven distribution of military spending and workloads. This study comes up with some policy suggestions such as the government should raise social status of the military and public trust in the military, prolong service length of four-months military training, improve supporting programs and welfare of voluntary enlistment, improve balanced allocation of national defense spending on military personnel and weapons, adjust patterns of military training to improve specialization in the military, and evenly distribute the number of soldiers supply (according to college calendar) to smoothly realize military service reform in Taiwan.

Key Words: Conscription, Voluntary enlistment, Military service reform, Taiwan

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Research Purpose

Military service has gradually changed from conscription to voluntary enlistment along human history mainly due to changes in international relations and military technology. Modern nation-wide conscription was first adopted during the French revolution (1789-1799), gradually replacing other forms of military service such as national guardian service and mercenary service. However after the Vietnam War (1955-1975), the United State of America (U.S.A.) was the first country to abolish conscription and implemented voluntary enlistment instead. Since the end of the Cold War, most advanced industrial countries adopted voluntary enlistment instead of conscription. (于曉雯, 2012) Generally speaking, military service of a country is based on methods of recruiting soldiers. (莫大華, 2002) The so-called voluntary enlistment is that armed forces are formed by professional soldiers, and it is helpful to effectively train soldiers with high team spirit. Since professional soldiers tend to have higher morale, toughness in the military can be better achieved. (李志堯, 2014)

Taiwan used to adopt conscription military service. All qualified male nationals would be recruited to the armed forces by the Conscription Agency of Ministry of the Interior. However, due to changes in national policies and public opinions on military service, Taiwan has started to undertake reforms in national defense policies, and move to a “conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel military service”, with conscription to be abolished in the near future according to Taiwanese national plan. (中華民國國防部, 2012) In addition, to follow the global trend of military service reform, the Ministry of National Defense in Taiwan has performed downsizing “Armed Forces

Refining Program” (精實案) and “Armed Forces Modernization” (國軍現代化) since 1997 to streamline the armed forces. (趙錦財 2009) Thus, it was at a good timing to study military service in Taiwan and examine its on-going military service reform.

According to article 16 of the Act of Military Service System amended on January 2, 2013, “Two stages of military training” (兩階段軍事訓練) is on the way with goals of realizing military service reform. Instead of a mandatory service for one year, physically and psychologically qualified male citizens who were born after 1993 only need to receive a four months (sixteen weeks) military training. (中華民國國防部, 2012; 內政部, 2011; 兵役法, 2013) Taiwan adopts a military service that is “voluntary enlistment in peace times, mandatory conscription in war times.” In addition, in order to implement voluntary enlistment, the Conscription Agency amended laws to relax restrictions on conscripts who plan to study overseas or travel abroad. (內政部, 2011)

With a shrinking number of soldiers for conscription, the Ministry of National Defense needs to recruit a larger number of soldiers from voluntary enlistment to maintain Taiwan’s national security. Although the policy has only been implemented since 2013, Taiwan has already faced several challenges and obstacles. The greatest problem is that Ministry of National Defense does not have enough recruits to meet the needs for national security, because of resources shortage and lack of coordinated measures. (中華民國國防部, 2013; 陳忠賢, 2013) In addition, due to changes in demographic structure, decline in birth rates, low attractiveness of military service, budget problem, and complicated cross-strait relations, military service in Taiwan still faces many uncertainties and challenges at this turning point of military service reform. (洪錦成, 2013) Thus, this study aims to examine the implementation of voluntary enlistment in Taiwan so far, and to come up with feasible suggestions for future military service policies.

1.2 Research Questions

The first research question of this study is to find out those factors that make voluntary enlistment feasible among most advanced industrial countries nowadays. In order to answer the question, this study would first look at global trend and historical evolution of military service, study pros and cons, strengths and limitations of both conscription and voluntary enlistment, and then find out factors that induce most advanced industrial countries to move away from conscription and to voluntary enlistment

The second research question of this study is to find out factors that lead Taiwan to follow the global trend to change from conscription to voluntary enlistment, the intention behind such a policy, and challenges or problems has occurred or might emerge in the future, and how to deal with them.

Military service reform in Taiwan does not go as smoothly as the Ministry of National Defense expected and the timetable for implementation of voluntary enlistment is delayed. (中華民國國防部, 2012, 2013) This study aims to find out the intention behind such a reform. And then to examine military service reform in Taiwan to see whether political, economic and social conditions in Taiwan are ready for this military service reform. In order to answer the questions, this study would study policies of Taiwanese military service and reform in detail. By conducting research on sources of soldiers, quality of soldiers, national defense spending (including salaries of soldiers and their pension) of conscription and voluntary enlistment, and impacts of demographic structure on security, this study aims to come up with feasible policy suggestions on which military service should the Ministry of National Defense adopt.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Choices of Military Service

Military service in most countries is related to utilizing of human resources in the military, maintaining quality of soldiers, realizing fairness of laws and taking cost-benefit analysis into account. (林吉郎, 2002) Military policy is directly associated with military service, because military service is way of recruitment and supply of military personnel. Military service is triggered by wars and patriotism, different countries develop different types of national defense strategies and military forces to protect its sovereignty and security by keeping a sufficient number of soldiers. Additionally, countries with sufficient and high quality soldiers are more likely to achieve victory in wars. Thus, appropriate system of military service can directly influence countries' international status and is essential to decide whether military strategies can realize expected national goals. (Huntington, 1981; 張景台, 2014; 顧傳型, 1982) Military service varies based on national economy and political needs. (趙錦財, 2009) That is to say, military service is neither fixed nor unchangeable, it varies with different national statuses such as geographic condition, income distribution, economic development, education policy and urbanization. Military service can therefore be viewed as a political status, which subjects to many pressures experienced in the polity at large. (Stepan, 2015)

While it is important to realize that revolutionary changes in warfare and military service are not unique, rather, changes in military service is a phenomenon that has appeared repeatedly over development of technological innovations that provided nations with chances to gain the upper hand in warfare. Therefore, Sloan (2002) points out that while analyzing military service, it is important to look at the nature and significance of major military transformations that have impacted history over the past

centuries to better understand the current military doctrines and military service implemented by individual country.

For different types of military service, some scholars advocate for conscription. Duindam (1999), Harries-Jenkins (1973) and 秦修好(1983) point out that with conscription all citizens under certain age and of certain gender are required to complete military service. That is to say, conscription can not only realize social fairness and obligations of nationals, but also inspire nationals' patriotism. 于晓雯 (2012) states that since conscription requires qualified citizens to serve in the military, supply of soldiers are abundant and total service time for soldiers could be reduced. Duindam (1999), Harries-Jenkins (1973) and 秦修好(1983) state that regular recruitment can keep soldiers young and productive, so that quality of military forces could be achieved and maintained. 秦修好(1983) points out that conscription can soon recruit abundant soldiers to meet needs for national security, and reduce problems of low recruiting rates. Duindam (1999) induces that conscription can release national financial burden, because conscription can recruit abundant soldiers without offering higher salaries and pensions.

For those scholars who are positive on voluntary enlistment; those points of view would be illustrated as following. Lingle (1989), Oi (1967), Poutvaara and Wagener (2007), Hubers and Webbink (2015) point out that since voluntary enlistment does not require every male citizen to complete military service, those who are reluctant or not plan to serve in the military can devote themselves to national building, boost national economic growth, and decrease national burden on military service. Brown (1984) states that voluntary enlistment is established for fighting wars, soldiers have longer service time can obtain better military trainings on using high quality weapons and become modernized military forces. Thus, professional capability of military forces can be improved. Additionally, Brown (1984) and Moskos (1977) point out that

governments aim to improve salaries of soldiers, offer well-planned career paths, and modify welfare in military service to attract skillful and high-quality young male citizens to become professional soldiers, thus, general welfare of soldiers can be improved.

1.3.2 Military Service Reform in Taiwan

During the period of transition of military service reform in Taiwan, there are many studies analyzing military service development in Taiwan. Most scholars advocate for military reform of “abolishing conscription and replacing with voluntary enlistment”.

To further illustrate, 羅炳雄(2009), 李成保(2009), 彭立青(2009), 張景台(2014), 林吉郎(2002) and 李志堯(2002) point out that voluntary enlistment can improve general quality of soldiers in Taiwan by setting higher recruiting standards and implementing stricter training standards to maintain national security. 廖裕鴻(2009), 林吉郎(2002) and 李意超(2009) state that the Ministry of National Defense can utilize human resources more efficiently and effectively in voluntary enlistment. 李志堯(2002) also mentions that voluntary enlistment can improve morale because soldiers are voluntary to serve in the military. In addition, 林吉郎(2002) and 李志堯(2002) point out that voluntary enlistment can reduce budget burden and spur economic growth not only because resources could be wisely used on recruiting and training a professional army, but also reduce hidden social costs on conscripts who are reluctant to perform military service. (張景台, 2014; 李志堯, 2002; 林吉郎, 2002; 羅炳雄, 2009)

However, there are other reasons for maintaining conscription. Due to complicated cross-strait relations, Taiwan should not change conscription to voluntary enlistment in order to maintain sufficient soldiers for national security. In addition, 許淑茹(2008) states that conscription can arouse national patriotism and realize goals of citizens’

national defense, while voluntary enlistment cannot. 彭兆鳳(2007) points out that Taiwan should not dramatically change conscription to voluntary enlistment, but should take slower steps since political and social conditions of Taiwan is not mature enough to implement voluntary enlistment.

1.3.3 General Comments

The changing nature of warfare nowadays is technological advancement of weapons in the past two to three decades, which in turn forms new military doctrines, organizations and service. Some of these changes are already in place, while others represent possible future development. (Sloan, 2002) Since Taiwan is in the middle of military service reform, researchers hold different viewpoints on conscription or voluntary enlistment. While making policy decisions of military service, we also need to take the following factors into consideration: (1) Strategy of national defense, (2) Concerns of the cross-strait relations, (3) Social and economic status and standards of servicemen, (4) Government budget and financial burden, (5) Public opinions and social values, (6) Development of supporting systems, (7) Expected quality and sources of soldiers, (8) Expected quality of equipment and weapons, (9) Distributions of national resources, etc. Thus, there are still many questions needed to be answered and further studied, because not enough researches have touched on those concerns or topics comprehensively yet.

1.4 Research Method

This study will focus on analyzing global trend and development of military service and making comparison of different types of military service systems. By doing so, this study would be able to explain evolution of military service system in Taiwan and other countries, reveal factors that triggered military reform to change conscription to voluntary enlistment, and eventually examine military service reform in Taiwan.

This study would use literature analysis method, and historical and comparative method to collect and analyze related materials, books, journal articles, official documents, etc. Moreover, this research would examine governmental reports and statistics about conscription and current military service of conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel military service in Taiwan.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This study will be divided into five chapters. The first chapter explains motivation, research purposes and research methods of this study, and conducts literature review on related studies including different military service and military service reform in Taiwan. The second chapter explains global historical evolution of military service. Based on that, military service reforms in major counties would be fully analyzed. The third chapter studies historical evolution and development of military service in Taiwan. The fourth chapter analyzes military service reform in Taiwan starts with purposes and factors of military service reform, then discovers outcomes and problems of military service reform, and finally come up with feasible policy suggestions. The fifth chapter explains research findings and conclusions of this study. Finally, limitations of this study and future research suggestions will be stated in the end.

Chapter 2 Historical Evolution of Military Service

2.1 Military Service

As long as there are human beings, there would be conflicts. Thus, we can conclude that history of human beings is history of wars. Unless human beings can be free of wars, military policy has always been a top issue for every country. (秦修好, 1983) In the 16th century, there were less than ten years of peace between Spain and France and in the 17th century there were only four years of peace (Parker, 1996). Thus, military policy has always been an important issue for every country.

The issues directly related to military policy are as following: First of all, the quantitative issues of size, recruitment, supply of military forces and the amount of national resources devoted to the military. Secondly, the qualitative issues of organization, equipment, composition, deployment, including types of weapons, locations of military bases and arrangement with allies devoted to the military. Thirdly, the dynamic issues of utilization of military forces such as when will military forces be brought into action. (Huntington, 1981) Thus, military policy is directly associated with military service, and military service is ways of recruitment and supply of military personnel.

Military service varies with each country's political, social and economic conditions. It is country's military culture that shapes how the military responds to constraints, choices between offensive and defensive military doctrines, and military service such as terms of conscription or voluntary enlistment. (Kier, 1999) There is no absolutely superior nor inferior military service, because different types of military service suits different countries based on their national needs and goals. To further

illustrate, military is not isolated from politics but in fact performs diverse political functions. Military is therefore a political issue, which subjects to many pressures experienced in the polity at large. (Stepan, 2015)

2.2 Evolution of Military Service

2.2.1 The Revolution in Military Affairs

Whenever a new technology or new weapon emerged, types of wars would be changed. This is called “military-technology revolution” (MTR) by the Soviet Union, while called “the revolution in military affairs” (RMA) by the U.S.A. It has been widely discussed since the 1990s. Definitions of a revolution in military affairs (RMA) are wide and varied, while the central content of a RMA is that advancement in technology must lead to significant changes in how military forces are recruited, organized, trained and equipped for wars, thereby reshaping ways in which wars are fought. (Sloan, 2002)

RMA is not unique to today, rather, it is a phenomenon that has occurred in history as innovation in technology development that offer countries with more opportunities to win wars. RMA is not a new event, it has happened all the time. RMA is actually driven by more than technology, while the technological component is important in RMA, the crucial roles of RMA are RMA changes the ways military institutions organized, equipped and trained for war, and how wars are conducted depending on political, social, and technological factors. (Tilford Jr, 1995) Thus, RMA plays an important and crucial role in revolution of military service and ways of recruitment. (See Figure2-1)

For example, the Gulf War can be treated as a turning point of contemporary RMA. It represents significant improvements in ways of command and intelligence gathering. In addition, it also opens a new page of information warfare and non-lethal warfare. Thus, even the number of soldiers was reduced, the United States still demonstrated

extraordinary military power in the Gulf War. (Metz & Kievit, 1995) In addition, the RMA during the Gulf War can also be viewed as an essential element of the United States' successful experiences of implementing voluntary enlistment, because the improvement of military technology is proved to be able to gradually replace the quantity of soldiers.

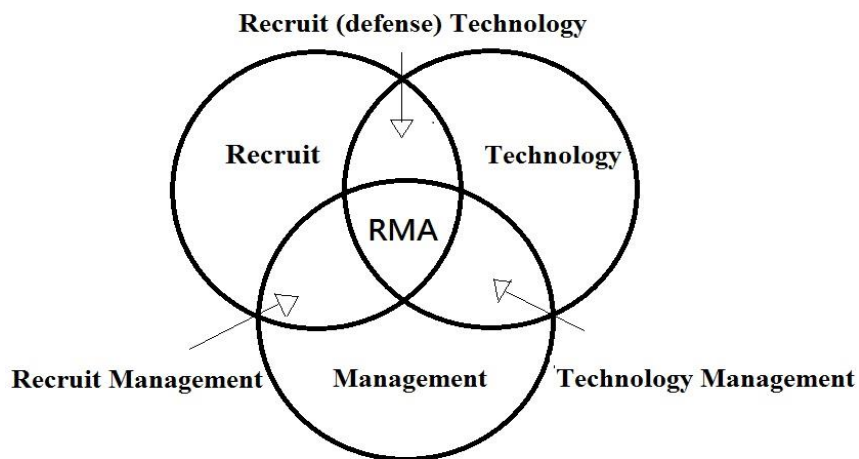


Figure 2-1 The RMA: Recruit, Technology and Management
Source: Matthews, R., & Treddenick, J. (2001).

2.2.2 Evolution of Military Service from the Ancient to Pre-Modern Era (B.C. - 19th Century)

The revolution in military affairs play an important role in evolution of military service, because changes in military technology and patterns of warfare can highly influence military service. In addition, military service changes with different political and social conditions, so evolution of military service reflect vividly characteristics of development of states.

I. Citizen Soldiers

Ancient Rome was the first country that using citizen soldiers, which means Rome did not implement a specific type of military service because all citizens were born to be soldiers. (Mackay, 2004) Thus, there is a saying that Roman people were "born ready armed". Roman military's weapons were mainly stabbing daggers and swords, stabbing or thrusting swords, long thrusting spears or pikes, lances, light throwing javelins and darts, slings, and bow and arrows made of bronze or iron. (Sims & McNee, 2005) Since those weapons mentioned above were easy to get and used so that soldiers did not need to be well-trained to fight wars, thus, Rome can be successful in realizing citizen soldiers system.

II. Feudalism

Later on, the Romans adopted a method of land tenure, then feudalism acts as another famous military service among medieval era. Feudalism can be viewed as the medieval model of government predating the birth of the modern nation-state. Feudalism was a combination of legal and military systems in medieval Europe that was popular from the 9th to the 15th centuries. (Reynolds, 1996) Outside the European context, feudalism was prevail in Japan, Ethiopia or even further to ancient Egypt, the Parthian empire, India and the 19th century in Southern America. (Bloch, 2014) Even though feudalism had decayed in most of Western Europe by about the 15th century,

there were many institutional remnants of feudalism after the original feudalism disappeared. Not until at the early stage of the French Revolution 1789, did France finally abolish the long-lasting remnants of the feudal order.

Feudalism can be defined as ways of combining and structuring society based on relationships derived from holding land in exchange for service, labor or even the so called military protection. In other words, feudalism can be described as a set of reciprocal legal and military obligations, which is revolving around the three key concepts of lords, vassals and fiefs. Vassals obtain protection from lords, while vassals offer their military forces in exchange. (Stephenson, 1942) Thus, military service of feudalism had built local conscription but had not expanded to a national-wide scale conscription yet.

In the origin of feudalism, the grant of lands was viewed as a personal linkage between lords and vassals. However, with a transformation of fiefs into some kind of hereditary holdings, the nature of feudalist system came to a form of "politics of land", which represent that sovereignty of counties began to break down into lords' smaller holdings of local lands. This phenomenon can be viewed as a "fragmentation of powers". (Bloch, 2014) Therefore, feudalism and its military service can be seen as a system that can only exist in countries without single absolute sovereignty.

III. National Guards and Mercenaries

The RMA that ended the ancient era and then opened a new page for pre-modern era in military service evolution was due to the invention of guns, firearms and ships. The industrial revolution (18th -19th century) started from the United Kingdom leading to a transformation in weapons, and those changes in types of weapons was then spread to the world and gradually changed patterns of warfare. To further illustrate, the initial stage of the Industrial Revolution had great impacts on larger military forces, since it became a lot easier to produce mass scale of weapons to equip larger sizes of forces.

The United Kingdom was the largest manufacturer of weapons and arms in this era, and the United Kingdom supplied most of the weapons used by countries throughout conflicts. France produced the second-largest total of arms in this era and used those arms to fight the Napoleonic War (1799-1815). (Hall, 1992) The industrial revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars had dramatically enlarged the scale of warfare, which also symbolized the appearance of modern nation-sovereign states. Before the time of Napoleon era, European countries used to employ relatively smaller armed forces, which was made up of both skillful national guards and mercenaries.

In addition, the French innovations of using ships and navy in warfare allowed France to assemble much larger army and navy than before. This circumstance also forced France's continental opponents to increase their sizes of military as well transformed their traditional small size but well trained ancient types of armies in the 18th century to pre-modern mass conscript armies. The Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815) therefore officially put feudalism to an end because it also aroused strong nationalism, which inspired European people to establish their nation-state with sovereignty later on.

2.2.3 Military Service in the Modern Era (19th Century-)

The RMA that ended pre-modern era and started the modern era was the invention of airplanes and later nuclear weapons. Modern military service development can be divided into the following three stages: conscription, conscription, and voluntary enlistment parallel military service and voluntary enlistment.

I. Conscription

The first stage is the implementation of conscription. Conscription has been adopted world-wide in the early 20th century, in which system each country enforced laws and regulations to prescribe nationals of certain age range or gender to fulfill their obligations of mandatory military service. In other words, those countries that adopt conscription demand qualified nationals to fulfill their mandatory military service at

certain timing and location. Most countries adopting conscription when voluntary enlistment of soldiers fails to meet their military needs, so conscription is fairly popular in the early 20th century. (任志強, 2002)

National-wide conscription was first implemented in France in 1793 (Rogers, 1995), then spread to all over Europe at the end of the 19th century, (張馬可 2004) In the 20th century, the rise of imperialism triggered the two World Wars. The First World War (1914-1918) triggered the spread of conscription to the whole world because most countries need abundant armed forces for national defense and to fight wars. The Second World War involved even more countries and lasted even longer; therefore, conscription reached a peak during the Second World War.

The Soviet Union was definitely the country that performs conscription to the greatest extent. The Soviet Union demanded male citizens age 18-40 to perform military service after Russian revolution on November 17, 1917. And the Soviet Union passed the “Nation-wide conscription law” during World War Two to ease restrictions on social classes of military service, all male citizens are required for mandatory military service. The implementation of conscription in the Soviet Union became a huge success so that many countries with different social or political conditions also started to implement conscription too. Thus, conscription is common among most countries that required all nationals to complete mandatory military service, especially in East European countries after the two World Wars.

II. Conscription and Voluntary Enlistment Parallel Military Service

The second stage of modern military service is parallel military service of conscription and voluntary enlistment. After World War Two, the world has entered a relatively peaceful page. On the one hand, there is a less need to maintain enormous

amount of soldiers. On the other hand, due to the Cold War and threats of communism, qualities of military forces started to be emphasized by countries instead of size of military forces, thus conscription can no longer fit. In order to survive in modern warfare, many countries have started to implement parallel military service of conscription and voluntary enlistment to modified pure conscription and started to recruit certain portion of professional soldiers and train them to become long-term professional soldiers. (張馬可, 2004)

III. Voluntary Enlistment

The third stage of modern military system is transition to voluntary enlistment at the end of the 20th century. Voluntary enlistment is to recruit professional soldiers, and has become more popular after the end of World War Two as international relations entered a relatively peaceful period. The United States is the first country to implement “recruiting professional soldiers during peace time, while implementing conscription during warfare.” However, after getting a cruel lesson from the Vietnam War, the United States officially abolished conscription and implement voluntary enlistment instead. It is believed that professional military forces are more efficient and costs less. (Farkas, 2000; 任志強, 2002; 張馬可, 2004) Today, the military power of the United States is unrivaled in the world, and its voluntary enlistment force is an undoubted success. It starts a new page that conscription is mostly an “outdated” system in the Western world. (Joo, 2015) However, some of those countries that have abolished conscription can still bring conscription back into force during wartime.

2.3 Military Service Reform in Major Countries

2.3.1 Global Trend of Military Service Reform

With modernization of equipment, better welfare and higher salaries for professional soldiers, strict recruiting standards and improving working environment, voluntary enlistment has become a big success in the United States. Therefore, most advanced industrial countries have started to learn from the success of the United States and then switch from conscription to voluntary enlistment. However, many countries around the world still implement conscription such as Israel, South Korea and Singapore. (See Table 2-1)

Table 2-1 Evolution of Military Service Reform

| Country | Military Service Evolution |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The United States | From conscription to voluntary enlistment |
| The United Kingdom | From conscription to voluntary enlistment |
| France | From conscription to voluntary enlistment |
| Japan | From conscription to voluntary enlistment (Self-Defense Forces) |
| Russia | From conscription to conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel system |
| China | From conscription to conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel system |
| Israel | Maintain conscription (National soldiers) |
| South Korea | Maintain conscription |
| Singapore | Maintain conscription (National service) |

Sources: 李志堯, 2009. Compiled by the author.

Since the 1960s, most advanced countries have implemented military service reform that replace conscription with voluntary enlistment for different concerns of national security and military strategies. (張景台, 2014) For example, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Japan have experienced such military service reform.

Some developed countries such as Russia and China also gradually moved to voluntary enlistment, and implement a conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel military service with a larger proportion of professional soldiers. However, Israel, South Korea and Singapore still implement conscription due to different concerns.

2.3.2 Factors for Military Service (Reform) in Major Countries

Countries that changed military service from conscription to voluntary enlistment are based on different considerations. However, there are also several countries maintain conscription. In the following, we will review the military service of the United States, the United Kingdom, China, Israel and South Korea to examine factors of implementing different military services.

2.3.2.1 From Conscription to Voluntary Enlistment

I. The United States

During the colonial period the United States, military service was influenced by national guards in ancient United Kingdom and the United States therefore implemented conscription for a long period of time. (陳定中, 1994) After its independence in 1776, the United States basically implemented voluntary enlistment in peace time, while implemented conscription during warfare. For example, during the American Civil War (1861-1865), the United States implemented conscription with only few amount of volunteers participating. Conscription was next implemented during World War I (1914-1918), World War II (1939-1945), Korean War (1950-1953) and Vietnam War (1955-1975). (顧傳型, 1982)

The reason for the United States to change from conscription to voluntary enlistment is mainly because of serious casualties in the Vietnam War (1965-1973). Due to the long warfare time and heavy loss of lives of soldiers, popular discontent was aroused and push the government to undertake a military service reform from conscription to voluntary enlistment. During the peak of the Vietnam War, there were

around 1,600,000 U.S. armed forces involved. (李志堯, 2002) Estimates of the number of casualties in Vietnam was 950,765 communist forces killed from 1965 to 1973, and 58,300 U.S. military personnel killed, of which 1,596 are still listed as missing in action as of 2015. Among the U.S. military casualties, army lost the most, then comes navy and air force. The heavy casualties in the Vietnam War damaged confidence and faith in the U.S. military. Failures in the Vietnam War were mainly caused by conscripts who were ill-trained and lack of experiences. In addition, morale of troops was low and most conscripts lacked fighting strength, thus, building a strong military is far from the reality. Also, the United States has experienced military affairs transformation after the Vietnam War, in fields of military technology, military organization and military service, which led to a great success in the Persian Gulf War and built firm foundation for future military development. (謝之鵬, 2005; 內政部, 1987)

In sum, factors that make the United States to adopt voluntary enlistment are as following. First, the cruel lesson from the Vietnam War, which has aroused the importance of building a professional and well-trained army. Second, the United States advocates for the spirit of freedom and free-will, so country should give the people freedom to choose if he/she wants to serve in the military or not. Third, the United States has abundant human resources. As of 2015, the United States has the third largest population in the world. Therefore, the United States can recruit sufficient professional soldiers to realize its goals of national defense. Fourth, building professional armed forces through voluntary enlistment can help realize goals of acting as a world police of the United States. (林冠琦, 2005)

II. The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom used to implement mercenary and nobility; otherwise, its military service is relatively similar to the United States of implementing conscription

during warfare while voluntary enlistment during peace. In 1960 with an aim to cut down the amount of military personnel, the United Kingdom officially implemented voluntary enlistment.

Factors that make the United Kingdom takes voluntary enlistment are as following. First, it is an island country. Thus, it is necessary for the United Kingdom to build high quality of professional military forces, air forces and most importantly, navy to maintain security of its boundary. Navy acts as the spindle and core of the UK military, because as long as the United Kingdom can keep enemy outside its territory, its national security could be protected. Thus, professional soldiers of navy is believed to be more professional with higher military morale. Second, since the United Kingdom has a long history of international trade and has many colonies, it needs to build professional and local trained high-quality army and navy to protect its territory and its sovereignty. (Gascoigne, 1998) Third, the long history of mercenary in the colonies also leads the United Kingdom to recruit local and well-trained voluntary enlistment to keep its colonial possessions, and prevent its colonies from claiming independence. Fourth, even though conscription brings an abundant amount of soldiers, the governments of the United Kingdom believes that conscription causes larger financial burden than voluntary enlistment because the enormous amount of conscripts. Fifth, conscription cannot set standards of loyalty or morale to eliminate unqualified conscripts that can become a difficult problem in building professional army.

Thus, since the 1960s, the United Kingdom has implemented voluntary enlistment. Service lengths of professional soldiers can be either three, six or nine years, based on different contracts. The longest period of service length is twenty-two years under normal cases and thirty five-years under special cases.

2.3.2.2 From Conscription to a Parallel System

China

China has implemented conscription for a fairly long period of time. Since an independent and self-funded Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) could lead to a decline in loyalty to the Communist Party, China has implemented conscription to build a national military. (Goodman, 1996) In addition, since China has aimed to "surpass Great Britain and catching up the United States" and never gives up the good of unification of Taiwan, China has long implemented conscription to build quick mobilization and national-controlled military forces.

However, China's implementation of conscription has been changed. Factors that drove China to gradually change from conscription to a parallel military service system of conscription and voluntary enlistment are mainly due to China's rapid economic growth. For example, the "Beijing Consensus" (北京共識) summarizes can be viewed as an tremendous, complex, and long-running process for its economic growth. (Ascher, 2016) The economic process is based on a strong military basis and depended on the military to maintain the stability of political and economic environment of the country. (Cheung, 2001) Facing a declining military budget and pressures to modernize military forces after the Mao era, the Chinese military has reluctantly agreed to join the Chinese economic reform drive. It converted China's communist-party-oriented military to a market-oriented state enterprise military. It is believed that the resulting profits from market power could balance the lost in expenditures and help to finance the long-needed modernization of military weapons and forces. (Ascher, 2016)

2.3.2.3 Maintain Conscription

I. Israel

Israel has implemented conscription for a fairly long period of time. Factors that make Israel remains implementing universal conscription (which can be viewed as

national guards) are as following. First, Israel aims to create a national armed forces, promote national loyalty (Ascher, 2016), and realize religious ideologies. Since Israel is surrounded by Arab countries and has experienced numerous conflicts and complex political conditions, Israel needs to build strong armed forces to protect its national sovereignty. As for religious ideologies, most Israelis believe in Judaism with strong intention to Zionist. Thus, citizens are very patriotic and have strong intention to serve in the military. Second, Israel's terrain is small and hard to defend. Israel is a relatively small country with its land narrow and long, so it needs to take preemptive military actions to positively defend national security. Therefore, building abundant national guards to develop a quick and efficient military is very important to Israel. (林冠琦, 2005) Third, Israel combines military policies with educational policies to meet its needs of high-tech, information-based and rapid mobilization military forces. Israel now has one of the largest concentrations of big-data engineers and analysts in the world. (Ascher, 2016) Both sexes in Israel are obligated to a 36 months mandatory military service when they are 18 years old, which means conscripts can directly perform military service after graduating from senior high school. Well-educated soldiers can not only help to improve qualities of armed forces, but also help soldiers to find jobs after they retired from the military. Forth, population in Israel is small. Israeli population in 2016 is only 8.5 million. (Jewish Virtual Library, 2016) Thus, in order to maintain its goals of national defense, implementing a universal conscription and building national soldiers is essential to Israel.

II. South Korea

South Korea has implemented conscription for a fairly long period of time. Factors that drive South Korea maintain conscription are as following. First, South Korea faces serious security threats. Relations between South Korea and North Korea are still highly hostile. (Chun, 2013) The two Koreas only signed a cease-fire agreement in 1953 and

have not signed any peaceful treaty yet. Strictly speaking, the two Koreas are still at war. In addition, North Korea often threatens South Korea with its nuclear weapons. In March 2016, more than 15,000 U.S. and 300,000 South Korean troops have kicked off simultaneous joint military exercise on the Korean Peninsula aimed at countering North Korean aggression, which has been the largest in scale since 2010. The leader of North Korean Kim Jong has ordered his nuclear weapons in North Korea to be at ready, and threatened to launch nuclear strikes on both South Korea and the U.S in response. (Schogol, 2016) Thus, South Korea needs to adopt conscription to recruit abundant soldiers and build quick-mobilized military forces to defend possible military invasion from North Korea. (趙錦財, 2009) Second, geographic situation of South Korea is highly associated with national threats. North Korea and South Korea are located in the same peninsula. Thus, Conflicts between the two Koreas become more tangible and hostile than the cross-strait relations. So South Korea needs to implement conscription to quick mobilize military forces. Third, the public in South Korea value conscription highly. The military in South Korea has its own media, radio station, newspapers, movies, television show, soccer league, and troupe of celebrities...etc. It is believed that the military recreate various aspects of civilian lives and grab chances to advocate and improve military values. (Joo, 2015). In South Korea, service in the military is a rite of passage for young men who are transitioning from adolescence to adulthood. (The Economics, 2014) Thus, the importance of mandatory military service is still prevalent among the public in South Korea.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Different countries implement diverse military service based on different social, political, economic, geographic and demographic conditions. (See Table 2-2)

Table 2-2 Comparison of Military Service in Selected Countries

| Country | Political Freedom | Population (Thousand) | Economy | Military condition | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | Threats | Military service |
| The United States | Free | 307,212 | Developed Country | Low | Voluntary enlistment |
| The United Kingdom | Free | 61,113 | Developed Country | Low | Voluntary enlistment |
| France | Free | 64,420 | Developed Country | Low | Voluntary enlistment |
| Japan | Free | 127,078 | Developed Country | Low | Voluntary enlistment |
| Russia | Not Free | 140,041 | Developed Country | Medium | conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel system |
| China | Not Free | 1,369,202 | Developing Country | Low | conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel system |
| Germany | Free | 82,329 | Developed Country | Low | Conscription |
| Israel | Free | 7,233 | Developing Country | High | Conscription |
| South Korea | Free | 48,508 | Developing Country | High | Conscription |
| Singapore | Free | 4,657 | Developing Country | Low | Conscription |
| Taiwan | Free | 22,974 | Developing Country | High | Voluntary enlistment |

Sources: World Trade Organization: Groups in the WTO. 世界人口網, 2014-2015 年世界各國人口數量最新排名. Freedom House: Freedom in the World 2016. *Anxious Dictators, Wavering Democracies: Global Freedom under Pressure*. Compiled by the author.

Conscription usually exist in countries that face imminent and tangible national security threats such as Israel and South Korea, because conscription system is intended to quickly generate a large number of conscripts to fight wars and maintain military mobilization. In addition, countries that maintain conscription tend to have strong national consciousness and believe that the military has a capability to educate and convey information, skills, and a sense of political identities and acceptable political behaviors. (Ascher, 2016)

However, with the end of Cold War and the decline in public acceptance for devoting a huge amount of resources in building military power, in some nation people has started to question the continuing need for compulsory military service. Thus, most advanced industrial countries have changed from conscription to voluntary enlistment. (Gelhausen, 1998) Those countries that have relatively amicable international relations, instead of recruiting abundant soldiers, they have inclined to build professional military forces equipped with modernized weapons. A professional army formed of well-trained professional soldiers and officers tends to have higher morale and stronger fighting power. Those countries attract professional soldiers by offering generous benefits, high payment or continuous education and diverse career choices. Therefore, the social status of professional soldiers are raised. More and more high-quality young people would be attracted to join the military. In sum, even some major countries are still implementing conscription, most advanced industrial countries have changed military service from conscription to voluntary enlistment.

In conclusion, countries that face military threats, hostile political conditions and huge needs for military personnel tend to maintain conscription. While countries that have relatively amicable international relations tend to replace manpower with military power and change to voluntary enlistment. By raising budget spending on welfare of servicemen and salaries in military, those countries build modernized and professional

armed forces through voluntary enlistment.



Chapter 3 Military Service in Taiwan

3.1 Historical Evolution of Military Service in Ancient China and in R.O.C.

Historical evolution of military service in Taiwan needs to be traced back to ancient China era to the establishment of the Republic of China era. Patterns of military service in ancient China era are full of diversity, because it varies with different political and social conditions. Taiwan has been implemented conscription since the Republic of China era. While in the early 20th century, the people have started to advocate for military service reform of implementing voluntary enlistment and alternative service. Since then, military service in Taiwan has faced tremendous changes and reforms. (焦萍, 2003)

3.1.1 Ancient China era

I. Nobilities, Citizens Soldiers and Mercenaries

Military service has a long history in ancient China. The Zhou dynasty (周朝) build citizens soldiers and recruited soldiers along with obsession of lands, which can be called as Nine-Square field system (井田制度). From the period of the Spring and Autumn era (春秋戰國時期) to the Qing dynasty (清朝), military service was diverse and in disorder because national conditions was in a scene of chaos. For example, at least the nobilities, citizen soldiers and mercenary were implemented in history of ancient China. Generally speaking, due to the elementary stage of weapon development and low density of population, ancient China used to be one of the first countries that adopted conscription by “recruiting soldiers with obsession of lands”.

II. Citizens Soldiers and Conscription

The first conscription law in modern China was enacted in 1933, and was enforced in 1935. (汪祖華, 1977) The Qin (秦朝) dynasty recruited civil soldiers that all citizens are soldiers to realize its goals of “prosperous country and strong citizens”. Age of conscription starts at 23 to 56, and let conscripts’ nobility ranking decided by soldiers’ military achievement. Later on, the Han dynasty (漢朝) maintain military service in the Qin dynasty and implement conscription and Mita military service (屯田兵) to maintain its sovereignty that all citizens are soldiers. (內政部, 2011)

III. Hereditary Soldiers, Slaves Soldiers and the Fubing System

The Three Kingdoms era (三國時代) and the Wei and Jin Dynasties (魏晉南北朝) implemented diverse military service such as hereditary soldiers and slaves soldiers, while neither of them were comprehensive military service and those systems were considered inefficient. Armed forces had become private and was hereditary of nobilities, which means citizen soldiers were replaced by hereditary soldiers and slaves soldiers. The Tang dynasty (唐朝) implemented the Fubing system (府兵制), which system involved a network of militia who were assigned tracts of land and were associated with the idea of “recruited soldiers based on land”. Generally speaking, no matter which military service was implemented in ancient China, soldiers did not have high social status anyway. There even goes a saying that “Outstanding males do not serve in the military, good iron do not make into nails”. Thus, soldiers did not obtain much respect under Confucianism in ancient China era.

IV. Voluntary Enlistment

With improvement of weapons and growth of population, voluntary enlistment to cultivate well-trained soldiers has become more and more popular. (顧傳型, 1982) Since the Sung dynasty (宋朝), military service was first changed from conscription to voluntary enlistment, the government has started to embrace the idea of

“high quality of soldiers instead the quantity of soldiers” and to build military service with consideration of social control. (方震華, 2011) The Ming dynasty (明朝) mainly implemented the Wei-military system (衛所兵) and recruited citizen soldiers from local. Because the Wei-military system is hereditary, it is easily to get corrupted. Thus, the Ming dynasty went back to implement voluntary enlistment eventually.

V. The Eight Banners, Green Standard and the Xing Huai Army

The Qing (清朝) dynasty first implemented the Eight Banners (八旗兵) (Manchu soldiers) and the Green Standard Army (綠營) (Han soldiers). However, the Eight Banners and the Green Standard Army experienced corruption because of both systems are hereditary and lack of filter system. Thus, the Qing dynasty implemented the Xing Huai army after the Taiping rebellion (1850). The Xing Huai army (湘軍淮軍) was equipped with western guns and modern weapons, which improves the Xing Huai army's military capability. However, the Xing Huai army experienced failures in the Sino-Japanese war (1894). Until the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the national government started to implement conscription again to fight the Northern Expedition (1926-1928) and war of resistance against Japan (1937-1945).

3.1.2 Establishment of the Republic of China Era

The government of the Republic of China was formally established in 1912 in Nanking with Sun Yat-sen as the president and planned to implement conscription. The Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China states that “All citizens have the obligation to serve in the military”. (內政部, 2011) However, during the early Republic era, implementing conscription was not an easy task, because executive orders of the government was not entirely unified yet, and most people did not fully trust the government. Thus, those recruited conscripts were regarded as private soldiers of local warlords.

The first Act of Military Service System was enacted and promulgated by the

Nationalist Government on June 17, 1933 and was systemically implementing conscription since 1936. The Marco Polo Bridge Incident, also known as the Lugou Bridge incident (盧溝橋事變) (1937) was a battle between the Republic of China's National Revolutionary Army and the Imperial Japanese Army. The Nationalist Government enforced nation-wide conscription in order to recruit a large amount of soldiers to fight war against Japan. With a large amount of soldiers and nationals' high patriotism, finally it led to a victory in the anti-Japanese war. The Constitution of the Republic of China (R.O.C.) was adopted on December 25, 1946, by the National Assembly convened in Nanking; promulgated by the National Government on January 1, 1947, and put into effect on December 25, 1947. In Article 20 of the constitution states that "The people shall have the duty of performing military service in accordance with law. Conscription in Taiwan was officially established ever since.

The national government officially moved to Taiwan (territory included: Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu, and other minor islands) in 1949 because of its defeat in the Chinese Civil War. It was an end of ruling in Mainland China and started a new page of the Republic of China in Taiwan era. After the government moving to Taiwan, Chen Cheng (陳誠) served as the governor of Taiwan province, vice president and premier of the Republic of China (R.O.C.). Chen Cheng initialed to implement conscription in Taiwan, and demonstrated that Taiwan can learn from the Western countries of conscription. (薛月順, 2005) The logic behind implementing conscription in Taiwan is that Chen Cheng wants to build local military power by recruiting soldiers from Taiwan to effectively maintain Taiwan's national security.

After conscription was implemented, it is found out that mandatory military service length has become shorter yearly. To further illustrate, in the beginning of governments of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan in 1949, service length of mandatory military was 24 months. Until 2001, service length of mandatory military

was shorten to 22 months. From 2004 to 2007, service length of mandatory military was shorten to 14 months. And after 2008-2012, service length of mandatory military was shorten to only 12 months. In 2013, Conscripts who were born after 1993 are only required to complete 4 months military training, while those who were born before 1994 still need to complete 12 months mandatory military service. (See Table 3-1)

Table 3-1 Changes of Length of Mandatory Military Service after 1949

| Year | Mandatory military service length |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1949-2001 | 24 months |
| 2001-2003 | 22 months |
| 2004.1.1- | One year and 8 months (16 months) |
| 2005.7.1- | One year and 6 months (18 months) |
| 2006.1.1- | One year and 4 months (16 months) |
| 2007.7.1- | One year and 2 months (14 months) |
| 2008.1.1- | One year (12 months) |
| 2013- | Conscripts who were born after 1993 are only required to complete 4 months military training. |

Sources: 中華民國國防部，2016。Complied by the author.

After conscription has been implemented since governments of the Republic of China retreated to Taiwan in 1949, public opinions on implementing voluntary enlistment and alternative military service have gradually emerged in 1990s. (內政服役政署, 2011) Based on guidance of “Effective deterrence, resolute defense” as national strategy, the ministry of National Defense gradually respected public opinions on military service reform and imposed the Jingshih Program (精實案) from 1997 to 2001; the Jingjin Program (精進案) from 2002-2011; the Jingsui Program (精粹案) from 2011-2014; and the Young-Kuo program (勇固案) since 2015 to push

implementation of voluntary enlistment. In addition, alternative military service was first enforced in 2000 to offer diverse choices of for conscripts while performing mandatory military service, which is believed to gradually replace traditional military service. (See Table 3-2)



Table 3-2 History of Military Service since 1949

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1949 | Governments of the Republic of China retreated from mainland China to Taiwan. |
| 1951 | August, recruited the first class of conscription. |
| 1955 | February, recruited the second class of conscription. May, recruited the third class of conscription. September, established the Department of conscription, Ministry of the interior. |
| 1959 | Established voluntary enlistment system. |
| 1987 | July, the Taiwan Martial Law was lifted by the president Chiang Chin-Kuo. |
| 1994 | July, imposed “a ten-year military forces streamline plan”, which aims to reduce the total military personal to less than 400,000. |
| 1997-2001 | July, imposed “Jingshih Program”(The ROC Armed Forces Refining Program, which aims to downsizing the high level but broaden the basic level of military personnel. |
| 1998 | March, established the “Alternative military service Committee” under the Executive Yuan. |
| 2000 | February, Promulgated the “Enforcement Statute for Alternative Services” and started to implemented alternative military service. |
| 2002-2011 | January, imposed the “Jingjin Program”(The ROC Armed Forces Streamlining Program), which aims to keep streamline military organization and make proportion of sergeant to commander to soldiers become 1:2:2. Also streamline administrative supporting units and move toward voluntary enlistment. |
| 2002 | March, dissolved the Department of conscription, and established the Conscription Agency to manage affairs associated with substitute military service and military service. |
| 2003 | February, amended and promulgated the “Act of Military Service for Volunteer Enlisted Soldiers”, and accomplish legal basis for implementing voluntary enlistment. March, recruited around 600 professional soldiers for the first time. |
| 2008 | Implemented “Research and Development Substitute Services”. Keep pushing implementation of voluntary enlistment. |
| 2011-2014 | Imposed the “Jingtsui Program”, which aims to streamline total military personnel to 215,000 to reach basic needs of national defense. The Jingtsui Program keep pushing realization of voluntary enlistment by refining military organization and legalization. |
| 2015- | Imposed the “Young-Kuo program”, which aims to streamline total military personnel from 215,000 to 170,000-190,000 to build small but high quality military forces. |

Sources: 內政部, 2011; Ministry of National Defense: <http://www.mnd.gov.tw/default.aspx>, 2016; 陳培煌, 2012. Compiled by the author.

In the 1990s, Taiwanese governments has faced problems caused by rapid social changes. After the martial law was lifted, the public has obtained freedom of assembly and association. In addition, the public tend to demonstrate their demands more intensely, such as the White Lily student movement (野百合學運) in 1990. Thus, the governments started to face insufficient human resources especially for policemen. Moreover, under transition of government from an authoritarian regime to a democratic institution, more and more policies that related to increase social welfare for the disadvantages has emerged. Therefore, workloads of officers associated with social care has become heavier. Additionally, since the Ministry of National Defense started to reduce military personnel since 1997, there was around 30,000 draftees could not enter the army-list in 1998, and 90,000 draftees could not enter the conscript-list in 2000. Not to mention there are always some draftees who are reluctant to perform military service based on their religious beliefs. (內政部役政署, 2011) Thus, public voices advocate for implementing alternative military service has become louder and louder since the 1990s. According to surveys done by the Ministry of National Defense and the Ming Chuan University, there was about 78.2% of public opinions that support military service reform in 2008 to 2009. In 2013 and 2014, above 60% of people surveyed are satisfied with achievement of military service reform done by the Ministry of National Defense. (中華民國國防部, 2016)

Finally, the “Enforcement Statute for Alternative Services” was first promulgated in 2000, and Taiwan has officially started to implement alternative service since then. According to the Enforcement Statute for Substitute Services, all conscripts in Taiwan can apply for alternative service. Draftees provide services in governmental institutions, public organization or social welfare agencies in lieu in order to increase public interests and achieve better general welfare. Draftees who equipped with professional skills, conscientious objectors or physical handicap can choose alternative military service.

Reasons for implementing alternative service is not only offering draftees with more choices and respecting human rights, but also promoting social welfare. Governmental agencies that in charge of management of alternative draftees is the Conscription agency. Alternative service can be mainly divided into the following types: 1. Public Administration Services, 2. Consular Services, 3. Educational services, 4. Cultural Services, 5. Fire Fighting services, 6. Environmental protection services, 7. Research and Development Services, 8. Social services, 9. Medical services, and 10. Athletic Services. (內政部役政署, 2016) Taiwan is the first Asian country that implemented alternative military service.

3.1.3 Conclusion

In ancient China, military service was full of diversity due to different national goals, cultures, threats and international relations. From revolution of military service in ancient Chinese history, we can conclude that reasons for switching from implementing conscription to voluntary enlistment in ancient China were mainly due to conscription failed to maintain national sovereignty at the time, but not because of the country is ready for implementing voluntary enlistment. For example, voluntary enlistment was first officially implemented in the Sung dynasty, while the public value that “focusing on scholars but looking down on soldiers” still led voluntary enlistment to a failure. Later on, poor welfare systems and low salaries of soldiers in the Ming dynasty also make voluntary enlistment unable to work effectively. (內政部, 2011)

The implementation of alternative service in 2000 was mainly due to the Ministry of National Defense started to impose Jingshih Program from 1997 to 2001 to downsize military personnel, and based on public opinions that advocating for implementing voluntary enlistment. After a long time consideration and assessment, the Ministry of National Defense has decided to impose following plans of military personnel reduction, which is called the Jingjin Program from 2002-2011, the Jingsui Program from 2011-

2014, and the Young-Kuo program since 2015 to gradually implement voluntary enlistment. Politically, both the Kuomintang (國民黨) and Democratic Progressive Party (民主進步黨) hold positive attitudes toward implementing voluntary enlistment. Thus, the Ministry of National Defense has started to increase military personnel of voluntary enlistment yearly since 2005. (內政部役政署, 2010) In 2008, the Kuomintang became the ruling party again, the president Ma Yin-Jou listed voluntary enlistment as policy priority, and examine its implementation regularly. In 2016, the Democratic Progressive Party became the ruling party, president Tsai Ying-Wen also mentioned that it is impossible for Taiwan to move back and implement conscription, however, Taiwan cannot implement voluntary enlistment in a rush. She advocates for a “Refines voluntary enlistment” that makes sure all young soldiers receive professional trainings of industrial and economy development, which would be helpful for their career development after discharge. By doing so, national defense can be improved, and incentives for young men to join the military also increased because this experiences can be seen as an important investment for their career development. (邱明玉, 2015)

In sum, voluntary enlistment is on the way. The general development of military service since ancient China can be seen in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3 Development of Military Service

| Dynasty | Military service |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Zhou | The Nine-Square field system. (井田制) |
| The Spring and Autumn Era | Nobilities, citizen soldiers and mercenary. (世兵制及傭兵制) |
| Qin | Conscription. |
| Han | Conscription and Mita military service. (屯田兵制) |
| Three Kingdoms era and The Wei and Jin Dynasties | Hereditary soldiers and slaves soldiers. |
| Tang | Fubin system. (府兵制) |
| Sung | Voluntary enlistment. |
| Ming | Mainly Wei-military service, (衛所兵) and voluntary enlistment as supporting system. |
| Qing | Eight Banners, Green Standard army and the Xing Huai army. (八旗，綠營，湘/淮軍) |
| The Republic of China era | Conscription to voluntary enlistment. |

Sources:內政部役政署，2011。Compiled by the author.

3.2 National Defense and Military Service of Taiwan

As it can be concluded from evolution of military service in the world and in Taiwan, goals of national defense play important roles in military service. In the case of Taiwan, article 137 of the Constitution states that the national defense of the Republic of China shall have as its objective the safeguarding of national security and the preservation of world peace. Article 138 of the Constitution states that the army, navy and air forces of the whole country shall be above personal, regional, or party affiliations, shall be loyal to the state, and shall protect the people. Article 5 of the National Defense Act states that the Republic of China Army, Navy and Air Force (R.O.C. Armed Forces) shall abide by the Constitution of the Republic of China, swear allegiance to the nation, protect the people, and perform assigned duties in order to

ensure national security. Above all, goals of national defense in Taiwan lay in protecting national security, maintaining civil livings and the society. Missions of soldiers are safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and protecting lives and properties safety of all nationals. (監察院, 2009) In short, “Building modern military forces, keeping peace and no-warfare between the Taiwan Strait” is the main goal of national defense in Taiwan.

Due to modernization of military weapons and equipment, quantity of military forces is emphasized more than quantity of military forces while examining fighting forces of a country. Thus, most advanced countries build armed forces focus on its military power instead of manpower, and implement voluntary enlistment during peace time and implement conscription during warfare. (顧儀文, 1990) In addition, after the September 11 terrorist attack in 2001, international security no longer means only military strength, but include national security and general safety of society. General safety of society means coping with a diversity of threats or crisis and fulfill multi-needs of people to maintain safety. For example, to fight terrorism, the United States not only employs military power, but also uses diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and law enforcement activities to protect the homeland and extend its defenses and disrupt terrorist operations. (Bush, 2009) Above all, warfare, military conflicts, terrorism attack, natural disasters or major accidents are all included in the boundary of modern national safety and international security. Based on that, soldiers are no longer needed only in battlefields, but also in nationals’ daily livings. Thus, utilizing military human resources wisely through suitable military service is very important in maintain general safety. (李志堯, 2002)

Taiwan faces external threats from China which does not give up its intention to attack Taiwan with military force, but also faces internal threats such as, natural disaster earthquake and typhoon. In terms of fulfilling needs of solving internal accidents and

crisis, Taiwan has implemented the alternative service since 2000. In terms of quick responses in warfare and conducting emergency rescues, Taiwan needs to build special military force with different kinds of professional training, especially focusing on navy and air force due to Taiwan’s geographical location and terrain. (林吉郎, 2002) Thus, Taiwan has started to implement voluntary enlistment in order to effectively achieve national goals and conduct military strategy. By doing so, Taiwan can wisely utilize military human resources addressing both external threats such as warfare and internal accidents such as natural disasters. Modern national security interests and national security objectives in most countries nowadays can be seen in the following Table 3-4.

Table 3-4 National Security Interests and National Security Objectives

| Selected security interests | Selected security objectives |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Homeland defense | Deter Aggressors |
| Peace | Defeat Aggressors |
| Stability | Ensure Force Sufficiency |
| Prosperity | Create Strong Coalitions |
| Domestic Tranquility | Foster Technological Progress |
| Military Power | Improve Recuperative Power |

Sources: Collins, (2002).

3.2.1 Legal Bases of Military Service in Taiwan

Article 20 of the constitution of Taiwan states that the people shall have the duty of performing military service in accordance with the law. The constitution does not stipulate which military service should Taiwan implement, nor does the constitution address which type of military service the people need to perform.

That is to say, types of military service, salaries of soldiers and lengths of military service...etc. could be regulated by laws or regulations based on the spirit of constitution. That is the idea of “constitutional mandate” which bestows competence

for governments and legislators to decide military service in Taiwan. Thus, implementing voluntary enlistment does not violate Article 20 of the constitution and Taiwan does not need to amend constitution. (李君睿, 2014; 呂炳寬, 2007) Based on contents mentioned above, the article 2 in the Act of Military Service System amended in 2013 refers to military officer service, non-commission officer service, enlisted man and substitute service. Based on various types of military service and service content, implementing military policies of alternative service, four-month military training and voluntary enlistment is legal and not unconstitutional.

3.2.2 The Current Military Service

The Ministry of National Defense in Taiwan set up a team in 2002 to undertake study on whether Taiwan can implement voluntary enlistment. In 2003, after discussions and debates on military service, Taiwanese soldier recruitment would be changed from conscription to voluntary enlistment in the near future. (李城保, 2009) The will of people on military service reform also push the government to examine military service in 2004. The Ministry of National Defense therefore claims a three stages military service reform to strengthen military power and balance expense on national defense. (鍾華文, 2009) According to the new military service policies of Taiwan, all voluntary enlistment will be officially implemented in 2017. (中華民國國防部, 2012)

Currently, military service in Taiwan is a parallel system of conscription and voluntary enlistment. That is officers are mainly recruited through voluntary enlistment, while soldiers are mainly recruited through conscription. However, according to article 16 in the Act of Military Service System, standing soldier service is classified as following... in the type of military training, it means soldiers of male at conscript age who are taken in the military camp and passing the conscription examination before discharging, their service length is no more than four months. That is to say, conscripts

who were born after 1993 only require a total four-months of military training. This will lead to a dramatic cut back of the number of soldiers, especially after those conscripts born before 1993 have completed one-year mandatory military service. Taiwan implements the “Retain in Army for voluntary enlists” program (義務役留營計畫) in the initial stage of implementing conscription and voluntary enlistment parallel system to keep high quality military human resources, (郭添漢, 2013) which is actually put the spirit of voluntary enlistment into action.

Under military personnel downsizing programs implemented by the Ministry of National Defense, the numbers of military personnel is reduced from 600 thousands people in 1969 to current 170-190 thousands people (See Table 3-5).

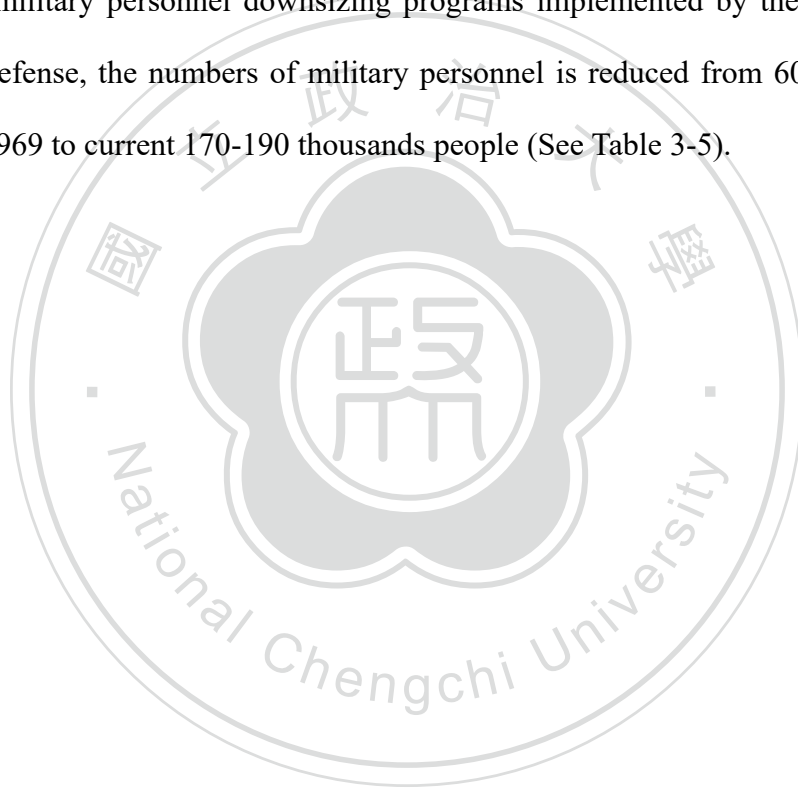


Table 3-5 Number of Military Personnel

| Year | Number of military personnel | Notes |
|-----------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| -1969 | 600,000 | Retreated from mainland China to Taiwan. |
| 1969-73 | 560,000 | Imposition of army integration. |
| 1973 | 520,000 | Implementation of “Military elite program”. |
| 1992-1995 | 500,000 | Implementation of “Military personnel adjustment program”. |
| 1994-95 | 400,000 | Implementation of “Ten-year military forces streamline plan”. |
| 1997-2001 | 400,000 | Implementation of “Jingshih Program” |
| 2002-11 | 350,000 | Implementation of “Jingjin Program” |
| 2011-14 | 215,000 | Implementation of “Jingsui Program” |
| 2015- | 170-190,000 | Implementation of “Young-Kuo program” |

Sources: 羅炳雄, 2009; 中華民國國防部, 2016。Compiled by the author.

According to the Ministry of National Defense, voluntary military personnel recruitment in 2012 was 11,069 people, in 2013 was 10,942 people and in 2014 was 15,024 people. The above recruitment outcome shows voluntary military personal has stable increased by year, because of pay raise, welfare improvement and better working environment...etc. (中華民國國防部, 2016) In addition, the percentage of willingness of professional soldiers to stay in military in 2014 was 61.4%, which was more compared to the previous two years. The average percentage of willingness of professional soldiers to stay in military in 2015 was 67.2%, which shows percentage of willingness of professional soldiers to stay in the army has grown steadily (See Figure 3-1).

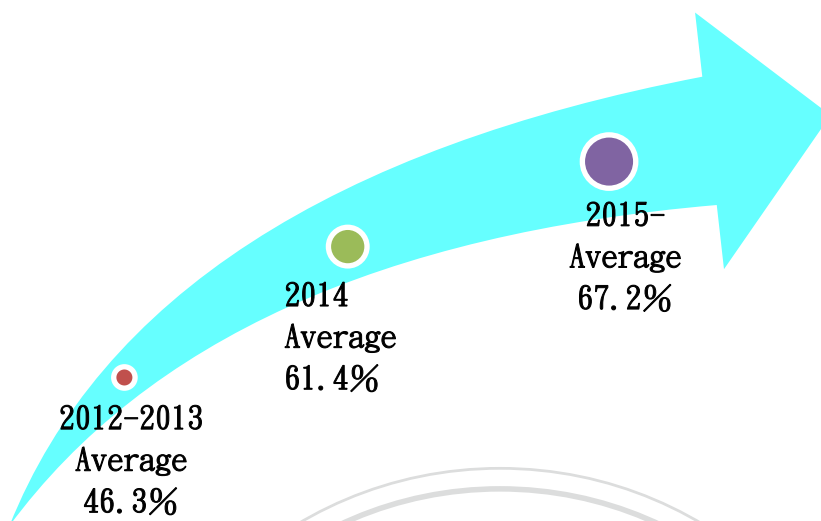


Figure 3-1 Willingness to Retain in the Army

Source: 中華民國國防部，2016。Complied by the author.

Basic salary for voluntary soldier service as Private-2 is 33,625 NT dollars, Private-1 is 35,230 NT dollars and Private first class is 36,845 NT dollars. (中華民國國防部，2016) The above basic salary of professional soldiers is higher than basic wage of 20,008 NT dollars in Taiwan in 2015. (勞動部，2015) Additionally, in order to improve achievement of professional soldiers' recruitment and willingness of professional soldiers to stay in the army, the Executive Yuan has increased monthly extra service pay of grass-roots professional soldiers and officers from 2,000 - 4,000 NT dollars in 2013, which makes salary of second-level professional soldiers reaches 33,625 NT dollars. In addition, the Executive Yuan has increased monthly regional extra pay of Nansha islands to 20,000 NT dollars, and Dongsha, Dadan and Urdan islands to 12,000 NT dollars. Those adding salary measures has successfully improved results of professional soldiers' recruitment and willingness of professional soldiers to retain in the army. (See Table 3-6)

Table 3-6 Adjust Additional Pay of Grass-Roots Soldiers

| Additional service pay of professional soldiers (Unit: NT dollars) | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| | Amount before adjustment | Adjustment range | Amount after adjustment |
| Sergeant, Corporal, Specialist | 8,000 | 2,000 | 10,000 |
| Private First Class | 7,000 | 3,000 | 10,000 |
| Private | 6,000 | 4,000 | 10,000 |
| Additional regional pay of professional soldiers (Unit: NT dollars) | | | |
| | Amount before adjustment | Adjustment range | Amount after adjustment |
| Nansha islands | 12,360 | 7,640 | 20,000 |
| Dongsha, Dadan and Urdan islands | 9,790 | 2,210 | 12,000 |

Source: 中華民國國防部，2016。Complied by the author.

3.3 Concluding Remarks

Military service evolution in Taiwan shows that conscription used to be the most prevalent military service. However, due to changes in national defense strategies from progressive strategy to preventive strategy, Taiwan has gradually changes from conscription to voluntary enlistment since 2002. The former minister of National Defense Yen-Ming states that voluntary enlistment is a very good and efficient policy. Among 195 countries around the world, 50 democratic advanced countries implement voluntary enlistment, including the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and Japan. Voluntary enlistment in Taiwan is slightly different from that in other countries, because Taiwan does not implement whole voluntary enlistment, instead, Taiwan

implements a four-month military training for cultivating reservists with aims to follow the constitution and deliver sufficient military forces. (劉麗榮, 2014)

In addition, even the cross strait relations has become more amicable in the last 8 years, China still has not given up taking military action toward Taiwan if necessary. Although other countries might offer Taiwan political, economic or intelligence resources, there is no indication that other countries would offer Taiwan with military assistances if the war breaks out. (銘勳, 2001) Thus, Taiwan needs to build its own strong national defense to successfully deter aggression. Based on current preventive national defense strategy, Taiwan has to value the importance of keeping a high-quality, well-equipped, modernized, full-recruitment, well-trained, high-morale and skilled armed forces in response to sudden crisis. The above goal can be fully achieved only under recruiting voluntary elite soldiers, and with comprehensive supporting programs and specific measures to attract high-quality young man to serve the military. (李志堯, 2014)

Chapter 4 Military Service Reform in Taiwan

Former president Ma Ying-Jiour of the R.O.C. (Taiwan) said in 2008 president campaign that Taiwan's military service will switch from conscription to voluntary enlistment. And after Ma was elected in 2008 and reelected in 2012, the government has officially started to implement military reform in Taiwan. In 2016 after the Tsai Ying-Wen was elected as the president of Taiwan, she advocates for a "Refined voluntary enlistment." Professional trainings of all young soldiers would include other skills, which would be helpful for their career after discharge. (邱明玉, 2015) Thus, military reform of switching from conscription to voluntary enlistment is on the way.

4.1 Purposes and Factors of Military Service Reform in Taiwan

Purposes and factors that triggered military service reform from conscription to voluntary enlistment in Taiwan are as following.

I. Successful Experiences from Major Countries

Because of the improvement of technology, modernization of weapons, resources mobilization and political changes, quality of the military is more important than quantity of the military personnel in modern warfare. (Downing, 1993) Thus, most advanced countries build professional and well-trained military forces instead of military forces made of a mass number of soldiers but who may lack profound trainings. The global trend is irresistible, as most western countries have switched to voluntary enlistment to improve qualities of armies and fighting capacities. (吳凱, 2005)

Even Taiwan has implemented conscription for a fairly long period of time, Taiwan also faces inspirations of successful experiences of military service reform of western advanced countries. Taiwanese government has started to put more emphasis on quality

of soldiers instead of quantity of soldiers. Therefore, Taiwan has performed a downsizing armed forces refining program and modernization of army since 1997 to gradually improve quality of soldiers. (洪錦成, 2013; 趙錦財, 2009)

II. Changes in National Defense Strategy

National defense strategy in Taiwan can be divided into two categories, the progressive strategy and the preventive strategy. The progressive strategy aims at active attack usually when enemy's military strength is weaker and equipped with less soldiers. Since active and preemptive strategy are essential under the progressive strategy, states need to equip with absolutely superior military forces. Thus, under progressive strategy, states prefer to recruit more soldiers and implement conscription. (李志堯, 2014) While preventive strategy is usually implemented when enemy's military strength is stronger and equipped with more soldiers. Since long fighting length can weaken enemy's strength and increase its own power, preventive strategy is better to recruit soldiers under the elite soldier doctrine and implement voluntary enlistment. (倪岱峰, 1997)

To further illustrate, political and social changes have triggered military service reform in Taiwan. For example, the lifting of martial law in 1987 and economic growth triggered by a series of political reforms and economic development from 1950 to 2000, has led to amicable cross-strait relations and increasing economic and social exchanges. Meanwhile, Taiwan's social condition has become more diverse and open that accelerate military service reform. Thus, not only the public has started advocating for abolishing conscription while implementing voluntary enlistment; the national defense strategy of Taiwan has also changed from progressive strategy to preventive strategy. The "Effective deterrence, resolute defense" national strategy adopted since 2008 by Taiwanese government, which can be seen as preventive strategy, has gradually replaced counterattack strategy against the mainland China since 1949.

In short, since Taiwan has switched from progressive strategy to preventive

strategy, military service also needs to be adjusted based on different national defense strategies. Thus, changing from conscription to voluntary enlistment is on the way. Ministry of National Defense realizes preventive military strategy by maintaining peace across the Taiwan Strait, expanding Taiwan's international space, enforcing flexible diplomacy strategies, and deterring outlying threats with military defense forces. In addition, the Ministry of National Defense keeps pushing reform of national defense and improving quality of military forces to realize goals of preventing warfare, because enemy would face Taiwan's strong military strength. Therefore, Taiwan's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests could be protected, and regional peace and stability can be well maintained. (中華民國國防部, 2015)

III. Building Island-Based Fighting Military Forces

Since military budget and resources are limited, it is important to build a country's military capability wisely. Rich or developed countries tend to put more emphasis on building air force and navy, while poor or developing countries build larger proportion of army. Coastal countries must build strong air force and navy, while landlocked countries requires larger proportion of army. Islands countries that face threats along coastal areas tend to keep larger proportion of air force and navy, while inland countries keep larger army. (郭振華, 2000) Countries with needs to build higher proportion of army usually implement conscription to recruit a mass number of soldiers such as Israel and South Korea. Countries with needs to build larger proportion of professional air forces and navy tend to implement voluntary enlistment to maintain professional skills of soldiers such as, the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan.

Taiwan is a developed island country with its main threat from China, thus, Taiwan aims to change from conscription to voluntary enlistment to develop "counter air, counter ocean and territorial defense" military forces to reduce possible conflicts across the Taiwan Strait and coastal areas.

IV. Improving Effectiveness of Military Trainings

Taking one-year conscription service as an example, soldiers need to complete a five-week recruiting training, two-to-seven-week second stage training, four-week professional training and three-month basic training. If excluding two-days-off weekends and ninety-six holidays, conscripts' actual length of service is only nine months, which is too short for professional training. And for those who have completed training, they only have two to three months left to serve with military force. In addition, high frequency of recruitment and retirement in military cause training outcomes become hard to keep and therefore hinders military from improving its fighting capacities. (李志堯, 2014)

Therefore, based on goals of military strategy of Taiwan, it is important to switch from conscription to voluntary enlistment to keep military personnel full, so that it can build a military force that is well-equipped with weapons and high quality training soldiers from long service time. By doing so, military forces would be able to respond to conflicts, warfare, and natural disasters on time and gain enough time for mobilization at the reserve. In addition, the morale of military forces can also be enhanced.

V. Increasing Professionalism and Modernization of Military Forces

Building a professional military forces requires a long period of time and consumes lots of national resources and expenses; however, that is an investment that a modern country must make to keep its national security. (中華民國國防部, 1992) Since China has not abandoned using military forces against Taiwan, strengthening the reserve mobilization system and adequately applying reserve troops and enhancing specialization is a priority to Taiwanese military forces. (徐中慶, 2008) Voluntary enlistment can better fulfill above goals. In addition, Taiwan is an island and surrounded by water in order to maintain Taiwanese national security, develop a professional and

well-trained navy and air forces made of professional soldiers with high morale is a necessity.

VI. Improving Quality of Soldiers

The current service time of conscription in Taiwan is too short to fulfill the demands of future battles. On the contrary, professional soldiers need to sign contracts to commit a longer service time for military in voluntary enlistment, which is helpful to keep well-trained soldiers in military. (李志堯, 2014; 程嘉文, 2016) In addition, military service under conscription recruits soldiers with diverse backgrounds and qualities, while military service under voluntary enlistment may recruit soldiers with a “filter system” in the first place, and provide suitable professional trainings for professional soldiers with different backgrounds. Thus, voluntary enlistment is believed to be able to improve general quality of soldiers.

VII. Reducing Financial Burden

Voluntary enlistment is believed to better utilize human resources and lead to larger economic benefits because of the following reasons. First, professional soldiers reduce repeat trainings and avoid excessive spending on military training caused by frequent retirement of conscripts. For example, army faces two shifts of retirements of conscript soldiers in a month under general circumstance, that means retirement and recruitment cycle of conscripts in army is about fifteen days a shift. Each unit in army faces twenty-four shifts of retirement and recruitment of conscripts in one year (365 days/15 days a shift= 24 shifts). The high frequency of shifting new soldiers and discharged soldiers leads to a waste in military training costs and also impact stabilities of the military. (秦修好, 1983) Second, voluntary enlistment reduces consuming on manpower and costs of administrative jobs in conscription such as recruit, retire, delivery and supplement. (李志堯, 2002) Resources devoted in drafting consumed by each conscript from cycle of his recruitment to retirement are not only visible costs such as salaries, but it should

also include invisible costs such as administrative works needed to be done by public officers. Third, voluntary enlistment can save a huge amount of money spending on salaries, meals and costs of dealing with accidents of conscripts. Fourth, Efforts in developing military equipment, firepower in voluntary enlistment can gradually replace manpower in the process of producing advanced weapons and improving military power. Thus, needs for military manpower can be reduced and be more flexible. Voluntary enlistment is more likely to let the demand and supply of market's invisible hands to decide salaries standards and number of soldiers in military. Also, voluntary enlistment can release a great amount of human resources for national construction and economic development. Based on that, as long as salaries and qualities of professional soldiers are enhanced, needs for soldiers can therefore be reduced, and cause a reduction of national defense spending. (孫克難, 1992) Fifth, compared to professional soldiers, conscripts lack profound trainings and most of them are reluctant to serve in the military. Thus, extra costs at repairing equipment, military vehicles and weapons would be higher under conscription. Last but not the least, there exists hidden costs in conscription such as men cut their fingers, hurt their eye sights, sprain their angles or put on weights just in order to commit draft evasion. Those are costs that are not listed in budget table but are costs for individual conscript and the society. Those deficiencies can be effectively corrected by implementing voluntary enlistment.

VIII. Wisely Utilizing Human Resources

The fast social development in recent decades has triggered dramatic changes in values and attitudes of young people. In addition, the increasing social and ideological diversity also influence public thoughts about mandatory military service. Thus, more and more people of younger generation hold negative and passive attitudes toward mandatory military service. As it is shows in reports on newspapers, magazines and mass media that a lot of male actors or singers draftees illegally doggery of draft

claiming of studying or physical and mental illness. (褚佩君, 2011) In short, most people of younger generation regard performing mandatory military service as a waste of time and thus no longer think doggerly as a shame.

Moreover, since Regulations for Exiting of Draftees was amended in 2014 to ease restrictions on ages and qualifications of conscripts who wants to study abroad, the current conscription system needs to be adjusted, or the “delay in completing mandatory military service” could be a problem for Taiwan’s national strategy. Thus, voluntary enlistment is believed to attract professional soldiers who want to develop their long-term career in military, while leave room of free choices for those who do not want to perform military service, and allow them to devote themselves to whatever they are truly interested in.

IX. Changes in Demographic Structure

Low birth rate not only leads to aging population, but also makes Taiwan facing challenges of insufficient sources of soldiers. That is to say, Taiwan cannot recruit enough conscripts. Thus, military service needs to be adjusted so human resources in Taiwan can be better utilized. Downsizing armed forces is inevitable under this situation, and modernization of army can help build a “small but high quality” army under elite soldier doctrine. Recruiting professional soldiers can reduce impacts of insufficient conscripts and keep professional soldiers in army.

A. Low Birth Rate

Taiwan has been ranked as a “super low birth rate” country since 2003. In 2014, birth rate in Taiwan even become the second lowest in the world, which is expected to have negative influences on country development. Even governments encourage citizens giving birth to babies by offering subsidy, there are still 87% of respondents saying that they would not consider giving birth to babies. The top three reasons keeping citizens from giving birth to babies are unaffordable of raising kids, passive

social atmosphere and unwilling to get married. (劉永祥, 2015) The average birth rate in Taiwan is 1.16 per female, which means each female in Taiwan only giving birth to one kid in her whole life. According to demographic statistics from household registration information system by the central household registration authority, it shows that the number of birth by a woman in Taiwan has dropped from 7 babies to 1 baby in the last 40 years (1951-2015). (內政部戶政司官方網站, 2016) (See Figure 4-1)

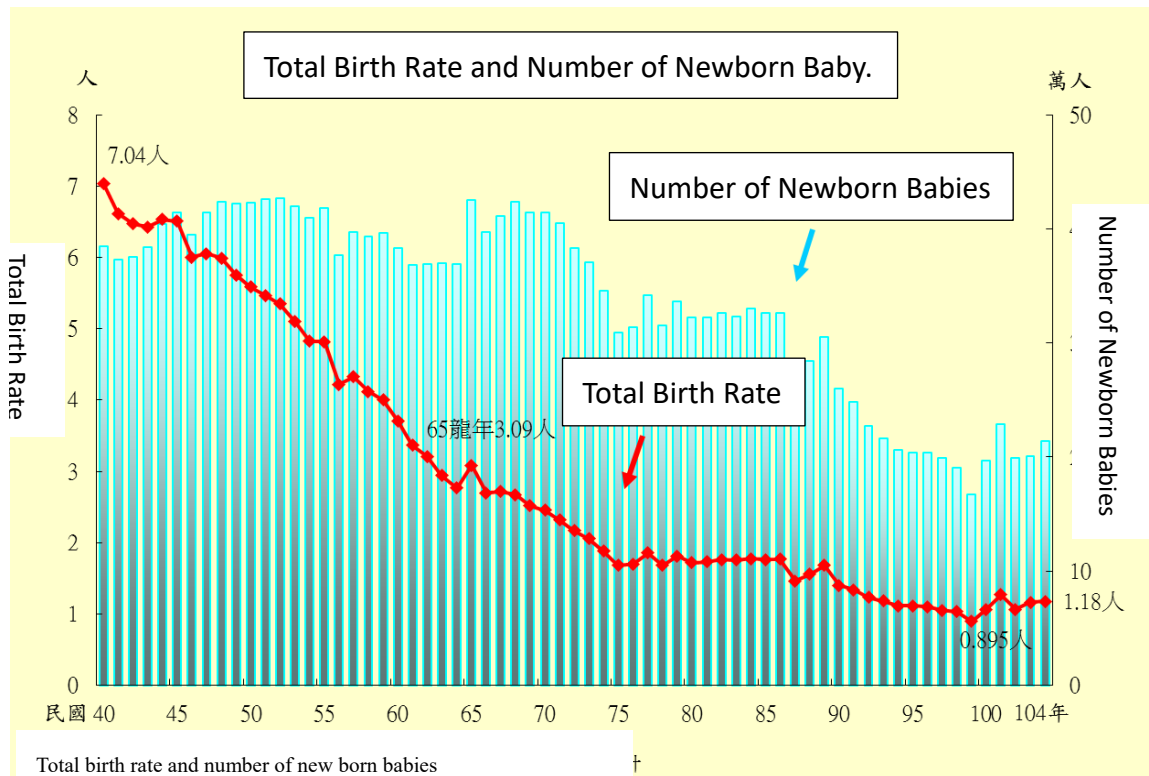


Figure 4-1 Total Birth Rate and Number of Newborn Babies (1951-2015)

Sources: Website of the Department of Household Registration, Ministry of the Interior, <http://www.ris.gov.tw/> (內政部戶政司官方網站), 2016。

The current proportion of number of soldiers to general population is about 200,000 to 23,460,000, which is around 0.8%. Because of low birth rate, Taiwan faces much fewer conscripts starting from 2000. In addition, the Ministry of National Defense amended the conscription law to reduce mandatory service to one year. Thus, low birth rate and short length of service of conscription are great challenges to implementation

of conscription in Taiwan. (羅炳雄, 2009) The Ministry of National Defense states that conscription would still be implemented in 2016 to recruit conscripts who are born before/in 1993, with the number of conscripts estimated to be around 111,063. The number of Male citizens who reach conscript age (19 years old) is estimated to be 167,458 in 2015. Since the number of conscripts would be largely decrease, the overall proportion of professional soldiers to conscripts after 2017 would be 90 percent of professional soldiers to 10 percent of conscripts. (中央通訊社, 2015)

B. Aging Population

According to a research by the National Development Commission in 2013, in about ten years, citizens above 65 years old or older would account for more than 20% of the population in Taiwan. At that time, Taiwan would change from an “Aging society” to a “Super aging society”. The rate of population aging in Taiwan is 1.6 times faster than Japan and 2.8 times faster than the United States. With a great number of people retiring from workplace, it is expected in 2023, working population in Taiwan would decrease by 1,380,000 people. However, new born baby would only be 200,000 people. So Taiwan is expected to face a shortage of more than 2,000,000 working population in 2023. (簡立峰, 2015) Starting from 2016 or 2017, “Aging index” of Taiwan would pass 100 for the first time, which means population of 65 years old or older would be higher than population of 14 years old or younger. If “Aging index” is over 100, it means Taiwan starts to face serious problems of aging population. (李昭安, 2016) Therefore, it is important for Taiwan to implement voluntary enlistment to release labor forces of conscripts to workplace to reduce impacts from aging population.

C. Downsizing Armed Forces and Modernization of Army

Downsizing armed forces and modernization of army can be seen as a realization of elite soldier doctrine. Elite soldier doctrine does not only mean decreasing of soldiers,

but also improving quality of soldiers, speeding up modernization of weapons and increasing the overall effectiveness of the army. (李志堯, 2014)

In the parallel military service in Taiwan officers and commanders are recruited voluntarily, while soldiers are from conscription. Due to the downsizing armed forces refining program and modernization of army, cutting back of targeted resources of soldiers leads to an excessive pool of conscripts in Taiwan. The downsizing armed forces and modernization of military could be divided into three stages, the first stage is to “prepare and adjust” aims to manage retirement and reduce the amount of current soldiers; the second stage is to “refine governmental structure” to realize the last stage of refining military program and adjust duty scope. (內政部, 2011) The final downsizing target is “The Young-Kuo program” from 2015 to 2019, which aims to reduce total number of military forces from 215,000 people to 170,000~190,000 people. Based on the schedule of the Young-Kuo program, military needs to recruit 10,000 soldiers each year from 2014 to 2016 and 7,000 soldiers after 2017. The number of armed forces can be achieved based on the recruitment plan above. (劉麗榮, 2014)

4.2 Challenges and Problems of Military Service Reform in Taiwan

Voluntary enlistment plays a critical role to Taiwanese national security, and such a military reform needs collaboration of all parties involved for its implementation. It was not easy for Taiwanese military to completely switch from conscription to voluntary enlistment smoothly in just a few years. Currently, legislative procedures have been completed for the Provisional Act for the Implementation of the Volunteer Military System that is critical to volunteer force recruitment efforts. The Ministry of National Defense promises that with improvement of salary, dignity and future career prospects for voluntary service members, voluntary enlistment will be more thorough

and complete, and the transition will be more smooth and successful. (中華民國國防部, 2015) Main challenges and problems of military service reform revealed are as following.

I. Insufficient Number of Military Personnel

Currently the total number of military personnel is 215,000, among which manning quotas is 196,000 and maintaining quotas is 19,000. If taking 87% to 90% as proportion of manning personnel, the least number of personnel in the military in normal period is 170,000 to 175,000. However, the Ministry of National Defense predicts that at the end of 2016, the total number of officers and soldiers would only be 149,000, a shortage of about 20,000 to 27,000 personnel. In order to relief stress of soldier shortage, the government needs to improve military working environment and internal management. (林郁方, 2015) Conscripts who were born after 1994 can either complete a four-month military training or six-month alternative service. According to statistics of the Conscription Agency, the number of draftees who were born before 1994 is around 54,000 people, among which around 29,000 draftees would be graduating from school and devoting themselves to military service. Aside from around 9,600 people would perform regular military service, the rest draftees would turn to complete alternative service. (程嘉文, 2016)

Since the numbers of professional soldiers in the first two years of implementing voluntary enlistment still do not reach expected recruitment goals and impact the total number of military personnel, the Ministry of National Defense announced that draftees who were born before 1994 still need to complete a one year regular military service in 2017. Since military power is scrolling and changing, as long as the numbers of professional soldiers reach expected goals, the Ministry of National Defense would gradually stop recruiting draftees to complete a one year regular military service.

The recruitment goals and results of professional soldiers since 2012 are shown as

Table 4-1. Since the Executive Yuan approved the “Implementation plan of voluntary enlistment” in January, 2012, the Ministry of National Defense started collecting related data since 2012.

Table 4-1 Recruitment goals and results of professional soldiers since 2012

| Year | Recruitment of professional soldiers | Army | Navy | Air forces | Total |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|------------|--------|
| 2012 | goals | 6,750 | 2,634 | 1,700 | 11,084 |
| | results | 4,649 | 1,496 | 1,147 | 7,292 |
| 2013 | goals | 19,290 | 4,004 | 1,700 | 24,994 |
| | results | 6,712 | 1,594 | 1,300 | 9,606 |
| 2014 | goals | 6,556 | 1,471 | 959 | 8,986 |
| | results | 8,273 | 2,440 | 2,584 | 13,297 |
| 2015 | goals | 7,507 | 2,700 | 1,270 | 11,477 |
| | results | 10,458 | 3,544 | 2,104 | 16,106 |
| 2016 (Till 11 th October) | goals | 9,000 | 3,157 | 837 | 12,994 |
| | results | 6,202 | 3,039 | 952 | 10,193 |

Sources: 中華民國國防部，2017。Compiled by the author.

Voluntary enlistment was scheduled to reach the goals of recruiting sufficient number of professional soldiers and then stop recruiting conscripts who were born before 1994 to perform a one year mandatory military service at the end of 2014. Recruitment goals of professional soldiers in 2013 is 24,994, which was much higher than yearly average. As shown in Table 4-1, recruitment results in 2012 and 2013 were not as good as expected. The goals of professional soldiers recruitment in 2012 was

11,084, while the recruitment result was only 7,292; the goals of professional soldiers recruitment in 2013 was 24,994, while the recruitment result was only 9,606. The reasons are supporting programs and recruiting strategies of voluntary enlistment were insufficient and military service reform was at its initial stage. Later on, the Executive Yuan has gradually increased additional service payment and additional location payment of professional soldiers, and the Ministry of National Defense has started to implement related supporting programs since 2014. Also, since goals of recruitment of professional soldiers has reduced since 2013 based on policy of downsizing military personnel, recruitment results of professional soldiers in 2014, 2015 and 2016 are above its yearly goals.

II. A Lack of Public Interest

Taiwan's current military reform program, designed to end conscription, is suffering significant problems in implementing effective reforms due to a lack of political and public interest. It suggests that an overreaction to Taiwan's militarized past and excessively strict legislative control is now hindering current military reform and development. (Setzekorn, 2014)

Thus, the Ministry of National Defense needs to arouse public awareness of this issue by attracting public attention through mass media or advertisement. By doing so, the public would learn more about military service reform and hopefully become positive toward such a reform. Additionally, traditional Chinese bias of “The pen is mightier than sword” would hopefully gradually be changed.

III. Poor Military Discipline

Poor military discipline not only leads to a low army reputation, but also damages public perception of military, and indirectly causes an ineffectiveness of voluntary recruitment. Army in Taiwan is likely to be associated with not-transparency, corruption, low-quality, inefficient and a waste of national budget. In addition, several military

scandals occurred in recent years for example, the death of Hung Chung-chiu (洪仲丘, 8 September 1989 – 4 July 2013), the Apache helicopter scandal in 2015 and a Taiwan warship mistakenly launched a supersonic "aircraft carrier killer" missile toward China on July 2, 2016, hitting a fishing boat and killing the boat's captain in an incident have dramatically damaged the image of the military in Taiwan. (鐘玟晴, 2014; Guerrero, 2016) The inefficient internal management of the military also has negative impacts on recruitment of professional soldiers, and then damages defense policies. Only by in depth exploration of clarify problems to make radical improvement can the military win back public trust and supports. (洪德福, 2014)

IV. Legal regulations: Act of Military Service for Volunteer Enlisted Soldiers and Act of Military Service for Officers and Noncommissioned Officers of the Armed Forces Draft

The executive Yuan passed the Act of Military Service for Volunteer Enlisted Soldiers and the Act of Military Service for Officers and Noncommissioned Officers of the Armed Forces draft in May 2016, and stated that male citizens who have completed mandatory military service can register for professional soldiers for one to three years in the future, instead of the current four years contract. However, former army deputy commander Wu Su-Huai pointed out that shortening professional soldiers' service length from four years to one to three years is like treating symptoms from surface but not the root cause. One factor that implement voluntary enlistment is to solve problems caused by one year service conscription, which is too short to train soldiers to be adept to high-tech weapons. In order to attract and retain soldiers with abilities, general service length for professional soldiers is four years. (程嘉文, 2016) If regulation is amended and service length in shorten to one to three years, problems of short service length I conscription would remain unsolved.

V. Threats to National Security

The current cross-strait relations is still far from at peace, especially when the candidate of Democratic Progressive Party Tsai Ying-Wen won the president election and the ruling party has changed from Kuomintang to Democratic Progressive Party in 2016. The Mainland China started to lay restrictions on traveling and academic or social exchanges, causing a dramatically drop in the number of Chinese people traveling to Taiwan and greatly impact tourism in Taiwan and cross-strait relations. (姚舜, 2016)

Aside from economic impacts, China has not given up preparing for live-ammunition maneuvers (飛彈演習) -- including missile tests. With the world's attention focused on the troubled Taiwan Strait, the 2016 presidential vote in Taiwan again took on a new level of global significance like the first change of ruling party in 1996. Voluntary enlistment can better realize national goals during peace times while conscription can better maintain national security during troubled times. (Chu, 1996) The election in 2016 seems to make the cross-strait relations become more hostile and complicated. Since voluntary enlistment is still at initial stage, the effectiveness of it has not be manifested. How to build effective and modernized army with professional soldiers in a short time and smooth transition to voluntary enlistment is a top priority to the new government.

VI. Insufficient Supporting Programs

Incentives of recruiting professional soldiers should not be only focusing on promising young men for cozy or easy lives. On the contrary, the Ministry of National Defense should offer a raise in salary of soldiers, enhance higher social status for serviceman, provide more learning opportunities, and improve sophisticate career trainings for veterans as supporting programs. (張炎銘, 2016)

However, current supporting programs and general welfare of servicemen and veterans are not sophisticated enough to steadily attract high-quality young men to serve in the military.

VII. Improper Allocation of National Defense Budget

The average annual national budget in the 2010s is around 723,506.6 million NT dollars. The average annual national defense budget in 2010s is around 117,586 million NT dollars, so the average percentage between annual expenditure on national defense and national budget in 2010s is 16.25%. Which is much lower than in the 1950s (73.54%), the 1960s (66.67%), the 1970s (49.18%), the 1980s (38.50%) and the 1990s (23.82%), but a little bit higher than 2000s (15.75%). (See Table 4-2)

Table 4-2 National Defense Spending and National Budget

| Year | Total annual budget (Unit: million NT dollars) | National defense spending (Unit: million NT dollars) | Percentage of national defense spending |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1950 | 3,749.25 | 2,757.375 | 73.54% |
| 1960 | 14,590.1 | 9,727.3 | 66.67% |
| 1970 | 75,901.1 | 37,328.1 | 49.18% |
| 1980 | 361,833.6 | 139,294.9 | 38.50% |
| 1990 | 1,018,091.4 | 242,537.8 | 23.82% |
| 2000 | 1,650,602.5 | 259,889.8 | 15.75% |
| 2010 | 1,654,428 | 276,783 | 16.73% |
| 2011 | 1,734,434 | 284,185 | 16.38% |
| 2012 | 1,938,637 | 309,441 | 15.96% |
| 2013 | 1,907,567 | 305,451 | 16.00% |
| <i>Average between 2010- 13</i> | <i>723,506.6</i> | <i>117,586</i> | <i>16.25%</i> |

Sources: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Official website, 2016.

Retrieved from: <https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex>. Compiled by the author.

Due to voluntary enlistment is still at initial stage and recruitment rates has not reach the expected goal, proportion of officers and soldiers is imbalanced. This leads to

expenses on military personnel are wasted on excessive spending on personnel salaries, and push out expenses on purchasing weapons and developing advanced equipment. (中華民國國防部, 2016)

Structure of national defense budget can be divided into four categories. First, the personal maintenance fee, which mainly composes staff costs. Second, the operating maintenance fee, which mainly composes weapons and equipment operation costs. Third, the military investment fee, which mainly composes development and establishment of weapons and equipment. Fourth, the other fees, which mainly compose expenditures of the National Security Bureau. Figure 4-2 shows the allocation of national defense budget in the last ten years. The personal maintenance fee has gradually drop since 2003, that is about the same as in the year that the Ministry of National Defense finished implementing the Jingjin program and started to implement the Jingsui program. The Jingsui program aims to reduce the number of military personnel to 215 thousands people. It is expected that costs of military personnel would keep dropping because the aim of the Young-Kuo program (2015-) is to reduce military personnel to 170-190 thousands people. (中華民國國防部, 2015)

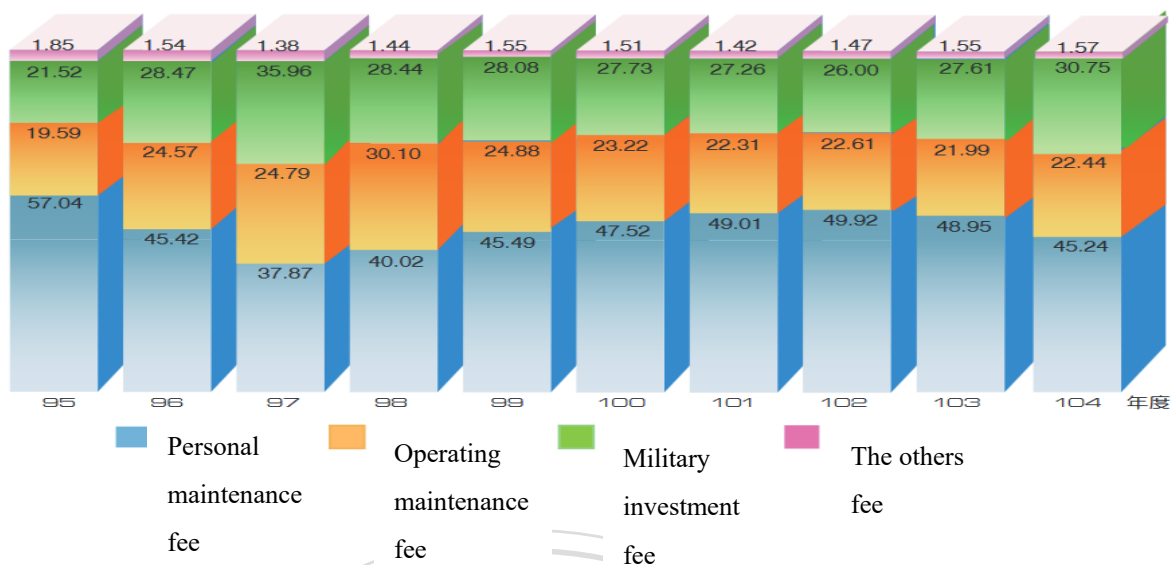


Figure 4-2 Disposition of National Defense Budget From 2006-2015.

Source: 中華民國國防部，2015。

VIII. Unreasonable Workload and Salaries

At present, there exists unreasonable allocation of workload and salaries of soldiers. Taking alternative service men and regular service soldiers as example, as shown in table 11, working hours for alternative service men is 8 hours a day, while 24 hours on call for regular service soldiers. The work content is also different, alternative service men just need to do subservient work with low risk of danger, while regular service men is required to accomplish military trainings based on different armed types and faced with higher risks. In addition, alternative service men are uncommitted after work, while regular service soldiers need to stay in the military and are under centralized management. However, payments of alternative service men and regular service soldiers are the same despite that fact that their workload, working hours, risk of danger or training strength are fairly different.

In order to implement voluntary enlistment, the government has started to downsize military personnel to release more funds. However, funds released are still not enough for implementing voluntary enlistment. As shown in Table 4-3, salary for each alternative or regular service man is around 6,000 NT dollars per month, and salary for

each voluntary service man is around 30,000 NT dollars per month. That is to say, the logic behind downsizing military personnel of governments is using five alternative or regular service man to support one voluntary service man (6,000 NT dollars *5people =30,000 NT dollars).

However, governments should not downsize military personnel only based on the salary. Even a voluntary service soldier can earn five times more than alternative or regular service soldier, workload of a voluntary service man is also five times. This leads to problems that the same amount of workload is shared by one fifth of military personals, the workload for each voluntary service soldier is overwhelmed. The Unreasonable proportion of workload and salaries of voluntary service men make it harder to attract young men to become professional soldiers.

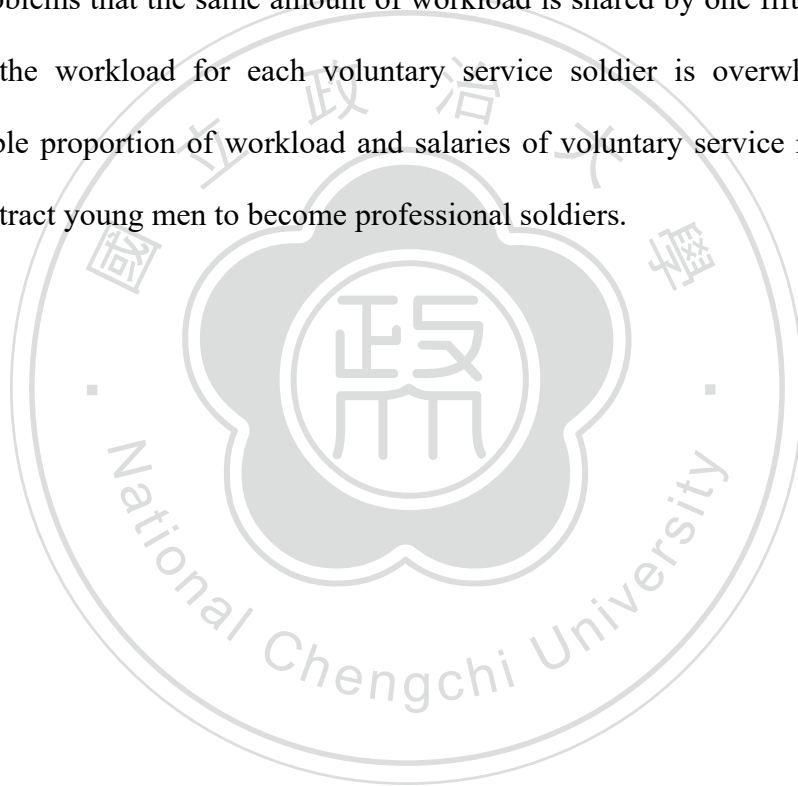


Table 4-3 Comparison between Substitute, Regular and Voluntary Service

| Substitute Service vs. Regular Service vs. Voluntary Service soldiers | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Substitute service | Regular service | Voluntary Service |
| Service length | One year and 15 days | One year | 4 years |
| Work content | Subservient | Based on types of armed services | Based on types of armed services |
| Age | 19-36 years old | 19-36 years old | 20-32 years old |
| Working hours | 8 hours | 24 hours on call | 24 hours on call |
| Management | Uncommitted after work | Centralized management | Centralized management |
| Salary | 6,070-6,630 NT dollars | 6,070-6,630 NT dollars | 33,625-36,845 NT dollars |
| | (Same payment but different work.) | | |

Source: 周思宇，2015，China Times (中國時報)。Compiled by the author.

4.3 Concluding Remarks

Since Taiwan has experienced dramatic changes in demographic structure and challenges of low birth rate, Taiwan borrows successful experiences from major countries and switches from conscription to voluntary enlistment so that Taiwan can better utilize human resources. National defense strategy of Taiwan to mainland China is preventive strategy. Should tensions between the cross-strait relations increase, global countries might offer political, economic, information or limited assistances instead of fighting with Taiwan against mainland China. (銘勳, 2001) Thus, Taiwan should not depend on other countries such as the United States for military assistance.

On the contrary, it is important for Taiwan to build its own national defense strength. (李志堯, 2014) According to the policy of president Tsai, the priority is military equipment and weapon improvement. (程嘉文, 2016) Thus, how to replace manpower with firepower is the top priority for the military in Taiwan. By improving quality of soldiers and increasing professionalism and modernization of military forces, Taiwan aims to gradually use “firepower” to replace “manpower”. In addition, due to changes in national defense strategy from progressive to preventive strategy, military service also needs to be adjusted. By improving effectiveness of military trainings, not only an advanced island-based fighting military forces is believed to be built, but national defense expenses can also be wisely utilized. Thus, implementing voluntary enlistment plays an important role for developing a better blueprint for Taiwan’s national development.

However, it is never easy for policy transition, especially when it is highly associated with national security and citizens’ obligations. Military service reform has been implemented for about five years, during the process, several problems and challenges occur. For example, Taiwanese government needs to improve supporting programs of voluntary enlistment, solve unreasonable proportion of workload and salaries, and enhance internal management of the military to increase public trust and supports. In addition, current improper usage of national defense spending and rigid legal regulation systems also need to be amended. Only with efficient systems can effectively solve problems of insufficient number of voluntary personnel, the followings are policy suggestions that can possibly address problems and challenges of military service reform.

I. Prolong Service Length of Military Training

The four months military training is not only too short to train soldiers with basic skills, but also too short to keep abundant soldiers in the military. Thus, the government

can consider prolonging service length of military training. By doing so, problems of insufficient military personnel and quick turn-over of four-months military training can be possibly solved.

II. Improve Supporting Programs of Voluntary Enlistment

Taking the United States as a success example, the United States attract young men to join the army by offering generous benefits, continuous education or opportunities to attending refreshing courses. (Segal, 1999) The U.S. military help soldiers obtain professional licenses so that they can start new careers after their retirement. Thus, the U.S. military can successfully attract abundant professional soldiers from middle or lower classes. The best example of well-paid and generous welfare of the U.S. army is the G.I. Bill of rights, also called Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The bill was planned to provide benefits to veterans who fought World War II by offering them with grants for school and college tuition, small-business loans, low-interest mortgage, opportunities of job trainings, and unemployment payments, etc. Later legislation even extended those benefits of the bill to all veterans. (Bennett, 1996)

Taiwan can learn from the United States by improving general welfare and career blueprint for soldiers to increase its attractiveness in recruitment market and attract young men to service voluntarily. For example, providing continuous education chances and refreshing courses opportunities to well-planned career development for retired soldiers, and implement military-university cooperative projects to help cultivate talented professional soldiers and stabilize sources of military forces. By doing so, problems caused by demographic change such as low birth rate can be effectively solved.

III. Adjust Patterns of Military Training

Instead of demanding men born after 1994 to complete trainings in “success rigid” (成功嶺), soldiers who perform four-month military trainings could change to devote themselves in local units and mainly dealing with general affairs or office work. By doing so, specialization in military can be improved, because professional soldiers with longer service length can be more focused on learning to operate sophisticated weapons and passing physical training, while those soldiers with only a four-month military training can help handling general works. Not only problems of insufficient military forces can be solved, burdens of professional soldiers can also be released and their workload and salaries can become more balanced and reasonable.

IV. Evenly Distribute Number of Soldiers by Months to Make Sure that Military Personnel is Sufficient Year Long

Number of men at conscription age who plan to perform mandatory military service/training varies each month mainly because of school calendar. College students prefer to complete mandatory military service/training during summer break (around mid-June to mid-September) or winter break (around mid-January to mid-February). In order to evenly distribute number of soldiers yearly, the Ministry of National Defense can focus on recruiting high-skill-oriented professional soldiers from mid-February to mid-June and mid-September to mid-January. While recruiting conscripts who perform mandatory military service/training during school break and train them to do low-skilled works or help with administrative duties. By doing so, specialization of the military can be improved and military personnel can be more evenly distributed along the year.

V. Raise Social Status of Military

Low prestige of military men is one of the main factors that lead to low recruitment rate of voluntary enlistment. However, no matter which military service was

implemented, soldiers did not have high social status anyway. There even goes a saying that “Outstanding males do not serve in the military, good iron do not make into nails”. Thus, soldiers did not obtain much respect in China society. The government needs to change this situation by enhancing internal management of the military and change from authoritarian leadership to professional leadership in the military to increase public trust and support, and utilizing marketing skills to attract positive public attention and increase public confidence in the military. By doing so, the public would not only know more about voluntary enlistment, support military service reform, but even increase willingness to join the military.



Chapter 5 Conclusion

The main purpose of military service is to recruit high quality and sufficient number of military personnel to guard national security. Thus, whether military service system is good or not can directly influence quality of the military and number of military personnel, and indirectly affect national defense. Thus, military service can be seen as a priority policy in all countries. Experiences from other countries also show the importance of better organized military forces, since countries need to build solid and substantial military forces first then they can properly utilize military personnel to fight combat missions or carry out urgent tasks. Since military service is very important, governments need to put it as a prior policy and figure out how to implement proper military service in Taiwan.

This research aims to study military reform from conscription to voluntary enlistment in Taiwan. The author first conducted research on military service revolution around the world to see how military service changes in light of different concerns of national security and international relations. After learning military service reform from major countries, the author studied military service revolution from ancient China to contemporary Taiwan. Base on that, the author found out intentions and purposes of changing from conscription to voluntary enlistment in Taiwan, and studied effectiveness of implementation of voluntary enlistment in Taiwan. Research findings of this study are listed in the following sections, and this study also provides some policy suggestions for governments and offers thoughts for future research.

5.1 Research Findings

Since Taiwan has experienced low birth rate, conscription can no longer meet the needs of military forces and workforces. In addition, after the lifting of martial law in 1987, national defense of Taiwan has gradually changed from progressive to preventive strategy. If Taiwan maintains implementing conscription and does not adjust military service in light of different political and social conditions, it would lead to gaps between national defense and military service which would cast negative impacts on national security eventually.

This study found out that ways of keeping national security and realizing goals of national defense are to adjust military service based on different social and political conditions. Also, in order to maintain modern military standards and wisely utilize military human resources, Taiwan should learn from successful experiences of military service reform in major countries and change to voluntary enlistment. By improving quality of soldiers and increasing professionalism and modernization of military forces, Taiwan can gradually use “firepower” to replace “manpower”. By doing so, Taiwan can not only build an advanced island-based fighting military forces, but can also better utilize national defense expenditures. Research findings of this study are listing as following:

I. Military Service Plays an Crucial Role in Military Strategy

Purposes of military strategy is to build solid and strong military power, which including military personnel and weapons. Military forces is crucial to military strategy, because every mission needs to be completed by men, and all equipment needed to be operated by men. The mission of military service is to recruit high quality, sufficient number and diverse types of soldiers that each country needs in order to accomplish goals of military strategy.

II. Implementing Voluntary Enlistment is World Trend

After World War Two, in order to meet new patterns and needs of national defense, major countries recruit military personnel through voluntary enlistment. Some countries that face immediate threats from neighboring countries are still implementing conscription to maintain sufficient number of soldiers such as South Korea and Israel. In terms of social changes, most advanced countries face similar demographic changes: Low birth rate and aging population. Hence, major countries have started to downsize military forces and changed from conscription to voluntary enlistment in order to wisely utilize human resources and build a small but high quality army.

Military service revolution in ancient China shows that voluntary enlistment was implemented while conscription or other types of military service could no longer meet the goals of national security. Thus, military service varies with different political and social conditions, among which national defense strategies play a major role. We can also learn from experiences of implementing voluntary enlistment in the United States and the United Kingdom that by offering generous welfare to attract high quality soldiers and train them to become professional soldiers, countries can build high morale which can generate better fighting strength during conflicts.

III. Military Service Reform in Taiwan Faces Challenges and has Been Delayed

Due to changes in social, political and economic situations, military service experienced a reform from conscription to voluntary enlistment in Taiwan. One year service length of conscription in the past is too short to train soldiers to become adept to modernized weapons and precision instruments. Especially frequency of recruitment and retirement cycle is too high to maintain stability of fighting strength and training effectiveness, which hinders Taiwan from building professional, high-quality and ready mobilized armed forces in response to military threats from China. Even the cross-strait relations has become more amicable in the past years, China still has not given up using

military forces to solve unify Taiwan. Taiwan can no longer only rely on military forces broad in scale or abundant in number. Instead, Taiwan needs to build smaller size but highly professional, modernized and quickly mobilized military forces to defeat Taiwan. Deterrence is always cheaper than warfare. Implementing voluntary enlistment to build professional military forces is essential. In addition, since demographic changes of low birth rate and population aging, conscription can no longer meet the needs of recruiting a mass amount of soldiers in a short period of time. Thus, Taiwan needs to adjust its military service from “manpower” to “firepower” oriented by implementing voluntary enlistment to build professional army.

However, implementation of voluntary enlistment has been delayed, which leads to the Ministry of National Defense to increase the number of conscripts who were born before 1994 for a one year military service. Main challenges and problems that hinder implementation of voluntary enlistment are as following. First, a lack of public supports and poor military discipline lead to a low social status of soldiers. Second, the recruitment results of professional soldiers in the first two years of military service reform obviously did not meet goals of recruitment, and the military personnel as a whole is still under expected. Third, supporting programs of voluntary enlistment are insufficient. Fourth, national defense spending on military personnel is too much compared to costs at purchasing weapons or developing equipment. Fifth, Proportion of workload and salaries between substitutes, regular and professional soldiers is unreasonable. Last, welfare and salaries of professional soldiers still need to be improved.

5.2 Policy Suggestions and Future Research

On the way of changing from conscription to voluntary enlistment, Taiwan faces several limitations such as low recruitment rates of professional soldiers, poor military

discipline, a lack of public interests, rigid legal regulations, threats to national security, insufficient supporting programs, uneven distribution of military spending and workloads. Thus, this study comes up with some policies suggestions to smoothly realize military service reform in Taiwan.

5.2.1 Policy Suggestions

The followings are policy suggestions on implementing military service reform in Taiwan:

- I. Raise social status of the military and public trust in the military by improving internal management of the military and changing from authoritarian leadership to professional leadership in the military to attract young men and women join the military voluntarily.
- II. Prolong service length of military training to solve problems of short service length and quick shifts, and solve urgent challenges of insufficient military personnel.
- III. Improve supporting programs and welfare of voluntary enlistment, such as implementing military-university cooperative projects to offer more work opportunities for retired soldiers.
- IV. Improve balanced allocation of national defense spending on military personnel and weapons.
- V. Adjust patterns of military training to improve specialization in the military to evenly distribute proportion of workload and salaries between substitute, regular and professional soldiers.
- VI. Evenly distribute the number of soldiers supply (according to college calendar) to make sure that military personnel is sufficient all year long.

5.2.2 Research Limitations

Obstacles that encountered in this study are as following. First of all, this research

faces several challenges due to the confidential nature of the military, which not only makes it hard to collect related data, but also difficult for scholars to raise critical questions.

Secondly, since military service reform in Taiwan has just been implemented, and the two stages of four months military has just been adopted only for two years, related data and analysis are still limited. Therefore, research in this topic is at initial stage that has relatively little resources to refer to. In addition, not many scholars or experts from other countries have studied military service reform in Taiwan yet.

5.2.3 Future Research

Due to research limitations, this study cannot conduct profound research on how long should the government to prolong the current four-month military training. Thus, future research can be focusing on how the Taiwanese government could prolong current four-month military training to maintain sufficient military personnel. And study about how a prolonged military training could possibly impact future development of voluntary enlistment in Taiwan.

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