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TPP 的地緣政治與地緣經濟因素：

台灣加入 TPP 戰略思考之研究

The Geopolitical and Geoeconomic Factors:

Taiwan's Strategic Calculation to Join TPP

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摘要

本研究以美國歐巴馬政府之「重返亞太」戰略，以及美國於亞太地區所倡導「太平洋經濟合作協議」——TPP 為研究標的，並以國家利益理論為研究理論基礎，分析美國面對亞太地區經濟力的強勁成長，以及中國大陸以飛奔之勢成為世界第二大經濟體，美國基於國家利益而開始主導 TPP 之成立與運作。在這過程之中，美國與中國之戰略如何運用？而台灣在國民黨與民進黨兩大黨都支持加入 TPP 的情況下，台灣加入 TPP 之途，到底可能面對那些中國與美國的戰略運用？台灣加入 TPP 之利與弊各有那些？本研究以以歷史研究法、文獻分析法為研究方法，經由所得文獻之整理、分析、歸納，提出本研究之研究成果有三項：

一、中國國力提升將拉高台灣進入 TPP 的機會

隨著中國國力提升，美國對中國的「圍堵」，將更加緊繃嚴密，台灣角色必然也會越來越突顯，在美國強力圍堵的戰略運作下，台灣進入 TPP 之機會越來越高。

二、海島型經濟特色的台灣，向區域開放市場，是台灣唯一的選擇

台灣海島型經濟，產業大幅仰賴出口，目前中國大陸又是台灣主要出口的地區，面對市場主要對手如南韓、日本已積極簽署 FTA，台灣必須積極投入，才不致被邊緣化，中國大陸市場也才不會被對手所取代。

三、TPP與FTA是全球化趨勢下的必然結果

在各式區域經貿協議之中，施行零關稅及強調非關稅的壁壘，簡化文書作業及海關程序，更是打破國與國之間疆，使得關稅制度保護本土產品的制度設計初衷，不復存在，如此強者愈強，弱者愈弱，區域經濟形成一種 M 型化的競爭態勢。

關鍵字:重返亞太、圍堵、國家利益論、TPP、FTA

Abstract

This thesis focuses on strategy of U.S. Pivot to Asia Pacific region and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) with the theory of state interest to analyze how the U.S. manages the establishment and operation of TPP on the consideration of the strong economic growth of Asia-Pacific region and the status of rising China as the second largest economic entity around the world. During the process, what is the strategy of the U.S. and China? On the other hand, under the domestic support of two major parties in Taiwan to join TPP, Kuomintang (KMT) and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), on the way to join TPP, what diplomatic strategies will Taiwan confront when it deals with China and the U.S.? In other words, what are the pros and cons for Taiwan to join TPP? Based on historical analysis, document analysis, this thesis found three major findings:

1. The increase of power of Rising China will enhance the opportunity of Taiwan to join TPP
As China's state power increases, the U.S. will adopt much more serious "Containment" strategies. Under this circumstance, the role of Taiwan will become much more important. Therefore, under the intense U.S. containment strategies, the opportunities for Taiwan to join TPP will become higher.
2. Open market to the region is the choice for sea-island economic Taiwan
Taiwan belongs to sea-island economic, which relies on export on the development of industry, and China becomes the major export partner of Taiwan. Facing the challenge of South Korea and Japan which have signed FTA with China, Taiwan has to engage in a more active way to the open market to avoid isolation on the competition of Chinese market.
3. TPP and FTA are the definite result of globalization
Among all kinds of regional agreements, zero tax barrier and simplification of administration process on document and custom examination are the keys to break the obstacle between country and country. Moreover, by doing so countries could break the limitation on protecting the local products, which further fosters the M shape competition among the regional economic development between the strong and weak countries.

Key words, Pivot to Asia, Containment, Theory of State Interest, TPP, FTA

Table of Content

Abstract.....	iii
Table of Content.....	v
Lists of Graphs.....	vi
Lists of Tables.....	vii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1-1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND MOTIVATION.....	1
1-2 HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH FRAMEWORK	10
1-3 LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHOD	12
CHAPTER 2 GEOGRAPHIC ECONOMIC FACTORS.....	18
FOR TAIWAN TO JOIN TPP.....	18
2-1 THE U.S. ADJUSTED THE GLOBAL STRATEGY	18
2-2 ESTABLISH TPP AS PART OF PIVOT TO ASIA STRATEGY	20
2-3 THE INTERPRETATION OF CHINA	34
2-4 CONCLUSION	39
CHAPTER 3	40
GEOGRAPHY POLITICAL FACTOR FOR TAIWAN TO JOIN TPP.....	40
3-1 THE MECHANISM OF TPP AND THE IMPACT TO ASIA PACIFIC ECONOMIC.....	42
3-2 THE HISTORY AND CURRENT SITUATION ON SIGNING FTA AMONG JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA, AND THE EUROPEAN UNION.....	49
3-3 THE IMPACT ON TAIWAN INDUSTRY OF SIGNING FTA AMONG JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA, AND THE EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES.....	60
CHAPTER 4	81
THE STRATEGIC EVALUATION ON TAIWAN JOINING TPP	81
4-1 STRATEGY ON PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA PACIFIC REGION.....	82
4-2 ECONOMIC STRATEGY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA IN AISA PACIFIC REGION	94
4-3 THE EVALUATION OF PROS AND CONS FOR TAIWAN ON JOINING TPP	107
4-4 CONCLUSION	120
CHAPTER 5	121
LIMITATION AND FUTURE RESEARCH SUGGESTION.....	121
5-1 RESEARCH FINDINGS	121
5-2 RESEARCH LIMITATION AND FUTURE SUGGESTION.....	128
REFERENCE.....	132

Lists of Graphs

GRAPH 1-1 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK	11
GRAPH 1-2 RESEARCH APPROACH	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
GRAPH 1-3 TIME SCOPE FOR RESEARCH	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
GRAPH 3-1 COUNTRIES SIGNING FTA AROUND THE WORLD.....	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
GRAPH 3-2 SCOPE OF COUNTRIES SIGNING FTA AROUND THE WORLD.....	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
GRAPH 3-3 SCOPE AND IMPACT IN GLOBAL TPP MARKET	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
GRAPH 3-4 THE CURRENT SITUATION OF JAPAN SIGNING FTA	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
GRAPH 3-5 THE CURRENT SITUATION ON SOUTH KOREA SIGNING FTA	錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。



Lists of Tables

- TABLE 3-1 THE CURRENT SITUATION OF JAPAN SIGNING FTA/EPA (2014/07) ... 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH KOREA SIGNING FTA..... 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-3 THE SITUATION OF SOUTH KOREA SIGNING FTA (2012 UNTIL NOW) 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-4 THE IMPACT OF SIGNING FTA BETWEEN JAPAN AND SINGAPORE, MALAYSIA, AND THAILAND ON TAIWAN 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-5 2009-2013 THE CURRENT SITUATION OF TAIWAN IMPORTS AGRICULTURE PRODUCT FROM TPP 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-6 2009-2013 THE CURRENT SITUATION OF TAIWAN EXPORTS AGRICULTURE PRODUCT TO TPP
..... 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-7 2009-2011 THE MAIN CATEGORY OF TAIWAN AGRICULTURE PRODUCT TO TPPs 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-8 THE IMPACT OF SOUTH KOREA SIGNING FTA WITH ASEAN COUNTRIES, SINGAPORE, AND CHILE ON TAIWAN EXPORT
..... 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-9 THE IMPACT OF FTA BETWEEN EUROPEAN UNION AND KOREA ON TAIWAN 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-10 THE IMPACT OF FTA BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOUTH KOREA ON GENERAL ECONOMIC DYNAMIC OF TAIWAN 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-11 THE IMPACT OF FTA BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOUTH KOREA ON INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWAN 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-12 THE EVALUATION ON THE IMPACT OF FTA BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND SOUTH KOREA ON TAIWAN INDUSTRY 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-13 THE IMPACT OF FTA BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND SOUTH KOREA ON TAIWAN INDUSTRY RESPECTIVELY 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 3-14 THE ANALYSIS ON THE AMOUNT OF MONEY OF TAIWAN MAIN EXPORT INDUSTRY BY REPLACEMENT 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 4-1 THE EXPORT GROWTH RATE AND PROPORTION OF MAIN EXPORT COUNTRIES OF TAIWAN: 2007-2013 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 4-2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TPP AND TAIWAN TRANSACTION AND MARKET 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 5-1 THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ON GENERAL ECONOMIC OF TAIWAN 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。
- TABLE 5-2 THE GENERAL SITUATION OF SIGNING FTA AMONG ASIAN COUNTRIES 錯誤! 尚未定義書籤。

Chapter 1 Introduction

During the 21 century, the economic depression occurred in Europe, and by contrast Asia Pacific countries rise up on the economic development. The super power status of the U.S. has been challenged by the rising China, which makes Taiwan the alliance in Asia Pacific of the U.S. has much more strategic opportunity between the competition of China and the U.S.. The thesis focuses on the concerns on the strategy of Taiwan joining Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). In this chapter, it will cover the general information of this thesis, including motivation, background, objective, research scope, research procedure, and research method.

1-1 Research Objective and Motivation

1-1-1 Research Objective

1. The Strategy of Pivot to Asia by the Continuing U.S. Hegemony

“Return to Asia” is the central strategy of Obama government, which is owing to the unbalance strategy on European and Asia during the George Walker Bush government. Considering China has become the second largest economic entity around the globe and the economic depression in Europe as well as the rising Asia Pacific region. In order to maintain the state interest in Asia Pacific and the super power status around the world, the U.S. government operates and declares this strategy.

The main point in “Pivot to Asia” lay in the article of *America’s Pacific Century* in Foreign Policy announced by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in November 2011. She claimed “In the future 10 years, the U.S. must locate Asia Pacific region to revive the domestic economic.” The announce has pointed out the U.S. strategic focus has been transferred to the Asia Pacific area, and on the next day the U.S. government has signed Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC),¹ which has been

¹Li Qiong Li, United States 'return to Asia "on the implications of regionalism'," *Global Politics Review* ", No. 39, July 2012,

recognized as the key action of the U.S.'s "return" to Asia.² Meanwhile Hillary delivered a speech on the topic of America's Pacific Century at East-West-Center in Honolulu. On January 5th 2012, president Obama announced "Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense" at National Defense Pentagon, which makes sure the U.S. will transfer the focus of global strategy into Asia Pacific region.³ Obama's announcement directly pointed out the resolution on the U.S.'s return to Asia Pacific region and also mentioned the solution to the economic challenge and the concern on China's rising, which indicates the strategic declaration toward the global community. In May 2012 Asia Security Summit⁴, the Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta also delivered a speech saying the U.S. troop will arrange 60% of the navy and vessel into the Asia Pacific region before 2020 to follow the strategic guidance of President Obama.⁵

As the declaration of the strategic arrangement, the U.S. actively engaged in Asian issue and participated in all kinds of multilateral organizations, for example on economic issue, the U.S. tried to lead TPP negotiation while on strategic level, the U.S. actively engage in cooperation and dialogue in different issues including politic, economic, security and Est Asia Summit, EAS.⁶ On the operation of strategies, the U.S. tried to adopt "First Among Equals" and smart power to conduct Multilateralism, including economy, education, technology, energy, nuclear security, Internet, and space activity to balance political and economic development.

Previously the strategy of the U.S. to maintain hegemony is based multilateral approach to conduct forward-deployed diplomacy. Frankly speaking, concerning the world situation, the reason for U.S. choose to return to Asia, the point is not only because Asia is challenged by the cross-national issue, which needs stable and consistent regional framework to construct regional and international

pp.89. (李瓊莉, 〈美國「重返亞太」對區域主義之意涵〉, 《全球政治評論》, 第39期, 2012年7月, 頁89。)

²Hillary Clinton, America's Pacific Century, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, Nov. 10. 2011, <http://vimeo.com/32425064>

³ The White House, <Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense, January 3, 2012, pp.1-2.

⁴ "Asia Security Summit," also known as "Shangri-La Dialogue" (Shangri-La Dialogue), initiated by the famous British think-tank "The International Institute for Strategic Studies, IISS" and supported by the Government of Singapore, then in 2002 in Singapore held annual international security forum. And it was name after of "Shangri-La Dialogue," which is the first meeting held in Singapore Shangri-La Hotel, and further gradually become a major annual security summit, for the Asia-Pacific affairs.

⁵U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs, Speech of Shangri-La Security Dialogue, June 2, 2012, <http://www.defense.gov/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1681>,

⁶Li Qiong Li, United States 'return to Asia "on the implications of regionalism', "Global Politics Review", No. 39, July 2012, pp.89. (李瓊莉, 〈美國「重返亞太」對區域主義之意涵〉, 《全球政治評論》, 第39期, 2012年7月, 頁89。)

order, but also because the U.S. focused the political and economic structure which traditional hegemony concerned, and expect the development Asia Pacific could cater the U.S. state interest.

2. Multilateral Containment to the Rising China

Frankly speaking, the Pivot to Asia strategy of the U.S. is concerned about its own state interest and the maintainance of its super power status. However, the rising China is the main challenge who could influence the U.S. state interest. Therefore, the U.S.'s Pivot to Asia strategy is aiming at targeting China.

In the end of 20 century, Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro have mentioned about China as the threat to the U.S. in their book, *The Coming Conflict with China*. Under nationalism and the trend of becoming great power in international community, China will be eager to replace the U.S. to take over Asia. However, China's intention is completely against the state interest of the U.S.. Owing to the goal of the U.S. is remain the balance of power in Asia and prevent any power to take over the whole Asia. Therefore, they inferred that the Beijing authority will view the U.S. as the major obstacle to fulfill their goal.

Until the 21 century, the competition between China and the U.S. become much clearer. When the rising China gain much power in Asia, on the other hand, the U.S. is losing its influence in Asia Pacific region. As a result, for the U.S., China is not only rising, but also a influential great power in the international community. Therefore, C. Fred Bergsten mentioned the concept of "G2" in 2004. Until 2006, he further pointed out that in the early five years of the 21 century; the U.S. and China are not only serving as the leading power in the world economy, but also becoming the most important bilateral relation in the international community. Therefore, the U.S. and China relation should enhance the relation through dialogue in economy and strategy model to construct G2 and have regular summit concerning the major issue in world economic. He pointed out that if China rising as an irresponsible great power, and it might probably have great conflict with the U.S.. Therefore, the U.S. should look forward to a real and stable partnership, and give the right to each other as the cooperating partner to cater the consideration of the common good for the international community. However, this statement

reveals the time for China and U.S. to become the two great powers has come and the U.S. is not the only super power any more.

Second, Professor Niall Ferguson mentioned the word “Chimerica” in the British *Sunday Dispatch* in the year of 2007, which reveals the importance of these two great powers. The word structure of “Chimerica” is the combination of China and America. Ferguson thinks that America and China are not two different countries, instead they belong to the same country, called “Chimerica”. He further pointed out that the concept of this word is based on the combination as an economic entity from America as the biggest consuming country and China the biggest saving country, which would cause great influence on the world economy.

Concerning the point of view on strategy scholars and the saying of China threat in the Europe and the U.S. or any unreasonable combination between the religion and culture from China and the U.S. Bible or even the military expansion in the early history of China during the national establishment period, this thesis thinks that such skepticism and speculation are not necessary and will only cause threat and fear to the world peaceful development. Until the global financial crisis occurred in 2008, the European countries and the U.S. on one hand is looking forward China to provide financial support, but on the other hand, they are worrying about the rising China would cause economic negative impact on the world economy. The China authority understands these skepticism and worries, and they choose to adopt much softer action to win the recognition of the international community, through holding Olympic Games, participating and leading international organization, such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) to reveal the participation and contribution of China to the international community. By doing so, on one hand, China tried to foster the regional cooperation, and on the other hand, China planned to expand its influence through constructing regional cooperation framework with China feature between China and Western countries such as European countries and the U.S.. In other words, the solution for China to deal with the saying China Threat is through more active participation through economy and culture to lower down the military rising impression in the international community.

Impressively, in 2013 President Obama couldn't attend the APEC conference owing to the domestic budget issue. Meanwhile, the participation of China President Xi Jinping and his wife totally replaced

the absence of the Obama President to become the spotlight, which reveals the importance of China when the U.S.'s influence becomes lower.

As far as the U.S., is concerned, the declining state power has become the fact, but all the U.S. is trying to do is to postpone the time of rising China to take much more control and gain the largest benefit. Therefore, the U.S.'s Pivot to Asia is the strategy was born under this concern.

3. The Strategy of Multilateral Organization

The appearance of "Multilateral Organization" is owing to the application of multilateralism theory. Contrast to unilateralism or bilateralism, "Multilateralism" is defined as the mechanism that among three or more countries through the temporary or mechanism operation to coordinate the nation policy. The research focus of this research⁷, TPP is the product under the classical multilateralism.

Considering the state power, the U.S. expected to unite the neighboring countries of China, such as the alliance with Japan and South Korea to limit the the increasing power of rising China through the strategy of "Pivot to Asia"⁸. For instance, the controversial issue of South China Sea the way that the U.S. deal with is not only promote the importance of *Treaty of Security and Safeguard between Japan and United States* during the Daoyu Island Dispute become much more severe on October 3rd, 2010, but also held "2 plus 2" diplomacy and meeting among Minister of national defense of the two countries in Tokyo and modify the "Cooperation Guidance on Security between the U.S. and Japan" to enhance the alliance and military support between Japan and the U.S..

In addition, considering the closing power in transaction between the U.S. and China, the U.S. adopts the operation of multilateral mechanism is another strategic expansion in economic development. On the application of relative multilateral organization strategy, the U.S. tried to seek to the cooperation between countries in Asia Pacific region to contain the rising China such as Asia-Pacific Economic

⁷Robert Keohane, "Multilateralism: An Agenda for Research," *International Journal*, Vol.45, No.4 (1990), pp.731. Cited from Kei Utsunomiya, <Multilateralism Strategy Toward Asean Country Participating In Regional Integration>, "Global Political Commentary," Vol.47, July 2014, pp. 124. (引自宇都宮溪〈東協在大國參與區域整合後之多邊主義策略〉,《全球政治評論》,第47期,2014年7月,頁124。)

⁸Evan Medeiros, "Strategic Hedging and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol.29, No.1 (2005), pp.148-153.

Cooperation (APEC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asean Regional Forum (ARF).

On the other hand, the U.S. also takes mini laterlism as one important step to support the strategy of Pivot to Asia, for example the U.S. supports the issue of education, health and environmental development in *Lower Mekong Initiative* and also the Pacific Islands Forum to support the climate change. If we view this from the strategy perspective, multilateralism or mini multilateralism could be considered as the product of multi-balance. Undoubtedly, economic concern is one of the reasons, at the same time through the construction of alliance system, the U.S. expects to point out that there is still security concern in Asia Pacific region, which further fosters the closer cooperation between countries in Asia Pacific and the U.S., and further strengthens the influence of the U.S..

After the Sunflower movement, Taiwan viewed the joint chance to international organization as isolate. However, when dealing with the issue whether to join TPP or not, this thesis suggests that it needs much more evidence to evaluate the pros and cons behind it.

Considering the real situation, the U.S. tended to either cooperate with China as well as other countries in Asia Pacific region, or contain the rising China from different issues. Viewing the past relations of Taiwan and China and the U.S., sometimes close sometimes far, Taiwan considers the joint of Taiwan in TPP to meet the U.S. state interest and further to meet its own state interest.

There are five objectives in this research:

1. Understand the relationship between the U.S.'s strategy of Pivot to Asia and its state interest
2. Understand the relationship between US's strategy Pivot to Asia and the rising China
3. Analyze the strategic thinking of Taiwan joining TPP
4. Analyze Taiwan the possible application of joining TPP between the U.S. and China
5. Analyze the possibility of Taiwan joining TPP under the turmoil in Asia Pacific region

1-1-2 Motivation

Trans Pacific Partnership (in the following will simplified as TPP) is the partnership agreement that the U.S. has lead and organized under the platform of APEC. The countries joining TPP include Asualia, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Puru, Singapore, and Vietnam, and the U.S.

There are 12 important transaction partner of Taiwan such as the U.S., Japan, and Canada joining TPP. The total GDP amount of TPP member accounts for 1.3% in 2009 and increases to 53.17%, and until the year of 2011 in the total global GDP, which is the largest regional integration group in the global community.⁹

Owing the fact that Taiwan is the official member of APEC and WTO, Taiwan has participated in many negotiations and initiatives through these two ofganizations, for instance Taiwan's participation in WTO agriculture and transaction convenience agreement negotiation echos the WTO spirit in avariety of transaction and initiatives to further becomes the third contributor countries in WTO. Second, Taiwan has also participated and lead several projects in APEC, including APEC "Women Innovative Economic Development Project", "APEC Digital Opportunity Center (ADOC)" "APEC Career Accelarator Project" as well as Food Security Initiative and shared the development experience of Taiwan. Therefore, considering the past experience and participation of Taiwan by contrast to other internaitnoal organization, this thesis considers joining TPP is considerably much more possible for Taiwan.

Consider the state interest, after joininig TPP, Taiwan could generate a significant profit, for instance GDP will increase 1.95 percent, the total industry value and the general employment rate will increase 1.91% and 0.65%, the general transaction amount will increase 6.57 percent. However, if

⁹Ye Chang Cheng, <From "Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement" (TPP) Expanded Negotiations to Discuss the U.S. Asia-Pacific Security And Economic Strategic Layout> "Global Taiwanese E Focus" Vol. 210, August 17 2012. (葉長城，〈從「跨太平洋夥伴協定」(TPP)擴大談判論美國亞太地區安全與經濟戰略佈局的轉變與影響〉，《全球台商e焦點》電子報，第210期，2012年8月17日。)

Taiwan fail to join TPP, the domestic GDP amount will decrease 0.27%, the total industry value and general employment rate will decrease 0.13% and 0.07% and the general transaction amount will decrease 0.2%.

After joining TPP, Taiwan could find solution to the past three crises including the isolation in the international community, the lack of fair industry competition in the international community, and avoid too much dependence on the single market, which to further open and explore other markets.

Besides, owing to the industry in Taiwan such as electronic, information and telecommunication, biomedical, and automotive parts are the important supply chain in the Asia Pacific region. Considering the great performance of Taiwan industry, Taiwan's semiconductor manufacture ranked second to none in the globe, LED panel owns the second high market share around the world, the export amount of tool and equipment machine account for third in the global community as well as the automotive part industry ranked 8th on the market share rate. Therefore, if TPP would contain Taiwan as the member, then the whole TPP members could share a more comprehensive in free trade process. According to the statistics of Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research in 2013, if Taiwan joins TPP, it could bring the whole TPP members more than 78 billion on social welfare.

Since Taiwan's joining TPP is win win situation for both TPP and Taiwan, as joining other international organization, Taiwan needs to gain the agreement of China. Owing to TPP is the multilateral organization under the strategy of U.S.'s Pivot to Asia, therefore as the competition between China and the U.S., Taiwan could have a chance to find the application of strategy to join.

Considering the fact that TPP is the organization under the spirit of free trade, however according to the Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research model TPP will make the deficit of the U.S. up to 1.625 billion US dollar. As a result, the intention for the U.S. to promote TPP, the non-economic motivation has much larger than the economic one. According to the model and calculation of Areerat, Kameyama, Ito and Yamauchi (2012) , they found that TPP could only contribute 0.002 percent to the U.S. economic growth, and even the join of Japan the far East alliance of the U.S. would decrease 0.004 percent to the U.S. economic growth. Surprisingly, when Japan and China both join TPP, the economic growth rate of the U.S. could increase 0.01. However, when the U.S. established TPP, the

U.S. treated the join of Japan with the attitude “take it or leave it” and did not want China to join. Until 2011, the attitude of the U.S. has changed to welcome the participation of China. In other words, the motivation for the U.S. to promote TPP is not totally based on economic factor, but the strategic thinking on continue of containment with Japan against China.

From the perspective of the U.S. as the super power, from the consideration of state interest, the U.S. has to limit the rising China to lower down or suspend the challenge to the U.S. hegemony, and to further maintain the state interest of the U.S. in every corner around the world. Therefore, the containment of U.S. against China is totally based on the state interest to develop. On the other hand, the democracy value promoted by the U.S. on one hand is the spirit of the U.S. government, and on the other hand, this is also the different value which was different from the Soviet Union after the Second World War. At that moment, the authority of Taiwan government was under the competition against the Cross-Strait, and contrast to China’s communism, the Taiwan government authority catered the U.S. government with the value of democracy and freedom. Also for the U.S. government, the stable Cross-Strait is the consistent strategy of the U.S..

As far as China is concerned, facing the “One China” issue with Taiwan, on one hand China authority would like to control Taiwan through the soft power of economy, but China did not allow Taiwan any space in the international community. In other words, if Taiwan could manipulate the competition and cooperation between China and the U.S., Taiwan could find a space among them to participate in the international community to further develop the economy and transaction and make the most profit for its own state interest.

1-2 Hypothesis and Research Framework

1-2-1 Hypothesis

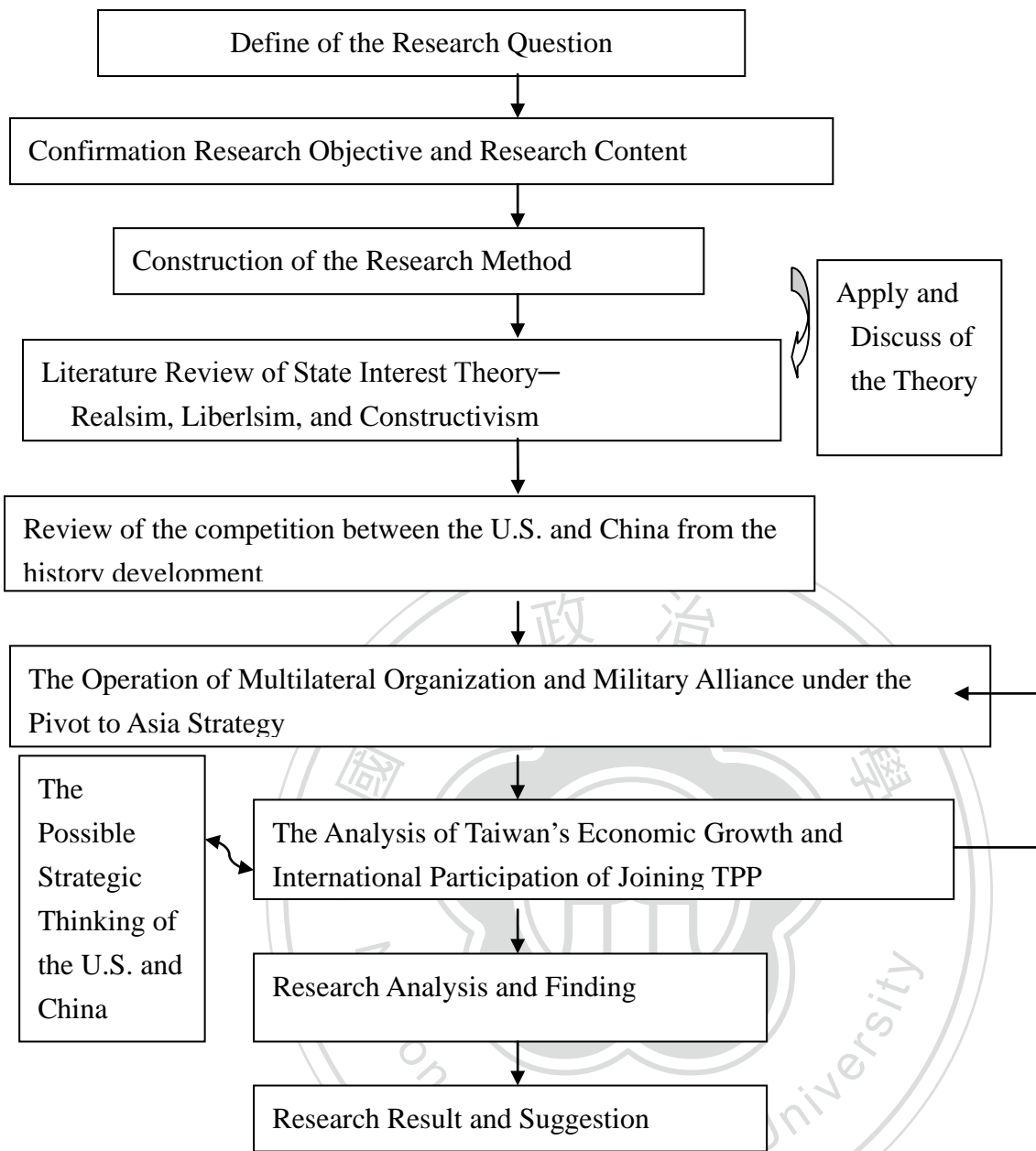
This thesis is trying to answer the following questions:

TPP serves as a part of the U.S. Pivot to Asia strategy and TPP is also the main strategy for the U.S. to return to Asia. Taiwan could serve as the point to support the U.S. to return to Asia. Is it possible for Taiwan to deal with the rising China well and gain the support of the U.S. successfully without against the rising China, how could Taiwan behave?

1-2-2 Research Framework

Research framework shows the dynamic of the research procedure and further built up the logic and relationship between each step. The research framework of this research is as below:





Graph 1-1 Research Framework

Source: Researcher self

1-3 Literature Review and Research Method

In this part, this thesis will introduce the literature review and process of research approach as well as the research method:

1-3-1 Literature Review

This thesis focuses on the strategic thinking on Taiwan joining TPP and the two great power, China and the U.S. which will have close relations with Taiwan on the process of joining TPP. As mentioned above, the competition between the U.S. and China provides not only opportunities, but also obstacle for Taiwan to join TPP. How should Taiwan survive under the competition between these great powers and the group of countries lead under them? Considering the above situation, this thesis would adopt the state interest theory from the international politics to exam.

“State Interest” means the necessary condition for state to survive and develop, which is also the basic motivation and highest principle for nation state to interact with other states.¹⁰ Since the contemporary country developed, the theory focusing on state interest oriented has attracted the attention of the academic field. There are mainly three groups of believe though upon this issue, including realism, liberalism, and constructivism.

1. J.Morgenthau’s Six Principles of Political Realism

Realists think that state as a political entity, the key issue of it is the survival, which connect, extend and expand the exist of the state. Therefore, national security becomes the most important issue, and the whole political operation is for the maximum of the state interest, especially the power on politice and military development.¹¹ In order to make sure the state security, state has to control the power and

¹⁰Yu Zheng Liang. "Introduction to Contemporary International Relations", Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1996, pp. 72-76. (俞正樑,《當代國際關係學導論》,上海:復旦大學出版社,1996年,頁72-76。)

¹¹Zheng Chun and Zhao Hai Ying. <Analysis of National Interest in Western International Political Perspective>, "Hebei Journal", Vol. 32, Issue 2, March 2012, pp. 185 (鄭春、趙海英,〈西方國際政治學視野中的國家利益概念辨析〉,《河北學刊》,第32卷第2期,2012年3月,頁185。)

fortune. J.Morgenthau, the founder of classic realism in his book, *Six Principles of Political Realism* mentioned that the understanding of international politics is the understanding of power, by doing so, the study of international politics could be independent and stand out from other subject study. However, he thinks that the concept of power and force are different, and force is only one of the ways to pursue for power. He further pointed out that “If the world is still made of states in the politics, and then in the international politics, the language in this community could only be state interest.” The international politics fights just as any other politics on the world for the power.¹² The realist thinks that realism gains state interest through power to fulfill, maintain and develop benefit of the state. Other benefits such as economic, society and culture are also the property which could gain through power.¹³

2. Robert Keohane's *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*

Keohane's book starts from the aspect of state interest of liberalism to discuss how liberalism adopts international norm, international organization and international law to define state interest, which break the limitation that state is the only sovereignty of state interest. He believes that the way to gain interest is only based on conflict and competition, but also based on cooperation. That is state should not only focus on comparative benefit, but also the absolute benefit.¹⁴ Despite “High Politics” such as sovereignty, security, and military play important role in international politics, those “Low Politics” issue such as economic, society, and ecology is also getting more and more attention in the international community.¹⁵

Robert Keohane has pointed out in his book, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, “In the contemporary international community, a more efficient way to solve the problem is through cooperation, instead of conflict. Cooperation between state and state become a

¹²Morgenthau, "Politics Among Nations", Beijing: Commercial Press, 1993, pp. 17. (摩根索,《國家間的政治》,北京:商務印書館,1993年,頁17。)

¹³Zheng Chun and Zhao Hai Ying. <Analysis of National Interest in Western International Political Perspective>, "Hebei Journal", Vol. 32, Issue 2, March 2012, pp. 185 (鄭春、趙海英,〈西方國際政治學視野中的國家利益概念辨析〉,《河北學刊》,第32卷第2期,2012年3月,頁185。)

¹⁴Zheng Chun and Zhao Hai Ying. <Analysis of National Interest in Western International Political Perspective>, "Hebei Journal", Vol. 32, Issue 2, March 2012, pp. 186. (鄭春、趙海英,〈西方國際政治學視野中的國家利益概念辨析〉,《河北學刊》,第32卷第2期,2012年3月,頁186。)

¹⁵Clark Arend. *Legal Rules and International Society*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

possible way for states to fulfill their state interest.¹⁶” From the process of TPP, the negotiation is the way that states pursue state interest to conduct regional integration and discussion over the national border which replaces the military conflict.

3. Alexander Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics

Alexander Wendt, the American scholar is the representative of the theory state interest in Constructivism. The scholars followed the believe of Wendt believed that although there are objective material factor exist, only through the shared of common idea of different entities could influence the entity behavior. Therefore, the two core hypotheses of constructivism are: 1. The structure of relationship between person and person is based on shared idea instead of material. 2. The identity and interest of the entity is constructed by these shared idea not inherent.¹⁷ The first hypothesis embody the basic principle of constructivism which is contrast to the materialism. The second hypothesis presents the research method of the whole constructivism, which is totally different from the individualism.¹⁸ Constructivism believes that “state is embedded in the complex international community net, which forms their understanding and their position in this world. As the state is socialized by the international community, and they start to gain their interest.¹⁹” “Therefore, state and the people living inside in this international community, their identity is constructed by the structure both inside and outside environment.” As a result, “the status and power of a state in the international community is not decided by the own state development, but decided by the comparison with the development of other states.²⁰” Constructivism further claims that “interest based on recognition.” For example, if two states

¹⁶Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984. Cited from Alexander Wendt, "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000, pp. 1. (引自亞歷山大·溫特,《國際政治的社會理論》,上海:上海人民出版社,2000年,頁1。)

¹⁷Zheng Chun and Zhao Hai Ying. <Analysis of National Interest in Western International Political Perspective>, "Hebei Journal", Vol. 32, Issue 2, March 2012, pp. 187 (鄭春、趙海英,〈西方國際政治學視野中的國家利益概念辨析〉,《河北學刊》,第32卷第2期,2012年3月,頁187。)

¹⁸Alexander Wendt, "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000, pp. 1. (亞歷山大·溫特,《國際政治的社會理論》,上海:上海人民出版社,2000年,頁1。)

¹⁹Alexander Wendt, "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2000, pp. 1. (亞歷山大·溫特,《國際政治的社會理論》,上海:上海人民出版社,2000年,頁68。)

²⁰Guo Xue Zhen, <National Sovereignty Concept in Constructivist Theory of International Relations: Humanitarian Intervention and Interpretation Challenges>, "Soochow Political Sciences", Vol. 32 No. 4, 2014, pp. 126. (郭雪貞,〈國際關係建構主義理論的國家主權觀:人道干預的挑戰與詮釋〉,《東吳政治學報》,第32卷第4期,2014年,頁126。)

are in the “relation of enemy”, and then survival would be the only choice; if these states are in the “relation of friend” then they would have other choices. By the same token, state interest is based on the “recognition of the state identity” which is different from the concept of survival is the only state interest that realism emphasized. Constructivism insists that state interest is changing, that is the state interest is based on the mutual interaction of the society.²¹” As for culture, it not only influences the state behavior and motivation, but also the basic feature and identity of he state.²²

1-3-2 Research Approach

This thesis starts from the aspect of state interest to analyze the strategy of the U.S.’s “Pivot to Asia” and the join of Taiwan into TPP, as well as further discuss whether the U.S. could contain the rising China through the multilateral organization and a variety of agenda settings to maintain its own system and state interest?

If we take the example from South Sea issue, as the rising China appears, the U.S. would like to form the alliance with Japan, and the role of Taiwna would become much more important in their coming competition. As for the “One China” issue, China is amining at forming multilateral organizations, such as SCO to foster the regional integration, which indicates the competition with the U.S., or to fulfill the replacement to become the next hegemony in the globe. Therefore, for the state interest of the U.S., the issue that the U.S. has to deal with is not only a regional great power, but also a rival that would have the opportunity to take over the state interest. Under the consideration of the state interest, whether the U.S. would give Taiwan the space to join the international activity in order to confriain the rising China?

In the international theory, when dealing with the great power, usually the small country would have two strategies, “balancing” or “bandwagoning”. Balacing means the small country fight against the great power through enhancing the inner power or cooperating with other small country to form alliance.²³ On the operation of balancing, through strengthening their own power or forming military alliance with other super power, these small countries reach the status of balancing of power.²⁴ By doing so, those small countries could fulfill their state interest. On the other hand, the bandwagoning strategy means the weak state joins the group of the super power. In other words, it is also an unfair exchange that is the weak state yield unbalance compromise to the great power and follows the order and condition of the super power.²⁵ Under that circumstance, those small countries pursue the maximum of their state interest through the strategy of

²¹Peter Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity In World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p.2; Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, pp.193-245. °

²²Rey Koslowski and Friedrich Kratochwil, “Understanding Change in International Politics: The Soviet Empire Demise and the International System,” *International Organization*, Vol.48, No.2 (Spring 1994), pp.216. °

²³Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979, pp.127.

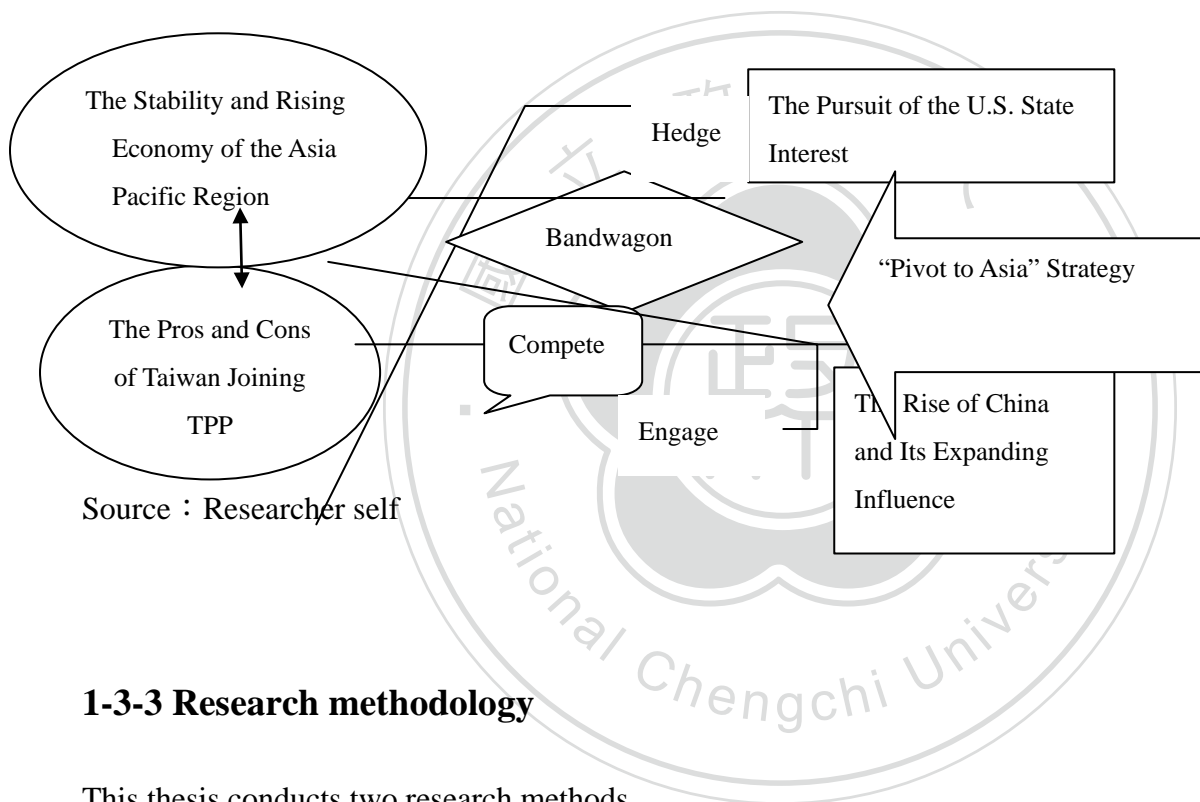
²⁴Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979, pp.126.

²⁵Stephen Walt, “Alliance Formation in Southwest Asia: Balancing and Band wagoning in Cold War Competition,” in Robert Jervis and Jack Snyder eds., *Dominoes and Bandwagons*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp.55. °

“engagement” and “hedge”. Especially, the strategy of engagement adopts non-violant approach to change the situation of the rising great power to make sure the great power would adopt the non-violant way to reach their goal. Either balancing or bandwagoning are the strategy that Taiwan could adopt; however the result would be successful or not which depends on the competition between the U.S. and China and also the choice of the U.S..

Owing to the fact that TPP is an economic organization, as far as the current situation of China and Taiwan, China would have some space for Taiwan. On the other hand, for the U.S., TPP is also an influential multilateral organization that is a part of the strategy “Pivot to Asia”. Therefore, on the perspective against China, the U.S. may be also willing to give opportunity to Taiwan under the consideration of strategy, which provides the “hedge” to Taiwan during the interaction of “engagement”. As far as Taiwan is concerned from the strategy of “balancing” and “bandwagoning”, following the interaction of the two great power, Taiwan would have more space to manipulate, which are the research concern and process of this research.

Graph 1-2 Research Approach



1-3-3 Research methodology

This thesis conducts two research methods.

1-3-3-1 Document Analysis

Document analysis or content analysis means the analysis through the information gathered from the past literature review and discuss the general situation from the historical order.²⁶ This research method is the most common way that the current political scholars conduct to infer the influence of the past historical event and tell the truth through analyzing.²⁷ There are four process of this method, including reading and organizing, description, classifying, and interpretation. Through the systematical arrangement and

²⁶Wu Yu Shan, "Confrontation or Bandwagoning — New Interpretation in Cross-Strait Relations," Taipei: Zheng Zhong Bookstore, 1997, p. 197. (吳玉山, 《抗衡或扈從——兩岸關係新詮》, 台北: 正中書局, 民國86年, 頁197。)

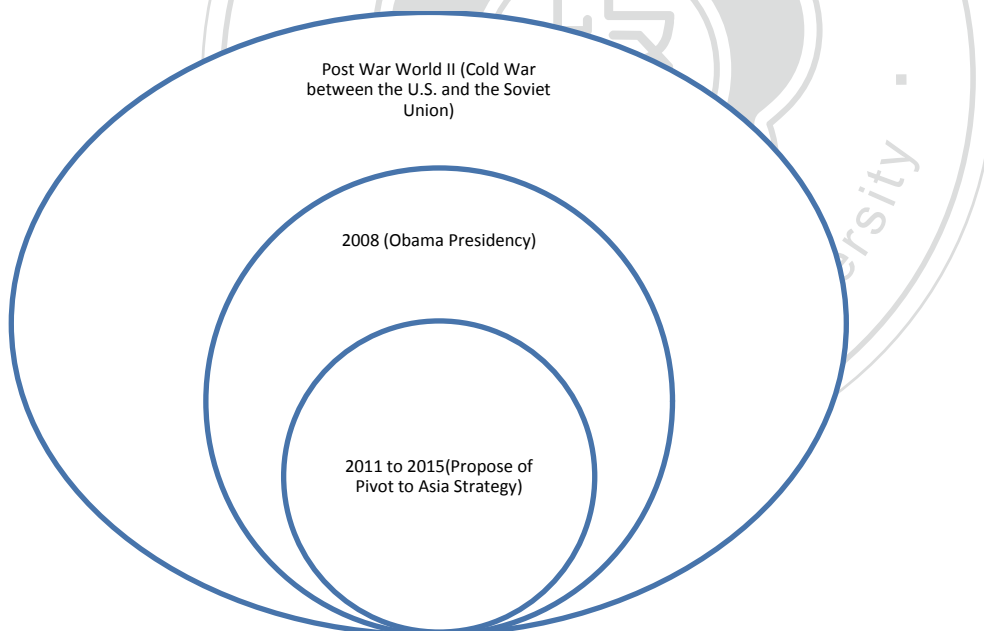
²⁷Lu Ya Li, "Political Science Methodology", Taipei: San Min Bookstore, 1994, pp. 13. (呂亞力, 《政治學方法論》, 台北: 三民書局, 1994年, 頁13。)

objective analysis, scholars confirmed the truth and reasonability of the relative literature review.

As for the application of the document analysis, this thesis focuses on the following consequence of containment strategy of the Post Cold War. During the Cold War, the U.S. adopted military solution while after the Cold War, the U.S. seeks to economic solution to continue the strategy of containment, that is TPP. The document analysis in this thesis mainly focuses on the application of the U.S. containment targeting on China, and the prevention of the East Asia toward the rising China. The data source comes from the primary data, such as official documents, academic research findings, news from the U.S., Taiwan and China. Also, this thesis takes a reference from secondary source such as academic thesis domestically and internationally, periodicals, and Internet data with reliable credits as well as the conversation and response of the U.S. and China from the media to dig out more findings.

1-3-3-2 Historical Method

In the studies of the international studies, the application of the historical method is focusing on the cause and effect of the historical event during the time period processing through the review of the event. This thesis focuses on the historical background of the Post Second World War, how did the U.S. pursue its own state interest and what did China response. Among the interaction, this thesis especially put much attention on the angle of global hegemony and adopts historical method to understand the whole picture of the global economy, politic, and ethnicity in the international community trying to have a clearer picture on the topic that this thesis concerns.



Graph 1-3: Time Scope for Research

Chapter 2 Geographic Economic Factors

for Taiwan to Join TPP

The U.S. strategy of “Pivot to Asia” is the part that consistent with the Asia Pacific strategy, which is aiming at stabilizing the hegemony and the state interest. In this chapter, this thesis discuss the U.S.’s strategy of “Pivot to Asia” toward the rising China.

2-1 The U.S. Adjusted the Global Strategy

Considering the issue of proposing TPP, the Chinese scholar Zao and Zuo think that TPP is a comparatively fair Marshall Plan.²⁸ On the other hand, the military alliance and collative sanction toward China with the group of countries, including the U.S., Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia and Vietnam as Zao and Zuo mentioned could be viewed as the “Mino NATO in Asia” with more loose structure.²⁹ For the Chinese scholar, the U.S. containment against China presents in the way of economic activity, regulation settings on economic transaction as well as the competition between the values. In the following paragraph, this trthesis will discuss the process of TPP and the application of the U.S.’s “Pivot to Asia” strategy.

2-1-1 U.S. Adjusted the Global Strategy

The Asia Pacific area covers 60% of the industrial products, 72% of the agricultural product, and 39% of the service transaction in the U.S.. On the other hand, for a long time, the U.S. has left the economic cooperation mechanism of the East Asia, which is not consisttent with the U.S.’s economic plan toward the East Asia.

28 Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: China and the U.S. Competition – From China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2, 2015. (趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP：中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

29 Chinese scholars describe US containment strategy: Under the circumstance that global interdependence of Sino-US becomes deeper, Sino-US confrontation and competition focus primarily on "Soft competition and soft confrontation" and "Hard competition and hard fight" secondly, which differ from the US-Soviet competition and confrontation of the Cold War. "Hard completion and hard comfrontation" present on strengthening its military existence around China, which adopts the strategic balance and suppress of the territorial dispute and future concerns of policies between China and its neighboring countries. For instance, when the United States strengthened the relations and cooperation with traditional allies such as Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, at the same time it attracted India andVietnam, as well as the arrangment of military in Australia. Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun <TPP: China and the US of the contest - China's perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, retrieve Date: April 2, 2015

Under this circumstance, Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) becomes a important way for the U.S. to open the Asia Pacific market, which becomes a key part in the U.S's economic strategy toward the AsiaPacific area.³⁰ From the process of agenda setting to the participation of the member state, it's all based on the U.S. state interest.

Construct the U.S. Oriented Asia Pacific New Order

TPP is the product generated under the member states of APEC and led by the U.S.. Among the main members and newly join members, which are mainly capitalism countries and only Vietnam is the socialism country which forms the crowding out effect. On the other hand, the TPP containment against China and the China led "ASEAN +3" (China, Japan and South Korea) make the Asia Pacific into the battlefield for economic transaction.³¹

Most of the experts think that the main intention of TPP is for the U.S. to take over the control right of the Asia Pacific region.³² In the past decades, the East Asia area has formed the free trade area, "ASEAN + 1", which means the ASEAN country plus China. Since 2008, the economic depression occurred in Europe and the U.S., however China still remains the high economic growth and becomes the main market of the ASEAN market, which is getting the controls the economic situation of East Asia region.³³ In order to change this situation, the U.S. promotes the framework of TPP hoping to expand the organization to recruit new members to replace the model of "ASEAN + N".³⁴

As a result, through TPP, the U.S. tried to turn over the disadvantage of the isolation on East Asia economic cooperation, such as "ASEAN + 1", "ASEAN + 3" and "ASEAN + 6", which become the target that TPP tried to compete and isolate by the U.S.³⁵ On the design of TPP, the U.S. strengthened the control in Asia-Pacific region through the economic foundation and systematical power.³⁶

³⁰Ashley J. Tellis. Balancing without Containment: A U.S. Strategy for Confronting China's Rise[J]. The Washington Quarterly, Vol.36, No.4, 2013.

³¹Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1st, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. Retrieve Date: March 6, 2015. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與 TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012 年 3 月 1 日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。 檢索日期:2015 年 3 月 6 日。)

³²Zheng Zhu Yuan <U.S. Efforts to Promote TPP's Economic and Strategic Attempt', "Strait Comment", pp. 252, December 2011, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html>, date: 2014 December 8th. (鄭竹園, 〈美國全力推動 TPP 的經濟企圖與戰略部署〉, 《海峽評論》, 第 252 期, 2011 年 12 月, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html> , 檢索日期:2014 年 12 月 8 日。)

³³Zheng Zhu Yuan <U.S. Efforts to Promote TPP's Economic and Strategic Attempt', "Strait Comment", pp. 252, December 2011, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html>, date: 2014 December 8th. (鄭竹園, 〈美國全力推動 TPP 的經濟企圖與戰略部署〉, 《海峽評論》, 第 252 期, 2011 年 12 月, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html> , 檢索日期:2014 年 12 月 8 日。)

³⁴ First, in the past five years due to the rise of China, the market continues to expand, and ASEAN countries are competing to seize the Chinese market. The amount of Chinese imports from the ASEAN countries was \$ 47.3 billion in 2003, to \$ 100 billion in 2008, and it even reached up to 154.5 billion last year. China is also the largest investor in the ASEAN countries. Secondly, even if member states have joined, China still tried hard on eliminating the existing old system, including the management on import and export controls, the administration of foreign investment, and the settlement on domestic interest groups, which are all questions that could not be solved out within short period of time. Zheng Zhu Yuan, <TPP US efforts to promote economic and strategic attempt', "Strait Review", Vol. 252, December 2011, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html>, retrieval date : December 8, 2014

³⁵Deng Hai Qing, <From the Political Perspective of the U.S. Hegemonic Strategy> "Journal Seek", in 2013 the first five. (鄧海清. 〈從政治視角淺析美國的 TPP 霸權戰略〉, 《太平洋學報》, 2013 年第 5 期。)

³⁶Doug Stokes and Richard G. Whitman. Transatlantic Triage? European and UK "Grand Strategy" after the US Re-balance to Asia[J]. International Affairs, Vol.89, No.5, 2013.. Jinsoo Park. Regional Leadership Dynamics and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism[J]. Pacific Focus, Vol.27, No.2, 2012

Containment against China and the Continuity of the U.S. Hegemony

Under the mission of taking over the leadership in Asia Pacific region, in order to reach the leadership and the more stable economic foundation³⁷, the U.S. strengthened the regulation on the new member recruitment and standards, including intellectual property rights, labor treatment, and environmental protection. New member can't join TPP without the invitation. At first, China did not be invited; however after the changing attitude of the U.S. who invited China to join, but the condition is that China has to follow the regulation of market and could not manipulate the exchange rate.³⁸ As for China, before the conclusion of the members in TPP, China has disagreed on the promotion of the U.S. on TPP because the U.S. has set too high standard to follow in certain categories. China suggests that the members in APEC are under different phrase, and therefore the standard should be different. Moreover, for instance “the U.S. asked the member states to lower the tariff under 5% on the environmental products. However, the average tariff in the U.S. is 1.4%, and that in China is 7%. Therefore, if China accepts the condition of 5%, China would yield much more benefit to the U.S.”. As we can see, when the U.S. promoted TPP, China played the role as the representative to provide different voice as the developing countries in Asia Pacific region.³⁹

2-2 Establish TPP as part of Pivot to Asia Strategy

The U.S. strategy of “Pivot to Asia” is the strategy aiming at the rising China who replaced the Soviet Union to challenge the U.S., which became the bipolar structure in the international community. In the following paragraph, this thesis would review the U.S.’s containment strategy against the rising China, and examine the TPP strategy correspondingly.

2-2-1 The Open China and the Peaceful Rising

2-2-1-1 Enter the Globe with Economic Soft Power

In the 80s, Deng Xiaoping the leader of China claimed to end the “War Situation” and started to conduct the “Reform and Open”. He further claimed that “Unless the world outbreaks World War and the invasion against China, otherwise China has to hold the economic development for more than 100 years. China should stick to the economic infrastructure, and conduct the agriculture, industry, national defense, and science to main the national sovereignty, the territory security, and national dignity, which

³⁷Du Lan, <Strategic Analysis on the United States Pushing the Trans-Pacific Partnership > "International Studies", 2011. Vol 1. (杜蘭,〈美國力推跨太平洋夥伴關係戰略論析〉《國際問題研究》, 2011 年第 1 期。)

³⁸Zheng Zhu Yuan. <US Promote TPP's Economic And Strategic Attempt', "Strait comment", pp. 252, December 2011, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html>, Date: 2014 December 8. (鄭竹園, 〈美國全力推動TPP的經濟企圖與戰略部署〉, 《海峽評論》, 第252期, 2011年12月, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html> , 檢索日期:2014年12月8日。)

³⁹Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1st, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427, Date: January 8, 2015. 謝明瑞,〈台灣與TPP〉,《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》,2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427 , 檢索日期:2015年1月8日。

is the basic principle and the solution to solve the challenge of China.⁴⁰,

Under the prediction of the world situation, in 1978 the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the Chinese authority mentioned the first open basic state policy in modernization of four categories, including industrial modernization, agricultural modernization, national defense modernization, and science modernization. The Chinese authority also conducted the comprehensive reform in the economic development, and tried to move the planned economic system into the market economic system.

In 1979, the Chinese authority decided to expand the limitation on export, giving Guangdong and Fujian province special right on conducting foreign economic activity. One year after, the Chinese authority announced Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen as the foreign special economic zone.⁴¹ In 1984, the authority further opened 14 coastal cities along Shanghai, and made Bohai Rim area in Yangtze River, Pearl River, and delta area near Xiamen, Zhangzhou and Quanzhou as the coastal economic open zone.⁴²

These series of reform make the economic development rise up, and influence the international community. For instance, in order to provide the needs of the 1.3 billion population domestically on energy and food, China bought the energy and commodities in a great amount, which makes the price in the international community becomes much higher. Therefore, China has the ability to expand its influence in the regional and international areas, including East Asia, Africa, Middle East, Middle Asia and even Latin America through the great amount of buying and investment on energy and commodities.

⁴⁰"Selection of Deng Xiaoping," Volume 1, Beijing: People's Publication, October 1993; Chu Shulong, "China's National Strength, National Interests and the Country Strategy," pp. 13.(《鄧小平文選》第1卷，北京：人民出版社，1993年10月；楚樹龍，《中國的國家利益國家力量和國家戰略》，頁13。)

⁴¹This take an reference from the experience of Taiwan's economic development, the processing and assembly, joint ventures, which are the main form of foreign trade, and also permit the presence of a small number of foreign-owned enterprises; and learn advanced science and technology and excellent management style.

⁴² Four opening pilots have got the results in a very short period of time; Shenzhen from a bay village developed into a prosperous city which is not lower than Hong Kong. The remaining three places have become highlights of the the Chinese economy in early 1980. Then the open 14 cities also received more than 10% on annual economic growth. In 1988, China set Hainan Island as a separate province, and opened to the outside world, which has become China's largest open area. At the same time, those opening places also come along with the development of coastal areas to inland areas, stimulating China's economic development.

For the past 25 years from the open and reform, China has increased more than 9% economic growth rate. By the year of 2005, China has ranked the six economic entity around the world followed by the U.S. and Germany and ranked 3rd in the world. By the end of 2004, the European Union, the U.S. and Japan have become the top three partners in Chinese transaction. The rising China makes the world impressive, and once President Bush of the U.S. has said that “the development of China is impressive!”⁴³ and he officially invited Hu Jintao, the leader of China at that moment to attend the G8 meeting in July in British.⁴⁴

2-2-1-2 Become the Great Power through the Peaceful Rising

As the economic power rises, the reflection and the foreign policy has changed as well, which makes the world impressive. For instance, Jiang Zemin claimed that “We are at the turning power of the old and new century and also a world full of contrary and severe competition. The international competition is the competition between the comprehensive national strength, and the key is the competition in science technique. If we failed in science technique, we will be surpassed by others.”⁴⁵ The Chinese regime has recognized that international competition is not only military hard power, but also the science of soft power to consider the competition among the world, which shows that China must have the thinking with national counterparts. Construction of China and comprehensive national strength has come to the time that it should be open to the world, and even get recognized in the world to further generate impact on the world, which is not just based on the national glory for pursuing self-requirement of China, but also the expectation from the countries around the world under the lead of the U.S.. This time China builds a multi-polar world system as a strategic goal to promote diplomacy between big powers, multilateral diplomacy and neighborly diplomacy for the strategic means, and keeps the principle not against the United States to further establish "partnership" with great powers

43 "Xinhua", <Bush: China's Development Is Amazing!> (《新華網》, 〈布什: 中國的發展令人驚嘆!〉), <http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2005-06/01/content-3029501.htm>。

44 See "Central News Agency", <China Actively Consider Participating in Meetings of the Industrial Countries> (參見《中央社》, 〈中國積極考慮參加八大工業國家集團會議〉), <http://news.pchome.com.tw/crossstraits/cna/20050607/index-20050607215007180387.html>。

45 Peng Ji Chao, "National Strategy: China Space Engineering Documentary" Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Publication, December 2005, pp. 17. (彭繼超,《國家戰略: 中國載人航天工程紀實》, 上海: 上海文藝出版社, 2005年12月, 頁17。)

and alliances⁴⁶ and participate in multilateral international organizations and actively operating⁴⁷, and join the international security norms.⁴⁸ Such strategic application is mainly since “China threat theory” rised in the mid-1990s flourish in, moderate weak and kindness into the international organization may relieve concerns among other countries.

By 2002, after Hu Jintao became the leader, he tried his best on making sure the peace and development of China; however, the factors influencing peace and development increase. For instance owing to the change in the world military development, the military balance becomes asymmetry, especially between the developing and developed countries. Therefore, President Hu suggests that China should equip itself and gain peace through the reputation and power of itself. Thus after he took the presidency⁴⁹, he raised “Peaceful Rise” as the basic principle for China to develop its national goals. In diplomatic issue, except the continuity of the “Neighborhood Policy” Beijing authority engaged and solved the border issues with the neighboring countries as well, including the signing the border agreement with Russia, and negotiation with India on the border concern. On the other hand, in transaction, Beijing authority signed “Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN and China” and “The Solution Mechanism for Disputes between China and ASEAN”. Besides, ASEAN and China (10 +1) strengthened the political and economic alliance through signing the international agreement.⁵⁰ Except the agreement of Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN and China in 2002, both sides decides to

46During Jiang Zemin presidency, China has established partnerships with several countries, including Russia, France, the United States, Canada, European Union, ASEAN, the United Kingdom and Japan.

47With particular emphasis on multilateral international organizations in Asia-Pacific region, such as: Asean Regional Forum (ARF), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and so on.

48 Such as Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

49 In November 2002, the Sixteenth National People's Congress, Chinese Communist Party confirmed that two decades before twenty-first century is an important period of strategic opportunities for China's development. During these twenty years, Chinese government has achieved the strategic goals of the maintenance of peace and stability in the external environment, in respect of Chinese economic development, and the establishment of a well-off society.

50This refers to ASEAN and China (ASEAN plus one) to sign a free trade agreement consistent, which is different from the "ASEAN plus one" or "ASEAN plus three" dialogue and cooperation mechanism. The latter refers to the "ASEAN plus one, " which focused on ASEAN as the core (from the ten ASEAN countries and Japan, China, South Korea or other countries held individual leaders meetings during the meeting of ASEAN Plus Three) or the "ASEAN plus three" (ten ASEAN countries annually meet with Japan, China and South Korea in leader meeting). About the background on the formation of a cooperation mechanism and process, see Taiwan Institute of Economic Research "Research of Taiwan's Solution to the ASEAN- China FTA", 2004, RDEC.

construct a Free Trade Area or FTA which covers the 1.7 billion population and economic value by 2000 billion and transaction value to 1230 billion US dollars by 2010 between China and ASEAN plus 6 and by 2015 between China and ASEAN plus 10 countries.⁵¹

With the huge market and rising economic power, a variety of multilateral organizations appear, such as “Shanghai Cooperation Organization”, “ASEAN plus 1 and plus 3”, “Six Party Talks in Korea Peninsula”, which construct a China-oriented network in transaction and security in Asia Pacific region and further expands the soft power of China.

Contrast to the bilateral alliance of the U.S., which form the alliance based on the anti-terrorism, “the Peaceful Rising Strategy of Hu Jintao⁵²” form the group with the free trade zone and the security net in Asia Pacific region.

In many countries around the world, China has become as important as the U.S.. For instance, the anti-America group and the close-China group in South Korea have raised the attention of the society. In Thailand, the “China Opportunity Theory” is taking over the “China Threat Theory”. China and the U.S. have signed the security agreement with Pakistan and national defense cooperation agreement with the Philippines. In addition, Iran, Pakistan and India have also joined the SCO as the observer state. On the other hand, the minister of foreign affairs of China, Russia and India have fourth informal meeting in the Vladivostok of Russia, indicating China, Russia and India are having the three dimensional lateral cooperation system. The above phenomenon has showed that China has found its way out from the containment strategy of the U.S. and also indicated that the “possible impact of the three great powers will put the influence on the U.S. strategy in Asia Pacific affairs.⁵³”

51 ASEAN-China Expert Group (2001), Forging Closer ASEAN-China Economic Relations in the 21st Century, October. °

52 After March 2004, the propose has changed to “Peaceful Development

53< New Triangular Relationship between Russia and India, "People's Daily", June 3, 2005,

<http://news.sina.com.cn/w/2005-06-03/05226065023s.shtml> (〈中俄印打造新三角關係〉), 《人民網》, 2005年6月3日, <http://news.sina.com.cn/w/2005-06-03/05226065023s.shtml> °

2-2-2 The Containment Strategy of the U.S.

The containment strategy of the U.S. against China is different from that against the Soviet Union. First of all, the strategic competition between the U.S. and China doesn't include the zero-sum competition such as state interest, ideology, geographic politic, military competition, group competition. On the contrary, the U.S. and China have many benefits in common, and they tend to cooperate on certain security issue, especially on the highly interdependence transaction relationship, which will not make the Cold War between Soviet Union and the U.S. happen between China and the U.S. again. In addition, China is trying to release the information on its peaceful rising which makes the world could not adopt the approach as the containment against the Soviet Union toward China.

This part will discuss the U.S. containment strategy against China in the Post Cold War period

2-2-2-1 The International Containment of China Treat Theory

In early history as China gain the political power, the authority adopt a series of inner reform such as "Culture Revolution" and "Great Leap Forward", which makes impression on China as the military in the international community. As the economic and military power rising in China, especially on the defense ability on navy and air force which could put the regional security and stability in danger. As a result, after the 90s, the China Treat Theory has occurred⁵⁴, which forms the containment strategy against China through the media in international community.

The earliest scholar to mention China Treat Theory is the Japanese scholar Murai who delivered an article named, "China, the Threat under the Table" on the periodicals, which viewed China as a threat under the table discussed from the national power perspective⁵⁵, which is viewed as a way to test the attitude of the international community. During 1992-1993, Ross H. Muno delivered his article,

⁵⁴Yuan Peng, < Historical Evolution of China Threat Theory', "Global Times", August 1st, 2002, version 3, the Chinese Network: <http://big5.china.com.cn/chinese/ch-yuwai/183410.htm> retrieve date: March 9, 2015. (袁鵬,〈中國威脅論的歷史演變〉,《環球時報》,2002年8月1日,版3,中國網,網址:<http://big5.china.com.cn/chinese/ch-yuwai/183410.htm>,檢索日期:2015年3月9日。)

⁵⁵Wang Kun Yi, <Cross-Strait Peace Agreement—Theory, Problems and Reflection> "Global Political Commentary," Vol. 26, 2009, pp. 64. (王崑義,〈兩岸和平協議—理論、問題與思考〉,《全球政治評論》,第26期,2009年,頁64。)

Awakening Dragon-The Real Danger in Asia is from China on the Heritage Foundation of the U.S., mentioning that since the Napoleon era the Western countries has known that once China the dragon woke up, the world will be influenced. Mano believed that the rising power of China in military and also the combination of Communist political system and the capitalism which would in the end inevitably cause the conflict between the U.S. and China.⁵⁶ Huntington also delivered the conflict between different cultures, saying that Confucianism and Islamism will be the biggest threat and enemy to the U.S.. Huntington believed that after the Cold War, the world political system is out of order and could not form the national identity. Therefore, he asserted that after the Soviet Union, China will become a new enemy. What Huntington has said raise the debate of China Threat Theory in the academic world.⁵⁷ Nicholas D. Kristof, a famous journalist also mentioned that China owns several advantages, including fast growing economic power, nuclear and rising military force, and thus maybe in the near decades they would have the capability to solve the dispute with the neighboring countries by themselves. The growth of China would eventually inevitably bring the reconstruction on economy, military, and politic in the international community, which would be dangerous to the international relations of the world political system.⁵⁸

On the same time, Chinese scholars also analyze these debates and conversation on the China Threat. For instance, Zhu Feng mentioned in his article, *Rising China and China Threat* that the theory of China Threat in 1993 is influenced by two factors: 1. After the Tiananmen Square Protest of 1989, the U.S. and China fought against each other on the human right issue, which becomes much more severe under the influence of domestic American politics. In addition, Zhu also mentioned that most of the American political elites and public did not understand China, and makes the opinion with bias or with the Western-oriented thinking, which viewed the change in Chinese society as the sign of threat or danger in advance.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ross H Murno, *Awakening Dragon-The Real Danger in Asia is from China*, Policy Review, No.62 (Fall 1992), pp.10-11.

⁵⁷ Wang Jin Liang and Lu Qing Guang, <Rational Understanding on China Threat Theory — Perspective on China's Peaceful Rise', "Pu Jiu Vocational and Technical College Report", Vol. 22, No. 1, February 2009, pp. 36. (王金亮、呂慶廣,〈理性解讀中國威脅論—基於中國和平崛起的視角〉,《濮舊職業技術學院學報》,第22卷第1期,2009年2月,頁36。)

⁵⁸ Nicholas D Kristof, *The Rise of China*, Foreign Affairs, Vol72, No5 (November/December 1993), pp.59-74.

⁵⁹ Zhu Feng 朱峰, <Rise of China and China Threat Theory — the Origin of American Impression on China', "American Studies", 2005 Vol.3 (〈中國崛起論與中國威脅論—美國對中國印象的由來〉,《美國研究》,2005年第3期)

There are two main purposes for these countries to promote “China Threat Theory”: First of all, in the global level they would like to raise the suspicion of other countries around the world, and further lead these countries to limit China on of rising China in economic, politic and military development. Second, in the regional level, they tried to raise the conflict between China and the neighboring countries who had conflict with China from the history, and thus destroy the stability of politic and military around the neighboring areas of China.⁶⁰ In fact, except Europe and the U.S., Japan in Asia is the main country that China Threat Theory prevails.⁶¹

However, as the influence of China become larger and larger, and eventually China becomes the representative and model of the Third World Countries. In 2004, Joshua Cooper Ramo mentioned the Beijing Consensus, which replace the Washington Consensus in the Western liberal market. In the mid-90s, China Threat Theory becomes popular, indicating the Western countries expect the spread of the theory to bring up the issue and concern. However, the spread of the theory did not meet the expectation of the Western countries, but it raised up the saying that China has been recognized by the international community as the great power.

2-2-2-1 Seeking Cooperation with the Strategic Partnership

During the presidency of Clinton, the U.S. political circles have severe debates on strategy against China: first a group believes that “Comprehensive Engagement” could change the action of China and gain the economic benefit from the rising China. The other group believe that before the rising China becomes much stronger, the U.S. should adopt the containment strategy as the solution toward the Soviet Union, which makes China becomes the next Soviet Union by the Western

⁶⁰Zhang Hai Xiang, <Global Deployments and China Threat Theory>. Original January 12th, 17th, 18th 2006, published in the "Hong Kong Economic Journal": <http://209.85.175.104/search?q=cache:fa2NMrHMzuMJ:www.ln.edu.hk/caps/docs/paper04.doc+%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E5%A8%81%E8%84%85%E8%AB%96&hl=zh-TW&ct=clnk&cd=5&gl=tw>, retrieve date: March 23, 2015. (張海祥,〈全球部署中國威脅論〉。原文 2006 年 1 月 12、17、18 日刊載於《香港信報》,網址:<http://209.85.175.104/search?q=cache:fa2NMrHMzuMJ:www.ln.edu.hk/caps/docs/paper04.doc+%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E5%A8%81%E8%84%85%E8%AB%96&hl=zh-TW&ct=clnk&cd=5&gl=tw>, 檢索日期: 2015 年 3 月 23 日。)

⁶¹December 22nd, 2005, Taro Aso who belongs to the hawkish Japanese Foreign Minister states that: "China has become a threat." This is the first time the Koizumi Cabinet has announced publicly "China Threat Theory." Abe also said that over the past 20 years, the rapid growth of China's military spending has reached about 20 times higher than before, especially in the recent growth of China's naval forces are more significant. Abe believes that if China wants to convince others by force, which not only adds a huge financial burden to itself, but it will also loses the trust of countries of the region.

countries.⁶² However, the situation after the Clinton presidency made him adopt enlargement to replace the containment strategy, that is to enhance the function of international multilateral regime through liberal democracy and market economy, and make the U.S. becomes the only hegemony in the international community.⁶³ 1994 Clinton government mentioned 1994 National Security Strategy Report to strengthen the international security strategy of engagement and enlargement. "Engagement" strategy means the U.S. should actively engage in the neighboring and regional countries, especially in the business activities to enlarge the field of democracy society and liberal economy.

In November 24th 1994, during APEC summit in Manila Clinton told Jiang Zemin, the U.S. hopes to strengthen the "strategic dialogue" with China, and says "the U.S. and China have the responsibility to bring relationship of strategic dialogue into the next century, and we are willing to establish a cooperative partnership with China." In July 1999, on the letter to Liu Huaqiu, the director of China's State Council Office Sandy Berger the U.S. national security advisor propose again that the U.S. wishes the bilateral relations from a simple contact, dialogue and upgraded to a "strategic partnership. On July 16th, on the meeting in Malaysia with Madeleine Albright the U.S. Secretary of State, Qian Qichen the Chinese Vice-Premier of State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs reached the agreement that in the Sino-US Summit in the fall, they will make the "constructive strategic partnership" between both sides become explicit.⁶⁴

Afterwards, Clinton conveyed to the Chinese leaders that the U.S. has no intention of fighting against with Chin and even expressed respect for China's status as a great power, and further is willing to cooperate with China and other developing strategic relations. Meanwhile, he conveyed that once he got elected again, he is willing to welcome Jiang Zemin to the United States for the "state visit" as the identity of the U.S. president and vice versa. In addition, in order to show the welcome of the United

⁶²Tong Zhen Yuan, Clinton's China policy and Sino-US Relations> www3.nccu.edu.tw/~ctung/Documents/a42.doc, Date: December 13, 2014.). (童振源,〈[柯林頓的中國政策與中美關係](http://www3.nccu.edu.tw/~ctung/Documents/a42.doc)〉, www3.nccu.edu.tw/~ctung/Documents/a42.doc, 檢索日期: 2014年12月13日。)

⁶³Li Wen Zhi, "The U.S. Asia-Pacific Strategy in Post Cold War Era," Taipei: Jing Yi, 1997, pp. 68-71. (李文志,《後冷戰時代美國的亞太戰略》,台北:憬藝,民國86年,頁68-71。)

⁶⁴Tang Ming Hui, "The U.S. role in the Taiwan Strait Studies", Taipei: Wen Jin Tang Press, 2009, pp. 112(唐明輝,《美國在台海的角色探究》,台北:問津堂出版社,2009年,頁112。)

States, during his presidency Clinton once again extended the MFN treatment that the China has deep concern, and strongly lobbied Congress to make the deal, and eventually the Beijing government accepted the deal with the U.S.⁶⁵ In October 1997, Chinese President Jiang Zemin conducted a "state visit" to the United States, and the both sides agree to establish the "constructed strategic partnership."⁶⁶

What kind of "relationship" is "constructive strategic partnership"? Robert S. Ross, the U.S. Secretary of State Assistant thinks that it is not a military alliance, but "dialogue partners" on major international issues. The U.S. sides should get rid of the Cold War mentality and handle their affairs through strategic vision and long-term vision to examine.⁶⁷ The purpose and motivation for the United States and China established a "constructive strategic partnership" are the strategy based on their own state interest. If the U.S. wants to continue to maintain its global "hegemony", wish China could support and agree on the U.S. on major international affairs. The U.S. needs the support from China in the international affairs, which strengthen and increase the power and status of China in the

65 Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was willing to resume normal relations with the United States, it is based on four reasons; first, with the United States against each other and even enemies, is not the original intention of the CCP, which is not consistent with the national interest. Moreover, under the circumstance of the active promotion of economic development, it is extremely important for CCP to maintain a stable surrounding environment. Also, by doing so, China does not want the enemy as the world's most powerful nation, otherwise it will increase its military and diplomatic burden. Thus, in order to continue economic development, the CPC also needs the U.S. funds, the market and technology. Secondly, the behavior of the U.S. military response action in the Cross Strait is contrary to Beijing's expectation, because the CCP are not willing to fight against with the United States. Therefore, it conveys to the United States once again after its "one China" stance. Beijing no longer is necessary with the United States continuing stalemate. So under this circumstance, the best strategy is for the CCP is to stop the confrontation against the United States and continues the economy development to accumulate strength for future competitiveness. Third, from the support of the US Congress resolution Lee Teng-hui's visit to the U.S. to the Clinton government sent aircraft carriers involved in the Taiwan Strait dispute, which makes Beijing authorities realized that the United States is the biggest key factors to solve the Taiwan issue. Do the work to help the US "Taiwan issue" to solve, or the United States is still the biggest obstacle to unity. Therefore, Beijing could not only deteriorate the US-China relations, but more needs to maintain friendly relations with the United States, to urge the United States does not support the Taiwan independence and support unification. Fourth, although the CCP is not satisfied with some Clinton's policies against Taiwan, but the CCP still understand the policy comes from the pressure of the Congress, and Clinton himself is actively promoting a policy of engagement with China, and shared the consensus on the common interests of its own development of the domestic economy with the leaders in Beijing. Therefore, the CPC is also not willing to continue the confrontation with the United States. Tang Minghui, "Study on the U.S. role in the Cross Strait," Taipei: Wen Jin Tang Press, 2009, pp. 113-114.

66 Tang Ming Hui, "Study on the U.S. Role in the Cross Strait," Taipei: Wen Jin Tang Press, 2009, pp. 115-116. (唐明輝,《美國在台的角色探究》,台北:問津堂出版社,2009年,頁115-116。)

67 As the interpretation of Chinese Communist Party and the United States is slightly different, they think: a constructive strategic partnership is the first "building", followed by "strategic"; without "construction", "strategy" did not work. If we summed them up in "three noes" - non-confrontation, non-alignment, not targeting at any third country, and viewing each other as "partners" and not "rival" equality and sharing mutual benefit, seeking common ground. Tang Minghui, "Study on the U.S. Role in the Cross Strait," Taipei: Wen Jin Tang Press, 2009, pp. 118.

international community.⁶⁸

2-2-2-3 From "Strategic competitor" to "Relation of Constructive and Cooperative"

The national security strategy of engagement and enlargement in Clinton's presidency, the government authority tried to protect the national security and interests of the United States in global strategy, and thereby maintain the U.S. leadership in the world through the expansion of democracy and freedom, the promotion of market economy, commitment to human rights and other universal values.⁶⁹ After the 10 years preparation, George W. Bush government tried to establishment of a US-led unipolar world system and create so-called American peace (Pax Americana) Century under the climax of the U.S. power. Under this strategic understanding of pursuing a unipolar world system, the government led by George W. Bush feels threat and exclusion on the rise of China.

During the election campaign period when interviewed on the issue of US-China, George W. Bush viewed China as the "strategic competitor of the U.S.. He thinks China is a rising power that is not satisfied with the current situation. On the U.S. role in Asia, China is not satisfied with the role of the U.S. in Asia and desire to change the balance of power in Asia, and further to challenge the leadership of the U.S.. Therefore, after he was elected, Bush abandoned the constructive strategic partnership with China that the Clinton government has established, and repositioning China as the strategic rival of the U.S.⁷⁰. Under the guidance of "Bush doctrine" in foreign policy, Washington seeks to consolidate the US super power status and lead the world even they need to adopt the "Unilateralism" to reach their diplomatic world. As a result, Bush adjusted US global strategy, insisted on develop and arrange the national missile defense system, and withdrew from the "Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty", which in turn shifts the strategic focus from Europe to Asia Pacific region. Through the arrangement on military troop in Asia Pacific region, the U.S. expanded the range of the US-Japan security and strengthen the military

68Tang Ming Hui, "Study on the U.S. Role in the Cross Strait," Taipei: Wen Jin Tang Press, 2009, pp. 118. 唐明輝，〈美國在台海的角色探究〉，台北：問津堂出版社，2009年，頁118。

69White House, A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement, Washington, D. C.: White House, Feb. 1996。

70Li Yu Feng, <From the Bush Government's China Policy to See the U.S. Strategic Competition', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 1, 3, 2005, pp. 45. (李毓峰，〈從布希政府的中國政策看美中戰略競爭〉，《台灣國際研究季刊》，第1卷3期，2005年，頁45。)

relation between the U.S. and its Asian alliance. From the above strategy of the U.S., the Bush government implicitly regards China as America's number one imaginary enemy and limits the development of China from global, regional and bilateral level to prevent the rise of China.⁷¹ The diplomatic policy of the U.S. against China has become much more focus and strict, in economic, toward the rising China, the U.S. played the role of key investor during China absorbing the foreign capital development. Meanwhile, for the U.S., the cheap labor from China provides the comparative benefit. In other words, the interdependence between both sides has become much deeper. However, the Bush government still strongly criticized that the undervaluation of RMB leads to US-China trade imbalance and further took away the employment opportunities of the American. Also, the fast grow of China in economy also lead the tremendous rising on price in energy and commodities in the international communities. On the other hand in security, the U.S. has recognized that the fast growing in China's military spending and military modernization development have challenged the super power status of the U.S., especially the growing military power of China will break the military balance between the Cross Straits, which further increase the possibility of war between China and Taiwan.⁷² As a result, the China policy of the Bush government is a limited engagement under combination of engagement and containment.

However, shortly after President George W. Bush continue presidency, with the 911 against terrorism, the U.S. seeks for the cooperation with China on the alliance of forming anti-terrorism as well as the cooperation and support from other countries, including Russia, India, Pakistan, Middle Asian countries, as well as the Arabian countries. For the U.S., China in particular is an indispensable partner of anti-terrorism in international community. First, China is the one of the members in UN Security Council. Second, China has tremendous influence in Middle and South Asia. Especially, China viewed the issue of Xinjiang separation as terrorism, through joining the anti-terrorism alliance; China could solve the issue by the support with other countries. Therefore, fighting against terrorism

71 Li Yu Feng, <From the Bush Government's China Policy to See the U.S. Strategic Competition', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 1, 3, 2005, pp. 45. (李毓峰, 〈從布希政府的中國政策看美中戰略競爭〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第1卷3期, 2005年, 頁45。)

72 Li Yu Feng, <From the Bush Government's China Policy to See the U.S. Strategic Competition', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 1, 3, 2005, pp. 44. (李毓峰, 〈從布希政府的中國政策看美中戰略競爭〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第1卷3期, 2005年, 頁44。)

becomes the common interest between the U.S. and China.⁷³

In October 2001, the leadership summit of APEC in Shanghai, the U.S. President Bush and Chinese President Jiang Zemin have reach the consensus to construct a “Constructive Cooperation Partnership”. On September 20th 2002, the national security report that President Bush brought to the Parliament said that the U.S. is looking forward to the constructive relation with China especially on several issues, including anti-terrorism, maintenance stability on the Korean Peninsula (the DPRK nuclear issue), transaction, Afghanistan reconstruction, environmental issues, as well as the security promise to Taiwan, human right issue, arms proliferation, and missile defense system.⁷⁴

Toward the China issue, the Bush government has turned to a positive attitude and presented in several concrete actions, such as president hotline, high-level visiting, the approval on China’s anti-terrorism, the support on China’s joining in WTO and applying for Olympic Games, and change of calling “strategic partner” or “strategic rival” into “strategic partnership”, which reveals a diplomatic change.⁷⁵ Meanwhile in addition to the cooperation on anti-terrorism, the both sides cooperate in economic level which is a strategic cooperation in this period. For instance, in 2002 China joined WTO while in 2003 the U.S. has become the biggest export market of China and the third investor investigating China on the foreign capital. Through this economic engagement, the U.S. believed that China could become a status quo power in the international society.⁷⁶ By 2005, China has become the top fourth economy in the world. In other words, from the economic strategy perspective, China has

73From China's perspective, the adjustment of American security strategy for the improvement of Sino-US relations provides the space. First, the U.S. counter-terrorism and nonproliferation as a core mission suspended the suspension of the process of global strategic center of eastward movement, reducing the pressure on China's strategy. Second, the United States actively seeks for China's cooperation on counter-terrorism and non-proliferation, so that the development of China-US relations has added a cornerstone of stability. Third, the U.S. will maintain domestic security in the first place of security strategy, which accordingly reduced its promotion of democracy and human rights priorities, which helps the U.S. ease differences and friction over the priority between democracy, human rights. Fourth, the United States and China establish a "Constructive Partnership," which helps inhibit the development of Taiwan independence. Under the background of Bush government's adjustment in national security strategy, the U.S. also assessed against Chinese policies, and it concluded that the deal with Chins-US relations is critical to the U.S. interests. The U.S. should avoid making China the enemy before China's future direction. Li Yufeng, <From the Bush Administration's China Policy to See the US-China Strategic Competition', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 1, 3, 2005, pp. 46.

74U.S. National Security Council, The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html> .

75Lin Zheng Yi, <The U.S. response to the Crisis of 9/11>, included in: Shu Chin-chiang editor, "After 9/11 the Global Strategic Assessment", Taipei: Taiwan News, 2002, pp. 28-29. (林正義, <美國因應 911 事件的危機處理>, 收錄於: 蘇進強主編, <911 事件後全球戰略評估>, 台北: 台灣英文新聞, 2002 年, 頁 28-29。)

76During China and the international economic integration process, it makes China annually expand its economic growth at the pace of 10%, which is one of the fastest growing countries in the world.

become the great power in international community.

The occurrence of 9/11 event resulted in the policy change of the Bush government toward the strategic cooperation with China, and the relation between both sides has been changed as well. However, under the table, the U.S. still viewed China as a strategic rival, and owing to the continuity of the cooperation, so does the competition relation. For instance, in June 2005, on the Asian security conference held in Singapore the U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld pointed out that the tremendous growing on China's defense expenditure⁷⁷, and the actions such as continuing expansion and military arrangement are threats to the Asia Pacific region.⁷⁸ Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice also mentioned that the development of China's military power needs much of our concern, and thus the U.S. will seek to the Asian military alliance to reach the balance of power.⁷⁹ The above concerns showed that owing to the rising China, the U.S. government needs to cooperate with China, and however, at the same time the U.S. also need to protect itself on the consideration of its own state interest.

US-China strategic competition is essentially a structural contradiction, and also an interaction and competition between a super power facing the rising great power.⁸⁰ As the development after the WW II, even during the Cold War between the U.S. and Soviet Union, the U.S. held the attitude of alert and restless. However, after the outbreak of Soviet Union, through the Clinton's strategy of "engagement and integration" as well as Bush's "check and deterrence" policy, the U.S. containment against China could not work as the situation against Russia. Owing to the fact that the rising China, and the decline national power of the U.S., the U.S. has to accept the fact that China is rising.

As for the fact that China has become an influential great power, most of the countries in Asia Pacific refuse to choose only one side between the U.S. and China. On one hand they are willing to

⁷⁷Military budgets ranked third in the world.

⁷⁸Donald Rumsfeld's speech for the IISS Asia Security Conference in Singapore, June 4, 2005 <http://www.iiss.org/shangri-la-speeches.php?itemID=46>。

⁷⁹ "Hua Xia Jing Wei Web, <http://www.huaxia.com/xw/gj/2005/00331679.html>" (《華夏經緯網》, <http://www.huaxia.com/xw/gj/2005/00331679.html>)

⁸⁰Li Yu Feng, <From the Bush Government's China policy to See the U.S. Strategic Competition, "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 1, 3, 2005, pp. 43. (李毓峰, 〈從布希政府的中國政策看美中戰略競爭〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第1卷3期, 2005年, 頁43。)

choose multilateral system with the U.S.⁸¹. On the other hand, they also keep China in touch in a partner relation. Frankly speaking, the U.S. could not gain benefit from the containment strategy against China, and also the U.S. could not gain support from other countries in Asia on this issue.⁸² By 2005 by the re-election of President Bush, State Robert Zoellick the former Deputy Secretary of the U.S. delivered a speech named *Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility?*, saying that the U.S. should encourage China to become a stakeholder. By 2006, during Hu Jintao's visit with President Bush, Bush also claimed that "the U.S. welcome China with the rising of a peaceful and supporting the bilateral system"⁸³. The above claims indicate the acceptance of the U.S. on the rising China as the great power.

2-3 The Interpretation of China

The U.S. super power status and the strategy of "Pivot to Asia" make TPP the Obama government strategy raised discussion, analysis and study in the Asia Pacific countries.⁸⁴

For Chinese academic field, as the appearance of TPP to the strategic interaction between the U.S. and China and the phrasal changing, according to the analysis of two Chinese scholars, Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, they provide two different aspects to discuss these issues, which are the theory of positive "Opportunities" and negative "Conspiracy".

2-3-1 China's Point of Views toward TPP Opportunity Theory

Those who favor of the theory of TPP Opportunity that although TPP is the strategy that the U.S. promoted and aimed at taking over the control right of the Asia Pacific region, since the world

81 Kissinger (2005), <http://www.taiwansecurity.org/News/2005/AS-130605.htm>

82 Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong warned that once the United States adapted containment policy against China, it will not have much support in the Asia Pacific region.

See People's Daily, <http://world.people.com.cn/BIG5/41219/3452316.html> (參見人民網，

<http://world.people.com.cn/BIG5/41219/3452316.html>)

83 Cao Xiao Zhong, "Space Strategy "Study in the Actual Situation of CPC: The Beidou Satellite Development as an Example." Taipei: Tamkang University Institute of International Affairs and Strategic Master's Thesis, January 2008, pp. 151. (曹孝中,《中共「航天戰略」虛實研究：以北斗衛星發展為例》。台北：淡江大學國際事務與戰略研究所在職專班碩士論文，2008年1月，頁151。)

84 See <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/>

economic crisis in 2008, many countries including the U.S. conducted the protectionism in their domestic product, which makes China suffer from anti-dumping investigations and trade friction in WTO member states. However, the agreement of TPP is based on the liberal free trade and zero tariff on all the products, even covers detail regulation, including competition policy, e-commerce, labor standard and environment standard. As a result, China welcomes all kinds of regulation related to free trade. "Owing to the historical development of China in planned economic", China has been isolated from the mainstream of economic development of the world. However, after the 21 century, China has transferred to the market economic, and examine itself how to join the mainstream of the world trend on economic development.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, the high standard of TPP also makes reverse transmission in China⁸⁶, and further fosters the acceleration in the industrial structure and upgrade, which could decrease the dependence on the U.S. market. China should view TPP as a key opportunity on integrating the Aisa Pacific economic region, and foster the free trade in East Asia. Scholars holding

⁸⁵He Li, <TPP and China's Economic Integration Trend and Solution>, "Tribune", 2011 Vol.3, <http://www.daixie.org.cn/faxue/guojifa/51753.html>. (何力, <TPP與中國的經濟一體化法動向和對策>, 《政法論壇》, 2011年第3期, <http://www.daixie.org.cn/faxue/guojifa/51753.html>。)

⁸⁶"Forced mechanism" which the money supplies, is derived from a Chinese economy operation with Chinese characteristics and the actual empirical economic analysis.

(1) Scale - Funding Bidirectional Control

China's current money supply control is to take direct and indirect combined approach, which directly controlled by the size of credit per year credit supply is present monetary policy instruments mainly relies means. On the practice, the central bank will usually "cut into the block" and distributed to all commercial banks, then they distributed within their 'roads.' Only Shanghai and Shenzhen People's Bank are exceptions to the scale of direct both assigned to the People's Bank of the city, and other commercial banks again assigned by them. As for the interior of the four state-owned commercial banks distribute to what criteria are assigned to their own branches, it is not entirely united in their approach, but one thing is certain, if a branch of state-owned commercial banks deposits grew at a faster area, generally We feel the size is not enough, but at a slower deposit growth area, even with the size of the state-owned commercial banks, as long as the lack of deposit funding sources, there is no way its lending expansion. This is generally the case under the so-called scale, capital bidirectional control.

(2) Money Supply "Forced Mechanism" Generation

"Forced mechanism"'s source is in state-owned enterprises. Compared with traditional planning system, state-owned enterprises budget constraints soften situation, which has not been fundamentally changed, and therefore, they are always integrated with administrative power of local government, and keep putting pressure on monetary funds in state banks. Under the background of implementation in leaning policy of state-owned enterprises, the state-owned banks, almost always yield to some extent on borrowing requirement concessions. When this phenomenon becomes general, there will be such a result: state-owned enterprises put pressure to break through the baseline bank credit quotas defense. At the same time, state-owned banks ask expansion on the quotas and money. Each state own banks asks for expansion from the central banks, which forces the central bank forced to expand its scale. This process of expansion of the money supply originated from the state oned enterprises is the so called "Forced mechanism."

(3) Essence of the Money Supply "Forced mechanism"

Money supply "Forced Mechanism" is an institutional phenomenon, which is also a disguised confrontation against top-down prescriptive scale management tools. However, from the economic effect, "Forced Mechanism" is one of the uncertain factors in the implementation of the central bank monetary policies. With the development of the reform, full asset liability management on state-owned commercial banks will replace the current tight credit quota control, which is inevitable. However, this change requires certain basic conditions, such as: state-owned enterprises property right system, behavior style has been completely improved, four state-owned commercial banks have become commercial banks. Citedfrom "Baidu", zhidao.baidu.com> Education / science> science and engineering, date: May 8, 2015.

this view emphasize TPP will produce three benefits to of China: First, it could stimulate China to accelerate and promote the integration of power in East Asia, and the great amount of China's economic power could accelerate the process of this issue. Second, TPP could provide as an example for China to set up a free trade area for the future with a high standard. For the current situation, what the U.S. has made for TPP agreement provides a suitable foundation for all of the Asia Pacific countries and reduce the conflict with China on this issue. Third, TPP could push China to speed up industrial restructuring and upgrading of the pace. Although TPP is the product under the U.S. state interest, there are benefits for other countries on the development of future direction. China could reach the higher standard before the TPP regulation has been confirmed, which could gain the control right in the future negotiation with the U.S.⁸⁷. Therefore, "for regional economic and trade cooperation is also a reasonable for China, and therefore, China should consider attend the TPP negotiation at the right time."⁸⁸,

2-3-2 China's Point of Views toward TPP Conspiracy Theory

Conspiracy theorists believe that TPP is another attempt that the U.S. contains China, for China once the U.S. and the neighboring countries of China, such as Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, and Vietnam reach TPP agreement, which would form a typical phenomenon of trade transference and bring severe negative influence on China's export. From the political aspect, TPP will strengthen the connection between the U.S. and Asian countries, and differentiate the economic connection between Asia Asia, ASEAN and China, which further isolate China in Asia Pacific region. Therefore if in the future China would like to join TPP again, China will once again face the same challenge as joining the WTO. Therefore, Shu Jianzhong thinks that the U.S. should advance trade issues of "Uncle Sam" and take the control right comprehensively. Thus, TPP provides provide a broader geopolitical space for the

87 Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: The Competition between China and the U.S.- from China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, Date: April 2, 2015. (趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

88 Wang Tian Long, <China Could Consider Participate in TPP Negotiations', "Chinese Economic and Trade Guide", in 2012 Vol. 1, <http://wuxizazhi.cnki.net/Search/ZJMD201201021.html>. (王天龍,〈中國可考慮適時參與TPP談判〉,《中國經濟貿易導刊》, 2012年第1期, <http://wuxizazhi.cnki.net/Search/ZJMD201201021.html>。)

U.S. on taking the control right in Asia Pacific region.⁸⁹ Also TPP is an important strategic step for the U.S. to step into the issue of East Asia and Asia Pacific region. In addition, the negotiation of TPP will also generate serious negative effects on China's free trade agreement strategy and process. Under the background of US-led TPP, China's FTA strategy will face severe challenge. On the other hand, the U.S. comprehensive national strength and institutional power will interfere and disrupt the process of cooperation between China and the Asia-Pacific countries, which further squeeze China's strategic space and weaken China's influence in the Asia-Pacific region.⁹⁰

Fundamentally, China also thinks the US-led TPP has close connection with the Asia Pacific strategic arrangement, especially in the economic, political and strategic concern. In economic, TPP emphasized on "competitive neutrality", which challenging the unfairness in market competition of the state-owned enterprise system. The competition between US-led market economy country and state capitalism in China become much clearer. As for the deepest concern of China is that TPP corresponding state capitalism with "competitive neutrality", which will bring severe challenge to the export of Chinese state owned enterprise in international business activities including export, overseas investment, project contracting. On the other hand, TPP's high standards of environmental and labor regulation requirements will elevate production costs in China and the price of export products, which further influence the competitiveness of China in Asia Pacific region.⁹¹ As a result, China questioned the US-led TPP is China's economic package fence⁹², as for Song Zhen Zhao the Taiwanese scholar also

⁸⁹Christopher M. Dent. Paths ahead for East Asia and Asia-Pacific Regionalism[J]. International Affairs, Vol.89, No.4, 2013.

⁹⁰Shu Jian Zhong, "Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement": the Intention of the United States and China's Selection, "Nanjing Institute of Politics," in 2014 Vol. 1 <http://fass.net.cn/xs/5611.html> (舒建中, 〈「跨太平洋夥伴關係協定」: 美國的意圖與中國的選擇〉, 《南京政治學院學報》, 2014年第4期, <http://fass.net.cn/xs/5611.html>。)

⁹¹Wu Fu Cheng, "Taiwan's Opportunities and Challenges in TPP ERA > ROC Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, "the Republic of China Pacific Business Forum Newsletter", November 2012, pp.3. (吳福成, 〈TPP 時代台灣的參與機會與挑戰〉, 太平洋經濟合作理事會中華民國委員會, 《中華民國太平洋企業論壇簡訊》, 2012年11月, 頁3。)

⁹² Zheng Yong Nian also held similar opinions, <Prospects of TPP and China-US Relations>, NUS NEWS, June 4, 2013, saying, <http://newshub.nus.edu.sg/news/1306/PDF/TPP-lhzb-4jun-p12.pdf>, according to Song Zhen Zhao, <Intention and Strategy of the United States Return to Asia Pacific: Battle of Hegemony', "Strait Comment", Vol.266. also believes that according to the CPC Think Tank that "Social Sciences" recently released 2013 "International Situation Yellow Book"- "Global Politics and Security Report (2013)", "The conclusion said that the United States is exacerbating friction and confrontation between the United States and to some neighboring countries through the return to Asia-Pacific strategy and implementation of a series of new action, and active use of smart power, which sends the wrong signals to the neighboring countries. Even the U.S. intervenes or incites conflicts and disputes between China and neighboring countries in an attempt to contain and isolate China through diplomatic ways to enhance US regional influence. Date: May 1, 2015.

agrees the same opinion⁹³, and he thinks that through five important diplomatic arrangement policies, which could highlight four important American diplomatic attempts: First, Actively with potential competitors China and India to improve political and economic diplomatic relations, which not only reduce the military conflict, but also gain the profit from the two huge markets, China and India. Second, China and neighboring countries near India established military alliances, trying to contain or counter hegemony development in China and India region. Third, the U.S. could take the change from political and diplomatic conflicts and economic competition between China and India, and break them down one after another or to construct partnership individually. Fourth, through the promotion of TPP, the Obama government drew in Japan and South Korea and other neighboring countries around China to join. So far, China still avoid inviting China officially, but keep inviting other countries around China such as Vietnam, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, and Lao, which could isolate China's economic development and foster the US-led integration in Asia Pacific region.⁹⁴

Facing the concerns of China, Robert Hormats the U.S. vice secretary of State who is responsible for economic and environmental affairs has publicly expressed, current US policy is far from containing China, but with the Chinese extensive contacts and dialogue. On the other hand, TPP is not against China but integrate the countries signing FTA with the U.S. altogether. He also emphasized that TPP is an open framework and welcome the join of China.⁹⁵ For Taiwan between China and the U.S., the key point is the continuity to promote economic and trade relations and the development of key national substantive trade and economic relations between China. From the issue of Taiwan joining regional integration, China factor has been the key point.⁹⁶ The competition and cooperation between

93 Song Zhen Zhao, <The Intention and Strategy of the U.S. to Return to Asia: Battle of Hegemony', "Strait Comment", pp. 266, February 2013, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>, date: May 1, 2015. (宋鎮照,〈美國重返亞太的企圖與策略：霸權地位保衛戰〉,《海峽評論》,第266期,2013年2月,<http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>,檢索日期:2015年5月1日。)

94 Song Zhen Zhao, <The Intention and Strategy of the U.S. to Return to Asia: Battle of Hegemony', "Strait Comment", pp. 266, February 2013, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>, date: May 1, 2015. (宋鎮照,〈美國重返亞太的企圖與策略：霸權地位保衛戰〉,《海峽評論》,第266期,2013年2月,<http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>,檢索日期:2015年5月1日。)

⁹⁵ Wu Fu Cheng, <Opportunities and challenges of Taiwan Joining in TPP Era >, the Republic of China Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, "the Republic of China Pacific Business Forum newsletter", November 2012, pp. 3. (吳福成,〈TPP時代台灣的參與機會與挑戰〉,太平洋經濟合作理事會中華民國委員會,《中華民國太平洋企業論壇簡訊》,2012年11月,頁3。)

⁹⁶ Li Chang Tai, <Analysis of Economic Cooperation on Taiwan's Participation in the Asia-Pacific Regional >, "Electronic Man" on 16, November 2014, page 5. (李長泰,〈台灣參加亞太區域經濟合作剖析〉,《電力人》第16期,2014年11月,頁5。)

the U.S. and China might give Taiwan an opportunity to join TPP.

2-4 Conclusion

The U.S. actively focused on the development towards Asia, which indicates the growing importance of Asian geopolitics and economy, especially the factor of rising China.⁹⁷ TPP agreement is China's economic containment strategy in the U.S. strategy "Pivot to Asia", especially lead the issue through the foundation of APEC member state and the join of the U.S., which could exclude China strategically, connect American alliance in Asia Pacific, and maintain the state interest of the U.S. in Asia Pacific region.

The strategy of the U.S. is based on national interest consideration. However the declining U.S. is facing the rising China, China is trying to "break the containment", focusing on the strategy of taking the control of East Asia without fight⁹⁸. Actually, the regional integration has become the platform of the great powers to pursue their hegemony. The U.S. promotes TPP and China actively supports the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and even the expansion of the European Union are the best examples and key to the regional competition. On the other hand, the G2 conference between the U.S. and China is also the performance of regional economic cooperation, which on one hand it's an interaction between north and south economic relation, and on the other hand it's the strategy that represent the U.S. entering Asia, and also a mechanism of the U.S. toward Asia.⁹⁹

97Song Zhen Zhao, <The Intention and Strategy of the U.S. to Return to Asia: Battle of Hegemony', "Strait Comment", pp. 266, February 2013, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>, date: May 1, 2015. (宋鎮照,〈美國重返亞太的企圖與策略：霸權地位保衛戰〉,《海峽評論》,第266期,2013年2月,<http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>,檢索日期:2015年5月1日。)

98Chen Yi Fan, <Study on the US-China the Relations after the European and Xi Presidency>, the Republic of China Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, "the Republic of China Pacific Business Forum newsletter", November 2012, pp. 7. (陳奕帆,〈美、中新局論歐、習掌權後之美、中關係〉,太平洋經濟合作理事會中華民國委員會,《中華民國太平洋企業論壇簡訊》,2012年11月,頁7。)

99Song Zhen Zhao, <The Intention and Strategy of the U.S. to Return to Asia: Battle of Hegemony', "Strait Comment", pp. 266, February 2013, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>, date: May 1, 2015. (宋鎮照,〈美國重返亞太的企圖與策略：霸權地位保衛戰〉,《海峽評論》,第266期,2013年2月,<http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/266-8657.html>,檢索日期:2015年5月1日。)

Chapter 3

Geography Political Factor for Taiwan to Join TPP

Before 1999, there are only 34 FTAs around the world, and afterwards it grows with rapid rate, especially after the fail of WTO Duha Round in Mexico and many countries went bak to sign bilateral or multilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA). During 1995-2004, FTA increases 221 and the total FTA around the wolrd reach to 255. Besides, before 2002, there are only 12 cross regional FTAs and increase 18 during 202-2004, and 2005-2014, the number of FTA increases 66 more. As a result, from the increasing number of cross regional economic integration, it increased after the year of 2000, which has become the trend of the international economic integration.¹⁰⁰

By 2014 the world has signed 500 FTAs,¹⁰¹ from the proportion of the FTA amount between countries on the country's total trade, by the end of 2014, South Korea 62.2% Singapore 76.42 percent, and Japan 18.6 percent. As the FTA process finished, the estimated proportion rate would be: Singapore 87.3 percent, South Korea 83.39%, in Japan 71.24%¹⁰², form which indicates the importance of FTA on the economic development of each country.

100Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen and Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Dania edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Vison Exchanges Foundation, 2014, pp. 6.

Zhang book, <RTAs Development Status>, January 21, 2015, "the global regional economic integration of Taiwan", <http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>.劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁6。

101Zhang Zhong Ben, <RTAs Development Status>, January 21st, 2015, "The Impact of Global Regional in Trade and Economic Integration of Taiwan"

<http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>。

(張忠本，〈區域貿易協定發展現況〉，2015年1月21日，《全球區域經貿整合對台灣之影響》)

<http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>。

102Zhang Zhong Ben, <RTAs Development Status>, January 21st, 2015, "The Impact of Global Regional in Trade and Economic Integration of Taiwan"

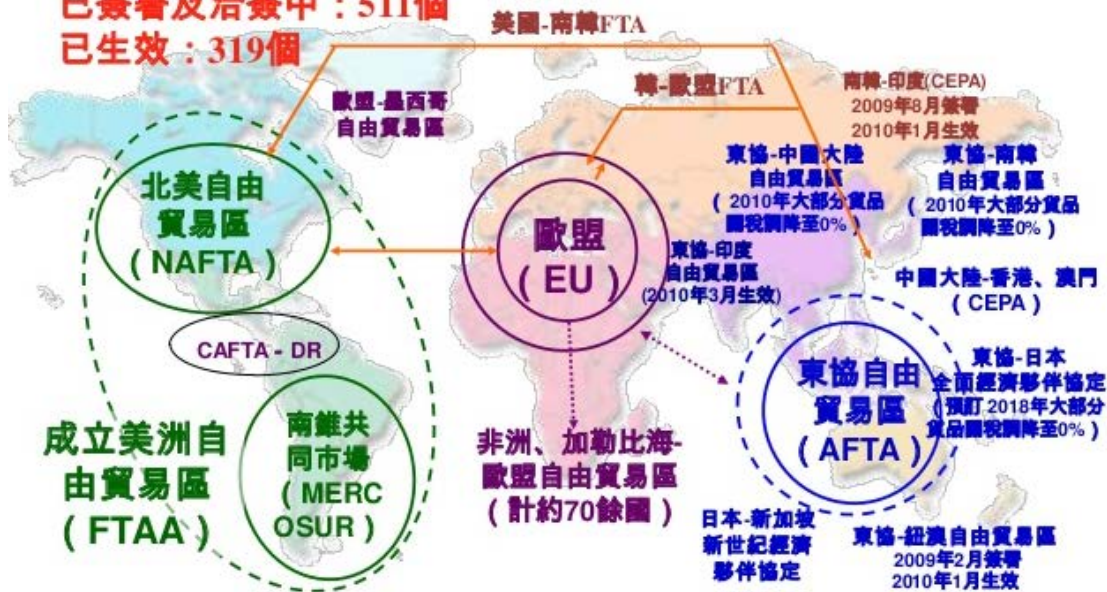
<http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>。(張忠本，〈區域貿易協定發展現況〉，2015年1月21日，《全球區域經貿整合對台灣之影響》)

<http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>。)

全世界都在簽自由貿易協定(FTA)

已簽署及洽簽中：511個

已生效：319個



Graph 3-1 Countries Signing FTA around the World¹⁰³

In addition, in order to deepen regional economic cooperation, customizing content for FTA agreements signed for a specific target, has become a trend¹⁰⁴, even conduct multilateral FTA negotiations at the same time, rather than taking "steps by steps"¹⁰⁵. From the variability of the economic and trade area, we could see the operation of FTA countries have also become mature, which indicates the great influence of regional trade and economic on economic development of each country.

Compared to normal FTA, TPP covers not only trade in product, but also articles in trade in services, trade remedies, sanitary and phytosanitary animals and plants, technical barriers to trade, intellectual property, government procurement, competition policy, customs cooperation, labor and environmental policies, which could be viewed as a comprehensive FTA¹⁰⁶. Therefore, this chapter

103 Yang Zhen Ni, <Taiwan's Participation in the Policy of Economic Integration and Response>, the Ministry of Economy, July 10th 2012. (楊珍妮, 〈我國參與經濟整合之策略與因應〉, 經濟部, 101年7月10日。)

104 Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, and Xu Yin Er, <RTAs Development Status>, January 21, 2015, "The Global Regional Economic Integration of Taiwan", <http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾, 〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁22。)

105 Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, and Xu Yin Er, <RTAs Development Status>, 2014, "The Global Regional Economic Integration of Taiwan", pp.22 (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾, 〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁22。)

106 Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate and the Response of Abe Regime>, "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp.132. (李世暉, 〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第10卷第3期, 2014年秋季號, 頁132。)

compares the change in industry between Taiwan and its transaction rival, South Korea, Japan, the U.S. and the European Union before and after signing FTA, which indicates the influence of signing FTA on the export and import as well as the relative industry.

3-1 The Mechanism of TPP and the Impact to Asia Pacific Economic

3-1-1 The Propose of TPP and the Change in World Economy and Trade

As the 2008 US subprime mortgage crisis mentioned has caused the Global systemic financial crisis¹⁰⁷, which makes China's political and economic strength and recession in the US in strong contrast and also forces the U.S. to take the rise of China more seriously to protect its own hegemony. However, the leading US technology and military situation has not changed, and since the global strategic thinking from the

107 In 1980, the United States officially opened the subprime mortgage business. Since 2000 the US has repeatedly cut interest rates, along with housing prices, greatly increased demand for high-benefit products, and with sufficient market capitals, the secondary mortgage market once again flourished. In 2006 subprime mortgage total assets has reached to 640 billion dollars, which is equivalent to 5.3 times of that in the year of 2001 scale. The Internet bubbles in 2000, went along with the 911 incident which caused the nation's deflation, making the federal funds rate of US Fed deduced from 6.5% for 13 consecutive times lowered 1.0 percent from May 2001 to June 2003, leading to capital flooding. Also the US Fed promotes real estate prices to attract individual loans for purchasing of real estate. To absorb the excess funds, the mortgage industry competed in subprime mortgages business, and in the securitization of financial assets with the review of cases of mortgage loose while ignoring credit risk. However, since 2004 the US economic has recovered, and began to raise interest rates, within two years, they raise interest rates 17 times in a row. In 2006, the interest rate has been as high as 5.25%, prompting the real estate boom to go slow, and further these continuous actions raised interest rates, resulting in a substantial increase in borrowing costs, and rising default rates also increased simultaneously. The subprime mortgage delinquencies, from 9.83 percent in the fourth quarter of 2004 rose to 24.22 percent in the fourth quarter of 2008, significantly higher than the general magnitude of the mortgage. With real estate boom and rising interest rates since mid-2006 started to cool down, those borrowers based on repayment suffered much more pressure. In addition, housing market value of housing loans after deducting net becomes low, but also makes the public assets shrink. October 2007, the report of the US Securities and Exchange Commission on credit cards among 17 large-scale showed that the U.S. consumer credit card payments (more than 30 days) has reached to the amount of up to \$ 17.3 billion, an increase of 26%, while credit card bad debt rate rose 18 %, some large issuers, who owed more than 90 days to repay the amount, from which the increase is as high as 50%. From the above phenomenon, deterioration of the financial situation of US households will not only increase the amount of bad real estate loans of financial institutions, so that financial institutions reduce the housing loan amount, but also refrain inhibit residents from improving housing conditions requirement, the impact of increased demand for real estate market. Increase due to the borrower's difficult to sell the house. On the other hand, even if they sold their house, the value of housing may fail to repay the loan amount, resulting in late payments and foreclosures situation. The rise in default rates has forced financial institutions to tighten credit, and commodity related securities belittle the value of its link, and then expand the market risk and liquidity risk, subprime crisis finally broke out. The US federal funds target rate mortgage industry, in order to maintain the standard of customer traffic and cut those loans, business toward low-income families and the poor record, even one hundred percent loans. The launch of the loan in various guises, including without proof of income or proof of deposit "No-doc loan." In order to earn more underwriting commission, independent mortgage brokers would lure people unable to pay the mortgage market to obtain the assistance of qualified loans, which makes the major subprime concentrated in the minority, and therefore highly aggregated and economically underdeveloped regions, ethnic minorities. When the United States always belongs to the economically disadvantaged social groups, and economically underdeveloped areas, nature also belongs to poor and limited ability to repay, the bank nuclear loans, without considering the customer's repayment ability, the results open the door to any of the nuclear-prime. It is the deterioration of loan quality, which are all the factors that lead to the US subprime mortgage crisis.

Spanish-American War, the U.S. came to realize what should do and how to do in order to protect its own hegemony.¹⁰⁸

For China rising as hegemony, although the high economic interdependence of the Sino-US in the international community, makes the possibility of the outbreak of war between the two countries becomes low. Moreover, the decline of the national power in the U.S. and the coordinate and coordination strategy between the two sides make the U.S. choose to avoid the direct fight with China¹⁰⁹, which the Chinese academic field viewed as the ultimate choice of the U.S.¹¹⁰.

Therefore, when the U.S. faced China, all it could do is to delay China's expansion in the Asia Pacific region, and the U.S. seeks to TPP with high standard is the economic strategy "Pivot to Asia".

3-1-1-1 The Establishment of TPP Agreement

The TPP this thesis discussed is a negotiation adopting single undertaking. For instance, after the APEC meeting in Seattle in 1993 and 2011 the U.S. once again hosted the annual meeting of APEC, and the 19th APEC leaders summit to be held in Hawaii, which have focused on the goal of "towards closer regional economic" covers three main topics, including to strengthen regional economic integration and trade expansion, to promote green growth, as well as to promote cooperation and seek regulatory cooperation. In addition, the U.S. established a "Trans-Pacific system" covers six main dimensions¹¹¹, including to strengthen relations with allies, to deepen the working relationship between the power and to build a close relations with regional multilateral institutions, to expand trade and investment, to maintain the extensive military presence and enhance democracy and human rights. This "Trans-Pacific system" theoretical framework supporting measures, in fact is a series concrete action in

108 Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, retrieve Date: April 2, 2015. (趙長峰、左祥雲, 〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, 檢索日期: 2015年4月2日。)

109 It is a relation on a common transaction and coordination with each other on certain matters, such as China and Indonesia, too, was <People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia on a joint statement for Strengthening Bilateral Comprehensive Strategic Partnership> <http://www.en84.com/nonfiction/statements/201503/00016102.html>, Date March 21st, 2015

110 Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, retrieve Date: April 2, 2015 (趙長峰、左祥雲, 〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, 檢索日期: 2015年4月2日。)

111 Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1st, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. Date: January 12, 2015. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與 TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. 檢索日期: 2015年1月12日。)

politic and economy¹¹², including:

1. Economy and Trade Diplomatic Strategy of TPP;
2. Solve the South China Sea disputes: the U.S. president attend ASEAN and ASEAN +A and list the the South China Sea disputes that China tried to avoid into the agenda;
3. The appearance of "Asian version of NATO": An agreement to prevent the rise of China has formed by the alliance of the U.S., Japan, Australia, India¹¹³

TPP's economic diplomacy strategy mainly focused on strengthening regional economic integration. In 2005, Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (TPSEP) has signed by the New Zealand, Singapore, Chile and Brunei which is the first Regional Trade Agreement (RTA) to connect the region of Asia, the Pacific and Latin America.

In 2008 owing to the fact WTO Doha Round negotiations could not reach negotiation process within the short time, when joining APEC the U.S. directly announce the negotiation of TPSET which is the former agreement of TPP.

Sine the U.S. has joined the negotiation, TSSEP changed the name into TPP, which becomes much more important and recruit more members, including Australia, Peru, Vietnam, Malaysia, Mexico, Canada and Japan, which further makes TPP an economic integration body covering 12 member states of the negotiations.¹¹⁴

112Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, " National Policy Research Foundation", March 1st, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. Date: January 12, 2015. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與 TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。檢索日期:2015年1月12日。)

113 Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, " National Policy Research Foundation", March 1st, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. Date: January 5th, 2015. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與 TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。檢索日期:2015年1月5日。)

114Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP?> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editor, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 146. 史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP 臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁146。

3-1-1-2 The Agreement Process and Member States

The time lines of joining of the member states are as below:

1. November 2009, Obama government formally proposed TPP on the foundation of Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (P4) forming by New Zealand, Singapore, Brunei, Chile, and invited Australia and Peru to join.
2. In 2010, by adopting the exist agreement in TPP, the U.S. launched its own trade issues, leading comprehensive TPP negotiations, and invited Malaysia and Vietnam and to join the TPP.¹¹⁵
3. In October 2010, Japan announced to joined TPP negotiations. Japan itself is also a key member state in Free Trade Zone of China, Japan and South Korea, "10 + 3" (ASEAN + China, Japan and South Korea) and "10 + 6" (ASEAN + China, Japan, Korea, Australia and New Zealand, India) which puts pressure on China¹¹⁶.
4. 2011: Canada, South Korea express the interest and will to join TPP negotiation¹¹⁷.

In the process of TPP agreement, in March 2010, first round of TPP negotiations was held in Australia; November 2011 the member states reached "Strengthen trade and investment, support for employment, economic growth and development: Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement", which covers the cut doen on tariff, liberalization and cnvenientcd department, including the third industry, investment, intellectual property, labor, and also these negotiation state realizaed that they need to liberalize the regulation on several aspects, including standards, technical barriers, sanitary and quarantine, competition policy, intellectual property, government procurement, dispute settlement, and

115Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. – from China's perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2nd, 2015(趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

116Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. – from China's perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2nd, 2015(趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

117Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. – from China's perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2nd, 2015(趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

even labor and environmental protection¹¹⁸. By the end of 2013, TPP has conduct 20 rounds of talk, during the process, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Australia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Japan and other APEC member states has participated in the negotiations and reached consensus on most of the articles in "Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement"¹¹⁹.

The GDP if these member states accounted for 35% of the total global GDP, which is higher than the EU, and in the future the GDP will exceed more than half of APEC member states, and becomes the biigest economic organization in the globe¹²⁰. 2012 Obama declared "Pivot to Asia" strategy, and actively involved in Asian affairs and drew TPP ASEAN countries participating in and led.



Graph 3-2 Scope of Countries Signing FTA around the World¹²¹

118Cai Zeng Jia, <Impact of Japan's Fiscal Policy Trends on Taiwan>, April 12th, 2013, Modern Finance and Economics Foundation, pp 6. (蔡增家, <日本財經政策動向對台灣之影響>, 2013年4月12日, 財團法人現代財經基金會, 頁6。)

119Chunding Li and John Whalley. China and the Trans-Pacific Partnership: A Numerical Simulation Assessment of the Effects Involved[J]. The World Economy, Vol.37, No.2, 2014.

120Zheng Zhu Yuan, <Economic Intention and Strategic Arrangement of the U.S. Promotion on TPP', "Strait comment", Vol. 252, December 2011, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html>, Date: 2015 April 14. (鄭竹園, <美國全力推動 TPP 的經濟企圖與戰略部署>, 《海峽評論》, 第 252 期, 2011 年 12 月, <http://www.haixiainfo.com.tw/252-8328.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 14 日。

121<http://www.washingtonpost.com>, 檢索日期:2014 年 11 月 7 日。)

TPP market snapshot (including Australia)

- GDP: US\$28,136.0 billion (2012)
- GDP per capita: US\$35,488 (2012)
- Population: 792.8 million (2012)
- Trade with Australia: AU\$214,224 million (2012)

- TPP % of world GDP: 39.0% (2012)
- TPP % of world population: 11.3% (2012)
- TPP % of world trade: 25.8% (2012)

Graph 3-3 Scope and Impact in Global TPP Market¹²²

4-1-1-3 The Feature of TPP Agreement

According to the “Outlines of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement” the United States Trade Representative (USTR) released and the “2013 Trans-Pacific Partnership Trade Ministers' Report to Leaders” in October 2013, and until 2015 in the course of negotiations, we can see¹²³, in addition to concern about customs, service trade and investment issues, the labor, the environment and food safety, animal and plant quarantine inspection and quarantine measures etc, it can also be incorporated into a negotiating point in TPP.

In addition, the United States also presented that TPP as a comprehensive and covering the entire supply chain of the FTA, relaxed regulations, and cross-field issues to establish a comprehensive supply chain within the region are the focus of emphasis of TPP¹²⁴. Characteristics of this agreement, includes:

1. Comprehensive Market Access

The purpose of TPP aimed at eliminating tariffs and other goods and services trade and investment barriers for TPP countries to create much more opportunities in labors and enterprises, and bring

¹²² Source: <https://www.dFTA.gov.au/fta/tpp/>

¹²³ USTR, November 12, 2011; USTR, 2013。

¹²⁴ Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, and Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Daniao edit, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 21. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁21。)

immediate benefits for consumers.¹²⁵

2. Regional Agreement

TPP will accelerate the development of production and supply chain toward its member states to support creating employment opportunities TPP market, to further improve the living standards of the member states, and their welfare and sustainable growth¹²⁶. On the other hand, Canada and Mexico are the same as the U.S. belong to the North American Free Trade Area and the members of the Organization of American States (which also included Chile and Peru), if Canada and Mexico could join TPP, which could strengthen the connection of trade in the Western Pacific countries¹²⁷.

3. Cross-Cutting Trade Issues

Continuing both APEC and the results of other field, including regulatory compliance, competition and business facilitation, and development of small and medium enterprises and other issues, TPP have discussion on the four cross-fields on trade-related issues. First, in terms of regulatory compliance, the member states of TPP commit to promote business, and create a seamless and efficient business environment. Secondly, in terms of competition and commercial facilitation, TPP promises to strengthen the domestic and regional economic competitiveness of each member state through the development of regional production and supply chain to enhance economic integration and employment in the region. Furthermore, in terms of small and medium enterprises (SME), TPP promises to solve the difficulties of SMEs in the understanding and application of the relevant trade agreements, and further encourages SMEs to engage in international trade. Finally, in terms of development issues, TPP will promote a comprehensive and robust market liberalization, improving trade and boost investment

125Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editr, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 147. (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁147。)

126Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editr, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 148. (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁148。)

127Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1st, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427, Date: January 9, 2015. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427, 檢索日期:2015年1月9日。)

norms and other commitments, including the establishment of national mechanisms to assist all TPP member states on effective agreement implementation, in order to fulfill the benefits of the agreement. In addition, the system will also contribute to governance committed to enhancing the economic development, so as to achieve the priority objectives of TPP individual countries to their enhance economic development.¹²⁸

4. New Trade Challenges

TPP will promote trade and investment in innovative products and services related projects, including digital economy, green technology, which further confirm a competitive business environment in TPP area¹²⁹.

5. Living Agreement

TPP agreement will update the content to make sure it could solve the issue or problem in the extension of agreement in the near future for new member states¹³⁰.

3-2 The History and Current Situation on Signing FTA among Japan, South Korea, and the European Union

The following paragraphs will describes the process of Taiwan's major trading partner Japan, South Korea and the European Union participating in regional free trade agreements.

3-2-1 The Reason and Current Situation for Japan Joining Regional Economy

3-2-1-1 Reason for Singing FTA

Reason for Japan signing FTA can be described as an example of East Asian countries abandoned

128Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editr, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 148 (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁148。)

129Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editr, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 148 (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁148。)

130Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editr, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 149 (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁149。)

the past isolation from the regional economy and in turn in favor of active engagement. In wave of regional economic integration, originally Japan was holding a relatively negative attitude, and believed through the mechanism of the WTO, which would be enough to maintain the competitiveness of Japan in the international market¹³¹. However, with the economic and trade negotiations failure at the international level, WTO multilateral trade negotiations could not reach any concrete result after ninth. Owing to the fact that the rise of regional economic integration in East Asia and establishment of the ASEAN Free Trade Area¹³² as well as the domestic recession, Japan faced "lost decade theory" and these factors have fostered Japan to accelerate bilateral and multilateral FTA.

Prior to 2002, Japan has not signed any regional trade agreements with other countries, after 2002, Japan started FTA negotiations with the ASEAN countries; on the other hand, Japan also set basic policy in "Future Economic Partnership Agreements", emphasizing the Japan EPA / FTA strategy will be the East Asia Oriented¹³³. Thoughts change on these policies, Japan started to promote FTA of bilateral and multilateral in the region development.

3-2-1-2 Current Situation of Japan Signing FTA

Prior to 2002, Japan has not signed FTA with any country, after 2002 Japan signed with Singapore, and until now Japan has signed 14 regional trade agreements¹³⁴.

Until July 2014, Japan has signed EPA¹³⁵ with 14 countries, including Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines, Vietnam, India, Mexico, Chile, Peru, Switzerland, ASEAN, and Australia¹³⁵ while the ongoing negotiation targets covers 9 economic entity, including South Korea

131Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate and Response of Abe Regime', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp. 134. (李世暉, 〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第10卷第3期, 2014年秋季號, 頁134。)

132Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, and Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 18. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾, 〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁18。)

133Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate and Response of Abe Regime', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp. 134. (李世暉, 〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第10卷第3期, 2014年秋季號, 頁134。)

134Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, and Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 18. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾, 〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁18。)

135Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate and Response of Abe Regime', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp. 134. (李世暉, 〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第10

(suspended), Mongolia, Japan and South Korea FTA, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), EU, Canada, Colombia, and TPP; and Turkey¹³⁶ which agreed to begin expand the negotiations,. The following table shows the status and development Japan signed an FTA.

Table 3-1 The Current Situation of Japan Signing FTA/EPA (2014/07) ¹³⁷

Signed	Under Negotiation	Agree to Start Negotiation
Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines, Vietnam, India, Mexico, Chile, Peru, Switzerland, ASEAN, Australia	Korea(suspended), Mongolia, Japan and South Korea FTA, RCEP, GCC, EU, Canada, Colombia, TPP	Turkey

3-2-2 The History and Current Situation of South Korea Signing FTA

Since the period of Lee Myung-bak government, South Korea has emphasized on regionalization of the world economy, for South Korea Southeast Asia has become the important role of foreign economic and trade policy. In March 2009, Lee Myung-bak government proposed a "New Asian Conception"¹³⁸: which planned to sign sign FTA with all countries in Asia, and further expanded its trade and diplomatic influence in the Asian region, which becomes a network hub for free trade

卷第3期，2014年秋季號，頁134。）

136Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate and Response of Abe Regime', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp. 134. (李世暉，〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉，《台灣國際研究季刊》，第10卷第3期，2014年秋季號，頁134。）

137Japanese Foreign Ministry, <http://www.meti.go>. <See Another Economic Partnership Agreement Country and Region>July 25th, 2014. Cited from Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate Response of Abe regime', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp. 135. (日本外務省，〈国別・地域別の經濟連携協定を見る〉，<http://www.meti.go>.

jp/policy/trade_policy/epa，2014年7月25日。引自李世暉，〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉，《台灣國際研究季刊》，第10卷第3期，2014年秋季號，頁135。）

138Liu De Hai, <The Economic and Trade Realtion between South Korea and ASEAN in the 21st century', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2011, pp. 161. (劉德海，〈進入21世紀以來的南韓與東協經貿關係〉，《台灣國際研究季刊》，第7卷第1期，2011年春季號，頁161。）

agreement in the region, and in turn expands its “Global FTA network¹³⁹.”

Liu Haide Taiwanese scholar analyzes the development of FTA policy of South Korea, and divided into them into three different periods, a trial period, leap forward period and consolidation period¹⁴⁰.

For instance, the presidency of Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) in under the trial period. Dong Siqi the proposed FTA policy in this period, reflecting the two requirements and anxiety of the South Korean government in the late 1990s: On one hand, the government tried to catch up with the changing structure of the global economy after the rise of regionalism under the globalization. On the other hand, FTA of South Korea is trying to solve the Asian financial crisis¹⁴¹. By the same token, Korean Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP), also believes that there are two important factors changing South Korea: One, Treaty on European Union signed in 1992, and the establishment of NAFTA in 1994, the Korean economy needs to start FTA negotiations to reduce the shift and negative influence brought by regional economic integration, avoiding becoming a region of the economic edge. Second is to enhance the global competitiveness of the Korean economy, through using of open market and liberalization to improve the economic structure of Korea¹⁴².

In order to response to the changing global economy and Regional Trade Agreement (RTA) and the trend of FTAs, Kim Dae-jung government specially modified foreign trade policy from the past mainly focusing on the construction with WTO multilateral trade mechanism to the promotion of the FTA and RTA as the key approaches on its foreign trade. In November 1998, the South Korean government selected Chile as its primary target for signing FTA¹⁴³.

139Zhuo Shi Zhao, <Impact of Assessment and Response Measures of Korea-EU FTA on Taiwan industry >, the Ministry of Economy, July 27th, 2011, www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? ... / 0727 (卓士昭, 〈韓歐盟FTA對我產業影響評估及因應措施〉, 經濟部, 2011年7月27日, www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? ... /0727)

140 Liu De Hai, <The Economic and Trade Realtion between South Korea and ASEAN in the 21st century>, "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2011, pp. 152. (劉德海, 〈進入21世紀以來的南韓與東協經貿關係〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第7卷第1期, 2011年春季號, 頁152。)

141Dong Si Qi, <Process of Korea-US FTA Signing Political Influence on Korea FTA Policy Change >, "Taiwan's Thinking Tank", Vol. 4, 2014, pp. 50. (董思齊, 〈韓美FTA簽訂過程 對韓國FTA政策轉變的政治影響〉, 《台灣思想坦克》, 2014年04月號, 頁50。)

142Wang Wen Juan and Luo Shi Fang, <Feasibility Study on Korea-EU FTA Economy Affect Taiwan and Possibility of Taiwan-EU FTA >, "2008 International Trade And Economic Affairs Research and Training Centers Sub-Program: Case Study (9) Execution Results Report" China Economic Research Home (Taiwan WTO Center), December 2008, pp. 2. (王文娟、羅時芳, 〈韓歐盟 FTA對我經濟可能之影響及台歐盟 FTA 可行性研究〉, 《97 年度國際經貿事務研究及培訓中心計畫子計畫一：專題研究(9)執行成果報告書》, 中華經濟研究院(台灣 WTO 中心), 2008年12月, 頁2。)

143 Liu De Hai thinks that Kim Dae-Jung government chose Chile as the first contact sign FTA negotiation target country in an apparent attempt to avoid the South Korean sensitive domestic issue of open agricultural markets because Chile's position in the

As for Roh Moo-hyunera (2003-2008), since the South Korea process of signing FTA was behind its Asian neighbors, its export competitiveness continues to deteriorate¹⁴⁴. In addition, when nearly half of global trade is at the process of approximately more than 200 bilateral agreements, which makes survival and anti-isolation becomes the main motivation for Roh Moo-hyuneragoverment to sign FTA actively.

August 2003, Roh Moo-hyun government determined to “FTA Promotion Road Map”, whose purpose is to emphasize at timely, multilaterally, actively promote the FTA, and will complete the FTA signing process with the U.S. as it’s “simultaneously signing multiple FTAs as the ultimate goal.” By 2007, South Korean government planned to sign free trade agreement and 15 countries. Also they believe that “for the long run,

FTA will be an essential tool to expand the business in oversea markets for the local South Korea product¹⁴⁵. ” As a result, in total Roh Moo-hyun government signed four FTAs, including: November 2004 – Singapore and South Korea FTA ; 2004 South Korea–EFTA FTA; 2006 South Korea–ASEAN FTA; and

South Korea–US FTA. Among them, the South Korea-US FTA has brought lots of advantage on trade strategy as well as additional economic and trade interests. Since then South Korea has suddenly become a target that many national anxious to sign FTA with¹⁴⁶.

To Lee Myung-bak presidential era (2008-2012), South Korea FTA policy turned into a consolidation phase. March 2009 in Indonesia,, South Korean President Lee Myung-bak, published “New Asia Initiative (NAI)¹⁴⁷.” He said that the global economic centers are moving into Asia, but in

southern hemisphere, the season coincided with the production of fruits and vegetables in the northern hemisphere South Korea in contrast, which South Korean farmers will suffer from limited impact. In addition, the selection of small economies such as Chile, South Korea tried to negotiate an object by means of negotiations with Chile to experience FTA negotiation experience and skills. However, until 2004, South Korea - Chile FTA has passed by the South Korea beginning in January, almost a year after President Roh's successor. Reference from Liu De Hai, < South Korea and ASEAN Economic and Trade Relations in the 21st Century', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 2011, pp. 152.

144“Korea International Trade Association (KITA) KITA Indicates That Slow Signing FTA Affects Korea’s Export Competitiveness in Asia.” Mooyok Ilbo, September 22 .

145Choi, Won-Mog. 2010. “Defragmenting Fragmented Rules of Origin of RTAs: A Building Block to Global Free Trade.” Journal of International Economic Law, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 113 .

146Liu De Hai, <The Economic and Trade Realtion between South Korea and ASEAN in the 21st century', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Volume 7, Number 1, Spring 2011, pp. 153-154, (〈進入21世紀以來的南韓與東協經貿關係〉，《台灣國際研究季刊》，第7卷第1期，2011年春季號，頁153-154。)

147 In order to implement its new vision of Asia, Lee Myung-bak government has set four major objectives, namely to carry out FTA negotiations with all Asian countries, and actively expanding economic exchanges; actively participating in the consultations to resolve the financial crisis and international issues such as climate change; establishing "with each Asian country one economic partnership "; expanding the role and contribution of the Asian region. In addition, the government will promote the establishment of the Asia-Pacific Green Development Zone to expand free trade and mutual investment in the Asian region, to develop experience transfer in developing countries in Asia, and expand aid to developing countries. Reference from Lee, Soon-chun. 2010. "Summit and S. Korea's 'New Asia Initiative'." Korea Herald, March 30

http://www.koreaherald.co.kr/NEWKHSITE/data/html_dir/2009/06/01/200906010103.asp. <Korea Lee Intends to Develop a

the past South Korea has focused too much on the strengthening the relations with the U.S., Japan and Russia relationship without much diplomatic relations with Asian countries. Therefore, the main purpose of NAI is to strengthen relations with small and medium sized countries in this region, constructing the road for South Korea to play an important role in representing the state benefit of each state in Aisa, and further enhance the international status and influence of South Korea¹⁴⁸.

After February 2013, Park Geun-hye South Korean has started the presidency, the government published a broader plan for the FTA promotion. According to the announcement of the " Roadmap¹⁴⁹", South Korea hopes to play the center of China-led East Asia integration and the US-led TPP integration, and in the next 10 years expected to promote the construction of China-Korea FTA¹⁵⁰, "China" and Japan and South Korea FTA, RCEP, South Korea - Indonesia FTA, Korea - Vietnam FTA, etc¹⁵¹. On the target of FTA, the Korean government expected to improve the coverage rate from 35% in 2013 to 69% in 2017, and then increased up to 85% in 2023¹⁵².

So far South Korea has signed the FTA with three major trading partners the including the U.S., ASEAN and the EU. In November 2014 APEC leaders meeting, the FTA with China after 14 rounds of negotiations, the both sides have reached the cosensus, and waiting for the detail confirmation of the terms, which expected to be signed in the first half of 2015¹⁵³. On the other hand, the trilateral FTA

New Foreign Policy When Lee Myung-bak Takes the Leadership Asian Leaders> "in the assessment community," March 9, <http://www.chinareviewnews.com/doc/1009/0/8/6/100908603.html?coluid=0&kindid=0&docid=100908603>

148Liu De Hai, < Economic and Trade Relations during Lee Myung-Bak Presidency in South Korea and Australian >, "WTO studies", No. 22, December 2012, pp. 107-131. (劉德海, < 李明博時代的南韓與澳洲經貿關係 >, 《WTO研究》, 第22期, 2012年12月, 頁107-131。)

149 Liu De Hai, < Economic and Trade Relations during Lee Myung-Bak Presidency in South Korea and Australian >, "WTO studies", No. 22, December 2012, pp. 107-131. (劉德海, < 李明博時代的南韓與澳洲經貿關係 >, 《WTO研究》, 第22期, 2012年12月, 頁107-131。)

150Negotiations Finished.

151Negotiations Finished.

152Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 18-19. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾, < 全球區域經濟整合與臺灣 >, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁18-19。)

153 According to information released previously, China-Korea FTA in addition to include goods trade, trade in services and investment, but also will cover the rules of origin, customs procedures and trade facilitation, trade remedies, food safety and animal and plant quarantine and phytosanitary measures, technical barriers to trade, intellectual property, competition policy, e-commerce, the environment, economic cooperation, in general terms, a total of 17 areas and 22 chapters. Moreover, in 10 years China promised to withdrawal imports 71% of the number of items from South Korea, accounting for 66% of the tariff import value; removal from Korea imports 91% of the number of items within 20 years, 85% of the tariff value of imports; while within 10 years South Korea promised to remove 79% the number of items of imports, accounting for about 77% of the tariff import value; within 20 years removal of import items from several land 92%, accounting for about 91% of the tariff import value; and the 614 kinds of agricultural water products (accounting for 30% of agricultural and marine products of imports value) included in the exclusion items. On trade in services perspective, China opens industry cooperation in film and television, tourism, the environment and other issues of; South Korea agreed to the requirement of China in express transportation, construction, medical.

negotiations among China and Japan are also under the process, the three parties also expected to complete negotiations in 2015. South Korea is the first country in Asia to sign the FTA with the major economic entities, such as the U.S., European Union, ASEAN and China¹⁵⁴.

Table 3-2 The Development of South Korea Signing FTA¹⁵⁵

Free Trade Zone	Date in effect	Expected Objectives
Korea + US FTA	March 15, 2012	95 percent of industrial products and consumer goods between the U.S. and South Korea in the FTA would be free tariff within three years
Korea + EU FTA	July 1, 2011	Europe: 93.94% products immediately reduced to zero tariff South Korea: 87.71% products immediately reduced to zero tariff
Korea + India FTA	January 1, 2010	India's commitment to the 85% of products imported to reduced or to zero tariff South Korea's commitment to India imports 93% products imported to reduced or to zero tariff
Korea +China FTA	2012 Start Negotiation for the First Round	
Korea+China+JapanFTA	2012 Start Negotiation	

Both sides also promised to give two years of employment and residence permits for investors and multinational internal transactions and the opening of business visitors year multiple-entry visa. Another part of the investment issue, in the two years after the entry of the agreement in implementation, both sides have agreed to start the negotiation in national treatment and the negative list mode. Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yan Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 26-27.

154 Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 18. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁18。)

155 Yang Zhen Ni, <Taiwan's Strategy and Response in Participation in Economic Integration>, the Ministry of Economy, July 10th, 2012. (楊珍妮，〈我國參與經濟整合之策略與因應〉，經濟部，101年7月10日。)

Table 3-3 The Situation of South Korea Signing FTA (2012 until now)¹⁵⁶

In Effect	Signed (Not in Effect)	Under Negotiation	Under Discussion
1.Korea–Chile FTA 2.Korea-Singapore FTA 3.Korea- (EFTA) FTA 4.Korea-ASEAN FTA 5.Korea-India CEPA 6.Korea-EU FTA	1. Korea-U.S. FTA (Signed in June 30 th , 2007) 2. Korea-Peru FTA (Signed in November 15th, 2010)	1.Korea-Canada FTA 2.Korea-MexicoFTA 3.Korea-GCCFTA 4.Korea-New Zealand FTA 5.Korea-Australia FTA 6.Korea-Colombia FTA 7.Korea-Turkey FTA	1.Korea-JapanFTA 2.Korea-China FTA 3.Korea-China-Japan FTA 4.Korea-MERCOSUR FTA 5.Korea-Israel FTA 6.Korea-Russia BEPA 7.Korea-SACU FTA 8.Korea-Vietnam FTA 9.Korea-Five countries in Middle America FTA

3-2-3 Shift of FTA Strategy and the Current Situation of EU

3-2-3-1 Shift of Strategy

In the past the EU thought that a bilateral FTA took a lengthy negotiation process and the board issue, which is not a priority for trade policy. Therefore EU did not actively participate in regional economic integration, and instead EU promoted participation in multilateral trade liberalization in WTO, focusing on the internal expansion. Even in the past there were also a number of bilateral regional trade agreements, but EU still signed with neighboring countries, aiming at assisting the economic growth of neighboring countries, and promoting political and economic stability within the

¹⁵⁶Zhuo Shi Zhao, Zhuo Shi Zhao, <Impact of Assessment and Response Measures of Korea-EU FTA on Taiwan industry >, the Ministry of Economy, July 27th, 2011, www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? ... / 0727 (卓士昭, 〈韓歐盟FTA對我產業影響評估及因應措施〉, 經濟部, 2011年7月27日, www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? .../0727韓歐盟FTA對我產業影響評估暨)

region.

However, recently because of the delay in WTO Doha Round negotiations, the number of other parts of the world a substantial increases in regional trade agreements, which makes EU become isolated. Therefore, EU thinks that adopting multilateral economy and trade system to promote the liberalization has been challenged, and thus EU began to adjust its foreign trade policy.

In 2006, the European Union developed a "Global Europe" strategy, focusing on the idea of "New Generation FTA" with non-tariff barriers¹⁵⁷. With the main focus on economy, the EU chooses to sign FTA with the targeted state with higher standard of potential market and high degree of market protection. In 2010, the EU published "EU 2020 Strategy", reclaiming the New Generation FTA, and actively construct foreign FTA to promote the east policy through cross region alliance. As a result, the EU chose to form alliance with Asian countries, including South Korea, Singapore, Vietnam, India and Japan. For this reason, participating in regional economic integration has become the EU's main focus on external trade policy¹⁵⁸.

In 2011 and 2012, the EU also published "Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2011-2012, 2012-2013", which not only present that the enlargement of EU because of Croatia negotiation entering the new phase, but also strengthen the economic interdependence inside and outside the country the European Union. With the enlargement of the member states, the EU further consolidated the economic, financial and political stability in Europe and fostered economic growth in the EU, to deepen economic union¹⁵⁹.

3-2-3-2 The US-EU FTA

The FTA between the U.S. and the EU, is also known as Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). In November 2011, the United States and the EU conducted related research

157 Take Reference from the Annual Report on Europe-FTA European Commission, 2013.

158Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Daniao edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 8-9. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁8-9。)

159Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Daniao edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 9. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁9。)

through the establishment “High Level Working Group on Jobs and Growth” (HLWG). In the following paragraph, this thesis will describe the history of signing FTA.

In 2008, in State of the Union Address President Obama mentioned that the U.S. will develop a comprehensive “Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) with the European Union” to revitalize trade and promote the growth of industry, because “Free and fair trade of the Cross-Atlantic will provide millions of high quality work in the U.S.” The evaluation showed that to the free trade negotiation between the United States and the EU would help Obama to reach his goal to double the amount of the export by the end of 2014¹⁶⁰. Obama also planned to complete the ten countries with “Trans-Pacific Partnership” (TPP) agreement negotiations, and increased the status of the U.S. manufacturing centers¹⁶¹. Obama’s US and European trade and investment partnerships aroused the strong response of the EU. Therefore when State John Kerry the new Secretary visited Europe for the first time to Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, the talk of the partnership becomes the focus, which indicates that Obama is looking forward to promoting economic growth, lower prices as well as the maintenance of the U.S. leadership of economy in these two areas through the Asia-Pacific TPP and TTIP Europe¹⁶².

In February 2013, the United States and the European Union announced that it would formally adopt the conclusion from the final report of “High Level Working Group on Jobs and Growth.” Both sides agreed to work towards a deep and comprehensive bilateral agreement, and through the construction of TTIP to solve challenges in bilateral trade and investment, and further promote the economic development of the U.S.. In June 2013, the United States and Europe launched negotiations

160Lin Zheng Yi, < New Presidency and Challenges for the U.S. President Obama ', "New Presidency among the United States, China, Japan and South Korea and Taiwan Economy", April 12, 2013, Foundation Modern Finance and Economics Foundation, pp. 16-17. (林正義, 〈美國歐巴馬總統新政與挑戰〉, 《美中日韓新人新政與台灣經濟》, 2013年4月12日, 財團法人現代財經基金會, 頁16-17。)

161Lin Zheng Yi, < New Presidency and Challenges for the U.S. President Obama ', "New Presidency among the United States, China, Japan and South Korea and Taiwan Economy", April 12, 2013, Foundation Modern Finance and Economics Foundation, pp. 17. (林正義, 〈美國歐巴馬總統新政與挑戰〉, 《美中日韓新人新政與台灣經濟》, 2013年4月12日, 財團法人現代財經基金會, 頁17。)

162Lin Zheng Yi, < New Presidency and Challenges for the U.S. President Obama ', "New Presidency among the United States, China, Japan and South Korea and Taiwan Economy", April 12, 2013, Foundation Modern Finance and Economics Foundation, pp. 17. (林正義, 〈美國歐巴馬總統新政與挑戰〉, 《美中日韓新人新政與台灣經濟》, 2013年4月12日, 財團法人現代財經基金會, 頁17。)

for a period of 18-24 months, and started the first round talks in July¹⁶³. So far there are seven rounds of negotiations in total, both sides have established programs for future negotiations and the basic principles, as well as the regulatory restrictions and principles in-depth discussion. TTIP expected to be completed in 2015¹⁶⁴. Basically the EU's attitude is similar to the U.S., the TTIP constructed by the both side is the obvious example. In addition to traditional consultations on general trade issues, the two sides also have deep discussion on relevant regulatory restrictions and principles of food safety and animal and plant inspection and quarantine measures on epidemic prevention, intellectual property, labor and other issues.



163Du Qiao Xia and Liu Liang Jun, <Adjustment, Transition and Revelation of Obama Government's Shift Trade Policies to Taiwan', "Trade Policy Review", December 2013, pp. 1-32 (杜巧霞、劉亮君，〈歐巴馬政府貿易政策之調整、轉變與對我國之啟示〉，《貿易政策論叢》，2013年12月，頁1-32。)

164Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 16. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁16。)

3-3 The Impact on Taiwan Industry of Signing FTA among Japan, South

Korea, and the European Union Countries

Taiwan is an export-oriented country, and therefore this section explores the impact of Taiwan's industry from change Taiwan's export value and the market after Japan, South Korea and EU trade partner the signing FTA among one another.

3-3-1 The Economic Expectation between the U.S. and the EU on Trade Negotiation and the Impact toward Taiwan

About the talks between the United States and the EU, the U.S. believes would it cover half the world's economic output and more than a third of the amount of trade, goods and services up to nearly \$ 1 trillion¹⁶⁵. Therefore TTP will become a pillar of world trade and investment, and the world's largest free trade zone, which in turn will be an important indicator of global FTA trading standard.

José Manuel Barroso the European Commission President said: The EU and the U.S. negotiations "will set a standard, not only for the future of our bilateral trade and investment, including regulatory issues, will also apply to the development of global trade regulations." Karel De Gucht the EU Trade Commissioner pointed out that unless the United States and Europe to reach an agreement, otherwise the case in the future a lot of trading cases will be forced to accept the standard of China. The United States and the European Union will "start the necessary internal procedures in order to start negotiations on "Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership." By 2027, the EU and the U.S. can expect economic development growth to reach 0.5 percent and 0.4 percent respectively. The former could reach additional 86 billion euros on annual income, while the latter could reach up to 65 billion

165Lin Zheng Yi, < New Presidency and Challenges for the U.S. President Obama ' , "New Presidency among the United States, China, Japan and South Korea and Taiwan Economy", April 12, 2013, Foundation Modern Finance and Economics Foundation, pp. 17. (林正義，〈美國歐巴馬總統新政與挑戰〉，《美中日韓新人新政與台灣經濟》，2013年4月12日，財團法人現代財經基金會，頁17。)

euros¹⁶⁶.

As for the impact on Taiwan's industry and trade, according to Taiwan customs statistics, in 2008 Taiwan's GDP toward 27 member states of the EU trade was \$ 47.69 billion, representing higher growth of 1.6 percent than last year of which exports account for 28.06 billion US dollars, growing up to 3.9%, and imports account for \$ 19.63 billion, decreasing 1.5%. From the above data show that Taiwan is still on the EU trade surplus about \$ 8.42 billion surplus¹⁶⁷.

3-3-2 The Impact of Japan Signing FTA and Joining TPP on Taiwan

Whether Japan joins the TPP or FTA will cause impact on the domestic industries in Taiwan, this section will analyze and summarize the impact on Taiwan market and the industry by the end of 2014.

3-3-2-1 The Impact of Japan Signing FTA with East Asian Countries on Taiwan

According to the research finding of Ministry of Economic Affairs¹⁶⁸:

1. Japan - Singapore FTA

After this FTA has been implemented in November 2002, the growth rate of Taiwan on export to Singapore increased from 9.9% to 15.8% while the growth rate in Japan toward Singapore increased from 2.5% to 11.2%.

2. Japan - Malaysia FTA

After this FTA has been implemented in July 2006, the growth rate of Taiwan on export to Malaysia sharply decreased from 16.6% to 5.7%, while the growth rate in Japan toward Malaysia increased from 7.8% to 22.5%¹⁶⁹.

3. Japan - Thailand FTA

After this FTA has been implemented in November 2007, the growth rate of Taiwan on export to

166 Lin Zheng Yi, < New Presidency and Challenges for the U.S. President Obama ', "New Presidency among the United States, China, Japan and South Korea and Taiwan Economy", April 12, 2013, Foundation Modern Finance and Economics Foundation, pp. 17. (林正義, 〈美國歐巴馬總統新政與挑戰〉, 《美中日韓新人新政與台灣經濟》, 2013年4月12日, 財團法人現代財經基金會, 頁17。)

167 Zhang Shu Wei, Hong Jing Bin, and Li Du Hua, < Assessment of Economic Impact on FTA between Taiwan and the European Union, the United States >, "2009 Aletheia University of Finance and Economy Symposium", the Republic on May 98, Taipei County: Aletheia University, 2009, p C2-32. (張書瑋、洪景彬、李篤華, 〈台灣與歐盟、美國簽訂自由貿易協定之經濟影響評估〉, 《2009真理大學財務與經濟學術研討會》, 民國98年5月, 台北縣:真理大學, 2009年, 頁C2-32。)

168 Yang Zhen Ni, <Strategy and Response of Taiwan Participation in TPP>, the Ministry of Economy, July 10, 2013. (楊珍妮, 〈我國參與經濟整合之策略與因應〉, 經濟部, 101年7月10日。)

169 Yang Zhen Ni, <Strategy and Response of Taiwan Participation in TPP>, the Ministry of Economy, July 10, 2013. (楊珍妮, 〈我國參與經濟整合之策略與因應〉, 經濟部, 101年7月10日。)

Thailand sharply decreased from 16.2% to 5.6% while the growth rate in Japan toward Thailand increased from 8.2% was 15.2%.

Table 3-4 The Impact of Signing FTA between Japan and Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand on Taiwan¹⁷⁰

Unit: Export Growth Rate: %

	Singapore Market		Malaysia Market		Thailand Market	
	Japan-Singapore FTA (Before in Effect)	Japan-Singapore FTA (After in Effect)	Japan-Malaysia FTA (Before in Effect)	Japan-Malaysia FTA (After in Effect)	Japan-Thailand FTA (Before in Effect)	Japan-Thailand FTA (After in Effect)
Period	2000-2002	2003-2008	2004-2006	2007-2008	2005-2007	2007.11(In Effect)
Taiwan	9.9	15.8	16.6	5.7	16.2	-5.6
Japan	2.5	11.2	7.8	22.5	8.2	15.2

3-3-2-2 The Impact of Japan Joining TPP on Taiwan

During this Period TPP has arosed the attention of the academic, the relative industrial value and influenced industries are as below:

1. Aricultural Products Input

Japan is the most important agricultural export markets of Taiwan, according to ITC statistics, we can see the top five TPP countries for Taiwan's agricultural exports are Japan, the United States, Vietnam, Malaysia and Australia, and Taiwan's agricultural product exports to RCEP is in positive growth¹⁷¹.

170Yang Zhen Ni, <Strategy and Response of Taiwan Participation in TPP>, the Ministry of Economy, July 10, 2013. (楊珍妮，〈我國參與經濟整合之策略與因應〉，經濟部，101年7月10日。)

171Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲，〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉，《民報》，2015年5月20日，<http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>，檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

Table 3-5 2009-2013 The Current Situation of Taiwan Imports Agriculture Product from TPP¹⁷²

Unit: Thousand US Dollars

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
The U.S.	2,949,497	3,159,261	3,494,612	2,967,071	2,924,618
Japan	646,417	741,456	809,860	848,790	865,799
Australia	496,608	667,381	760,977	741,466	684,108
New Zealand	353,240	471,879	564,848	541,676	560,300
Malaysia	210,841	286,753	334,220	310,204	305,653
Vietnam	194,100	209,105	257,416	285,799	261,884
Canada	196,714	195,316	215,197	192,884	214,003
Chile	116,673	135,577	155,192	179,137	193,960
Singapore	69,042	90,425	100,514	82,355	90,845
Peru	78,156	75,908	80,693	98,180	45,415
Mexico	31,939	34,387	29,311	33,521	37,061
Brunei	26	31	29	90	254

Table 3-6 2009-2013 The Current Situation of Taiwan Exports Agriculture Product to TPP¹⁷³

Unit: Thousand
US Dollars

General Situation on Taiwan's agricultural products exports to TPP Country

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Japan	651,468	831,712	924,116	996,922	757,010
The U.S.	347,859	379,917	430,370	452,172	455,238
Vietname	172,654	229,502	298,503	259,667	360,549
Malaysia	70,943	81,797	105,643	111,348	119,933

172 Source: International Trade Centre and Reference and Citation from Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (與陳吉仲整理, 引自陳吉仲, 〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉, 《民報》, 2015年5月20日, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, 檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

173Source: International Trade Centre and Reference and Citation from Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (與陳吉仲整理, 引自陳吉仲, 〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉, 《民報》, 2015年5月20日, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, 檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

Unit: Thousand

General Situation on Taiwan's agricultural products exports to TPP Country

US Dollars

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Australia	53,986	66,846	76,398	88,766	92,114
Singapore	59,760	78,166	96,229	91,307	91,761
Canada	54,224	65,008	66,873	76,139	81,765
New Zealand	5,160	6,096	6,378	6,357	6,329
Mexico	4,420	3,593	5,569	4,791	3,911
Brunei	1,076	1,849	2,389	2,664	3,572
Chile	759	775	576	936	1,021
Peru	255	852	387	399	716

As for Taiwan's main agricultural products export to Japan are commodities, frozen vegetables, other modulation food, banana and soybean oil¹⁷⁴.

Table 3-7 2009-2011 The Main Category of Taiwan Agriculture Product to TPP

2009-2011 The Main Category of Taiwan Agriculture

Unit Thousand US

Product to TPP

Dollars

Country	Taiwan Export Item	2009	2010	2011
Japan	Commodities	101891	133815	144818
	Frozen Vegetables	48324	52563	62603

174Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲, 〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉, 《民報》, 2015年5月20日, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, 檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

2009-2011 The Main Category of Taiwan Agriculture

Unit Thousand US

Product to TPP

Dollars

Country	Taiwan Export Item	2009	2010	2011
	Modulation Food	13762	13418	15435
	Banana	12734	12152	12187
	Soybean Oil	4472	4440	9618
The U.S.	Commodities	42810	56637	61428
	Modulation Food	41362	47651	53813
	Pastry	14603	14085	16582
	Beverage	9331	13278	15383
	Sesame Oil	10162	12650	12842
Vietnam	Acohol	66811	95081	117988
	Commodities	17366	20121	44217
	Cigaratte	23600	20728	25923
	Modulation Food	11600	15674	14382
	Combined Animal Food	3024	10924	9993
Malaysia	Modulation Food	22486	26392	34673
	Combined Animal Food	16080	18863	17164
	Soybean Oil	60	75	5110
	Commodities	2502	2603	3820
	Juice	2847	3712	3284
Australia	Modulation Food	8196	9991	11196
	Beverage	2970	3886	4895

2009-2011 The Main Category of Taiwan Agriculture

Unit Thousand US

Product to TPP

Dollars

Country	Taiwan Export Item	2009	2010	2011
	Combined Animal Food	3043	3137	2784
	Pastry	1454	2199	2501
	Cereal	1311	1385	1587
Singapore	Modulation Food	10958	13361	14988
	Beverage	6203	7517	7987
	Commodities	1356	2298	3700
	Pastry	1610	2610	3598
	Fruits	715	1590	2705
Canada	Modulation Food	6509	8330	8941
	Commodities	4126	6728	6697
	Pastry	3729	4874	5393
	Beverage	2098	2736	3418
	Tropical Fruits	1600	2718	2382
New Zealand	Modulation Food	1212	1655	1503
	Beverage	783	899	1028
	Pastry	639	475	589
	Sesame Oil	215	482	379
	Candy	136	235	251
Mexico	Candy	-	-	303
	Sesame Oil	100	20	171
	Essentail Oil	23	99	150

2009-2011 The Main Category of Taiwan Agriculture

Unit Thousand US

Product to TPP

Dollars

Country	Taiwan Export Item	2009	2010	2011
	Commodities	83	170	96
	Modulation Food	161	32	92
Brunei	Coffee Extract	473	671	973
	Beverage	105	110	251
	Commodities	151	212	220
	Pastry	30	126	196
	Orange	48	39	138
Chile	Modulation Food	297	101	115
	Beverage	36	47	109
	Commodities	7	33	37
	Pastry	17	21	24
	Soybean Sauce	33	22	22
Peru	Commodities	55	96	96
	Beverage	40	30	77
	Modulation Food	13	-	45
	Combined Animal Food	30	32	21
	Candy	40	80	20

The import tariffs in agricultural products are the items with higher tariff in Japan. For instance, the import tariffs of frozen vegetables, poultry and egg range from 7% to 12% in Japan, while Japan accounted for 30% 40% on Taiwan exports of this category. Therefore, Japan's join to TPP will benefit a lot to Taiwan's fruit and vegetable farmers, poultry farmers.

2. Plastics Industry

Second, for Taiwan, except for the United States, Japan is the most beneficial export market that provides benefit on the following products, mainly in plastics industry industries, including plastic plates, engineering plastics, shiny liquid, bisphenol A.

3. Textile Industry

As far as TPP is concerned, since the current TPP member countries, Vietnam has exported textile and clothes to the United States, the European Union and Japan while Taiwan's exports to Vietnam textile focusing on the upper and middle of the fiber, yarn and fabric supply, which not only grows fast on trade development, and forms a tight vertical supply chain in Vietnam by the large number of Taiwan's textile industry. However, due to the strict regulation of TPP initiative “Yarn Forward”, even the member states have put out a list of shortage of raw materials, but this list will just have a short period of time the product for applicable deadline. If Taiwan could not join TPP earlier, it may not only affect the arrangement of Taiwan in the overseas textile products purchasing, but also lead to relocation on the upstream textile cloth and processing factory¹⁷⁵. In Japan, for Taiwan the importance of Japanese synthetic fiber yarn (HS 5402) is only followed by Vietnam, and Japan Textiles indeed belong to the country's relatively high level of tariff protection in their local industry. Therefore, under the circumstances of Japan, China and Vietnam have joined TPP, Taiwan's textile industry may be benefit a lot from it¹⁷⁶.

4. Machinery Equipment, Electrical Equipment and Optical Products

Although these three industry trade relations with Japan is quite close, the Japanese local market

175In terms of the textile industry, benefit from the development of basic petrochemical industry, Taiwan occupies an important position in the global production of chemical fiber products, among which the polyester fibers ranked third worldwide, followed behind China and India, is also the worldwide nylon fibers the top three, behind China and the United States; as downstream of textile garment manufacturing, along with the Taiwan's economic take-off and rising labor costs, has been significantly moved to low-cost countries outside the production, such as China, Vietnam and Cambodia. Wu Yu Ying, Xu Yu Jia, <Discuss of Impact of Formation of TPP on Taiwan's Major Export Products in TPP Markets> WTO and RTA Center of Chong Hua Instiution for Economic Research, May 7, 2015, [http://web.wtcenter.org.tw/Mobile/?page.aspx pid = 263511 & nid = 126](http://web.wtcenter.org.tw/Mobile/?page.aspx%20pid%20=%20263511%20&%20nid%20=%20126) retrieves the date: May 28, 2015.

176史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男，〈加入TPP 臺灣準備好了嗎？〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁163。

has been completely open, which did not benefit the export of Taiwan relative industry. In fact, the tariffs on Japan's import consumer goods are aeragely low, as well as with open markets high, so in addition to processed food, the benefit of general products industries provides limited benefit to other industries of Taiwan¹⁷⁷.

Furthermore, since the trade between Japan and Taiwan in the industry and daily product is very close, the consumer financial products account a certain market share in Taiwan. From the analysis of Taiwan's imports from Japan trade value and tariff, certain products woul bring pressure to out local companies, including processed food, plastic rubber products, stone ceramics and glass, metalwork and hand tools, electronic products and small shuttle buses than to note the lowering of tariffs. On the other hand, it also helps to confrain the rise of living cost on the domestic products¹⁷⁸.

Studies have shown that the influenced industries in Taiwan may be much more than the current data has shown, such as Taiwan's medical equipment products, which is still focusing on the export to Europe and America region which connects the Taiwanese medical material industry performanceas well as the economy in Europe and America the performance on purchasing medical material requirements. According to 2012 export data, in 2012 the United States is the most important export countries of Taiwan, which accounts for 29% in export; followed by Japan, accounting for 13%, and followed by China, Germany and the United Kingdom, accounting for 7%, 6% and 5% respectively. These areas support the growth of Taiwan's industrial exports, accounting for 60% of the total exports amount¹⁷⁹. After the formation of TPP, the medical equipment tariff and non-tariff trade barriers reduced, in the future even in addition to rules and norms between the TPP member states, enterprises and meber states can express themselves better for seeking for better competition environemen tin the

177Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editor, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 163. (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP 臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁163。)

178Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng, and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian editor, "the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 163. (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男, 〈加入TPP 臺灣準備好了嗎?〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁163。)

179Zhang Ci Ying, <Analysis on Taiwan Medical Equipment Import and Export >, 2014, http://www.hbmsp.sipa.gov.tw:9090/itri/tw/images/NewsList1030205_04.htm (張慈映, 〈臺灣醫療器材進出口分析〉, 2014,

http://www.hbmsp.sipa.gov.tw:9090/itri/tw/images/NewsList1030205_04.htm。)

decision-making process¹⁸⁰. These may affect the arrangement of the global trade industry and its impact could be long-term, potential and invisible in the short-term.

3-3-3 The Impact of South Korea Signing FTA on Taiwan

3-3-3-1 The Impact on Taiwan's Exports

Industry in Taiwan is export-oriented, after South Korea signing FTA, according to the Economic Ministry the impact on Taiwan's industrial exports are as follows:

1. South Korea-ASEAN

After June 2007, FTA has been implemented, and the export growth rate of Taiwan toward 10 ASEAN countries decreased from 20.1% to 11.8% while the export growth rate of Korea increased from 16.6 percent to 24.0%.

2. South Korea-Singapore

After March 2006, FTA has been implemented, and the export growth rate of Taiwan toward Singapore decreased from 20.4% to 13.2% while the export growth rate of Korea increased from 20.9% to 30.1%.

3. South Korea-Chile

After April 2004, FTA has been implemented, and the export growth rate of Taiwan toward Chile increased from -5.2% to 10.9%.

180Wu Yu Ying and Xu Yu Jia, <Discuss on the Impact of TPP formation on Taiwan's Export Products Markets of TPP Member States> Chong Hua Institution for Economic Research CHINA WTO and RTA Center for Economic Research, May 7, 2015, <http://web.wtocommerce.org.tw/Mobile/page.aspx?pid=263511&nid=126> retrieves the date: May 28, 2015. (吳玉瑩、許裕佳，〈TPP形成對臺灣重要出口產品在TPP市場之影響探討〉，中華經濟研究院WTO及RTA中心，2015年5月7日，<http://web.wtocommerce.org.tw/Mobile/page.aspx?pid=263511&nid=126>檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

Table 3-8 South Korea and ASEAN, the country star, Chile signed FTA impact on Taiwan's exports¹⁸¹

Unit: Export Growth Rate: %

	ASEAN 10 Countries Market		Chile Market		Singapore Market	
	Korea-ASEAN FTA (Before in Effect)	Korea-ASEAN FTA (After in Effect)	Korea-Chile FTA (Before in Effect)	Korea-Chile FTA (After in Effect)	Korea-Singapore FTA (Before in Effect)	Korea-Singapore FTA (After in Effect)
Period	2004-2006	2007-2008	2001-2003	2040-2008	2003-2005	2006-2008
Taiwan	20.1	11.8	-5.2	10.9	20.4	13.2

5. Korea — EU

In 2010, Taiwan and South Korea are and the ninth largest trading partner of EU, which contains similar export products: 70% are focusing on the information electronics, machinery products and automotive-related products¹⁸². According to quantitative estimate result of Europe and Korea joint study, the increased economic benefit of the EU Korea FTA, two-thirds are shared by Korea; and 1/3 shared by the EU mainly coming from the elimination of trade in services barriers, which contains open markets and trade in services¹⁸³. According to the Global Trade Analysis Project(GTAP) analysis, after South Korea signed FTA with Europe, the overall economic impact on Taiwan: the real GDP decline 0.017%; production decreased 0.029% (about \$ 202 million); exports declined 0.035% (about \$ 076 million; and imports declined 0.045% (about \$ 075 million).

181 Yang Zhen Ni, <Taiwan's Strategy and Response to Economic Integration>, the Ministry of Economy, July 10, 2012. (楊珍妮，〈我國參與經濟整合之策略與因應〉，經濟部，101年7月10日。)

182 Zhuo Shi Zhao, <The Impact and Response of FTA between Korea, EU on Taiwan Industry >, the Ministry of Economy, July 27, 2011, www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? ... / 0727 Date: April 2, 2015. (卓士昭，〈韓歐盟 FTA 對我產業影響評估及因應措施〉，經濟部，2011年7月27日，www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? .../0727 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

183 Centre for European Policy Studies, & Korean Institute for International and Economic Policy, 2007, pp85,91-93,105-106。

Table 3-9 The Impact of FTA between European Union and Korea on Taiwan¹⁸⁴

Factors	Dynamic
GDP (%)	-0.017
Total Export Amount (%)	-0.032
Total Import Amount (%)	-0.045
Trade Condition (%)	-0.009
Social Benefit (Million US Dollars)	-69.4
Trade Balance (Million US Dollars)	-11.1

6. Korea — China

In 2013, the estimated impact of China-Korea FTA on Taiwan's industrial exports, the total amount is \$ 156 billion on China, among which 107.1 billion US dollars accounts for 68.67% total exports in China, has zero tariffs. As for the remaining non-zero tariff 48.9 billion US dollars, among which only \$ 200 million is Taiwan has similar exports products with Korea on Chinese market, which accounts for 31.27% of annual total value of China. As a result, around \$48.7 billion of the export value of Chinese products will face competition with Korean products¹⁸⁵.

7. Korea –the United States

Because both the United States and the European Union are important export markets for Taiwan and South Korea, the US-Korea FTA has brought pressure on Taiwan, which has shown as follows:

Table 3-10 The Impact of FTA between the U.S. and South Korea on General Economic Dynamic of

184Gu Ying Hua, <The Impact and Response of FTA between Korea-EU and FTA between US-Korea on Taiwan Industry > May 26, 2011, Chong Hua Institute for Economic Research, www.cieca.org.tw / ConferenceData.aspx? mrid = 336, Date: March 2, 2015. (顧瑩華, 〈歐韓及美韓 FTA 對我產業之衝擊影響及因應措施〉, 2011 年 5 月 26 日, 中華經濟研究院, www.cieca.org.tw/ConferenceData.aspx? mrid=336, 檢索日期:2015 年 3 月 2 日。)

¹⁸⁵< Impact of China- Korea FTA on Taiwan Industry> 2015 the Ministry of Economy on April 10, http://iknow.stpi.narl.org.tw/Post/Files/%E9%99%B8%E9%9F%93FTA% E5% BD% B1% E9% 9F% BF% E8% A9% 95% E4% BC% B0% 28% E7% B6% 93% E6% BF% 9F% E9% 83% A8% 29.pdf (〈陸韓 FTA 對我國產業之影響〉, 經濟部104 年4 月 10 日, http://iknow.stpi.narl.org.tw/Post/Files/%E9%99%B8%E9%9F%93FTA%E5%BD%B1%E9%9F%BF%E8%A9%95%E4%BC%B0%28%E7%B6%93%E6%BF%9F%E9%83%A8%29.pdf)

Factors	Dynamic
GDP (%)	-0.044
Total Export Amount (%)	-0.061
Total Import Amount (%)	-0.085
Trade Condition (%)	-0.014
Social Benefit (Million US Dollars)	-155.8
Trade Balance (Million US Dollars)	-22

Table 3-11 The Impact of FTA between the U.S. and South Korea on Industry Development of Taiwan¹⁸⁷

Unit: Million US Dollars

Industry	US-Korea FTA			
		Amount of Production	Export	Import
Total	Change Rate	-0.064	-0.064	-0.053
	Change Amount	-444	-140.4	-140
Influenced Industry				
Chemical Plastic and Rubber Products	Change Rate	-0.23	-0.276	-0.142
	Change Amount	-137	-76.4	-30.9
Textile	Change Rate	-0.646	-0.653	-0.411
	Change Amount	-133.8	-76.6	-7
Petroleum and Coal Product	Change Rate	-0.138	-0.03	-0.129
	Change Amount	-33.1	-0.7	-2.6
Benefit Industry				
Electrical and Electronic Products	Change Rate	0.022	0.032	0.014
	Change Amount	23.3	26	4.4
Others Transportation	Change Rate	0.121	0.18	-0.103
	Change Amount	7.7	6	-3.4
Metal Product	Change Rate	0.044	0.105	-0.067
	Change Amount	6.9	8	-1.1

3-3-3-2 Individual Influenced Industry

186 Gu Ying Hua, <The Impact and Response of FTA between Korea-EU and FTA between US-Korea on Taiwan Industry > May 26, 2011, Chong Hua Institute for Economic Research, www.cieca.org.tw/ConferenceData.aspx?mrid=336, Date: March 2, 2015. (顧瑩華, 〈歐韓及美韓 FTA 對我產業之衝擊影響及因應措施〉, 2011 年 5 月 26 日, 中華經濟研究院, www.cieca.org.tw/ConferenceData.aspx?mrid=336, 檢索日期:2015 年 3 月 2 日。)

187Gu Ying Hua, <The Impact and Response of FTA between Korea-EU and FTA between US-Korea on Taiwan Industry > May 26, 2011, Chong Hua Institute for Economic Research, www.cieca.org.tw/ConferenceData.aspx?mrid=336, Date: March 2, 2015. (顧瑩華, 〈歐韓及美韓 FTA 對我產業之衝擊影響及因應措施〉, 2011 年 5 月 26 日, 中華經濟研究院, www.cieca.org.tw/ConferenceData.aspx?mrid=336, 檢索日期:2015 年 3 月 2 日。)

1. EU-South Korea

From the tariff structure on the exports toward the EU, Taiwan and South Korea face more than 3% of the tariff rates on textiles and clothing products, basic metal products, electrical and electronic products, plastic products, rubber products and transport equipment, which apparently indicates that Taiwan and South Korea are competing with each other on the detailed classification of products in the EU market¹⁸⁸. On the panel industry, Taiwan and South Korea have been under the severe competition. Since 2007, the EU has adjusted the HS Code. For instance, the EU has changed HS852821 display-related products into HS852859 and HS852849, among which HS852859 is under the category of LCD TV, accounting 14% of the import tariff rate. After the formation of the Korean and Europe FTA, Taiwan manufacturers faced huge pressure on the competition¹⁸⁹. Secondly, Europe is major panel market for Taiwan, if the European LCD TV brand owners could cooperate with Taiwanese panel manufacturers, which brand owners may appoint Taiwanese panel OEM manufacturer or provides panel. By doing so, the strategic alliance of both Taiwan and Europe could reduce the pressure of competition from the implementation of Korea-EU FTA¹⁹⁰.

From the current situation of bilateral exports between Taiwan and South Korea toward the EU, in average Taiwan's exports amounts of products are much lower than that of South Korea. After the FTA, Korean products can enjoy zero tariffs which threat much more pressure on the export of Taiwan's industry¹⁹¹.

188Wang Wen Juan, Luo Shi Fang, < Feasibility Study on the Impact of Korea- EU FTA on Taiwan Economy and The Possibility of Taiwan-Eu FTA ', "97 years of international trade and economic affairs research and training centers program plans a child: case study (9) Execution Results Report" China Economic Research Home (Taiwan WTO Center), December 2008, p I. (王文娟、羅時芳, 〈韓歐盟 FTA對我經濟可能之影響及台歐盟 FTA 可行性研究〉, 《97 年度國際經貿事務研究及培訓中心計畫子計畫一: 專題研究(9)執行成果報告書》, 中華經濟研究院(台灣 WTO 中心), 2008年12月, 頁I。)

189Wang Wen Juan, Luo Shi Fang, < Feasibility Study on the Impact of Korea- EU FTA on Taiwan Economy and The Possibility of Taiwan-Eu FTA ', "97 years of international trade and economic affairs research and training centers program plans a child: case study (9) Execution Results Report" China Economic Research Home (Taiwan WTO Center), December 2008, p II. (王文娟、羅時芳, 〈韓歐盟 FTA對我經濟可能之影響及台歐盟 FTA 可行性研究〉, 《97 年度國際經貿事務研究及培訓中心計畫子計畫一: 專題研究(9)執行成果報告書》, 中華經濟研究院(台灣 WTO 中心), 2008年12月, 頁II。)

190Wang Wen Juan, Luo Shi Fang, < Feasibility Study on the Impact of Korea- EU FTA on Taiwan Economy and The Possibility of Taiwan-Eu FTA ', "97 years of international trade and economic affairs research and training centers program plans a child: case study (9) Execution Results Report" China Economic Research Home (Taiwan WTO Center), December 2008, p II.(王文娟、羅時芳, 〈韓歐盟 FTA對我經濟可能之影響及台歐盟 FTA 可行性研究〉, 《97 年度國際經貿事務研究及培訓中心計畫子計畫一: 專題研究(9)執行成果報告書》, 中華經濟研究院(台灣 WTO 中心), 2008年12月, 頁II。)

191Wang Wen Juan, Luo Shi Fang, < Feasibility Study on the Impact of Korea- EU FTA on Taiwan Economy and The Possibility of Taiwan-Eu FTA ', "97 years of international trade and economic affairs research and training centers program plans a child: case study (9) Execution Results Report" China Economic Research Home (Taiwan WTO Center), December 2008, p II-III (王文娟、

Table 3-12 The Evaluation on the Impact of FTA between European and South Korea on Taiwan Industry¹⁹²

		Number of Category	Amount of Trade	Percentage	Average	General Description of the Product
Threat Product	Low Tariff lower than 4.83%	859	58.97	40.33	2.91	Machinery equipment and parts (metal processing machining, turbo jet engines or propellers driven by turbines), transformers (electrostatic converter), battery (engine piston engine with the lead-acid batteries), electrical appliances (radio navigation aids, lighting or visual signaling equipment), iron and steel products (other wood screws), measuring instruments (production counters, tachograph) and hand tools (other hand tools)
	Middle Tariff Higher than 4.83%	550	20.65	14.12	8.63	Plastic products (table with tableware and kitchen tools, epoxy resin), knitwear (pullovers with man-made fibers), non-knitted garments (bra, waist), organic chemicals (acrylic acid esters), footwear (outsole and uppers of rubber or other footwear made of plastic), textile products (curtains made of synthetic fibers), glass products (glass fibers (including glass wool)), aluminum products (nails, tacks, staples), the non-power bicycle
Impactred Product	Tariff Higher than 4.83%	66	29.09	19.9	7.16	Plastic products (ABS copolymer, boxes), organic chemicals (acids and anhydrides additional oxygen functional groups, the terephthalic acid and its salts), woven fabrics of synthetic filament yarn, monitors and projectors
		884	2.92	1.99	8.47	Non-knitted garments (female formal suits of synthetic fibers), plastic products (styrene of polymer, SAN copolymer), knitted garments, hosiery, man-made fiber pile fabrics, organic chemicals (adipic acid, sulfur acyl amines), synthetic fibers woven fabrics of cotton, recycled cotton fiber woven fabrics, cotton woven fabrics, radio receivers, TV cameras
	Tariff Lower than 4.83%	1,130	34.6	23.66	2.91	Machinery and equipment and its parts (pump parts, metal casting mold box, other office machines), electrical equipment and components (circuit switching), optical fiber, optical devices (other materials spectacle lenses), rate indicator and speed meter, dynamic regulating or controlling instruments and apparatus, iron and steel products (screws and bolts), accessories (wheels and parts and accessories, including airbag inflation system) of the vehicle, the glass (size and shape suitable for the glass of a vehicle), rubber products (for small car tires, motor bike with the new rubber pneumatic tires) and miscellaneous manufactured products
Total		3,489	146.23	100	5.3	

羅時芳，〈韓歐盟 FTA對我經濟可能之影響及台歐盟 FTA 可行性研究〉，《97 年度國際經貿事務研究及培訓中心計畫子計畫一：專題研究(9)執行成果報告書》，中華經濟研究院(台灣 WTO 中心)，2008年12月，頁II-III。

192 Zhuo Shi Zhao, <The Impact and Response of FTA between Korea, EU on Taiwan Industry >, the Ministry of Economy, July 27, 2011, www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? ... / 0727 Date: April 2, 2015. (卓士昭，〈韓歐盟 FTA 對我產業影響評估及因應措施〉，經濟部，2011 年 7 月 27 日，www.trade.gov.tw/.../File.ashx? ... / 0727 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 2 日。)

Table 3-13 The Impact of FTA between European and South Korea on Taiwan Industry Respectively¹⁹³

Unit: %, Million Euro				
Industry	Europe-Korea FTA			
		Production Amount	Export	Import
Total	Change Rate	-0.029	-0.035	-0.045
	Change Amount	-202.6	-76	-75.3
Influenced Industry				
Chemical Plastic and Rubber Products	Change Rate	-0.093	-0.12	-0.072
	Change Amount	-55.7	-33.3	-15.6
Textile	Change Rate	-0.138	-0.155	-0.122
	Change Amount	-24.3	-18.2	-2.1
Mechine	Change Rate	-0.04	-0.045	-0.039
	Change Amount	-24	-19.3	-14.8
Benefit Industry				
Steel	Change Rate	0.026	0.102	-0.027
	Change Amount	6.8	6.7	-2.3
Other Transportation	Change Rate	0.043	0.07	-0.018
	Change Amount	2.8	2.3	-0.6
Metal Product	Change Rate	0.016	0.054	-0.068
	Change Amount	2.4	4.1	-1.1

1. Korea — China

On February 25 2015, China and South Korea FTA draft was completed, the preliminary substituted amount of money in products estimated is approximately about \$ 17 million, combined NT \$ 510 million, 20 years after the implementation of the FTA, the impact on Taiwan's GDP is slightly lower than the 0.15% , and the amount of money in products substituted in around of \$ 6 billion US dollars¹⁹⁴.

193 Gu Ying Hua, <The Impact and Response of FTA between Korea-EU and FTA between US-Korea on Taiwan Industry > May 26, 2011, Chong Hua Institute for Economic Research, www.cieca.org.tw / ConferenceData.aspx? mrid = 336, Date: May 8, 2015. (顧瑩華, 〈歐韓及美韓 FTA 對我產業之衝擊影響及因應措施〉, 2011 年 5 月 26 日, 中華經濟研究院, www.cieca.org.tw/ConferenceData.aspx ? mrid=336, 檢索日期:2015 年 5 月 8 日。)

194Chen Wen Wei, <Recognized it! After 20 years later, the Impact of China-Korea FTA on Taiwan affect only 180 billion which is One-Fourth of the Expectation of Ministry of Economy 650 billion

According to the website information, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, China and South Korea mutually open tariff than ninety percent in the China-South Korea FTA. On trade value, China opened 85% to South Korea while South Korea opened 91%¹⁹⁵. According to the Ministry of Economic Affairs statistics, recently China has imported industrial products up to 156.3 billion US dollars from Taiwan. In addition to 59% for the Information Technology Agreement (ITA) in zero tariff and 10% have been included in the early harvest list, and there were 31%, from about 49 billion dollar industrial products, currently still under tariffs¹⁹⁶. After the implementation of China and South Korea FTA, the zero-tariff policy will affect Taiwan's current market share in China. During the competition between Taiwan and South Korea in the four major competitive industry, in the petrochemical industry, after China and South Korea FTA implented, South Korea's PVC and polyethylene (PE) exporting to China, the tariff will be divided into five years from the current 6.5% tariff cut to 4.2% and 6% respectively, and after that the tariff will remain fixed. However, the tariff of polystyrene (PS) and ABS resin will be cut to zero within 20 years¹⁹⁷. Economy Ministry forecasts that

NT\$), "Taiwan People Daily", April 10, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/d44720ab-96d1-4d5b-986c-1c01b3854d84>. (陳文蔚, 〈認了! 中韓 FTA 對台衝擊 20 年後僅影響 1800 億 經濟部自打臉 影響僅原估 6500 億元的 1/4〉, 《民報》, 2015 年 4 月 10 日, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/d44720ab-96d1-4d5b-986c-1c01b3854d84>。)

¹⁹⁵Wu Fu Xiang, Lin Chen Yi, <The Open China-Korea FTA Reduces the Impact on Taiwa>, "Economic Daily", February 26, 2015, <http://udn.com/news/story/7815/725378-%E4%B8%AD%E9%9F%93FTA%E6%9B%9D%E5%85%89-%E5%B0%8D%E5%8F%B0%E8%A1%9D%E6%93%8A%E9%99%8D%E4%BD%8E>。

(吳父鄉、林宸誼, 〈中韓 FTA 曝光 對台衝擊降低〉, 《經濟日報》, 2015 年 2 月 26 日, <http://udn.com/news/story/7815/725378-%E4%B8%AD%E9%9F%93FTA%E6%9B%9D%E5%85%89-%E5%B0%8D%E5%8F%B0%E8%A1%9D%E6%93%8A%E9%99%8D%E4%BD%8E>。)

¹⁹⁶Gong Ming Xin, <China-Korea FTA May Cause Industry Competitooon>, the ROC Executive Yuan, September 4, 2014, http://www.ey.gov.tw/News_Content15.aspx?N=22DE2FC89D3EE7DA&s=1A25840C49B22A93. (龔明鑫, 〈中韓 FTA 可能成局下之產業競爭〉, 中華民國行政院, 2014 年 9 月 4 日)

http://www.ey.gov.tw/News_Content15.aspx?n=22DE2FC89D3EE7DA&s=1A25840C49B22A93。

¹⁹⁷Wu Fu Xiang, Lin Chen Yi, <The Open China-Korea FTA Reduces the Impact on Taiwa>, "Economic Daily", February 26, 2015, <http://udn.com/news/story/7815/725378-%E4%B8%AD%E9%9F%93FTA%E6%9B%9D%E5%85%89-%E5%B0%8D%E5%8F%B0%E8%A1%9D%E6%93%8A%E9%99%8D%E4%BD%8E>。

manufacturing products are the most likely to be influenced, which will cause direct impact on Taiwan's industry, including petrochemicals, textiles and clothing, glass, steel, automobile, panels, polarizers and tools¹⁹⁸.

Table 3-14 The Analysis on the Amount of Money of Taiwan Main Export Industry by Replacement¹⁹⁹

Unit: Hundred Million US Dollars

	First Year	10 th Year	20 th Year
After the China-Korea	(1) Petrochemical Industry 0.0021~0.0096	(1) Petrochemical Industry 0.3~1.4	(1) Petrochemical Industry 4.1~18.3
FTA	(2) Textiles and Clothing 0.05~0.06	(2) Textiles and Clothing 0.75~0.88	(2) Textiles and Clothing 0.84~1.01
	(3) Glass 0.005~0.1	(3) Glass 0.105~0.21	(3) Glass 0.255~0.46
		(4) Steel 0.571~0.861	(4) Steel 0.598~0.997
		(5) Automobile 0.373~0.466	(5) Automobile 0.401~0.501
		(6) Polarizer 2.69~7.84	(6) Polarizer 2.69~7.84
		(7) Panel 14.49~30.82	(7) Panel 14.5~30.84
		(8) Tool 0.012~0.024	(8) Tool 0.024~0.049
Total	0.06~0.17	19.29~42.50	23.41~60.00

<http://udn.com/news/story/7815/725378-%E4%B8%AD%E9%9F%93FTA%E6%9B%9D%E5%85%89-%E5%B0%8D%E5%8F%B0%E8%A1%9D%E6%93%8A%E9%99%8D%E4%BD%8E> (吳父鄉、林宸誼，〈中韓 FTA 曝光 對台衝擊降低〉，《經濟日報》，2015 年 2 月 26 日，<http://udn.com/news/story/7815/725378-%E4%B8%AD%E9%9F%93FTA%E6%9B%9D%E5%85%89-%E5%B0%8D%E5%8F%B0%E8%A1%9D%E6%93%8A%E9%99%8D%E4%BD%8E>。)

¹⁹⁸ 〈陸韓 FTA 對我國產業之影響〉，經濟部 104 年 4 月 10 日，

<http://iknow.stpi.narl.org.tw/Post/Files/%E9%99%B8%E9%9F%93FTA%E5%BD%B1%E9%9F%BF%E8%A9%95%E4%BC%B0%28%E7%B6%93%E6%BF%9F%E9%83%A8%29.pdf> 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 20 日。

¹⁹⁹ Chen Wen Wei, <Recognized it! After 20 years later, the Impact of China-Korea FTA on Taiwan affect only 180 billion which is One-Fourth of the Expectation of Ministry of Economy 650 billion NT\$>, "Taiwan People Daily", April 10, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/d44720ab-96d1-4d5b-986c-1c01b3854d84>. (陳文蔚，〈認了！中韓 FTA 對台衝擊 20 年後僅影響 180 億 經濟部自打臉 影響僅原估 6500 億元的 1/4〉，《民報》，2015 年 4 月 10 日，<http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/d44720ab-96d1-4d5b-986c-1c01b3854d84>。)

According to the report in February 2013 proposed by Satoshi Okuda the Japan's Institute of Developing Economies JETRO visiting researcher and Professor in Asian Institute of Asian University of Japan in the Japanese Ministry of Finance report, Taiwan's export in China-South Korea FTA will be affected around \$ 3.5 billion²⁰⁰. In addition, on the 2011 collaborate research of Professor Satoshi Okuda and Yuichi Watanabe, they estimated that after the signing of China-South Korea FTA, Taiwan's export products in the Chinese market will be replaced by the total value of about 3319.4 million US dollars²⁰¹. They also estimated that Taiwan's export products in the Korean market will be replaced by approximately \$ 197.5 million US dollars²⁰². Apparently, South Korea has been amplified by the strength of their trade through the FTA and step forward.

3-4 Conclusion

As the liberalization brought by WTO stopped, regional economic integration

200Wherein the chemical and plastic from about 0.99 billion, precision optical machinery class of about 0.94 billion, base metals category of approximately 0.458 billion, fibers (including leather, footwear) class of approximately US 0.394, the motor class approximately 0.215, machinery and other 0.144 billion. Wu Fu Cheng, September 1, 2014. <Another Perspective on China-Korea FTA>, "Taiwan Economic Research Monthly", <http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx? GUID = 32449bcb-74f1-41dd-9b68-7a957d58ea98>. Retrieval Date: April 29, 2015.

201Wherein individual industries suffered from most impact is the class precision optical instruments of approximately \$ 1.5 billion 4,834 million, clothing fibers and approximately \$ 300 million class 8,376 million and other metals of approximately \$ 200 million 2,465 million, or approximately \$ 200 million chemical class 6.4 million motor class of approximately \$ 100 million 9,874 million, or approximately \$ 7,989 ten thousand machinery and so on. Wu Fucheng, September 1, 2014. <Another Perspective on China-Korea FTA>, "Taiwan Economic Research Monthly", <http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx? GUID = 32449bcb-74f1-41dd-9b68-7a957d58ea98>.

202The main affected individual industries are: mechanical approximately \$ 22.33 million, approximately \$ 20.87 million chemical class, other metals of approximately \$ 18.09 million, or approximately \$ 17.9 million motor type, other transportation equipment of approximately \$ 16.74 million, or about precision optical machinery US \$ 1,467 million, or fiber and clothing class of about 15.39 million US dollars, rubber and plastic approximately \$ 13.84 million and owned communications equipment category of approximately \$ 10.04 million and so on. Wu Fucheng, September 1, 2014. < Another Perspective on China-Korea FTA>, "Taiwan Economic Research Monthly", <http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx? GUID = 32449bcb-74f1-41dd-9b68-7a957d58ea98>. Retrieval Date: April 29, 2015.

phenomenon becomes clearer. From the current trend of global regional integration, the trend has been focusing on the cross-regional economic integration alliances, and formed three tremendous blocks in Europe, the U.S. and Asia, among which Asia is the fastest region within the shorter time period in integration²⁰³. As for the U.S., the main promoter of TPP has promoted its "Pivot to Asia" strategy in the region of Asia for its economic integration. Through the promotion of TPP, the U.S. hopes to establish the Asia-Pacific free trade zone and even to link between Europe and Asia-Pacific battlefields to regain its role as a superpower world order makers through the FTA with the EU. As for China, it also has its own plan, scholars believe that China-South Korea FTA indicates the economic development policies aiming to get rid of "big but not strong" into the "big and strong" to further construct the comprehensive supply chain system. Therefore, through the cooperation with South Korea, it is the best approach for China to accelerate the upgrade and process²⁰⁴. From the above discussion, this thesis found when all countries deal with their own country's FTA based on their own state interest; however Taiwan remains trapped in political ideology protest, and not seeing the real situation of Taiwan's economy has become isolated.

203Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen, Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 29. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，〈由ECFA到TPP〉，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁29。)

204Li Chun, <China-Korea FTA Causes Fear>, Chong Hua Institute for Economic Research, <http://www.cier.edu.tw/ct.asp?xItem=23829&ctNode=61&mp=1>? (李淳，〈中韓FTA令人不寒而顫〉，中華經濟研究院，<http://www.cier.edu.tw/ct.asp?xItem=23829&ctNode=61&mp=1>)

Chapter 4

The Strategic Evaluation on Taiwan Joining TPP

2012 President Ma Ying-Jeou's "Golden Decade Vision Plan" proposed policy statement that Taiwan will take eight years to join the TPP and engage in the global network of regional economic integration. The government actively proposed relative plans and measures to insist the intention to join TPP²⁰⁵. Even the conservative Democratic Progressive Party also insisted on joining TPP is the right path for Taiwan to participate in regional economic integration

As far as the U.S. is concerned, some voices from the U.S. Congress and the executive department welcome Taiwan to join TPP. A survey report released by the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei also showed that most of the American business men in Taiwan support Taiwan's join in TPP²⁰⁶. However, owing to the fact that on one hand TPP is led by the U.S.. On the other hand international participation of Taiwan always depends on China's attitude. Therefore, the domestic opinion integration in Taiwan needs to take the attitude of the two great powers into consideration. As Scott Meikle the representative of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei reminded, "Whether Taiwan can achieve a high standard of openness TPP, in addition to its own efforts and it must take China attitude into concerns which has been a key impact. However, current the attitude of China on this issue is still unknown, which is the important

205Li Shi Hui, <Japan's Domestic TPP Debate and Response of Abe Regime', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 2014 numbers, pp. 146. (李世暉, 〈日本國內的TPP 爭論與安倍政權的對應〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》, 第10卷第3期, 2014年秋季號, 頁146。)

206Wu Fu Cheng, <Analysis on Cross-Straits Involved in RCEP, TPP and FTAAP>, January 30, 2015, www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=9ef3079c... Retrieval Date: April 29, 2015.(吳福成, 〈兩岸參與 RCEP、TPP 和 FTAAP 問題研析〉, 2015 年 1 月 30 日, www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=9ef3079c..。檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 29 日。)

issue of Taiwan must actively face²⁰⁷.” However, from the nature of the establishment of the TPP, it is based on the United States “Pivot to Asia” strategy and the "economic containment" against China. Taiwan, no matter on the field of politic or military, it has always been seen as a key pawn in the chess game with the competition against China. As a result, such a paradoxical international situation makes some space for Taiwan participate in TPP. In light of this issue, Taiwan's participation in TPP is not just a dream or a slogan. However, from the aspect of the U.S. as the super power, why should the U.S. get involved Asia Pacific region with the strategy of TTP on the current situation? From the nature of economic containment in TPP, what would happen between the economic competition between the U.S.? This chapter is will have an examination and review.

4-1 Strategy on Peaceful Development in Asia Pacific

Region

From the regional structure, China leverages its economic rise into political advantage of the situation when the region will become increasingly obvious. In order to continue to maintain its influence in East Asia, the U.S. will be covering economic, military and diplomatic at all levels strategic focus, maintaining its influence in the Asia-Pacific²⁰⁸, which is the United States “Pivot to Asia” strategy under the formation of the United States and China in East Asia. In this situation, for the U.S. as the world police or the world superpower, the turmoil

207Wu Fu Cheng, <Analysis on Cross-Straits Involved in RCEP, TPP and FTAAP>, January 30, 2015, [www.tier.org.tw / comment / analysis / pec2110.aspx? GUID = 9ef3079c ...](http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=9ef3079c...) Retrieval Date: April 29, 2015.(吳福成, 〈兩岸參與 RCEP、TPP 和 FTAAP 問題研析〉, 2015 年 1 月 30 日, [www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx ? GUID=9ef3079c..](http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=9ef3079c..)。檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 29 日。)

208Lin Zheng Yi, <The Strategy of US Asia-Pacific Rebalancing and Its Impact on Taiwan', "Taiwan's Defense" series (b), 24 January, 2015. (林正義, 〈美國亞太再平衡戰略及其對台灣的影响〉, 《台灣國防》系列(二), 2015年1月24日。)

and uncertainty triggered by China's rise is the top priority in East Asia to be treated.

4-1-1 Requirement for Regional Security

4-1-1-1 The Situation of State Competition in the Post-Cold War

In the Post-Cold War after the destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S.'s "Pivot to Asia" strategy is under the situation that there is no super power exists in the Asian region. After the reform and opening up policy, China has become Asia's major powers. Also the formation of ASEAN countries makes the status of the Southeast Asian countries becomes more influential in this region, such as the case of Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore, which makes the Asia-Pacific region a super multi-polar situation. In addition to that is, over the past two major regional conflicts in the Soviet power constraints gradually emerge. The consequences brought by the U.S. containment policy against the Soviet Union, such as South Korea, North Korea, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, China and Taiwan, makes the extremely tension situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

For Japan who always formed always with the United States, owing to the economy depression, it has faced the most intense rise up of the domestic extreme right since World War II. Japan, located in Northeast Asia, has been praised by Ezra F. Vogel that "Japan as Number One" in 1979 is the peak of economic power²⁰⁹, which turned the influenced under the bubble economy since 1990²¹⁰. Externally, since 1980, the conflict between Japan and South Korea has become much more severe, such as Dokdo (Takeshima) ownership dispute, textbooks tamper event, the Japanese prime minister visited the Yasukuni Shrine, and after March 2005, Japan has conducted a series of actions triggering anti-Japanese demonstration, including sending troops overseas, the constitutional

209Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan As Number One: Lessons For America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979) .

210Zhang Qi Xiong, <The International Situation of China and Northeast Asia in Post Cold War', "Post-Cold War International Relations, China and Northeast Asia," pp. 2, <http://www2.thu.edu.tw/~trc/2-thuup/3-program/first/2-work/1-02.pdf>. Date: March 24, 2015.(張啟雄，〈冷戰後中國與東北亞的國際情勢〉，《冷戰後中國與東北亞的國際關係》，頁2，<http://www2.thu.edu.tw/~trc/2-thuup/3-program/first/2-work/1-02.pdf>。檢索日期:2015年3月24日。)

amendment movement, and the join of the United Nations Security Council members, which finally make the relation between Japan and South Korea rapidly deteriorated²¹¹.

On the other hand, as for North Korea who always provokes the U.S. hegemony, has finally become bombs Asia-Pacific region. After the 911 event, in January 2002, the U.S. President George W. Bush (George W. Bush) first named North Korea and Iran, Iraq, and tied it with terrorists as "Axis of Evil" in the "State of the Union Address". The U.S. believes that these countries, including North Korea, are seeking weapons of mass destruction, and threat to world peace²¹².

In October 2002, North Korea admitted it secretly developing nuclear weapons, triggering a second nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula which not only triggers the sensitive the Korean Peninsula security, but also affects the regional security situation in Northeast Asia. Unexpectedly in early 2003, North Korea has expelled United Nations personnel for inspection nuclear development at Yongbyon, and announced its withdrawal from "the NPT" to further restart nuclear reactors. On August 27 of the same year year in order to solve the North Korean nuclear crisis development, the U.S. had turned to expect China to play the key role in this issue, resulting in the development of an informal multilateral dialogue mechanisms by the United States, China, Japan, Russia, South Korea, North Korea as the six-party composition²¹³. Until July 2005, China made North Korea come the negotiating table. Despite the six-party talks suspended, but undoubtedly it temporarily relieves the armed conflict between the U.S. and North Korea, and also the tension in Northeast Asia international situation. However, by 2012, in order to consolidate their political power the new leader of North Korea Kim Jong-un frequently delivers missile tests on the target of South

211Zhang Qi Xiong, <The International Situation of China and Northeast Asia in Post Cold War ', "Post-Cold War International Relations, China and Northeast Asia," pp. 7, <http://www2.thu.edu.tw/~trc/2-thuup/3-program/first/2-work/1-02.pdf>. Date: March 24, 2015.(張啟雄，〈冷戰後中國與東北亞的國際情勢〉，《冷戰後中國與東北亞的國際關係》，頁7，<http://www2.thu.edu.tw/~trc/2-thuup/3-program/first/2-work/1-02.pdf>。檢索日期:2015年3月24日。)

212"President Delivers State of the Union Address," 29 January 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>。

Zhang Qi Xiong, <The International Situation of China and Northeast Asia in Post Cold War ', "Post-Cold War International Relations, China and Northeast Asia," pp. 10, <http://www2.thu.edu.tw/~trc/2-thuup/3-program/first/2-work/1-02.pdf>. Date: March 24, 2015.(張啟雄，〈冷戰後中國與東北亞的國際情勢〉，《冷戰後中國與東北亞的國際關係》，頁10，<http://www2.thu.edu.tw/~trc/2-thuup/3-program/first/2-work/1-02.pdf>。檢索日期:2015年3月24日。)

Korea, resulting in the Asia-Pacific region, "security dilemma"²¹⁴."

In addition to North Korea, the rise of China is the top issue for the United States to deal with. The relations between border countries often lead to disputes, such as Japan and India. In the past, China's economic rise with low-key diplomacy hopes to replace stressed "the gun out of the regime" with the image an image of "peaceful China", and further alleviate international tension caused by "China threat theory" in the Europe and the U.S. society. This "peaceful country" in shaping has continued until the 1980s, after collapse of the Soviet Union.

As the Soviet Union collapsed the Cold War, it brought the World into the Post Cold War situation. At this moment, China's foreign security strategy mainly focused on pursuing economic security, defending the domestic economic interests, developing marine resources, and protecting the safety of maritime economic activities²¹⁵. In addition to reach the goal of "Create a peaceful international environment for national construction", China tried to avoid involvement in a new war, and also blocked the possible war outside the border²¹⁶. As a result, for security concern, China tried to avoid conflict with its surrounding neighbors.

For example, India the neighboring of China continues to have border disputes with China. As India's rising maritime combat power, this aims at making the Indian Ocean against the terrorist attacks in India's oceans and the Strait of Malacca²¹⁷. While whether on the issue of western territory with India

214The so-called security dilemma refers to the state to expand arms or allied approach to maintain national security, at the same time surrounded by neighbors because of anxiety and a sense of crisis, but also begin to lift arms, causing relatively unstable situation in the region. After the end of the Cold War, in Asia whether it is military, economic, political, technological, the United States is in a position of comparative advantage, and therefore the United States has a leading role in security and military issues in the Asian region, in the case of American power to maintain and less likely to produce security among Asian countries concerns and the plight of the arms race, but if the U.S. decided to reduce the area of the United States military commitments, such as the removal of military bases in Japan and South Korea, which will cause the results of "power vacuum" in Asian countries to further create competitive motives, resulting balance collapse. Cited Chen Jian Min, "the US Factor in Cross-Strait Relations" Red Ant Books Ltd., 2007, pp. 147.

215Yan Xue Tong, <China's Foreign Security Policy in Post Cold War', "Contemporary International Relations." August 1995, pp. 25. (閻學通,〈冷戰後中國的對外安全性原則〉,《現代國際關係》,1995年8月,頁25。)

216Yan Xue Tong, <China's Foreign Security Policy in Post Cold War', "Contemporary International Relations." August 1995, pp. 25. (閻學通,〈冷戰後中國的對外安全性原則〉,《現代國際關係》,1995年8月,頁25。)

217 Xiao Yuan Xing, <Comment on "Myanmar Military Government Demonstration and the attitude of Chinese Communist Party"> "Communist studies", Vol. 42, No. 1, Taipei: CPC research magazine,

or frontier of the Indian Ocean routes issues China has showed a tough attitude and diplomatic action.

Moreover, the most typical case is the Diaoyutai Islands in the East China Sea dispute, which is not just the border dispute in the territory between Japan and China, but also the maritime hegemony competition between the both sides. Among the half century of the late 1990s until 2001, professor Murata pointed out that during Japanese Parliament examination, the term Senkaku or Diaoyu keeps emerging around 26 times during six years. The reason why Japan's parliament considered the Diaoyu Islands is to "use the Senkaku Islands issue to stress that China's military threat²¹⁸." Until Shinzo Abe becomes the Japanese prime minister who represents the right-wing ideology, he claimed that he would lead Japan to become "normal country", and is ready to "established a national security and safety management system with the needs of Japan and its alliance's in the twenty-first century in Asia." Soon Japan House of Representatives passed the plan of "National Security Council²¹⁹." In December 2012, Japan has announced a new draft constitution, expressed to the Emperor of Japan as head of state, which not only just represent a symbol of the country. The Japanese Self-Defense Forces will be renamed as the Japanese army. This means that the Abe government will give up the post-war pacifist constitution, and began to pave the way for the rise of Japanese military²²⁰.

January 2008, pp. 37. (蕭源興，〈評「緬甸軍政府鎮壓示威與中共之態度」〉，《中共研究》，第42卷，第1期，臺北：中共研究雜誌社，2008年1月，頁37。)

²¹⁸Li Li Zhao and Guo Hui, "The Refutation of Japanese Public on the Declaration of Senkaku Islands Claimed" the Straits Academic Press, May 2013, pp.171. 李理、趙國輝，《日本各界人士對日本尖閣列島主張的反駁》，海峽學術出版社，2013年5月，頁171。

²¹⁹Shi Jun Yu, "The 'Booster' for Revival of Japanese Militarism" "Takungpao", January 9, 2015, <http://news.takungpao.com/opinion/highlights/2013-11/2026145.html>, retrieve Date: 2015 on January 24th. (〈施君玉，日本復活軍國主義的「助推器」〉，《大公網》，2015年1月9日，<http://news.takungpao.com/opinion/highlights/2013-11/2026145.html>，檢索日期:2015年1月24日。)

²²⁰Wenhui Network News, <Abe Constitutional Revival of Militarism Becomes Threat Against Asia', "China Review Network", February 4, 2015, <http://news.wenweipo.com/2013/05/04/IN1305040009.htm>, retrieval date: February 24, 2015. (文匯網訊，

As Japan paved the way for the rise of military, the interior of Japan reflects that its possible concern and protection against China. For instance, in 2010 Japan delivered "mobile defense capability" in "National Defense Program Outline," which viewed the "China rapid military expansion, as "a regional and international matters of social concern." The focus of the defense has shifted from the local area to "southwest islands," which is mainly "China's military rise" and "China continued expansion for its maritime rights movement." Japan thinks that the strengthened action of China such as military movement in surrounding waters and enhanced naval forces has become "concerns" regional and international community²²¹.

By 2012, as the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese Diaoyutai sovereignty dispute, on December 31st, three Chinese ocean surveillance ship entered waters nearby the Diaoyu Islands, and Japanese 11 Regional Coast Guard Headquarters Naha warned the Chinese ship away from the area on the reason of invasion Japanese "territory waters." In September 2012, China official boat has entered Diaoyutai waters more than 20 times after Japan declared the "nationalization" Diaoyutai Islan by December 31st²²². In November 2013, China directly decalred East Airlines Identification Zone and also continued South China Sea Aviation

〈安倍修憲復甦軍國主義威脅亞洲〉，《中國評論網》，2015年2月4日，
<http://news.wenweipo.com/2013/05/04/IN1305040009.htm>，檢索日期:2015年2月24日。)

²²¹Yang Yong Ming, <Analsis of Japan's Defense Program Outline>, "Taiwan'sLaw Network", in January 2005, http://www.lawtw.com/article.php?template=article_content&area=free_browse&parent_path=,1,4,&job_id=68069&article_category_id=16&article_id=31823; Yu Yongsheng, <Editorial: Japan the anti-China referred to the national strategic security height', "China Review News," December 28, 2010, <http://www.chinareviewnews.com/crn-webapp/doc/docDetailCNML.jsp?coluid=137&kindid=5291&docid=101540736> Date: March 24, 2015. (楊永明, 〈日本防衛計畫大綱解析〉, 《台灣法律網》, 2005年1月, http://www.lawtw.com/article.php?template=article_content&area=free_browse&parent_path=,1,4,&job_id=68069&article_category_id=16&article_id=31823; 余永勝, 〈社評: 日本把防華提到國家戰略安全高度〉, 《中國評論新聞網》, 2010年12月28日, <http://www.chinareviewnews.com/crn-webapp/doc/docDetailCNML.jsp?coluid=137&kindid=5291&docid=101540736>. 檢索日期:2015年3月24日。)

²²²Cai Yi, <Battle between China and Japan in Diaoyutai', "China Review", February 2013, pp. 59. (蔡翼, 〈中日對決釣魚台〉, 《中國評論》, 2013年2月號, 頁59。)

Identification Zone which may outbreak Sino-Japanese war once the intense conflict occurs.

4-1-1-2 Necessiry of Continued American hegemony

One the issue of East Asia dispute, the United States on the case of North Korea event, borrowed strength from the "Big Brother" China, but on the other hand, on the East Asia tensions triggered by assertive issue of China in the field of diplomacy and territorial, the United States adopted containment policy through strengthened relations with friendly countries. On the issue of East China Sea, on November 29th, 2012 the U.S. Senate decided to add the supplementary provisions in the 2013 fiscal year in "National Defense Authorization Act", confirmed that the Diaoyu Islands is the territory under the "the US-Japan Security Treaty," which claimed " the U.S. does not hold a specific position on ultimate sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands, but recognizes it is under the jurisdiction of Japan²²³." From the statement of the U.S., it shows clear support on Japan's position, which in turn directly includes the Diaoyutai and Japan under the military protection scope of the U.S..

In fact, on China's military defense, the Obama administration has spared no effort. For instance, in February 2010 the U.S. delivered "The Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010" (QDR 2010). On document of general national strategy, with particular reference to China and India, the rise of the two Asian countries brought security uncertainty²²⁴. In May 2010 the Obama government

²²³ Chu Jing Tao, "Research on the Dispute of Diaoyu Islands between China and Japan", the Straits Academic Press, May 2013, pp. 265. US Department of Defense, The Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010 <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.PDF>, retrieve Date: August 20, 2013(褚靜濤,《中日釣魚島爭端研究(下)》,海峽學術出版社,2013年5月,頁265。)

²²⁴U.S. Department of Defense, The Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010 <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.PDF>, Date : August 20, 2013

once again announced that China, India, Russia as "the influence of the center in the future world"²²⁵." On February 1, 2013, Lockheed Martin's Pacific Headquarter Commander said that "The United States and Japan declared to resolve their differences through dialogue especially from the aspect of regional security and economic development instead of the use of force to resolve conflicts approach. The U.S. hopes Asia-Pacific countries to maintain security and peace, rather than military intervention"²²⁶."

Followed by February 6, 2013 when Panetta the U.S. Defense Secretary delivered a speech at Georgetown University in Washington said, "The current Asia-Pacific region faces a series of common challenges, such as disaster relief and mitigation, weapons proliferation, piracy, network, economic and even territorial disputes. These questions require the parties to work together to jointly deal with"²²⁷."

By April 2015, Hong Kong's "Ming Pao" specially reported that Ashton Carter the U.S. Secretary of Defense started the visit to Japan and South Korea as he took the duty. On April 6, he delivered a speech at Arizona State University McCain Institute on the issue of "Asia-Pacific rebalancing" strategy. Carter said: "Asia Pacific region is the region to determine the U.S.'s future." The United States will deepen and expand participation in the Asia-Pacific region, and further enlarge the arrangement of naval and air forces of the Asia-Pacific region,

²²⁵U.S. White House, The National Security Strategy of the United States of America 2010, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf 92 Review of Global Politics, No.39, July 2012

²²⁶Chu Jing Tao, "Research on the Dispute of Diaoyu Islands between China and Japan", the Straits Academic Press, May 2013, pp. 266. US Department of Defense, The Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010 <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.PDF>, retrieve Date: August 20, 2013(褚靜濤,《中日釣魚島爭端研究(下)》,海峽學術出版社,2013年5月,頁266。)

²²⁷Chu Jing Tao, "Research on the Dispute of Diaoyu Islands between China and Japan", the Straits Academic Press, May 2013, pp. 267. US Department of Defense, The Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010 <http://www.defense.gov/qdr/qdr%20as%20of%2029jan10%201600.PDF>, retrieve Date: August 20, 2013(褚靜濤,《中日釣魚島爭端研究(下)》,海峽學術出版社,2013年5月,頁267。)

including the arrangement of "Virginia-class" attack submarines, aircraft carriers and F -22 fighter, B-2 and B-52 long-range bombers, two warships with Aegis missile defense system as well as rotation and other US forces in Japan. The U.S. military forces and new weapons of electronic, will also appear in the Asia-Pacific region to "ensure the interests of the region"²²⁸." When it comes to China, Carter said: "The United States and China may not be an ally, but it need not be the enemy", a strong US-China relations is crucial to global security and prosperity. He said: "I reject" zero-sum "thinking, China's success does not mean the failure of the United States, because there are" both parties win "may." However, he made it clear that some of China's activities caused Washington deep concern, including "China's defense budget opaque actions in the Internet space, as well as some of the acts in the South China Sea and other places have led to some big problems"²²⁹."

By April 10, with the meeting with South Korea national defense minister owing to the time concern, although Carter did not speak with the issue of Theater High Altitude Area Defense missile (THAAD) system with South Korea. He said the most sophisticated weapons will be deployed in Asia-Pacific region's most delicatated weapons, such as the F-35 stealth fighter and advanced cyberwarfare systems will be arranged in the Korean Peninsula as the first priority, and also may in turn be deployed in other locations in Asia. Analysts

228Kui Heng Network News. <the U.S.Defense MInister Revisit Japan and South Korea to Promote TPP as a New StageWhich Shake the Asian investment Bank>, April 8, 2015, <http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>. (鉅亨網新聞中心。〈美防長訪日韓啟重返亞太新階段時日無多推TPP撼亞投行〉，2015年4月8日，<http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>。)

229Kui Heng Network News. <the U.S.Defense MInister Revisit Japan and South Korea to Promote TPP as a New StageWhich Shake the Asian investment Bank>, April 8, 2015, <http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>. (鉅亨網新聞中心。〈美防長訪日韓啟重返亞太新階段時日無多推TPP撼亞投行〉，2015年4月8日，<http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>。)

pointed out that due to the rise of China's military power, the United States strengthened the arrangement in Asia, which is mainly against China²³⁰. In addition to emphasizing the U.S. commitment and defending peace in the region strategy, as Secretary of Defense Carter, declared that, "the U.S. military continued to depend on strong economic power." He repeatedly referred to the "Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement" (TPP) by mentioned Obama government, pointing out that this is an important part of the Asia-Pacific rebalancing strategy, with a "strong strategic significance" and urged Congress to adopt the trade agreement as soon as possible²³¹. Meanwhile Carter also intended to said: With the country in the Asia Pacific region build their own trade agreements without the participation of the United States, " (For time, the U.S. has) no more²³²." In this speech, Carter said the determination of Obama government, China has not only feel threatened, but as thorn at the back, indicating to warn China do not to act rashly or attempt to challenge the United States²³³. This series of

230Compilation Centers, <Anti the China US Defense Minister: the Most Sophisticated Weapons Arrangement in Asia> "World News", April 10, 2015, <http://www.worldjournal.com/3186331/article-%E6%8A%97%E4%B8%AD-%E7%BE%8E%E9%98%B2%E9%95%B7%EF%BC%9A%E6%9C%80%E7%B2%BE%E8%89%AF%E6%AD%A6%E5%99%A8%E9%83%A8%E7%BD%B2%E4%BA%9E%E6%B4%B2/>.

(編譯中心，〈抗中美防長：最精良武器部署亞洲〉，《世界新聞網》，2015年4月10日，<http://www.worldjournal.com/3186331/article-%E6%8A%97%E4%B8%AD-%E7%BE%8E%E9%98%B2%E9%95%B7%EF%BC%9A%E6%9C%80%E7%B2%BE%E8%89%AF%E6%AD%A6%E5%99%A8%E9%83%A8%E7%BD%B2%E4%BA%9E%E6%B4%B2/>。)

231Kui Heng Network News. <the U.S.Defense Minister Revisit Japan and South Korea to Promote TPP as a New StageWhich Shake the Asian investment Bank>, April 8, 2015, <http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>.

(鉅亨網新聞中心。〈美防長訪日韓啟重返亞太新階段時日無多推TPP撼亞投行〉，2015年4月8日，<http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>。)

232Kui Heng Network News. <the U.S.Defense Minister Revisit Japan and South Korea to Promote TPP as a New StageWhich Shake the Asian investment Bank>, April 8, 2015, <http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>.

(鉅亨網新聞中心。〈美防長訪日韓啟重返亞太新階段時日無多推TPP撼亞投行〉，2015年4月8日，<http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>。)

233As for Zhu Hai Quan the pokesman counselor of Chinese Embassy in Washington, said that the Pentagon and Beijing need to eliminate mutual distrust through dialogue. Zhu Hai Quan emphasized that China's policies are defensive, which has been the pursuit of peaceful development, "playing an active and constructive role in global and regional peace affairs." Kui Heng Network News. <The US National Defense Minister Visit Japan and Korea to Restart New Phrase in Asia Pacific wth Limited

conversations Carter has mentioned indicated that as the delicate U.S. military weapons, TPP is the most sophisticated economic weapon that the United States applied. Military weapons intended to prevent the containment of China in the Asia-Pacific region, so does TPP in the Asia Pacific region. Faced with the rise of regional powers, the East Asian countries have a tendency to seek for alliance or reaching power of balance, this would help the arrangement of the United States in Asia-Pacific TPP region²³⁴.

The United States' severe military arrangement seems like just a fake intimidation. In fact, through the operation of TPP could reach much more state benefit of the U.S. for the strategy. On the political reality concern, due to strained Sino-Japanese relations from time to time (the Diaoyutai dispute, textbooks, etc.) the Asean consensus among the member states process is slow, national protectionism creates obstacle on the negotiations, TPP would cost smaller than the military arrangement²³⁵. As a result, the United States must strongly intervene, fully demonstrate the operation of TPP to replace its "ASEAN + N" combination of them, from the aspect of emphasizing "balance of power" such as security and containment, TPP is certainly aimed at preventing China from expansion and dismantling East Asian regionism. However, from the long-term strategic perspective, the United States seems to China put into this system deliberately through the "norms and institutional advantage" that TPP implied to shape the behavior of the opponent, define and control the future

Time and Promote TPP to Threat Asian Investment Bank >, April 8, 2015, <http://news.cnyes.com/Content/20150408/20150408105248091867411.shtml>. Date: May 14, 2015.

234Hong Cai Long, <Join TPP as Taiwan's Economic Development Strategy> "New Taiwanese National Policy Think Tank," 33, April 2015, pp. 7. (洪財隆, 〈加入 TPP 作為台灣經濟發展戰略〉《新台灣國策智庫》33期, 2015年4月, 頁7。)

235Hong Cai Long, <Join TPP as Taiwan's Economic Development Strategy> "New Taiwanese National Policy Think Tank," 33, April 2015, pp. 7. (洪財隆, 〈加入 TPP 作為台灣經濟發展戰略〉《新台灣國策智庫》33期, 2015年4月, 頁7。)

conflicts. Because the United States targeted China's extremely obvious, and therefore TPP as an economic containment key of the United States against China, the United States had pressure to win. Once the U.S. failed, the U.S. will need to face the absence of the mainleadershp and the loss of the containment against China in the international field and all the global economic and trade organizers.

Therefore, based on the political will of the United States, and thereby stabilize the U.S. hegemonic superpower role, as well as maintaining the status of the U.S. superpower, the function and position of TPP agreement includes economic and trade interests, the regional balance of power considerations, international trade order may fix and thereby highlighting the "norms and institutional advantages"²³⁶, which will further be bound to get the full support of the United States, in other words from a political point of view, once involved in TPP trade agreement in this area, the member state will inevitably strengthen the consultation to participate in the country's overall strength, which could further play a much more important role in a bilateral or multilateral consultations²³⁷. Meanwhile member states may also develop common economic interests and to enable countries tends to peacefully resolve their dispute through regional trade agreements and mutual trust construction between participating countries. Therefore in the event of international disputes in Asia-Pacific region, the regional trade agreements exclude military conflicts in a peaceful manner in

236洪Hong Cai Long, <Join TPP as Taiwan's Economic Development Strategy> "New Taiwanese National Policy Think Tank," 33, April 2015, pp. 6. (洪財隆, 〈加入 TPP 作為台灣經濟發展戰略〉《新台灣國策智庫》33期, 2015年4月, 頁6。)

237Tong Zhen Yuan, <Impact of Regional Free Trade Arrangements on Taiwan and Counter Measures> International Relations Research Center of National Chengchi University, Vision Foundation, "China and the ASEAN Free Trade Area to establish the impact on China's" speech on the outline, November 27, 2003. (童振源, 〈區域自由貿易安排對台灣的影響與對策〉, 政治大學國際關係研究中心、遠景基金會,《中國與東協建立自由貿易區對我國之影響》座談會發言大綱, 2003年11月27日。)

which it is carried out, and it will help promote regional peace and security. In addition to its feature of economy and trade, TPP helps to expand the dialogue between Asia-Pacific countries through the negotiation to grasp the global issues.

As Taiwanese scholar Tong Zhenyuan induced, the reason why the countries are attracted by regional trade agreements is that regional trade agreements can reach the goal of development and security²³⁸. Therefore, the TPP as the key function on United States' containment against China in the economy field, the United States must restrain China from international efforts through the agenda setting and introduction under TPP. The key in this issue is to let China participate in TPP under the U.S. control. How could the U.S. gain much more control on China? In fact from the international affairs, Taiwan who always competes "rectification of names" with China is the key role during the strategy arrangement. With the participation of Taiwan in TPP, the United States is able to highlight the "coexistence" of the Cross-Strait and still can not, "co-encompassing", which transferred the potential crisis between the Cross-Strait into TPP, giving the opportunity for Taiwan to participate in international activity. By doing so, the United States can use the participation of Taiwan to balance China, and even to bring new agenda through introduction of the Cross-Strait issue.

4-2 Economic Strategy between the U.S. and China in Aisa Pacific Region

238Tong Zhen Yuan, < Impact of Regional Free Trade Arrangements on Taiwan and Counter Measures> International Relations Research Center of National Chengchi University, Vision Foundation, "China and the ASEAN Free Trade Area to establish the impact on China's" speech on the outline, November 27, 2003. (童振源, 〈區域自由貿易安排對台灣的影響與對策〉, 政治大學國際關係研究中心、遠景基金會, 《中國與東協建立自由貿易區對我國之影響》座談會發言大綱, 2003年11月27日。)

With the full participation of the United States leading TPP makes the Asia-Pacific region into a competition between two groups: "ASEAN + N" and the US-led TPP. Today, the the Asia-Pacific region has become the most economically active areas in economic integration.

4-2-1 The U.S. Involvement and the Chinese Supervision?

When reviewing back at cooperation mechanisms and TPP core issues, such as the depth and Trade Agreement (FTA nature), industrial products, agriculture, services, textiles, intellectual property, technical trade barriers, labor, environment and resources as well as comprehensive market access, regulatory coherence, new trade challenges and other allied targets in the United States to balance China's expansion and influence in East Asia²³⁹, which in the operation of the TPP agreement specifications and content, this thesis found that the regulation and content under TPP initiative is the economic containment against China. However, the question is China's opinion and response? What is the change during the process that the U.S.'s pushing for TPP as well as China's participation in the TPP.

4-2-1-1 Indifferent Observation Early Stage

The first stage is the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement of the P4 phase. At this stage, including China, many great powers do

239Liu Da Nian, 2011. < Opportunities and Challenges of Taiwan Under Global Regional Economic Integration > Post-sponsored "2011 Chong Hua Finance Annual Summit" in Chong Hua Institution for Economic Research. Taipei: Chong Hua Institution for Economic Research. November 25. Deng Yuying, <Taiwan and China economic relations', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Vol. 8, No. 3 (2012 / autumn number), pp. 156. (劉大年，2011。〈全球區域經濟整合下臺灣的機會與挑戰〉發表於中華經濟研究院主辦「100年度中華財經高峰論壇」。臺北：中華經濟研究院。11月25日。鄧玉英，〈台灣與中國的經濟關係〉，《台灣國際研究季刊》第8卷、第3期（2012/秋季號），頁156。)

not pay much attention to TPP agreement between them, not only because of the agreement contains too high standards required but also because these countries and their GDP and market value are very small. In addition to APEC, China concerned much more on promoting free trade zone in East Asia, and on the construction of Free Trade Area between China and ASEAN.

4-2-1-2 Alert and Critical Stage

The second stage is the United States after discovering the difficulty on the transformation of APEC, instead the U.S. discovered the value of TPP agreement. Therefore, the Obama government announced in 2008 to join the TPP negotiations. With the join of superpower the U.S., TPP receives immediate attention worldwide. Because the United States has tried to win over China's neighboring countries to join the TPP negotiations and led the process, content and standards, which has brought no secret for China's strategy. Therefore China felt suspicious against the U.S. and criticized the US-led TPP in multiple different perspectives.

4-2-1-3 Waiting for Chance Stage

Since 2011, after Japan announced it has joined TPP negotiations, China has understood that the United States attempts to build TPP. Since China could not stop it, instead of blocking in vain, China chose to wait and captured the opportunity. Second, on the content on TPP negotiations and difficulty of processes, China has had a clearer concept. Therefore, China's attitude on the TPP has changed from strong criticism into a cautious support. Another practical problem is that since China is a great power with strong political and economic strength in the Asia-Pacific region, a large international organization can not

run well without China's participation²⁴⁰.

Currently from China's signing of the FTA, by April 2015, China and 28 countries on five continents has done the construction of fifteen free trade zones, and has signed ten free trade agreements. Among existing nine TPP member states, there are seven member states has signed a bilateral free trade agreement with China²⁴¹. In other words, even China did not join the TPP, China could still sign free trade agreements with the vast majority of the TPP member states. On the contrary, the U.S.'s strategy to exclude China outside the TPP indicates that the TPP without China would be influenced on economic and political influence of free trade, relative, preached to have double the strength of the Chinese economic and political excluded from TPP, simply just weaken the TPP influence. That is why in 2011 the APEC meeting, the United States change its previous attitude to welcome China to join TPP, and claimed that TPP is not against China²⁴². The former Chinese President Hu Jintao at the APEC meeting in 2011, also claimed that the Chinese government supports the development of TPP. Chinese Foreign Ministry also said that they welcome any cooperation initiatives which includes TPP is beneficial on economic integration and common prosperity the Asia-Pacific region²⁴³.

²⁴⁰Shen Ming Hui, "Cost-Benefit Analysis on Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement: from China's Perspective", "Contemporary Asia-Pacific" in 2012 Vol. 1; Wan Lu, "The Economic Effect Study of US TPP Strategic - GTAP Simulation-Based Analysis" contained "Contemporary Asia-Pacific" 2011 Vol.4. (沈銘輝,《跨太平洋夥伴關係協議的成本收益分析:中國的視角》,《當代亞太》2012年第1期;萬璐,《美國 TPP 戰略的經濟效應研究——基於 GTAP 模擬的分析》載《當代亞太》2011年第4期。)

²⁴¹Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2, 2015.> (趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu /.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

²⁴²Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2, 2015.> (趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu /.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

²⁴³Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2, 2015.> (趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu /.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

4-2-2 The Closing Gap between the U.S. and China

United States promotes TPP negotiations is indeed subjectively strategy to isolate China, and the Obama government even compare the status and function of TPP with "Marshall Plan" which is against the Soviet Union. The gap between former Soviet Union and the U.S. and that between China and the U.S. today, making it impossible to push TPP smoothly, which in turn makes the U.S. into strategic dilemma. As a result, Taiwan could play a key role in combating against China.

4-2-2-1 The U.S. Economic Depression and the Chasing China

During the Cold War, the United States accounted for 63% of total wealth of the world, and with stable domestic society and booming national power, which further foster the U.S. has the will and ability to provide public goods to the international community.

However during the TPP promotion period, the United States only accounts for less than 43% of total wealth on the world, and is getting worse and worse. With weak domestic economic recovery and high debt in domestic and foreign countries, the United States has shrunk on the global strategic arrangement, indicating that the United States has lost the ability to provide public goods to the world.

According to the economic statistic from the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics in 2014, it shows that the gross domestic product (GDP) was 63.6463 trillion, which has broke the record of 60 trillion for first time. If we count in US dollar, China has also exceeded \$ 10 trillion US dollar record for the first time, which makes China after the United States another member in "\$ 10 trillion club". If calculated in purchasing power of the average price (PPP), and then, in

2014 China's GDP will be up to \$ 17.6 trillion US dollars, which is slightly higher than the United States, 17.4 trillion US dollars, and becomes the world top economy²⁴⁴. Meantime total GDP of China ranked top two in the world. Japan, as another Asia-Pacific economic great power in 2014 only accounts for 4.8 trillion US dollars in GDP, which is half less than that of China²⁴⁵.

In addition to huge economic power, China attracts the attention of the world through its growth dynamic. China's GDP grows in from 8.9 trillion in 2000, which exceeded \$ 1 trillion for the first time by 2005 the GDP exceeded \$ 2 trillion while in 2009 it's more than \$ 5 trillion. It takes 14 years for GDP growing from one trillion US dollars into the record of \$ 10 trillion. By contrast, in 1970 the United States gross domestic product was \$ 1 trillion, which is 30 years earlier than China, and by 2001 to reach \$ 10 trillion, from 1 to 10 trillion, the United States took 31 years²⁴⁶.

Interestingly, about Chinese GDP in 2014, it was up to \$ 17.6 trillion, which is slightly higher than the U.S. \$ 17.4 trillion, the world's largest economy²⁴⁷. IMF estimated that by 2019, China's GDP is expected to higher than 20% the United States. According to the International Monetary Fund IMF data in 2013, the GDP of

244<Economists Disagree om China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", January 29, 2015, <http://www2.hkej.com/instantnews/china/article/979615>, Date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 1 月 29 日, <http://www2.hkej.com/instantnews/china/article/979615>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

245<Economists Disagree om China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", January 29, 2015, <http://www2.hkej.com/instantnews/china/article/979615>, Date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 1 月 29 日, <http://www2.hkej.com/instantnews/china/article/979615>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

246 <In 2014 Chinese GDP Exceeded \$ 10 trillion as 2 Times Higher than Japan ', "China Economic Net," January 20, 2015, <http://finance.sina.com.cn/china/20150120/100421340785.shtml>, date: April 2, 2015. (〈2014 年中國 GDP 突破 10 萬億美元約為日本 2 倍〉,《中國經濟網》, 2015 年 1 月 20 日, <http://finance.sina.com.cn/china/20150120/100421340785.shtml>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 2 日。)

247<Economists Disagree om China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", January 29, 2015, <http://www2.hkej.com/instantnews/china/article/979615>, Date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 1 月 29 日, <http://www2.hkej.com/instantnews/china/article/979615>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

United States was \$ 16.198 trillion for the whole year, while China was \$ 9.038 trillion, the third is Japan's \$ 6 trillion, the fourth Germany about 3.373 trillion US dollars. The sum of the Chinese and Japanese economies of scale is still lower than that of the United States. The size of the US economy is still larger than one-third of China's GDP. The world's top one superpower still retains many advantages²⁴⁸. However by 2014, China has become the world's largest economy, triggering speculation from Western media, which indicates the rise of China ends the status of the United States as the top economy for 142 years. On this issue, China's economic experts believe that the IMF does not have convincing evidence. Zhu Guangyao deputy Minister of the Ministry of Finance also said, compared to the United States there is still a big gap between the economic value-added quality of China and the U.S.²⁴⁹.

The British "Daily Mail" indicates that in 30 years before the global economic downturn China has kept tremendous growth, which develops industrialization and overall economic reform in the East²⁵⁰. Arvind Subramanian, the senior researcher of Peterson Institute for International Economics, emphasized the significance behind the phenomenon that China overtake the United States. He said: "China is very strong, and it's still getting stronger and stronger which should not be

248Cai You Jun, << Military Economic Comparison! The U.S. is Still Far More Than China Over Dependence on China Will Lead to Crisis', "the North American Intellectual Property News", May 13, 2015, http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, date: April 26, 2015. (蔡佑駿, <軍事經濟比一比! 老美實力仍遠超中國 過度傾中反陷危機>, 《北美智權報》, 2015年5月13日,

http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, 檢索日期:2015年4月26日。)

249Observer, <Chinese GDP over the United States: Angry Foreigners and Claim China', "Liberty Times", October 10, 2014, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, date: May 7, 2015. (觀察者, <中國 GDP 超過美國: 老外很激動中國很冷靜 (圖)>, 《自由時報》, 2014年10月10日, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, 檢索日期:2015年5月7日。)

250Observer, <Chinese GDP over the United States: Angry Foreigners and Claim China', "Liberty Times", October 10, 2014, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, date: May 7, 2015. (觀察者, <中國 GDP 超過美國: 老外很激動中國很冷靜 (圖)>, 《自由時報》, 2014年10月10日, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, 檢索日期:2015年5月7日。)

underestimated²⁵¹." The American "Christian Science Monitor," said that for China this is a milestone, especially for the period of development and industrialization in China's southeastern coastal areas a successful conclusion²⁵².

China's steady growth makes a clear contrast to the economic depression of the United States during 2007 to 2009²⁵³. However, is the real situation consistent with the view of the Western media and the economists do? In fact after the 2008 subprime mortgage crisis, the United States grew more than 70% of domestic consumer market, is recover from more than 3% economic growth rate. In 2013, the China's GDP growth rate was 7.7% which is the lowest rate in the last 14 years, and it does not contain the negative impact of China's provinces fake report on GDP data. Moreover, the GDP growth trend for China becomes slow, and the private consumption accounts only about 40% of GDP²⁵⁴. The external factors as import and export trade influence a lot on China economic development. By contrast, the United States is the world's largest consumer market and owns the strong consumption capability²⁵⁵, which makes

251Observer, <Chinese GDP over the United States: Angry Foreigners and Claim China', "Liberty Times", October 10, 2014, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, date: May 7, 2015. (觀察者, <中國 GDP 超過美國: 老外很激動中國很冷靜 (圖)>, 《自由時報》, 2014 年 10 月 10 日, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 5 月 7 日。)

252Observer, <Chinese GDP over the United States: Angry Foreigners and Claim China', "Liberty Times", October 10, 2014, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, date: May 7, 2015. (觀察者, <中國 GDP 超過美國: 老外很激動中國很冷靜 (圖)>, 《自由時報》, 2014 年 10 月 10 日, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 5 月 7 日。)

253Observer, <Chinese GDP over the United States: Angry Foreigners and Claim China', "Liberty Times", October 10, 2014, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, date: May 7, 2015. (觀察者, <中國 GDP 超過美國: 老外很激動中國很冷靜 (圖)>, 《自由時報》, 2014 年 10 月 10 日, <http://www.wenxuecity.com/news/2014/10/10/3685142.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 5 月 7 日。)

254Cai You Jun, << Military Economic Comparison! The U.S. is Still Far More Than China Over Dependence on China Will Lead to Crisis', "the North American Intellectual Property News", May 13, 2015, http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, date: April 26, 2015. (蔡佑駿, <軍事經濟比一比! 老美實力仍遠超中國 過度傾中反陷危機>, 《北美智權報》, 2015 年 5 月 13 日, http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

255Cai You Jun, << Military Economic Comparison! The U.S. is Still Far More Than China Over Dependence on China Will Lead to Crisis', "the North American Intellectual Property News", May 13, 2015, http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, date:

the influence of the U.S. economy has great influence on capital market.

Although recently the GDP gap between China and the United States become smaller and smaller, the next few years inside there is still a considerable gap between the both side²⁵⁶. On May 12, 2015, Henry Paulson the former U.S. Treasury Secretary accepted the interview of the U.S. financial media "CNBC" access, pointed out that China is the economic strength of countries, but also faces enormous challenges, facing the challenge of adjusting it's old-fashion economic model power²⁵⁷. He further pointed out that "exaggerate China's economic strength is the same to underestimate the potential of China, which cause a big mistake." In other words, at the moment that many people keep praising China has become almost top one economic entity, actually the U.S. economic strength is still strong than China. Therefore, China's replacement on the U.S. is not the mission that could be reached within one day.

Why the Western media and academia continue to advocate the messege that China will replace the United States? This is an expectation in psychology, expecting to foresee that China on an equal situation with the United States, and also foresaw the United States could not control the situation in the world economy as before. This expected psychology will

April 26, 2015. (蔡佑駿,〈軍事經濟比一比!老美實力仍遠超中國 過度傾中反陷危機〉,《北美智權報》,2015年5月13日,

http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, 檢索日期:2015年4月26日。)

256Cai You Jun, << Military Economic Comparison! The U.S. is Still Far More Than China Over Dependence on China Will Lead to Crisis', "the North American Intellectual Property News", May 13, 2015, http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, date: April 26, 2015. (蔡佑駿,〈軍事經濟比一比!老美實力仍遠超中國 過度傾中反陷危機〉,《北美智權報》,2015年5月13日,

http://www.naipo.com/Portals/1/web_tw/Knowledge_Center/Editorial/publish-207.htm, 檢索日期:2015年4月26日。)

257Yang Fu Yi, < Henry Paulson, the Former US Treasury Secretary: Exaggerate China's economic Strength Is A Huge Mistake>, "Liberty Times", May 12, 2015, <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/business/breakingnews/1315220>.

(楊芙宜,〈美前財長鮑爾森:誇大中國經濟實力是項錯誤〉,《自由時報》,2015年5月12日,

<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/business/breakingnews/1315220>。)

undoubtedly make China's strategy and initiatives to get more international support. On the contrary, as the top superpower around the world the United States will get less international support because it is expected to surpass the Chinese mentality, which further foster the hegemony of the U.S. under greater challenges.

4-2-2-2 From the U.S. State Interest, the U.S. Gets Limited Support

Undoubtedly the United States remains the world's largest economy, but the U.S. economy continues to decline. On the other hand, China's economy continued to rise, and therefore when Xi's Asian investment banks gain support from the European countries, the Asia-Pacific region oriented TPP has faced Asia-Pacific countries serious situation assessment which is the attitude driven by expectations that the next Asia-Pacific countries.

The existence of TPP is for the United States to contain China. Therefore, the first mission of TPP is to face its formation of ASEAN, which was established on the occasion of the TPP. Once ASEAN has formed its free trade and the integration of its architecture, whether TPP will damage and economic and trade interests of ASEAN member states? ASEAN members are bound to hold a certain concern against the TPP.

Secondly, on the rising China, the member states of the TPP are thinking about whether they have to take the risk of offending the Chinese under the concern of the U.S. hegemonic stability? States also make their own decisions on how to get the maximum benefit. Moreover, with TPP's high standards, the existing market has to take the risk. These considerations make the alliance of the United States, Japan and South Korea hesitate to show their immediately

fully support, but relatively considering attitude²⁵⁸. Compared to the high quality TPP, China led Asian investment bank (AIIB), the participating countries could include South America and North Europe other regions in the future. For instance, Igor Shuvalov on March 28, 2015 1st Russian Deputy Prime Minister also announced the intention to participate in the Asian investment bank. Afterwards, followed by Brazil, it also it shows that the participation of policy. In the Nordic countries, Denmark also announced the same day to participate. The Swedish Ministry of Finance told Japanese Economic News in the interview that "funding is being discussed." In addition, the Finnish government also launched an internal consultation on the same issue²⁵⁹. From the support of these countries, they make China's current President Xi Jinping, in a speech on March 28, 2015 showed confidence on the progress of the preparation work. If we look this issue from from Xi's advocacy based on cooperation and reciprocity oriented "new type of international relations" perspective to take the diplomatic control in Asia economic strength, the process of the Asian investment bank and the TPP emerged was also found the situation that Asian investment bank is catching up and TPP is suspended, which also shows the Chinese influence²⁶⁰.

Xi Jinping has publicly explained the strategy of "Asian investment

258Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu /.../ TPP, Date: April 2, 2015.> (趙長峰、左祥雲, < TPP: 中美之較量——中國的視角>, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015年4月2日。)

259<Economists Disagree on China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", March 30, 2015, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, retrieval date: April 26, 2015. (<經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國>, 《中國財經》, 2015年3月30日, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, 檢索日期:2015年4月26日。)

260<Economists Disagree on China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", March 30, 2015, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, retrieval date: April 26, 2015. (<經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國>, 《中國財經》, 2015年3月30日, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, 檢索日期:2015年4月26日。)

bank", which is mainly to provide assistance on Asian infrastructure. Therefore, leading advocate for onshore and offshore by the Chinese Silk Road toward Europe, called called "One Belt One Road." China's strategy is to strengthen its diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries, constructing "Fate Community" broad economic circle named by Xi Jinping to further promote stability in security²⁶¹. Among this Silk Road Action Plan, Xi Jinping called on neighboring countries to support through listing the "practical benefit", including railways and other infrastructure construction, energy cooperation, expansion on cultural exchanges and investment as well as financial assistance and cooperation related to "real interests" to highlight the "reciprocity" and "equal"²⁶².

When proposing this strategy, Xi Jinping has publicly alleged, "the Cold War confrontation has no longer exist," and "international order is changing," which are all against the U.S. with the existing international order now living in the center²⁶³. As China a big country seeking to build a mutual existing relation with the United States, it is important to cross the differences between political system and social system, and establish cooperative relations with more countries, which could be reached by the top two economic strength in the

261<Economists Disagree on China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", March 30, 2015, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, retrieval date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 3 月 30 日, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

262<Economists Disagree on China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", March 30, 2015, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, retrieval date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 3 月 30 日, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

263<Economists Disagree on China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", March 30, 2015, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, retrieval date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 3 月 30 日, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

world²⁶⁴.

Today TPP is still under negotiating stage, whether actual results will go opposite with the U.S. desire, or actually help China integrate economic resources with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, or there is possibility for an organized and consistent organization in East ASEAN and East Asian in the future, which integrate TPP into a consistent unit²⁶⁵? Whether the creation of Asian investment Bank means that China can create a regional economic organization on its own, or even to replace the TPP? In November 2014, the APEC Leaders Council in Beijing has decided to launch a comprehensive and systematic advance FTAAP, and also approved "APEC Promotion on the FTAAP Beijing Roadmap", announcing that it will initiate a negotiation platform on the basis of existing RCEP and TPP²⁶⁶, which shows high possibility for the future development.

The key point is that there is no superpower repression on the Asia-Pacific region. The European Economic strength has declined, and the Asia-Pacific countries have sparkling performance in the economy. At the same time, China has become the second largest economy, so that countries do not need to completely rely on the U.S. national interests, the national interest of the United States is not equivalent to the interests of all countries. Therefore, facing the rise

264<Economists Disagree on China's GDP Will Surpass the United States, "China Finance", March 30, 2015, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, retrieval date: April 26, 2015. (〈經濟學家駁中國 GDP 超越美國〉,《中國財經》, 2015 年 3 月 30 日, <http://zh.cn.nikkei.com/politicsaeconomy/economic-policy/13727-20150330.html>, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 26 日。)

265Zhao Chang Feng and Zuo Xiang Yun, <TPP: Competition between China and the U.S. - from China's Perspective>, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, Date: April 2, 2015.) (趙長峰、左祥雲,〈TPP：中美之較量——中國的視角〉, scid.stanford.edu/.../TPP, 檢索日期:2015 年 4 月 2 日。)

266Wu Fu Cheng, <Study on Cross Straits Involved in RCEP, TPP and FTAAP Questions>, January 30, 2015, www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=9ef3079c... 吳福成, (〈兩岸參與RCEP、TPP 和FTAAP 問題研析〉, 2015年1月30日, www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=9ef3079c..。)

of China, the United States needs to attract more allies to expand its alliance, while Asia-Pacific countries face the competition between the U.S. and China, they could have more opportunities to acquire interests from it, which fosters strategic thinking of Taiwan.

4-3 The Evaluation of Pros and Cons for Taiwan on Joining TPP

For TPP, the status of Taiwan, Taiwan is a small economy entity in the international community, whose the domestic political and economic environment are easily influenced by the international environment. In the end whether it is an advantage or disadvantage for Taiwan to join the TPP? In this section, this thesis will analyze the advantages and disadvantages of Taiwan to join the TPP.

4-3-1 Advantage for Taiwan to Join TPP

4-3-1-1 Impact from the Economic Perspective

According to the stimulus result of Ministry of Economy on Taiwan's join to 12 countries in TPP(2013), the result shows that Taiwan's GDP will grow 1.95% and 1.91% respectively, while Taiwan's total exports and total imports increased \$ 15.844 billion (5.65%), respectively, and \$ 16.351 billion (7.61%), reflecting that although after Taiwan join TPP, Taiwan could expand the market, at the same time Taiwan also needs to open high degree of its domestic market to TPP²⁶⁷. Actually if Taiwan opens market, Taiwan will have to bear some of the

267Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Dalian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 152. (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男，〈加入TPP 臺灣準備好了嗎？〉，陳添枝、

risk.)

On the U.S. beef issue, the United States is the major leading country on TPP, whether Taiwan can successfully join, the United States plays an important role in it. On the other hand, the United States believes that Taiwan should have a better trade relations in the Asia-Pacific region. For instance, the controversial import of US beef issue plays a key role on Taiwan's pursuit of broader trade liberalization. That is if Taiwan would like to join TPP, Taiwan must face whether US beef could import into Taiwan²⁶⁸.

Secondly, for Taiwan, through TPP, Taiwan will increase the trade surplus in the U.S. market, but at the same time Taiwan needs to open the market for the U.S. agricultural products. Moreover, as a member to sign the contract with TPP, it could not set any limitation on the import to the products of agriculture, forestry and fishery. Also on the export subsidies, country who signed the contract also could not have objection on agricultural exporting countries²⁶⁹. Countries who sign the contract must open up the labor market on financial, communications, logistics, education, health care, transportation industry²⁷⁰. Once Taiwan signed up for the contract, these regulations will inevitably have a serious impact on Taiwan's industries. Taiwan's agricultural products have to compete with duty-free agricultural products, which affect the livelihoods of farmers, and so does the domestic agriculture industry. If Japan joins TPP, Japan will also face

劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁152。）

268Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. (謝明瑞，〈台灣與TPP〉，《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》，2012年3月1日，www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。)

269Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. (謝明瑞，〈台灣與TPP〉，《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》，2012年3月1日，www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。)

270Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. (謝明瑞，〈台灣與TPP〉，《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》，2012年3月1日，www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。)

the same dilemma. According to the Ministry of Agriculture in Japan has estimated, after Japan joined the TPP, Japan's food self-sufficiency rate will be reduced from 40% to 14% within 10 years, and economic losses will reach 7.9 trillion Japanese yen, as well as the number of unemployment will increase 3.4 million. Therefore, the assessment of the Japanese Agriculture Ministry, after joining TPP, Japan's agriculture sector will lose 30% on the agricultural value (approximately three trillion yen). However, if the Japanese authority can protect the rice, the Japanese agricultural product could reduce one trillion yen loss and food self-sufficiency rate will drop from 40% to 27%. By doing so, the main impact will be on the livestock sector and some grains (such as wheat)²⁷¹.

As same as Japan's situation, Taiwan, after the addition of TPP, agriculture may be the top industry suffered from the impact. In 2013, Taiwan imported agricultural products about US \$ 14,783 million, and exported around \$ 5,078 million, which has caused 9,704 million dollar deficit (about NT \$ 3,000 million) while the average of Taiwan's agricultural annual output is about 480 billion Taiwan dollars²⁷². 12 member states in TPP accounted for 48.7% of Taiwan's total export value of agricultural products, while accounting for 54.2% of all imports of agricultural products in Taiwan²⁷³. As for the estimation of Taiwan's

271Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲，〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉，《民報》，2015年5月20日，<http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>，檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

272Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲，〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉，《民報》，2015年5月20日，<http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>，檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

273Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲，〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉，《民報》，2015年5月20日，<http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>，檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

Zhong Hua Economic Research Institution, after Taiwan joins TPP, Taiwan's agricultural sector will have \$ 60 billion in annual losses²⁷⁴. Therefore, in the absence of any solution to deal with the comprehensive zero tariffs, the loss of Taiwan in joining the TPP Taiwan's agricultural production value, comes from 50% from the livestock products, 30% from the crop products, and 20% from fishery products²⁷⁵. Under the unfair competition condition of TPP, agricultural development of Taiwan will face major problems²⁷⁶.

4-3-1-2 Zero Tariff Bring no Buffer Space for Industry

Since the TPP is a high standard of free trade agreement, the number of tax-free items is up to ten thousand, as well as the TPP and is different from ECFA. TPP do not have any yield profit, and in addition it have the requirement of 95% goods need to be zero tariff²⁷⁷. Moreover, the U.S. government Asia-Pacific "rebalancing" strategy is based on TPP negotiations. To ensure that the United States with innovation and capital advantage of the company to open third country markets, the company of the United States with the innovative capability and capital advantage could open the markets in third countries, the U.S. will claim the third country to remove non-tariff trade barriers, and Taiwan

274Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲, 〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉, 《民報》, 2015年5月20日, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, 檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

275Chen Ji Zhong, <Trade Liberalization and New Agricultural Advocation', "Taiwan People News", May 20, 2015, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, Date: May 2015 March 28. (陳吉仲, 〈貿易自由化與農業新主張〉, 《民報》, 2015年5月20日, <http://www.peoplenews.tw/news/2893880b-f84f-4394-82e5-ddb37a8848c7>, 檢索日期:2015年5月28日。)

276Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。)

277Xie Ming Rui, <Taiwan and TPP>, "National Policy Research Foundation", March 1, 2012, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427. (謝明瑞, 〈台灣與TPP〉, 《財團法人國家政策研究基金會》, 2012年3月1日, www.npf.org.tw/post/2/10427。)

is no exception. No matter for TPP or Taiwan-US FTA negotiations, Taiwan should be ready to open some projects, which shows sincerity on liberalization, and further may be invited to the table to negotiate on the main agreement.

Therefore, joining the TPP, what would be the possible influence toward the development of the domestic industry in the future? If we adopt actual trade statistic, during 2012-2013 the amount of Taiwan imports from TPP 12 countries accounts for 40.38%. Meanwhile, Taiwan imported from China accounts for about 15.49%, showing that after joining TPP, the possible impact on Taiwan's market will be greater than ECFA. Also the TPP eventually will reduce all tariffs to zero, which is different from the ECFA that could adopt reserved exclusions available to reduce the impact on China's market-opening Taiwan's industry, so TPP influence depth can not be underestimated²⁷⁸.

4-3-1-3 Miss on the National Security

If there is no food security, there is no national security. The issue of food supply has to be the top issue on the concern of national security in the process of national economic development. Currently, Taiwan's food self-sufficiency rate is currently lower than Japan's 40%, accounts only about 32%, which has been in peril. Once they join the TPP, Taiwan must immediately face the global food crisis. Once joining TPP affected Taiwan, how could Taiwan protect itself?

4-3-2 Advantage for Taiwan to Join TPP

4-3-2-1 Timely Participant in Asia Pacific Economic Integration

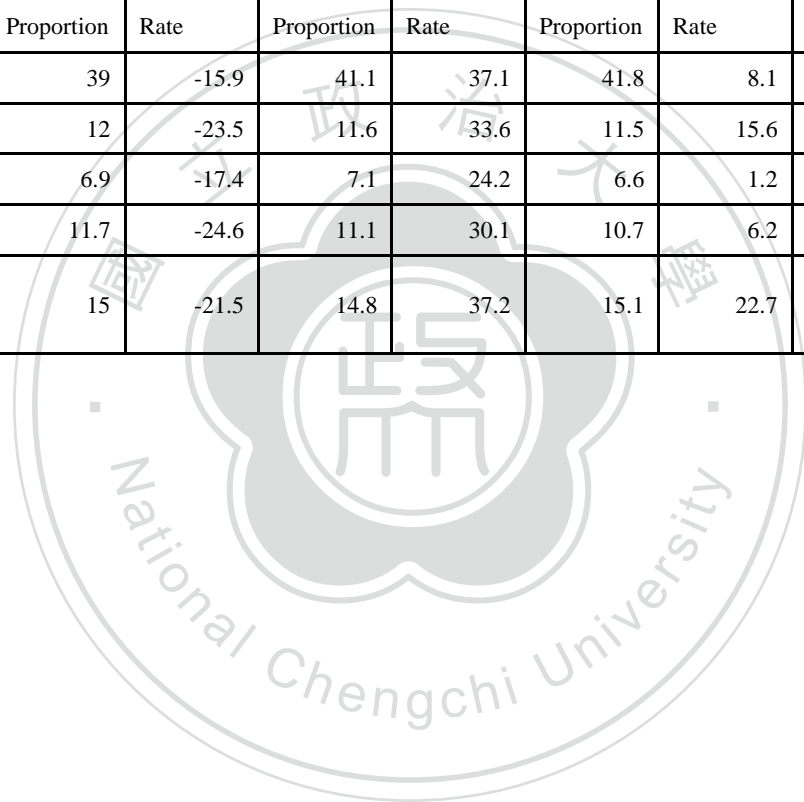
278Shi Hui Ci, Yan Hui Xin, Ye Chang Cheng and Hu Ju Nan, <Is Taiwan Ready to Join TPP? >, Chen Tian-jy, Liu Dalian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 152. (史惠慈、顏慧欣、葉長城、胡聚男，〈加入TPP 臺灣準備好了嗎？〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，《由ECFA到TPP》，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁152。)

Taiwan's economic structure has led to the current composition of Taiwan's industrial exports excessively focus on ICT products. Second, by the shift of exporting area from Europe and to the East Asian region, in addition the production chain within the Asian region relies on exports, which links with the global economy. Moreover, added value of the industrial structure is declining.



Table 4-1 The Export Growth Rate and Proportion of Main Export Countries of Taiwan: 2007-2013 279[1]

	2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012		2013	
	Growth Rate	Export Proportion	Growth Rate	Export Proportion	Growth Rate	Export Proportion	Growth Rate	Export Proportion	Growth Rate	Export Proportion	Growth Rate	Export Proportion	Growth Rate	出口比重
China	12.6	40.7	-0.8	39	-15.9	41.1	37.1	41.8	8.1	40.2	-4.4	39.4	2.2	39.7
The U.S.	-0.9	13	-4	12	-23.5	11.6	33.6	11.5	15.6	11.8	-9.3	10.9	-1.2	10.7
Japan	-2.2	6.5	10.2	6.9	-17.4	7.1	24.2	6.6	1.2	5.9	4.2	6.3	1.2	6.3
Europe	9.7	11.6	4.6	11.7	-24.6	11.1	30.1	10.7	6.2	10.1	-7.8	9.6	-3.5	9.1
ASEAN (Six Countries)	16.7	14.5	7.3	15	-21.5	14.8	37.2	15.1	22.7	16.5	9.8	18.5	3.9	19



From the above table, this thesis found that since 2000, Taiwan's export has declined gradually year by year.

According to CEPD analysis, it shows that, changes under the influence of external demand export changes, the impact on Taiwan's real GDP change under the global financial crisis has reached -12.68% in the third quarter of 2009²⁷⁹, indicating that Taiwan's economic and industrial surface as well as the external environment are closely linked, and therefore the rise of the Asia-Pacific bilateral or multilateral free trade agreements will inevitably affect Taiwan. In the current economic situation in Taiwan, China is Taiwan's largest export market. On the other hand, Japan and South Korea are the main competitors for Taiwan. The sign of "China" and Japan and South Korea FTA has already influenced the Taiwan export on China, especially after the FTA negotiation between China and South Korea, which push Taiwan into the frontier and economic dependence on China. After China and South Korea FTA have finished the negotiation, they expected that during the first half of 2015 the both sides will signed, and the integration of "China" Japan and South Korea FTA and RCEP will be finished by 2015.

In contrast, the process of free trade agreement signed in Taiwan is slow. On the one hand, it is because China deliberately suppressed obstruction while on the other hand, there are different voices for Taiwan the island the open will affect Taiwan's industry and the industry's survive. Until the KMT became the ruling party in 2008, under the 1992 Consensus and One China Two Systems

279Executive Yuan Economic Planning Committee (Edit), 2011. "Comprehensive Planning Study: 2009-2010." Taipei: Executive Yuan Economic Planning Committee. Deng Yu Ying, <Taiwan And China Economic Relations', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly," Vol. 8, No. 3 (2012 / Fall Number), pp. 147-148. 行政院經濟建設委員會 (編), 2011。《綜合規劃研究：98~99年》。臺北：行政院經濟建設委員會。鄧玉英,〈台灣與中國的經濟關係〉,《台灣國際研究季刊》第8卷、第3期(2012/秋季號),頁147-148。

Taiwan began to sign the "Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement" (ECFA) with China, afterwards Taiwan starts the FTA negotiation with Singapore and New Zealand. If the ECFA early harvest list included, the covered rate of Taiwan would contain five small Central American countries and Singapore, New Zealand, accounting for 9.68%. Until 2015, the time that this thesis has focused, Taiwan still puts aside the Legislature goods trade, service trade, including the cross-strait "ECFA" and "Investment Guarantee Agreement" under, "Agreement on Trade in Services", "Trade in Goods Agreement" and the "Settlement Agreement" etc. Once signed, the coverage of Taiwan is expected to increased Taiwan to more than 27%²⁸⁰. In fact, it is helpful in terms of participation in regional trade agreements, for countries participating in the regional trade agreement, it will certainly help them expand the market and integration of production factors, which fosters the economies of scale, and further attracts business development and more foreign investment in the future.²⁸¹

"National Policy" is the effective way that Wu Rong-Yi proposed to break through the border of the dilemma, which turns the regional trade into international trade²⁸². From an economic point of view, if a country signed

280Zhang Zhong Ben, <Current Development of the Regional Trade Agreements> 2015 January 21 said, "Impact of Global Regional Trade and Economic Integration on Taiwan", <http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>. (張忠本, 〈區域貿易協定發展現況〉, 2015年1月21日, 《全球區域經貿整合對台灣之影響》,)

<http://grinews.com/news/2015/01/21/%E4%B8%80%E3%80%81%E5%8D%80%E5%9F%9F%E8%B2%BF%E6%98%93%E5%8D%94%E5%AE%9A%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%E7%8F%BE%E6%B3%81/>.)

281Tong Zhen Yuan, <Impact and Strategy of Regional Free Trade Arrangements on Taiwan and Counter Measures> International Relations Research Center of National Chengchi University, Vision Foundation, "Impact China and the ASEAN Free Trade Area Establishment on Taiwan" Speech Outline, November 27, 2003. (童振源, 〈區域自由貿易安排對台灣的影響與對策〉, 政治大學國際關係研究中心、遠景基金會, 《中國與東協建立自由貿易區對我國之影響》座談會發言大綱, 2003年11月27日。)

282Wu Rong Yi, 2011. <Taiwan Economic and Cross-Strait Economic and Trade> "Taiwan Economic

regional trade agreements with its major trading partners, it can promote trade expansion to improve the country's economic well-being²⁸³. Currently Taiwan should have opened and expanded Taiwan's market, sought regional alliances thinking in the ECFA framework, which could further let Taiwan has the ability to link to the Asia-Pacific region and arrange its strategy around the world. This should be the development of Taiwan from marginalization and isolation by the international community²⁸⁴.

Realistic view is that these FTAs are still placed in the bill in the legislature for examination. If Taiwan only “waits” for the signature of these free trade agreements, then Taiwan's economic growth will suffer much more severe impact in the future. Currently global regional integrations are mainly concentrated in the Asia-Pacific region, among which the impact of TPP, RCEP, China-Korea FTA, “China”, Japan and South Korea FTA on Taiwan are the most important ones. At present, Taiwan has been left behind in regional economic integration, and faces marginalization crisis. If Taiwan could not seek a breakthrough, it would become the biggest loser the regional economic integration²⁸⁵.

Research Monthly" 34 Volume 8, pp. 12-15, cited from Deng Yu Ying <Economic Relations between Taiwan and China', "Taiwan International Studies Quarterly" Volume 8, Issue 3 (2012 / autumn), pp. 156-157 (吳榮義, 2011。〈台灣經濟與兩岸經貿〉《台灣經濟研究月刊》34卷8期, 頁12-15, 引自鄧玉英, 〈台灣與中國的經濟關係〉, 《台灣國際研究季刊》第8卷、第3期(2012/秋季號), 頁156-157。)

283Tong Zhen Yuan, <Impact and Strategy of Regional Free Trade Arrangements on Taiwan and Counter Measures> International Relations Research Center of National Chengchi University, Vision Foundation, "Impact China and the ASEAN Free Trade Area Establishment on Taiwan" Speech Outline, November 27, 2003. (童振源, 〈區域自由貿易安排對台灣的影响與對策〉, 政治大學國際關係研究中心、遠景基金會, 《中國與東協建立自由貿易區對我國之影响》座談會發言大綱, 2003年11月27日。)

284Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen and Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 30. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾, 〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉, 陳添枝、劉大年主編, 《由ECFA到TPP》, 財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會, 2014年, 頁30。)

285Wu Fu Cheng, <Study of Cross Straits Involved in RCEP, TPP and FTAAP Questions>, January 30, 2015, www.tier.org.tw / comment / analysis / pec2110.aspx? GUID = 9ef3079c (吳福成, 〈兩岸參與RCEP、TPP和FTAAP問題研析〉, 2015年1月30日,

On the contrary, according to Quan Yi, China Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation, his research shows that both sides did not join TPP, the real GDP change was negative 0.14% in China, negative 0.28% in Taiwan. On the other hand, the Chong Hua Institute for Economic Research researcher Dr. Xu Boxiang's study also pointed out that when both sides join TPP, real GDP rate of China including Hong Kong was 1.49%, and Taiwan 1.71%.²⁶⁸ In other words, if only one country from both sides to join TPP, the other side will suffer from negatively impact. Therefore, once both sides have joined TPP, it will create a win-win situation for both Taiwan and China.

Table 4-2 The Relationship between TPP and Taiwan Transaction and Market

	TPP/Taiwan Total			
Unit : %	Exports	Imports	Total Trade	Trade Balance
2000	45.41	57.72	51.33	-109.05
2005	33.51	47.34	40.14	-126.25
2010	30.12	42.99	36.27	-108.24
2011	31.26	40.25	35.55	-63.07
2012	31.98	38.40	35.02	-24.58
Share of world population : 29.34%				
Share of world GDP : 38.96%				

4-3-2-2 Seek for Space of International Engagement

During 1969-1972, the main battlefield for the Cross-Strait has transferred from military confrontation into international diplomacy. During the three year period, Taiwan has broken diplomatic relations with Canada, quit the United Nations. In addition to the visit of United States President Richard M. Nixon to

Beijing, and broken diplomatic relations with Japan, Taiwan has suffered from international isolation under China's deliberately pressure²⁸⁶. The reason why China kept deliberately suppressed Taiwan is owing to the strategic thinking of "One China." On the issue of Taiwan, when China replaced Taiwan to join the United Nations, China publicly declared that "the Taiwan question is the crucial obstacle for the normalization of Sino-US relations. Government of People's Republic of China is the only legal government of China, and Taiwan is a province of China, which has already been returned to the motherland. The liberalization of Taiwan is China's domestic affairs, and other countries have no right to interfere. All of the U.S. forces and military infrastructure must be withdrawn from Taiwan. Chinese government insists any opposition activity, which aims at creating "One China, One Taiwan", "One China, Two governments", "two China" and "Taiwan independence" and any advocacy on Taiwan's status²⁸⁷." "In order to allow the international community to recognize the name the People's Republic of China, as well as the denial to Taiwan regime.

Taiwan is excluded from the East Asian regional economic integration

²⁸⁶In 1969 January, the US President Richard M. Nixon after became the first president as the 37th US President immediately improved US-China relations. On July 21st the same year, the US State Department announced that six kinds of Americans are permitted to visit China as identity tourists, the US citizens returning from overseas countries can bring back the value of one hundred US dollars of Chinese mainland products. On October 13th, 1970, Canada established diplomatic relations with China. In "Canada established diplomatic relations Joint Communique" said that "The Chinese government reiterates: Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of People's Republic of China Government of Canada notes that this position of the Chinese Government and the Government of Canada recognizes the position of government of People's Republic of China of China. the sole legitimate government." In 1970, the government of Republic of Taiwan still maintained diplomatic relations with six-eight countries, and the number decreased up to fifty four countries at the end of 1971. On the other hand, the People's Republic of China actively established diplomatic relations with foreign countries, while in 1970 only fifty three countries, by the end of 1971 it rapidly increased to 69 countries. "Senate Foreign Ministry Information and Culture Division Edit," "The CCP Established Diplomatic Relations with Countries Joint Communique Compilation", Taipei: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 1999, pp. 105. And from Ma Jian Li, Tan Ke Sheng, and Xiao De cai, edit., " Four decades in Cross-Strait Relations", pp. 146.

²⁸⁷Chen Zhi Qi, "Three Decades of US Policy Toward China," Taipei: Chong Hua Daily, May 1981 updated second edition, pp. 329. (陳志奇, 《美國對華政策三十年》, 台北: 中華日報社, 1981年5月增訂再版, 頁329。)

because of China's limitation on Taiwan in the international community, which has made Taiwan cannot be involved in the FTA negotiation. Until the Ma Ying Jiu government adopted a friendly attitude toward China, it makes China release space for Taiwan to participate in the international activity. As a result, in 2009 the both sides can have started to construct "Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement" (ECFA) and in June 2010 the both sides have signed ECFA, and on September 12th the agreement has been implemented at the same year. Currently, ECFA's cooperation framework agreement, investment agreement and customs cooperation agreements are already implemented. The "Service and Trade Agreement" is under the admission of legislation. Meanwhile, the two sides agreed to actively implement the relevant cooperation agreements, and approved the establishment of trade offices, and tried to carry out consultations on trade in goods and related issues, continuing to deepen cross-strait industrial cooperation and collective benefits. In addition, Taiwan and New Zealand and Singapore, have signed FTA respectively in July 2013 and in November 2013, which shows the result of Taiwan's liberalization and active participation in regional economic integration²⁸⁸

Moreover, as far as Taiwan the export-oriented country is concerned, the top five trade partners are China, Japan, the United States, the European Union, as well as Hong Kong. Taiwan does not have formal diplomatic relations with these trading partners. Therefore, for Taiwan it is necessary to fight for opportunities to participate in international organizations. Facing Taiwan's participation in the International engagement, China has shifted its attitude toward Taiwan from

288Liu Da Nian, Lu Yu Wen and Xu Yin Er, <Global Regional Economic Integration and Taiwan> Chen Tian-jy, Liu Danian edit, "From the ECFA to TPP", Cross-Strait Exchanges Vision Foundation, 2014, pp. 19. (劉大年、盧鈺雯、許茵爾，〈全球區域經濟整合與臺灣〉，陳添枝、劉大年主編，〈由ECFA到TPP〉，財團法人兩岸交流遠景基金會，2014年，頁19。)

absolute forbidden to limited open. As a result for Taiwan, the first strategic implications of joining TPP, is against "One China", through international involvement of Taiwan to make international community understand the the significance of Taiwan in the international community.

4-4 Conclusion

TPP is the strategy that under the United States' "Pivot to Asia" strategy. As the rising the economy strength, China has attracted active response in Asia Pacific regional organization though its initiative, which has brought challenges to the in the United States of economic containmentment policy. From the perspective of national interest strategic, the closer the strength between the United States and Chinr, Taiwan can play a more important role as a critical small country to participate in TPP. For TPP participation, facing globalization and regional trade agreements, Taiwan's join is imperative. However, Taiwan should not only focus on joining TPP, but at the same time Taiwan should also fulfil responsibility to protect the domestic industry.

Chapter 5

Limitation and Future Research Suggestion

5-1 Research Findings

This thesis has three main research findings:

5-1-1 The Rising China Increases the Opportunity for Taiwan to Join TPP

After the Obama government announced the "return to Asia" strategy, the U.S. put their order and regulation into the the Asia-Pacific region through military force and TPP economic agreement to maximize the national interest.

For the strategy of "Pivot to Asia", the maximization of the U.S. national interest depends on the effect on economic containment against China whether it could reach the U.S. interest or not. Reviewing the United States until May 2015, the operation of the economy containment and issues driven by the TPP, such as the East Diaoyutai issues, which wish to put pressure on China through TPP operation. This mode of operation needs not only the United States to impose pressure, but the collective members of United States in TPP to put pressure on China, which is a standard joint minor enemy against the main enemy of the strategic application.

As for China is not the chess of the U.S., China's solution against the U.S. policy of containment and operation, through on the one hand the active participation of TPP agreement, aiming at influencing operation and advocacy of TPP issue through China's strong economic and political. On the other hand,

China attempted to replace a huge economic organization and content through strengthening the liberal economic agreement organization as “ASEAN + N” as well as the popular “Asian Investment Bank” establishment in 2015. Since May 2015, the strategy of China has gotten rid of the containment of the United States.

This thesis argues that as the rising China is catching up with the U.S., the interaction between world power between the United States and the world's second largest power in China make the competition of the two great powers become much more severe. Under the mission to protect its state interest and the top one super power status, the United States can't not lose the competition, which makes the U.S. join the lead of TPP more actively, and further makes the integration in Asia Pacific under the influence of TPP becomes bigger and bigger. For the future development of TPP will bring much more influence in the economic integration of the Asia-Pacific region and East Asia. As for the Taiwan, a small country between the U.S. and China, which makes the U.S. constraint China through the international relations and political between the Cross Strait. In terms of China's position, the international community used to represent “One China” as China. There is no any meaning for Taiwan to fight for the political "rectification of names" On the contrary, facing the hegemony competition against the U.S., China needs to win over Taiwan, adopting "One China, One Taiwan" to counter the United States, and therefore a key role of Taiwan will become increasingly highlighted, whether Taiwan join TPP or engage in the TPP relevant message. In other words, as China's national strength and the United States became much closer, the role of Taiwan will become much more important for the United States, on the join of the TPP.

5-1-2 Open Market to the Region is the Only Choice for Island Economy Taiwan

Taiwan as the island-based economy, it must go through the expansion of international trade, to further stimulate domestic economic development, however, Taiwan's major export markets faced — China, which is too huge for China to form formation of black holes in Taiwan, which makes it is difficult for China to adopt “One CHina” strategy to unify Taiwan. As a result, the domestic society of Taiwan keeps afraid attitude toward free trade agreements, such as serive and rade as well as prodt trade agreements, whcich nay holding a considerable distrust, fearing it would lead to the marginalization of Taiwan in the disappearance of political subjectivity and industry.

At present, Taiwan is confronted with a question: whether Taiwan can choose not to open its connection to the world and protect its own industry without paying attention to Asia-Pacific region as the most popular and active place?

The answer is "possible." However, the problem is that Taiwan has to think the possible results suffered from the serious outcome from economic and trade marginalization in the near future. In fact, from Taiwan's industrial structure and export-oriented market, the impact of the regional economic integration of Taiwan will also cause impact on Taiwan whether it joins or not. The following table is the result that a scholar from Taiwan Institute of Economic Research, shows the impact of regional economic integration on Taiwan's overall economy:

Table 5-1 The Impact of Regional Economic Integration on General Economic of Taiwan²⁸⁹

Situation	Real GDP	Economic Benefit	Export Change	Import Change
	Growth Rate (%)	Change (Million USD)	(Million USD)	(Million USD)
RCEP	-0.76	-5548	-3467	-5239
TPP12 Countreis+South Korea	-0.25	-1367	-1011	-1391
TPP12 Countreis	-0.14	-663	-620	-801
China-South Korea FTA	-0.1	-927	-515	-819
Chna-Japan-South Korea FTA	-0.44	-3277	-1944	-2974

The table shows that when our competitors, such as Japan, South Korea and the European Union, all have signed a RCEP, after TPP and other FTA with Taiwan's main export market—China. Taiwan's overall economy began to decline, among which some industries are also affected, including part of the industry in the Chinese market, even may be substituted. The most obvious example is South Korea who has a close similar industrial structure with Taiwan. As Professor Satoshi Okuda and Yuichi Watanabe Studies's estimation in 2011, they pointed out that after signing FTA with South Korea, the total

²⁸⁹Source: Taiwan Institute for Economic Research Dr. Xu Bo Xiang. Wu Fucheng, <RCEP Taiwan Enterprise and Distribution Strategy>, [www.tier.org.tw / comment / analysis / pec2110.aspx? GUID = 2036f2c6](http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=2036f2c6). (資料來源：台灣經濟研究院許博翔博士。吳福成，〈RCEP 對台灣企業的影響與佈局策略〉，www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx?GUID=2036f2c6。)

value of Taiwan's export products in the Chinese market will be replaced by that of South Korea about 3.3194 billion US dollars. By the same study estimation, the total value of Taiwan's export products will be replaced in the Korean market about 197.5 million²⁹⁰. For Taiwan, the case of South Korea provides a thinking point for strategy on joining that South Korea has increased its general national strength through national strategies as well as contact the FTA signing. As a result, Taiwan has to join FTA and needs to finish within short time, otherwise the market and industry will be gradually occupied and replaced by the competitors.

Table 5-2 The General Situation of Signing FTA among Asian Countries²⁹¹

	South Korea		Japan		Singapore		Taiwan	
	Country	Proportion on Trade Amount%	Country	Proportion on Trade Amount %	Country	Proportion on Trade Amount %	Country	Proportion on Trade Amount %
In Effect	47 Countries	35.96%	15 Countries	18.21%	31 Countries	70.77%	7 Countries	4.81%
Under Negotiation	Canada	0.92%	South Korea	5.97%	Canada	0.36%	China	2 17.18%
	Mexico	1.12%	Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)	11.08%	Pakistan	0.15%	Singapore	4.88%
	New Zealand	0.27%	Australia	4.39%	Ukraine	0.06%		
	Australia	2.82%	Mongolia	0.02%	Taiwan	5.68%		
	Colombia	0.14%	Canada	1.33%	Mexico	0.43%		
	Turkey (Service and Trade)	0.13%	Colombia	0.11%	EU	9.85%		
	Japan	8.81%	EU	9.70%				
	China	21.29%	Japan, China and South Korea	25.99%				
	Japan, China and South Korea	30.10%	RCEP	46.45%				
	GCC	11.49%	TPP	27.54%				
	RCEP	47.35%						
	Vietnam	2.63%						
	Total (Not include the Repeated Country)		82.83%	Total (Not include the Repeated Country)		84.21%	Total (Not include the Repeated Country)	
						Total		26.87%

290Wu Fu Cheng, September 1, 2014. <Exam China-Korea FTA from Another Perspective>, "Taiwan Economic Research Monthly", <http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx? GUID = 32449bcb-74f1-41dd-9b68-7a957d58ea98>. (吳福成，2014年9月1日。〈另一角度看中韓FTA〉，《台灣經濟研究月刊》，<http://www.tier.org.tw/comment/analysis/pec2110.aspx? GUID=32449bcb-74f1-41dd-9b68-7a957d58ea98>。)

291 Database January to December 2013 Statistics finishing. Cited from Fang Wen Ying, <Regional Trade — Economic Integration of the Asia-Pacific Region and the Impact on Taiwan>, Ministry of Economic Affairs, pp. 6. (Global Trade Atlas Navigator 資料庫 2013 年 1-12 月統計數據整理。引自房文英，〈區域貿易——亞太區域經濟整合之進展與對台灣之影響〉，經濟部，頁6。)

If Taiwan chooses to isolate itself from the regional economic integration, then under the circumstance that nation and nation compete each other for signing economic agreements. Taiwan's export industry will face greater competitive pressures from discriminatory prices in the international market, which causes Taiwan could not protect its vulnerable industries from international market, but also the prosperous industries will face the impact.

At present, Taiwan has recognized the importance of open market toward the future of Taiwan. Therefore the two major national political parties have reached a consensus that let Taiwan to join the TPP. Under this circumstance, the authorities ask the relevant departments to provide preparation on joining TPP, including political consensus, policy support, and industry enhance. For instance, on the issue of American agricultural products, whether the relevant authorities could provide financial support on the industry under the impact of joining TPP, rather than figuring out for the solution on those industries and Taiwan's over reliance on Chinese market only.

The voice from domestic society of Taiwan worried that once Taiwan signed an FTA, which will form the impact on the domestic industry. This thesis suggests that if Taiwan did not sign FTA, from the long term perspective, the domestic industry will suffered more from a larger impact. As a result, open is the must solution for Taiwan, and the must result for national interest thinking in the future.

5-1-3TPP and FTA are the Product under Globalization

On the consideration whether to sign TPP and FTA or not and the possible impact on Taiwan's economy and industry may cause, and how Taiwan should

respond? In fact from a global strategic perspective, regional economic integration and cooperation are the absolute outcome of globalization.

Since the second World War, the trend of globalization has been proposed and discussed by scholars. This thesis observed that the globalization has brought more and more peoples into our living city, including European and American, foreign brides, and children of new inhabitants. The demographic composition has gone beyond the original boundaries. In our lives the influence of globalization has entered into our lives, such as SHARP TV, LV leather goods as well as the German automobiles. As for regional free trade agreements as the TPP and FTA, we could observe the process that nations established tariff system, and the system was destroyed by agreement between nations, and finally the development of industry was forced to be accelerated. As far as signing FTA is concerned, owing to propose of zero tariffs, South Korea has replaced Taiwan and becomes the main trading partner of China, from which the original tariff system of Taiwan throws industry impact to the export of Taiwan again.

Among these rules of the game, if Taiwan wants to be offset zero-tariff by FTA, Taiwan needs engage into the game and followed the rules of the game to respond to the proposed tariff. Therefore through the FTA and other free trade agreement, industries between contract states will form a more rapid exchange. In terms of PTT agreement, agreement said the tariffs should be reduced to zero tariffs in 11,000 categories, including industrial, agricultural, textiles and clothing. After the implementation of zero tariffs, the FTA will provide the member states with a much cheaper. As for other issues such as non-tariff barrier, simplified customs procedures and paperwork will break the barrier between nations. So the original goal of tariff system that construct the system to protect the local products is not there any more, so the strong stronger and the weak

weaker, forming a M type of competition in regional economic. In other words FTA and TPP regional economic as well as regional economy and trade agreements as "ASEAN + N" are the miniature of the process from globalization to country, society, and industry, which is also the future trend of development.

5-2 Research Limitation and Future Suggestion

In addition to three above research conclusions, this thesis provides suggestion to relevant departments as a reference formulation and execution of policy from the personal knowledgement and the research findings.

5-2-1 Research Limitation

Every study would have different limitation based on the choice of research method or the definition of the research scope. In this study, the research limitation lies in personal limitation, limitation on research method, and the explanation of research limitation are showed as below:

5-2-1-1 Personal Limitation

Personally, I engaged in strategic research, but did not have deep understanding on the industry. On setting TPP as the research target, this thesis concerns that Taiwan as an island-economy open to the world, and participated in regional trade are a necessary move, which is a important research issue for me.

Unexpectedly as the reseach goes, this research found that TPP and FTA, as well as the popular Asian Investment Bank, One Belt One Road, which includes a variety of industries. Those industries have deep connection with China, the EU, the United States and Korea, Vietnam market, which even includes the degree of competition in the industry itself. During conducting the research

under the complex industrial structure, I found there are some challenges on my research process.

5-2-1-2 Research Method Limitation

This thesis mainly conducts the research through literature analysis to obtain information and further to summarize, organize. The data of literature analysis mainly comes from "second-hand" data, including official documents with reliability and validity, periodicals, publishing data, statistics and so on. However, under the concern of reliability and validity, then the timeliness of information may not be sufficient. Second, this information must go through some kind of correction process. For instance, from the impact of China and South Korea signing the FTA, how big the impact is of the market scale on Taiwan? Statistic from the Ministry of Economic Affairs has under modification and presents lower than \$ 600 billion, which might require careful comparison to get the accurate data, and further becomes another limitation of this thesis.

5-2-2 Suggestions on Future Researches

5-2-2-1 Industrial Policy and Civil Compensation and Policies Promotion for the Loss—from the Thinking to Join TPP

TPP participation is not only the concern on economic factors in Taiwan as well as strategic considerations for Taiwan's international participation. Under the circumstance to participate in the TPP, the government needs to reduce concerns from civil society. For the Citizens, the authorities must deal with the impact of TPP on individual industry as soon as possible, and therefore this thesis suggests that the relevant departments must provide support for industries

suffered from TPP or encourages their transformation or industrial upgrading, even provides complementary policies for individual industries.

5-2-2-2 The Trust is the Key to Establish a Consensus and Participation in TPP requires the Strength on the People's Trust toward the Government

When countries are discussing to sign FTA with either a bilateral or bilateral type, this thesis suggests that we should think seriously about why these countries want to sign in this way? Whether this kind of contract would bring benefit or what kinds of benefit to the domestic industries or the overseas market as well as international activities, and what are the impacts brought by it? These kinds of thinking and discussion have been preceded in Taiwan for a while. Facing a series of negative concern on the ruling parties, such as the over dependence on China of Ma's government makes the Taiwanese society lose the trust on the government. In 2016, whether the ruling party may be changed, this thesis suggests it still need more evidence. However, the shift of the ruling party will bring up the concern of industry moment, which is resulted from the long term vicious competition between KMT and DPP, and further brings obstacle on the discussion of rational discussion. In 2014 the appearance of Sunflower Student Movement is not only for the content of the service trade agreement, in fact, it is the result that ruling party ignores the communication with civil society during the implementation of the policy process, which formed the result of the loss on trust.

For the TPP participation, of course, Taiwan is facing difficult situation. Outside, there is the competition between the United States and China while in domestic society, under the consensus of the two major ruling the authority needs to communicate with civil society on the persuasion of policy. In fact, the current

government should strengthen the public consciousness on the ruling party on the focus of defend the sovereignty of Taiwan and the pursuit of the interests, so that the ruling party could reduce the concern of “selling Taiwan to China,” which in turn eliminate the obstacles for the implementation of the relevant policies.



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