

Besides Military Expansion: A Study on the PRC's "Defense Diplomacy" Strategy to Involve the Asia-Pacific Multilateral Security Mechanism

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Abstract

"Defense diplomacy" is not "military diplomacy". Although the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has actively deployed overseas military bases in the world in recent years, it still belongs to the initial stage of military expansion, and more actions are strengthened through defense diplomacy. The CCP adopted military exchanges, security consultations, and joint training between countries in the surrounding areas are most evident in the Asia-Pacific region. The CCP regards the scope of the "Theater Command" as the main idea for the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) to launch defense diplomacy. The theme of interactive communication is humanitarian, disaster relief, anti-terrorism, maritime security, medical and

health issues in non-traditional security. On the other hand, through military academies education, military officers exchange visits, equipment technology is also common practice and have maintained high-level interaction. This kind of regional cooperation to promote the substantive military expansion model not only greatly enhances the influence of China on regional security and development issues, but also provides a good opportunity for China to guide the Asia-Pacific multilateral security mechanism.

Based on the “Defense and Army Deepening Reform” (深化國防和軍隊改革) by the CCP, this study gives examples of China’s defense diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region and neighboring countries in recent years, including: Beijing Xiangshan Forum, Southeast Asia Association for National Defense Consultation, military exchanges and cooperation under strategic partnership with Russia, and various military services close interaction with the United States, Australia, Japan, Singapore, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, Nepal, and Mongolia. According to the official announcement of the CCP, through defense diplomacy, China has signed border defense cooperation agreements with nine neighboring countries and established a meeting mechanism with 12 countries. From the perspective of the international regime, China has been integrated into the international system and operate its strategic security concept. However, it is necessary to pay attention are China’s political, diplomatic and

military involved in international affairs, the dominate international norms and regulations signs are becoming more and more clear. For Taiwan in the Asia-Pacific region, in addition to the need to keep abreast of relevant developments, it is necessary to consider the feasibility and advantages of using defense diplomacy to join regional security mechanisms.

Keywords: joint practice, defense diplomacy, military diplomacy, Asia-Pacific security, strong military

摘 要

「防務外交」並非是「軍事外交」，儘管近年來中共在全世界已積極著手於海外軍事基地部署，惟仍屬於軍事擴張的初步階段，且有更多的作為是透過防務外交手段，強化和周邊地區國家之間的軍事交流、安全磋商、聯合訓練，這些現象又以亞太地區最為明顯。中共以「戰區」的攻防範圍作為中國人民解放軍對外展開防務外交的主要設想，互動交流的主題則是以非傳統安全中的人道主義、救援減災、反恐、海上安全、醫療衛生議題，以及軍事院校教育、軍官互訪、裝備技術等方面保持高層的互動往來。這種以區域合作推動實質的軍事擴張模式，不僅大幅提高中國大陸在區域安全、發展議題中的影響力，更提供中國大陸制導亞太多邊安全機制的良機。

本研究以此次中共推動的「深化國防和軍隊改革」為背景，舉出近年來中國大陸在亞太地區和周邊鄰國進行防務外交的實際案例，其中包括：北京香山論壇、東南亞國協防務磋商，和俄羅斯保持戰略夥伴關係下的軍事交流合

作，以及和美國、澳洲、日本、新加坡、印度、巴基斯坦、泰國、寮國、緬甸、柬埔寨、尼泊爾、蒙古國之間舉辦各軍（兵）種之間密切的互動。按照中共官方宣稱，透過防務外交方式，中國大陸已和周邊9個國家簽訂邊防合作協議、和12個國家建立有關防務安全方面的定期會晤機制。從國際建制面向而論，中國大陸在戰略安全構想中，已融入國際體系運作，惟須關注的是在政治、外交、軍事介入國際事務後，中國大陸欲主導國際規範的跡象亦愈來愈明確。對於身處亞太地區的臺灣而言，除了必須持續掌握相關情勢發展，更應思考利用防務外交方式加入區域安全機制的可行性和利機。

關鍵詞：聯合訓練、防務外交、軍事外交、亞太安全、強軍夢

The CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping has put forward the discussions on the view of global economic governance, the overall view of national security, the view of security in Asia and the establishment of a new type of international relations and a new type of military relations since he in power.¹ These

¹ For example, after the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Xi Jinping once proposed a development concept of “fair, open, comprehensive and innovative” (公平、開放、全面、創新的發展觀); a security concept of “common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable” (共同、綜合、合作、可持續的安全觀); a cooperation concept of “deepening Asian-African cooperation, expanding South-South cooperation, and promoting North-South cooperation” (深

speeches have become the principles of the CCP's handling of international affairs and in response to traditional and non-traditional security threats. Among on these, the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) has also been included in the global governance process, and through deepening international military exchanges and cooperation, actively promote institutional power in international affairs, and strengthen the influence of China's international discourse. For example, expand and strengthen the defense security cooperation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization; promote the transition of the Xiangshan Forum (香山論壇); establish a counter-terrorism cooperation and coordination mechanism with Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Tajikistan; participate extensively in Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) multilateral security mechanisms, those are the obvious cases.² In addition, in order to demonstrate its

化亞非合作、拓展南南合作、推進南北合作為核心的合作觀); a global governance concept of "mutual cooperation, co-construction and sharing" (共商、共建、共享的全球治理觀); an international order concept of "win-win cooperation" (合作共贏的國際秩序觀); a correct righteousness and benefit concept of "pursues common interests and puts friendship first in pursuing cooperation" (義利相兼、以義為先的正確義利觀).

² The ASEAN countries include: Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, Brunei, Thailand, Myanmar, Philippines, Cambodia, Singapore, Malaysia in

international obligations and to safeguard world peace development capability, the PLA has also frequently publicized its specific performance in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations; deepened international security cooperation in overseas escort operations; and demonstrated the humanitarian spirit in international disaster relief operations.

In general, the CCP through the PLA's military capabilities to carry out increasingly flexible, pragmatic and positive defense diplomacy activities, has become an important way to achieve national security strategy unique means. That's also a significant approach to support foreign and military strategy.

The Defense Diplomacy Definition

National defense affairs refer to matters relating to national security and defense, and diplomacy refers to the activities of the State in exercising its sovereignty to the outside world by peaceful means. At present, there is no unified definition of defense diplomacy in the international community, but most of the consensus is that defense diplomacy refers to the national defense and foreign policy implementation process formulated in accordance with the overall development goals of the country, the foreign exchange

Southeast Asia. These countries advocate cooperation dialogue to promote political, economic and social relations in the region.

activities carried out by the national defense department.³

Britain is also generally recognized as the first country in the international community to establish the concept of defense diplomacy. In 2000, the British Ministry of Defense officially released the Defense Diplomacy document, which covers cooperation projects such as arms control, nuclear non-proliferation, military exchanges and military assistance.⁴

³ The CCP usually uses the term of "military diplomacy" in China. But examine the term of definitions, including two major significance. First, "military diplomacy" should be of a military nature or involve military affairs; Second, military power is engaged in diplomatic activities, or military force to achieve national interests through diplomatic means to safeguard national security. Both the definitions could be summarized as countries or military groups to promote diplomatic activities in the military and related fields. The main task of military diplomacy include: Implementing the country's diplomatic strategy and the policy principles of military diplomacy; Establish and develop military relations with other countries or national alliances; Maintain contact with foreign defense departments (agencies), armed forces and conduct military exchanges with foreign countries; Expand the country's external influence, handle international military conflicts or disputes, and shape the international security environment. See Zhou Cong Bao (周從保), Zhong Hai (鐘海), *A Study on Military Diplomatic Strategy* (軍事外交戰略研究) (Beijing: National Defense University Press, 2015), p. 3.

⁴ U.K. Ministry of Defense, *Ministry of Defence Policy Paper No.1*:

The British Government believes that taking the initiative to conduct various types of defense diplomacy can eliminate hostility, build mutual trust and help the countries concerned to develop reliable armed forces, thereby effectively preventing and promoting the resolution of conflicts.

The formation of defense diplomacy can be attributed to national crisis awareness, national strength, military power imbalance and the common interests of the country. Stephen Blank, a senior fellow at the American Foreign Policy Institute, argues that defense diplomacy is useful not only in “building trust” but also in “sharing experiences” with other military partners, and is part of a broader strategy aimed at strengthening the country’s regional and global influence. Therefore, its substantive connotation can be distinguished between “national defense affairs exchange” and “national defense affairs cooperation” two parts.

However, the examination of the operational items of the actual activities is not easy to draw a clear distinction between them, and defense diplomacy can only be divided into the following three types, from the nature of the activity and the intensity of cooperation:

Defence Diplomacy,

https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20121018172741/http://www.mod.uk/NR/rdonlyres/BB03F0E7-1F85-4E7B-B7EB-4F0418152932/0/polpaper1_def_dip.pdf (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

- I. General defense diplomacy with the aim of enhancing universal values. For example, participation in international peacekeeping activities, maritime rescue in the name of anti-terrorism and other joint military exercises.
- II. The purpose of enhancing mutual trust and friendly relations is the exchange of defense diplomacy. For example, cadet exchange, ship visits and so on.
- III. Cooperative defense diplomacy aimed at addressing explicit or unclear threats. For example, military intelligence exchange, joint military exercises, etc.

In China, there is a saying that “in all things, success lies in previous preparations and there will be a failure without previous preparations” (凡事預則立，不預則廢). The CCP in accordance with this sentence significance believes that must stand on the opposite side of the development of things, and think about various countermeasures in advance, and imagine how could guide things toward the direction that is beneficial to them. Therefore, the CCP also believes that in the real environment of modern international relations, there is no eternal friend, only eternal interests. In the international community, the primary basis for any country to formulate its own foreign policy in the national interest. Since the mid-to-late 1980s, with the strengthening of comprehensive

national strength, China's understanding of the international situation and its own security environment has begun to change. The former CCP leader Deng Xiaoping proposed that "peace and development are the theme of the contemporary world" (和平與發展是當代世界的主題). Based on this change in understanding and the enhancement of its comprehensive national strength, China has established a "non-aligned" diplomatic security strategy. The changes in China's diplomatic security strategy are reflected in the field of military, which is the comprehensive defense diplomacy, As well as general and exchange defense diplomacy activities continue to increase.

After the mid-to-late 1990s, the CCP advocated a new security concept on "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, and cooperation" (互信、互利、平等、協作). It further promoted the development of China's defense diplomacy. Under the guidance of the new security concept, China began to change its negative attitude of suspicion and wait-and-see, actively participated in multilateral security cooperation dialogue, participated in the formulation of international security rules and UN peacekeeping operations, organized joint military training and joint maritime search and rescue exercises to deal with the non-traditional security threat. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the importance of traditional military security has declined, but the threat of non-traditional security has risen rapidly, and threat the development and progress of human

society. This situation has led the CCP to believe that defense diplomacy is becoming more and more important. In recent years, China's defense diplomacy has clearly demonstrated the high level of mutual visits, frequent visits, expansion of visits and fields, and emphasis on military exchanges with neighboring countries.

Asia-Pacific Multilateral Security Mechanism Guided by Defense Diplomacy

I. The competent department of the Central Military Commission (CMC) of the CCP

On September 30, 2015, Xi Jinping officially announced the concept of "advancing defense and military reforms" (深化國防和軍隊改革) to be phased up by 2020. The specific plan was implemented on December 31 of that year to establish the "army leading organ" (陸軍領導機構), rocket force (火箭軍) and strategic support force (戰略支援部隊). And on January 11, 2016, the former General Staff Headquarters (總參謀部), General Political Department (總政治部), General Logistics Department (總後勤部) and General Armaments Department (總裝備部) under the CMC of the CCP were reorganized and established 15 new functional organs: one general office (一廳), six departments (六部), three commissions (三委), three offices (三辦), one audit office (一署), one agency (一局).⁵

⁵ Include: the CMC general office (軍委辦公廳); joint staff department (軍

Among them, the competent department of military exchanges, cooperation, management and coordination of the PLA's foreign affairs work is under the responsibility of the International Military Cooperation Office of the CMC, that is, under the operation of the "CMC exercising overall leadership" (軍委管總) system, and other functional organs coordinate related works and promote the PRC's defense diplomacy.

II. The Asia-Pacific multilateral security mechanism dominated by the CCP

i. Beijing Xiangshan Forum (北京香山論壇)

This is a typical practice of defense diplomacy exchange activities jointly organized by the "China Association for Military Science" (中國軍事科學學會) and

委聯合參謀部); political work department (軍委政治工作部); logistic support department (軍委後勤保障部); equipment development department (軍委裝備發展部); training and administration department (軍委訓練管理部); national defense mobilization department (軍委國防動員部); discipline inspection commission (軍委紀律檢查委員會); politics and law commission (軍委政法委員會); science and technology commission (軍委科學技術委員會); office for strategic planning (軍委戰略規劃辦公室); office for reform and organizational structure (軍委改革和編制辦公室); office for international military cooperation (軍委國際軍事合作辦公室); audit office (軍委審計署); agency for offices administration (軍委機關事務管理總局).

the "China Institute for International Strategic Studies" (中國國際戰略學會). Among them, the competent unit of the "CAMS" is the "PLA Academy of Military Science" (中國人民解放軍軍事科學院).⁶ Although the "CISS" is a non-governmental academic group, it has long been supported and funded by the Joint Staff of the Central Military Commission of the CCP. It mainly employs active and retired military personnel, diplomats, experts and scholars who have expertise in international research and strategic analysis. The "CISS" provides advice and policy

⁶ Located in Beijing, it was founded on March 15, 1958. The level is the Theater Command Deputy Leader. The competent unit is the Central Military Commission of the CCP and the highest military scientific research institution of the PLA. The Academy of Military Sciences has long been engaged in military basic theory and research on major issues in national defense construction; editing military regulations; providing strategic advice and advice to the Central Military Commission and headquarters agencies, and providing military academic research relevant information; organize and coordinate military academic research work of the entire army, and carry out military scientific research management work of the entire the PLA. Therefore, the Academy of Military Sciences is an important think tank, and information source for the military thoughts and theories of China and the PLA. See 見 He Wu Xing (何五星), *Government Think Tank* (政府智庫) (Beijing: *National School of Administration Press*, 2013), p. 58.

recommendations to the Chinese government and relevant departments, enterprises, and institutions and the military. The purpose of the CCP's forum on defense diplomacy is to gain the advantage of discourse power. Therefore, the establishment of a diplomatic discourse system with Chinese characteristics has become an important part of China's international discourse system, as well as the diplomatic security think tank is an important actor.⁷ The CCP believes that think tanks can enhance the international discourse power by affecting own country decisions, affecting foreign countries' decision, and shaping the international agenda (as shown in Table 1). Therefore, the "Beijing Xiangshan Forum" also has the function of strengthening China's international military discourse in the Asia-Pacific region through defense diplomacy exchanges.

⁷ Yang Jie Mian, "The Mission and Challenge of Diplomatic and Discourse Power of Great Powers with Chinese Characteristics," (中國特色大國外交和話語權的使命與挑戰), *International research* (國際問題研究), No. 5, May 2016, p. 25.

Table 1 International discourse power of think tanks

Power Using Power resources	Affecting own country decisions	Affecting foreign countries' decision	Shaping the international agenda
Policy aspect	Provide policy options, policy recommendat ions or policy evaluations for government	Provide policy options, policy advice or policy evaluations for government	Provide policy options, policy recommendatio ns or policy assessments for international organizations, and international public policy agenda-setting
Theory aspect	Provide guidance and interpret theories and concepts of foreign policy	Provide theories and concepts that define bilateral relations, and provide theories and concepts that explain the problems of other countries	Provide international relations and global, regional governance theories, concepts, issues

Talent aspect	Providing diplomatic talents to government, training diplomats, and hiring former political dignitaries	Training foreign public officials and hiring foreign political dignitaries	Training international civil servants; providing international civil servants; hiring political dignitaries
Platform aspect	foreign policy dialogue platform (conferences, forums, journals, etc.)	Hold a two-track dialogue; participate in bilateral intergovernmental dialogues; set up overseas branches	Hosting dialogues, forums, and conferences on international issues; collaborating with international organizations to organize dialogues, forums, conferences
Public opinion	Explain the government's	Explain foreign policy to	Explain to the society the

aspect	foreign policy to the domestic society; influence or shape the government's decision through policy communication	foreign societies; participate in the shaping of the national image; mobilize foreign society to increase government decision-making pressure	international agenda or the policies of international organizations; mobilize society to put pressure on the international agenda and international organizations
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Source : Zhang Ji (張驥), Fang Jiong Sheng (方炯升), "Analysis of the International Discourse Right of China's Diplomatic Security Think Tank" (中國外交安全智庫國際話語權分析), *International outlook* (國際展望), No. 5, May 2018, p. 78.

Founded in October 2006, the "Beijing Xiangshan Forum" was considered by the Western public opinion to be the Chinese version of the "Shangri-La Dialogue", which has been in operation for eight times. In 2014, the "Xiangshan Forum" was upgraded from a forum of unofficial or civil think tanks (second-track) to a semi-official (one-and-a-half track)

high-end security and defense forum.⁸ Based on the concept of openness (開放), tolerance (包容), mutual learning (互鑒) and cooperation(合作), this forum invited Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen and former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Michael Rudd to give speeches. In addition, foreign defense departments and military leaders, well-known experts and scholars also focus on Asia-Pacific security and cooperation issues for exchanges. The “Beijing Xiangshan Forum” has become one of the most influential multilateral security dialogue platforms in the Asia-Pacific region.

The forum had once closed in 2017, but on October 25, 2018, the 8th Forum was held and renamed the “Beijing Xiangshan Forum”. A total of 67 countries and 7 international organizations sent official delegations. Among them, there are 16 defense ministers, 5 military commanders (general chiefs), 26 deputy ministerial officials and more than 100 experts and scholars. In order to improve the level and quality of the forum discussion issues, the 2018 Forum Conference is based on the theme of “Building a New Type of Security Partnership of

⁸ The “one-and-a-half track” level is mean: the participant members expanded to the Ministry of National Defense or military leaders, representatives of international organizations, former military and political government officials, and well-known scholars in the Asia-Pacific region and relevant countries. Therefore, the scale of the hierarchy was significantly enhanced.

Equality, Mutual Trust and Win-Win Cooperation” (打造平等互信、合作共贏的新型安全夥伴關係). The PRC's "China Military Science" magazine published 'The 8th Xiangshan Forum Special Issue', giving priority to the invitation of outstanding paper authors to participate in the forum, expanding the issue setting and the guiding effect of public opinion. The 9th Beijing Xiangshan Forum will be held from October 20 to 22, 2019 in Beijing. The theme is "Maintaining International Order and Promoting Peace in the Asia-Pacific" (維護國際秩序，共築亞太和平), and dialogue and exchanges will focus on the topics of "Major Country Relations and International Order" (大國關係與國際秩序), "Security Risk Management in the Asia-Pacific" (亞太地區安全風險管控), "Interests of Small and Medium-Sized Countries and Common Security" (中小國家利益與共同安全) and "International Arms Control Regime and Global Security" (國際軍控體系與全球穩定等議題進行對話交流).⁹

ii. Sino-Japanese Defense Exchange

In the past, China and Japan have been detrimental to the

⁹ "The 9th Beijing Xiangshan Forum," *Beijing Xiangshan Forum*, http://www.xiangshanforum.cn/cnForum_EN?sessions=%E7%AC%AC%E4%B9%9D%E5%B1%8A%E5%8C%97%E4%BA%AC%E9%A6%99%E5%B1%B1%E8%AE%BA%E5%9D%9B&firflag=t (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

deepening of relations over territorial sovereignty disputes of Senkaku Islands (釣魚臺列嶼) and the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force's military exercises in the South China Sea. However, under the consensus that the leaders of both countries have more interests than differences, China-Japan defense sector exchanges and cooperation have made some progress. Since 2000, without 2005 and 2010, China's National Defense University has sent delegations to Japan every year, they meet with personnel of the National Defense Research Institute of the Japanese Ministry of Defense to exchange views on defense issues. In addition, more than 200 PLA military officers and 130 Japanese Self-Defense Force military officers have visited each other's countries since the launch of the "CIISS" and the "Sasakawa Peace Foundation" (笹川平和財團) as window units. On April 15, 2018, China and Japan resumed the exchange of visits between youth military officers and delegations that had been suspended since 2012 due to the dispute over Japan's nationalized Diaoyu Islands.

From April 22 to 25, 2019, the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force's Akizuki-class destroyer "JS Suzutsuki" (涼月) (ship number: DD 117) was invited to participate in the "70th Anniversary of the PLA Navy", holding multinational navy activities and military parade in Qingdao, Shandong province.¹⁰ On September 19, 2019, the People's Liberation

¹⁰ "Defense Ministry's Regular Press Conference on Apr. 25," *Ministry of*

Army colonel-level officers in addition to continuing to visit Japan;¹¹ the PLA Navy also accepted the first invitation of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces Navy on October 14, 2019, and they will dispatch the guided-missile destroyer "Taiyuan" (太原) (ship number: Hull 131) to participate the international fleet review.¹² It shows that although both sides are misunderstood, they could still restrain each other and continue to promote defense cooperation on the basis of mutual understanding and trust and become a defense diplomacy platform that is valued.

- iii. China-ASEAN Maritime Exercise "Sea Joint- 2018" (海上聯演-2018); "Sea Joint- 2019" (海上聯演-2019)

National Defense of the People's Republic of China, April 25, 2019, <https://www.ettoday.net/news/20190422/1427866.htm> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

¹¹ Jiang Qiaomei, "Chinese Military Delegation Visits Japan," *China Military*, September 20, 2019, http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-09/20/content_9630172.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

¹² "PLA Navy Destroyer Taiyuan heads for Japan to Participate in International Fleet Review," *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, October 8, 2019, http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-10/08/content_9645185.htm (Accessed on 10/8/2019).

The “Sea Joint Exercise” is the first joint training activity between China and the ASEAN countries. It is also the first time that the ASEAN countries have cooperated with a single country. According to the consensus reached by the leaders of the defense departments of China and the ASEAN countries, the China-ASEAN’s “Sea Joint – 2018” maritime exercise was held from October 22 to 28 in the airspace of the East China Sea in Zhanjiang, and Guangdong Province. The exercise topics are the use of the “Sea accident encounter rules” and the use of search, rescue, fleet communications drills and so on. The PLA’s southern theater navy sent three ships, two ship-borne helicopters and more than 500 officers and soldiers to participate, while the 10 countries of the ASEAN sent five warships, one ship-borne helicopter, and more than 700 officers and soldiers to participate. On April 26, 2019, in conjunction with the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PLA Navy, China and the ASEAN countries continued to jointly organize maritime security as a background and jointly held a “Sea Joint- 2019”. The naval exercise on the theme of a joint response to pirate threats and maritime emergency medical rescue, and include 8 main projects: formation communication, formation movement, joint search and rescue, and formation separation.¹³ The purpose of this military

¹³ Minnie Chan, “China Begins Joint Naval Drills with Six Southeast Asian Nations,” *South China Morning Post*, April 26, 2019,

exercise is to enhance mutual understanding and trust, deepen China-ASEAN maritime defense security cooperation, and jointly safeguard peace and stability in the South China Sea.

- iv. China-Thailand, China-Cambodia, China-Laos, China-Laos-Myanmar-Thailand Joint Training
 - A. China-Thailand "Eagle Strike" (鷹擊), "Blue Assault" (藍色突擊), "Joint Assault" (聯合突擊) Training

In 2015 and 2017 to 2019, the China and Thai Air Forces held joint training series of "Eagle Strike-2015" (鷹擊-2015) and "Eagle Strike-2017" (鷹擊-2017) to test tactical warfare methods, promote equipment development and improve the level of practical training of troops. The China and Thai Marines held a joint training exercise of "Blue Assault-2016" (藍色突擊-2016), "Blue Assault-2019" (藍色突擊-2019). During the period, the two countries discussed the "China-Thailand Navy Joint Training Standard Operating Procedures" (中泰海軍聯合訓練標準作業流程).¹⁴ On January 3, 2019, China and

<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/military/article/3007804/china-begins-joint-naval-drills-six-southeast-asian-nations> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

¹⁴ "China, Thailand conclude joint naval training," *People's Daily*, May 9, 2019, <http://en.people.cn/n3/2019/0509/c90000-9576454.html> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

Thailand held the “Joint Assault-2019” anti-terrorism joint training. This is the first time that China has conducted joint training with the Thailand International Counter-Terrorism Action Center. The Thai side sent a total of 100 counter-terrorists elite to participate, and the China side sent 60 troops of Army special operation forces from the Southern Theater Command.¹⁵

B. China-Cambodia “Golden Dragon” (金龍) Joint Training

Emphasis on humanitarianism, disaster relief, and division into four stages: seminars and exchanges, joint military training, and comprehensive drills. From March 13 to 27, 2019, the Chinese and Cambodian armed forces held the “Golden Dragon-2019” joint training. This joint training was divided into skills training, tactical training, table deduction and troops, ammunition of four stages joint anti-terrorism and humanitarian rescue training. The PLA participating troops are mainly composed of the Southern Theater Command Army and the 74th Group Army. A total of 252 people, including special operation forces, aviation,

¹⁵ “Joint Assault-2019: China-Thailand Anti-terrorism Joint Training Opening,” (聯合·突擊-2019：中泰反恐聯訓開幕), *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, January 7, 2019, http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2019-01/07/content_4833732.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

engineering, artillery, armored forces.¹⁶

C. China-Laos "Peace Train" (和平列車) joint medical training

In July 2018, China and Laos armed forces upgraded the activity to a joint medical training event. This was the first joint military exercise between the two armies. It was also the first time for China to conduct a bilateral medical service joint exercise with the Indo-China peninsula. On August 17, 2019, China and the Laos military continued to hold the "Peace Train-2019" humanitarian medical rescue joint training activities and medical service activities.¹⁷ The joint performance was based on the humanitarian medical rescue of landslide disasters. Nearly 500 troops of the bilateral military, simulating projects such as joint command, joint treatment, and joint wounded evacuation.

v. China-Nepal Special Operation Forces Joint Training

¹⁶ Prashanth Parameswaran, "China and Cambodia Hold Their Biggest Military Exercise Yet," *The Diplomat*, March 21, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/03/china-and-cambodia-hold-their-biggest-military-exercise-yet/> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

¹⁷ "PLA Team Sets Out for Humanitarian Activities and Exercise with Laotian Military," *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, August 8, 2019, http://eng.mod.gov.cn/news/2019-08/08/content_4847801.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

Since 2017, the special operation forces of China and Nepal have jointly held the “Mt. Everest Friendship 2019” (珠峰友誼-2019) training every year. The training aims to improve the ability of the bilateral special operation forces to carry out anti-terrorist rescue missions. During the joint training, the troops of the two sides will be mixed into two small teams, and they will conduct mutual teaching, subject discussion and comprehensive exercises around the subjects such as housing intrusion, hostage rescue, cable drop, and sniper.¹⁸

vi. China join Mongolia Multinational Peacekeeping Military Exercise

The “Khan Quest” military exercise has been held once a year since 2003. Since 2006, it has been changed to a multinational peacekeeping military exercise. China has sent troops to participate in the show since 2015. On June 15, 2019, the “Khan Quest-2019” (可汗探索-2019) multinational peacekeeping military exercise was opened at the Mongolian Armed Forces Training Center. More than 1,700 troops from 38 countries including Mongolia, China, the United States, South Korea, and Japan participated.

¹⁸ “China-Nepal “Mt. Everest Friendship 2019” special forces joint training kicks off,” *Ministry of National Defense of the People’s Republic of China*, August 30, 2019, http://eng.mod.gov.cn/news/2019-08/30/content_4849442.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

Projects include addressing armed conflicts, protecting civilians, and carrying out disaster relief and relief operations.¹⁹

vii. China-India Army Joint Counter-Terrorism Training

On December 11, 2018, China and India held the "Hand-in-Hand-2018" Army anti-terrorism joint training in Chengdu, Sichuan Province. In the context of China and India jointly attack international terrorist organizations, the two sides military completed the three phases of adapted anti-terrorism operations under the conditions of urban conditions following the adaptive training, mixed training, and comprehensive exercises.²⁰

viii. China-Pakistan Army anti-terrorism joint training, multinational maritime joint military exercises, air force "eagle" joint training

¹⁹ "Khan Exploration-2019: Multinational Peacekeeping Military Exercise Held in Mongolia," (可汗探索-2019：多國維和軍演在蒙古國舉行), *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, June 15, 2019, http://www.mod.gov.cn/action/2019-06/15/content_4843641.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

²⁰ Ankit Panda, "India, China Resume Annual 'Hand-in-Hand' Military Exercise After One-Year Gap," *The Diplomat*, December 11, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/12/india-china-resume-annual-hand-in-hand-military-exercise-after-one-year-gap/> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

From December 8, 2018, to January 5, 2019, China and Pakistan held the “Warrior- VI” (勇士-6) anti-terrorism joint training at the Bobby National Counter-Terrorism Training Center in Punjab. The PLA Army sent the special operation forces of the Xinjiang Military Region to participate in. The two countries conducted joint training in the context of joint anti-terrorism operations, learned and exchanged anti-terrorists’ skills, and learned from each other’s training experience.²¹

From February 8 to 12, 2019, a “Peace-19” (和平-19) multinational maritime joint military exercise was held in Karachi, Pakistan, and its surrounding waters. Including China, the United States, United Kingdom, Italy, Australia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Oman, and other countries, a total of 11 ships, aircraft, and special operation forces were dispatched, and including Brazil sent observers.²² This joint exercise is divided into the port stage and the sea stage. At

²¹ “Chinese, Pakistani Armies Conduct Joint Counter-terrorism Training,” *China Military*, January 7, 2019, http://english.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-01/07/content_9398221.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

²² “US, 44 Other Nations Attend Pakistan Naval Exercise,” *NavyTimes*, February 8, 2019, <https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/02/08/us-44-other-nations-attend-pakistan-naval-exercise/> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

the port and shore stage, held on the international maritime seminars, anti-terrorism and anti-piracy demonstrations, light weapons shooting training, and defense combat drills. At the sea stage, the main artillery exercises on various subjects such as sea shooting, anti-terrorism, anti-piracy, and international naval review were carried out.

In the joint training of "Shaheen (Eagle) VIII" (雄鹰-8), China and Pakistan have held joint training of air force and naval aviation every year since 2011. Among them, the PLA Air Force sent multi-type aircraft such as the J-10C, J-16, J-7A and early warning aircraft. As well as ground-to-air missiles, radar, airborne, communications, and other ground units. The Pakistani Air Force sent multi-type aircraft such as JF-17 (枭龙), Mirage and Early Warning Aircraft.²³

ix. China-Russia "Joint Maritime" Military Exercise

On the basis of maintaining "comprehensive strategic partnership and cooperation" between China and Russia, the two militaries maintain close cooperative relations in high-level exchanges, strategic consultations, joint training,

²³ "Pakistan, Chinese Air Forces Start Joint Exercise Amid Rising Conflict with India," *EurAsian*, August 24, 2019, <https://eurasianimes.com/pakistan-chinese-air-forces-start-joint-exercise-amid-rising-conflict-with-india/> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

military technology, and personnel training.²⁴ Among them, since 2012, China and Russia have taken turns to conduct joint exercises in the waters near China and Russia, which are held once a year and have become a normal mechanism and the largest joint exercise under the bilateral framework of China and Russia. Exercises include joint escort, joint air defense, joint anti-submarine, joint anti-hijacking, joint search and rescue, joint resupply, as well as to the sea, submarine, air-to-air live fire and so on. From April 29 to May 4, 2019, China and Russia held a joint maritime exercise on the theme of “sea joint defense operations”.²⁵ From September 16 to 21, 2019, the PLA Army, Air Force of the Western Theater Command sent about 1,600 troops, more than 300 sets of weapons and equipment, nearly 30 fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters to participate in the “Central-2019” (中部-2019) exercise in Russia.²⁶

²⁴ “Sino-Russian military relations Keep on high level Running,” (中俄兩軍關係高位運行), *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, <http://cjz.mod.gov.cn/indexPart3Class2Z1.htm> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

²⁵ “China-Russia joint naval exercise concludes in Qingdao,” *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, May 5, 2019, http://eng.mod.gov.cn/news/2019-05/05/content_4841163.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

²⁶ Franz-Stefan Gady, “China Sends Strategic Bombers, Tanks and 1,600

x. China-Malaysia-Thailand Joint Military Exercises

The "Peace and Friendship- 2018" (和平友誼-2018) China-Malaysia-Thailand joint military exercise sits in Malaysia from October 20 to 29, 2018. The CCP declared the exercise an important annual military training program aimed at enhancing the traditional friendship and military cooperation between China, Malaysia, and Thailand. The purpose of the military exercise is to demonstrate the determination and confidence of the three countries to work together to maintain peace and security in the South China Sea and to enhance their ability to respond to multiple security threats.

The exercise divided the two parts: first, the staff departments exercise; second, the troop actual exercise. Among them, the special forces unit conducted drills in 11 subjects such as patrol guards, rescue hostages, special snipers, and armed escorts at the comprehensive training ground in Negeri Sembilan (森美蘭州). The Navy's troops conducted drills in 10 subjects, including arrests, joint search and rescue, formation movements, and helicopters, in Port Klang (巴生港) and offshore areas in Selangor(雪蘭莪州).

Troops to Russia for Large Military Drill," *The Diplomat*,
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/09/china-sends-strategic-bombers-tanks-and-1600-troops-to-russia-for-large-military-drill/> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

During the exercise, China was represented by the Southern Theater Command Navy, the PLA based in Hong Kong, Macao. The three countries had a total of 1,225 troops, 4 warships, 3 large transport aircraft, 3 helicopters, and many military vehicles.

In 2016, China and Malaysia also held the “Peace and Friendship- 2016” (和平友誼-2016) joint military exercise, the same purpose is to jointly maintain regional peace and stability including the South China Sea. The 2018 military exercise increased Thailand’s participation. It can be seen that the CCP is actively win over the Indo-China Peninsula countries and Southeast Asian countries and establishing multilateral security cooperation mechanisms.

xi. China-Singapore Navy, Army Joint Training

China and Singapore have conducted joint anti-terrorism exercises codenamed “Cooperation” in 2009 and 2010 respectively. Since 2014, the two countries have further increased the level of military cooperation and exchanges, expanded the scope of cooperation and increased density, and increased the number of training subjects, scale and the number of frequencies. In addition to joint training of the Army forces each year, the two countries also began joint naval training. For example, in May 2015, China and Singapore were successfully completed in the sea east of the Malay Peninsula, code-named: “China-Singapore

Cooperation-2015" (中新合作-2015) bilateral military exercises. During the exercise, the two sides implemented conversion command relationships and conducted five-course exercises including the main gun to sea shooting, joint air defense, maritime confrontation, fleet movement, and helicopter mutual drop. Both side navies also sent military observers to each other and gradually established cooperation between the two countries in international humanitarian assistance and in responding to threats in the non-traditional security field. The "China-Singapore Cooperation-2019" Army Joint Training was held on July 27, 2019. The PLA Army dispatched more than 120 troops from the Southern Theater Command Army and the 74th Group Army.²⁷

xii. Kowari 2018 China, Australia, and the United States
Joint Battlefield Survival Training

This is a joint training of battlefield survival skills, consisting of 30 members of the China PLA Marine Corps, the Australia Army, the U.S. Army, and the Marine Corps. The training mechanism began in 2014. The military of the three countries sent high-level delegations during the

²⁷ Prashanth Parameswaran, "China-Singapore Military Ties in Focus with Army Exercise," *The Diplomat*, July 29, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/china-singapore-military-ties-in-focus-with-army-exercise/> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

training and exchanged ideas for various operating subjects. The “Kowari” training subject takes the survival of the battlefield as the main axis and distinguishes the two stages of joint training and joint exercise. First of all, in the joint training stage, the military officers, sergeants, and soldiers of the three countries participated in the study, with the basic knowledge of survival in the wild, the identification of Australian animals and plants, and the use of wild survival kits. It also conducts training for dangerous animal attack prevention and rescue, water intake, food acquisition, simple communication devices, and the use of fireworks to send distress signals. Secondly, in the implementation stage of the joint exercise, a mixed grouping method is adopted to carry out inland survival exercises and coastal survival exercises, with the aim of learning from each other’s useful experience in combat training. From August 28 to September 4, 2019, China, the United States, and Australia continued to hold a joint exercise of “Kowari 2019”. The exercise was mainly carried out by troops of special operation forces of various countries. The PLA Air Force airborne troops also sent special forces members for the first time.²⁸

xiii. China-Australia “Panda and Kangaroo- 2018” (熊貓袋

²⁸ “China-Australia-US Joint Exercise “KOWARI 2019” held,” *China Military*, September 5, 2019, http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-09/05/content_9611995.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

鼠-2018) Army Joint Exercise

Since 2015, China and Australia have established the Army joint exercise mechanism, code-named "Panda and Kangaroo". This joint exercise has become an important platform for the two sides to maintain positive interaction, deepen mutual understanding and enhance mutual trust. Although the number of participants and scale are too small, under the framework of the military development between China and Australia, the CCP still sets the theme of "cooperation, trust, and exchange" in the name of bilateral cooperation in Asia-Pacific security and establishes military affairs for cooperation and interaction mechanism between China and Australia.

In this exchange mechanism military with "Army" as the main, China and Australia take turns to conduct joint training in their respective countries. Among them, the main subjects of joint training include mountain marching, map identification, cliff drop, night rock climbing, sea kayaking, camping and so on.

Taking the joint training held from September 18 to 27, 2018 as an example, the military of the two countries sent 10 officers and soldiers to participate. The PLA's participants came from the 74th Group Army of the Southern Theater Command. Joint training has a certain significance for understanding each other's actual military skills, psychological quality, and professional level.

xiv. Other participating regional security multilateral cooperation mechanisms

In addition to the above-mentioned mode of cooperation and exchange between the PLA and the foreign military envisioned in China's defense diplomacy, as ASEAN's position in Southeast Asia becomes more and more important, and Russia must respond to the development of the "U.S.-South Korea" alliance, the "U.S.-Japan" alliance, and the Korean Peninsula security situation, strengthening various types of security dialogues and cooperation meetings in the Asia-Pacific region has also become another important strategic communication mechanism.

For example, the ASEAN-based extended meeting of the ASEAN Defense Minister, the China-ASEAN Defense Ministers' Informal Meeting, the ASEAN Regional Forum Security Policy Meeting, the Jakarta International Defense Dialogue, or the Asia Security Summit (also known as the Shangri-La Dialogue), the U.S.-led Western Pacific Naval Symposium, and the "Vostok-2018" military exercise hosted by Russia, etc., they are all important regional security activities in recent years. On the occasion of the meetings, that can be seen that the PLA and the military's high-level delegation have participated for many years.

Under such a regional security situation, we could see the positive attitude of China's participation in the operation

of the regional security multilateral cooperation mechanism. On the other hand, the relevant countries not only pay attention to these dialogue mechanisms for regional security but also show contradictory reactions to China in various meetings. If it corresponds to the important issues of relevant regional security and China's substantive influence on the form of regional security, it can be seen that the extent and intensity of the PLA's involvement in the multilateral security mechanism in the Asia-Pacific region have never weakened.

Trends and Impact Effects

Since Xi Jinping's administration, the focus of China's international defense cooperation has mainly included: strategic stability of military relations between major powers, deepening military relations with neighboring countries, further consolidation of military relations with developing countries, and active participation in regional security dialogues and multilateral security cooperation mechanism. Therefore, maintaining high-level interactive exchanges, defense consultations, joint training, equipment technology, college education, medical and health care, military research, anti-terrorism, humanitarian relief, foreign military training, and foreign military training and military assistance have become practical pushes specific project.

I. Development trend

The report of the 19th National Congress of the CCP confirmed the adjustment policy of China's diplomacy since 2012, formed an all-dimensional, multi-level and three-dimensional diplomatic layout, and comprehensively promoted the diplomacy of a major power with Chinese characteristics. The report also clearly stated that the diplomacy of a major power with Chinese characteristics should promote the construction of a new type of international relations and promote the building of a community of human destiny.²⁹ It can be seen that the CCP is actively developing global partnerships, including the neighboring foreign policy, and deepening the relations between neighboring countries. The issue of defense diplomacy and the issue of foreign exchanges of the PLA must be subject to the established policy principles of the party-state system.

In January 2017, the State Council Information Office (SCIO) of the PRC issues a white paper on *China's Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation* (中國的亞太安全合作政策), which was mainly about the policy recommendations for security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The CCP

²⁹ "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," *China Daily*, October 18, 2017, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/interface/flipboard/1142846/2017-11-06/cd_34188086.html (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

emphasizes the need to promote common development, promote partnership building, improve existing regional multilateral mechanisms, promote rule building, close military exchanges, and cooperation, and properly handle conflicts of differences.³⁰ Therefore, through the defense diplomacy, supporting policy proposals, and trying to take a new path of new international relations of "dialogue without confrontation, partnering and not forming alliances", building regional security mechanisms, expanding security cooperation, and coping with security challenges are the future development trends.

- i. The United States, Russia, Japan, the European Union, the ASEAN countries, South Asia countries, and the Indo-China peninsula (Mekong) countries are the focus of diplomatic relations.
- ii. Regarding the substantive content of defense diplomacy, the interaction events will be extended to fields such as joint operations, anti-terrorism, maritime security, and peacekeeping cooperation.
- iii. The CCP continued to strengthen the military modernization of the PLA, and through the promotion

³⁰ "China's Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, January 11, 2017, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1429771.shtml html (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

- of professional and technical capabilities, it organized the deepening of the exchange in the practical experience of the military commissions, military branches, theater forces, and foreign military command systems, information construction, and military reform.
- iv. The use of military educational approach to focus on key military academies such as the National Defense University and the National Defense Science and Technology University, establish inter-school relations with foreign military schools, and exchange experts and scholars.
 - v. With the assumption of actual combat in the traditional and non-traditional security fields, the CCP will continue to invite and actively participate in joint exercises and joint training between China and foreign countries to enhance mutual understanding between the military.

Diplomacy needs to be backed by military power, and China's defense diplomacy has increasingly become the focus of the international community. When meeting with the military foreign affairs work conference and the 16th military attache work conference in 2015, Xi Jinping clearly pointed out: hope that everyone will dare to explore and innovate, emancipate the mind, broaden horizons, and deeply grasp the military diplomacy and military attache work under the new situation. At the same time, they must grasp the characteristics

and laws, actively reform and innovate, improve the system and mechanism, adjust and optimize the layout, improve methods and methods, and enhance the aggressiveness and initiative of the defense diplomacy work.³¹ China must try to crack down on negative criticisms including the "China threat theory". The solution is to take the initiative to carry out defense diplomacy, including setting up a security agenda, continuously strengthening dialogues at all levels, deepening pragmatic cooperation, and promoting the building of a military mutual trust mechanism. To shape the PLA and create an international public opinion environment conducive to China and the necessary means to guide the multilateral security mechanism in the Asia-Pacific.

II. Impact effect

Defense diplomacy has three significant attributes as the military's foreign-related activities: one is in the diplomatic sphere; the second is military; the third is subordinate to national diplomacy. Secondly, the CCP believes that the defense diplomacy not only must obey the national strategic goal and military-strategic objectives, but also must adapt to

³¹ "Xi Jinping met with the military foreign affairs work conference and the military attache work conference representative" (習近平接見全軍外事工作會議和武官工作會議代表), *XINHUANET.com*, January 30, 2015, http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-01/29/c_127437606.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

the new requirements of safeguarding national security and development interests, must pay more attention to the use of military power and means to create a favorable strategic situation for the realization of peaceful development and providing strong security guarantees. According to the main military strategic objectives of the PLA “Crisis Prevention, Containment of War, Winning Wars” (預防危機、遏制戰爭、打贏戰爭),³² it can be seen that maintaining a stable military relationship with the world’s major powers is crucial.

i. Sino-U.S. relations

Although China and the United States still doubt each other in strategic relations, competition, and cooperation, the relations between the two militaries still maintain normal interaction. For example, in 2014, China’s Ministry of National Defense and the U.S. Department of Defense signed two memorandums of understanding on *Notification of Major Military Activities Confidence-building Measures Mechanism* (建立重大軍事行動相互通報信任措施機制) and *The Rules of Behavior for*

³² “White Paper on China’s Military Strategy” (中国的军事战略白皮书), *The State Council Information Office Affairs of the People’s Republic of China*, May 2015, <https://www.scio.gov.cn/zfbps/ndhf/2015/Document/1435161/1435161.htm> (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

Safety of Air and Maritime Encounters (海空相遇安全行爲準則). In 2015, the two sides have added new "Military Crisis Notifications" and "Airborne Encounters" Annexes. In addition, China and the United States promote regular exchanges and cooperation at the defense departments, the army, navy, and military schools. These are all conducive to easing differences and misunderstandings and ensuring the stable development of military relations.

ii. Sino-Russian relations

China and Russia are still deepening the comprehensive strategic partnership of cooperation to a consensus. Therefore, the military-level exchange mechanism between the two countries should maintain a good cooperative and interactive relationship. Especially in the areas of high-level official exchanges, military training, equipment technology, and anti-terrorism, China and Russia will show goodwill and cooperation with each other on international occasions. In addition, both the Sino-Russian code-named "maritime joint" series exercises and the Russian-Chinese "Vostok" military exercise highlight the close relationship between the two countries' strategic mutual trust and cooperation.

iii. China-EU relations

Under the "One Belt, One Road" initiative, China

and the EU will conduct good exchanges and cooperation in the areas of security policy dialogue, anti-pirate joint drills, and personnel training.

iv. China and neighboring countries relations

Whether the People's Liberation Army Central Military Commission visits abroad or the surrounding 17 countries' defense officials and military leaders to visit China, deepening military relations and providing necessary military assistance will be necessary means to develop military mutual trust. In order to ensure the security of China's borders, the establishment of defense and security consultation mechanisms with neighboring countries is also the focus of defense diplomacy. The CCP will focus on military experiences cooperation, personnel training, joint training, and other fields.

In order to solve the mentality that most countries in the Asia-Pacific region hold "the economy depends on China; the security depends on the United States" (經濟靠中國，安全靠美國), China and most of its neighboring countries have held various joint military exercises and training, and most of them have formed mechanisms.³³ Under the guidance of the new

³³China has signed border defense cooperation agreements with nine neighboring countries and established a meeting mechanism with 12 countries. The CCP want to establish a three-level foreign exchange

security concept, the PLA will continue to focus on coordinating domestic and international security, traditional security and non-traditional security, actively participate in various security cooperation mechanisms and forums, and actively create new types of security cooperation mechanisms and forums to promote regional and world security, promoting China's security concept and raising the right to discourse power in the security field as the main axis of defense diplomacy.

Conclusion

From the establishment of the PLA to modernization, the PLA has undergone a transition from a conservative policy to a reform and opening up. In the past 91 years, the focus of military construction and the direction of military development have been adjusted and adapted simultaneously with the globalization of the country's economy. Specifically, the scope of military projection must cover the economic development

mechanism between the Ministry of National Defense, the theater Command, and the border defense forces, and conduct normal exchanges of friendly exchanges, work meetings, joint patrols, and joint efforts to combat cross-border crimes. See "White Paper on China's National Defense in the New Era" (新時代的中國國防白皮書), Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China, July 24, 2019, http://www.mod.gov.cn/regulatory/2019-07/24/content_4846424_3.htm (Accessed on 10/1/2019).

map. Therefore, today's PLA is no longer just an army that uses national homeland defense as its military thinking. When China's economic and security interests spread throughout the world, the military must continue to deepen its status and role in the international arena to seize the international discourse power and military influence.

Therefore, using the "defense diplomacy" model to reduce the doubts about the expansion of the PLA's military power and to guide the rules governing the operation of international military and military affairs is undoubtedly not a beneficial effect with multiple effects. Whether in the Asia-Pacific region or even extending to Asia, Africa, Europe, and other places, "defense diplomacy" is another important indicator for observing the development of the Chinese military.

Faced with this development trend, Taiwan is affected by unfavorable factors such as cross-strait relations and the CCP's continued suppression of international diplomatic activities. In addition to being able to adopt "secret" or "low-profile" maintenance and military alliances between the United States and the US-led partner countries, from the overall reality situation, Taiwan in the security environment of the Asia-Pacific region, bears the CCP's tremendous pressure brought by the "defense diplomacy" strategy. However, looking at the model of foreign military exchanges between countries in the Asia-Pacific region does not fully accept China's arrangements. For example, many countries still

maintain military cooperation with the United States and regularly hold various types of military exercises and joint training. This military cooperation model that maintains flexibility internationally provides Taiwan with an opportunity to establish a benign interactive relationship between national security, national defense security and in the Asia-Pacific region countries, and there are still opportunities to break through the CCP's compression space.

Therefore, in the face of the Indo-Pacific Strategy concept invoked by U.S. President Donald Trump, Taiwan should enhance its advantages and values that can be cherished in the Indo-Pacific region with more creative thinking to increase Taiwan's inclusion. For example, the Taiping Island in the South China Sea, if it can strengthen its humanitarian rescue and emergency rescue functions, it will naturally play a positive role for Taiwan in maintaining free navigation in the South China Sea and in the South China Sea Code of Conduct (南海行爲準則). In addition, although Taiwan's national land area is small, its military professional capabilities and military quality are no less than those of other countries. If we can also use "defense diplomacy" thinking, and aim at non-traditional security threats and humanitarian maintenance, and establish a platform for national security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, on the one hand, it can enhance the international vision of the R.O.C. military; on the other hand, it will make the relevant countries more understand and agree with the values

of freedom and democracy that Taiwan has adhered to and support for the construction of a peaceful and secure environment.

“Defense diplomacy” is a method of exerting the best military function in peacetime. It is not affected by factors such as the size of the country and the strength of the military. The strategy should focus on through active participation, contacts, to reduce differences and doubts among countries, thereby reducing conflicts and even the chance of war. The CCP is using this method to take advantage of the Asia-Pacific region and will also use this strategy to change the world security landscape. Taiwan must examine this development trend and make appropriate adjustments and responses to the current national defense system and practices in order to safeguard the greatest national security interests.