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## China policy on Taiwan against the backdrop of the Russia-Ukraine War

**Abstract.** The relevance of the study is conditioned by the transformational trends in globalisation policy as a result of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, especially in the political relations of the People's Republic of China with Taiwan, which is one of the most important aspects of international security. The purpose of the study is to identify the characteristic features of the Taiwan issue. The following methodological approaches were used: functional, dogmatic, logical analysis, synthesis, deduction, method of legal hermeneutics, etc. The study found that political relations between China and Taiwan are largely determined by the party affiliation of the latter's leadership. Parallels were drawn between China-Taiwan and Russia-Ukraine relations, which are associated with the asymmetry of relations between the two countries. It was found that the Russia-Ukraine war serves as a factor that will have a further impact on the development and resolution of the conflict between Taiwan and China. The possibility of resolving the China-Taiwan war will depend on the results of the Russia-Ukraine war and the reaction of the international community, especially the United States of America, which is Taiwan's main ally. The study results showed that the factor that will help reduce the likelihood of China's intervention against Taiwan is Ukraine's victory in the Russia-Ukraine war; another factor is the active role of the international community in countering Russian aggression. If the United States and Europe take a passive stance, this will act as a factor that will increase the tension between China and Taiwan. The practical value of the findings allows for a causal analysis of the Taiwan issue and the identification of possible solutions to the conflict against the backdrop of the Russia-Ukraine war.

**Keywords:** asymmetric relations, conflict, world order, globalisation, party affiliation

### Introduction

The territory of Taiwan covers a part of the continent located on the south-eastern coast of the People's Republic of China. As noted by P. Rudolph, it has been in a state of global diplomatic isolation for more than 50 years, but has managed to become a country with the leading economic system in Asia (Rudolph, 2020). However, after Taiwan declared its independence from China, the China-Taiwan conflict began.

Despite the active policy of the international community, the permanent threat of an explosion and undermining security has had an impact on the entire Eurasian continent. According to J. Chen, one of the factors hindering the implementation of sufficient progress in resolving this security crisis is that it is taking place on the territory of post-Soviet Eurasia, and Euro-Atlantic and European actors are mediators in the settlement (Chen, 2019). Since East Asian actors are not involved in solving this issue, their participation is necessary, because it has an impact on geopolitical, geoeconomic, and security interests.

As noted by M. Lasater, the strategic conflict around Taiwan has quite a lot in common with modern Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which is revealed in that it should be seen as a "proxy war" between major geopolitical actors in Eurasia and major nuclear powers (Lasater, 2019). Based on this, it is necessary to consider historical, value-based, and geopolitical parallels, as this provides an opportunity to determine the most favourable ways to resolve conflicts.

First of all, the China-Taiwan and Russia-Ukraine conflicts are asymmetric in terms of the natural potential of the conflicting parties, which consists in the resource potential and military capabilities of the aggressor countries, namely, China and Russia.

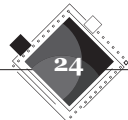
According to Yu. Yeh, it is necessary to consider the historical factor; notably, during the Civil War of 1918-1922 and the national liberation struggle on the territory of the former Russian Empire, the main base of anti-Bolshevik resistance was the modern territory of Ukraine; whereas

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during the Civil War of 1945-1948 in China, Taiwan was the mainstay of resistance of anti-communist forces (Yeh, Wu, 2020). However, at that time, the Ukrainian People's Republic was defeated, but Taiwan has received support from the United States since 1949 and was able to resist the communist dictatorship of China (Yeh, Wu, 2020).

As noted by Yu. Chu, the specifics of nation-building processes are of particular interest (Chu, Ou, 2021). The peculiarity is that they are formed by national identity based on the emphasis of ethno-linguistic, ethno-religious, and ethno-cultural values in relation to the "other", which occurs under the influence of value-based, cultural, and geopolitical factors. The national identity of the population of Taiwan and Ukraine is diverse, contradictory, and fluid (Chu, Ou, 2021). In particular, this can be seen in the changing dynamics of Taiwan's self-identification. According to S. Lakshika, in 1992, only 17.6% of respondents among the population identified themselves as Taiwanese, 25.5% as Chinese, and the rest – double self-identification; then in 2018, Taiwanese self-identification accounted for more than 60% of respondents among the population (Lakshika, 2022). According to D. Fuller, this should be singled out as a factor influencing the painful split in the orientations and sympathies of society and local politicians of a geopolitical nature (Fuller, 2021).

Based on the above, the prospect of negotiations between the OSCE, Europe, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and Asia deserves special attention in the context of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine and the China-Taiwan conflict. This provides an opportunity in the future to implement the Confucian concept of "harmonious peace" through the search for a "golden mean" in resolving the conflict, and will also be a positive factor in influencing the settlement of the strategic crisis in Ukraine and the development of a new political ethics in Eurasia. Resolution of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia in favour of the former will give Taiwan an advantage in the current China-Taiwan conflict.

### Materials and Methods

The study, the scope of which was to determine the peculiarities of China's policy towards Taiwan against the background of Russian aggression against Ukraine, was carried out using methodological approaches that reveal the theoretical and practical aspects. Using a theoretical approach, the historical background and development of the conflict between China and Taiwan were determined. The functional approach helped analyse the reasons for the escalation of this conflict against the background of a full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine. The logical analysis helped reveal that to a large extent, the political relations between China and Taiwan are largely determined by the party affiliation of the latter's leadership. The dogmatic approach provided an opportunity to find out the parallels between China-Taiwan and Russia-Ukraine relations and their asymmetry, which revealed that the Russia-Ukraine war serves as a factor that will further influence the development and resolution of the conflict between Taiwan and China. Using the method of legal hermeneutics, it was determined that the possibility of

resolving the China-Taiwan war will depend on the results of the Russia-Ukraine war and the reaction of the international community, especially the United States, which is Taiwan's main ally. The analysis provided an opportunity to find out that the factor that will contribute to reducing the probability of Chinese intervention against Taiwan is the victory of Ukraine in the Russia-Ukraine war; another factor is the active role of participants in the international community and the United States in countering Russian aggression. Using the system analysis method, it was determined that if the United States and Europe take a passive stance, it will increase the likelihood of a war between China and Taiwan. The method of deduction allowed analysing possible consequences of Taiwan issue based on certain causes and prerequisites of the China-Taiwan conflict. In turn, when applying the induction, an analysis of the main causes of conflict was carried out based on the likely consequences. The importance of applying the synthesis is conditioned by the fact that, based on the theoretical and practical results, it provides an opportunity to analyse the causal relationship of the Taiwan issue and to find out possible ways to resolve the conflict against the background of the Russia-Ukraine war.

The methodological basis was the works of S.A. Lavy (2022), S. Mariotti, (2022), and P. Pereira (2022), thanks to which the hybrid war launched by Russia in 2014 was analyzed and it was stated that European countries refused to provide military and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Other authors' materials of A. Riad (2022) was also taken as a basis; H.B. Piccoli (2022), L.M. Lasatera (2019). The works of V. Vus (2022) and T. Kuzio (2022) helped to point out that at the beginning of any war, two or more parties gather: those interested in the conflict and those who wish to resolve it. S.M. Brondoni added that there is also a third party – China, which does not condemn any of the parties, but on the contrary – is interested in the development of the Russia-Ukrainian war with the geopolitical goal of seizing Taiwan (Brondoni, 2022).

Thus, this study was carried out in several stages:

1. The first stage provided an opportunity to analyse the main historical causes and prerequisites that led to the beginning of the conflict between Taiwan and China.

2. The second stage was based on the definition of the reason that became a factor in instigating the current China-Taiwan conflict; parallels between China-Taiwan and Russia-Ukraine relations were determined, which is associated with the asymmetry of relations between the countries. It was revealed that the Russia-Ukraine war serves as a factor that will further influence the development and resolution of the conflict between Taiwan and China.

3. The third stage considered all possible ways to resolve the China-Taiwan conflict and prevent its escalation, namely, the support of the international community in countering Russian aggression and support for Taiwan.

### Results

The founding of the PRC took place in 1911 during the Xinhai Revolution in mainland China (Eberhard, 2020). After the defeat of Mao Zedong's communist forces in 1949, the former central leadership, led by Kuomintang

nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek, retreated to the island and declared the establishment of the Republic of China in Taiwan (Wei et al., 2021). In 1950, the leader of the Kuomintang declared himself president of the Republic of China in Taiwan and commander-in-chief of the island's armed forces, and also concentrated all power on its territory. Equally important is the fact that Taipei has been declared the "temporary" capital of the Republic of China (Wei et al., 2021).

The disintegration of the bipolar system and the transformation of the internal political character in Taiwan, characterised by the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic model of development, have provided an opportunity to reduce the level of tension in relations between China and Taiwan. However, the conflict experienced significant instability in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which is associated with the victory of representatives of various political forces in Taiwan. For example, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, domestic political processes in Taiwan had a negative impact on both sides of the conflict (Wei et al., 2021). Thus, in March 2000, the representative of the Democratic Progressive Party, Chen Shui-bian, won the presidential election of the Republic of China and said that one of the main goals of his policy is to recognise the independence of the island (Chen Shui-bian wins..., 2022). Later, in August 2002, Shui-bian issued a statement calling for a referendum to recognise the island's independence (Chen Shui-bian wins..., 2022). Chen also stressed the need to pass a law that would grant Taiwan the right to self-determination. However, the official response to Beijing was negative; it was noted that the mainland and Taiwan are only part of China and the division of territorial integrity and sovereignty is unacceptable (China and Taiwan..., 2022).

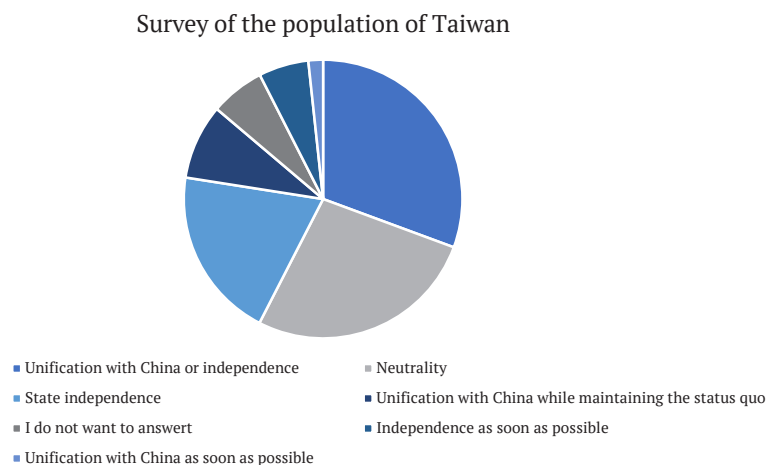
Over time, China-Taiwan relations became less turbulent. This was conditioned by the election of Taiwan's

newly elected president, Ma Ying-jeou, to a more moderate position for mainland China and Taiwan to reach a common compromise (Presidency of Ma Ying-jeou, 2022). Notably, Ying-jeou called the state the Republic of China, not Taiwan; this means that he recognises Chinese unity.

However, in 2016, China-Taiwan relations deteriorated again. This was conditioned by the fact that support for the Democratic Progressive Party increased in the elections, as Tsai Ing-wen defeated Kuomintang Chairman Eric Chu (President Tsai, 2022). One of the reasons for this is that the state of economic policy under Kuomintang's rule has worsened due to concerns that Ma Ying-jeou has made Taiwan's state structure more dependent on mainland China (President Tsai, 2022). In turn, Ing-wen expressed the hope to the population that tensions will decrease and Taiwan will continue to strengthen its national defence and demonstrate determination in action (President "Captain Taiwan" Tsai..., 2022).

In today's conditions, Taiwan continues to experience harassment from the PRC, especially as it is manifested by growing military and political pressure. One good reason is that the capture of Taiwan gives the PRC the opportunity to take control of the South China Sea, several islands, and access to the Pacific Ocean. However, the population of Taiwan confirms its determination to fight for the independence of the territory. In particular, after Tsai Ing-wen won the presidential election in 2020, the President rejected the PRC's application for unification and stressed that the democratic country and its democratic government never respond to threats (President "Captain Taiwan" Tsai..., 2022).

A survey of the population of Taiwan is of importance. It allows analysing existing positions and identifying their correlation in the context of determining the desire to be an independent state, unification with the PRC, maintain neutrality, or evade the answer (Fig. 1).



**Figure 1.** Survey of the population of Taiwan

**Source:** (Wei et al., 2021)

Based on the above data, it can be argued that the position of independence is held by the majority of the population; however, only 10.4% of respondents are in favour of any association with the PRC. Thus, this gives reason to believe that the political course of Taiwan and the population adheres to the position of the struggle for the independence of the island.

Notably, the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine is a factor that will have a further significant impact on the solution of the Taiwan issue. Considering the deployment of Russian troops to the Ukrainian borders in the winter of 2021–2022, the Taiwanese authorities closely monitored the situation (The Russian Federation began..., 2022). Tsai Ing-wen expressed her position that she fully supports Ukraine (The President of Taiwan expresses “sympathy”..., 2022).

Notably, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is of great importance for Taiwan because it is similar to the

China-Taiwan conflict. The country, which previously had great influence and control over the territory, assumes a military conquest of the island. The population does not have the ability to independently resist the PRC, so the Taiwanese authorities hope for the operational support of US troops, which is not guaranteed. Because of this, the Russia-Ukraine war is an important indicator in resolving the further conflict between Taiwan and China.

Similar in both conflicts are the methods of conquest used by the aggressor countries, namely, provocative actions of a military, political, and informational nature against the countries in whose territories they are interested. It is also important that the armies of Taiwan and Ukraine are relatively smaller than those of China and Russia, respectively. The data presented in Table 1 illustrate the military forces of Taiwan and China.

**Table 1.** Armed Forces of China and Taiwan

	China	Taiwan
Total active forces	2,035,000	169,000
Ground forces	965,000	94,000
Naval forces	260,000	40,000
Air force	395,000	35,000
Reserves	510,000	1,657,000
Tanks	5,400	650
Aviation	3,227	504
Submarines	59	4
Military and naval ships	86	26
Artillery	9,834	2,093

**Source:** The Military Balance, 2022

Based on the above data, it can be argued that the Armed Forces of Taiwan are less than 10 times smaller than the PRC. This applies especially to the ground forces, aviation, artillery, naval and air forces. However, in terms of the reserves, Taiwan exceeds China by 2 times.

The main goal of conflicts is the desire to achieve strategic goals by the aggressor countries. For example, the conquest of Taiwan gives the PRC the opportunity to exert further influence over Japan, the Philippines, and the U.S. territory in the Pacific for the purpose of taking over; however, the Russian occupation gives an advantage in exercising control over the Black Sea and access to vulnerable countries for further pressure, namely Bulgaria and Romania (The Military Balance, 2022).

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, which took place on February 24, 2022, caused great concern among the Taiwanese authorities. Russia's actions on the European continent may become a factor that will “untie the hands” of the PRC in relation to Taiwan. This fact follows the Russian-Chinese rapprochement, as states actively conduct military exercises and implement cooperation aimed at weakening the leadership positions of the United States and strengthening their own influence in important regions (Bao et al., 2022).

This is confirmed by the announcement of a joint statement by Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping about their negative attitude to colour revolutions, US and other countries' interference in regional affairs, sanctions and the introduction of additional troops in Europe. The Russian authorities also recognised that Taiwan is a territory of the People's Republic of China and opposed the country's independence in any form (Xi Jinping suffers..., 2022).

However, according to Taiwan's intelligence, the Chinese authorities decided to postpone the invasion for some time, namely, while the president is Tsai Ing-wen, whose term ends in 2026 (Beijing puts probes..., 2022). Following the example of the Russia-Ukraine war, the Chinese authorities concluded that the war should not be taken lightly, so based on Russia's mistakes, they plan to improve their own army.

The Russia-Ukraine war attracts attention from both China and Taiwan, considering their understanding of the future prospects of a military conflict. The Chinese government has repeatedly stressed that there are no parallels between Ukraine and Taiwan, as it will always be an integral part of the mainland. The main difference between Taiwan and Ukraine is that the former is a self-proclaimed state, de jure is the territory of China, and de facto is not,



however, the latter is an independent sovereign state recognised by the world.

Despite the range of differences conditioned by historical factors, geographical location, political and economic events, both states, namely Ukraine and Taiwan, have the same problem, which is the struggle for sovereignty and inviolability.

According to Joseph Wu, Taiwan's foreign minister, the island is threatened by a strong country (Foreign Minister..., 2022). Taiwan supports the position of Ukraine, which is accompanied by a list of actions. These include joining the Western sanctions, which include a USD 20 million restriction on semiconductor exports, providing financial and humanitarian support, and providing humanitarian support to refugees in coordination with other countries involved (Taiwan expands economic..., 2022).

An equally important fact is that in early March, a special account was created to which individuals and legal entities can contribute to help Ukraine; only in the first week, it raised about USD 20 million (Why Taiwanese are donating to Ukraine..., 2022). Most government officials also support Ukrainians; for example, President Tsai Ing-wen and other politicians decided to make a donation in the form of their monthly salaries, and presidential adviser Koo Kwang-ming donated USD 1 million (Why Taiwanese are donating to Ukraine..., 2022).

It is worth noting that Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine have awakened the fighting spirit of the Taiwanese population. The powerful resistance of Ukraine's troops inspires them to confront China and defend the country's territorial integrity and independence, and encourages the authorities to address the issue of strengthening their own defence capabilities. This is also conditioned by the fact that the threat from the mainland is quite highly likely and depends to a large extent on the further development of events in Ukraine.

The current full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation in Ukraine is an indicator for the entire civilized world and the ability of many states to put universal values above their own economic and political interests. Under these conditions, it is increasingly difficult for the PRC to balance between maintaining the image of a world-class country that adheres to the UN Charter and the principles of international law, supporting the Russian Federation, and reducing the rate of defeat in the event of a clash with the West.

Notably, Taiwan and Ukraine will always have a clear critical asymmetry with the Russian Federation through the prism of international political influence and the armed forces. Despite the objections of the Chinese authorities on the parallels between Ukraine and Taiwan, they are now quite obvious, since it is the results of the Russia-Ukraine war that will determine the further direction and steps of China in the conflict with Taiwan.

Based on the above, the problem of Taiwan has deep historical roots, and the resolution of the conflict affects the interests of the PRC and the United States. The China-Taiwan conflict is characterised by weakening or tension depending on the political forces in power on the island. The events of recent years have been characterised

by a significant escalation, which has increased the likelihood of a threat of armed intervention by the PRC against Taiwan. The Russia-Ukraine war is a factor that will determine the further development of the conflict and the prospects for settlement. This is conditioned by the fact that Taiwan and Ukraine have asymmetric conflict relations with more powerful neighbours, namely China and Russia, respectively. Therefore, the victory of Ukraine and the active participation and policy of the United States will be factors that can reduce the likelihood of a China-Taiwan conflict; and, conversely, the passive policy of the United States and the defeat of Ukraine will encourage the PRC to use force to solve the Taiwan issue. Based on the fact that the Russia-Ukraine war is still ongoing and there is no specific outcome, it is impossible to provide an unambiguous forecast of the impact of the war between the Russian Federation and Ukraine on the Taiwan issue. One of the ways to increase the level of national security of Taiwan now is to maintain interstate ties, increase the state's defence capability, and attract allies in a possible war. Further study will be aimed at determining the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war after its end on the current China-Taiwan conflict and identifying future ways to resolve the conflict depending on the outcome of the war between the Russian Federation and Ukraine.

## Discussion

February 24, 2022, marked a turning point in the world history of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as a full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russian troops took place (Lava et al., 2022). This acts as a hybrid war that began in 2014 with the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula; it has turned into a full-fledged war that Europe has not seen since the Second World War. The international community immediately reacted by condemning the "special operation" of the Russian Federation on the territory of sovereign and independent Ukraine (Lava et al., 2022). However, despite this, not all states have decided to stand up for international law and peace in Ukraine; for example, the reaction of the PRC led by Xi Jinping was the most ambiguous.

As noted by S. Mariotti, most of the governments of a number of countries around the world and Europe refused to provide any humanitarian and military assistance during the first days of the invasion, as the Russian authorities stated that they could take the capital of Ukraine – Kyiv – in 3 days, put their own fake government at the head, which will accept all the conditions and capitulate to the "second army of the world"; therefore, instead of assistance, Ukraine received only expressions of concern and condemnation of the Russian aggression against a sovereign state (Mariotti, 2022).

Absolutely all democratic countries condemned Russia's military invasion of Ukraine and expressed support in the form of support for the United Nations resolution on "Aggression against Ukraine" and "Humanitarian consequences of aggression against Ukraine", the purpose of which is to call for an end to the invasion and fighting and the liberation of the territory of Ukraine; however, the states that opposed the support of the resolutions are Russia itself and its satellite countries, namely: Belarus, Syria,

North Korea, and Eritrea (Aggression against Ukraine, 2022). According to A. Riad, a significant stage in the implementation of global support for Ukraine is the introduction of economic sanctions against the aggressor – Russia, which were introduced by the government of the Euro-Atlantic region (Riad et al., 2022).

According to G. Piccoli, imposing sanctions and condemning war are insufficient means to implement support for Ukraine (Piccoli et al., 2022). Countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada provided Ukraine with military, political, and economic assistance to fight for freedom and survival as an independent state.

According to P. Pereira, the authorities of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union understand that Ukraine alone does not have the ability to stand up to the aggressor country on its own, so they are trying to achieve an end to the war along with the de-occupation of territories, including the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (Pereira et al., 2022). The authorities of these states are aware that the Putin regime uses only force, and the introduction of sanctions and international isolation do not give the desired effect, since the export of energy resources cannot stop completely, further financing the war.

Based on this, economic and political pressure from Western states is not sufficient for Ukraine to win. Notably, along with the United States, there is another super-state, namely, China (Pereira et al., 2022). The PRC is Russia's closest ally, which is evident in their economic and political ties; the PRC is the only state that respects the Putin regime and can make any concessions (Vus, Esterlis, 2022). Based on these claims, China has great opportunities to influence the rule of law on guaranteeing peace along with the United States.

However, as noted by V. Vus, tracking the trend of global geopolitical events, the most pronounced is the allocation of two or more parties at the beginning of any war, namely, those who are interested in the conflict and those who want to resolve it (Vus, Esterlis, 2022). The war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine is no exception, since this military conflict takes on the signs of a World War and affects other international legal relations, especially of China and Taiwan. As highlighted by T. Kuzio, there are two warring parties in the Russia-Ukraine conflict – the Russian Federation and its satellites North Korea, Belarus, Syria, and Eritrea against Ukraine and the entire democratic world under the leadership of Great Britain, the United States, and the EU (Kuzio, 2022). The first side suggests that it has a higher standard of living and is fighting for the expansion of its own living space, but the second side defends peace, freedom, independence, and international law around the world.

There is also a third party – China. According to S. Brondoni, the PRC is interested in the development of this military conflict, does not condemn any of the parties and shows some “concern”, conducts joint exercises of strategic bombers with Russia and has imposed sanctions on investment and trade in the aggressor state, but openly does not join any of the parties to the conflict, as it has its

own geopolitical interests, namely, the capture of Taiwan (Brondoni, 2022).

According to K. Ryan, at the moment, the PRC takes an expected position from the results of the Russia-Ukraine war and any of the possible options is “winning” (Ryan, 2022). If the Russian Federation loses, the PRC gets Siberia and virtually all of Russia as its zone of influence; if Ukraine loses, it will be a big loss for the entire West, and also gives China the opportunity to seize Taiwan (Ryan, 2022). Based on this, Russia's war with Ukraine is important not only for the two sides of the conflict, but also for the whole world, since any of the possible scenarios entail serious consequences for the international community.

Therefore, the victory of Ukraine in the war will be a decisive event of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and will greatly affect the China-Taiwan conflict in favour of Taiwan. Therefore, the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation changes all security guarantees and demonstrates the helplessness of the norms and rules of international law. Peace and order will depend on Ukraine's victory, not only in Ukraine, but throughout the world. This is understood by the international community of parts of democratic states that support Ukraine in all possible ways that are necessary in the fight against the aggressor state.

Ukraine's war with Russia is taking on signs of an international conflict, but the PRC, which is one of the strongest states in the world, does not want to join it yet. Now China adheres to the position of neutrality and its own geopolitical strategy, which is to further weaken Russia in order to gain the necessary power to win a trade war with the United States, economically “seize” the world, and capture further mainland territories, primarily Taiwan.

As noted by E. Pulford, China's political and economic ambitions are already being felt in Central Asia, Southeast Asia, the South China Sea, and the Far East (Pulford, 2022). The Chinese authorities were concerned about the US support for separatism of Chinese territories, especially Taiwan, which is a fairly well-known case, as it has been happening for many decades (Pulford, 2022).

Thus, the study identified the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on current events in the international community. Now this is especially true for the China-Taiwan conflict, as the further development of events will depend on the results of Ukraine's war with Russia. It was noted that if Ukraine wins, the world situation will be changed for the better and the Taiwan issue will be resolved in its favour. However, if Ukraine loses, the next stage in the development of events of the international community will be the seizure of Taiwan's territories, and the seizure of other territories of the post-Soviet countries by the Russian Federation. The next study will be aimed at analysing further events in the world community based on the results of the Russia-Ukraine war, identifying the main problems and possible solutions.

## Conclusions

After analysing China's policy towards Taiwan against the background of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, it was determined that these conflicts are asymmetric in their legal essence.

First of all, the prerequisites for the beginning of the China-Taiwan conflict were determined. They lie in the historical background, according to which in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the population of Taiwan determined the desire to build an independent and sovereign state. However, as of today, Taiwan is under political oppression by the PRC and is one of its main geopolitical strategic targets. One of the reasons for this is that the seizure of the island's territory provides an opportunity to take control of the South China Sea, several islands, and access to the Pacific Ocean.

The conflict between China and Taiwan and between Russia and Ukraine is similar. It was noted that the methods of conquest used by the aggressor countries, which consist in provocative actions of a military, political, and informational nature against the countries in whose territories they are interested, are similar. The main goal of conflicts, which is the desire to achieve strategic goals by the aggressor countries, was also highlighted.

It was found that Russia's actions may become a factor in the beginning of a military conflict between China and Taiwan, which follows from the Russian-Chinese rapprochement. States are actively conducting military exercises and illustrating cooperation aimed at weakening the leadership positions of the United States and strengthening their own influence in important regions.

The war between Russia and Ukraine, namely its results, will determine the further course of events in global politics. If Ukraine wins, the China-Taiwan conflict will be suspended, as international support for Taiwan provides an opportunity to leave the island's territory intact and inviolable while preserving sovereignty. However, if Ukraine loses, the PRC will launch military operations against Taiwan to capture it. Further study will focus on a detailed analysis of world events against the background of the results of the Russia-Ukraine war.

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## Політика Китаю щодо Тайваню на тлі російсько-української війни

**Анотація.** Актуальність проведення дослідження обумовлена трансформаційними трендами глобалізаційної політики внаслідок повномасштабного російського вторгнення в Україну, в особливості у політичних відносинах Китайської Народної Республіки щодо Тайваню, що слугує одним із найбільш важливих аспектів функціонування міжнародної безпеки. Метою статті є виявлення характерних особливостей Тайванської проблеми. Були використані такі методологічні підходи як функціональний підхід, догматичний метод, метод логічного аналізу, метод синтезу, метод дедукції, метою юридичної герменевтики та інші. У ході проведення дослідження було виявлено, що значною мірою політичні відносини між Китаєм та Тайваню визначаються партійною приналежністю керівництва другого. Було проведено паралелі між китайсько-тайванськими та російсько-українськими відносинами, що пов'язано з асиметричністю відносин між країнами. Було виявлено, що російсько-українська війна слугує чинником, який буде здійснювати подальший вплив на розвиток та вирішення конфлікту між Тайванем та Китаєм. Можливість розв'язання китайсько-тайванської війни буде залежати від результатів російсько-української війни та реакції міжнародної спільноти, в особливості, Сполучених Штатів Америки, що виступають основним союзником Тайваню. Отримані результати дослідження показали, що чинником, який буде сприяти зниженню показника ймовірності інтервенції Китаю проти Тайваню є перемога України у російсько-українській війні; іншим чинником є активна роль учасників міжнародної спільноти у протидії російській агресії. У випадку, якщо Сполучені Штати Америки та Європа будуть займати пасивну позицію, це буде виступати фактором, що буде збільшувати війну між Китаєм та Тайваню. Практична цінність отриманих результатів надає можливість провести аналіз причинно-наслідкового зв'язку Тайванської проблеми та з'ясувати можливі шляхи вирішення конфлікту на тлі російсько-української війни

**Ключові слова:** асиметричні відносини, конфлікт, світовий порядок, глобалізація, партійна приналежність