**[AEI]제목: The World Health Organization is not salvageable**

(<https://www.aei.org/op-eds/the-world-health-organization-is-not-salvageable/>)

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The coronavirus pandemic has revealed how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has corrupted the World Health Organization (WHO), under the leadership of Director General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus. The WHO pursued politics over public health by helping Beijing spread disinformation about the outbreak and excluding Taiwan and its wealth of knowledge about the disease. American decision-makers should respond by either pushing China out of any serious role at the WHO or constructing a new agency to take its place.

A mass of evidence shows that Beijing became aware of the danger of the coronavirus outbreak in December 2019, if not earlier. The regime did not react by notifying the WHO and other nations of the potential for an outbreak of a highly communicable disease. Instead, it silenced the brave Chinese doctors who raised the alarm, shut down laboratories investigating the virus’ origins and suppressed Chinese reporters and writers publicizing the events. The CCP further proceeded to falsify information about the spread of the disease and the lives lost, provided spurious reassurances to world leaders and blocked foreign scientists and officials from access to Wuhan.

The communist government deliberately kept the rest of the world in the dark. It denied and minimized the extent of the outbreak, kept travel between China and other countries open and allowed travelers to spread the virus to unwitting nations long after its leadership knew of the profound health risks. Even well-informed public health experts in the U.S. and elsewhere, like Dr. Anthony Fauci, were lulled into a false sense of security because China concealed vital information about the disease.

China’s pattern of concealment, delay, obfuscation and outright lying caused irreparable harm to the rest of the world. Despite knowing of the nature, infectiousness and lethality of the disease, China’s government did not begin to quarantine the city of Wuhan, where the pandemic had broken out, until January 23. Before that announcement, the Chinese government had allowed millions of people to enter and leave Wuhan during Chinese New Year celebrations, thus spreading the contagion to other parts of China. China also knowingly allowed the virus to spread to other countries, including the U.S. Hundreds of thousands of international travelers entered and left China, many of them carrying the virus, even while the mainland authorities denied the risks.

According to some estimates, an early, transparent response to the outbreak by Beijing could have reduced the spread of the epidemic by upward of 90 percent. While Tedros’ WHO cannot be faulted as much as the CCP itself, the WHO’s policies in the critical earlier phase of the virus’ spread accommodated the Chinese government first and protected international public health second.

As if to demonstrate how completely it has been captured by the CCP, the WHO has hewed closely to China’s line of excluding Taiwan from all global politics. For years, the WHO has happily obliged its Beijing masters and agreed to ostracize Taiwan—to the detriment its putative mission of ensuring the health of “all peoples.”

Like other international organizations, the WHO deems democratic Taiwan to be a part of communist China, and accordingly bars it from membership. But the WHO has, in the past, consulted and cooperated with Taiwan—and indeed, Taiwan had observer status until 2016, when it elected a president whose views on independence for the island continue to displease the mainland. .

The WHO’s policy of sidelining Taiwan actually began well before Tedros assumed the organization’s leadership. Taiwanese officials have claimed that the WHO denied them assistance during the 2003 SARS outbreak (in which 37 Taiwanese died). And Dr. Wang Pi-Sheng, the secretary general of the Taiwan Medical Association, expressed frustration in 2017 that the WHO would not allow Taiwan, with its world-class medical system, to share its resources and information with WHO member states. Arguing that the inclusion of Taiwan in global health planning was a matter of public safety that transcended politics, Wang said: “It’s about the epidemic protection network. We don’t want any gap from this network because now we have some new viral diseases. If we are absent, you will have a so-called critical gap.”

Reflecting China’s influence over him, Tedros has ratcheted up the WHO’s hostility toward Taiwan. Near the beginning of the outbreak, Taiwan’s health officials sought to warn the WHO (based on information they had received from mainland colleagues) that the disease could be transmitted between humans. Rather than heeding these warnings, the WHO issued an announcement in mid-January that endorsed the official CCP line that there was no human-to-human transmission of the disease. And although Taiwan has had enviable success in combating the disease on the island, the WHO continues even now to exclude Taiwan’s health officials from emergency meetings and briefings that coordinate worldwide responses to the pandemic.

If the WHO had acted promptly on Taiwan’s information in mid-January and not taken the Chinese regime’s denial at its word, the WHO would have promptly begun to investigate the issue of transmission, studied the information provided by Taiwan’s mainland sources and pressed CCP authorities. It could have made the rest of the world aware of the risk that the nascent disease might spread through human contact—and perhaps even elevated Taiwan’s experience at successfully containing the disease into a best practice model for the rest of the world to follow. Disastrously, the WHO followed the CCP’s lead instead.

Instead of accepting responsibility for these inexcusable omissions and the damage to global public health that ensued from them, Tedros sought to shift the blame to Taiwan, bizarrely accusing it of orchestrating a campaign against him that had “insulted” Africa and “the whole black community.” Sadly, it is African nations themselves, including Tedros’ Ethiopia, that stand to suffer disproportionately from his higher loyalty to CCP apparatchiks.

China’s capture of the WHO, and the WHO’s unfortunate turn from public health to crass politics, should prompt the U.S. and its allies to build a new international organization. The WHO loses its ability to advance global public health when it no longer has credibility as a source of impartial information and expertise. There is little benefit for the U.S. in remaining in such a corrupted and captured organization. China’s desire to overturn the rules of the U.S.-led global order will require the United States and its allies to construct new international institutions for a different strategic environment. The first casualty of China’s rise may well be the WHO.

**[AEI]제목: Military confrontation in the South China Sea**

(https://www.aei.org/articles/military-confrontation-in-the-south-china-sea/)

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The risk of a military confrontation in the South China Sea involving the United States and China could rise significantly in the next eighteen months, particularly if their relationship continues to deteriorate as a result of ongoing trade frictions and recriminations over the novel coronavirus pandemic. Since 2009, China has advanced its territorial claims in this region through a variety of tactics—such as reclaiming land, militarizing islands it controls, and using legal arguments and diplomatic influence—without triggering a serious confrontation with the United States or causing a regional backlash. Most recently, China announced the creation of two new municipal districts that govern the Paracel and Spratly Islands, an attempt to strengthen its claims in the South China Sea by projecting an image of administrative control. It would be wrong to assume that China is satisfied with the gains it has made or that it would refrain from using more aggressive tactics in the future. Plausible changes to China’s domestic situation or to the international environment could create incentives for China’s leadership to adopt a more provocative strategy in the South China Sea that would increase the risk of a military confrontation.

The United States has a strong interest in preventing China from asserting control over the South China Sea. Maintaining free and open access to this waterway is not only important for economic reasons, but also to uphold the global norm of freedom of navigation. The United States is also at risk of being drawn into a military conflict with China in this region as a result of U.S. defense treaty obligations to at least one of the claimants to the contested territory, the Philippines. China’s ability to control this waterway would be a significant step toward displacing the United States from the Indo-Pacific region, expanding its economic influence, and generally reordering the region in its favor. Preventing China from doing so is the central objective of the U.S. National Security Strategy and the reason the Indo-Pacific is the U.S. military’s main theater of operations. For these reasons, the United States should seek ways to prevent Chinese expansion, ideally while avoiding a dangerous confrontation and being prepared to deftly manage any crises should they arise.

**[AEI] 제목: China is using covid-19 to throttle Hong Kong’s pro-democracy movement**

(https://www.aei.org/op-eds/china-is-using-covid-19-to-throttle-hong-kongs-pro-democracy-movement/)

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Hong Kong recently announced that it is extending the city’s coronavirus emergency restrictions until June 5. Yet only [four people](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/19/world/asia/coronavirus-hong-kong.html) have died of covid-19 in Hong Kong, and the city has seen just three locally transmitted cases in the past month.

So why extend the restrictions? Because June 4 is the anniversary of China’s brutal crackdown on peaceful democracy protesters in [Tiananmen Square](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/opinions/global-opinions/tiananmen-square-a-massacre-erased/?tid=lk_inline_manual_3&itid=lk_inline_manual_3). Every year since 1990, Hong Kong residents have taken to the streets to commemorate the massacre. Now, Beijing is trying to [prevent](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/19/hong-kong-blocks-tiananmen-square-vigil-with-gathering-ban) the annual march by declaring it a danger to public health.

It’s just the latest example of how the Chinese Communist Party is using covid-19 as a pretext to throttle Hong Kong’s pro-democracy movement. The city’s puppet government [has banned](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-05-04/coronavirus-hong-kong-pro-democracy-crackdown-china/12182268) gatherings of more than four people — which conveniently makes it unlawful for people to march together or even hold meetings. Under the state of emergency, anyone who participates in or even provides a venue for prohibited gatherings could face six months in jail.

On April 18, authorities [arrested](https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/20/hong-kong-crackdown-amid-covid-19) 15 leaders of the movement — including former legislator Martin Lee and media tycoon Jimmy Lai — on charges of participating in unlawful assemblies. Joshua Wong, the student-activist who serves as secretary general of the pro-democracy party Demosisto, says that if the same arrests had taken place just a few months earlier, hundreds of thousands of people would have taken to the streets. As recently as January, he points out in [an interview](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/wth-is-going-on-in-hong-kong-joshua-wong-on-how-beijing/id1467993804?i=1000474372886&mkt_tok=eyJpIjoiTmpNeE4yRXlZVE5qTlRsayIsInQiOiJMeHdoK0VSeThGa3NtRXdnQXpuTStQcERCNWJST2JybEpxaFZNRE84OHM2cEdTUkhmK2VRZFpOSk91UTE4Sjh4NENyZU83UWdkR2dQbE1VbUluMG9HY01cL0lOTlNSNkVGYkdBMk5QQ3ZJbWpcL0x2MnVRTTl1c3RCeFgzc1F4Z0UwIn0%3D), 1 million people came out to protest in a city with just 7 million residents. But the state of emergency has made it “impossible for us to mobilize people, get them on the street.”

Now, Beijing is attempting to take advantage of the lockdown [to ram through a new national security law](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/china-signals-plan-to-take-full-control-of-hong-kong-realigning-citys-status/2020/05/21/2c3850ee-9b48-11ea-ad79-eef7cd734641_story.html?tid=lk_inline_manual_9&itid=lk_inline_manual_9) banning treason, sedition and secession in Hong Kong — which would effectively end the “one country, two systems” principle established after the British handover in 1997. Under the terms of that transition, Hong Kong was supposed to enjoy a high degree of autonomy until 2047. But now China is moving to take [full control](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/china-signals-plan-to-take-full-control-of-hong-kong-realigning-citys-status/2020/05/21/2c3850ee-9b48-11ea-ad79-eef7cd734641_story.html#click=https://t.co/MuUWr3rtC2?tid=lk_inline_manual_9&itid=lk_inline_manual_9) of the territory.

Wong says the pro-democracy forces will not be intimidated: “This summer, I believe we will get the people on the street, more than a million people show our anger and solidarity, and to keep on the fight.” Demonstrators plan a massive march to mark the first anniversary of the pro-democracy protests, which began in June 2019 when nearly 2 million people took to the street and forced the withdrawal of a bill that would have allowed Hong Kong people to be extradited to China.

The goal is to build momentum over the summer leading up to September’s elections for Hong Kong’s Legislative Council, its highest legislative body. Last November, pro-democracy forces [crushed the pro-Beijing parties](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia-pacific/in-hong-kong-elections-big-defeat-for-elites-pressures-beijing-to-rethink-approach/2019/11/25/ef7b1dbc-0f29-11ea-924c-b34d09bbc948_story.html?tid=lk_inline_manual_8&itid=lk_inline_manual_8&tid=lk_inline_manual_13&itid=lk_inline_manual_13) in Hong Kong’s local district elections, winning [85 percent](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-11-24/hong-kong-s-pro-democracy-candidates-poised-to-win-majority-k3dlva6f) of the seats in a vote considered a referendum on the protest movement. Now they plan to repeat that performance by winning a majority in the Legislative Council. They could then use the legislature as a platform to demand free elections to replace the city’s reviled, Beijing-appointed chief executive, Carrie Lam. “We have to elect the leader of this city,” Wong says.

It is an uphill battle, but Congress gave the pro-democracy forces leverage when it passed the [Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act](https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/1838/text) last November. The law requires Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to issue a report determining whether Hong Kong continues to enjoy its promised autonomy. If Pompeo determines it does not, the costs for Beijing could be dire. Today, Hong Kong enjoys preferential trade treatment because US law treats it as a distinct entity from China — but if Hong Kong’s autonomy disappears, so does the rationale for treating Hong Kong better. That means if Beijing launches a military intervention, interferes with the city’s free elections or refuses to respect the results, it could lose Hong Kong’s preferential trade status — a massive economic blow.

China needs to be careful, because the United States is in no mood for business as usual with Beijing. Americans’ views of China are at an all-time low, and Americans know that China’s lies and deceit are the reason they are locked in their homes and nearly [39 million](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/millions-more-people-likely-sought-us-unemployment-benefits/2020/05/21/3457e288-9b54-11ea-ad79-eef7cd734641_story.html?tid=lk_inline_manual_16&itid=lk_inline_manual_16) are out of work. President Trump [has soured on his trade deal with China](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/19/business/economy/china-taiwan-huawei-tsmc.html). And Congress is considering a raft of bills to bring our supply chains home from China and hold Beijing accountable for the virus it unleashed on the world. The United States will not hesitate to impose a tremendous price for any crackdown in Hong Kong.

**[AEI] 제목: China’s path to self destruction starts in Hong Kong –일부 발췌**

(https://www.aei.org/op-eds/chinas-path-to-self-destruction-starts-in-hong-kong/)

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The Washington Post [reports](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/china-signals-plan-to-take-full-control-of-hong-kong-realigning-citys-status/2020/05/21/2c3850ee-9b48-11ea-ad79-eef7cd734641_story.html) that communist China’s Xi Jinping will soon [tighten the noose on Hong Kong](https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/hong-kongs-elections-was-big-loss-pro-chinese-forces-104962), effectively ending nearly a quarter-century of the “[One country, two systems](https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2019/06/30/what-is-chinas-one-country-two-systems-policy)” compromise which the United Kingdom and the People’s Republic of China negotiated in order to enable Hong Kong’s 1997 [return to Chinese sovereignty](https://www.britannica.com/topic/reversion-to-Chinese-sovereignty-1020544).

Back to Hong Kong: Xi may want to end the two-system arrangement which has allowed Hong Kong to thrive, but it will be harder to control Hong Kong’s spirit. Rather, by breaking down the border between Hong Kong and China, he may actually expedite the spread of Hong Kong’s dissent. Communist China [controls movement](https://nationalinterest.org/feature/us-should-use-beijing%E2%80%99s-social-credit-system-against-china-38542), but it cannot quarantine Hong Kong forever. Few in China outside of upper-echelon communist authorities are happy. Most Chinese remain oppressed. Nor is [China’s economic future rosy](https://nationalinterest.org/feature/chinas-debt-debacle-68417). Decades of the one-child policy have set it on the course for a demographic precipice which will only increase dissent. The real threat from China remains [not its rise](https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/gordon-chang-chinas-communist-party-has-little-celebrate-84426), but rather its collapse. Freedom is contagious. Xi’s actions against Hong Kong may, in hindsight, appear like treating a chest wound with a band-aid.

**[United States Strategic Approach to The People’s Republic of China]**

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“As China has grown in strength, so has the willingness and capacity of the CCP to employ intimidation and coercion in its attempts to eliminate perceived threats to its interests and advance its strategic objectives globally. Beijing’s actions belie Chinese leaders’ proclamations that they oppose the threat or use of force, do not intervene in other countries’ internal affairs, or are committed to resolving disputes through peaceful dialogue. Beijing contradicts its rhetoric and flouts its commitments to its neighbors by engaging in provocative and coercive military and paramilitary activities in the Yellow Sea, the East and South China Seas, the Taiwan Strait, and Sino-Indian border areas.”

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“The Department of Defense is moving quickly to deploy hypersonic platforms, increasing investments in cyber and space capabilities, and developing more lethal fires based on resilient, adaptive, and cost-effective platforms. Together, these capabilities are intended to deter and counter Beijing’s growing ambitions and the PLA’s drive toward technological parity and superiority.

As part of our worldwide freedom of navigation operations program, the United States is pushing back on Beijing’s hegemonic assertions and excessive claims. The United States military will continue to exercise the right to navigate and operate wherever international law allows, including in the South China Sea. We are speaking up for regional allies and partners, and providing security assistance to help them build capacity to withstand Beijing’s attempts to use its military, paramilitary, and law enforcement forces to coerce and prevail in disputes. In 2018, the United States military withdrew the invitation for the PLA to participate in the biennial Rim of the Pacific exercise due to Beijing’s deployment of advanced missile systems onto manmade features in the South China Sea.”

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The United States will continue to maintain strong unofficial relations with Taiwan in accordance with our “One China” policy, based on the Taiwan Relations Act and the three United States-PRC Joint Communiques. The United States maintains that any resolution of cross-Strait differences must be peaceful and according to the will of the people on both sides, without resorting to threat or coercion. Beijing’s failure to honor its commitments under the communiques, as demonstrated by its massive military buildup, compels the United States to continue to assist the Taiwan military in maintaining a credible self-defense, which deters aggression and helps to ensure peace and stability in the region. In a 1982 memorandum, President Ronald Reagan insisted “that the quantity and quality of the arms provided Taiwan be conditioned entirely on the threat posed by the PRC.” In 2019 the

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“These efforts demonstrate United States commitment to the fundamental values and norms that have served as the foundation of the international system since the end of the Second World War. While the United States has no desire to interfere in the PRC’s internal affairs, Washington will continue to be candid when Beijing strays from its international commitments and responsible behavior, especially when United States interests are at stake. For example, the United States has significant interests in the future of Hong Kong. Approximately 85,000 United States citizens and more than 1,300 United States businesses reside in Hong Kong. The President, the Vice President, and the Secretary of State have repeatedly called on Beijing to honor the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and preserve Hong Kong’s high degree of autonomy, rule of law, and democratic freedoms, which enable Hong Kong to remain a successful hub of international business and finance.”