

## 編者言

# 全球衝突不斷 國際援助怎麼辦？

經過了 3 年多的封城、隔離，全世界逐漸從 COVID-19 的桎梏中解放出來，凍結已久的全球經濟也慢慢回溫，人們滿懷希望地回到正常的生活。儘管疫情已逐漸遠離，但全球衝突的緊張卻仍持續攀升。

2022 年 2 月，俄羅斯入侵烏克蘭東部，挑起了西方國家與俄羅斯間的衝突，在歷經 2 年的戰火，到 2023 年底全球經濟損失高達新臺幣 86 兆元，同時也造成 50 萬人的傷亡，並有超過 600 萬的烏克蘭人流離失所。2023 年 10 月，在俄烏戰爭仍持續進行的當下，以色列與哈瑪斯組織在加薩地區爆發衝突，而這也是該地區 50 年以來最大的一次衝突。此兩大衝突的發生，除了引發全球地緣政治的紛擾外，也帶來了大規模的人道危機，為了援助因戰爭所造成的難民、飢荒及醫療等相關問題，已有許多國家或國際非政府組織投入資源展開援助。根據聯合國的數據顯示，2023 年，聯合國呼籲各國提供約 567 億美元的人道援助資金，然而，實際上僅收到該金額的 35%，這也是多年來人道援助最嚴重的資金缺口之一。

全球對外援助經費，長期以來一直處於匱乏狀態，特別是達到聯合國建議政府開發援助 (ODA) 比率為國民所得毛額 (GNI) 0.7% 的這個目標的國家寥寥無幾，加上過去幾年受到疫情影響，在全球經濟重創下，許多國家紛紛削減援助經費，或是將原本用來對外援助的預算，轉為對其國內的援助，雖然疫情遠離後，全球經濟開始活絡，然而，隨著以哈衝突的持續，帶來石油價格攀升的發展可能，這也將對方從疫情中逐漸復甦的全球經濟帶來衝擊，在各國經濟深受打擊的情況下，是否會進一步影響對外援助經費投入的意願，值得觀察。

此外，因俄烏戰爭及以哈衝突使得原本吃緊的全球人道援助需求進一步增加，是否會排擠掉對其他國家或議題的援外預算投入，也是另一個值得觀察探究的焦點。

為了討論上述議題，本期的《當季專論》以〈全球區域衝突升溫下的國際援助〉為主題，分就目前全球面臨多重衝突的情況下，對外援助資源的分配、以哈衝突對於人道援助的衝擊、亞太地區地緣衝突下各國在區域的對外援助策略布局，以及臺灣在面臨全球變局下，援外政策未來的因應等面向進行剖悉。

而在本期的《焦點企劃》，則以〈全球區域衝突轉型，臺灣的策略與行動〉為題，分別訪問國立政治大學國際事務學院連弘宜院長及台灣世界展望會李紹齡會長，分別從學術及實務的角度，分析目前全球衝突局勢發展，並分享非政府組織在面對這些衝突時的實務作為，同時也邀請國合會秘書長李朝成大使，與讀者分享國合會在面對持續不斷的全球衝突時，所採取的策略與方法。

在時間的長河裡，一次次的戰爭與衝突，交織出人類漫長的歷史，而隨著氣候變遷的加劇，更加深了疫病、糧食等危機，這些惡性循環的危機也都將成為未來再度引發戰爭與衝突的根源，充分凸顯出全球對外援助工作上，將面臨更多的挑戰。因此，希望藉由本期的各篇文章，讓讀者了解目前全球衝突的現況，以及所面臨的困境，並期望能夠透過本期的討論，一起為我國國際援助工作找到新的方向。

## 當期論文摘要

### 全球衝突下國際援助資源的重分配

（蘇怡文，中華經濟研究院 WTO 及 RTA 中心分析師）

近年來全球發生一連串重大事故，特別是俄烏戰爭造成人道援助需求激增，國際社會透過多邊協調和雙邊直接支持、私部門投資促進等，在支援烏克蘭方面發揮關鍵作用。而此也導致國際援助資源重新分配，同時使得 ODA 的形式有所轉變。此勢必對於全球援助經費的配置造成影響，但根據 OECD 的研究，還是有部分國家能夠實現 ODA 占 GNI 比例達 0.7% 之目標。援助資金不足使得私部門投資的重要性日益增加，人道援助需求增加也對氣候變遷行動帶來變數，我國在此情勢下的角色為何？本文以我國未來推動對外援助的方向為出發點，闡述近年全球衝突局勢下國際援助資源配置之變化，以及對我國發揮補充國際資金不足之作法建議。

### 太平洋地區強權競爭下的國際援助：以太平洋島國為例

（黃恩浩，國防安全研究院國防戰略與資源研究所副研究員）

為抗衡中國擴張，美國自 2012 年起將全球安全戰略重心從中東轉向亞洲，並將此戰略轉移稱作「亞洲再平衡」。然而，習近平於 2013 年成為中國領導人後，在「大國外交」思維下乃積極向太平洋地區推廣與國際援助相結合的「一帶一路」倡議，不僅企圖擴大對區域的影響力，同時也對美國自二戰後所建構的太平洋安全秩序形成挑戰。因此，美國在 2017 年提出「印太戰略」來延續再平衡政策，並團結理念相近友邦在區域上制衡中國。在美中戰略交鋒態勢下，太平洋島國乃是美中競爭的戰略高地。澳洲為美國傳統盟友，在美中競爭環境中，其國際援助政策除協助太平洋區域政經發展外，更協同美國對抗中國威脅。臺灣是美國印太戰略重要夥伴，其對太平洋島國的援助作為亦值得關注。

### 以哈衝突下的人道援助危機

（王順文，中國文化大學政治學系教授）

2023 年 10 月 7 日哈瑪斯的攻擊引發了一系列的人道援助危機問題，不僅僅包括「人道停火」的爭執，甚至還引發了全面性的人道危機：生命安全的威脅、糧食的短缺、醫療衛生的困境以及基礎設施與民生物資的嚴重缺乏等。但是，隨著國際結構的改變，以哈衝突的發展也是我們持續觀察聯合國的角色與「有責保護」準則是否能持續的試金石。我國在相關人道援助已

卓有成效，未來似可在既有的基礎上，持續與周邊國家及國際非政府組織合作，協助加薩地區的重建工作，並增加我國的國際曝光度。

### **國際發展援助與臺灣：全球趨勢，近年圖像與未來挑戰**

（簡旭伸，國立臺灣大學地理環境資源學系教授；

吳奕辰，國立臺灣大學氣候變遷與永續發展國際學位學程博士）

本文旨在介紹近幾年國際發展援助的兩大主軸：其一是以 OECD-DAC 援助典則為主的變革，從傳統的北南援助到北南南三方夥伴關係；其二是以聯合國人權倡議為基礎的國際發展視角，反思國家的角色以及政府與民間的援外夥伴關係。本文以此框架分析臺灣近年援外實務從「建交導向」到「發展導向」的轉型，並指出轉型至今的美中不足，包括官方預算需增加、思維需擴張與跨部會合作需要更制度化，以及更具反思能力的國際發展青年人才培育養成機制。

# How Should International Aid Evolve in the Midst of Global Conflicts?

After more than three years of lockdowns and isolation, the world is gradually freeing itself from the shackles of COVID-19. The long-frozen global economy is also slowly thawing, and the general public has rekindled hope for a return to normal life. However, even as the pandemic recedes, global tensions continue to escalate.

In February 2022, Russia invaded eastern Ukraine and triggered one of its most significant confrontations with the West since the Cold War. In the following two years, the global economy incurred losses of up to NT\$86 trillion, with casualties reaching 500,000 and over 6 million Ukrainians being displaced. In October 2023, another major conflict broke out in the Middle East as Israel and Hamas clashed in the Gaza Strip in what has now become the largest conflict in the region in 50 years. Both of these wars have not only stirred up global geopolitical turmoil but also caused immense humanitarian crises. Many countries and international non-governmental organizations have already pledged assistance to aid refugees and alleviate famine and medical shortages. In 2023, The United Nations appealed for approximately US\$56.7 billion in humanitarian aid funding from countries worldwide. However, only 35% of that amount was actually received, marking one of the most severe funding shortfalls for humanitarian aid in years.

This shortfall aggravates an already precarious situation. Global foreign aid funding has long been in short supply, with few countries reaching the UN-recommended target of official development assistance reaching 0.7% of gross national income. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic and resulting global economic turmoil caused many countries to cut back on aid funding and redirect budgets to domestic assistance. Although the post-pandemic global economy is starting to rebound, the ongoing conflict in the Middle East, along with the potential for rising oil prices, could pose further challenges to economic recovery. In the midst of these hardships, the willingness of countries to invest in foreign aid funding remains to be seen and warrants close observation.

The ongoing conflicts between Russia and Ukraine and Israel and Hamas have further increased the already tight demand for global humanitarian aid. Whether this will crowd out aid allowances for other countries or causes is another important focus for observation and exploration.

To shed light on these questions, this issue adopts the theme of International Aid in the Context of Escalating Global Conflicts. It delves into several topics from the perspective of today's conflict-ridden geopolitical landscape, including foreign aid allocation, the specific impact of the Israel-Hamas War on humanitarian aid, the strategic layout of foreign aid in the Asia-Pacific region, and Taiwan's future foreign aid policy response in the face of global changes.

The topic of this issue's special report is *Taiwan's Strategies and Actions in the Context of Global Regional Conflicts*. We interviewed Dean Hung-Yi Lien from the College of International Affairs at National Chengchi University and President Shao-Ling Lee from World Vision Taiwan, who shared their respective expertise in the academic and practical complexities of the current world. More specifically, they analyzed the current global situation in the context of regional conflicts and then shared pragmatic actions NGOs can take to address global needs. We also invited Ambassador Dr. Charles C. Li, Secretary General of the TaiwanICDF, to share the strategies and methods adopted by his organization in response to the ongoing conflicts.

The tapestry of human history is intertwined with countless wars and conflicts. Now, we are facing threats unlike any previously imagined as the climate crisis intensifies and brings about epidemics and food shortages. These changes are poised to become the root cause of future struggles, underscoring a problematic future for global foreign aid. Therefore, we hope that this issue provides readers with a firm understanding of how proliferating regional conflicts impact aid so that they can adjust their policies for an emerging global reality. At the same time, we hope these discussions help spur Taiwan's international aid efforts into a new direction that best addresses pragmatic needs.

## Summaries

### **The Necessity of Redistributing Aid in Times of Conflict**

(Yi-Wen Su, Analyst at the Taiwan WTO and RTA Center)

In recent years, humanitarian aid has surged in step with a series of major global incidents, chief among them being the Russia-Ukraine War. The international community has answered this call and now supports Ukraine through multilateral coordination, bilateral support, private-sector investment, and other means. However, this refocus has led to a redistribution of international aid resources and a transformation in official development assistance (ODA), which will undoubtedly impact the allocation of global aid funds. OECD research shows that there is still hope for some countries to achieve the target of ODA reaching 0.7% of gross national income (GNI), but

insufficient aid funding has increased the importance of private sector investments and growing humanitarian aid demand has added complexity to climate change action.

Given this context, what role should Taiwan play in the emerging development aid landscape? This article starts with Taiwan's future direction in promoting foreign aid, elucidating the changes in the allocation of international aid resources amid recent global conflicts, and later proposes suggestions for Taiwan to complement international funding shortages.

### **International Aid in a Competitive Region: A Case Study of Pacific Island Countries**

(Paul A. Huang, Associate Research Fellow at the Institute for  
National Defense and Security Research)

The United States started the Pivot to Asia in 2012, which saw the nation shifting its global security strategy from the Middle East to Asia in a bid to counter China's expansion. However, since taking office in 2013, Xi Jinping has pursued a policy China calls Major Country Diplomacy, which includes the Belt and Road Initiative and international aid in the Pacific Region. Under this policy, China seeks to expand its regional influence and challenge the post-World War II Pacific security order built by the United States. This caused the United States to adopt the Indo-Pacific Strategy in 2017 in an effort to rebalance its regional policies and unite like-minded allies to counterbalance China.

Pacific Island Countries (PICs) have become a strategic battleground in the US-China struggle for influence. Australia, as a traditional ally of the United States, has adjusted its international aid policy to assist in the political and economic development of the Pacific region while cooperating with the United States to counter the threat posed by China. Taiwan is another important partner in the US Indo-Pacific Strategy, and its aid to PICs also deserves attention in this context.

### **The Humanitarian Aid Crisis in the Israel-Hamas Conflict**

(Shun-Wen Wang, Professor in the Department of Political Science,  
Chinese Culture University)

On October 7, 2023, Hamas's attack on Israel sparked a series of humanitarian aid controversies. These included disputes over humanitarian ceasefires as well as several acute crises, such as threats to life, food shortages, medical and health challenges, and a severe lack of infrastructure and essential supplies. The Israel-Hamas Conflict now serves as an evolving litmus test for observing the role of the United Nations and whether the "responsibility to protect" principle can be sustained. Taiwan has been an effective partner in providing humanitarian aid, so it seems possible to continue cooperating with neighboring countries and international non-

governmental organizations on the existing foundation to assist in the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip, thereby increasing Taiwan's international exposure.

**International Development Assistance and Taiwan:  
Global Trends, Recent Developments, and Future Challenges**

(Shiuh-Shen Chien, Distinguished Professor at the Department of Geography,  
National Taiwan University; Yi-Chen Wu, Doctor, International Degree Program in Climate  
Change and Sustainable Development, National Taiwan University)

This article introduces two trends in recent international development aid. First, it addresses the transformation from traditional North-South aid to triangular North-South-South partnerships, with a focus on OECD-DAC aid principles. Second, it discusses an international development perspective based on UN human rights advocacy, reflecting on the roles of states and the partnership between governments and civil society in foreign aid. The article also analyzes Taiwan's recent transition from a diplomatic recognition-oriented foreign aid approach to a development-oriented approach within this framework. It highlights the achievements and shortcomings of this transition, including the need for increased official budgets, expanded thinking, the institutionalization of interagency cooperation, and the establishment of mechanisms for cultivating international development talent more effectively.