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very positive way, influenced the final wording of the antisecession law—in particular the last two points—that China adapted March 14. (See box.)

Whether the massive, well-organized international propaganda blitz against the anti-secession law will create the opposite impact of the intention of its drafters to prevent Taiwan from changing the status quo, is doubtful. Certainly, the propaganda created some hysteria in Taiwan, but it gave a totally false image of reality.

Firstly, it had been known for months that this anti-secession law was under preparation. Secondly, it contains virtually nothing that is new. It is a reiteration of Chinese policy, as is well-known to Taiwan and the United States. The law is clearly a move to counter the increasingly transparent actions by Taiwan towards independence over the last six years, ranging from then-President Lee Teng-hui's assertion in 1999 that Taiwan and the mainland had "special state-to-state relations," to President Chen Shui-bian's statement in 2002, that there was "one country on each side" of the Taiwan Strait.

The new law says its purpose is to oppose and check "Taiwan's secession from China," and further, that "both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China," a formulation first used by the KMT government in Taiwan, when it was in power (from 1949-2000).

All the propaganda, internationally and locally, is also



In 1936, Chiang Kai-shek initiated the second collaboration between the KMT and the Communist Party, which paved the way for a united front of the two parties against Japanese aggression.

quite hypocritical, since Taiwan's current laws also do not allow secession, and in certain sections, the Chinese words used, are almost identical to those of the new law from China. The National Security Law of the R.O.C., issued in 1987, says in Article II, that public demonstrations, group gatherings, or meetings "must not violate the constitution, advocate commu-

Chinese Anti-Secession Law

Here is the full text, as issued by the Chinese Xinhua News Agency, of the Anti-Secession Law, adopted at the Third Session of the Tenth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on March 14, 2005.

Article I: This law is formulated, in accordance with the Constitution, for the purpose of opposing and checking Taiwan's secession from China by secessionists in the name of "Taiwan independence," to promote peaceful national reunification, maintain peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits, preserve China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and safeguard the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation.

Article II: There is only one China in the world. Both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. China's sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division. Safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity is the common obligation of all Chinese people, the Taiwan compatriots included.

Taiwan is part of China. The state shall never allow the "Taiwan independence" secessionist forces to make Taiwan to secede from China under any name or by any means.

Article III: The Taiwan question is one that is left over from China's civil war of the late 1940s. Solving the Taiwan question and achieving national reunification is China's internal affair, which is subject to no interference by any outside forces.

Article IV: Accomplishing the great task of reunifying the motherland is the sacred duty of all Chinese people, the Taiwan compatriots included.

Article V: Upholding the principle of one China is the basis of peaceful reunification of the country.

To reunify the country through peaceful means best serves the fundamental interests of the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. The state shall do its utmost with maximum sincerity to achieve a peaceful reunification.

After the country is reunified peacefully, Taiwan may practice systems different from those on the mainland and enjoy a high degree of autonomy.

Article VI: The state shall take the following measures to maintain peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits and promote cross-Straits relations: 1) to encourage and facilitate personnel exchanges across the Straits for greater mutual understanding and mutual trust; 2) to encourage and facilitate economic exchanges and cooperation, realize

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nism, or advocate the separation of the national territory. Article V states, "that anyone who intentionally endangers the safety of the country, or the tranquility of the society, and operate against the law as stated in Article II, will receive a jail-sentence of up to five years."

Even additional Articles in the Constitution adopted in 1991 under President Lee Teng-hui, assume that Taiwan eventually will be reunified with mainland China, and further, that the territory of the R.O.C. includes both the mainland and Taiwan, although only Taiwan belongs to the "free area" of the republic. President Hu Jin-tao, in a speech in March, pointed this out, saying that "the existing regulations and documents in Taiwan" also support a "one China" principle.

The propaganda against the anti-secession law, however, was enormous, and only a few dissenting voices were allowed. When a group of top scholars and parliamentarians convened a press conference in support of the law, only two reporters attended, one from Hongkong and one from Beijing. It is well-known in Taiwan, that the media control by the proindependence forces is so great—through threats of withdrawal of advertisements and other pressures—that it is difficult for the pro-China opposition to have a voice. A few were heard though: KMT Chairman Lien Chan said about the law: "Now that China has declared its willingness to terminate the hostile situation between China and Taiwan, as long as we

do not declare independence, China will not attack Taiwan." Chairman of the Council for Industrial and Commercial Development Wang Tiao-chun (who arranged the recent direct flight over New Year's) expressed a similar sentiment, saying that he saw the anti-secession law as positive, because it is meant to pacify the forces promoting independence, rather that creating an excuse to attack Taiwan. Others commented that China wanted a law for foreign consumption, particularly by the United States and Japan, that would spell out China's stance on cross-Taiwan-Strait relations. James Soong called for the adherence to the ten-point declaration issued Feb. 24.

Although similar views were expressed privately, only rarely were they expressed publicly; instead, an effort to launch a public opinion backlash against China ensued, internationally, and even to a greater degree in Taiwan. Lee Tenghui called on Japan to refrain from sitting idly by in the face of China's anti-secession law, saying that the Japanese government should take action to block Beijing's legislation. Prime Minister Hsieh (DPP) proposed to launch a defensive referendum; TSU proposed an anti-annexation law, and Chen Shui-bian compared the law to a "two-pronged strategy of wielding of a non-peaceful Chinese guillotine, and the offering of small favors in return."

The propaganda peaked at the 300-500,000-person rally in Taipei March 26, some 250,000 of whom were bused,

direct links of trade, mail, and air and shipping services, and bring about closer economic ties between the two sides of the Straits to their mutual benefit; 3) to encourage and facilitate cross-Straits exchanges in education, science, technology, culture, health, and sports, and work together to carry forward the proud Chinese cultural traditions; 4) to encourage and facilitate cross-Straits cooperation in combatting crimes; and 5) to encourage and facilitate other activities that are conducive to peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits and stronger cross-Straits relations.

The state protects the rights and interests of the Taiwan compatriots in accordance with law.

Article VII: The state stands for the achievement of peaceful reunification through consultations and negotiations on an equal footing between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. These consultations and negotiations may be conducted in steps and phases, and with flexible and varied modalities.

The two sides of the Taiwan Straits may consult and negotiate on the following matters: 1) officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides; 2) mapping out the development of cross-Straits relations; 3) steps and arrangements for peaceful national reunification; 4) the political status of the Taiwan authorities; 5) the Taiwan region's room of international operation that is compatible with its status; and 6) other matters concerning the achieve-

ment of peaceful national reunification.

Article VIII: In the event that the "Taiwan independence" secessionist forces should act under any name or by any means to cause the fact of Taiwan's secession from China, or that major incidents entailing Taiwan's secession from China should occur, or that possibilities for a peaceful reunification should be completely exhausted, the state shall employ non-peaceful means and other necessary measures to protect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The State Council and the Central Military Commission shall decide on, and execute the non-peaceful means and other necessary measures as provided for in the preceding paragraph and shall promptly report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Article IX: In the event of employing non-peaceful means and other necessary measures as provided for in this law, the state shall exert its utmost to protect the lives, property, and other legitimate rights and interests of Taiwan civilians and foreign nationals in Taiwan, and to minimize losses.

At the same time, the state shall protect the rights and interests of the Taiwan compatriots in other parts of China in accordance with law.

Article X: This law shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

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