

Safeguarding Taiwan's Democracy

Opposing China's Aggression

Mainland Affairs Council

Contents

I. Introduction

Relations across the Taiwan Strait: A Conflict between Democracy and Aggression

II. Related Documents

1. President Chen's Concluding Remarks at a National Security Conference

-Including Seven Points Regarding the Decision that the National Unification Council Should Cease to Function and the Guidelines for National Unification Should Cease to Apply (February 27, 2006)

2. Premier Su Tseng-chang's Conclusions Regarding the Decision that the Guidelines for National Unification Should Cease to Apply (March 01, 2006)

3. The Mainland Affairs Council's Position Paper on the Decision that the National Unification Council Should Cease to Function and the Guidelines for National Unification Should Cease to Apply (March 01, 2006)

III. Q&A

General Issues

Q1. How has China responded to Taiwan's democratic development?... 00

Q2. What is the status quo in the Taiwan Strait? How does the government of the Republic of China safeguard the status quo?

China continues to threaten and undermine the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Q3. What is the fundamental principle of China's policy toward Taiwan?

Q4. How does China block Taiwan's participation in the international community?

Q5. What concrete evidence exists regarding China's military threat to Taiwan?

Q6. How does enactment of China's anti-separation law undermine the status quo?

Elaborations on the decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply

Q7. What were the Republic of China's considerations in deciding that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply?

Q8. Why do the National Unification Council and the Guidelines for National Unification not conform to principles of democracy?

Q9. What were the considerations behind the use of the term "*zhong-jhih*" (cease)?

Q10. Does the ROC government's decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply represent a unilateral change to the

status quo in the Taiwan Strait?

Q11. Does the decision of the ROC government that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply violate the “Four Noes Plus One” pledge President Chen made in 2000?

Q12. How should the international community view the ROC government’s decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply?

Q13. What has been China’s reaction to the decision by Taiwan’s government that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply?

Future developments

Q14. How should the disputes between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait be resolved?

Q15. Why have the two sides been unable to hold talks or communicate with each other?

Q16. Why would supporting the vacuous “one-China” principle make one an accomplice in destroying the status quo in the Taiwan Strait?

Q17. Does the international community base its treatment of the Republic of China and the People’s Republic of China on the same criteria?

Q18. How should the international community fairly view cross-strait relations?

I. Introduction

Relations across the Taiwan Strait: A Conflict between Democracy and Aggression

The world agrees that democracy is Taiwan's most valuable asset, as well as the key to its existence. Taiwan has won worldwide acclaim for its significant accomplishment of establishing a democratic system after years of effort by its 23 million people and through a peaceful process. Over the last decade and more, the Republic of China has amended its Constitution, held direct presidential elections, and incorporated the national referendum into its Constitution. These democratization endeavors have effectively reflected popular will and narrowed the gap between people's demands and government policies.

By comparing the centralization of power and non-democratic nature of China with the democratic endeavors and achievements of Taiwan, the international community has been able to confirm that the two are completely distinct nations, and that the Republic of China is definitely not a part of the People's Republic of China. This is the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Over many years, the PRC has unilaterally asserted that the ROC is a province under its jurisdiction. This is a deliberate attempt to ignore the ROC's concrete existence on Taiwan. China fabricates the myth of a "one China" and tries to impose its "one-China" principle on both the

international community and citizens of Taiwan, thereby restricting people's free thinking and ability to interpret issues for themselves. It also intimidates them through its refusal to renounce the use of military force against Taiwan.

A vast majority of Taiwan's citizens totally oppose the idea that their country is under PRC government jurisdiction and reject unification by or with China. Even the former ruling Kuomintang, which previously had firmly maintained Taiwan had no option other than eventual unification with China, has recently responded to public opinion and declared that Taiwan's future must be decided by the people of Taiwan, and that independence is one option.

For over a decade, China has resorted to various forms of intimidation to restrict the right of Taiwan's 23 million citizens to freely choose their future. In 1995, on the pretext that the US government was allowing ROC President Lee Teng-hui to visit his alma mater, Cornell University, China unilaterally ended three years of cross-strait dialogue and consultation. It then set forth a "one-China" premise, demanding that Taiwan accept this political condition before consultation would be resumed. In 1996, when Taiwan held its first-ever direct presidential election, China test-fired missiles off Taiwan's coast, triggering the Taiwan Strait missile crisis. In March 2000, Taiwan's citizens elected Chen Shui-bian as president in a peaceful change of governing party that marked a giant step on the path of Taiwan's democracy. On the eve of the election, however, China's leaders tried to influence its outcome by issuing a stern open warning on

television to Taiwan's citizens. In 2004, when Taiwan held its first national referendum, China again resorted to military intimidation and belligerent rhetoric. In March 2005, completely ignoring the intense opposition of Taiwan's citizens and condemnation from the international community, China unilaterally passed an "anti-separation law" (the so-called anti-secession law) to establish a legal pretext for military invasion of Taiwan. This move, calculated to exacerbate tension in the Taiwan Strait, once again elicited a high level of international concern. China's reckless and irrational conduct poses a severe threat and obstacle to Taiwan's democratization. It also presents a direct challenge to regional security and peace, as well as to mainstream democratic values in the world community.

The ROC government believes that the key to resolving cross-strait issues lies not in diplomatic or military competition but, rather, in its firm insistence on democracy and pursuit of peaceful solutions to disputes. The continued strengthening of Taiwan's democratic development carries enormous significance for the consolidation of international mainstream values and knock-on influence on China's authoritarian rule. With consolidation of the democratic system and strengthening of democratic reforms as the nation's overall objective, the ROC government has continuously promoted constitutional reengineering as part of an effort to raise government efficiency, innovate national systems, and protect the rights and interests of its citizens. This completely conforms to democratic mechanisms and the functioning of a constitutional system. It is also an essential step in the course of Taiwan's democratic

strengthening and consolidation. Future constitutional reform represents part of the ROC government's efforts to maintain the status quo in the Taiwan Strait and deserves worldwide affirmation and support.

Given China's blatant intimidation and provocation in the face of Taiwan's democratic development, and its unreasonable suppression of Taiwan in foreign diplomacy, politics, and military affairs, a consistent 80 percent or more of Taiwan's citizens agree that cross-strait relations should maintain the status quo and the nation's future must be determined by the free choice and decision of its residents. In consideration of its people's wishes, the ROC government must take action necessary to safeguard the status quo of Taiwan's freedom and democracy as well as the status quo of peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. In addition to ensuring that its citizens can exercise their free will and right of choice in determining their country's future, Taiwan steadfastly protects the peaceful status quo in the Taiwan Strait, guarantees the security and interests of its 23 million people, and safeguards stability and peace in the East Asian region. After a careful government assessment, President Chen, presiding as chairman over a national security conference on February 27, 2006, decided that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply. This action represents the government's determination and resolve to restore to its people their right to decide the nation's future.

Seeking a peaceful solution to cross-strait disputes has already become the mainstream international opinion. Direct contact and dialogue

between the governments on the two sides are now inevitable. The ROC government has consistently pursued a cross-strait policy that sets peace and stability as its highest goals and firmly opposes any non-peaceful means to change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. It promotes positive cross-strait interaction and normalized relations. To fulfill its historical responsibility and obligation to people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, the ROC has repeatedly urged the PRC to engage in communication with the its government and to seek an acknowledgement and understanding on the future of the two sides through dialogue. Over the long term, Taiwan has shown its greatest goodwill and sincerity. Hopefully, the Beijing authorities will make necessary adjustments and changes to courageously accept the mainstream values of the democratic community, respect the wishes of Taiwan's citizens, abandon its tyrannical policy of using military force against Taiwan, remove obstacles to positive cross-strait interaction, and thereby create a new era of peace, stability, and prosperity in the Taiwan Strait.

II. Related Documents

1. President Chen's Concluding Remarks at a National Security Conference

-Including Seven Points Regarding the Decision that the National Unification Council Should Cease to Function and the Guidelines for National Unification Should Cease to Apply

(February 27, 2006)

Considering that the democratic principle of respecting the people's right to determine their own future should be honored, and

Considering that China continues to connive to unilaterally alter the status quo in the Taiwan Strait via non-peaceful means such as military intimidation and its so-called "Anti-secession Law,"

At a high-level national security conference, the following decisions were made based upon reports and suggestions by the National Security Council, and the discussions amongst related agencies of the government.

The National Unification Council will cease to function. No budget will be earmarked for it, and its personnel must return to their original posts. The National Unification Guidelines will cease to apply. In accordance with procedures, this decision will be transmitted to the Executive Yuan for notice.

I want to thank all chiefs of related agencies and my colleagues for your dedication and efforts during the past few weeks. What we have done today is not only for preserving Taiwan's freedom, democracy, human rights, and the peaceful status quo, but also for safeguarding the right and freewill to choose of the 23 million Taiwan people. I firmly believe that the future history and the people of Taiwan will be the best witnesses. In the meantime, for ensuring our national security, promoting our people's welfare, and preserving the regional peace and stability, we would like to state that:

A. Taiwan would like to express its deep gratitude for President Bush's remarks in his 2005 Kyoto Speech, reiterating that the United States values the friendly partnership between it and Taiwan, and applauding Taiwan's democracy and prosperity. We also appreciate learning that the United States looks forward to continued cooperation with Taiwan on issues of mutual interest.

B. Taiwan has no intention of changing the status quo and strongly opposes its alteration by non-peaceful means. In addition, we would like to thank the international community for its continued support of maintaining the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

C. Ceasing the function of the National Unification Council as well as ceasing the application of the National Unification Guidelines do not involve changing the status quo. Instead, they are based solely on the democratic principle of respecting the people's right to determine their

own future. As long as the principle of democracy is honored and the freewill to choose by Taiwan's 23 million people is respected, we will not exclude any possible form of future development of cross-strait relations. We are, however, adamant that no one set preconditions or give an ultimate goal regarding the people's right to choose.

D. The spirit of constitutional reform must incorporate the people's will before any political party can adopt a position; therefore, reform must be enacted from the bottom up and from the outside in. Constitutional amendments also have to follow current constitutional procedures in that approval must be attained by three-fourths of Legislative Yuan members and be confirmed through a national referendum. Any sovereignty issue that strays from constitutional proceedings not only fails to contribute to maintaining the status quo, but also should be disregarded.

E. In order for the people to achieve prosperity and develop positive cross-strait relations, both sides must actively seek to establish an interactive and effective mechanism of exchange based on government-to-government negotiation and dialogue. In this manner, we can eliminate differences, build mutual trust and resolve problems.

F. The people of Taiwan have the right and obligation to participate in the international community on an equal footing. We are more than willing to play an active and responsible role as a contributor to the global democratic community. On many occasions China has unilaterally curbed Taiwan's international space and involvement in the world. This not only

violates the universal values of freedom, democracy and human rights, but also adversely affects goodwill between the peoples of the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. China's actions contribute nothing to the development of stable cross-strait relations.

G. In order to ensure Taiwan's national security and prevent the military balance in the Taiwan Strait from tilting in China's favor, Taiwan will actively fortify its determination and ability to defend itself. In turn, this will help protect the status quo, Taiwan's democracy, freedom and peace from being unilaterally altered.

**2. Premier Su Tseng-chang's Conclusions Regarding the Decision
that the Guidelines for National Unification Should Cease to Apply
(March 01, 2006)**

A. Both the National Unification Council and the Guidelines for National Unification are products of an era when there was no distinction between the political party and the nation. In those days, the Kuomintang-led government unilaterally set unification as the sole and ultimate goal of cross-strait relations. This was in serious violation of democratic procedures and the fundamental value of popular sovereignty.

B. Taiwan is a democratic country. We uphold the values of popular sovereignty and a free and democratic way of life. The decision that the guidelines should cease to apply respects the will of Taiwan's 23 million people, preserves the status quo of freedom, democracy, and peace in Taiwan, and protects the right of Taiwan's citizens to a free choice in regard to their future.

C. We believe that lasting peace in the Taiwan Strait can only be built upon a foundation of genuine freedom and democracy. In opposing the intention of China to invade—an aim concealed in its “anti-separation law” (the so-called anti-secession law)—Taiwan believes that the right path to take is to uphold the basic values of freedom, democracy, and human dignity. Safeguarding the constitutional spirit, which encompasses popular sovereignty, freedom, and democracy, should be the paramount principle considered by the Executive Yuan's departments and agencies

when dealing with cross-strait issues and implementing other government policies.

3. The Mainland Affairs Council's Position Paper on the Decision that the National Unification Council Should Cease to Function and the Guidelines for National Unification Should Cease to Apply

(March 01, 2006)

While presiding over a national security conference held on February 27, 2006, President Chen Shui-bian made a decision, based on studies and assessment by the National Security Council, that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply. This decision was based on the democratic principle of popular sovereignty, and in consideration of China's continuous intentions to unilaterally change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait by non-peaceful means such as military intimidation and passage of its "anti-separation law" (the so-called anti-secession law). More importantly, it was based on the need for the government of Taiwan to safeguard the important principles of upholding democracy and maintaining the status quo.

A. Considerations

The NUC was established without any legal basis by the Kuomintang government in 1990 as an ad hoc agency under the president, and was entrusted with duties of offering advice and carrying out research on the concept of national unification. At the third meeting of the council in February 1991, the Guidelines for National Unification were passed and, thereafter, became the guiding principle of the KMT government's cross-strait policy. The guidelines failed to elicit a positive response from

China, however, as it vehemently accused Taiwan for, in reality, advocating two Chinas, “one China, one Taiwan,” and the proposition of Taiwan as being an equal political entity. Except for expressing affirmation for the expression “together build a unified China” as used in the guidelines, China had no sincerity in accepting or discussing the goals, principles, and process proposed in the guidelines. Given the current situation and taking into account the following factors, Taiwan’s government has decided that the NUC should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply.

1. The National Unification Council and the Guidelines for National Unification lack legal basis and effectiveness.

The NUC was established by a directive passed by a party organ, the Central Standing Committee of the KMT, rather than by resolution of the legislature. It is, therefore, an ad hoc organization without legal basis, and the Guidelines for National Unification were a political strategy adopted by the KMT government. The guidelines’ content is merely a generalized, principled political statement. They were not enacted by a legitimate body empowered by the law to do so nor are they legally binding. Clearly, they do not accord with the systems of democracy and rule of law in today’s Taiwan.

2. Mainstream public opinion must be respected and democracy firmly safeguarded.

Taiwan is proud of its democracy. From the economic progress of the 1960s to democratization of the 1990s, Taiwan’s achievements in

democracy and prosperity are the best guarantees for gaining international support and maintaining security. The current consensus of Taiwan's society regarding national sovereignty and the country's future is that the Republic of China is an independent sovereign nation, its sovereignty is vested in the 23 million people of Taiwan, and any change to Taiwan's future should be determined by these 23 million people. Repeated public opinion polls conducted in Taiwan have consistently shown that more than 80 percent of respondents favor maintenance of the status quo in cross-strait relations. Maintenance of the status quo is a precondition that offers the people of Taiwan the chance to make choices when the time is ripe. The ultimate goal of unification embodied in the NUC and the guidelines undoubtedly deprive Taiwan's 23 million people of their right to make that free choice.

3. China ruthlessly suppresses Taiwan and attempts to divide the country and people.

China has consistently employed a stick-and-carrot strategy in its dealings with Taiwan with the intention of provoking and dividing its government and people. It promotes exchanges designed to win over Taiwan's people while malevolently barring participation by Taiwan's government. Its intention to undermine Taiwan's democracy is clear. Moreover, China's recent attempts to tilt the balance in its favor, politically, militarily, diplomatically, and economically, have seriously jeopardized stability in the Taiwan Strait and regional security.

- a. Politically China insists adamantly on its rigid "one-China" principle,

refusing to resume formal cross-strait consultation and communication, while sparing no effort to suppress and intimidate Taiwan. Its passage of an anti-separation law in 2005 marks an attempt to use non-peaceful means to force Taiwan to accept the political framework it has established.

- b. Militarily, over recent years China has continued to strengthen preparations to use military force against Taiwan. Its annual military budget over the past decade and more has shown double-digit growth. Missiles deployed against Taiwan have increased nearly four-fold from around 200 in 2000 to almost 800 in 2005. Both the US Defense Department's *Report of the Quadrennial Defense Review* and its *Annual Report to Congress on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China* indicate that China's military modernization is targeted primarily at Taiwan. China's continuous purchase of modern weapons in the absence of an enemy has become a major cause for international concern.
- c. Diplomatically, while presenting a false appearance of "peaceful development" to the international community, China continues to suppress Taiwan's maneuvering space in the international arena, obstruct its active participation in and contribution to the international community, and prevent Taiwan and its 23 million people from receiving the international support and cooperation to which they are entitled.
- d. Economically, China uses cross-strait cooperative exchanges to win over Taiwan's businesses and attract new and advanced technology as well as capital. It continues to employ a strategy of "using business to

pressure the government and using its economy to achieve unification” to deliberately exclude Taiwan’s government from exercising its authority to participate in relevant affairs. More than 70 percent of Taiwan’s overseas investment is in China. This excessive reliance on China has created many problems for Taiwan’s economy and industries.

B. Stance and Principles Upheld by the Government

To consolidate Taiwan’s democracy and maintain the basic principle of popular sovereignty in the face of China’s moves to unilaterally change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait, the government must adopt measures to safeguard Taiwan’s freedom, democracy, human rights, and peace; defend the right to free choice of its 23 million people; ensure national security; promote the welfare of the people; and preserve peace and stability in the region. Taiwan’s determination to uphold democracy and safeguard the status quo is the driving force that led to its decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply.

1. The ROC government spares no effort to safeguard the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

The paramount goal of the government’s cross-strait policy has always been the pursuit of cross-strait peace and stability. The government firmly opposes the use of any non-peaceful means to alter the status quo.

Seeking the people's greatest welfare and promoting positive development of cross-strait relations, Taiwan is still willing to work towards the establishment of effective mechanisms for cross-strait interactions and exchanges through negotiations so that differences can be worked out and problems solved. Taiwan is committed to strengthening its defense capabilities to ensure national security, keeping the military balance of the Taiwan Strait from tilting toward one side, and preventing the status quo of Taiwan's democracy, freedom, and peace from being changed unilaterally.

2. The Republic of China's determination to safeguard democracy remains unchanged.

The decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply is based on the democratic principle of popular sovereignty and so does not involve any change in the status quo. As long as the principle of democracy is honored and its 23 million people's freedom to choose is respected, Taiwan's government does not exclude any possible form the future development of cross-strait relations may take. The government is, however, adamant that no one set preconditions or ultimate goals regarding the people's freedom to choose.

3. Taiwan's constitutional reengineering must be further promoted.

Reengineering of Taiwan's Constitution is being promoted so that it

conforms to the mechanisms and functions of democracy. This must be carried out from the bottom up and from the outside in, and initiated by the people and pushed forward by political parties. Any constitutional amendment must obtain the approval of three-fourths of the members of the Legislative Yuan in accordance with procedures as stipulated in the Constitution. Such a resolution must then be confirmed by a national referendum before it goes into effect. Any issue of sovereignty that strays from these procedures fails to contribute to maintaining the status quo and will be disregarded.

4. The Republic of China has the right and the obligation to participate in the international community.

The people of Taiwan have the right and the obligation to participate on equal terms with other nations in the international community. Moreover, the people of Taiwan desire to be responsible contributors to the global democratic community. China's single-handed attempts to exclude the people of Taiwan from participating in the international community infringe upon the universal values of freedom, democracy, and human rights. These acts create rancor between the people of the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, are totally detrimental to maintaining peace and stability in the region, and contribute nothing to the development of cross-strait relations.

The ROC government appreciates the international community's support in maintaining stability in the Taiwan Strait.

III. Q&A

General Issues

Q1. How has China responded to Taiwan's democratic development?

A: Due to its poor understanding of democratic concepts, China has been very hostile to Taiwan's democratization. In 1995, for example, China unilaterally suspended the formal channel for consultation between the ROC's Straits Exchange Foundation and the PRC's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits in response to ROC President Lee Teng-hui's rejection of PRC President Jiang Zemin's one-China framework, as proposed in the latter's eight-point proposal on Taiwan. Moreover, China test-fired missiles off Taiwan's coast, provoking a crisis in the Taiwan Strait. In 1996, China test-fired guided missiles targeting Taiwan once again prior to Taiwan's first-ever popular presidential election, and conducted large-scale military exercises that intimidated citizens of Taiwan. China started formulating countermeasures in response to Taiwan's first-ever referendum of 2004 and, on March 14, 2005, it passed an "anti-separation law" (the so-called anti-secession law), which specifically authorizes the use of non-peaceful means to resolve the Taiwan issue. This indicates a strengthening of China's intention to use military force against Taiwan, and its attempt to suppress the right of Taiwan's citizens to determine the future of their nation.

To conceal the invasive nature of this anti-separation law, over the last year China has adopted various soft-line united front tactics, even though its hard-line policies and rigid thinking remain completely unchanged. In addition to continuing to use the one-China framework to restrict the right of Taiwan's citizens to determine their own future, China has manipulated exchanges and cooperation with Taiwan's opposition parties, intentionally bypassing the ROC government in cross-strait relations and impeding its efforts to further democratization. Moreover, to undermine international support for Taiwan, China has resorted to a strategy of "strangling Taiwan through foreign nations" and used its political and economic influence and superiority in the international arena to brand Taiwan as a troublemaker and to isolate it diplomatically. All of these illustrate how China's threat to and obstruction of Taiwan's democratization has intensified. Taiwan calls on the international community to seriously address China's threat to Taiwan and join forces to safeguard the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Q2. What is the status quo in the Taiwan Strait? How does the government of the Republic of China safeguard the status quo?

A: The Republic of China is an independent sovereign nation. Its sovereignty belongs to the 23 million people of Taiwan, and its future should be determined collectively by those 23 million people. Based on this fundamental position, the ROC government considers neither side of the Taiwan Strait to be under the other's jurisdiction and that Taiwan is not a part of China. This is the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Maintenance of this status quo must be predicated on the principles of safeguarding Taiwan's liberal and democratic system, as well as guaranteeing the right of Taiwan's citizens to determine their future.

The core spirit of Taiwan's cross-strait policy is to maintain the status quo in the Taiwan Strait so as to develop a peaceful and stable relationship between the two sides. In pragmatic terms, therefore, we insist on preserving Taiwan's national identity, attach great importance to the overall national interests, remain resolute in promoting cross-strait exchanges according to a principle of "Taiwan first," and propose that dialogue be initiated between the governments of the two sides on the principles of parity and mutual respect. These are the concrete policies and directions followed by the ROC government in maintaining the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

China continues to threaten and undermine the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Q3. What is the fundamental principle of China's policy toward Taiwan?

A: The fundamental principle of China's policy toward Taiwan is the so-called one-China principle unilaterally defined by China, just as the preamble to its Constitution states, "Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China." China's constant reiteration that it

does not renounce the use of force to resolve the Taiwan issue and the clear stipulation in its anti-separation law that the PRC government can adopt “non-peaceful means” in its handling of the Taiwan issue, attest to its attempt to militarily pressure Taiwan to succumb. China intentionally misconstrues practical aspects of Taiwan’s democratization, such as its popular elections, referendum, and constitutional reforms, as moves toward “de jure independence.” It then uses this as a pretext to suppress and threaten Taiwan, in an attempt to coerce Taiwan into retreating from its commitment to democracy and to persuade the international community to withdraw its support for and approval of Taiwan. Another key aspect in China’s strategy against Taiwan is the creation of division and conflict among the people of Taiwan. By misrepresenting the democratic competition between political parties in Taiwan as a conflict of unification vs. independence, China attempts to ferment division within Taiwan, from which it can take advantage.

To summarize, although its strategy might vary according to different circumstances, China has never altered its intention to annex Taiwan by political or non-peaceful means.

Q4. How does China block Taiwan’s participation in the international community?

China tries to force its unilaterally defined “one-China” principle onto the people of Taiwan. Moreover, by claiming that “there is only one China,” that “Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of China,” and that “the

PRC government is the sole legal government of all of China,” China also demands the international community ignore the reality and current situation in which neither the ROC nor PRC belongs to the other, and thus restricts Taiwan’s maneuvering space in the international community.

China obstructs official exchanges between Taiwan and countries with which China has diplomatic relations, and tries to lure or intimidate countries with which Taiwan has diplomatic relations to switch sides. Not only does China obstruct Taiwan’s participation in international governmental organizations but also tries to limit the opportunity for Taiwan to contribute to non-governmental and civic organizations. For example, due to obstruction by China, Taiwan is still barred from participating in the United Nations and the World Health Organization and, although Taiwan (under the name of Chinese Taipei) is a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, the ROC president has never been able to attend the APEC informal leaders’ meeting. These examples demonstrate that China’s Three Alls policy (stealing all Taiwan’s diplomatic allies, blocking all Taiwan’s international channels, and divesting Taiwan of all its bargaining chips for dealing with China on an equal footing) has never been relaxed but, on the contrary, has been tightened.

Q5. What concrete evidence exists regarding China’s military threat to Taiwan?

A: Over the last decade, China’s military budget has expanded at a

double-digit rate almost every year. China has continually procured or developed advanced weaponry, conducted training and preparation for information warfare, and deployed its military might against Taiwan. In a military drill between March 8 and 15, 1996, China test-fired four Dongfeng 15 missiles toward Taiwan, which triggered the Taiwan Strait missile crisis and invoked concerns in the international community. These represent clear proofs of China's military threat and its preparations to invade Taiwan.

China currently has around 800 ballistic and cruise missiles targeted at Taiwan, a number that increases by about 100 per year. After assessing regional security issues, key nations such as the United States and Japan now believe that the cross-strait military balance has gradually tilted in China's favor.

Moreover, to date, China has yet to renounce the use of force against Taiwan. In March 2005, it even passed the anti-separation law in an attempt to unilaterally change and undermine the cross-strait status quo. This law also authorizes China's Central Military Commission and State Council to adopt non-peaceful means to resolve the Taiwan issue. In providing a legal pretext for future military invasion of Taiwan, it already constitutes a grave threat to the lives and property of the people of Taiwan.

Q6. How does China's enactment of the anti-separation law undermine the status quo?

A: China’s enactment of the anti-separation law is an attempt, in legal guise, to unilaterally define the future direction of cross-strait relations. By seeking to resolve cross-strait disputes through “non-peaceful means,” intentionally distorting the status quo in which neither side is subordinate to the other, and ignoring the rights of Taiwan’s citizens to freedom and democracy, China’s action represents nothing less than a unilateral change in the cross-strait status quo.

The anti-separation law seeks to legitimize China’s military invasion of Taiwan. It thus seriously undermines regional peace and stability, and has serious impact on the interests of other nations in the region. It also runs contrary to international expectations of resuming cross-strait dialogue and maintaining the status quo. China’s undemocratic and reckless move represents a serious provocation to international politics, and it is China that is the real troublemaker in cross-strait relations.

Elaborations on the decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply

Q7. What were the Republic of China’s considerations in deciding that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply?

A: The National Unification Council and the Guidelines for National

Unification were products of an era that saw no separation between party and nation. At that time, the Kuomintang-led administration, without consulting the people, defined unification with China as Taiwan's sole and ultimate goal for its citizens. This seriously violated democratic procedure, and was completely incompatible with the mainstream values of Taiwan's society, which supported maintenance of the status quo.

When convening a national security conference on February 27, 2006, and in his capacity as its chairman, President Chen Shui-bian decided that the NUC should cease to function and the guidelines should cease to apply. This decision was based on the democratic principle of popular sovereignty, and was made in light of China's constant military threats and its attempt, through the anti-separation law, to unilaterally change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. In short, the decision was made to safeguard democracy and maintain the status quo.

Q8. Why do the National Unification Council and the Guidelines for National Unification not conform to principles of democracy?

A: The NUC and the guidelines were not established according to due democratic procedures. Neither do they have a legal basis. This violates fundamental principles of democracy. Furthermore, the guidelines and China's anti-separation law are similar in terms of content, as both set unification as the sole and ultimate choice for cross-strait relations. Opinion polls have shown repeatedly that more than 80 percent of Taiwan's people believe that the future of the nation should be

determined by the free choice of its citizens. That is to say, the majority of Taiwan's people do not agree to the idea that the government treats unification as the only and ultimate future course for cross-strait relations. The NUC and the guidelines defined unification as the country's final goal without observing democratic procedures. This violates the democratic principle of popular sovereignty and runs counter to mainstream public opinion in Taiwan.

Q9. What were the considerations behind the use of the term “*jhong-jhih*” (cease)?

A: The National Unification Council and the Guidelines for National Unification have no legal basis or validity and thus clearly violate the system of democracy and rule of law that Taiwan abides by. To respect the mainstream public opinion that the status quo be maintained and to ensure peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, Taiwan's government decided that the NUC should cease to function and the guidelines should cease to apply. The word “*jhong-jhih*” (cease) is a legal term, and in choosing this term, we used our wisdom, creativity, and sincerity, and shouldered our responsibility to demonstrate our will and resolve to safeguard cross-strait stability.

Q10. Does the ROC government's decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply represent a unilateral change to the status quo in the Taiwan Strait?

A: In recent years, China has actively expanded its stockpile of arms, increased its deployment of missiles targeting Taiwan, and continued to demand that other countries change their relations with Taiwan under its “one-China” principle. On top of this, China enacted an anti-separation law last year. These actions prove that it is China that is attempting to unilaterally change the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

The government’s decision that the NUC should cease to function and the guidelines should cease to apply is meant to respect the will of Taiwan’s 23 million people; safeguard Taiwan’s freedom, democracy, human rights, and the peaceful status quo; and protect the right of Taiwan’s people to freely choose their own future. This decision does not involve any change to the status quo in the Taiwan Strait but, rather, it demonstrates our commitment to safeguarding the status quo.

Q11. Does the decision of the ROC government that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply violate the “Four Noes Plus One” pledge President Chen made in 2000?

A: President Chen’s “Four Noes Plus One” declaration was based upon one very important precondition. Namely, if China had no intention of using military force against Taiwan, then, and only then, could the “Four Noes Plus One” follow.

In the past five years, China's strengthening of its military deployment against Taiwan and enactment of its anti-separation law reveal China's growing ambition to use force against Taiwan. The status quo of democracy, peace, and human rights in Taiwan, and especially of peace in the Taiwan Strait, is gradually being changed and undermined by China. This is incontrovertible fact. China is responsible for undermining and changing the status quo, while Taiwan is defending it. Despite the malevolent actions of China, Taiwan's government is committed to protecting and maintaining the status quo. We have no intention of changing the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Q12. How should the international community view the ROC government's decision that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply?

A: Democracy is a mainstream international value, and the people's right to self-determination is a basic principle of democracy. We believe that those members of the international community who support democracy and self-determination should focus more on the fact that the status quo in the Taiwan Strait is being undermined by China, and offer their support and affirmation to Taiwan's efforts in preserving democracy, freedom, human rights, and the status quo.

In a responsible attitude, during the process leading up to its decision that the NUC should cease to function and the guidelines should cease to

apply, the ROC government undertook frank and rational communication with nations concerned about the situation in the Taiwan Strait. These nations affirmed the ROC government's action. The decision does not involve changing the status quo, as it is not only in Taiwan's interests, but also those of the United States and the international community.

Q13. What has been China's reaction to the decision by Taiwan's government that the National Unification Council should cease to function and the Guidelines for National Unification should cease to apply?

A: After Taiwan's government announced that the NUC should cease to function and the guidelines should cease to apply, China first kept a low profile and restrained itself. It then launched a full-scale propaganda assault by condemning Taiwan's decision during the meetings of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It suppressed Taiwan through domestic, cross-strait, and wider international channels, launching its latest wave of propaganda, in which it took countermeasures against Taiwan in the international arena and mobilized overseas associations that promote unification as well as domestic united front organizations to disseminate its propaganda. China is still using carrot-and-stick strategies and seeking to sow division between Taiwan's people and their government. Such attempts to intimidate Taiwan rhetorically have the goal of warning off powers friendly to Taiwan and influencing Taiwan's forthcoming constitutional reforms.

It is predicted that China will continue to criticize Taiwan harshly in the near future, try to influence international public opinion in its favor, slander Taiwan, and redouble its efforts to hinder Taiwan's participation in international activities. It is known that the most useful tool China can use to suppress Taiwan is mobilization of its political and propaganda powers to threaten and lobby international society.

Future developments

Q14. How should disputes between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait be resolved?

A: Many disputes exist between the two sides due to differences in fundamental values and political stances. For the benefit of both sides, Taiwan's government recommends that such differences of opinion be resolved through peaceful government-to-government talks; that such talks must conform to the principles of sovereignty, democracy, peace, and parity; and that neither side should resort to the use of force or other non-peaceful means.

Q15. Why have the two sides been unable to hold talks or communicate with each other?

A: A resumption of cross-strait talks could serve as a barometer in the normalization of cross-strait relations. The international community

continues to encourage the two sides to resolve disputes through dialogue and consultation. In particular, it called for the Beijing authorities to enter into talks with Taiwan's democratically elected government, so that the two sides may solve their problems through the exchange of opinions. Since 2000, China has made the "one-China" principle a precondition for resuming cross-strait talks, and a pretext for refusing to have official dealings with Taiwan. Furthermore, China has deliberately excluded Taiwan's government from negotiations on certain cross-strait issues. It then uses breakthroughs in individual issues to achieve its objective of entirely bypassing Taiwan's government and its authority. Although Taiwan has unilaterally shown goodwill, virtually no progress can be made in the short term in resuming talks across the Taiwan Strait.

Q16. Why would supporting the vacuous "one-China" principle make one an accomplice in destroying the status quo in the Taiwan Strait?

A: The Republic of China is an independent, sovereign country. Its sovereignty belongs to its 23 million people. The power to decide the ROC's future belongs exclusively to these 23 million people. Both the ROC and the PRC exist and neither is subordinate to the other. This has long been the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

China has always insisted on its traditional view of sovereignty, however, and intends to impose the vacuous "one-China" principle on the people of Taiwan thus unilaterally denying Taiwan's sovereignty. In recent years, China has continually increased the number of missiles it has targeting

Taiwan, and time and again stated that it would not renounce the use of force against Taiwan. China has also heavy-handedly limited Taiwan's maneuvering space in the international arena, depriving Taiwan's 23 million people of their free choice and basic human right to participate in international society. These moves have exposed China's ignorance of democracy, and run counter to the current international trend toward democracy, peace, and freedom.

China's unreasonable behavior has seriously eroded the foundations of cross-strait peace, and threatened peace and security in East Asia. In truth, it is China that has been undermining the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. If any in the international community blindly supports China's "one-China" principle, this would in turn embolden China in its blatant attempts to dominate events in the Taiwan Strait as well as the development of the region, and would lead to the serious consequence of China's reckless destruction of the status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

Q17. Does the international community base its treatment of the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China on the same criteria?

A: Taiwan's 23 million people should have equal rights and obligations to participate in the international community, and are willing to play the role of responsible contributor within the global democratic community. The international community generally affirms and praises Taiwan's democratic development, while having misgivings about China's military buildup. Nevertheless, China's political and economic clout has allowed

it to deliberately limit Taiwan's maneuvering space in the international arena. As such, Taiwan has yet to receive the treatment and respect it deserves from the international community.

If the international community affirms Taiwan's democratic development, then it should also respect the right to free choice of Taiwan's 23 million people as well as the results of that choice. China unilaterally suppresses Taiwan's participation in international society, which not only goes against the universal values of freedom, democracy, and human rights, but also nurses rancor between the people of the two sides. This is not at all conducive to the stability and development of cross-strait relations.

Q18. How should the international community fairly view cross-strait relations?

A: It is a fact that neither side is subordinate to the other. This is also the status quo between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. To safeguard security and stability in the Taiwan Strait, the international community should call for China to respect the reality of Taiwan's existence and the status quo that neither side is subordinate to the other and adopt a balanced policy and position in this regard.

The entire international community hopes for cross-strait reconciliation and the relaxation of tensions in the Taiwan Strait. That being the case, members of the international community should continue to be concerned about the peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait and urge China to

engage in dialogue with Taiwan to stabilize cross-strait relations. At the same time, over the past few years, China has expanded its military and constantly threatened the use of force against Taiwan, which has increased the risk to security in the Taiwan Strait and the Asia-Pacific region. This merits international attention and concern.

China's democratization is key to the normalization of cross-strait relations and has been a focus of international attention. With regard to this, Taiwan's successful experience of becoming a democracy, which has met the expectations of the world community, can serve as a model for China in the future. The international community should work with Taiwan to help accelerate China's democratization so that new progress in cross-strait relations can be made.