# Sovereignty is Non-negotiable and the Principle of "One China"

#### WANG Yu\*

### I. The principle of "sovereignty is non-negotiable" is the negotiation basis for China's resolution of the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao

Sovereignty is non-negotiable issue was the basic principle for China to negotiate with the British Government and the Portuguese Government when recovering Hong Kong and Macao. This principle means that what China and the British Government and the Portuguese Government negotiated was not whether China recovers or can recover Hong Kong and Macao, instead, the negotiation was about how to recover Hong Kong and Macao. That was to say, China's recovering of Hong Kong and Macao was undisputable and non-negotiable, constituting the premise for the negotiation, and what China negotiated with the British Government and the Portuguese Government was the ways and means to resolve the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao. In 1982, before the formal negotiation between Chinese and the British Government on resolving the Question of Hong Kong, Deng Xiaoping pointed out such principle in his meeting with then British Prime Minister Margaret Hilda Thatcher that: "For China, there is no room for maneuver on the issue of sovereignty. Frankly speaking, sovereignty is non-negotiable issue. The opportunity matures now, and it should be affirmed explicitly that China will recover Hong Kong in 1997. That is, what China will recover is not only the New Territories, but also the Hong Kong Island and Kowloon. This is the premise for the negotiation between China and Britain on the ways and means to resolve the Question of Hong Kong."1

The principle that sovereignty is non-negotiable is based on the very historical fact that Hong Kong and Macao have been part of the territory of China since ancient times. Both the preambles of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter as "the Hong Kong Basic Law") and the Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter as "the Macao Basic Law") start with this statement, and they specially emphasize that Hong Kong and Macao have been part of the territory of China since ancient times. As they have been part of the territory of China since ancient times, it is an unquestionable matter for China to recover them. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping said that China's stand on this issue was explicit, there was no room for maneuver.

Hong Kong has been part of the territory of China since ancient times. As early as about 4000 BC, there was settlement by ancient Chinese using neolithic tools and potteries. In 214 BC (the 33<sup>rd</sup> year during the reign of Emperor Qin Shi Huang), the Qin Dynasty sent troops to conquer the Yue

<sup>\*</sup> Research Fellow of Associate Professor Grade, One Country Two Systems Research Center, Macao Polytechnic Institute

tribes and established the Nanhai Commandery, and the area of Hong Kong was formally annexed as Chinese territory, under the jurisdiction of the Panyu Country, the Nanhai Commandery. By the end of the Ming Dynasty and at the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, the Hong Kong Village on the Hong Kong Island had become an important port of export for eaglewood produced in areas such as Dongguan, the Guangdong Province. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Hong Kong was under the jurisdiction of the Xin'an County (today's Shenzhen), the Guangdong Province until it was occupied by Britain after the Opium War.

Macao has also been part of the territory of China since ancient times. As early as in new Stone Age, the ancestors of Chinese people lived in Macao area. After Emperor Qing Shi Huang united China, Macao was under the jurisdiction of the Panyu County, the Nanhai Commandery. In the Jin Dynasty, it was under the jurisdiction of the Dongguan Commandery, and in the Sui Dynasty, under the Nanhai County, and after the Tang Dynasty, under the Dongguan County. In 1152, the government of the Southern Song Dynasty canceled the Dongguan County and combined the coastal areas of Nanhai, Panyu and Xinhui into Xiangshan County, and Macao was under the jurisdiction of the Xiangshan County until it was occupied by Portuguese who sailed from far away during the age of navigation discovery.

By saying that Hong Kong and Macao have been part of the territory of China since ancient times we mean that China has undisputable sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao since ancient times. Territory refers to the specific part of the earth surface under the control of the state sovereignty, including land, water, the underground and the air space above such land and water. Territory is a component of state and the space and object over which the state exercises its sovereignty. The state cannot only occupy and use its territory freely, but also dispose of it freely. Sovereign right over territory, in the sense of international law, refers to the supreme and exclusive power of a state over its territory including two rights: one is the supreme right of a state to possess, use and dispose of its territory, and the other is the exclusive jurisdiction of a state over its territory. These two rights are integrated as a whole; however, they were separated when British and Portuguese colonizers occupied Hong Kong and Macao – the inherent territory of China. So, on the one hand, the Chinese government has sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao, and the "ownership" of Hong Kong and Macao as our state territory belongs to China, on the other hand, the Chinese government lost its territorial jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao.

Hong Kong was ceded and leased by force to the British colonizers who forced by means of war the government of the Qing Dynasty to sign a dishonorable peace as the defeated through a series of treaties including the *Treaty of Nanjing*, the *Convention of Beijing* and the *Convention between Great Britain and China Respecting an extension of Hong Kong Territory*. Macao was occupied gradually by Portuguese colonizers who arrived at the coastal area of south-eastern China during the mid of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the discovery of navigation in the west and offered a bribe with the excuse of "leasing spaces for airing drenched cargo" and then paid rent. After the Great Britain occupied Hong Kong, Portuguese took the advantage of China's defeat and occupied and governed the whole today's Macao with force following other western giants. In 1887 the Portuguese government and the government of the Qing Dynasty signed the *Protocol of Lisbon* and the *Sino-Portugal Beijing Treaty* providing the "perpetual occupation and government by Portugal" and confirmed the occupation of Macao by Portugal.

It seemed that the Treaty of Nanjing, the Convention of Beijing, the Convention Respecting an Extension of Hong Kong Territory between the government of Qing Dynasty and Great Britain

between Qing Government and the Great Britain, and the *Protocol of Lisbon* and the *Sino-Portugal Beijing Treaty* between Qing Government and Portugal were negotiated and jointly declared by the governments, however, all these treaties and conventions were in reality based on the defeat of China in the war or a war to be launched against China. These wars only confirmed the fact that the deteriorating the Qing Dynasty could no longer compete with western giants in every aspects, whether in economy or in military force. The provisions of these treaties and conventions had been prepared by the Great Britain and Portugal. China could only choose to accept or not to accept them, and it had no negotiating power at all. Such treaties or conventions can not be the expression of the genuine will of the Chinese government. Therefore, from the perspective of validity of treaty, such treaties should not be valid.

So, the occupation of Hong Kong by the Great Britain and that of Macao by Portugal are illegal. Such occupation is a de facto occupation, instead of a de jure occupation. Whether such de facto occupation sustains depends on the policy of the Chinese government towards Hong Kong and Macao, instead of any sovereignty or other powers Britain and Portugal have. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao have been challenged unprecendently. In 1949, the People's Liberation Army of China could have taken Hong Kong over when they marched to Shenzhen, and the British government in Hong Kong were also ready to retreat. However, the Chinese government chose not to recover Hong Kong and Macao immediately. It did not mean that the PRC had no political or military power to resolve the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao, instead, the decision to "take no action temporarily and let the status quo remain unchanged" was made in the interests of China, which is so called policy of "making long-term plan and full use".

So, regarding the recovering of Hong Kong and Macao, China has both rights and capacity, which was pointed out in an editorial of the *People's Daily* on the commemoration of 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Macao Port held by the Portuguese Government in Macao in 1955 that "Macao is part of the territory of China and Chinese people have never forgotten Macao, nor have they forgotten their rights to recover this part of their territory from Portugal... the fact that Macao has not been returned to China yet does not mean that Chinese people would tolerate the continuation of such occupation... We would like to warn the Portuguese authority in Macao that today's China is not the China of 6 years ago, nor the China of 400 years ago. The Portuguese authority in Macao is certainly wrong in thinking that it could take the advantage of the peace policy of China and provoke the great Chinese people. Chinese People have never allow such provocation and the provocateurs have to bear the consequence."

After India took over Goa occupied by Portugal with force, the stand of China on the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao was reiterated in the editorial of *People's Daily* dated 8<sup>th</sup> March 1963 in response to the question whether China should recover Hong Kong and Macao as follows:

"The issues of Hong Kong and Macao are the issues of a series of unequal treaties forced upon China by imperialists left over from the history. In reality, there are many treaties, some have expired, some have been repealed and some have been replaced by new treaties. There are also outstanding issues left over from history, and it is our consistent position that such issues will be resolved peacefully through negotiation when the conditions are mature. Before they are resolved, we will maintain the status quo. Such issues include the Question of Hong Kong, the Question of Macao and other issues regarding the borders which are not officially agreed by both parties."

## II. The meaning of "sovereignty is non-negotiable"

The principle of "sovereignty is non-negotiable" includes the following meanings:

Firstly, Chinese recovery of Hong Kong and Macao was a matter within the scope of Chinese sovereignty, no countries including the Great Britain which occupied Hong Kong and Portugal which occupied Macao had any right to prohibit or interfere with.

Secondly, China had the right to decide the time and ways to take over Hong Kong and Macao. So, Deng Xiaoping, in meeting Margaret Hilda Thatcher, even said, China could take Hong Kong over at this very afternoon.<sup>6</sup>

Thirdly, when deciding to recover Hong Kong and Macao in peace, China had the right to negotiate with the British Government and the Portuguese Government to realize stable transition.

Fourthly, if the negotiation of both governments failed, China had the right to take actions separately including resolving the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao with military force.

Deng Xiaoping said in his meeting with Margaret Hilda Thatcher, "We hoped there would be no disruptions during the transition. If Hong Kong experienced upheavals during the 15 years of transition, we would be forced to reconsider the deadline and methods. That is to say we would not wait till 1997, and the issue would be solved by non-peaceful means." During the negotiation of the Question of Hong Kong between China and Britain, at the beginning, Britain insisted that the three treaties were valid, which led to no improvement of the negotiation. In September 1983, in meeting the former Prime Minister Edward Heath, Deng Xiaoping said, "If Britain does not change its attitude, China has no choice but to announce unilaterally its general and specific policy of resolving Hong Kong issue." Britain was forced to change its stand, the major obstacle for the negotiation between Britain and China was thus eliminated, and the negotiation was taken back to the track based on the fundamental policy of the Chinese government on resolving the Question of Hong Kong.

During the negotiation of the Question of Macao between Portugal and China, Portugal did not clearly state when to return Macao, and held that "the time should be agreed by both countries instead of specified by one country", but later, it proposed that the return be delayed to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. On 31<sup>st</sup> December 1986, the spokesman of Chinese ministry of foreign affairs declared solemnly that "recovering Macao before 2000 is the unshakable firm stand and sincere wish of Chinese government and one billion Chinese people including our compatriots in Macao. Any proposal of returning Macao after 2000 is unacceptable." On 6<sup>th</sup> January 1987, the national assembly of Portugal, after 4 hours of discussion, agreed in principle to return Macao to China in 1999. This was another application by the Chinese Government of the principle that sovereignty is non-negotiable.

# III. The principle of "sovereignty is non-negotiable" is applicable to the Question of Taiwan

The principle of sovereignty is non-negotiable which China adopted in resolving the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao is also applicable to the Question of Taiwan because Taiwan is also part of the territory of China since ancient times, just like Hong Kong and Macao. China has undisputable sovereignty over Taiwan. Taiwan was called "Yizhou" and "Liuqiu" in the ancient

Chinese historical documents which recorded the early development of Taiwan by Chinese people. 10 The governments of past Chinese dynasties established administrative institutes successively in Taiwan, exercising their jurisdiction over Taiwan. During the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century, the government of the Song Dynasty sent troops to garrison Penghu, and the government of the Yuan Dynasty established an administrative agency of patrol and inspection in Penghu. In late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the government of the Ming Dynasty resumed such administrative agency of patrol and inspection which was once canceled, and increased armed forces in Penghu to defend the invasion of foreign enemies. The government of the Qing Dynasty gradually expanded the administrative agency in Taiwan to strengthen its governing of Taiwan. In 1684 (the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi) a Taiwan-Xiamen Patrol Command and a Taiwan Prefecture Administration were set up under the jurisdiction of the Fujian Province. These in turn exercised jurisdiction over three counties on the island: Taiwan (present-day Tainan), Fengshan (present-day Gaoxiong) and Zhuluo (present-day Jiayi). In 1714 (the 53<sup>rd</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi) the Qing government ordered the mapping of Taiwan to determine its size. In 1721 (the 60<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi) an office of imperial supervisor of inspecting Taiwan was created and the Taiwan-Xiamen Patrol Command was renamed Prefecture Administration of Taiwan and Xiamen, incorporating the subsequently-created the Zhanghua County and the Danshui Canton. In 1727 (the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Yongzheng) the administration on the island incorporated the new Penghu Canton and the territory then became officially known as Taiwan. In order to upgrade the administration of Taiwan, the Oing government created the Taibei Prefecture, the Jilong Canton and three counties of Danshui, Xinzhu and Yilan in 1875 (the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu). In 1885 (the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Guangxu), the government formally made Taiwan a full province and Liu Mingchuan was appointed the first Governor of Taiwan. 11

In1895 through a war of aggression against China, Japan forced the Qing Government to sign the unequal *Treaty of Shimonoseki* and forcibly occupied Taiwan. In July 1937, Japan launched an all-out war of aggression against China. In December 1941, the Chinese Government issued the *Proclamation of China's Declaration of War Against Japan*, announcing to the world that all treaties, agreements and contracts concerning Sino-Japanese relations, including the *Treaty of Shimonoseki*, had been abrogated, and that China would recover Taiwan. The *Potsdam Proclamation* signed by China, the United States and Britain in 1945 (later adhered to by the Soviet Union) stipulated that "The terms of the *Cairo Declaration* shall be carried out". In August of that year, Japan declared surrender and promised in its instrument of surrender that it would faithfully fulfill the obligations laid down in the *Potsdam Proclamation*. On 25<sup>th</sup> October 1945, the Chinese Government recovered Taiwan and the Penghu Archipelago, resuming the exercise of sovereignty over Taiwan. <sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, soon after the victory of anti-Japanese war, the civil war broke out in mainland China, and the Kuomingtang was defeated. On 1<sup>st</sup> October 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), and a group of military and political officials of the Kuomintang clique took refuge in Taiwan, and the two sides of the Straits were then divided, the Question of Taiwan was thus created.

"Sovereignty is non-negotiable" means that Taiwan has been part of the territory of China since ancient times, and the Question of Taiwan must be resolved based on the fact that Taiwan is part of the territory of China. This principle includes the following meanings:

Firstly, "sovereignty is non-negotiable" means that the sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to

China, which is undisputable and also constitutes the foundation and premise for the resolution of Taiwan issue, instead of only one optional subjects of discussion in the negotiation between two sides of the straits on resolving Taiwan issue. Here, China refers to "one China" including mainland and Taiwan. Any issues relating to the integrity of the sovereignty and territory of China must be determined together by the 1.3 billion Chinese people including 23 million Taiwan people.

Secondly, the word "sovereignty" in "sovereignty is non-negotiable" should be defined according to its classic definition. Sovereignty is indivisible and immovable. Therefore, we cannot talk about the reunification of the sovereignty of China after it is divided into "two Chinas". The Question of Taiwan cannot be resolved according to German model. Germany was divided with the influence of international forces, and two German states were formed de facto and de jure, which is different from the Question of Taiwan in nature.

Thirdly, the Question of Taiwan is the internal affair of China, which is different from the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao are the issues of a series of unequal treaties forced upon China by imperialists left from the history, the essence of the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao is to resume the exercise of sovereignty. In contrast, the Question of Taiwan is a historical issue resulting from the civil war. So, in its nature, the Question of Taiwan issue is an internal affair of realizing reunification of China, it is not an international issue. Therefore, the resolution of the Question of Taiwan and the realization of reunification of our motherland is the internal affair of China which should not be interfered with by any foreign force. Since it is the internal affair of China, the internal affair between Chinese people, it is in the best fundamental interests of Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to realize reunification peacefully. Therefore, our country should make its best effort with the most sincerity to realize peaceful reunification.

Fourthly, "sovereignty is non-negotiable" also means that there is no room for maneuver on the issue of sovereignty, the Chinese Government cannot promise to give up the resort to military force. The *Anti-Secession Law* of the PRC enacted in 2005 provides that China may employ non-peaceful means to protect China's sovereignty and territory integrity 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." <sup>14</sup>

The meanings of "sovereignty is non-negotiable" on the Question of Taiwan can be summarized as the generally-known principle of "One China". That is to say: the sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to China, and there is only one China, there are no two Chinas, and it is the premise and foundation for the resolution of the Question of Taiwan. The principle of "one China" is non-negotiable and it constitutes the premise for negotiation on the resolution of the Question of Taiwan.

#### IV. The principle of "one China" and its meaning

The principle of "One China" has been the basic principle for China to establish diplomatic relation with foreign countries since the establishment of the PRC in 1949.

On the day of its founding, the Central Government of the PRC declared to governments of all

countries in the world, "This government is the sole legitimate government representing the entire people of the People's Republic of China. It is ready to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign governments that are willing to abide by the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty." Shortly afterwards, the Central Government telegraphed the United Nations (UN), announcing that the Kuomingtang authorities had "lost all basis, both de jure and de facto, to represent the Chinese people," and therefore had no right to represent China at all. One principle governing New China's establishment of diplomatic relations with any foreign country is that it recognizes the Government of the PRC as the sole legitimate government representing the whole of China, severs or refrains from establishing diplomatic relations with the Taiwan authorities.

In October 1958, Mao Zedong pointed out in the Message of the Ministry of National Defence to Compatriots in Taiwan drafted by him that: "Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu and some other minor islands are parts of China, instead of another country. There is only one China in the world, there are no two Chinas, which is also agreed by you as stated in the official document of your leaders." During the 30 to 40 years after 1949, the Taiwan authority stuck to the stand that Taiwan is part of China and there is only one China even though it refused to recognize the legal status of the PRC in representing whole China. In 1971, No. 2758 Resolution was passed in the UN confirming the return of the PRC to the UN: "recalling the principle of the Charter of the United Nations, considering that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is essential both for the protection of the Charter of the United Nations and for the cause that the United Nations must serve under the Charter, recognizing that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations and that the People's Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, decides to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations, and to expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

In this way, the principle of "one China" was further affirmed in the sense of international law. So, in January 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) issued a *Message to Compatriots in Taiwan* pointing out that "the Taiwan authorities have always taken a firm stand of one China and have been opposed to an independent Taiwan. We have this stand in common and it is the basis for our co-operation." Later, the mainland China emphasized again and again that "adherence to the principle of one China is the foundation and premise for achieving peaceful reunification" and "adherence to the principle of one China is the corner stone for developing of relationship between two sides of the strait and achieving reunification of motherland". <sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, the expression of the principle of "one China" by mainland is changing. Around the 1990s, the principle of "one China" was expressed as "There is only one China in the world and Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, the People's Republic of China is the only lawful government representing whole China". In late 1990s, in order to ease the relationship between both sides of the straits and strive for the recognition of "one China" by people from all walks of life in Taiwan and extend the most sincerity of mainland, a new expression of the principle of "one China" was adopted in mainland: "There is only one China in the world, both mainland and Taiwan belong to one China, China's sovereignty and territorial integrity brooks no division." Such new

expression was legally confirmed with the enactment of the *Anti-Secession Law* of the PRC in 2005, which also provides that "upholding the principle of one China is the basis of peaceful reunification of the country", "one China" in such provision refers to China including mainland and Taiwan. The sovereignty of this "one China" belongs to all Chinese people including compatriots in both Taiwan and mainland, and the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of this "one China" brooks no division.

Mainland China reiterated that "on the premise that there is only one China, we are prepared to talk with the Taiwan authorities about any matter", the issues which have been proposed such as the formal ending of hostility between both sides across the strait, the establishment of a mechanism of mutual trust between the two sides in the military field, Taiwan's activity space commensurate with its status in international affairs, and the framework for peaceful and stable development of relationship between both sides across the strait are all topics which can be talked about, further, all issues which need to be resolved in achieving peaceful reunification can be talked about as well. That is to say, the international status of Taiwan and the activity space of Taiwan in its foreign relations regarding economic, social and cultural affairs can be resolved through political negotiation based on the principle of "one China".

The principle that sovereignty is non-negotiable is the premise and foundation for Chinese government to resolve not only the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao, but also the Question of Taiwan. In resolving the Question of Taiwan, it has a clearer meaning than in resolving the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao, that is, the principle of "one China". Such principle is the actual application of the principle that sovereignty is non-negotiable in the Question of Taiwan.

#### **Notes:**

\_

Deng Xiaoping (1993). Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3). Beijing: People's Publishing House. 12-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jennings, R. Y. and A. Watts (1998). *Oppenheim's International Law (Volume 1, Book 2)*. (Chinese version translated by Wang Tieya and et al.). Beijing: Encyclopedia of China Publishing House. 1.

Rao Geping (Ed.) (1999). *International Law*. Beijing: Peking University Press. 163.

Such territorial jurisdiction is derived from two principles of international law that are based on ancient Roman maxims: "All that is on the territory belongs to the sovereign," and "everyone living on the territory are its subjects." That is to say, anyone and anything that are within or enter a state's territory, and anything that takes place within its territorial boundaries, are subject to the sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction of the state. *Ibid.*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Warning to the Portuguese Authorities. In *People's Daily*. 26<sup>th</sup> October 1955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Zong Daoyi (Ed.) (2007). *Zhou Nan Dictation: Yaoxiang Dangnian Yushan Guanjin* (Zhou Nan dictation: recalling my past). Ji'nan: Qilu Press. 2007, 256.

Deng Xiaoping (1993). Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3). Beijing: People's Publishing House. 12-13.

Data Center, Hong Kong and Macao Research Institute, Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council (Ed.) (2006). *Deng Xiaoping on the Question of Hong Kong* (a compilation of related comments for internal use). 62.

For a detailed account of negotiations process, see Lan Tian (Ed.) (1997). A Study of Legal Issues Concerning One Country, Two Systems. Beijing: Law Press. 61-71.

- There is a historical account of Taiwan in *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* written by Shen Ying, an author from the Eastern Wu Region during the Three Kingdoms period of China. Contingents of ten-thousand strong were dispatched to Taiwan respectively in the eras of Three Kingdoms and Sui Dynasty.
- State Council Taiwan Affairs Office and the State Council Information Office (2000). *The One-China Principle and the Question of Taiwan*.
- 12 Ibid.
- Deng Xiaoping once said, "We must not allow meddling by foreigners which would imply that China was not yet independent. This would entail endless trouble." Deng Xiaoping (1993). *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3)*. Beijing: People's Publishing House. 31.
- <sup>14</sup> Article 8, Anti-Secession Law.
- Hu Jintao (2005). Four-Point Proposal for Development of Cross-Straits Relations under the New Situation. 4<sup>th</sup> March 2005.
- 16 Ibid. Jiang Zemin (1995). Fighting Continuously to Promote the Accomplishment of the Great Cause of Reunification of the Motherland. 30<sup>th</sup> January 1995.