China's Security Measures for 2010 Shanghai World Expo: A Retrospect

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The security threats to Shanghai World Expo were multi-faceted, ranging from terrorist threat to ethnic separatist threat, from foreign diplomatic and political disputes to domestic mass disturbances as well as serious social crimes. The first was from terrorist threat, and the global Jihad network in Eurasia was looming in the early 21st century, which was guided by radical ideologies; the second threat was from ethnic separatist groups; the third threat was related with foreign personnel and diplomats' security; the fourth threat was from mass disturbances, and the fifth was from serious social crimes. China's measures to these potential multi-faceted challenges were serious and various, including preventing terrorist attacks through international cooperation, lessening ethnic separatists' dissatisfaction and avoiding possible mass demonstration, reducing the chance of domestic mass disturbances, guaranteeing public transportation and aerospace security, making extensive use of advanced technologies and referring to other countries' expertise in security check, seeking help from other provinces bordering Shanghai, and strengthening control over explosive materials, etc.. Nevertheless, the efficacy of the above-mentioned countermeasures was problematic, for they were more defensive than offensive, more passive than proactive, and more tactical than strategic.

Keywords: Shanghai World Expo, anti-terrorism, China's national security, non-traditional threat, international anti-terror cooperation

Introduction

In recent years, China has embraced with great enthusiasm various international festivals, including Beijing Olympic Games in August 2008, Shanghai World Expo in May 2010 as well as Guangzhou Asian Games in November 2010. These cultural events, the Chinese top officials calculated, would be of great significance to exhibit China's positive image of openness, prosperity and confidence, and the so-called "China Threat" is not only false, but also groundless. In 2010, the most important cultural event was, undoubtedly, Shanghai World Expo, which paralleled with Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. By October 11, over 61.61 million visitors had come to visit the expo park. Hence, in 2010 China's top security concern was Shanghai World Expo.

As early as July 2009, then Chinese President HU Jin-tao placed great emphasis on the significance of World Expo Shanghai 2010. The successful hosting of Shanghai World Expo, President HU remarked, "will provide China with an ideal arena to show her tremendous achievement since the reform and opening-up policy three decades ago, promote China's exchanges and cooperation with the rest of the world and leave a positive

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image of peace, progress and prosperity of contemporary China to the international community". Moreover, President HU believed that it was crucial to host World Expo in 2010, for China was bound to set a model of economic resurgence and lead the international community to shake off the impact of financial crisis since 2008 (HU, 2009). Bearing this in mind, Chinese government demanded, from the very beginning of the event, to make use of nation-wide resources and even world-wide wisdom to guarantee it one of the most successful, fascinating and unforgettable Expos throughout the modern history. To achieve the great goal, security was naturally of primary importance.

The Major Threats Facing Shanghai World Expo in 2010

Chinese central and local governments had never ignored the overwhelming security situation facing the Expo domestically and internationally. During his visit to the Expo site on May 2nd, 2010, Chinese President HU Jintao reiterated the principle of "security first" in the 180-day-long cultural festival. In the past several years of preparation, Chinese officials and experts seemed to have reached a consensus that the current threats facing Shanghai World Expo was multi-faceted, ranging from political and ethnic separatist threat to social and information threat. They believed that both international power system and China's domestic social system were in the process of profound transformation, featuring uncertainty and instability, and anti-China force both at home and abroad would inevitably take advantage of the great event to humiliate Chinese government, challenging its legitimacy of rule in China. The major threats confronting China during the event could be categorized into the following groups.

The first was from terrorist threat. The major source of China's terror groups was Islamic radicals; East Turkistan Liberation Organization (ETLO), East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM, SHAT, IMU or Turkistan Islamic Party), United Revolutionary Front for Eastern Turkistan (URFET) have been on the blacklist of China's terror groups, which are universally recognized as the Chinese representatives of al-Qaeda by the US and UN. As early as 1999, Osama bin Laden received the head of ETIM, promising to offer necessary financial assistance, but demanding the latter act in accordance with Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan's guidance, the branch of al-Qaeda in Central Asia. In February 2001, the top leaders of al-Qaeda convened in Kandahar, a major city of Afghanistan, deciding to offer a big sum of grant to ETIM, including weaponry, explosives, transportation tools, and communication facilities (Information Office, State Council of China, 2002, p. 1). In early 2008, the leader of ETIM openly threatened to conduct attacks at the Olympic Games in Beijing. During Beijing Olympic Games, these terror groups attacked Urumqi, Kuqa, etc. For instance, on March 18th, 2008, an Uighur woman detonated a bomb on a city bus in Urumqi, escaping before the explosion; on April 10th, 2008, 45 Uighurs were arrested in Urumqi for planning to kidnap athletes and others attending the 2008 Beijing Olympics; on August 4th, 2008, two men attacked a police post near the city of Kashgar with improvised explosive devices and knives, and 16 policemen died and another 16 were injured; on August 8th, 2008, a video showed flames over the Beijing Olympics logo, followed by an explosion, and thereafter the ETIM claimed responsibility for a series of bus bombings in China; on August 10th, 2008, a series of explosions and shootings happened at various police stations and office buildings in the oasis town of Kuqa, which claimed 12 deaths, 10 of whom were the attackers themselves. Ever Since "7.5" riot in Urumqi, Xinjiang in 2009, there has been an uptick in al-Qaeda statements urging Muslims to attack China. In late 2009, Abu Yahya al-Libi, a leading Qaeda figure, appeared in a video in which he said that Chinese forces had massacred

Uighurs and that the Chinese state would crumble, just as the Soviet Union had. "The state of atheism is heading to its fall", he said. "It will face what befell the Russian bear" (WONG, 2010).

Compared with Beijing Olympic Games, Shanghai World Expo seemed to leave China more vulnerable to terrorist attacks. For one thing, Chinese government had consciously or unconsciously politicalized the cultural event. For instance, all the top nine members of Communist Party of China Central Committee (CPCCC, China's supreme decision-making group) visited the Expo site for at least twice. Seven of them, including President HU Jin-tao himself, attended the opening ceremony. For another, Shanghai World Expo lasted 184 days with over 20 thousand performances and approximately 70 million visitors both at home and abroad. The Expo sites, subways, buses, aircrafts, landmarks, foreign personnel and even overseas Chinese workers and China's embassies were all potential targets of terrorist attacks. On July 8, 2010, three men who were arrested in Norway and Germany on suspicion of terrorism were "one node" in the global terror network that plotted the foiled attack against the New York subway and planned to blow up a shopping center in Manchester, England. A European intelligence official said the three men were members of the ETIM, a Uighur separatist group based largely in the lawless Pakistani tribal area of Waziristan, which has become a haven for al-Qaeda and other militant groups. The Uighur suspect among the three had visited Waziristan in the past two years and had made contacts with al-Qaeda. The suspects admitted that they had been making a bomb and planned to implement a terrorist attack against Chinese embassy in Norway to weaken China (Shane & Schmitt, 2010).

The second threat was from ethnic separatist groups. Chinese ethnic separatist groups in Xinjiang and Tibet could have taken advantage of the Expo to launch attack against Chinese government and humiliate China too, for it had pinned a much too high expectation on it. As JIA Qing-lin, the President of China's People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) claimed on January 21st, 2010, "Shanghai World Expo is a good platform for all countries to exhibit their cultural and technological achievement. After generations of unremitting efforts, Chinese have fulfilled their century-old dream of hosting an Expo. The hosting of the great event is the token of China's economic strength, technological advancement, which symbolizes the rise of China's international status as well as contemporary China's vigor and vitality" (President JIA, Qing-lin Attended Shanghai World Expo Counter-down Ceremony, 2010). Since Chinese government treasured the event so much, it greatly concerned about the destruction from Xinjiang or Tibet separatists.

As to Xinjiang problem, it is known to all that World Uighur Congress (WUC) was founded in mid-April 2004 at a meeting in Munich, Germany, as a collection of various exiled Uighur groups, including the Uighur American Association (UAA) and East Turkistan National Congress (ETNC). The members were from over 13 countries and regions, and most of them were living in Turkey (World Uighur Congress, 2010). WUC was originally moderate organization compared with ETIM, but Rebiya Kadeer, the President was charged to have encouraged July 5th riot in Urumqi, causing over 1,500 casualties.

In terms of Tibet separatist groups abroad, the radicalization is increasingly conspicuous too in recent years. On March 14th, 2008, a large-scale riot broke out in Lhasa, Capital of Tibet Autonomous Region, causing 568 casualties, which is habitually called "3·14" incident in China. Since then, some radical Tibetan separatist groups represented by Tibetan Youth Congress commented that they would rather sacrifice blood and even life for the so-called "Tibetan independence". They proclaimed that "in order to achieve our ultimate goal of independence, we are ready to sacrifice 100 more Tibetan fighters" (YIN, 2009, p. 77). At present, Tibetan Youth Congress has 81 sub-branches throughout the world with over 30 thousand members in India, Nepal,

Bhutan, Britain, Canada and the United States, etc. This organization harshly criticized Dalai Lama-led government in exile for its inability and inertia in the past several years. These radical members make up 80% of all the officials in "Tibetan government in exile", attempting to manipulate Dalai Lama leadership's policy-making in the years to come. In 2008, Tsewang Rigzin, President of Tibetan Youth Congress, pointed out that non-violent and peaceful struggle can only meet Beijing's need. When interviewed by *Il Corriere della Sera* of Italy, he reiterated that in terms of "the lofty cause of Tibetan independence", it was a new and inevitable trend to rely on suicide bombs for retaliation" (Cina, 2010). Tibetan Youth Congress had reportedly signed food and arms trade agreements with Nepal separatists, Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka as well as other terror groups in Kashmir (HUANG & BAO, 2009).

Apart from Tibetan Youth Congress, Dalai-led "Tibetan government in exile" also reportedly contacted Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA), the ethnic separatist group in Spain to seek mutual recognition (WANG, 2005). Moreover, this group has run over 80 schools in overseas Tibetan communities since 1960, and some of these students were brainwashed by radical separatists from Tibetan Youth Congress and Tibetan Women Association, etc. (FAN, 2009, p. 89). On January 4th and January 25th, 2008, Tibetan Youth Congress and Tibetan Women Association jointly hosted press conferences in New Delhi, capital of India, and issued *Xizang Renmin Daqiyi Changyi (the Tibetan People Great Uprising Initiative)*, advocating all Tibetan people inside China and abroad to resort to armed struggle against communist China. The Initiative was published on over 100 websites (Hong Kong Phoenix Website, 2010). Chinese government is concerned about Xinjiang and Tibet separatist groups, and it was quite allergic to possible anti-China demonstrations in Turkey, Germany, India and the United States during Shanghai World Expo, for any overseas anti-China demonstration might cause a chain reaction in Tibet and Xinjiang at home.

The third threat was related with foreign personnel and diplomats' security. Shanghai Expo Bureau was quite anxious about political disputes among foreign countries. First and foremost, some radical Islamic groups would find it hard to attack westerners or Jews in their homelands, but easy to access to China for implementing an attack. After Mahmoud Mabhouh, the military leader of Hamas was assassinated in Dubai, UAE by the Israeli Mossad spy agency (With Mounting Anger at Israel over Assassination, Dubai Walks a Fine Line, 2010), it seemed likely that some Islamic radicals would take revenge during Shanghai World Expo. Moreover, political disputes between different countries would also be the source of the perceived threat. Any ill-intentioned pictures, photos, videos, maps, brochures or propagandas might cause diplomatic disputes, and ruin the image of China as the qualified host state. For instance, some Arab countries protested against Israeli Expo website for Jerusalem was marked as the capital of Israel; North Korea might take the Expo as an opportunity to initiate an anti-America propaganda; India and Pakistan were sensitive to each other's mark of Kashmir on the map; Thailand and Cambodia had an open dispute over the sovereignty of Preah Vihear Temple; Iran-Israel and Iran-US discord would also affect the congenial atmosphere of the Expo and embarrass China. Any political disputes among them inside the Expo site would ruin Chinese dream of hosting a successful, wonderful and unforgettable World Expo.

The fourth threat was from mass disturbances. The so-called mass disturbances were not unique in China. They were caused by social contradictions, and usually a group of residents gather together illegally in the public places, shouting slogans, expressing their ideas, venting their dissatisfaction so as to arouse the attentions of the common people and mass media. The mass disturbances were more than peaceful

demonstrations in the west, for the former have more potential threats, such as blocking transportation, causing physical conflict and giving rise to a chain reaction. When the demonstrators' emotion was out of control, they would go to great lengths to smash glasses, destroy infrastructure, set fire on shops, etc.. If the passers-by sympathized them and joined the mass consistently, the situation would be more explosive. The motives of the mass disturbances were various, including economic disputes, wage-claiming, anti-police, cultivated-land claiming, and anti-local governments, etc. According to Xinhua News Agency, the official agency in China, the mass disturbances had increased by six times in the past decade, leaving the native and foreigners a quite negative image. Shanghai municipal government had more concern on it, for it had a population of 18.58 million, including 6.6 million floating population. The city was quite vulnerable to the impact of mass disturbances.

The fifth was from serious social crimes. In recent years, China was in the process of social transformation towards a rule-of-law society, and various kinds of social contradictions had erupted, including a huge number of laid-off workers since global financial crisis in 2008, the soaring house price in big and medium-sized cities, the landless farmers swarming into the cities etc.. Due to the unprecedented wealth polarization, the marginalized groups found a sharp contrast between their miserable life and the rich tycoons'. Depressed and infuriated, they frequently went to extremes to sort out their dissatisfaction and frustration. For example, from March 23rd to May 17th, 2010, there were about 10 campus-related crimes in China, and criminals killed dozens of pupils and injured more others, which exerted not only a profound impact on social environment, but also stirred up strong panic throughout China (Eight students were slaughtered in Nanping County, Fujian Province, 2010).

China's Countermeasures to the Security Threats

Chinese officials were convinced that crisis prevention was more economical and effective than crisis management. In order to guarantee the security during Shanghai World Expo, the central government and Shanghai Municipality had taken a series of measures.

First, great efforts were made to prevent terrorist attacks during the Expo. China had already been cooperating fully with Pakistan, its all-weather ally in combating ETIM terror groups. For instance, Abdul Haq al Turkistani, the leader of the Turkistan Islamic Party, was closely linked to al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. Haq, who was also known as Memetig Memeti, became the leader of the terror group in late 2003 after Hassan Mahsum, the group's previous leader, was killed in Waziristan, Pakistan. Haq was appointed a member of al-Qaeda's Shura Majlis, or executive leader council, in 2005, according to the US Treasury Department. The US identified him as a global terrorist in April 2009, so did the United Nations.

In the past several years, China had intensified its cooperation with Pakistan in countering ETIM. In January 2010, the ETIM said that 15 of its members, including 13 Uighurs and 2 Turks, were killed during a US predator air strike in Afghanistan. The al-Qaeda-linked group made the claim in a statement released on a website associated with the terror organization (Roggio, 2010). Haq, the head of the terrorist militant group, was confirmed to have been killed in another U.S. drone strike on February 15th, 2010, according to Pakistani security officials who spoke to Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) News on condition of anonymity (Abdul Haq al-Turkistani is Dead, 2010). During his visit to Beijing on May 7th, 2010, Pakistan Interior Minister Rehman Malik admitted that China and Pakistan had cooperated fully to combat ETIM, the common enemy of

the two countries, including the killing of the terrorist's head Haq. He was convinced that due to the lack of a strong leadership, ETIM was too weak to be an effective organization at present. China, in return, offered Islamabad a loan of 180 million dollars for purchasing transport and police facilities (China and Pakistan, 2009). After the death of ETIM head, the terrorist threat to Shanghai World Expo was drastically lowered. Nevertheless, the flooding Muslims from Xinjiang, Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East to Shanghai could not be neglected (WANG & ZHANG, 2006).

Second, measures were taken to lessen ethnic separatists' dissatisfaction and prevent possible mass demonstration during the Expo. On the one hand, China strove to maintain sound relations with Turkey and India, where overseas Uighurs and Tibetans had concentrated respectively. On the other hand, China sent a strong signal that it would strengthen ethnic reconciliation between Han, Uighurs and Tibetans. It seemed more than a coincidence when Wang Lequan, the former General Secretary of Xinjiang was replaced by Zhang Chunxian just before the opening ceremony of Shanghai World Expo. Moreover, the Political Bureau of Communist Party of China held an important conference in April, just one month before the opening ceremony for the Expo, demanding that efforts should be doubled to aid Xinjiang, including establishing a special economic zone in Kashgar, China's west most city with a dense population of Uighurs (Xinjiang revitalization blueprint to be published, 2010), so that China could build a prosperous Xinjiang with ever-lasting peace and stability. The central government also attached great importance to Tibetan development and economic well-being before Shanghai World Expo. The purpose was apparently to ease social contradictions in politically volatile western China.

Third, Shanghai municipal government managed to reduce the chance of mass disturbances. It was predicted that there would be 30 million visitors coming to Shanghai by either train or bus, so Shanghai has recruited 400 volunteers and 2100 other persons to guarantee security. On April 10, 2010, Shanghai Municipal government declared to set up 89 fixed sentry boxes, 15 floating ones and 10 patrolling carts at Shanghai railway station. The posts were inter-linked and distributed one in every 30 meters, and no beggars, peddlers or petty salespersons were allowed at the railway square. Moreover, to prevent mass disturbances, passengers, beggars or other homeless people were forbidden to sleep in the open air. From January 1 to April 19, 2010, Shanghai municipal government cracked down about 15 thousand criminal cases, and jailed a great number of suspects at large. The actions greatly rationalized its social environment, although the residents were inevitably harassed time and again (Shanghai Police Strove to Rationalize the Social Security, 2010). What is more, to strengthen control and management, the private-owned home hostels were prohibited from accommodating visitors during the Expo.

Fourth, Shanghai went to great length to guarantee the security of public transportation. On March 29, 2010, Moscow's subway was attacked by terrorists, causing heavy casualties, which quite shocked Beijing (Terrorist Attacks in Moscow: An Early Warning to Shanghai World Expo, 2010). Thereafter, Shanghai Municipality tightened its security check in the subway, and police dogs were frequently used (The media said that China's subways are safer than Russia's, 2010). From late April to October 2010, all the 8000 buses and public transport hubs in the downtown area were equipped with CCTV. Passengers were not able to go to Shanghai by long-distance coach without showing their ID cards, and all vans carrying dangerous materials must be equipped with GPS (To Guarantee World Expo Security, 2010).

Fifth, China strengthened aerospace security during the Expo. On the eve of the Expo opening ceremony,

CAO Jian-xiong, the deputy manager of the state-owned China National Aviation Holding Company (CNAHC) led a delegation to carry out a two-day long working tour at Shanghai Branch of Air China Limited (ACL). Mr. Cao emphasized that China's top officials attached great importance to aviation security during the Expo, and efforts must be made to get rid of hidden dangers. In order to prevent disasters, he believed rehearsals were needed in the next six months. Moreover, From January to April 2010, Shanghai Branch of Air China Limited had gone through 32 security checks, and a special 80-member squadron was formed to be on guard against possible attack on aircrafts during the Expo (Deputy Manager CAO Jian-xiong, 2010).

Sixth, Shanghai made extensive use of advanced technologies and had referred to other countries' expertise in the Expo security check. OCD, RFID, and the integration technology of CCTV, GIS, GPS, RS and MBS technologies were used (JING, 2005). The organizer of Shanghai World Expo exhibited the intelligence technology in guaranteeing Expo security. It was confirmed that robots would be extensively used for underwater detection, explosive ordnance disposal (EOD), security check beneath vehicle and for firefighting (A Bi, 2009). Chinese officials seemed to have accepted the logic that facilities were better than police, and one CCTV at the Expo park was better than 10 patrolling policemen (The Security Situation of the World Expo, 2009). On May 17, 2009, Henry Chang-Yu Lee, Chief Emeritus for Scientific Services, Connecticut, USA, was invited to discuss the security check problem facing Shanghai Expo. Henry underlined the importance of using artificial intelligence, and the staff should give top priority to the security of the 5.28 square kilometers' Expo site (Henry Underlines the Importance of Artificial Intelligence, 2010).

Seventh, Shanghai municipality sought help from other provinces in East China. On April 2nd, 2010, the seven General Secretaries of the provincial Political and Legal Committee of Shanghai municipality, Jiangsu province, Anhui province, Zhejiang province, Fujian province, Jiangxi province and Shandong province convened in Shanghai, declaring to build a "fire wall" for Shanghai Expo. The seven provincial and municipal officials reached a protocol to exchange information between different regions, properly handle various social contradictions, facilitate supervision of mentally ill residents, enhancing food security, and prevent dangerous and susceptible vehicle from permeating into Shanghai and threatening Shanghai Expo (The Six Provincial and One Municipal Officials, 2010). Particularly, on April 5th, 2010, MENG Jian-zhu, China's Minister of Public Security underpinned the importance of cooperation among Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang Police forces (MENG Jian-zhu demands, 2010). From April 15th to November 15th, 2010, vehicle from Jiangsu province to Shanghai would be checked around the clock, and 406 docks and 507 non-inhabitant islands near Shanghai would also be supervised (World Expo security check will go through the toughest stage, 2010).

Eighth, Shanghai municipality strengthened its control over the transportation of explosive materials. For instance, during the six months from April 15th to November 15th, 2010, main dangerous chemicals, explosives, radioisotope and poisons were forbidden to sell to individuals. Ironically, customers had to register with ID cards if they wanted to buy rat poison or kitchen knife from the market (World Expo Security Check is Upgraded, 2010). Moreover, visitors were banned to bring the following articles into the Expo site, namely, weapons, explosives, imitation guns, defibrillators, arrows, defense devices, knives, fireworks, gasoline, alcohol, cigarette lighters, matches, sports bats, long sticks, long-handled umbrellas, sharp articles and liquid (The Purchase of Kitchen Knife Needs Registration during Shanghai World Expo, 2010). On April 9, 2010, Shanghai municipal government declared that it's not allowed to use interphone inside the Expo site.

Finally, Shanghai municipal government underscored the importance of the mass's support. On June 8th,

2009, YU Zheng-sheng, the General Secretary of Shanghai municipal government made it clear that, Shanghai World Expo security would depend on the mass. Each and every neighborhood community and grass-root unit must have an *ad hoc* group for the Expo security, recruiting volunteers from different walks of life. At the eve of the opening ceremony, he reiterated the importance of Shanghai residents' support for the Expo (Efforts Will Be Made to Guarantee the Expo Security, 2010). On February 1st, 2010, WU Bang-guo, the Chairman of China's National People's Congress pointed out that a successful hosting of the World Expo is not only an overwhelming task of China, but also of the world, so people from all walks of life should participate. As MENG Jian-zhu, China's Minister for Public Security put it, "all the police serving the Expo must fully understand the complexity of the security situation, and arouse their own awareness of politics, responsibility and overall situation. In order to guarantee the Expo security, Shanghai must rely on the mass, and obtain their assistance" (MENG, 2010). Based on the clues provided by Shanghai residents, the police from the neighboring districts of the Expo, namely, Pudong District, Huangpu District, Luwan District, Xuhui District and Yangpu District checked their respective responsibility areas, arresting 26 Chinese suspects and 30 illegal overseas residents on the eve of the Expo (Shanghai Dispatched 30 thousand Policemen to Rationalize Social Environment for the Expo, 2010).

Conclusion

Since May 2010, 189 countries and 57 international organizations had participated in Shanghai World Expo, and it was the first time for the festival to be held in the developing countries. As then Chinese Premier WEN Jia-bao said, the Expo was a golden opportunity that the world had best owed China to interact with the rest of the world (Shanghai World Expo is an Opportunity for Both China and the World, 2010). China gave top priority to security, regarding it as the fundamental requirement of a successful, fascinating and unforgettable Expo. It was ordered that no mistake or error would be tolerated by the central government, and whoever made negligence must be responsible for the consequences. As then President HU Jin-tao put it on January 16th, 2010, "the hosting of World Expo is not only Shanghai's business, but also the whole China's business; it's not only Shanghai's obligation, but also the whole nation's. We'll make full use of not only the resources of Shanghai and China, but also the wisdom of the world" (General Secretary HU Checks the Organizing Work of Shanghai World Expo, 2010). President HU's emphasis on security was relevant to his philosophy of building a harmonious society at home and a harmonious world abroad. A secure Expo was a symbol of China's diversity, progress and prosperity, which would undoubtedly win world-wide acclaim. In terms of the Expo, China faced multi-faceted threats, including terrorism, ethnic separatism, diplomatic disputes, foreign personnel safety, mass disturbance, and social crimes etc.. China's countermeasures were also various, including political, economic and social ones, which were technically remarkable and significant. Nevertheless, these kinds of countermeasures were in essence more defensive than offensive, more passive than active, and more tactical than strategic. The root cause of social disturbance, however, had yet been tackled with. The thorough and overall solution to various and profound social problems seemed to be the ultimate remedy to China's long-term security issue.

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