

Study on the Innovative Development Progress of the “One Country, Two Systems” Theory: Based on the Reports to the Previous Congresses of the Communist Party of China

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It has been 30 years since January 1982, when the concept of “One Country, Two Systems” was formally put forward by Deng Xiaoping. Over the past 30 years, from the concept and thought to the complete theoretical form, from the policy guidelines of the ruling party to the system practice of domestic laws, and from mainly directing to the Taiwan Question to working as the package solution on the Questions of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, it has theoretically become an important part of the contemporary state structural theory, and a special contribution of China to the world; in practice, with the successful return of Hong Kong and Macao, it has provided ideological foundation and institutional basis for the peaceful resolution of cross-strait reunification. The “One Country, Two Systems” thought has become an important part and the most significant characteristic of the Deng Xiaoping Theory, and is also the constitutional principle and political foundation for solving the problem of reunification of the motherland. The process from theory to practice of the “One Country, Two Systems” thought is not only the theoretical contribution of Deng Xiaoping, the designer of China’s reform and opening up, but also the crystallization of collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the ruling party. The concrete theory connotation and practical request of the “One Country, Two Systems” thought also gets through a process from constant practices and recognitions. It can specify clear development ideas and correct progressive directions for achieving the fundamental policy of cross-strait peaceful reunification, and ensuring the prosperity and stability of the two Special Administrative Regions (SARs) by modifying and improving the basic laws to earnestly comb the understanding and theoretical elaboration of the “One Country, Two Systems” thought in the Reports to the National Congresses of the CPC, the ruling party.

I. Development Changes of the “One Country, Two Systems” Theory in the Reports to the 13th to 18th National Congresses of the CPC

The “One Country, Two Systems” thought and theory was initially specified and discussed in the Report to the 13th National Congress of the CPC by the National Congress of the CPC. With continuous enrichment and improvement at the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th National Congresses of the CPC, the “One Country, Two Systems” thought has formed a complete theoretical system and systematical practice requirements, providing a clear policy guideline for achieving the national reunification.

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1.1 The “One Country, Two Systems” Theory in the Report to the 13th National Congress of the CPC

Zhao Ziyang pointed out in the Report to the 13th National Congress of the CPC with the theme of *Moving Forward along with the Socialism Road with Chinese Characteristics* on 25th October 1987 that: Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC, the Party has delivered and developed a series of scientific theoretical perspectives in the aspects such as philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in the process of understanding of socialism. Among them, the perspective of adopting the “One Country, Two Systems” theory to achieve the national reunification is a significant content in the series of scientific theories and perspectives. Seen from the discussions on the “One Country, Two Systems” theory in the Report to the 13th National Congress of the CPC, it was highlighted that the purpose of putting forward the “One Country, Two Systems” theory was to “achieving national reunification”. It can be concluded that the “One Country, Two Systems” thought originated from the request of “achieving national reunification”.¹ Therefore, no matter at any time, without the fundamental objective of “national reunification”, the “One Country, Two Systems” policy will be departed from the original intension and purpose of the “One Country, Two Systems” theory.

1.2 The “One Country, Two Systems” Theory in the Report to the 14th National Congress of the CPC

Jiang Zemin made detailed elaborations on the “One Country, Two Systems” theory in the Report to the 14th National Congress of the CPC titled as *Accelerating the Reform, the Opening to the Outside World and the Drive for Modernization, so as to Achieve Greater Successes in Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics* on 12th October 1992. The specific contents include:

“In terms of the reunification of the motherland, we have put forward the creative concept of ‘One Country, Two Systems’ – the proposition that, on the premise that there is only one China, for a long time to come the main part of the country should adhere to the socialist system while Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan maintain their original capitalist system. In accordance with this principle, we shall work for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.”

“To accomplish the reunification of the motherland is in the fundamental interest of the Chinese nation, and it is the common aspiration of the entire Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and those residing overseas. We shall work steadfastly for the great cause, adhering to the principles of peaceful reunification and ‘One Country, Two Systems’. The Chinese Government will continue to co-operate with the British and Portuguese Governments to ensure that the transfer of power in Hong Kong and Macao proceeds smoothly and that the two regions enjoy long-term stability and prosperity. Taiwan is an integral part of the sacred territory of China. We resolutely oppose in any form the notion ‘two Chinas,’ ‘one China, one Taiwan,’ ‘one country, two governments’ and any acts aimed at bringing about the independence of Taiwan. We shall continue to work for direct links for postal, air, and shipping services and trade between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and to promote people-to-people exchanges and co-operation in various fields. In particular, we shall work for greatly expanded economic co-operation between the two sides in an effort to revitalize the economy of the whole nation. We reiterate that the CPC is ready to establish contact with the Chinese Kuomintang at the earliest possible date to create conditions for talks on officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and gradually realizing peaceful reunification. Representatives from other parties, mass organizations and all circles on both sides of the Taiwan Straits could be invited to join in such talks. On the premise that there is only one China, we are prepared to talk with the Taiwan authorities about any matter, including the form that official negotiations should take, a form that would be acceptable to both sides. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will comply with the wishes of the people and help remove the artificial obstacles to the reunification of

the motherland, so as to make it possible for relations between the two sides to enter a new stage of development.”

Seen from the expositions on the “One Country, Two Systems” theory in the Report to the 14th National Congress of the CPC, two important features were highlighted when deepening the connotations of the “One Country, Two Systems” theory: One was “peaceful reunification”². Therefore, we can see that the “One Country, Two Systems” theory put forward in the Report to the 13th National Congress of the CPC further specified the objective of “achieving national reunification”. That is to say, the “One Country, Two Systems” principle is a fundamental policy established for “peaceful reunification”, rather than “non-peaceful reunification”; moreover, the “one country” in the “One Country, Two Systems” concept shall be the core of the question. It is impossible to discuss the “One Country, Two Systems” policy or the “peaceful reunification” principle without discussing the idea of “one country”.

1.3 The “One Country, Two Systems” Theory in the Report to the 15th National Congress of the CPC

New development has been achieved in the elaborations on the “One Country, Two Systems” theory in the Report to the 15th National Congress of the CPC titled as *Hold High the Great Banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory for an All-round Advancement of the Cause of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics to the 21st Century* by Jiang Zemin on 12th September 1997. There were summaries on the experience in the return of Hong Kong, and new expectations on the return of Macao and the peaceful settlement of Taiwan Question. The “One Country, Two Systems” theory and practice involved in the Report to the 15th National Congress of the CPC include:

“In the past five years we have done a great deal of work with marked results in the peaceful reunification of the motherland. The Chinese government has resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong, which is a consolation to numerous revolutionary martyrs and veterans as it has wiped out the century-old humiliation of the Chinese nation. This is a great event which makes every Chinese elated and has won universal acclaim from the international community.”

“Complete reunification of the motherland is the common aspiration of all Chinese at home and abroad. Taking the great cause of the peaceful reunification of the motherland as their historical task, the Chinese Communists have made unremitting efforts to that end. Deng Xiaoping’s scientific concept of ‘One Country, Two Systems’ has vigorously pushed forward the process of the peaceful reunification of the motherland.”

“As a hallmark of the great success of the concept of ‘One Country, Two Systems’, Hong Kong’s return to the motherland constitutes a crucial step taken by the Chinese people in the great cause of the reunification of the motherland. Since Hong Kong’s return, the policies of ‘One Country, Two Systems’, ‘Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong’ and a high degree of autonomy have been implemented conscientiously, and Hong Kong has maintained its prosperity and stability. Facts will prove that the government of the Hong Kong SAR and our compatriots in Hong Kong will surely be able to administer Hong Kong well in accordance with the Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR.”

“Macao will return to the embrace of the motherland in 1999, another great event of the Chinese nation. All preparations for Macao’s return are being made in an energetic and orderly fashion. Macao’s smooth transition and smooth transfer of government can certainly be secured and its long-term development and stability maintained.”

“The concept of ‘One Country, Two Systems’ is an important component of Deng Xiaoping Theory. The basic idea is that on the premise of national reunification, the main part of China will stick to the socialist system while Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao will retain the current capitalist system and way of life for a long time to come. This concept is the basic policy for promoting the great cause of the peaceful reunification of the motherland, because it not only embodies the

principled position of achieving national reunification and safeguarding state sovereignty, but also takes into full consideration the past and the present of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and embodies a high degree of flexibility. The adoption of the policy of 'One Country, Two Systems' is in the interest of the reunification of the motherland and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and conducive to world peace and development."

"Thanks to the introduction of the basic principles of 'peaceful reunification' and 'One Country, Two Systems' as well as other policies, significant headway has been made in the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. The smooth return of Hong Kong and the maintenance of its long-term prosperity and stability will undoubtedly create favorable conditions for the settlement of the Taiwan Question. However, the growth of the splitting tendency on the Taiwan Island and the interference of certain foreign anti-China forces have stood in the way of peaceful reunification as big obstacles, which of course have met with determined opposition from the Chinese people including our compatriots in Taiwan."

"We shall adhere to the basic principles of 'peaceful reunification' and 'One Country, Two Systems' and the eight-point proposal on developing relations between the two sides and promoting the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We shall stick to the principle that there is only one China and oppose splitting, the 'independence of Taiwan', the attempt to create 'two Chinas' or 'one China, one Taiwan' and any interference by foreign forces. We shall not allow any forces whatsoever to change Taiwan's status as part of China in any way. We shall work for peaceful reunification, but we shall not undertake to renounce the use of force. This is not directed against our compatriots in Taiwan, but against the interference of foreign forces with China's reunification and against the schemes to bring about the 'independence of Taiwan'. We shall spare no efforts in expanding economic exchanges and cooperation between the two sides, speed up the establishment of direct links of postal, air and shipping services and trade between the two sides and continue to promote mutual visits of people and exchanges in various fields such as science, technology and culture. We place our hopes on our compatriots in Taiwan who are endowed with the glorious tradition of patriotism. Except for a handful of people who stubbornly cling to the position of 'independence of Taiwan', all parties and personages of all circles in Taiwan are welcome to exchange views with us on relations between the two sides and on peaceful reunification."

"Now we should like to renew our solemn appeal: As the first step, the two sides of the Straits can hold negotiations and reach agreement on 'officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides in accordance with the principle that there is only one China'. On this basis, the two sides can undertake jointly to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and map out plans for the future development of their relations. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will earnestly respond to our suggestions and proposals and enter into political negotiations with us at an early date. On the premise that there is only one China, we are prepared to talk about any matter. All opinions and proposals can be put forward as long as they are in the interest of the reunification. The question of the reunification of the motherland should be solved by us Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits."

"Taiwan's future hinges on the reunification of the motherland, and split is no way out. With full determination, we are capable of finding a final solution to the Taiwan Question. No matter how many difficulties and obstacles are in store for us, the complete reunification of the motherland and the all-round rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will certainly come true, for all the Chinese on both sides and living elsewhere will proceed from the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation and go forward hand in hand."

There are two outstanding theoretical contributions in discussions on the "One Country, Two Systems" theory in the Report to the 15th National Congress of the CPC: One is to bring the "One Country, Two Systems" theory into the Deng Xiaoping Theory, which makes the "One Country, Two Systems" theory become the ideological basis and theoretical source of each routine, guideline

and policy since the reform and opening up of China, and further improves the theoretical status and significance of the "One Country, Two Systems" idea; and the other is to take the "One Country, Two Systems" principle into the assumption of "step by step", pointing out that the two sides of the Straits can hold negotiations and reach agreement on "officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides in accordance with the principle that there is only one China", which organically combines the theory and possibility of practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, converts the theory into action, and is a kind of new implementation requirement on the "One Country, Two Systems" theory.

1.4 The "One Country, Two Systems" Theory in the Report to the 16th National Congress of the CPC

Jiang Zemin made further comprehensive and systematic elaborations on the "One Country, Two Systems" theory and enriched and developed the "One Country, Two Systems" theory in the Report to the 16th National Congress of the CPC titled as *Build a Well-off Society in an All-Round Way and Create a New Situation in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics* on 8th November 2002. The specific contents include:

"Fresh progress has been made in the great cause of national reunification. The Chinese Government has resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Macao. The principle of 'One Country, Two Systems' has been implemented; and the Basic Laws of the Hong Kong SAR and Macao SAR have been carried out. Hong Kong and Macao enjoy social and economic stability. Personnel, economic and cultural exchanges across the Taiwan Straits have kept increasing. The fight against 'Taiwan independence' and other attempts to split the country has been going on in depth."

"The practice of the 13 years has helped us acquire a deeper understanding of what socialism is, how to build it, and what kind of Party to build and how to build it, and we have gained most valuable experience in this regard."

"Continue to unite with all forces that can be united with and increase the cohesion of the Chinese nation. We should hold high the banners of patriotism and socialism, strengthen the great solidarity of the people of all ethnic groups, and consolidate and develop the broadest possible patriotic united front. We need to strengthen our solidarity with the democratic parties and personages without party affiliation. We should handle well the work relating to ethnic minorities, religions and overseas Chinese. We should adhere to the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems' and bring into full play every positive factor in a common endeavor to accomplish the grand cause of national reunification and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."

"To achieve complete reunification of the motherland is a common aspiration of all sons and daughters of the Chinese nation both at home and abroad. We have successfully resolved the Questions of Hong Kong and Macao and are striving for an early settlement of the Question of Taiwan and for the accomplishment of the great cause of national reunification."

"The return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland has enriched the concept of 'One Country, Two Systems' in both theory and practice. Facts prove that the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy is a correct policy and has strong vitality. We will resolutely implement this policy and act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. We will render full support to the Chief Executives and Governments of the two SARs in their work and unite with people from all walks of life there in a joint effort to maintain and promote the prosperity, stability and development of Hong Kong and Macao."

"We will adhere to the basic principles of 'peaceful reunification' and 'One Country, Two Systems' and the eight-point proposal on developing cross-straits relations and advancing the process of peaceful national reunification at the present stage. We will work with our compatriots in Taiwan to step up personnel exchanges and promote economic, cultural and other interflows between the two sides and firmly oppose the Taiwan separatist forces. The basic configuration and

development trend of the cross-straits relations remain unchanged. The desire of our Taiwan compatriots for peace, stability and development is growing stronger day by day. The splitting activities by the Taiwan separatist forces are unpopular.”

“Adherence to the one-China principle is the basis for the development of cross-straits relations and the realization of peaceful reunification. There is but one China in the world, and both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division. We firmly oppose all words and deeds aimed at creating ‘Taiwan independence’, ‘two Chinas’ or ‘one China, one Taiwan’. The future of Taiwan lies in the reunification of the motherland. To conduct dialogue and hold negotiations on peaceful reunification has been our consistent position. Here we repeat our appeal: On the basis of the one-China principle, let us shelve for now certain political disputes and resume the cross-straits dialogue and negotiations as soon as possible. On the premise of the one-China principle, all issues can be discussed. We may discuss how to end the cross-straits hostility formally. We may also discuss the international space in which the Taiwan region may conduct economic, cultural and social activities compatible with its status, or discuss the political status of the Taiwan authorities or other issues. We are willing to exchange views with all political parties and personages of all circles in Taiwan on the development of cross-straits relations and the promotion of peaceful reunification.”

“We place our hopes on the people in Taiwan for the settlement of the Taiwan Question and the realization of the complete reunification of China. Our compatriots in Taiwan have a glorious patriotic tradition and are an important force in developing cross-straits relations. We fully respect their life style and their wish to be the masters of our country. The two sides should expand mutual contacts and exchanges and work together to carry forward the fine tradition of the Chinese culture. As the direct links of mail, air and shipping services, and trade across the Taiwan Straits serve the common interests of the compatriots on both sides, there is every reason to take practical and positive steps to promote such direct links and open up new prospects for cross-straits economic cooperation.”

“The ‘One Country, Two Systems’ policy is the best way for the reunification between the two sides. After its reunification with the mainland, Taiwan may keep its existing social system unchanged and enjoy a high degree of autonomy. Our Taiwan compatriots may keep their way of life unchanged, and their vital interests will be fully guaranteed. They will enjoy a lasting peace. Taiwan may then truly rely on the mainland as its hinterland for economic growth and thus get broad space for development. Our Taiwan compatriots may join the people on the mainland in exercising the right to administer the country and sharing the dignity and honor of the great motherland in the international community.”

“The 23 million Taiwan compatriots are our brothers and sisters of the same blood. No one is more eager than we are to resolve the Taiwan Question through peaceful means. We will continue to implement the basic principles of ‘peaceful reunification’ and ‘One Country, Two Systems’ and act on the eight-point proposal. We will work in utmost sincerity and do all we can to strive for a peaceful reunification. Our position of never undertaking to renounce the use of force is not directed at our Taiwan compatriots. It is aimed at the foreign forces’ attempts to interfere in China’s reunification and the Taiwan separatist forces schemes for ‘Taiwan independence’. To safeguard national reunification bears on the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. We Chinese people will safeguard our state sovereignty and territorial integrity with firm resolve. We will never allow anyone to separate Taiwan from China in any way.”

“China will be reunified, and the Chinese nation will be rejuvenated. The Taiwan Question must not be allowed to drag on indefinitely. We are convinced that with the concerted efforts of all sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, the complete reunification of the motherland will be achieved at an early date.”

The elaborations on the “One Country, Two Systems” thought of the Report to the 16th

National Congress of the CPC have two distinct features: Firstly, it clearly characterized the "One Country, Two Systems" policy as the "guideline" on the basis of summarizing the theory and practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, and established its status of the guiding ideology; secondly, it emphasized the main force in promoting the realization of the "One Country, Two Systems" idea, pointing out that we pin our hopes on the people in Taiwan for the settlement of the Taiwan Question and the complete reunification of the motherland; thirdly, it proposed the timetable for the peaceful reunification of the motherland, that is to say, as a "guideline" of the peaceful reunification of China, the applicability of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy shall never be ignored indefinitely. Therefore, it was emphasized in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC that: China will be reunified, and the Chinese nation will be rejuvenated. The Taiwan Question must not be allowed to drag on indefinitely. The thought mentioned hereof has proposed time "requirements" and "expectations" on the "One Country, Two Systems" policy for the peaceful settlement of the Taiwan Question.

1.5 The "One Country, Two Systems" Theory in the Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC

Hu Jintao expounded clear standpoints for the new problems arising in the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory and further deepened the specific requirements on the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory in the Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC titled as *Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects* on 15th October 2007. The Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC regulated that:

"Work related to Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan affairs was intensified. Hong Kong and Macao maintained their prosperity and stability and developed closer economic partnership with the mainland. Political parties on both sides of the Taiwan Straits started communication, and cross-Straits visits as well as economic and cultural exchanges reached a new high. The *Anti-Secession Law* was enacted to resolutely safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity."

"Since the return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland, more and more experience has been gained in putting into practice the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems.' The principle is perfectly correct and full of vigor. To realize China's peaceful reunification on this principle accords with the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation."

"A major task the Party faces in running the country in the new circumstances is to ensure long-term prosperity and stability, in Hong Kong and Macao. We will unswervingly implement the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems,' under which 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' and 'Macao people ruling Macao' with a high degree of autonomy, and act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws of the two SARs. We will render full support to the Governments of the two SARs in their administration in accordance with the law and in their efforts to promote economic growth, improve people's lives and advance democracy. We encourage people from all walks of life in Hong Kong and Macao to work with one accord to promote social amity under the banner of love for the motherland and devotion to their respective regions. We will increase exchanges and cooperation between the mainland and the two regions so that they can draw on each other's strengths and develop side by side. We will actively support the two regions in their external exchanges and firmly oppose attempts by any external force to interfere in their affairs. Our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, without doubt, have the wisdom and ability to successfully administer and develop their regions. Both regions have played and will continue to play an important role in China's modernization drive, and the great motherland will always provide them with strong backing for their prosperity and stability."

"To resolve the Taiwan Question and achieve complete national reunification is a common

aspiration of all sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. We will uphold the principle of ‘peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems’ and the eight-point proposal for developing the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and advancing the process of peaceful national reunification in the present stage. We will never waver in our commitment to the one-China principle, never abandon our efforts to achieve peaceful reunification never change the policy of placing our hopes on the people in Taiwan and never compromise in our opposition to the secessionist activities aimed at ‘Taiwan independence’. With a firm grasp of the theme of peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, we will sincerely work for the well-being of our compatriots on both sides of the Straits and for peace in the Taiwan Straits region, and safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation.”

“Upholding the one-China principle constitutes the political basis for peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. Although the mainland and Taiwan are yet to be reunified, the fact that they belong to one and the same China has never changed. China is the common homeland for the compatriots on both sides of the Straits, who have every reason to join hands to safeguard and develop this homeland. We are ready to conduct exchanges, dialogue, consultations and negotiations with any political party in Taiwan on any issue as long as it recognizes that both sides of the Straits belong to one and the same China. Here we would like to make a solemn appeal, On the basis of the one-China principle, let us discuss a formal end to the state of hostility between the two sides, reach a peace agreement, construct a framework for peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, and thus usher in a new phase of peaceful development.”

“The 1.3 billion people on the mainland and the 23 million people in Taiwan are of the same blood and share a common destiny. We will make every effort to achieve anything that serves the interests of our Taiwan compatriots, contributes to the maintenance of peace in the Taiwan Straits region, and facilitates peaceful national reunification. We understand, trust and care about our compatriots in Taiwan, and we will, therefore, continue to implement and enrich the policies and measures that benefit them, protect their legitimate rights and interests in accordance with the law, and support economic development on the west shore of the Straits in Fujian Province and in other areas where Taiwan investment is concentrated. The compatriots on both sides of the Straits need to increase contacts, promote economic and cultural exchanges in more areas and at higher Levels and push for the resumption of direct links of mail, transport and trade, so that they will develop greater empathy and closer cooperation and work together for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.”

“At present, the forces for ‘Taiwan independence’ are stepping up their secessionist activities, seriously jeopardizing the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. The compatriots on both sides need to work together to oppose and contain such activities. China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division, and any matter in this regard must be decided by the entire Chinese people including our Taiwan compatriots. We are willing to make every effort with the utmost sincerity to achieve peaceful reunification of the two sides, and will never allow anyone to separate Taiwan from the motherland in any name or by any means.”

“The two sides of the Straits are bound to be reunified in the course of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. With close solidarity and concerted efforts of all Chinese people at home and overseas, the complete reunification of the motherland will surely be achieved.”

The features of the Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC lied in that it emphasized on the adherence to the practice of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, taking stable and solid measures to consolidate the achievements of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy practiced in the two SARs, and meanwhile expressed the firm standpoint of holding the “one China” principle. The features are as follows: Firstly, we will take it to the height of the “major task” of the ruling party in running the country in the new circumstances to ensure long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao, and declare the “One Country, Two Systems” theory as the major issues

of the CPC, which is the ruling party, and a ruling strategy of the ruling party by highly combining with the ruling style and legality of the ruling party; secondly, we will clearly exclude all external interferences, and ensure the resolutions and faith of the correct implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" guideline through the lively practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" guideline in the two SARs; and thirdly, with the policy guidance of "One Country, Two Systems", we will increase exchanges and cooperation between the mainland and the two SARs so that they can draw on each other's strengths and develop side by side; and we will actively support the two SARs in their external exchanges and firmly oppose attempts by any external force to interfere in their affairs. In terms of the Taiwan Question, we further take a solemn stand that we are willing to make every effort with the utmost sincerity to achieve peaceful reunification of the two sides, and will never allow anyone to separate Taiwan from the motherland in any name or by any means. We will unswervingly adhere to the "One Country, Two Systems" principle to lead the peaceful reunification of the two sides.

1.6 The "One Country, Two Systems" Theory in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC

Hu Jintao, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC, delivered the keynote report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC on behalf of the 17th CPC Central Committee titled as *Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects* on 8th November 2012. The implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy was further deepened in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC, with the main contents as follows:

"Work related to Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan affairs has been further strengthened. Hong Kong and Macao have remained prosperous and stable, and their exchanges and cooperation with the mainland have reached a new stage. We have achieved a major transition in the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits, with direct and two-way links of mail service, transport and trade fully established, and the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement between them has been signed for implementation. All this has promoted extensive mutual contacts and ushered in a new stage of peaceful growth of cross-straits relations."

"Since their return to the motherland, Hong Kong and Macao have embarked on a broad road along which they and the mainland draw on each other's strengths and pursue common development, and the success of the 'One Country, Two Systems' principle has won global recognition. The underlying goal of the principles and policies adopted by the Central Government concerning Hong Kong and Macao is to uphold China's sovereignty, security and development interests and maintain long-term prosperity and stability of the two regions. We must fully and faithfully implement the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems,' under which 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' and 'Macao people ruling Macao' and both regions enjoy a high degree of autonomy. We must both adhere to the one-China principle and respect the differences of the two systems, both uphold the power of the central government and ensure a high degree of autonomy in the SARs, both give play to the role of the mainland as the staunch supporter of Hong Kong and Macao and increase their competitiveness. At no time should we focus only on one side to the neglect of the other."

"The Central Government will act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws of the SARs, improve work mechanisms for their enforcement, and firmly support the Chief Executives and Governments of the two SARs in governing the two SARs in accordance with the law. The Central Government will firmly support them in leading the people from all walks of life in focusing on economic development, taking effective steps to improve the people's wellbeing, and advancing orderly and phased-in democracy as well as inclusiveness, mutual support and harmony. The Central Government will increase economic ties and trade between the mainland and the two SARs,

and promote exchanges and cooperation between them in all fields. The Central Government will also firmly support the Chief Executives and Governments of the two SARs in promoting the unity of our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao under the banner of loving both the motherland and their respective regions and in guarding against and forestalling external intervention in the affairs of Hong Kong and Macao.”

“We are convinced that our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao not only have the wisdom, ability and resourcefulness to successfully govern and develop the two regions; they can certainly also play an active role in national affairs and share with other people of all ethnic groups in China the dignity and glory of being Chinese.”

“To resolve the Taiwan Question and achieve the complete reunification of China is an irresistible historical process. Peaceful reunification is in the best interests of the Chinese nation, including our compatriots in Taiwan. To achieve peaceful reunification, we must, above everything else, ensure peaceful growth of relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. We must adhere to the principle of ‘peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems’ and the eight-point proposal for growing cross-Straits relations and advancing peaceful reunification of the motherland. We must put into full practice the important thought of peaceful growth of cross-Straits relations, consolidate and strengthen the political, economic, cultural and social foundation for such growth, and create even better conditions for achieving peaceful reunification.”

“We must continue to adhere to the one-China principle. Although the mainland and Taiwan are yet to be reunified, the fact that both belong to one China has never changed. China’s territory and sovereignty have always been indivisible and no division will be tolerated. The two sides of the Taiwan Straits should uphold the common stand of opposing Taiwan independence and of following the 1992 Consensus. Both sides should increase their common commitment to upholding the one-China framework and, on this basis, expand common ground and set aside differences. We are ready to conduct exchanges, dialogue and cooperation with any political party in Taiwan as long as it does not seek Taiwan independence and recognizes the one-China principle.”

“We should sustain cross-Straits exchanges and cooperation. We should deepen economic cooperation to increase common interests. We should expand cultural exchanges to enhance a common sense of national identity, and further people-to-people contacts to cultivate mutual goodwill. We should promote consultation on an equal footing and strengthen institutional building. We hope that the two sides will jointly explore cross-Straits political relations and make reasonable arrangements for them under the special condition that the country is yet to be reunified. We hope the two sides will discuss the establishment of a cross-Straits confidence-building mechanism for military security to maintain stability in their relations and reach a peace agreement through consultation so as to open a new horizon in advancing the peaceful growth of these relations.”

“We should encourage the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits to unite and pursue a common endeavor. The compatriots on both sides belong to the same Chinese nation and form a community of common destiny bound by blood ties; and we have every reason to care about and trust each other, jointly advance cross-Straits relations, and share in the fruits of development. We will make every effort to do anything that will promote the common wellbeing of the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. We should fully protect the rights and interests of our Taiwan compatriots and work with them to safeguard and build the common home of the Chinese nation.”

“We resolutely oppose any separatist attempt for ‘Taiwan independence’. The Chinese people will never allow anyone or any force to separate Taiwan from the motherland by any means. Any separatist attempt for ‘Taiwan independence’, which undermines the common interests of the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, is doomed to fail.”

“Working hand in hand, we, the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, will surely accomplish the great cause of China’s reunification in the course of our common endeavor to achieve the great renewal of the Chinese nation.”

The implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy has been further elaborated in depth in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC with two "highlights" as follows: On one hand, it was explicitly stated to further improve the Basic Law system, pointing out that the Central Government will act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws of the SARs, improve work mechanisms for their enforcement, and firmly support the Chief Executives and Governments of the two SARs in governing the two SARs in accordance with the law, which provides the policy basis for the modification and improvement of the basic laws; and on the other hand, in terms of the Taiwan Question, the applicable scope for the "One Country, Two Systems" guideline was expanded, pointing out that we are ready to conduct exchanges, dialogue and cooperation with any political parties in Taiwan as long as they do not seek 'Taiwan independence' and recognizes the one-China principle. The above argument has laid policy foundation for the maximum release of "peace", and make the best efforts to settle the Taiwan Question on the basis of the "One Country, Two Systems" guideline.

II. The Modifications to the Basic Laws Conforming to the Governing Philosophy of the Ruling Party

By summarizing and combing the Reports on the thought, concept, theory, practice, guideline and principle of "One Country, Two Systems" from the 13th to the 18th National Congresses of the CPC, we can see that: The 13th National Congress of the CPC clearly asserted the "One Country, Two Systems" concept, and established the systematical target of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy to "achieve the reunification of the motherland"; subsequently, the Report to the 14th National Congress of the CPC discussed the features of the systematical target of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy was "peaceful reunification" and the core of the systematical connotation was "one China"; the Report to the 15th National Congress of the CPC put forward the strategy of taking the "One Country, Two Systems" principle into "step by step" in practice; the Report to the 16th National Congress of the CPC accurately elaborated the significance and features of the practice subject of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, and took a solemn stand on the applicable limitations of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy; the Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC took the "One Country, Two Systems" principle to the height of the "major task of the ruling party in running the country in the new circumstances"; and the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC proposed to constantly develop and improve systems and mechanisms related to the Basic Laws, so as to promote the guiding role of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy in the settlement of the Taiwan Question and the achievement of "peaceful reunification" with more practical attitude. The foregoing arguments indicated that, during the past three decades, the "One Country, Two Systems" theory had become a ruling goal and a basic ruling concept of the CPC as the ruling party in running the country. It is closely connected with the legitimacy and future of the running of the ruling party, and is a unique contribution of the communists to the governance mode of the national structure in the running the country. Its basic value and connotation lie in "peace", "reunification", "prosperity", "development" and "harmony". It is a great social engineering and national task for the Chinese nation to implement great rejuvenation. Based on the guidance of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, with the practical experience of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, the Chinese nation can make full use of the relatively peaceful and stable international environment and a variety of material and spiritual civilization achievements brought by the scientific and technological development, promote the overall modernization of the Chinese nation with full enthusiasm and the greatest efforts, and further play the important role in the process of the development history of human civilization.

There is no doubt that by reviewing the previous reports to the National Congresses of the CPC, we can find out that the “One Country, Two Systems” theory has been continuously improved and perfected in forms of contents and practice since the beginning of proposition to the constant improvement, especially the practice of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, which has been promoted orderly and stably with the “One Country, Two Systems” theory as the guidance. With relative discussions on the practice of “One Country, Two Systems” in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC, the topics to be discussed on the modifications to the Basic Laws mainly include the following aspects:

We shall clearly affirm the dialectical relationship between respecting the central power and ensuring the high degree of autonomy of the SARs, focus on solving the problems of identity and sense of belonging of the Hong Kong and Macao residents on “the People’s Republic of China” as “one China”, and strengthen the “Chinese citizen consciousness”. The Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC clearly stated that: We must fully and faithfully implement the principle of “One Country, Two Systems”, under which the policies of “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong” and “Macao people ruling Macao” are carried out and both SARs enjoy a high degree of autonomy. We must both adhere to the one-China principle and respect the differences of the two systems, both uphold the power of the Central Government and ensure a high degree of autonomy in the SARs, both give play to the role of the mainland as the staunch supporter of Hong Kong and Macao and increase their competitiveness. At no time should we focus only on one side to the neglect of the other. The above discussion implies a very clear message that the central government shall further respect the “differences of the two systems”, and ensure the “full realization” of the autonomy of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. Meanwhile, the illegal speeches that ignore the “one China” principle regulated in the Basic Laws and incite the people unaware of the truth to declaim that “the Chinese people getting out of Hong Kong and Macao” shall be subject to legal sanctions. Departed from the “one China” principle, the development of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR will be lost in the future and direction.

We shall further explicit the governments’ concept of “administration by law” in the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR in the provisions of the Basic Laws, and preserve the authority and stability of the Basic Laws in the implementation of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy. The Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC regarded it as a major task the CPC faces in running the country in the new circumstances to ensure long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao, whereas, the 15th National Congress of the CPC wrote the “rule of law and building a socialist country ruled by law” as the strategy of running a state into the *Constitution of the People’s Republic of China* (hereinafter as “the Constitution”). Therefore, the “rule of law” as the basic strategy is global and applicable to all fields within the sovereignty of the PRC. It is not only the requirements on the ruling party to implement basic strategy of “rule of law”, but also the platform of action for the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR to implement the Basic Laws to specify the “rule of law” concept of the government in the SARs by modifying the Basic Laws. As it was pointed out in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC: The Central Government will act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws of the SARs, improve work mechanisms for their enforcement, and firmly support the Chief Executives and Governments of the two SARs in governing the two SARs in accordance with the law.

It is an important task of the Basic Laws to deepen the trade, economic and legal cooperation relations between the two SARs and other administrative regions of the mainland, and establish clear and reliable legal cooperation mechanism. Although the Basic Laws are applicable to the two SARs, the legislative spirit of the Basic Laws is also applicable to the sovereignty of the PRC. Therefore, except the legal relations between the Central Government and the Governments of the two SARs clearly stipulated in the Basic Laws, the legal relations between the Governments of the two SARs and the administrative regions of the mainland also need to be specified in the provisions

of the Basic Laws, which has been a fact proven by the practice of the Basic Laws. That is to say, it is required to establish the regional legal cooperation mechanism between the two SARs and the administrative regions of the mainland based on the regulations of the Basic Laws. The Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC also stressed that: The Central Government will increase economic ties and trade between the mainland and the two SARs, and promote exchanges and cooperation between them in all fields, which provides policy basis for the modifications of the Basic Laws.

We shall explicit the sovereign position that we shall resolutely oppose foreign forces to interfere in the affairs of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR by modifying the basic laws, set up corresponding systematical measures to effectively prevent the interference and sabotage activities of foreign forces in the implementation of Basic Laws of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. It was stressed in the Report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC that: The Central Government will also firmly support the Chief Executives and Governments of the two SARs in promoting the unity of our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao under the banner of loving both the motherland and their respective regions and in guarding against and forestalling external intervention in the affairs of Hong Kong and Macao. In order to implement the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, and effectively curb the "Taiwan independence" forces, the 3rd Session of the 10th NPC passed the *Anti-Secession Law* on 14th March 2005. The Article 1 of the Law specified that: This Law is formulated, in accordance with the Constitution, for the purpose of opposing and checking Taiwan's secession from China by secessionists in the name of "Taiwan independence", promoting peaceful national reunification, maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits, preserving China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. Article 2 clearly defines the connotation of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory, specifying that: There is only one China in the world. Both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China. China's sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division. Safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity is the common obligation of all Chinese people, the Taiwan compatriots included. Taiwan is part of China. The state shall never allow the "Taiwan independence" secessionist forces to make Taiwan secede from China under any name or by any means. Article 5 specifies that: Upholding the principle of one China is the basis of peaceful reunification of the country. To reunify the country through peaceful means best serves the fundamental interests of the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits. The state shall do its utmost with maximum sincerity to achieve a peaceful reunification. After the country is reunified peacefully, Taiwan may practice systems different from those on the mainland and enjoy a high degree of autonomy. It is proved that the introduction of *Anti-Secession Law* effectively prevents the "Taiwan independence" forces, maintains the normal cross-strait exchanges, and provides an important legal guarantee for guiding the development of the cross-strait relations in accordance with the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. In terms of the present phenomenon that some foreign forces interfere in the implementation of the Basic Laws in the two SARs, we shall effectively prevent the interference and destruction of foreign forces by the way of modifying the basic laws and formulating corresponding legal systems and sanction measures.

In short, the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, from the theory to practice, is the basic national policy of the CPC in ruling the country as the ruling party instead of expediency. From the 13th to the 18th National Congress of the CPC, through constant enrichment and improvement, the "One Country, Two Systems" thought finally formed a systematical theoretical system and institutional arrangement. The 18th National Congress of the CPC further expanded the systematical development and improvement space of the Basic Laws for the implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" guideline. The declaration of the policies provides efficient and effective policy basis for achieving the prosperity and stability of the two SARs through the Basic Laws, and

shall be the practice guide for the constant deepening and improvement of the “One Country, Two Systems” theory and practice.

Notes:

- ¹ Wang Yuchuan believes that at the premise of always adhering to the reunification of the motherland, in terms of relevant policies on how to achieve reunification and the way to achieve reunification, the CPC has some changes from liberating Taiwan by forces to proposing the guideline of achieving the third Kuomintang-Chinese communist cooperation and peaceful reunification of the motherland, and from the “One Country, One System” principle to the “One Country, Two Systems” principle. Wang Yuchuan (1990). *One Country, Two Systems: New Development in the Peaceful Reunification of the Motherland of the Communist Party of China. Party School Journal of Anhui Province*. Volume 1.
- ² On 26th June 1983, in the conversations with Yang Liyu, professor of Seton Hall University, New Jersey, the United States, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that: The core of the question is the reunification of the motherland. The peaceful reunification has become the common language of the Kuomintang and the CPC. Unification is not mutual annexation. We hope that the Kuomintang and the CPC could work together to complete the national unity, and make joint contributions to the Chinese nation.