Multidimensional Analysis on the Integrity of the "One Country, Two Systems" Concept

LENG Tiexun*

"One Country, Two Systems" is an integrated concept. In combination with the provisions 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") and the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy by the Special Administrative Region (SAR) Governments, this article aims to analyze the integrity of the concept of "One Country, Two Systems" from such multidimensional perceptive as the systematic scientific theory, the common cause created, the comprehensive practice subject and the unity of the fundamental purpose.

I. The Systematic Scientific Theory of "One Country, Two Systems"

The positioning of the "One Country, Two Systems" concept has had different interpretations since it was put forward. Some scholars have positioned it as a great idea. Others have positioned it as a basic policy. Still others have positioned it as basic policy or basic state policy, etc. It should be said that these different understandings are reflection of different forms of the "One Country, Two Systems" concept.

It is well known that the "One Country, Two Systems" concept is an idea raised in the purpose of dealing with the Taiwan Question. However, after the Hong Kong Question and the Macao Question were put on the agenda for solution, the "One Country, Two Systems" concept was first applied to dealing with them and has become a basic policy and also a basic state policy of the Chinese Government to deal with Hong Kong and Macao affairs. When the "One Country, Two Systems" principle and policy practiced in Hong Kong and Macao are fixed in the legal form, it has become legalized. The "One Country, Two Systems" concept that we are talking about today has exhibited two different forms: One is for Taiwan. It is still a policy proposition. It is a basic state policy to promote the reunification of the motherland. It is a major policy and great goal of the country to be pursued for over 30 years to settle the Taiwan Question. The other is for Hong Kong and Macao. It is a legal and institutional form. It has gone beyond the idea and institutional and policy stage. The enactment of the two Basic Laws has elevated the "One Country, Two Systems" concept to the legal system of the country for the administration of Hong Kong and Macao.

The "One Country, Two Systems" concept with different forms as an important part of the

^{*} Vice director, One Country Two Systems Research Center, Macao Polytechnic Institute

theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, is itself a scientific theoretical system. In this regard, some people do not take it seriously, believing that "One Country, Two Systems" is only an idea or concept at first. Later, it is nothing but a principle and a policy. It is not a theory, to speak nothing of a theoretical system in their opinion. Those views are not correct. First of all, there are scientific theories serving as the ground and support for any scientific idea put forward and any principle and policy formulated. This is also true of "One Country, Two Systems". Any idea, principle and policy without scientific theory as the ground and support are nothing but a subjective fantasy and will come to nothing in practice in the end. Secondly, after the idea is put forward and the principle and policy are formulated, it is necessary to illustrate it theoretically and publicize it if it requires people to understand and implement it. Only in this way can the idea, principle and policy be transformed into a theory and increasingly improved in the course of transformation. Finally, the improved idea, principle and policy still require the theory to further illustrate and publicize it. As a result, a knowledge chain has been formed between the idea, principle and policy on the one hand and the theory on the other hand with constant practice as the base, forms a continuous development body of a virtuous cycle. It can thus be seen that the relationship between the idea, principle, policy and the theory is not conflicting and separating but mutual reliant, mutual promotive and mutual transforming. It is obviously untenable for those to think that "One Country, Two Systems" is nothing but an idea, principle or policy and deny that it is also a scientific theory at the same time. Obviously, their understanding of the theory has fallen into a misunderstanding.¹

Although the "One Country, Two Systems" theory as an important component of Deng Xiaoping Theory emerged in the form of an idea, it is by no means an elusive fantasy when it was first put forward. It is based on facts and it is a product of this theoretical essence. It is an idea that the Chinese Government put forward to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country in accordance with the international situation at that time, the development historical stage that China was in at that time and the special situation that Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao were in at that time. Therefore, the theoretical ground of the idea of "One Country, Two Systems" is the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It is the ideological line of the Communist Party of China (CPC) to adhere to emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. It is the CPC product to combine the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of settling the Taiwan Question, the Hong Kong Question and the Macao Question. In this regard, Deng Xiaoping made special instructions, saying, "if the idea of 'One Country, Two Systems' is significant internationally, it should be attributed to the Marxist doctrine of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In the words of Mao Zedong, it is seeking truth from the facts."² The putting forward of the idea of "One Country, Two Systems" is not only based on theory. Its gradual transformation into principle and policy and legalization later has always been guided by this theoretical essence of seeking truth from the facts. In this process, the "One Country, Two Systems" theory has gradually formed and enriched. Later the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR were established in succession. The "One Country, Two Systems" concept has become a lively practice. Today, the two SARs are comprehensively practicing the "One Country, Two Systems" theory under its theoretical guidance. This has not only deepened the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, but also further enriched and developed the "One Country, Two Systems" theory.

First of all, the "One Country, Two Systems" theory is just using this new thing of the "One Country, Two Systems" concept as the object for study. What it intends to reveal is how China administers, constructs and develops according to the "One Country, Two Systems" theory the two

SARs well which practice the capitalist system, maintain their long-term prosperity and stability and further promote the development of the country at the same time while the main part of the country practices the socialist system.

Secondly, the main contents of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory are intrinsically linked. As an organic component of Deng Xiaoping Theory, the "One Country, Two Systems" theory itself is very rich indeed. In sum, it normally includes such five aspects as "one country", "co-existence of two systems", "a high degree of autonomy", "the local people rule the local people" and "maintenance of long-term un-change". The five-aspect contents of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory are not listed simply in parallel, nor listed without any relationship with one another, but there is an intrinsic logical connection between one another and thus they constitute an organic whole. Among them, "one country" is the theoretical core of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory. "Co-existence of two systems" just relies on the "One Country" principle as the premise and foundation. Departing from this premise and foundation of "one country", "local people ruling local people" and "remaining unchanged for a long term", they exist only with the premise that the national sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country are upheld first. Departing from this fundamental condition of "one country", they cannot exist either.

Finally, the "One Country, Two Systems" theory has effectively guided the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy and achieved universally acknowledged success. It is just under the guidance of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory that Hong Kong and Macao successfully returned to the embrace of the motherland, achieved a smooth transition and embarked upon the broad road of complementary advantages and common development with the mainland. Since their handovers, Hong Kong and Macao have achieved social stability, economic development, well being improvement, democratic progress and considerable progress of various social undertakings. These achievements and experiences of Hong Kong and Macao in their successful practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy have not only proved the effective theory of "One Country, Two Systems", but also exhibited strong vitality. This in turn has further enriched and developed the theory of "One Country, Two Systems".

Since this theory is a scientific theoretical system, it means that it is a systematic theory. As a systematic theory, we are required to understand and grasp "One Country, Two Systems" as an integrated concept because the basic meaning of systematic theory refers to the whole consisting of similar things in a certain relationship. The systematic nature of the scientific theory of "One Country, Two Systems" determines that the various components of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory are not only indispensible but also mutually linked. Among them, "one country" not only serves as premise and foundation, but also closely connects with the "two systems" and inseparable from each other so as to jointly constitute the integrity of the concept of "One Country, Two Systems".

II. The Common Cause Created by the "One Country, Two Systems" Concept

As a pioneering undertaking, the "One Country, Two Systems" policy is now being pushed in an orderly way in the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. However, this does not mean that the the "One Country, Two Systems" policy undertaking is only the affairs of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. It should be an undertaking for the joint development and prosperity of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR and the mainland of the motherland. As early as the conference of the 5th anniversary in celebration of Macao's handover, Hu Jintao, President of China at that time, pointed out: "While the main part of the country practices the socialist system, it is a brand new topic for the Central Government to administer, construct and develop well according to the 'One Country, Two Systems' theory the two SARs which practice the capitalist system and maintain their long-term prosperity and stability. This is not only a brand new topic that the Central Government is faced with but also a brand new topic that the two SAR Governments of Hong Kong and Macao are faced with. Therefore, both the Central Government and the two SAR Governments as well as the broad masses of Hong Kong and Macao compatriots should actively explore and continue to move forward in the practice of 'One Country, Two Systems''³ This paragraph of speech clearly shows that the implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems'' principle is by no means merely the affairs of the two SARs. The Central Government is also responsible for this significant historical mission.

The common cause created by the "One Country, Two Systems" concept means that the implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle and policy includes not only the constitutional power that the Central Authorities exercise to reflect the state sovereignty as well as the constitutional responsibility that the Central Authorities undertake, but also a high degree of autonomy that the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR exercise to maintain the long-term prosperity and stability of the two SARs as well as the constitutional responsibility that the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR undertake to uphold the national sovereignty, security and development interests of the country. The powers enjoyed by the Central Authorities and the constitutional responsibilities that they undertake as well as a high degree of autonomy that the SARs enjoy and the constitutional responsibilities that they undertake are an integral part of the SAR systems which are carriers of principles and policies. Both are mutually dependent and indispensible. When we are discussing about the concept of "One Country, Two Systems", if it is involved with the exercise of powers, we cannot merely mention a high degree of autonomy of the SARs without the mention of the Central Authorities' powers. Of course it is not appropriate either to only mention the Central Authorities' powers without the mention of a high degree of autonomy of the SARs. It is more incorrect to conflict the Central Authorities' powers with a high degree of autonomy of the SARs. The correct way is to organically unify the Central powers and a high degree of autonomy of the SARs into the complete concept of "One Country, Two Systems".

As a matter of fact, the development achievements that the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR have made since their establishment are not only the results of the joint efforts of all walks of life of Hong Kong and Macao under the leadership of the SAR Chief Executives. But also they are the results of the great support of the Central Government and the mainland of the motherland. On the one hand, the Central Government has unswervingly implemented the principles of "One Country, Two Systems", "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", "Macao people ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy, acted in strict accordance with the Basic Laws, not interfered in the internal affairs of the SARs, and fully supported the SAR Chief Executives and the SAR Governments to conduct administration in accordance with law. On the other hand, the SARs exercise a high degree of autonomy according to law, correctly handle the relationship between the Central Authorities and the SARs, firmly uphold the powers that the Central Authorities are

responsible for administration, exercise the executive, legislative and judicial powers including that of final adjudication in accordance with the powers provided in the Basic Law and other laws, fully protect the freedoms and rights that are widely enjoyed by Hong Kong and Macao residents, and fully mobilize the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of all walks of life of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. This favorable interaction between the Central Authorities and the SARs in the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy is the lively embodiment of the common cause created by the "One Country, Two Systems" concept. It is also the best description of the integrity of this concept of "One Country, Two Systems".

The common cause created by the "One Country, Two Systems" concept requires both the mainland and the SARs to correctly understand and handle the relationship between the Central Authorities and the SARs. The core of this relationship is to correctly understand and handle the relationship between "One Country" and "Two Systems". This is the key to the protection of smooth implementation of the Hong Kong Basic Law and the Macao Basic Law. In the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems", we should act in strict accordance with being favorable to both the maintenance of "one country" and the practice of "two systems". To this end, we should organically combine adhering to the "One Country" principle with respecting the differences of the "two systems" and understand the "One Country, Two Systems" idea as a complete concept rather than separate "One Country" from "Two Systems" and even conflict them with each other. In a word, the common cause created by the "One Country, Two Systems" principle has long unified the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR with the great motherland into an inseparable community of destiny, interests and emotions. A sound and stable relationship between the Central Authorities and the SARs is not only a matter of core interest of the country and the integrated interests of the SARs, but also a matter of maximum of the resident wellbeing of the SARs. The relationship should be constructed and maintained with joint efforts and cherished and protected with double efforts. It should not be taken lightly.⁴ The Central Authorities, on the one hand, shall continue to unswervingly adhere to the principle to implement the policies of "One Country, Two Systems", "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", "Macao people ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy, act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws, fully support the SAR Chief Executives and the SAR Governments to conduct administration in accordance with law. Any principles and policies that the Central Government may adopt towards the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR shall be judged according to the following basic principle and highest criteria: They shall be judged to see whether they are conducive to upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests, maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of the SARs, increasing the wellbeing of all residents of Hong Kong and Macao, and promoting the common development of Hong Kong, Macao and the mainland of the country. The SARs, on the other hand, should fully respect the socialist system that the main part of the country is practicing, especially respect the political system that the mainland of the country is practicing and respect the judicial system of the mainland of the country. The SAR residents should have an in-depth knowledge of the national situation, and fully understand that the leading position of the Communist Party of China in the country and the establishment of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics are the result of the choice of history and the choice of the people. They should fully understand that the CPC is capable to lead the Chinese people in gradually solving the various prominent problems currently existing in the country.

III. Comprehensive Practice Subject of the "One Country, Two Systems" Concept

The common cause created by the "One Country, Two Systems" concept actually means the comprehensive practice subject. Since the handovers of Hong Kong and Macao, the "One Country, Two Systems" principle has been put into practice. As a brand new common cause, the "One Country, Two Systems" principle aims not only at effectively solving the Hong Kong Question and the Macao Question left over by history so as to achieve national reunification, but at the same time is also an important component part of the great rejuvenation cause of the Chinese nation. Therefore, the "One Country, Two Systems" cause is an overall and long-term state affair and national affair to the entire Chinese people. It is not only a matter of prosperity and stability, long-term stability and well-being of the residents of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR. It is also a matter of peaceful reunification of the motherland and the great rejuvenation cause of the Chinese nation. In order to correctly practice the "One Country, Two Systems" policy, not only the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR shall bear the brunt of responsibility, but also the people of all nationalities share weal and woe and have the same vital interests. In other words they are stakeholders of the community of destiny and the community of interest. Therefore, it is the common responsibility of the Chinese people, no matter whether you are living in the Hong Kong SAR, the Macao SAR or in the Mainland China, to practice the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. No one is an onlooker. Everyone is a practice subject of the great cause of "One Country, Two Systems".⁵

The comprehensive practice subject of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle can be effectively verified from the legal properties of the Hong Kong Basic Law and the Macao Basic Law in the legalization of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle. The two Basic Laws were enacted by the National People's Congress (NPC) on the basis of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (hereinafter as "the Constitution"), under the guidance of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle and with the participation of the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots. They have reflected the common will of the people of all nationalities including the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots. They are the crystallization of wisdom of the entire Chinese people including the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots. They are the code of conduct that all sides shall follow. Not only the people of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR should comply with the code but also the mainlanders shall comply with it.

In fact, the two Basic Laws have not only directly stipulated the obligations that the SAR residents as well as other people in the SARs shall comply with the laws that the SARs have promulgated and practiced, but also directly stipulated that no ministries and departments under the Central Government, and no provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government may interfere with the affairs that the SARs administer according to the Basic Laws. All the agencies that the ministries and departments under the Central Government, and all the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government, and all the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government have established in the SARs and their working staff shall observe the SAR laws and regulations. Here, compliance with the SAR laws means the strict compliance with the Basic Laws. In this sense, the requirement is the same for the SAR residents and the Mainlanders. This has not only embodied the comprehensive practice subject of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle but also the inherent

requirement of the complete concept of "One Country, Two Systems". No matter whether you are Mainlanders or SAR residents, you have the duty and obligation to respect and safeguard the authority and dignity of the Basic Laws in the great practice of implementing the "One Country, Two Systems" policy.

In order to earnestly respect and safeguard the authority of the Basic Law, it is necessary first to believe in the Basic Laws. Only when you have believed in the Basic Laws, can you identify yourself with from the bottom of your heart and consciously observe and safeguard the Basic Laws, carry to the letter the contents provided in the Basic Laws, and truly and organically connect upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests with maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of the SARs. All the SAR organs and residents and all the mainland organs and residents should act in strict accordance with the Basic Laws. The words and deeds of anyone should be conducive to the practice of the Basic Laws and everyone should respect and safeguard the dignity of the Basic Laws. No one shall say anything detrimental to the authority of the Basic Laws. No one shall do anything detrimental to dignity of the Basic Laws. In understanding the content of the legal articles of the Basic Laws, it is necessary to respect their literary meaning, which shall not be misinterpreted in any way nor deliberately distorted or misrepresented in any way. It is necessary to accurately understand the Basic Laws by interpreting the original intent of the legislation on the basis of the basic method of interpreting the original meaning of the articles. When you interpret the articles of the Basic Laws in multiple ways, it is necessary for you to organically unify the article content with the legislative purpose. It is particularly necessary to organically unify upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests with maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of the SARs. This is the fundamental legislative purpose of the Basic Laws. This is also the basic criteria to judge your interpretation. The best choice of the interpretation of the content of the Basic Laws is to be conducive to upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests and maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of the SARs.

The key to earnestly respect and safeguard the authority of the Basic Laws is to carry out the Basic Laws to the letter. The purpose of the enactment of the Basic Laws is to ensure the smooth handovers of Hong Kong and Macao and maintain the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao after their handovers. In the constitutional sense, more than ten years of the SARs development process is the process of full practicing the Basic Laws. The comprehensive implementation of the Basic Laws has made the Basic Laws authority respected and safeguarded. More than ten years of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR construction and development have obtained extremely important and irreplaceable institutional protection. Simply because of this protection, the various difficulties in the SARs construction and development process have been solved without many difficulties and obstacles or greatly lessened. Simply because of this strong and firm cornerstone of rule of the Basic Laws, such principles of "One Country, Two Systems", "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", "Macao people ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy can be fully demonstrated and implemented. There is no reason not to strictly implement the Basic Laws which is conducive to promoting and safeguarding the SAR sound development. There is no more reason not to respect and safeguard its authority. Both the SAR residents and the Mainland residents should all strictly comply with the Basic Laws, safeguard it and regulate their behaviors and conducts with the Basic Laws. They should never act otherwise. If they act otherwise, the implementation of the Basic Law cannot be guaranteed. The authority of the Basic Laws would

be damaged. The SAR construction and development would eventually encounter setbacks. And the "One Country, Two Systems" cause would be affected.

IV. Unity of the Underlying Goal of the "One Country, Two Systems" Concept

The work report of the 18th CPC National Congress clearly pointed out on the basis of summering the practice experience of "One Country, Two Systems": "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." The above argument has fully demonstrated that the two aspects of the underlying goal of "One Country, Two Systems"— upholding China's sovereignty, security and development interests and maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao are organically unified. They are indeed the true reflection of the complete concept of "One Country, Two Systems".

Fundamentally speaking, the state or national interests are consistent with the SAR interest. When the country is developing well, the SARs will also be developing well. When the SARs are developing well, the country will be developing and feeling even better. If the national sovereignty, security and development interests are not upheld and even be damaged, the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao will fall through or blow up and be out of the question or impossible. In this regard, Deng Xiaoping's ideas are: "Just imagine! If China has changed the socialist system and changed the socialist system with Chinese characteristics under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, how will Hong Kong be like? Hong Kong's prosperity and stability will also fall through."⁶ Of course, Deng's above view also applies to Macao.

Viewed from the whole process of the inoculation and mature of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle and its application to the solution of the Hong Kong issue, the principle position that the Chinese Government has always adhered to two aspects: One is that Hong Kong's sovereignty admits no discussion. The Chinese Government will no doubt resume the exercise of the sovereignty over Hong Kong. The other is that the Chinese Government will also take into account the history and current situation of Hong Kong and adopt special policies to maintain the smooth transition and long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong. The basic position that the Chinese Government took in handling the Macao issue is consistent with that in handling the Hong Kong issue. The relevant principles and policies are more or less the same. The above two aspects of contents concerning the principle position that the Chinese Government took on the Hong Kong issue and the Macao issue have not only reflected the consistent position and principle of the Chinese Government in handling the Hong Kong issue and the Macao issue, but exactly illustrated that the underlying goal of the various principles and policies of the Central Governing concerning Hong Kong and Macao is to comprehensively combine upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests with maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao.

What needs emphasizing is that the underlying goal to uphold China's sovereignty, security and development interests and maintain long-term prosperity and stability of the two regions is determined by the legal position of the SARs directly under the Central Government. It is also determined by the fact that the SAR development is an important component of the state/national

development. The essence of the Chinese Government's resumption of exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao is the resumption of the governance power over Hong Kong and Macao. The term of governance refers to the national sovereignty over the internal aspect. It includes not only the powers of jurisdiction but also the powers of jurisdiction in what manners. In order to adapt to the Chinese Government's resumption of exercise of the sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao, Hong Kong and Macao as the SARs of the country, of course bear the constitutional obligations to uphold the national sovereignty, security and development interests. This is self-evident and taken for granted. In this sense, the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR are no different from the Mainland. There is no particular difference. In fact, the two Basic Laws have clear provision in this regard. The second paragraph of the preambles of the two Basic Laws has pointed out at the outset: one of the purposes of China's implementing the "One Country, Two Systems" principle over Hong Kong and Macao is to uphold the national unity and territorial integrity. On the other hand, Article 1 of the two Basic Laws explicitly points out that the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR are unalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. These stipulated contents have fully demonstrated that the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR bear the constitutional obligations to uphold the national unity and territorial integrity. It is also the constitutional obligation for Hong Kong and Macao to uphold the national security. This is part of the content of the constitutional obligation to uphold the national unity and territorial integrity. In this regard, Article 23 of the two Basic Laws has explicitly provided respectively that the SARs shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central Government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies. Therefore, Hong Kong and Macao as the SARs directly under the Central Government after their handovers should seek the long-term and integrated interests of their own through self-development on the one hand. On the other hand, they should uphold the national development interests. As a matter of fact, the development of Hong Kong and Macao after their handovers has been incorporated into the national development strategy. In formulating the "12th Five-Year Plan", the development of Hong Kong and Macao has been incorporated into the national development plan. The position and role of Hong Kong and Macao in the national development plan has been further clarified and defined. The plan has regarded the cooperation of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR as an important content. This has not only reflected the concern and support of the Central Authorities to the SARs but also created new opportunities and conditions for SAR development.

In sum, the broad masses of Hong Kong and Macao compatriots after their handovers are masters and builders of the country just like the broad masses of the people in other parts of China. Maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao is where their fundamental interests lie and also where the fundamental national interests lie. Upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests is where the fundamental national interest lie and also where the fundamental interests of the Hong Kong and Macao compatriots lie. On the basis of upholding the national sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR shall formulate the development strategy in line with the specific SAR situation by using a high degree of autonomy granted by the Basic Laws, place it in the national development strategy, make it become part of the national development strategy, to seek its own development and make unique contributions to the overall development of the whole country.

V. Conclusion

As an integrated concept, "One Country, Two Systems" shall be viewed as a whole. This is the key to the full and faithful understanding and implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle. The most core of them is to correctly handle the relationship between "One Country" and "Two Systems" and organically combine upholding the "One Country" principle with respecting the differences of "Two Systems", combine upholding the Central Authorities' powers with safeguarding a high degree of autonomy of the SARs, and combine giving play to the role of the mainland as the staunch supporter of Hong Kong and Macao and increasing the self-competitiveness of Hong Kong and Macao. At no time should we focus only on one side to the neglect of the other. No matter whether you are the Central Government and the broad masses of the people of the Mainland, or you are Hong Kong and Macao SAR Government and all walks of life in the two SARs, you are the practice subject of the "One Country, Two Systems" cause. You all need to uphold the national sovereignty, security and development interests and do not do anything detrimental to the national sovereignty, security and development interests. You all need to respect the social systems that each side is practicing, including some differences in the ideological field. You need to seek common ground on "One Country" and reserve great differences on "Two Systems". In this way, you shall closely link the national development with the SAR development, promote the sound development of the Central and SAR relationship so as to achieve the organic unity of upholding the national sovereignty, security and development interests with maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR.

Notes:

¹ Rong Kaiming and Liu Baosan (2011). *A New Insight on Deng Xiaoping's "One Country, Two Systems" Theory.* Macao: One Country Two Systems Research Center, Macao Polytechnic Institute. 8-9.

 ² Deng Xiaoping (1993). *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3)*. Beijing: People's Publishing House.
101.

³ Hu Jintao (2004). Speech at the Ceremony Celebrating 5th Anniversary of Macao's Return to the Motherland and the Inauguration of the Second-term Government the Macao SAR. *People's Daily (Overseas Edition)*. 21st December 2004.

⁴ Ieong Wan Chong (2010). The Coordinated Development of the Relationship between the Central Authorities and the SARs is the Core Issue in the Correct Practice of "One Country, Two Systems". In Standing Committee of NPC (Ed.). *The Anthology to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of Implementing the Basic Law of Macao*. Beijing: China Democracy and Legal Press. 86.

⁵ Ieong Wan Chong (2012). *My Outlook on "One Country, Two Systems" (Revised Version)*. Macao: One Country Two Systems Research Center, Macao Polytechnic Institute. 23.

⁶ Deng Xiaoping (1993). The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Volume 3). Beijing: People's Publishing House. 218.