

Successful Practice of “One Country, Two Systems” and Building New Public Authorities

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I. Macao and 15 Years of Innovative Practice of “One Country, Two Systems”

On 20th December 1999, accompanying the historic change with fundamental significance and value, Macao successfully entered a new era of “One Country, Two Systems”, which is an unprecedented innovative practice that has not only comprehensively rewritten the historical direction and the fate of the Macao residents, but also become a symbolic stop in the historical process of the peaceful reunification and the great rejuvenation of the nation, successfully demonstrating the theoretical and institutional innovation of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Those 15 years are years of a new era, a new situation, a new practice and a new success. They are years of full verification of scientific nature, vitality, superiority and feasibility of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy. They are also years of common benefits and progress for the Nation, the Macao Special Administrative Region (SAR) and its residents.

It is never an exaggeration to say that the world-shocking effects have been achieved in the practice, exploration, exploitation and development of the Macao SAR, under the guidance of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy and the *Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China* (hereinafter as “the Macao Basic Law”), with the support of the Central Government and the people across the country. At the time of the handover, Macao’s economic and social indicators were almost fully lagged behind those of Hong Kong and Singapore, or other two “Asian Tigers”. The author once said in March 1999 that Macao “needs to achieve the transition from a preliminarily developed society to a highly developed society.”¹ The author has also repeatedly mentioned: Hong Kong is internationally recognized multiple economic centre, namely a highly developed capitalist society, while Macao is an insufficiently developed capitalist society, or even a capitalist society at the primary stage. At present, some of Macao’s major economic indicators not only comprehensively exceed those of Hong Kong and Singapore, but also can even be compared with the highest indicators in the world. Hong Kong’s per capita GDP in 2012 was USD36,600, and that of Singapore was about USD48,000, while that of Macao was USD76,588 (MOP611,930), surpassing Hong Kong by 1.09 times. For example, the total revenue of Macao residents (Gross National Income) in 2011 was USD57,998 (MOP463,410)², also one of the higher indicators internationally. In the five-year period after the outbreak of the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, the Macao SAR Government recorded an average annual fiscal balances of 56.31% (49.25%, 57%, 63%, 56%)³ respectively. In this period, the unemployment rate dropped

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continuously to 1.9% in the first half of 2013. Of course, Macao's special economic structure should never be underestimated by leaders with political wisdoms and rational talents due to its high dependency on the gaming industry.

The "One Country, Two Systems" policy and the Macao Basic Law have provided that Macao will remain its original capitalist system and way of life unchanged for 50 years. Private property rights protection, the core of the capitalist system, will remain unchanged not only for 50 years but is very likely to be remained after 50 years. However, it cannot be inferred that everything in the Macao SAR is of capitalist nature. The Preamble and Article 11 of the Macao Basic Law expressly provides that what Macao is practicing now is the SAR political system, also called the system of "One Country, Two Systems". The entire content of Article 145, Chapter Nine of the Macao Basic Law is an integral part of the SAR system. 15 years of administration in the Macao SAR is the full implementation process of the Macao Basic Law and the implementation of people-oriented governance with rule of law, sunshine government and scientific policies. Although there is still much room for the SAR Government to improve such as listening to public opinions, making use of public wisdom and meeting the demands of the people's livelihood etc., there is no doubt about the positive nature, function and role of the new regime of "One Country, Two Systems". It is believed that further acceleration of the democratic process and further improvement of the people's livelihood will become the core issues of long-term focus for the SAR Government.

Stepping into a new era of the "Macao People Ruling Macao", residents from all walks of life should know that their awareness of being masters of Macao is very important to proper performance of their duties: Firstly, they should enhance their own overall quality, which matters not only with Macao to build the core competitiveness and the effective construction of the world tourism and leisure center, but also matters with Macao to enhance its own external image and its people's self-dignity. Secondly, they should create a new dimension of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. Everyone should be a pioneer and innovative practitioner who keeps up with the times, rather than gesticulating observers satisfied with nothing else or naysayers confronting the authorities. To this end, it is imperative to adjust the core value and reinforce the cultural traditions of loving both the motherland and Macao. This is a cultural project that cannot be relaxed even for a moment. Even thinking from the perspective of government oversight, supervisors from the private sector, in order to make the oversight effective and in place, should strive to be accurate, timely, pragmatic and rational in their judgment, cognition and supervision of all types of existing problems. They should also constantly adjust and adapt their own quality, cognitive ability and mentality.

In December 2004, Hu Jintao made an incisive judgment that "Practice has proved that the Macao people have the wisdom, ability and means to manage, build and develop Macao".⁴ Although Macao is a micro society with a total population of about 580,000, the special historical opportunities and the special policy arrangements have resulted in the good play of the Macao people in the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy at the initial stage. There is no reason to slow down the speed and rhythm in continuing to climb. It is worth anticipating that this action community consisting of about 580,000 people will make more effective implementation of the development model of "a big repertory in a small theater, the great development of a small city and major contribution by the ordinary citizens". In other words, Macao is to build itself into a boutique society with high development indicators, high core competitiveness and high civic awareness.

II. “One Country, Two Systems”: Scientific Positioning of New Public Authority

Macao is a local administrative region of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), enjoys a high degree of autonomy and is directly under the jurisdiction of the Central Government. According to the *Constitution of the People’s Republic of China* (hereinafter as “the Constitution”), Macao is a local administrative unit on the same level as that of such provinces and municipalities directly under the Central Government such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong and Fujian Provinces. As one of the only two SARs so far, Macao enjoys a high degree of autonomy, including the administrative, legislative and independent judicial power, and the power of final adjudication. This is also a form of governance with the highest degree of autonomy in the history of state governance and political system both at home and abroad.

Article 2 of the Macao Basic Law expressly provides that this high degree of autonomy is authorized by the highest organ of state power, i.e. the National People’s Congress (NPC). Obviously, this is based on the special historical background and the consideration of the role that Macao may play after the handover. Macao is a typical mini society, a mini economy and an administrative region smaller than most of counties across the country in terms of the population and land area. However, it is an international city with a unique position in the modern and contemporary histories of China. It is also a highly open international Freeport directly integrated with the world. Even when it is compared with Hong Kong, Macao also has a lot of particularities: It has had a long-standing history with a different legal system, official languages and a different global contact surfaces. Making good use of Macao as a platform and exerting some of its irreplaceable advantages is important to the realization of the peaceful reunification and the success of the national rejuvenation, and is directly related to the national sovereignty, security and development. This is one side of the coin. The Central Government has decided to apply the “One Country, Two Systems” policy to settle the Macao Question left over from history, enabling Macao to enjoy various tangible and intangible benefits, which greatly enhance the advantages of local development. In this regard, the SAR Government and the residents should be grateful to and respect the authority of the Central Government. This is the other side of the coin.

In Macao, due to the implementation of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, the previous capitalist system and way of life are preserved and continued. This is only the content of the new SAR system, it does not mean in any way that its politics, law, economy, livelihood, culture, society as well as external relations are fully identical with those before the handover. In popular language, the SAR does by no means have a surname of “Capitalism”. Of course, it is different from the socialist system with Chinese characteristics practiced in the mainland part of the country. It cannot simply be identified with the surname of “Socialism”. Therefore, it is most appropriate to say that it is surnamed “One Country, Two Systems”, a development model that combines the advantages of both social systems in one region.

Despite the presence of such three public institutions as the executive, legislative and judicial authorities in the SAR and the SAR political system and democratic development needs self-improving incessantly, the SAR is an administrative unit established with the authorization of the Central Government which pursues socialism with Chinese characteristics and the SAR governing authority comes from the special grant from the Central Authority. Therefore, the SAR must not make blind comparisons. The SAR public authorities are not equal to the separation of powers in Western countries. Of course, they are not the same as those of the Central and local

public authorities of the Mainland in nature and structure. It is true that some of the successful experiences and practices of foreign governance can be studied and referred to. But it is a historical regression to neglect the different national conditions and different ages, to omit the fact that the "One Country, Two Systems" policy is a brand new design with multiple innovative values today, and to have such abnormal mentality as attending to trifles and neglecting essentials, parroting, applying mechanically, even practicing blind worship and looking only to the Western countries for inspiration. Such regression shall not be ignored.

According to the innovative design of the Macao Basic Law, the SAR has a unique public power: the high legal status, the multi-level caring from the Central Government, much room for development and play, and comprehensive benefits for the residents. Although Macao was recognized as a developed region at the time of handover, the SAR revenue is at the complete disposal of the SAR and does not need to submit to the Central Government. This is a case which cannot be found anywhere else in the world. A voice can also often be heard from time to time: It is easy to be an official in the Macao SAR because there are a lot of money, favors and compliments. Simply because of this, officials at all levels of the SAR public authorities should take the initiative to adjust their mentality to understand the true meaning of the term "handover", the relationship between their entrepreneurial spirits and the basic state policy of "One Country, Two Systems", the necessity and importance of being grateful to the state and to the Central Government.

III. Building the New Relationship between Executive and Legislative Bodies

Modern public administration stresses transparent, efficient, people-oriented, fair, and sunshine government. It is a systematic requirement of normality for any government with effective governance to enhance the governing capacity and the governing philosophy. 15 years of administration has already shown that the executive-led system designed and required by the Macao Basic Law is the core element of the SAR's political system and is also the advantages of the SAR administration. Sometimes it can be heard that the Macao Basic Law does not mention the term "executive-led". In fact, this is an irresponsible misunderstanding and misjudgment. Chapter 4 of the Macao Basic Law not only puts the Chief Executive in a very prominent position but also places the Executive authorities before the Legislative authorities. The Chief Executive is not only the Chief of SAR representing the SAR, but also the leader of the executive authority concurrently. The Chief Executive is responsible both for the Central Government and for the SAR. More than two-thirds of the 18 powers and functions of the SRA Chief Executive prescribed in Article 50 of the Macao Basic Law should be placed under the Chief Executive. Therefore, in a certain sense, the so-called executive-led government should be understood as the administrative responsibility assumed by the Chief Executive at the core, i.e. the Chief Executive Regime advocated by Xiao Weiyun. With regard to the relationship between executive and legislative bodies, the status of executive bodies should never be understood to be higher than those of legislative body as a result of the implementation of the executive-led system. Both executive and legislative bodies take their own responsibilities, jointly implement the Macao Basic Law and jointly safeguard the stability and prosperity of the SAR.

The Legislative Council is the only legislative body of the Macao SAR, prescribed by the Macao Basic Law. On the one hand, there no longer existed a situation of two authorities

competing for legislative power after the establishment of the SAR. On the other hand, it also shows that the SAR Legislative Council as a single legislature is more authoritative than the Legislative Council before the handover. It is the primary function and mission of the Legislative Council to make good laws and develop the “rules of play” for the SAR social life. In addition, it will act as the representatives of public opinions to supervise the government. Therefore, the Legislative Council, as a sacred temple with parliamentary nature, admits no doubt on the one hand about its solemnity, authority and irreplaceability. On the other hand, its two basic legislative and supervisory functions should receive enough respect and shall not be neglected in any way while the legislators should make full use of their power.

Needless to say, both executive and legislative authorities have made significant contributions in the course of the operation and construction of the Macao SAR Government. But it seems that there is still considerable room for improvement in rational cooperation between the two sides. This point was emphasized in succession in open speeches by Susana Chou and Lau Cheok Va, two highest responsible persons of the Legislative Council when they left the posts. Here the reality one can see is: it is perhaps necessary to have a deep thinking and systematic demonstration of what is the relationship between the two sides required by the “One Country, Two Systems” policy and the Macao Basic Law, and what is a positive relationship between them that the majority of residents would like to see.

First, the executive-led government is a unique design made by Chapter IV (Political System) of the Macao Basic Law. The executive-led government is of apparent relativity. High standards of the executive-led government should strictly follow the “One Country, Two Systems” principle and the Macao Basic Law in business, take in mind the overall local interests and insurance of the long-term prosperity and stability, should never come alone without making contact with anyone, should never persist in its old ways and always put oneself in a position to be supervised. Therefore, the executive-led government does not merely rely on the determination and strength of the principal officials. Rather, what is most important is their insistence on the country’s core interests and the local overall interests and the optimization of the holders for the official positions and the normal adjustment and optimization of the governance capacity and the governance philosophy. At the same time, there is also an objective and dialectical criteria to determine the leading and the led, the supervising and the supervised. Both the leading in place and the supervising in place have some relativity. As long as each side does a good job of its own side and as long as they act in accordance with law and omit an action in accordance with law, they will have a clear conscience.

Second, the executive and the legislative: Which comes first in their relationship? Mutual support and cooperation? Or balance and supervision? Some scholars once discussed about this relationship. In fact, these are two sides of the same coin. It is difficult to give a clear-cut simple formula. Macao is an SAR under the leadership of the Central Government. The common functions of the SAR public authorities are to ensure the long-term prosperity and stability of the SAR. It is a team competition with reasonable division of work and each department does its utmost to perform its duty. They are responsible both for the Central Government and the entire residents of the society. Therefore, it is neither suitable to compare the three SAR public authorities with the separation of powers of the Western countries, nor is it appropriate to make a fuss about the “power” of the authorities. It is not proper to consciously or unconsciously exaggerate the authority and role of a certain public power system. It is like the relationship between the upper and lower limbs and the left and right hands. They cannot replace each other, nor can they deny each other.

Third, a new co-working relationship between the executive and the legislative authorities should be established to ensure the substantive justice and procedural fairness for the operation of the SAR public authorities. Firstly, they should **respect each other** and stick to their own work position. Secondly, they should **support each other** and jointly plot the development. Thirdly, they should **mutually supervise each other** and reinforce each other. Fourthly, they should **mutually recognize each other** and act positively. In order to "normalize" and enhance the efficiency of the relationship between the two public powers of the executive and the legislative, I am afraid that both sides should seize the link of self-construction. If possible, it is best to lower their own figures, absorb more fresh air and learn more from the inexhaustible folk wisdom.

Fourth, advocate small government and big society and promote scientific and orderly transfer of public services. In the new era of "Macao people ruling Macao", how to fully mobilize private resources, folk potentials, folk wisdoms and folk spirit of innovation is both a big game and a good game. It will help the close cooperation of the double wheel drive mechanism of the government and the society and help improve understanding and cooperative relations between the executive and the legislative authorities. One possible approach is to entrust the acts and bill drafting to professional research organizations and academic institutions or ask them to bid. The second feasible approach is to call on all legislators to recruit qualified professionals and make sure that the legislators of each term could take office as soon as possible and give a high-quality play, and to make sure that their ability of political participation and consultation matches their position as legislators.

IV. Further Adjustment of Ideas and Concepts is a Lesson that Must Be Made Up at Present

1. Two major social systems of socialism and capitalism coexist in the modern world today and constitute a multi-dimensional and symbiotic relationship: On the one hand, their opposition, confrontation and competition will exist for a long time. On the other hand, there exists a complementary, cooperative, even mutually beneficial and win-win relationship between them. Socialism with Chinese Characteristics dares to practice the "One Country, Two Systems" policy in its local SARs. This in itself is not only an expression of its increasing strength, power and high confidence, but also a bold attempt to use, transform and manage capitalism.

2. The core and foundation of the "One Country, Two Systems" principle is the idea of "One Country" – a unified and prosperous China, a socialism with strong Chinese characteristics and an aggregate of oriental civilization which follows the basic rules of social development and constantly improves and deepens the cognitive system. The 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has determined China's future development goals. It is the goals and firm ideals of the contemporary and future generations of the Chinese people to accelerate the implementation of "China Dream", construct an upgraded version of the Chinese economy and construct a contemporary civilization which is compatible with the social development. The effective insurance of the proper implementation of the policy of "One Country, Two Systems" in the Macao SAR, which is an integral part of contemporary Chinese community, is an integral part of being involved in achieving "China Dream". Looking from every perspective, the 580,000 Macao people and nearly 1.4 billion Chinese people have formed a community with closely related destiny

and interests. Active participation in and implementation of “China Dream” and joint share of the dignity as Chinese is a unified, indivisible and integrated concept.

3. The successful practice of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy in the Macao SAR for 14 years since its establishment has received a high degree of recognition both at home and abroad, which marks a common affirmation of the SAR Government and all walks of life that interact with each other favorably. “Macao people ruling Macao” is one of the core contents of the “One Country, Two Systems” principle. There are “Macao people” who hold offices in the SAR public authorities. There are also “Macao people” who practice the “One Country, Two Systems” policy in different areas of society and make quiet contributions. Therefore, it is absolutely inappropriate to regard the government and the society as a unity of opposite interests. And different public authorities should not consciously or unconsciously become arenas for the few people wrestling for personal interests and aspirations.

4. The “One Country, Two Systems” principle is an unprecedented innovative business. It is natural to ceaselessly find new contradictions and new problems in the course of its practice. On the one hand, the science, vitality and immeasurable value and significance of the “One Country, Two Systems” significance has received and will continue to receive effective verification. On the other hand, the practice of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy should and may raise practice level incessantly. Just like China’s socialist cause with Chinese characteristics, the “One Country, Two Systems” theory shall be enriched ceaselessly in the Macao SAR practice. The system of “One Country, Two Systems” should be gradually improved in practice. Based on this, the Macao SAR should make efforts to gradually build a Macao pattern of “One Country, Two Systems” with the further development of the cause of “One Country, Two Systems.”

5. “Remaining unchanged for 50 years” is the core content and requirement of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy. As time goes by and the situation is slightly more complicated in some places, the worries and discussions about change and un-change seem to appear one after another. Fifty-year is not a short time and represents the struggles of two generations. In accordance with normal understanding, “remaining unchanged for 50 years” is a solemn commitment that the Central Government has made and is written into the text of the Macao Basic Law. Therefore, it is impossible to change the state policy ahead of time unless there are major changes connected with national sovereignty, security and development interests of the country. If the whole SAR lives up to the expectations and creates a new world of prosperity and stability, a new order and a new operation mechanism in 50 years’ time, the SAR has developed comprehensively and the state has benefited from the SAR greatly, then how to develop the SAR for the second 50 years will be a matter of time and can be easily settled just as a channel will be formed when water flows in or fruits fall off the tree when ripe. There should be not much suspense.

6. The practice of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy is both the upgrade process of civilization and the innovation process of theory. It is also both the process of epistemology adjustment and values improvement. The 14 years’ development experience of the Macao SAR convincingly demonstrates that there are both contingency and inevitability for the appearance of “One Country, Two Systems” in contemporary China. Thousands of years of civilization development history of China has been full of wise changes and reforms and innovation has never stopped. Even in the most depressing period after the Opium War, series of starry thinkers and statesmen appeared in China. When the 20th Century came, with the communication and practice of the advanced Marxism, just 28 years had witnessed the founding of a People’s Republic through

armed struggle. In the late 1970s, in the reform and opening up tide advocated by Deng Xiaoping, a distinctive, bold and pragmatic vision of "One Country, Two Systems" broke through 30 years ago and quickly became a basic state policy that may rewrite history. This policy expressed in 12 articles was not merely the pointer and bottom line for the negotiations between the Chinese Government and the British Government, between the Chinese Government and the Portuguese Government. It was soon itemized, legalized and standardized in the form of the Basic Laws by the NPC – the highest organ of state power. The practice of the Basic Laws by the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR in the past 17 and 15 years has shown to the world this new model of development with landmark significance in the history of human civilization. Despite the wind and the rain on the way, pluralistic expression and even protest, the wheel of the SAR history has left an indelible deep mark. The SAR regional flag flying high along with the national flag clearly shows that this is a new era, a new situation, a new operating mechanism and a new value system.

V. Two "Eight Cognitive Points"

Based on some of these cognitive immaturity, it is not difficult to make the following judgments: It is both a noble mission of the times and a social responsibility of great honor for the Macao SAR which has practiced the "One Country, Two Systems" policy for 14 years and especially for the high-level public authorities to further enhance the systematic understanding, cognition and practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. Among them, two "eight cognitive points" cannot be ignored: The first point is how to see the Macao Basic Law under which the Macao SAR has practiced the "One Country, Two Systems" policy for 14 years. The second point is how to see the basic connotation of the "One Country, Two Systems" theory.

Regarding the former, this writer believes that everyone can make their different judgments about the understanding and appreciation of the basic experience in the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. However, the following eight points are worth particular attention.

1. Safeguard national sovereignty and respect the governance authority of the Central Government from the bottom of our hearts. We should be grateful and show gratitude, for without a strong country, Hong Kong and Macao could not have returned to the motherland. And it would be difficult for them to maintain long-term prosperity and stability after the handover.

2. Advocate the new value of loving both the motherland and Macao. Seriously publicize, seriously promote and seriously practice the "One Country, Two Systems" policy and the Macao Basic Law. Cultivate reliable follow-up successors to let the qualified persons take the initiative to devote themselves to its in-depth and systematic research.

3. Adhere to the administration according to law and executive-led government. Public authorities should support and cooperate with each other, and check and supervise each other to build a clean, rule-of-law and people-oriented government.

4. Live within our means. Make utmost efforts to improve people's livelihood. Be anxious about what people are anxious for their livelihood. Worry about what people are worried for their livelihood. This is not only required by verifying the superiority of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. It is also required by the "people-oriented" governance concept.

5. Actively promote democracy step by step. Strive to seize the public opinion, enlighten the people and safeguard the dignity of the people. Democracy is not a superficial works but the real

exercise of the right by the residents.

6. Strive to be lenient and inclusive. Seriously seek common ground, but do not let go the exploration and the innovation. Be independent. Truth exploration is endless.

7. Maintain multi-dimensional. Expand openness. But the government and the people are required to grasp the orientation of core values. Do not decline to do what is required of them and act decisively.

8. Make more friendly connections based on equality. Take the initiative to broaden the outreach channels and actively maintain the healthy image of the SAR.

With regard to the latter, I think that based on the theoretical system advocated by Deng Xiaoping and other state leaders and the SAR living reality, the theory of “One Country, Two Systems” should at least cover the following eight core concepts:

1. The theory of “One Country, Two Systems” is an epoch-making innovation of the socialist constitutionalism with Chinese characteristics.

2. The theory of “One Country, Two Systems” is one of the main connotations of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

3. The SAR system is one of the basic political systems of the PRC.

4. Loving both the motherland and Macao is the first core value of the Macao SAR residents.

5. The “One Country, Two Systems” principle is the common cause of both the entire SAR residents and the entire Chinese people.

6. Adhere to the Macao’s practice model of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy and enhance the practice level in practice.

7. The “One Country, Two Systems” principle is one of the major commanding heights of the Chinese culture and the Oriental civilization and is in the best position to form a new independent discipline and get comprehensive promotion as a school of learning.

8. The “One Country, Two Systems” principle reflects the grafting advantages of two major social systems: socialism and capitalism. In a sense, SAR is a demonstration farm to use, transform and control capitalism.

VI. Conclusion

“Long, long had been my road and far, far was the journey; I would go up and down to seek my heart’s desire. Or although the road is endless and faraway, I still want to pursue the truth in the world.” The idea of “One Country, Two Systems” is not only an inevitable product of the special national conditions, the special historical background and the special human values of China, but also an era innovation, a theoretical innovation and an institutional innovation with very Chinese characteristics by contemporary Chinese leaders and the contemporary Chinese nation. We have a long accumulation of over 30 years of exploration and have formed a relatively complete theoretical system. However, the cognition of “One Country, Two Systems” is also a never-ending process of in-depth cognition. Building the new public authority itself matters very much in the successful promotion of the cause of “One Country, Two Systems” and should become a major hotspot of social concern. At the same time, it is of equal significance and value to increase the attention on and promote deep thinking of the “One Country, Two Systems” principle and deepen the theoretical exploration and research of the “One Country, Two Systems” theory. As first line

scholars living in SAR practicing the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, we have favorable conditions to make an intuitive judgment of the policy. And we also have deep experience to share our research results on the “One Country, Two Systems” theory. Therefore, we find it our duty-bound commitment to push the sorting-out, thinking and research of the Basic Laws of the “One Country, Two Systems” policy.

Notes:

- ¹ Ieong Wan Chong (1999). *On the Consciousness of Handover*. Macao: Macau Economic Association. 5.
- ² Macau Statistics and Census Service (2014). *Macao Figures 2013*. Macau: Macau Statistics and Census Service. 19.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 16.
- ⁴ 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.