

**An analysis on the opinions of Hong Kong college
students regarding One Country, Two Systems**

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ABSTRACT

Since the return of Hong Kong in 1997, The Basic Law and the interpretation of Basic Law, the published of the White Paper, the electoral system and the demonstrations show that One Country, Two Systems might have some problems. I had witnessed the first beginning of the demonstration in 2014 when I was returning to Taiwan at that time. Recently, there are more and more social movements in Hong Kong. The extradition bill is the most concerned movement around the world in 2019. Those social movements may indicate Hong Kong citizens have different opinions and attitudes toward One Country, Two Systems.

The major population of Hong Kong's future is teenagers. This is worth discussing the issue of the new generation of the Hong Kong future. By taking in-depth with Hong Kong college students, this research collected first-hand data and analyzed the opinions of Hong Kong college students on One Country, Two Systems. This research aimed to understand the opinion and attitudes of Hong Kong college students by some social events and the Basic Law interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong. The major finding included political problems and the distrust of NPC. Moreover, the major finding of Hong Kong college students' opinions of One Country, Two Systems will be summarized in conclusion chapter.

Keyword: One Country, Two Systems, Hong Kong college students, social events,
The Basic Law interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong

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INTRODUCTION

Background

One Country, Two Systems was put forward initially to resolve the question of Taiwan, but it was first used in Hong Kong. On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong returned to Chinese sovereignty and it ended 156 years of British colonial rule. Because of the difference between the social system and cultural value, at the beginning Hong Kong people did not know well about China at that time, they fear but also expected. But later there are more and more issues showed that One Country, Two Systems may have some problem. More and more demonstrations happened. The Basic Law is the main reason caused the demonstration. In the Umbrella Movement, They would press on for a focused goal – “genuine universal suffrage” for the election of their Chief Executive, the city’s top leader – until police officers cleared the last occupied site on December 15, 2014.¹ I found that it not just only The Basic Law caused Hong Kong’s problem but also the White Paper.

Also, after the Umbrella Movement, there are a lot of events coming up show that Hong Kong might be losing its democracy and freedom. Such as Causeway bay booksellers’ disappearance, Legislative Council members’ sworn, Co-location arrangement and the bills that the world is concerned this year The Extradition bills.

The University of Hong Kong keeps doing the Public Opinions’ survey every year, it shows Hong Kong people’s ethnic identity, People's trust in the Central Government, people’s confidence in One Country, Two Systems... The percentage of distrust of the government rose from 4.8% in 2008 to 48.6% in 2019. The People’s confidence in One Country, Two System fell from 74% in 2008 to 33.8% in 2019.

¹ Samson Yuen, "Hong Kong after the Umbrella Movement: An Uncertain Future for “One Country Two Systems”, *Current affairs China perspectives cefc News Analysis* (2015).

Those demonstrations and surveys' data seem to appear Hong Kong people's dissatisfaction in One Country, Two Systems.

Recently, there have been many events in Hong Kong, so I am interested in the study of Hong Kong university students' views on One Country, Two Systems.

Motivation

The motivation of this research came from I saw the first beginning of the demonstration in 2014 with my own eyes when I was returning to Taiwan. I was born in Taiwan, but because of my parent's thriving business in China, I have had to accompany them and spent most of my time living in China. I witnessed the first beginning of the demonstration in 2014 when I was returning to Taiwan at that time. The news about the demonstration at that time, lots of young Hong Kong people stood out to protect their rights. I thought it just a temporary problem at that time. But after years and years, Hong Kong is no longer the same Hong Kong anymore. According to the One Country, Two System, there are lot of things behind these four words. Most of the researcher's research focuses on older Hong Kong people's opinion or the professor's opinion but ignore the younger generation's opinion. Hong Kong has a lot of students' union, they held demonstrations to fight for Hong Kong to protect their rights. They concern Hong Kong's future; they want to do something to let Hong Kong have a brighter future. I think is important to know what's their opinion of their hometown.

Research Purpose

In my study, I investigate the perception of Hong Kong college students' opinion in One Country, Two Systems policy in Hong Kong to see what their opinions regarding One Country, Two Systems.

Research Questions

1. What are the effects of interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong?
2. Had the events disturbed Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle?
3. Will One Country, Two Systems become hollowing?

Limits

In this paper, to cope with the problem of the limits of resources, this paper interviewed 7 interviewees. And because of time limit, the opinions of many different age or different ethnic groups are not collected.

Delimits

My study would only focus on Hong Kong college students' opinions because Hong Kong's future is in their hands. Moreover, the interviewees are located in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China for the purpose of understanding the difference opinions of Hong Kong college students who studying in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China. Therefore, the stories from the research samples would represent more comprehensively to readers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

One Country, Two Systems was put forward initially to resolve the cross-Taiwan Strait problem, although it was first used in Hong Kong. On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong was returned to China and it ended 156 years of British colonial rule.² The relationship between Hong Kong and China is unique in having the One Country, Two Systems principle, widely understood to be pioneered by Deng Xiaoping, the paramount leader of China. This twin-strategy of reform and opening up ensured the present economic success of China. However, not only in Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions have One Country, Two Systems, the United States, Britain, Denmark, the Philippines, and other countries also have similar One Country, Two Systems with different degrees of autonomy.

When Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997, Hong Kong's system had been perfected. China was striving for its economy by using Hong Kong.³ China needed Hong Kong at that time since China had not yet been allowed to join the World Trade Organization and the Chinese exporters had limited access to the global market since Hong Kong had become a solution, and a channel for entrepot trade. Goods from China could enter Hong Kong's ports and then be sent from Hong Kong to other parts of the world, thus avoiding restrictions imposed by other WTO members on other countries. China hopes to strengthen Hong Kong's reputation as a market-oriented and rule of law economy. This is the most significant attraction of Hong Kong to be a major international financial center and that is the position that benefits the mainland economy. Hong Kong is also used as a controlled testing ground where the RMB can

² Steven Levine, "Hong Kong's Return to China," *Britannica* (October,1998).

³ 台灣基進, "七一香港佔領立法會一國兩制徹底破產 13 分鐘, 帶你了解被回歸的香港和它的未來," *YouTube* (July, 2019).

stand firmly as an international currency. Hong Kong wins the trust of international investors. And the RMB trade in Hong Kong can be freer than in mainland China. In mainland China, capital controls limit the cross-border flow of financial capital.

The Basic Law

The One Country, Two Systems principles were later transposed into the Sino-British Joint Declaration and Basic Law of Hong Kong. The Basic Law entailed the following key promises: First, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government shall be composed of local inhabitants; second, the legislature shall be accountable, shall be constituted by-elections; third, the judicial power shall be exercised independently, shall be vested in the SAR courts and these courts shall possess the power of final adjudication; fourth, the rights and freedoms of inhabitants shall be protected such that everyone shall have the right to freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of religious belief, as well as the right to judicial remedies, the right to confidential legal advice, and the right to challenge in court the actions of the executive branch of government; and lastly, the social and economic systems in Hong Kong and the lifestyle of inhabitants shall remain unchanged for at least fifty years.⁴ The Basic Law ensured Hong Kong will still maintain its capitalist economic system and own currency, the legal system, legislative system, and people's rights and freedom for fifty years, as a special administrative region of China. So, the success of One Country, Two Systems depend on whether the Basic Law is implemented successfully or not.

⁴ Horace Yeung & Flora Huang, "'One Country Two Systems' as Bedrock of Hong Kong's Continued Success: Fiction or Reality?," *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review* (2015).P192-P224

According to Article 158 of the Basic Law of Hong Kong, the first paragraph provides that the NPC has the power to interpret the Basic Law of Hong Kong. The second paragraph stipulates that the NPC empowers the Hong Kong SAR courts to interpret the Hong Kong Basic Law when trying cases. However, when does the NPC has the right to exercise the power of interpretation, it will cause controversy.

The Basic Law had been interpreted five times. Three interpretations were initiated by the Hong Kong government, but the other two interpretations were directly made by NPC.

The first time NPC interpreted directly is the second interpretation of 2004. The Standing Committee of the NPC took the initiative to adopt the interpretation of Article 7 of Annex I to the Basic Law and Article 3 of Annex II to determine the procedures for the revision of the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council. It was the first time NPC active interpretation, and this active interpretation of the law caused many doubts and criticism of harming Hong Kong's autonomy.⁵

The fifth interpretation of 2016 is the most controversial since 2004. This is the second time that the Standing Committee of the NPC has actively released the law. The new Legislative Council member of Hong Kong held an oath of office on October 12, 2016. The oath of the three members was judged to be invalid. Liang Shuheng and Yu Wei read China as Sheena when they swore in English, and they were even more suspected of reading the "Republic" pronunciation as "People" s Ref**king of Sheena.⁶ Another sensitive picture that is likely to trigger political contradictions is that the slogan of "Hong Kong is not China" is sung in the Legislative Council oath and is widely interpreted as bringing the topic of Hong Kong

⁵ 賴建宇 張五岳, "基本法釋法對香港 [一國兩制] 之影響," *遠景基金會季刊* 20, no. 1 (2019). P61-P106

⁶ "香港新議員「辱華」宣誓引發論戰," *BBC NEWS* (October, 2016).

independence into disguise. The controversy is that the Hong Kong Oaths and Declarations Ordinance has appropriate provisions and covers the spirit of Article 104 of the Basic Law. It is neither necessary nor appropriate to include a detailed explanation of the issue by the Standing Committee of the NPC.⁷ It is inevitable that there will be a suspicion of legislating for Hong Kong. The people of Hong Kong are skeptical about the confidence of mainland China in implementing One Country, Two Systems.

⁷ "基本法釋法對香港 [一國兩制] 之影響."; *ibid.* P61-P106

Table 1 Five interpretations

Date	Raise a request from	Events	Controversy
June 26th,1999	Hong Kong- The Chief Executive	The terms of the right of abode.	The NPC made an interpretation after the judgment of the Court of Final Appeal, which is tantamount to the Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal.
April 6th ,2004	NPC (initiative)	Determine the procedures for the revision of the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council.	The NPC has made legal interpretations, which may threaten Hong Kong's autonomy.
April 27th ,2005	Hong Kong- The Chief Executive	Determine the term of office of the new Chief Executive elected by the Chief Executive after his resignation.	The next Chief Executive should carry out a new five-year term and a general election for the 2005 CE election in accordance with the Basic Law and the common law principles.
August 26th ,2011	Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal	Diplomatic immunity	Hong Kong should have "absolute immunity" like China or use the "unlimited immunity" of the English common law.
November 5th ,2016	NPC (initiative)	Legislative Council members' sworn	The Oaths and Declarations Ordinance has appropriate provisions and covers section 104 of the Basic Law. It is unnecessary that The NPC has added a detailed explanation of this issue aggressively,

*Source: sorted by the author

The Practice of the One Country, Two Systems Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

“The Practice of the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region” which called White Paper. Since the return of Hong Kong in 1997, the pan-democrats in Hong Kong and Beijing have repeatedly disputed the perception of the Basic Law. However, in addition to the various arguments and policy announcements that were previously proposed, the White Paper has also proposed relevant new issues and re-emphasized policies. After the publication of such a document, the effect is to inspire a new wave of shock effects, and inevitably introduce the relationship between Beijing and Hong Kong into an unstable situation.

The White Paper directly refers to the fact that some people in the SAR society have a vague understanding of the One Country, Two Systems and the Basic Law and understand one-sidedness. The so-called "high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong" "how much power is granted in the central government, and how much power Hong Kong enjoys", and that in the One Country, Two Systems, the two systems can only be subordinate to one country. The Chief Executive candidate "must be a patriotist and love Hong Kong", the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council general election system must be "in line with national interests." The White Paper emphasizes that the central government has full control over the SAR.⁸

As far as Beijing is concerned, after the return of Hong Kong in 1997, since this new field of international affairs is not entirely domestic affairs, it has not been touched in the past. In principle, the Beijing government should be assisted more than guidance.⁹ However, when a total of 500,000 people marched in the streets in 2003 to

⁸ 劉博文, "《[一國兩制] 在香港特別行政區的實踐》 白皮書 對 [一國兩制] 的衝擊分析," 臺灣大學國家發展研究所學位論文 (2014). P70

⁹ Ibid.

protest 23 pieces of legislation, Beijing was shocked that Hong Kong affairs were not as simple as Beijing's thoughts. What's more important is that Beijing believes that Hong Kong has become an outpost of foreign influences on the mainland, thus changing Beijing's ruling on Hong Kong's thinking has been comprehensively involved in all aspects of Hong Kong's governance. The main reason for Beijing's tightening of its governing power over Hong Kong was that after more than a decade of "two systems," Beijing found that it was increasingly difficult to govern Hong Kong and even faced a crisis of ineffective governance.¹⁰

There are three places in the White Paper that use the term "full governance". However, the most worrying thing for Hong Kong people in the White Paper is that Beijing has repeatedly stressed that the central government has full jurisdiction over Hong Kong. Many people in the Pro-democracy camp interpret the "full governance" as Beijing's intention to weaken the SAR's high degree of autonomy and use one country to suppress the two systems. In the future, if the central government can directly manage anything in the SAR, and One Country, Two Systems will also be in name only.

The Umbrella Movement and events after 2014

The National People's Congress controls Hong Kong's national defense, diplomacy, and interpretation of the Basic Law. The interpretation of the Basic Law causes some Hong Kong residents to argue that Hong Kong has not achieved universal suffrage as promised by the Basic Law, it led to a demonstration in 2014. The Umbrella Movement was set against a protracted debate over the electoral reform

¹⁰ 張仕賢, "評大陸《一國兩制白皮書》——兼論港澳社會情勢," *展望與探索* 第12卷 第7期 (July, 2014).P8-P14

of the city's Chief Executive election. According to the National People's Congress ruling in 2007, Hong Kong may finally introduce universal suffrage for the election of the fifth Chief Executive in 2017 –after it was twice denied by Beijing for its 2007 and 2012 elections.¹¹ The idea of Occupy Central was floated amidst the debate. In early 2013, law professor Benny Tai Yiu-ting sketched the early vision of Occupy Central in a series of newspaper articles and interviews.¹² Tai proposed a large-scale civil disobedience movement in which participants would block traffic to petition for universal suffrage in the Chief Executive election that would comply with “international standards.”¹³ According to its final plan, protesters would stage a peaceful sit-in on a major road in Central, Hong Kong's financial heart, for two to three days until their orderly removal and arrest by the police – hence the name “Occupy Central with Love and Peace” to mark the rational and non-violent nature of civil disobedience. Originally the Umbrella Movement was hoped to be a negotiation chip to Beijing. Unfortunately, after three times discussions of genuine universal suffrage's meaning, they still could not decide the date of the movement. Not until Beijing successively launched The White Paper, they realized that they had lost the opportunity to negotiate with NPC. It caused the splits of the pro-democracy people. For Beijing and the Hong Kong governments, the response seems to have received results, but it had also caused Liang Zhen-Ying to misjudge the situation and was no longer willing to negotiate and dialogue with moderate democrats, and even lost the opportunity to integrate Hong Kong society.¹⁴

¹¹ Josh Noble, "Hong Kong Sets in Motion Overhaul of Electoral System," *FINANCIAL TIMES* (July 15, 2014).

¹² Melody Chan, "Justice through Law: The Bomb of Civil Disobedience – an Interview with Benny Tai," *Independent Media* (January 22, 2013).

¹³ Karita Kan, "Occupy Central and Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong," *China Perspectives*, (March, 2013).

¹⁴ 蕭督園, "香港「占領」運動與「一國兩制」的困局," *展望與探索* 第12卷第11期

Recently Hong Kong had happened lots of events that might affect One Country, Two Systems, such as Hong Kong's missing booksellers, co-location arrangement, extradition bill... Five staff of Causeway Bay Books were missing between October and December 2015. Two of them disappeared in mainland China, one in Thailand. One member was last seen in Hong Kong, and revealed in Shenzhen, across the Chinese border, without the travel documents necessary to have crossed the border through legal channels. It was widely believed that the booksellers were detained in mainland China. After missing for half month to three months, all the personnel were confirmed in mainland China and controlled by the relevant authorities. In particular, Li Bo was missing in Hong Kong, he was particularly concerned by Hong Kong and Macao society, questioning whether he was forcibly the territory of Hong Kong has been linked to mainland China and whether it has involved cross-border abductions by official Chinese officials. The incident has caused Hong Kong people to worry about One Country, Two Systems, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and personal freedom.¹⁵

Another issue is co-location arrangement, under the proposed arrangements, mainland immigration and customs officers will be allowed to exercise their jurisdiction within Hong Kong territory. Some members of the public might be under the impression that the co-location arrangement involves a lot of complicated legal concepts, and it is incomprehensible to the Hong Kong citizens. However, as a matter of fact, the core legal concepts involved in the so-called co-location arrangement just can't be simpler, and all of them simultaneously point to one cast-iron fact: the proposed arrangement is completely against the Basic Law and is therefore

(November , 2014). P23-P25

¹⁵ 甄挺良, "【李波回港】「自己的方式」失蹤 李波事件四大疑團," 香港01 (2016).

unconstitutional no matter how hard the government has sugarcoated it.¹⁶

Additionally, foreign law enforcement officers in countries that are implementing co-location arrangements are usually only allowed to exercise immigration laws, but in co-location, mainland law enforcement officers are seemingly to be given the power to exercise criminal laws.¹⁷ That brings Hong Kong citizens a serious concern about the civil rights in the station, it might be the potential threats for them. Because they do not know which law that the gray area is using. Furthermore, Chinese Law is used in the Hong Kong station which belongs to Hong Kong, it is almost against the Basic Law.

This year, the most significant and longest demonstration in Hong Kong has been occurring. The proposed extradition law in Hong Kong has set off alarm bells not only within Hong Kong but also in the international community. The reason for the extradition law began in Taipei's "Pan Xiaoying murder case" in December 2018.¹⁸ At that time, Hong Kong woman Pan Xiaoying and her Hong Kong boyfriend Chen Tongjia came to Taiwan for a trip. Pan Xiaoying was killed by her boyfriend and abandoned at last. Chen Tongjia immediately fled back to Hong Kong. Popular opposition to the proposal is so strong that Hong Kong has been roiled by mass protests against the bill for several months. This is the biggest demonstration in the territory since 1997 handover to China from the UK. If the bill is passed it would affect the judicial independence of Hong Kong and signal the beginning of the end of the One Country, Two Systems model.¹⁹ The demonstrators are concerning it would

¹⁶ Dennis Kwok, "Why Co-Location Arrangement Is Unconstitutional," *EJ Insight* (2017).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ 王新茜, "香港「逃犯／送中條例」與台灣有何關係？外國媒體怎麼看？," *Crossing 換日線* (June, 2019).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

break the One Country, Two Systems and their safety.²⁰ Although Carrie Lam announced the withdrawal of the amendment proposal, demonstrators would not accept her response because it was too late and it did not answer the other requests from demonstrators. One of the key demands of demonstrators now is for there to be a thorough and independent investigation into the inappropriate use of force by police, which has included the wide-scale deployment of tear gas, rubber bullets, and pepper spray. Without a proper investigation into the conduct of police, Hong Kong risks becoming mired in a vicious cycle of protest and violence.²¹

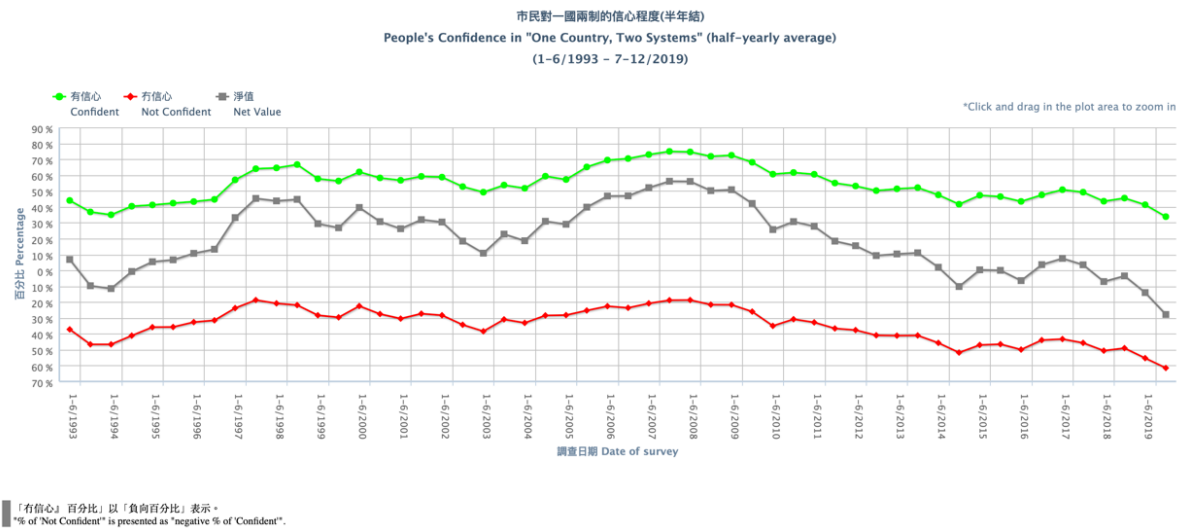


Figure 1 People’s confidence in One Country, Two Systems

*Source: sorted by Hong Kong public opinion research institute

²⁰ Nicolle Liu, "What Is Hong Kong’s Extradition Bill?," *FINANCIAL TIMES* (2019).

²¹ Roseann Rife, "Why Hong Kong’s Extradition Bill Was the Final Straw," *AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL* (2019).

After the literature review, I found those events are connected to One Country, Two Systems, and most Hong Kong citizens who had stood out to express their demands through the parade are teenagers. So, I want to focus on Hong Kong teenagers' opinion regarding One Country, Two Systems. Hong Kong has its own annual poll information showed Hong Kong people's confidence in One Country, Two Systems, it showed people lost their confidence, but it did not have the detail opinion. So, I chose the in-depth interview to be my research methodology.

METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapter, I have reviewed some research paper and I also made reference of the related articles. That offers some basic in analyzing and provide the idea of questions that I would want to discuss about.

In my methodology, I would mention the methods I used and how I applied them during the research process. Moreover, I also talked about the information about my interviewees.

Research Design

The research purpose is to analyze Hong Kong college students' opinions of One Country, Two Systems. To find out what Hong Kong college students' ideas, it requires to understand what their true feelings about One Country, Two System. Therefore, semi-structured interview is selected to be the main approach to conduct the study. Semi-structured interview is used to conduct intensive individual interviews where numbers of respondents are less, and research is focused on a specific situation.

The following paragraphs will illustrate the detail of the data and how they will be collected.

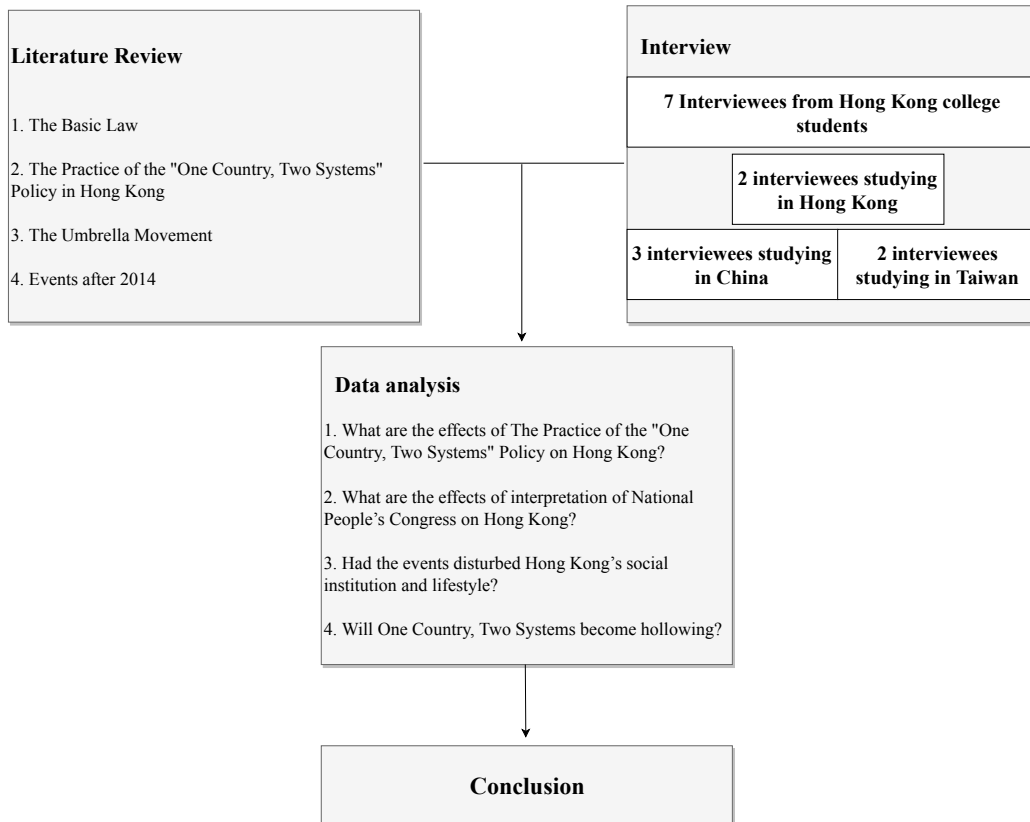


Figure 2 Research Design

*Source: sorted by the author

Source of Data

The source of the data comes from Hong Kong college students and would expect to have 9 interviewees. The researcher collected the data through in-depth interview. Since the research purpose is to comprehend Hong Kong college students' opinions, in-depth interview is able to provide the data of students' attitudes and opinions. The research population was the Hong Kong college students, totally collected seven Hong Kong college students.

Those interviewees were contacted through the Hong Kong Students' Union of the University, and a few students are willing to cooperate in this research. To interview data, include information and interviewing content, the figure showed Hong Kong college students basic information for classification.

Table 2 Information of interviewees

No	Name	Identity	Date	Place
1	Charles	Wenzao Ursuline university of languages (TW)	2019 07/07	Kaohsiung
2	Kathrine	Ling Nan University (HK)	2019 07/28	Phone
3	Kelvin	City University of Hong Kong (HK)	2019 08/18	Kaohsiung
4	Anonymous	National Cheng Kung University (TW)	2019 08/18	Phone
5	Yvonne	South China University of Technology (CN)	2019 08/21	Phone
6	Tim	National Chi Nan University (CN)	2019 08/28	Phone
7	Karen	South China Normal University (CN)	2019 09/18	Phone

*Source: sorted by the author

To collect different opinions, I interviewed two of Hong Kong college students who are studying in Hong Kong, three of Hong Kong college students who are studying in China and two of Hong Kong college students who are studying in Taiwan.

According to the interview process, we could understand the real situation of Hong Kong college students. To sort out three main research questions from the answer of interviewees.

This paper total has three research questions, including the effects of the Basic Law interpretation of the National People's Congress on Hongkong, the events disturbed Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle, and if one country two systems become hollowing. To support these three research questions, from the data, I collected and described them step by step.

In-depth Interview

In-depth interview only needs to design the network of questions, but there are no closed questions or options, the respondents are free to express their opinions and the researcher can add new questions based on new opinions from respondents, and constantly asked them. such an interview can focus on a certain range of topics, it is flexible enough to allow respondents to speak freely and improve the reliability and validity of the data. The interview questions I designed are

1. the NPC has five interpretations of the Basic Law, also published the White Paper in 2014, and the Chief Executive Election. These structural aspects have a considerable impact on the maintenance and implementation of Hong Kong's One Country, Two Systems. What is your opinion?
2. After 2014, there have been many controversial events in Hong Kong. The umbrella movement, causeway bay bookstore owner events, legislative council

members' sworn, co-location arrangement and the extradition bills have had a considerable impact on the implementation and maintenance of Hong Kong's One Country, Two Systems. What is your opinion?

3. Will these events affect the future development of young people in Hong Kong?

Do you have the idea of leaving Hong Kong because of these events?

Chinese is the main language that I used during the interview, so I will translate their answer to English in data analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

What are the effects of interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong?

To find out the effects of the Basic Law interpretation of the National People's Congress (NPC) on Hong Kong, I divided into three areas to find out what Hong Kong college students' opinions.

The White Paper

Since the return of Hong Kong in 1997, the pan-democrats in Hong Kong have repeatedly disputed the perception of the Basic Law. However, the White Paper has also proposed relevant new issues and re-emphasized policies. After the publication of such a document, it led the relationship between Beijing and Hong Kong into an unstable situation. Seven interviewees disagreed with the White Paper. Four of seven expressed that the White Paper is not conformed with the One Country, Two Systems. Such as “withdraw all rights” “should remain the same system until 2047” ...

“The white paper expressed a shift in terminology, gave the citizens an attitude that the central government can withdraw all rights in Hong Kong at any time. Hong Kong people want democracy and freedom, but at present Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy is threatened.” (Interviewee no.7)

“The Sino-British Joint Declaration said that Hong Kong will remain the same system as past years until 2047. China can say Hong Kong will be fully regulated by China at least after 2047.” (Interviewee no.3)

“I think the White Paper is not in conformity with the One Country, Two Systems. According to Article 22 of the Basic Law, apart from national defense and diplomacy, all the rights of Hong Kong belong to the Hong Kong government include the administration of the government.”

(Interviewee no.1)

“If China had the full control of Hong Kong and could intervene in anything. That will destroy One Country, Two Systems.” (Interviewee no.5)

However, two of seven interviewees said it actually conform with One Country, Two Systems, as long as Hong Kong maintain the same system.

“As long as Hong Kong has always maintained its effective management, legislative power, independent judicial power, and final review. Then it conforms with One Country, Two Systems in the Basic Law.”

(Interviewee no.4)

“In fact, it conforms with One Country, Two Systems. But I think China should not interfere with the political direction of Hong Kong. This violates the Sino-British Joint Declaration.” (Interviewee no.2)

And only one interviewee’s opinion that I cannot determine whether he agrees the established white paper conforms with One country, Two Systems or not.

The Electoral System

Hong Kong's elections are an indispensable part of Hong Kong's political system. Hong Kong residents' right to vote and to be elected and public elections are given by the basic law. However, in fact, in recent years, the right to vote and the right to be elected of Hong Kong residents have been eroded, and the openness, honesty and fairness of elections have been questioned. When they were asked about the election issue, five of seven interviewees expressed that they are not satisfied with the current electoral system. For instance, “the leader is unable to represent public opinion” “citizens should have the right to choose the leader directly” “the epoch should be progressive”.

“If the Hong Kong Chief Executive is unable to represent Hong Kong's public opinion, then the two systems will be difficult to achieve since the elected chief executives of Hong Kong cannot be recognized by Hong Kong people. Therefore, the policies introduced by the Chief Executive will be subject to public criticism, so more and more demonstrations will take place.” (Interviewee no.6)

“What we need is that Hong Kong citizens should have the right to choose the chief executive of Hong Kong directly instead of conducting small circle elections which were manipulated by China.” (Interviewee no.2)

“The epoch is progressive; Hong Kong should not be ruled by the Chinese communism. The rule of law in Hong Kong should also be improved rather than retrogressive.” (Interviewee no.3)

And Two interviewees' opinion that I cannot determine whether they agree the election system or not.

The Basic Law and The Interpretation of Basic Law

Since 1997, the NPC has explained the Basic Law five times. Among them, the first and third times were proposed by the Chief Executive of Hong Kong. The fourth was proposed by the Court of Final Appeal in accordance with Article 158, paragraph 3 of the Basic Law, and the second and fifth times were done directed by NPC. The fifth interpretation of 2016 is the most controversial since 2004. Five of seven interviewees expressed that the NPC proactively interpreted the law, which is a violation of Hong Kong's judicial independence. For example, “skipped the review of the legislative council” “the central government took the initiative to interpret the law” .

“When the public of Hong Kong cannot find a consensus, the Chinese government will intervene. The Basic Law is a guarantee to the Hong Kong people. At first, China and Hong Kong both agreed and had consensus, so the Basic Law was introduced. Then why the basic law was revised later? Then why revised it later?” (Interviewee no.2)

“The interpretation skipped the review of the legislative council. The interpretation of the NPC undermines One Country, Two Systems and the independence of the judiciary.” (Interviewee no.3)

“After the emergence of the problem, the central government took the initiative to interpret the law, which undermined the Basic law independence and the judicial system” (Interviewee no.5)

“This interpretation may affect Hong Kong's judicial independence and the Basic law. The Hong Kong Government is above the Legislative Council and deprives members of the elections elected by democratic procedures.”
(Interviewee no.7)

Only one interviewee pointed out a problem of the event of disqualification.

“The Basic Law does not only mention the independence of Hong Kong's judiciary. Also, there is a regulation which required elected members to support one country and take an oath.” *(Interviewee no.6)*

After I interviewed interviewees, I could conclude main five effects of interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong. The autonomy is threatened , Hong Kong affairs manipulate by NPC, destroy judicial independence and the three-party cooperation, and people do not believe in the government anymore.

Had the events disturbed Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle?

There are many controversial events in Hong Kong. To figure out had the events disturbed Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle, such as faith of Basic Law, fear of NPC and violation of One Country, Two Systems. A total of five events I had asked interviewees.

The Umbrella Movement

Hong Kong people were fighting for Hong Kong's universal suffrage during the umbrella movement from September to December in 2014. Finding out Hong Kong's college students' attitude in this movement, all of the interviewees said Hong Kong's electoral system did not work as the Basic Law said. Four of seven interviewees point out they are not satisfied with the electoral system, and it led out to the Hong Kong people trusting problem to China.

“If the Central Government acts in accordance with the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law, giving Hong Kong people universal suffrage and the central government does not interfere in Hong Kong's internal affairs, I believe that Hong Kong will be another world from now and everyone will support the central government. The umbrella movement have also caused a serious lack of trust between the Central Government and the Hong Kong people.” (Interviewee no.7)

“If there is a universal suffrage as stipulated in the Basic Law, then no one will have to fight for the true universal suffrage. However, returns to one country, I think the central government's intervention is inevitable. The people of Hong Kong are afraid of China's full takeover of Hong Kong, especially in law and politics...” (Interviewee no.6)

“We are not satisfied with the electoral system nowadays, most of the Legislative Council member now in Hong Kong are members of the pro-establishment camp. I think the Central Government can easily manipulate the Hong Kong Government.” (Interviewee no.3)

“Hong Kong people want to choose the leader of Hong Kong for their own, but China did not let them do it. Hong Kong people lose confidence in the Basic Law. (Interviewee no.1)

And one interviewee said that event caused their lifestyle.

“It affected the people's livelihood problems at that time, hindered transportation, tourism, and the store from opening.” (Interviewee no.2)

Causeway Bay Booksellers' Disappearance

Li Bo was missing in Hong Kong and questioned whether he was forcibly from Hong Kong to mainland China. The incident has caused Hong Kong people to worry about One Country, Two Systems, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and personal freedom. Six of seven interviewees indicated this event did not conform to the One Country, Two Systems.

“Those books are indeed a crime of Chinese law in the Mainland, but there are freedom of the press and freedom of speech in Hong Kong. If Hong Kong people are arrested in the Mainland, it is reasonable, but being arrested in Hong Kong is a serious violation of One Country, Two Systems.”
(Interviewee no.2)

“If China has enforcement power in Hong Kong, then it has already destroyed the Basic Law regulations, and China broke its promises. In mainland China, bookstore owners may be illegal, but it doesn't mean Chinese polices can come to Hong Kong to arrest people. It undermined the One Country, Two Systems.” (Interviewee no.5)

“China's law enforcement in Hong Kong is not in conformity with One Country, Two Systems. This event has not met the legal and administrative autonomy of Hong Kong.” (Interviewee no.6)

“Policies in the Mainland cannot be enforced in Hong Kong. It is a violation of One Country, Two Systems.” (Interviewee no.3)

“This case has caused fears for Hong Kong people. I am afraid that I will not be told the reason and I will be sent back to Mainland China. Hong Kong people usually do not believe in the Chinese judicial system. The Basic Law guarantees Hong Kong people's freedom of speech and freedom of publication. The bookseller sold some politically sensitive books in Hong Kong, but in fact there is no violation in Hong Kong.” (Interviewee no.1)

“If it is really the Mainland polices enforced the Chinese law in Hong Kong, it will completely undermine the One Country, Two Systems and Article 18 of the Basic Law.” (Interviewee no.7)

Only one interviewee said we cannot judge before we knew the whole thing.

“Most of the news that the public knows is a rumor. Li Bo and the Chinese government did not provide very detailed information. It is not possible to use this information from the media to judge, so I can't provide objective and balanced comments.” (Interviewee no.4)

Legislative Council Members' Sworn (Disqualification)

The political turmoil caused by the words and actions in the oath of the Hong Kong Democratic Party in the 6th Hong Kong Legislative Council in 2016. The NPC Standing Committee interpreted the law and led to 6 democrats of the Legislative Council were deprived of their qualifications. Five of seven interviewees disagree with the disqualification of legislative council members, and some of them pointed out disqualify legislative council members might affect their judicial independence and influence in maintaining One Country, Two Systems.

“Because two sides’ system are different, if the interpretation of Hong Kong's provisions is based on central ideas or laws, it may weaken our judicial independence and influence on maintaining One Country, Two Systems.” (Interviewee no.5)

“I think the Chinese government can judge that the MPs have not completed the oath, but they could not directly disqualify those members. Because those members were elected by the Hong Kong citizens, disqualify directly is an intervention in the composition of the Hong Kong Legislative Council.” (Interviewee no.2)

“I feel very inexplicable. The MPs are only expressing their personal opinions. This is a complete overthrow of the process of democratic establishment in Hong Kong from the British Hong Kong Government to the present. This is very similar to the white terror of Taiwan.” (Interviewee no,1)

“It has an impact on the judicial independence of Hong Kong special administrative region, everyone worried about this problem” (Interviewee no.7)

“I think those members who did this kind of behavior are just expressing their dissatisfaction with the central government. They should not be disqualified.” (Interviewee no.3)

Only one interviewee said the disqualify was reasonable.

“All elected members should take an oath in accordance with the Basic Law. Otherwise, it would be a violation of the Basic Law. When the members of the Legislative Council are not in accordance with the statutory oath, or even insult the country, the interpretation of the NPC is a reasonable approach.” (Interviewee no.4)

Co-location Arrangement

On July 25, 2017, the Hong Kong Government announced the "Co-location arrangement" program for the Hong Kong section of the Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Hong Kong Express Rail. It established an area in Hong Kong to enforce mainland China law. Six of seven interviewees disagree Co-location arrangement. They have concerns of this arrangement and even afraid of this arrangement.

“Many people are afraid that China will expand the scope of law enforcement through this port area and allow China to enforce law in Hong Kong.” (Interviewee no.6)

“Hong Kong people do not trust the central government. They are worried that the central government will take the opportunity to erode Hong Kong's sovereignty. It let Hong Kong people fear and concern about mainland law enforcement agencies.” (Interviewee no.7)

“If something happens in that section of the road, can Hong Kong lawyers help me defend my case and move to Hong Kong for trial? That gray area makes Hong Kong people feel scared.” (Interviewee no.1)

“This policy violates the issue of non-interference in the legal system of Hong Kong in One Country, Two Systems.” (Interviewee no.2)

“The Co-location arrangement seriously blurs the border between Hong Kong and China.” (Interviewee no.3)

“If Chinese polices have the power of law enforcement in Hong Kong, it means that One Country, Two Systems are not established.” (Interviewee no.5)

Only one interviewee said it would not be a problem to One Country, Two Systems.

“I think that Hong Kong's perfect judicial system can guarantee all rights of every Hong Kong citizen.” (Interviewee no.4)

The Extradition Bills

The proposed extradition law in Hong Kong has set off alarm bells not only within Hong Kong but also in the international community. Popular opposition to the proposal is so strong that Hong Kong has been roiled by mass protests against the bill for several months. This is the biggest demonstrations in the territory since 1997 handover to China from the UK. Likewise, all of the interviewees are disagreeing of the extradition bills. Most of them are concerning their safety and thinking if the bill passed it would break the One Country, Two Systems.

“When the Hong Kong people are extradited to China for trial, it also indicates that representative that the Basic Law can no longer protect the rights and interests of Hong Kong people. The basis of judicial independence and the principle of One Country, Two Systems will immediately collapse.” (Interviewee no.3)

“The extradition bills complete consultation and research in such a short period of time, and most legal experts, legislators and the general public have considerable doubts and doubts about the details of this regulation. Rushing legislation is not an ideal choice.” (Interviewee no.4)

“The massive reversal of demonstrations can be said to be manifestations of Hong Kong people’s fear of erosion of freedom, anger at Beijing’s intervention and further dissatisfaction with the lack of action by the Hong Kong government.” (Interviewee no.7)

“Everyone will worry about their personal safety, because the legal system and value standards on both sides of Hong Kong and the mainland are actually different.” (Interviewee no.5)

“I am afraid that the incident in Causeway Bay Bookstore has become a legitimate thing, which has a great impact on One Country, Two Systems.” (Interviewee no.6)

“If you look at it from past experiences, you will definitely put politics above the judiciary.” (Interviewee no.1)

“Taiwan did not accept this plan, then why they still insist on amending this regulation?” (Interviewee no.2)

Those events did disturb Hong Kong’s social institution and lifestyle. Disturbing the most is Hong Kong people’s fear, they are afraid of China take full governance of Hong Kong, they concern their own safety and loss their faith of the Basic Law. They think the events broke One Country, Two Systems, Hong Kong is no longer the same anymore. And government intervention in the Legislative Council is serious damage their social institution.

Will One Country, Two Systems become hollowing?

Under the influence of the White Paper, the interpretation of the National People's Congress, the electoral system, and other five major issues, Hong Kong's One Country, Two Systems have been subjected to considerable negative impact. I interviewed the interviewees' attitudes on their development in Hong Kong and do they have idea of leaving Hong Kong to predict whether One Country, Two Systems will become hollowing or not. I asked the respondents whether they expected the phenomenon of hollowing out of One Country, Two Systems and whether they have the idea of leaving Hong Kong.

Will these events affect the future development of young people in Hong Kong?

According to the data, those events affect Hong Kong in many different ways. Furthermore, if the Hong Kong young people stay in Hong Kong, what are the hardships they are facing?

The data presented the hardship in two ways: political problem and economic problem. The first political problem that show that most of Hong Kong young people fear the loss of freedom and the strong control by the pro-establishment camp, HK government, and Beijing government. This will increase the difficulty of finding a job in Hong Kong in the future.

“Those events would let those young people who fear of politics choose to leave Hong Kong.” (Interviewee no.1)

“Many of our liberty rights will be confiscated, and our freedom to accept information will certainly be affected in the future. The

demonstrations of young people in Hong Kong expressed their demands, but I am worried that the mainland China will use AI face recognition to settle scores.” (Interviewee no.3)

“After so many protests and protests have not been answered, there will be political deaths in Hong Kong. Hong Kong people is politically disappointed. If Hong Kong loses its self-care ability, then there will be some situation in Hong Kong that no one will know.” (Interviewee no.6)

The second is economic problem. If those events cause Hong Kong people to leave Hong Kong, they even have problem of population and economic hollowing.

“Friends around me have the idea of immigration after these events, and almost all of them are promising college students. Those talented people do not want to stay in Hong Kong for development, then what will the Hong Kong economy in the future be like?” (Interviewee no.2)

“Now Hong Kong young people are not willing to stay, because they cannot see hope in Hong Kong.” (Interviewee no.5)

Do you have the idea of leaving Hong Kong because of these events?

After I interview those Hong Kong college students, most of them have negative thoughts about One Country, Two Systems. I was wondering if they will leave Hong

Kong because of those impacts. But the result surprised me, four of seven said they are not going to leave Hong Kong.

“During the umbrella movement, the government did not respond to the voice of the people of Hong Kong. At that time, I wanted to leave Hong Kong. But Hong Kong is where I grew up, why do I have to be forced to leave Hong Kong for these reasons? I think it should be the obstacles and the people who influence the development of Hong Kong to go, not the oppressed people to leave our home.” (Interviewee no.2)

“I will definitely want to stay in Hong Kong because I don't think our requirements are excessive.” (Interviewee no.3)

“I will not leave Hong Kong because of these events, because Hong Kong is my home, I should guard our home instead of giving up.” (Interviewee no.5)

“I will not choose to leave because I love Hong Kong. I hope Hong Kong has the fairness of social system, the justice of resource allocation, the implementation of the rule of law, the transparency of government governance, and the full participation of the people in politics.” (Interviewee no.7)

Only one said he have the idea of leaving Hong Kong because of these events.

“Many of my friends around me have plans to immigrate, so am I.”

(Interviewee no.1)

Although they said they cannot see any future in Hong Kong and afraid of politic, they still willing to stay in Hong Kong because they think they should protect their homes in Hong Kong. The people that should leave are the obstacles and the people who influence Hong Kong, not the oppressed people to leave.

During the process of sorting out the data, this paper found their common opinions and attitudes. The next is the conclusion to represent the main findings in this paper.

CONCLUSION

Since Hong Kong returned to China, there are more and more events come out and Hong Kong people expressed their feeling through social movements. Especially the movement this year, Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement is the longest lasting movement. My motivation to do this research is because I saw the first beginning of the Umbrella Movement in 2014 with my own eyes. I think that there are a lot of things behind the One Country, Two System, I want to figure out what does Hong Kong's new generation's opinion. I would like to answer my three research questions: (1) What are the effects of interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong? (2) Had the events disturbed Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle? (3) Will One Country, Two Systems become hollowing? I tried to explain what is "The Basic Law" "The White Paper", and some of the social events in Hong Kong such as The Umbrella Movement, Causeway bay booksellers' disappearance, Legislative Council members' sworn, Co-location arrangement and The Extradition bills.

I use an in-depth interview as my research method. I interview 7 Hong Kong college students from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China. I interview each of them for about 40 minutes to 2 hours. Although there are so many difficulties, I encounter like I had found Hong Kong college students, they did not accept my interview request, so I spend more time searching for the interviewees. After interviews, I had the interviewees rich stories and their opinions. I have made a form of 7 interviewees. Each of them has a different personality and background. Also, their learning environment is different because they study in different areas. Therefore, I thought there will be a disparity in their answers. Except one of the

interviewees who is studying in Chinese college has a different opinion, other interviewees' opinions coincident.

According to my first research question, what are the effects of interpretation of NPC on Hong Kong? After interviews, I found out there are lots of effects. They think their high degree of autonomy has been threatened, because One Country, Two Systems had promised Hong Kong has a high degree of autonomy but published the White Paper had threatened it. Furthermore, it also causes the damage of three rights cooperation and destroys judicial independence. Not only Hong Kong people concern the Hong Kong government is manipulated by the NPC, but they also do not believe in the government. Those effects would undermine One Country, Two Systems.

In the light of Causeway bay booksellers' disappearance, Legislative Council members' sworn, Co-location arrangement and the bills that the world is concerned this year The Extradition bills. Had the events disturbed Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle? The events disturbed their social institution in destroying One Country, Two Systems are different from the original system, and government intervention in the Legislative Council. In addition, the events affect their lifestyle, such as fear of China's full takeover of Hong Kong, lost confidence in the Basic Law, Hong Kong people worried about their own safety and scared of government settle a score after the social movements. After their description, I think Hong Kong is no longer same Hong Kong anymore, One Country, Two Systems did not let Hong Kong become better but worse.

On the basis of Hong Kong university students who are extremely concerned about Hong Kong, I had interviewed. I asked the question of whether the effects of One Country, Two Systems will affect the development of young people in Hong Kong. Their answer is yes it would definitely affect their development. They cannot

see any hope in Hong Kong's future, they are afraid of politics, they even think their politics are dead. But when I continue to ask if they will leave Hong Kong, most of their answer is no. The most touching thing is one interviewee said it should be the obstacles and the people who influence the development of Hong Kong to go, not the oppressed people to leave our home. Although they said they cannot see any future in Hong Kong and afraid of politic, they still willing to stay in Hong Kong because they think they should protect their homes in Hong Kong. When I heard this answer, I feel they really concerned about their hometown and try to make it better.

After I interviewed interviewees, I could conclude the main five effects of interpretation of NPC in Hong Kong. The autonomy is threatened , Hong Kong affairs manipulate by NPC, destroy judicial independence and the three-party cooperation, and people do not believe in the government anymore. Those events did disturb Hong Kong's social institution and lifestyle. Disturbing the most is Hong Kong people's fear, they are afraid of China to take full governance of Hong Kong, they concern their own safety and loss their faith in the Basic Law. They think the events broke One Country, Two Systems, Hong Kong is no longer the same anymore. And government intervention in the Legislative Council is serious damage their social institution. Their opinions showed One Country, Two Systems is slowly hollowing.

In my opinion, the Hong Kong government and the Chinese People's Congress should listen to the voice of the people and care about the problems arising from the One Country, Two Systems. One interviewee said that he thinks that Hong Kong's politics have already died. And another interviewee said the large-scale reversal of demonstrations can be said to be a manifestation of Hong Kong people's fears of erosion of freedom, anger against Beijing's interference, and further dissatisfaction with the lack of action by the Hong Kong government. If the government keep

ignoring people's voice and destroying original promises, One Country, Two Systems will truly become hollowing. Hong Kong people believe the demonstration of withdrawing extradition bill is their last chance to protect Hong Kong and express their feelings. If people do not have any hope in Hong Kong how could they stay in Hong Kong to make this place better? I believe that the Chinese People's Congress and the Hong Kong government should coordinate internal political policies so that the people of Hong Kong can regain their confidence in Hong Kong's politics and their future.

The suggestion I would like to give the researchers in the future is that when you do this type of research by focusing on One Country, Two Systems. You can collect more data from a different age in terms of sampling of interviewees. Also, the numbers can be as more as possible to represent their opinions.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

- A. 中國制定香港基本法，對香港在 1997 歸還中國之後，承諾實施「一國兩制」五十年不變。然而，中國人大對於基本法的五次釋憲、中國人大在 2014 年發表香港基本法白皮書、以及特首選舉方式，這些結構性對香港一國兩制的維護與實施有相當的影響，您的看法如何？
- I. 中國人大發表香港基本法白皮書強調中央政府對於特區擁有全面管制權，您認為強調擁有全面管制權有無符合一國兩制？
 - II. 2016 年立法會議員宣誓，由於涉嫌宣揚港獨而引起宣示風波，全國人大常委會主動就香港基本法第 104 條作出詳細解釋，您的看法為何？
 - III. 按照基本法的規定，香港的選舉制度應該循序漸進往普選方向前進。最新的選舉是 2017 年香港特首選舉，其選舉方法是由 1194 名選舉委員投票決定。請問您，您認為普選對維持香港一國兩制是否重要？為什麼？
- B. 在 2014 年以後，香港發生許多爭議事件，佔中事件、一地兩檢事件、銅鑼灣書店老闆事件、逃犯條例事件，對香港一國兩制的實施與維護產生相當的影響，您的看法如何？
- I. 2014 年的雨傘革命，是人民爭取真普選所發起的運動。您認同香港的普選制度嗎？您認為香港有如基本法規定的那樣普選嗎？
 - II. 銅鑼灣書店老闆事件。李波是在香港境內失蹤的。對於銅鑼灣書店事件，在香港境內移至中國內陸執法，您有何看法？您認為此事件有無破壞基本法 18 條？（基本法 18 條：全國性法律除列於本法附件三者外，不在香港特別行政區實施。凡列於本法附件三之法律，由香港特別行政區在當地公布或立法實施）
 - III. 當選立法會議員於 2016 年 10 月 12 日宣誓正式就任立法會時，宣誓被認定為無效。您認為人大直接釋法宣示有無效有無破壞了基本法 158 條的香港法治獨立？
 - IV. 2017 年 7 月 25 日香港政府公布廣深港高速鐵路香港段「一地兩檢」方案，將在香港境內設立「內地口岸區」執行中國大陸法律，對於一地兩檢 中國直接在香港境內執法 您有何看法？
 - V. 逃犯條例此提案源於潘曉穎命案，現時香港法律無法向臺灣移交疑犯，同時特區政府宣稱原有逃犯移交條例不包括中國大陸及澳門亦是「法律缺陷及漏洞」，因而訂定該條例。您對於目前 逃犯條例（送中條例） 有什麼看法？您認為逃犯條例通過會失去香港獨立的司法權嗎？
- C. 這些事件會影響年輕人在香港本地的發展嗎？
- D. (對於負面評價的受訪者)你自己會因為這些事件的發生而產生離開香港的念頭嗎？