

## VI. Developments in Hong Kong and Macau

### *Hong Kong*

During the Commission's 2016 reporting year, the growing influence of the Chinese central government and Communist Party and suspected activity by Chinese authorities in Hong Kong—notably the disappearance, alleged abduction, and detention in mainland China of five Hong Kong booksellers—raised fears regarding Hong Kong's autonomy within China as guaranteed under the “one country, two systems” policy enshrined in the Basic Law, which prohibits mainland Chinese authorities from interfering in Hong Kong's internal affairs.<sup>1</sup> Tensions over the Chinese government's role in Hong Kong and the future of Hong Kong's political system contributed to the growth of “localist”<sup>2</sup> political sentiment, with candidates seen as localist or supportive of self-determination for Hong Kong winning seats in Hong Kong's September 2016 Legislative Council elections.

#### UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND DEMOCRATIC REFORM

Hong Kong's Basic Law guarantees freedom of speech, religion, and assembly; promises Hong Kong a “high degree of autonomy”; prohibits Chinese authorities from interfering in Hong Kong's internal affairs; and affirms that the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) applies to Hong Kong.<sup>3</sup> The Basic Law also states that its “ultimate aim” is the election of Hong Kong's Chief Executive and Legislative Council (LegCo) “by universal suffrage.”<sup>4</sup> Forty out of 70 LegCo members are elected directly by voters and 30 by functional constituencies,<sup>5</sup> which are composed of trade and business interest groups, corporations, professionals, and religious and social organizations.<sup>6</sup> The electors of many functional constituencies reportedly have close ties to or are supportive of the Chinese government.<sup>7</sup>

After the fall 2014 pro-democracy demonstrations and the June 2015 defeat of the Hong Kong government's proposed electoral reforms,<sup>8</sup> some political groups and activists in Hong Kong called for greater self-determination or independence for Hong Kong, due in part to fears regarding Chinese government control over Hong Kong<sup>9</sup> and mainland Chinese economic and cultural influence in Hong Kong.<sup>10</sup> Pro-democracy activists,<sup>11</sup> students,<sup>12</sup> and veterans of the 2014 pro-democracy demonstrations<sup>13</sup> founded new political organizations that contested the November 2015 District Council elections,<sup>14</sup> a February 2016 LegCo by-election,<sup>15</sup> and the September 2016 LegCo elections. Some of these groups advocated for a referendum on Hong Kong's political system after 2047,<sup>16</sup> or expressed outright support for independence.<sup>17</sup>

In response to calls for independence and self-determination, in March and April 2016 Chinese government officials declared Hong Kong independence unacceptable,<sup>18</sup> asserted that discussing the idea violated Hong Kong's laws,<sup>19</sup> and said that founding pro-independence groups “severely contravened the national constitution and Hong Kong's Basic Law and relevant enacted laws.”<sup>20</sup> Hong Kong government officials also said that advocating independence “is contrary to the Basic Law.”<sup>21</sup> Chinese officials blamed “sepa-

ratist forces” for a February 2016 riot in the Mong Kok area of Hong Kong<sup>22</sup> in which protesters—including members of a localist organization<sup>23</sup>—allegedly attacked police after government officials tried to close down unlicensed street food vendors.<sup>24</sup>

In July 2016, the Electoral Affairs Commission issued a new “confirmation form”<sup>25</sup> for LegCo candidates to sign, confirming that they will uphold the Basic Law and explicitly listing three Basic Law provisions<sup>26</sup> emphasizing Hong Kong’s inalienability from China. The Hong Kong government appeared to say those not signing the form would be ineligible for nomination, and those lying on the form are “liable to criminal sanction.”<sup>27</sup> At least 12 candidates refused to sign,<sup>28</sup> and at least 21 political groups wrote a joint statement demanding the government withdraw the form, denouncing its use as “political censorship” and “interference in fair and just elections.”<sup>29</sup> Elections officials disqualified six pro-independence candidates,<sup>30</sup> drawing heavy criticism, including from lawyers,<sup>31</sup> political organizations,<sup>32</sup> and students.<sup>33</sup> Several localist or pro-democracy candidates reported government obstruction in mailing campaign materials,<sup>34</sup> saying officials in several government departments questioned the legality of their use of phrases such as “self-determination” and “independence.”<sup>35</sup>

In Hong Kong’s September 4 LegCo general election, the first since the 2014 pro-democracy protests, opposition parties gained seats, including candidates seen as “localist” or supportive of self-determination for Hong Kong. Pro-democratic and localist candidates, both opposed to the Chinese government and pro-establishment parties in Hong Kong,<sup>36</sup> together won a total of 30 out of 70 seats<sup>37</sup>—22 directly elected seats, including 3 at-large seats, and 8 indirectly elected functional constituency seats<sup>38</sup>—an increase of 3 from the 2012 LegCo elections.<sup>39</sup> Localist candidates reportedly received 19 percent of all geographical constituency votes, winning six seats.<sup>40</sup> Afterward, the Chinese central government reiterated its opposition “to any form of ‘Hong Kong independence’ activities inside or outside the Legislative Council,” declaring that “Hong Kong independence . . . endangers state sovereignty and security.”<sup>41</sup>

#### **Disappearances of Mighty Current Booksellers**

The disappearances of five owners and employees of Hong Kong bookstore Causeway Bay Books and its parent company, Mighty Current Media,<sup>42</sup> in October and December 2015<sup>43</sup> compromised the “one country, two systems” policy and raised concerns that Chinese authorities had violated Hong Kong’s rule of law and autonomy.

In October 2015, publisher Gui Minhai<sup>44</sup> disappeared from his vacation home in Pattaya, Thailand, and Thai authorities reportedly said<sup>45</sup> there was no record of him exiting the country. Gui, a naturalized Swedish citizen, is a co-owner of Mighty Current,<sup>46</sup> which specializes in political gossip books critical of the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>47</sup> In January 2016, Gui appeared on state-run China Central Television, saying he “voluntarily” returned to China after fleeing a 2003 suspended sentence for a fatal drunk driving incident.<sup>48</sup> Chinese police reportedly accused Gui of “illegal business activity” for shipping over 4,000 banned books to mainland China since October 2014.<sup>49</sup>

**Disappearances of Mighty Current Booksellers—Continued**

Mighty Current co-owner and British citizen Lee Bo<sup>50</sup> disappeared from Hong Kong on December 30, 2015.<sup>51</sup> Lee called his wife the same day from Shenzhen municipality, Guangdong province, and told her he would not return “anytime soon.”<sup>52</sup> In January 2016, Hong Kong police received a letter from the Guangdong public security bureau confirming Lee was in mainland China.<sup>53</sup> In a February 29 interview with state-funded news media under apparent coercion,<sup>54</sup> Lee said he had not been abducted, but did not explain specifically how he entered China without his travel document,<sup>55</sup> and said he had decided to renounce his British citizenship.<sup>56</sup> On March 24, Lee briefly<sup>57</sup> appeared in Hong Kong and requested that Hong Kong authorities cancel his missing-person case before returning to mainland China.<sup>58</sup> Lee maintained he went to mainland China to assist Chinese authorities in the investigation into Gui’s case.<sup>59</sup> Before his disappearance, Lee told Gui’s daughter he feared “special agents from China” had abducted Gui “for political reasons.”<sup>60</sup> In an October 2015 interview, Lee said he had avoided traveling to mainland China ever since Chinese authorities imprisoned another Hong Kong publisher, and that Chinese security officials had hacked his email and were surveilling him.<sup>61</sup>

Three other Hong Kong residents and employees of Mighty Current and Causeway Bay Books—Lui Bo,<sup>62</sup> Cheung Chi-ping,<sup>63</sup> and Lam Wing-kei<sup>64</sup>—disappeared in October 2015 while in or traveling to Shenzhen and Dongguan municipalities in Guangdong.<sup>65</sup> On February 16, Guangdong security officials told Hong Kong police that Lui, Cheung, and Lam were under “criminal compulsory measures” on suspicion of “illegal activities in the Mainland,”<sup>66</sup> reportedly including “illegal business activity.”<sup>67</sup> Guangdong authorities later released all three on bail.<sup>68</sup> In early March 2016, Lui<sup>69</sup> and Cheung<sup>70</sup> arrived separately in Hong Kong, requested that Hong Kong police cancel their missing-persons cases, and then returned to mainland China.<sup>71</sup>

Lam returned to Hong Kong on June 14 and requested the same,<sup>72</sup> but on June 16, he held a press conference revealing the details of his detention.<sup>73</sup> Lam said that after Chinese officials detained him on October 24 while crossing from Hong Kong into Shenzhen, authorities sent him to Ningbo municipality, Zhejiang province, where he was held incommunicado for five months before being transferred to Shaoguan municipality, Guangdong.<sup>74</sup> Lam alleged that the agency that detained him and the other four booksellers reported directly to the Chinese central government.<sup>75</sup> Lam said that Chinese authorities allowed him to return to Hong Kong on bail on the condition that he hand over a hard drive containing information on Causeway Bay Books’ mainland Chinese customers.<sup>76</sup> Lam expressed fear for his safety after returning to Hong Kong, requesting police protection after he reported being followed repeatedly by unidentified individuals.<sup>77</sup>

**Disappearances of Mighty Current Booksellers—Continued**

International human rights groups and non-governmental organizations,<sup>78</sup> Hong Kong activists and lawyers,<sup>79</sup> and foreign governments<sup>80</sup> denounced the disappearances of Lee and the others as damaging to the “one country, two systems” policy and threatening to Hong Kong’s autonomy, and criticized the February 2016 televised “confessions” of Gui, Lui, Cheung, and Lam as violations of their right to a fair trial.<sup>81</sup> The British government said Lee’s involuntary removal to mainland China “constitutes a serious breach of the Sino-British Joint Declaration . . .”<sup>82</sup> Hong Kong political parties and elected officials expressed support for Lam and condemned his detention;<sup>83</sup> the Civic Party called it “the most serious case of political abduction” since Hong Kong’s 1997 return to Chinese sovereignty.<sup>84</sup>

PRESS FREEDOM

During the 2016 reporting year, press freedom in Hong Kong reportedly continued to worsen due to government restrictions, violence against journalists, and pressure on reporters and editors from media ownership, including owners with financial ties to mainland China.<sup>85</sup> A Hong Kong Journalists Association (HKJA) survey on press freedom found that 85 percent of journalists believed press freedom had deteriorated in 2015.<sup>86</sup> In February 2016, several media organizations accused the Hong Kong government of “obstructing press freedom” after officials at the vote-counting location for a Legislative Council by-election refused to admit reporters from online news websites.<sup>87</sup> The HKJA filed a complaint against the government with the Ombudsman in June.<sup>88</sup> On March 8, at least four journalists were injured while covering unrest between police and protesters in Mong Kok.<sup>89</sup> One of the four accused police of using unnecessary force after several officers reportedly beat and kicked him.<sup>90</sup>

Concerns over editorial independence, journalistic integrity, and management decisions continued to grow during the past year, including at media companies with financial connections to mainland China.<sup>91</sup> The purchase of the South China Morning Post (SCMP) by the Chinese company Alibaba Group, in particular, raised concerns that SCMP could face increased pressure to self-censor or avoid reporting on “sensitive” topics.<sup>92</sup> One journalists’ group expressed worries that SCMP’s new ownership could restrict coverage of mainland China.<sup>93</sup> Media observers and SCMP staff noted suspicions about an interview<sup>94</sup> published in July 2016 with Zhao Wei,<sup>95</sup> a legal assistant detained in mainland China as part of a crackdown on lawyers and rights advocates begun in and around July 2015.<sup>96</sup> SCMP management refused to explain, reportedly even to SCMP reporters, how the paper was able to interview Zhao.<sup>97</sup> Zhao’s husband and lawyer said they could not contact her and doubted she had spoken freely with SCMP.<sup>98</sup> This past year, other Hong Kong media outlets published alleged interviews with individuals detained in mainland China or televised their “confessions.”<sup>99</sup> Reporters from the newspaper Ming Pao<sup>100</sup> and Hong Kong and international journalists’ organizations<sup>101</sup> criticized the abrupt April 2016 dismissal of a Ming Pao editor the day after the

paper published a report on Hong Kong business and government figures' offshore bank accounts.<sup>102</sup> Critics questioned Ming Pao's explanation that the dismissal was due to budget cuts.<sup>103</sup> Journalists' organizations and current and former staff of the Hong Kong Economic Journal expressed concern that the July 2016 dismissal of a long-time pro-democratic columnist, Joseph Lian Yi-zheng,<sup>104</sup> constituted political censorship.<sup>105</sup> Lian had previously explored the possibility of Hong Kong independence in his columns.<sup>106</sup>

### *Macau*

#### POLITICAL AND PRESS FREEDOMS

Macau's Basic Law does not provide for "universal suffrage,"<sup>107</sup> though its provisions ensure the applicability of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in Macau<sup>108</sup> and guarantee Macau a "high degree of autonomy" within China.<sup>109</sup> During the 2016 reporting year, the Commission observed no progress in Macau toward "an electoral system based on universal and equal suffrage . . ." in line with the ICCPR,<sup>110</sup> as recommended by the UN Human Rights Committee.<sup>111</sup> In August 2016, Macau's Legislative Assembly passed revisions to the Legislative Assembly Electoral Law.<sup>112</sup> As the Macau government previously announced, the revisions to the Electoral Law did not change the composition of the Legislative Assembly or the methods for Chief Executive elections provided for in the Basic Law.<sup>113</sup> Several political organizations accused the Macau government of restricting their rights to assembly after authorities broke up or blocked demonstrations near government buildings.<sup>114</sup> In June 2016, police reportedly investigated a pro-democracy activist for "aggravated disobedience" after he helped organize one such demonstration in May.<sup>115</sup>

Following a controversial donation in May 2016 of Macau government funds to a mainland Chinese university connected to Macau's Chief Executive,<sup>116</sup> the Macau Journalists' Association (AJM) alleged that media organizations reporting on the donation scandal engaged in self-censorship under pressure from Macau authorities.<sup>117</sup> AJM noted that this was the latest in a series of "organized, large-scale incidents of press censorship, political manipulation of public opinion, and interference in internal media operations" since Macau's 2012 political reforms.<sup>118</sup>

#### CONCERNS REGARDING INTERREGIONAL EXTRADITION

During the past year, Macau officials continued negotiations with Chinese authorities on an agreement governing extraditions to and from mainland China.<sup>119</sup> The Macau and Hong Kong governments also pursued an interregional extradition agreement.<sup>120</sup> In December 2015, the Macau government introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly (AL) that would be the basis for extradition agreements between Macau, mainland China, and Hong Kong.<sup>121</sup> In May 2016, the AL rejected the extradition bill; the president of the AL declined to give a reason, only saying that the bill "has technical problems."<sup>122</sup> The Macau government withdrew the bill in June 2016, saying it needed more time to negotiate with the Hong

Kong and Chinese governments due to differences in the legal systems of the three jurisdictions.<sup>123</sup>

A United Nations committee, lawyers, and activists raised concerns over the proposed extradition agreements. The UN Committee against Torture, in its November 2015 review of Hong Kong's and Macau's compliance with the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, urged both regions to ensure that any extradition agreement—between the two regions or with mainland China—protect offenders or fugitives from torture or abuse.<sup>124</sup> In light of concerns over the Macau government's previous handover of fugitives to Chinese authorities<sup>125</sup> and the 2015 disappearances of five Hong Kong booksellers,<sup>126</sup> activists in Macau questioned the potential Macau-China agreement, in particular a reported provision allowing one side to request extradition for military crimes or "crimes . . . against the interests of national defense committed in mainland China," even if such an act were not a crime in Macau.<sup>127</sup> Some Macau lawyers expressed concern over the possibility that a Macau-Hong Kong agreement might allow for retroactive extradition requests.<sup>128</sup>

#### FINANCIAL CRIME

The Monetary Authority of Macau continued<sup>129</sup> coordinating with international and mainland Chinese financial agencies and the Chinese Ministry of Public Security<sup>130</sup> to fight the use of mainland China-registered bank cards for money laundering and evading Chinese currency-export restrictions.<sup>131</sup> In 2015, 1.22 billion Macau patacas (approximately US\$153 million) in reportedly illegal UnionPay bank card transactions were run through unregistered point-of-sale devices in Macau.<sup>132</sup> Macau police reported that illegal transactions using portable UnionPay devices in the first half of 2016 amounted to nearly 2.10 billion patacas (approximately US\$262 million).<sup>133</sup> In December 2015, Macau officials announced plans to launch a "real-time monitoring system" of bank card use for "high-risk" businesses located near casinos.<sup>134</sup>

### Notes to Section VI—Developments in Hong Kong and Macau

<sup>1</sup>Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xianggang tebie xingzheng qu jiben fa], passed 4 April 90, effective 1 July 97, arts. 12, 16, 22. Article 22: "No department of the Central People's Government and no province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government may interfere in the affairs which the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region administers on its own in accordance with this Law."

<sup>2</sup>Chris Lau, "Beyond the By-Election: Hong Kong Young People Fuel Rise of Localism at City's Universities," *South China Morning Post*, 3 March 16; Simon Lewis, "Students at Hong Kong's Oldest University Are Calling for the City's Independence," *Time*, 16 March 16.

<sup>3</sup>Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, passed 4 April 90, effective 1 July 97, arts. 2 ("high degree of autonomy"), 22 (prohibits Chinese interference), 27 (freedoms of speech and assembly), 32 (freedom of religion), 39 (applicability of ICCPR). See also Joint Declaration of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Question of Hong Kong, adopted 19 December 84, item 3(2, 3, 5, 11).

<sup>4</sup>Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, passed 4 April 90, effective 1 July 97, arts. 45 (Chief Executive), 68 (Legislative Council).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 68, annex II, instrument 4; Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Legislative Council Ordinance (Cap. 542) [Di 542 zhang lifa hui tiaoli], 1 October 12, secs. 20ZC, 21(c); Tanna Chong, "Legco Election 2016: How a Handful of Voters Elect 30 Hong Kong Lawmakers," *South China Morning Post*, 6 February 14.

<sup>6</sup>Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, passed 4 April 90, effective 1 July 97, art. 45, annex I, instrument 2; Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Legislative Council Ordinance (Cap. 542) [Di 542 zhang lifa hui tiaoli], amended 17 July 15, sec. 20; Tanna Chong, "Legco Election 2016: How a Handful of Voters Elect 30 Hong Kong Lawmakers," *South China Morning Post*, 6 February 14.

<sup>7</sup>Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2016—Hong Kong," last visited 7 July 16.

<sup>8</sup>"Political Reform Rejected by Large 28:8 Margin" [28:8 zheng gai da bi shu foujue], *Ming Pao*, 18 June 15; "Hong Kong Reform Package Rejected as Pro-Beijing Camp Walk Out in 'Miscommunication,'" *South China Morning Post*, 19 June 15; CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 325–26.

<sup>9</sup>Michael Davis, "The Rule of Law Needs More Than Lip Service To Survive in Hong Kong," *South China Morning Post*, 16 March 16; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, "Q. and A.: Jason Y. Ng on Aftermath of Hong Kong's Umbrella Revolution," *New York Times*, Sinosphere (blog), 24 March 16; Benny Tai Yiu-ting, "One Country, Two Systems, Self-Determination, and Hong Kong Independence" [Yi guo liang zhi, zijue yu gang du], *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 16 April 16.

<sup>10</sup>Alan Wong, "China Labels Protesters 'Radical Separatists,' and They Agree," *New York Times*, 20 February 16; Didi Kirsten Tatlow, "Q. and A.: Jason Y. Ng on Aftermath of Hong Kong's Umbrella Revolution," *New York Times*, Sinosphere (blog), 24 March 16.

<sup>11</sup>"Scholarism's Regular Players Prepare To Form New Party, Plan To Contest Two Districts, Oscar Lai To Run in Kowloon East" [Xuemin sichao bandi chou zu xin zhengdang ni chu zhan liang qu li wenluo xuan jiu dong], *Stand News*, 16 February 16; Stuart Lau, "Hong Kong's New Generation: 'Umbrella Soldiers' and NeoDemocrats Big Winners in District Elections," *South China Morning Post*, 25 November 15.

<sup>12</sup>Alan Wong, "Hong Kong Students Who Protested Government Now Seek To Take Part in It," *New York Times*, 16 February 16; Chris Lau, "Beyond the By-Election: Hong Kong Young People Fuel Rise of Localism at City's Universities," *South China Morning Post*, 3 March 16.

<sup>13</sup>KC Ng and Owen Fung, "Hong Kong National Party Is Born: Will Push for Independence, Will Not Recognize the Basic Law," *South China Morning Post*, 29 March 16; KC Ng, "Hong Kong Localists Groups To Join Forces for Legislative Council Elections in September," *South China Morning Post*, 9 April 16.

<sup>14</sup>Karen Cheung, "Pan-Democrats Win 112 Out of 431 Seats but Fail To Take Control of Any District," *Hong Kong Free Press*, 23 November 15.

<sup>15</sup>Gary Cheung et al., "Hong Kong 'Riot' Candidate Causes a Storm at By-Election," *South China Morning Post*, 1 March 16; Jeffie Lam and Gary Cheung, "Civic Party Wins New Territories East By-Election, but Edward Leung Comes a Respectable Third," *South China Morning Post*, 1 March 16.

<sup>16</sup>Youngspiration et al., "Hong Kong People, Future Self-Determination—Electoral Alliance Declaration" [Xianggang minzu qiantu zijue—xuanju lianmeng shengming], reprinted in *InMediaHK*, 10 April 16; Jeffie Lam, "They're Young, Vocal and Very, Very Determined . . . But How Do Hong Kong's Newest Political Parties Differ?" *South China Morning Post*, 11 April 16. See also Hong Kong University Student Union, "Finale" [Zuizhong hui], Undergrad, 2015, 51.

<sup>17</sup>"Hong Kong National Party Promotes 'Founding Country,' Is Denied Registration" [Xianggang minzu dang chang "jianguo" bei ju zhuce], *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 29 March 16; Hermina Wong, "Newly Formed Pro-Independence Hong Kong National Party 'Denied Registration' by Companies Registry," *Hong Kong Free Press*, 29 March 16; Ng Kang-chung and Owen Fung, "Hong Kong National Party Is Born: Will Push for Independence, Will Not Recognize the Basic Law," *South China Morning Post*, 29 March 16.

<sup>18</sup>"Phoenix Interview With LOCPG Director: On 'HK Independence' Absolutely Cannot Let Evil Go Unchecked" [Zhonglianban zhuren jieshou fenghuang zhuanfang: dui "gang du" jue buneng yangyongweihuan], *Phoenix Net*, 31 March 16.

<sup>19</sup>Stuart Lau, "Calls for Hong Kong Independence Break the Law, Says Legal Chief of Beijing Liaison Office," *South China Morning Post*, 8 April 16.

<sup>20</sup>Zha Wenye, “Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council: Resolutely Opposed to Any Talk or Action of ‘HK Independence’” [Guowuyuan gang’aoban: jianjue fandui renhe “gang du” yanxing], Xinhua, 30 March 16, reprinted in Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, 31 March 16.

<sup>21</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “SAR Government Response” [Tequ zhengfu huiying], 30 March 16; Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Secretary for Justice on Advocating ‘Independence of Hong Kong,’” 1 April 16.

<sup>22</sup>Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hong Lei Answers Reporter’s Question on Violent Incident in Hong Kong” [Wajiaobu fayanren hong lei jiu xianggang fasheng baoluan shijian da jizhe wen], 11 February 16; Liaison Office of the Central People’s Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, “Zhang Xiaoming Answers Reporter’s Question on Riot Incident in Mong Kok, Hong Kong” [Zhang xiaoming jiu xianggang wangjiao baoluan shijian huida jizhe tiwen], 14 February 16.

<sup>23</sup>Alan Wong, “China Labels Protesters ‘Radical Separatists,’ and They Agree,” New York Times, 20 February 16.

<sup>24</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Strongly Condemn Lawbreaking Behaviour” [Jingfang qianglie qianze pohuai faji xingwei], 9 February 16; Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Opening Remarks by Commissioner of Police at Press Conference,” 9 February 16.

<sup>25</sup>Electoral Affairs Commission, “Confirmation Form; 2016 Legislative Council General Election” [Queren shu 2016 lifa hui huanjie xuanju], July 2016; Electoral Affairs Commission, “Press Statement by EAC on 2016 Legislative Council Election” [Xuanju guanli weiyuanhui jiu 2016 nian lifa hui xuanju de shengming], 14 July 16, reprinted in Hong Kong Information Services Department.

<sup>26</sup>Electoral Affairs Commission, “Confirmation Form; 2016 Legislative Council General Election” [Queren shu 2016 lifa hui huanjie xuanju], July 2016, paras. 1–2. The three provisions are Article 1 (“The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is an inalienable part of the People’s Republic of China.”), Article 12 (“The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be a local administrative region of the People’s Republic of China, which shall enjoy a high degree of autonomy and come directly under the Central People’s Government.”), and Article 159(4) (“No amendment to this Law shall contravene the established basic policies of the People’s Republic of China regarding Hong Kong.”).

<sup>27</sup>Electoral Affairs Commission, “Press Statement by EAC on 2016 Legislative Council Election” [Xuanju guanli weiyuanhui jiu 2016 nian lifa hui xuanju de shengming], 14 July 16, reprinted in Hong Kong Information Services Department.

<sup>28</sup>Tony Cheung, “Refusing To Sign: Demosisto Joins Ranks of Hong Kong Politicians Resisting Controversial Change in Legco Election Rules,” South China Morning Post, 18 July 16; Jeffery Lam, “Civic Party Candidates Refuse To Sign New Form Despite Head of Electoral Watchdog Saying Rule Change Is Legal,” South China Morning Post, 20 July 16.

<sup>29</sup>Labour Party, Civic Party, Democratic Party, Professional Commons, Neighbourhood and Workers Services Centre, Association for Democracy and People’s Livelihood, Hong Kong Professional Teachers’ Union, Joseph Lee Kok-long, League of Social Democrats, People Power, Keyboard Frontline, Progressive Lawyers Group, Act Voice, Progressive Teachers’ Alliance, Hong Kong Psychologists Concern, Frontline Tech Workers, Nurses Political Reform Concern Group, Artists Action, Physio Action, Radiation Therapist and Radiographer Conscience, Financier Conscience, Reclaiming Social Work Movement, “Condemning the Leung Chun-ying Government’s Ideological Censorship and Interference in Fair and Just Elections” [Qianze liang zhenying zhengfu zhengzhi sixiang shencha ganyu gongping gongzheng xuanju], Progressive Lawyers Group, Facebook, 30 July 16.

<sup>30</sup>Hong Kong National Party, “Hong Kong National Party’s Solemn Announcement on Being Disqualified From Running in LegCo Polls” [Xianggang minzu dang jiu xuanguanhui quxiao canxuan zige zhi yanzheng shengming], Facebook, 30 July 16; Kris Cheng, “Edward Leung of Hong Kong Indigenous Barred From LegCo Election,” Hong Kong Free Press, 2 August 16; Chris Lau, “Cheung Chau Resident Seeks Judicial Review Over Hong Kong Election Disqualification Powers,” South China Morning Post, 6 August 16.

<sup>31</sup>Edward Chan et al., “Joint Legal EC Statement Against the Political Censorship of the Legislative Council Election” [Xuanju weiyuanhui falu jie weiyuan fandui lifa hui xuanju zhengzhi shencha lianhe shengming], Dennis Kwok, Facebook, 3 August 16.

<sup>32</sup>Labour Party, Civic Party, Democratic Party, Professional Commons, Neighbourhood and Workers Services Centre, Association for Democracy and People’s Livelihood, Hong Kong Professional Teachers’ Union, Joseph Lee Kok-long, League of Social Democrats, People Power, Keyboard Frontline, Progressive Lawyers Group, Act Voice, Progressive Teachers’ Alliance, Hong Kong Psychologists Concern, Frontline Tech Workers, Nurses Political Reform Concern Group, Artists Action, Physio Action, Radiation Therapist and Radiographer Conscience, Financier Conscience, Reclaiming Social Work Movement, “Condemning the Leung Chun-ying Government’s Ideological Censorship and Interference in Fair and Just Elections” [Qianze liang zhenying zhengfu zhengzhi sixiang shencha ganyu gongping gongzheng xuanju], Progressive Lawyers Group, Facebook, 30 July 16.

<sup>33</sup>Chinese University of Hong Kong Student Union, “Hong Kong Communists’ Naked Interference in Elections Set a Fire That Must Be Extinguished” [Gang gong chiluo ganyu xuanju yinhuo zifen bi zao qingsuan], Facebook, 2 August 16.

<sup>34</sup>Nathan Law Kwun-chung, “Hongkongers, You Don’t Even Have the Right To Say ‘The Emperor Has No Clothes!’” [Gangren, lian zhisu “guowang xinyi” ge quanli dou wu!], Facebook, 1 August 16; Joyce Ng, “Hongkong Post’s Deadline Forcing Candidates To Censor Campaign Material,” South China Morning Post, 10 August 16; Kris Cheng, “Candidate Claims Election Pamphlets Blocked From Public Estates for Discussing Independence,” Hong Kong Free Press, 12 August 16.

<sup>35</sup>“Using ‘Democratic Self-Determination’ and Other Wording, Nathan Law and Eddie Chu’s Election Mailers Not Yet Approved, EAC Says Asking Justice Department for Opinion” [Ti “minzhu zijue” deng ziyuan luo guancong, zhu kaidi xuanju youjian wei huo pi xuanguanhui cheng xun luzhengsi yijian], Stand News, 1 August 16; Tony Cheung, “Undue Caution? Joshua Wong Blasts Hong Kong Officials Over Hold-Ups in Demosisto Party Registration and Mailings,” South China Morning Post, 4 August 16; Kris Cheng, “Pro-Independence Candidate To Send ‘Blank’ Election Mailouts in Protest of Censorship,” Hong Kong Free Press, 5 August 16; Kris Cheng, “Candidate Claims Election Pamphlets Blocked From Public Estates for Discussing Independence,” Hong Kong Free Press, 12 August 16.

<sup>36</sup>Michael Forsythe and Alan Wong, “In Hong Kong, Young Protest Leaders Win Seats in Local Elections,” New York Times, 4 September 16.

<sup>37</sup>Stuart Lau and Gary Cheung, “Hong Kong Legislative Council Polls: Voters Change the City’s Political Landscape,” South China Morning Post, 6 September 16.

<sup>38</sup>Elson Tong, “Final Hong Kong Election Results in—Opposition Parties Gain 3 More Seats in Legislature,” Hong Kong Free Press, 5 September 16.

<sup>39</sup>Stuart Lau and Gary Cheung, “Hong Kong Legislative Council Polls: Voters Change the City’s Political Landscape,” South China Morning Post, 6 September 16.

<sup>40</sup>Gary Cheung and Jeffie Lam, “Rise of Localists in Hong Kong Polls Set To Bring Headaches for Beijing, Analysts Say,” South China Morning Post, 6 September 16.

<sup>41</sup>Zhao Bo, “Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council Spokesperson Gives Remarks on Hong Kong SAR Sixth Legislative Council Elections” [Guowuyuan gang’aoban fayanren jiu xianggang tequ di liu jie lifa hui xuanju fabiao tanhua], Xinhua, 5 September 16.

<sup>42</sup>Tom Grundy, “Questions Raised After Missing HK Bookseller ‘Confesses’ to Drink-Driving Death on State TV,” Hong Kong Free Press, 17 January 16.

<sup>43</sup>“Missing Hong Kong Bookseller ‘Assisting in Investigation’: Wife,” Agence France-Presse, 2 January 16.

<sup>44</sup>For more information on Gui Minhui, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00090.

<sup>45</sup>James Griffiths, “Daughter of Hong Kong Bookseller: Don’t Let China Get Away With Illegal Abductions,” CNN, 25 May 16.

<sup>46</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Free ‘Disappeared’ Booksellers,” 10 February 16.

<sup>47</sup>“Hong Kong Publisher Mysteriously Disappears in Thailand, Whereabouts of 3 Hong Kong Staff Unknown” [Xianggang chuban ren taiguo liqi shizong xianggang 3 zhiyuan buzhi suo zong], Radio Free Asia, 6 November 15; Oliver Holmes and Tom Phillips, “Gui Minhui: The Strange Disappearance of a Publisher Who Riled China’s Elite,” Guardian, 8 December 15; Michael Forsythe and Andrew Jacobs, “In China, Books That Make Money, and Enemies,” New York Times, 4 February 16; Phila Siu et al., “Hong Kong Delivery Companies Scared About Sending ‘Banned Books’ to Mainland China in Wake of Booksellers Case,” South China Morning Post, 3 March 16.

<sup>48</sup>Isabella Steger, “Missing Hong Kong Bookseller Employee Shows Up in China,” Wall Street Journal, China Real Time Report (blog), 18 January 16; “Investigation Into the ‘Disappearance’ Incident of Hong Kong’s Causeway Bay Bookstore Boss Gui Minhui” [Xianggang tongluo wan shudian laoban gui minhui “shizong” shijian diaocha], Xinhua, 17 January 16. Gui’s wife said she had no knowledge of the 2003 incident, while Hong Kong media noted discrepancies in the official account. “Official Media: Causeway Bay Books Boss Gui Minhui Surrenders in Fatal Drink-Driving Case From 12 Years Ago, Gui’s Wife: Who Can Tell Me Precise Information?” [Guan mei: tongluo wan shudian laoban gui minhui she 12 nian qian zui jia ming’an yi zishou, gui tai: shei neng gaosu wo quejie xiaoxi?], Initium Media, 17 January 16; Tom Grundy, “Questions Raised After Missing HK Bookseller ‘Confesses’ to Drink-Driving Death on State TV,” Hong Kong Free Press, 17 January 16.

<sup>49</sup>“Hong Kong Bookseller Gui Minhui Suspected of Illegal Business Activity, Changing Cover To Evade Inspection” [Xianggang shu shang gui minhui shexian feifa jingying huan fengmian guibi jiancha], Phoenix Net, 28 February 16.

<sup>50</sup>Lee is also known as Lee Po and Paul Lee. Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Receive Reply Letter From the Mainland on Lee Po’s Case,” 18 January 16; Hermina Wong, “Bookseller Lee Bo Feared ‘Political Reasons’ Behind Colleague’s Disappearance, Before Vanishing Himself,” Hong Kong Free Press, 8 March 16. For more information on Lee Bo, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00168.

<sup>51</sup>Phila Siu et al., “Hong Kong Bookseller Disappears: Police Say No Record of Him Leaving—Wife Says He Called From Shenzhen and ‘Will Not Be Coming Back Anytime Soon,’” South China Morning Post, 4 January 16.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “LCQ2: Police Co-Operation Mechanism Between Hong Kong and Mainland,” 27 January 16.

<sup>54</sup>Ng Kang-chung and Owen Fung, “Bookseller Lam Wing-kee Reveals Explosive Details of His Mainland Detention, Claims Lee Po Told Him He Was ‘Taken Away From Hong Kong,’” South China Morning Post, 16 June 16; Anne Marie Roantree, “Hong Kong Bookseller Voiced Fears About China Agents Before He Disappeared,” Reuters, 9 March 16.

<sup>55</sup>Zhuang An, “‘Disappeared’ Hong Kong Bookstore Shareholder Lee Bo in First Interview: I Voluntarily Came to Mainland To Cooperate With Investigation” [Xianggang “bei shizong” shudian gudong li bo shouci shoufang: ziyuan hui neidi peihe diaocha], The Paper, 29 February 16.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid. When asked about Lee’s case in January 2016, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi said that Lee “is first and foremost a Chinese citizen.” Tom Phillips and Ilaria Maria Sala, “Philip Hammond Presses China Over UK Citizen Among Missing Booksellers,” Guardian, 5 January 16.

<sup>57</sup>“Doubts Remain After Missing Hong Kong Bookseller Briefly Reappears,” Radio Free Asia, 25 March 16; “Hong Kong’s Causeway Bay Books Owner Lee Bo Returns to HK, Accepts Inter-

view With Phoenix TV” [Xianggang tongluo wan shudian laoban li bo fan gang jieshou fenghuang weishi zhuanfang], Phoenix Net, 24 March 16.

<sup>58</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police and ImmD Meet With Lee Po in Hong Kong,” 24 March 16.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.; Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Receive Latest Letter From Lee Bo” [Jingfang jiehuo li bo zuixin xinjian], 24 January 16.

<sup>60</sup>Anne Marie Roantree, “Hong Kong Bookseller Voiced Fears About China Agents Before He Disappeared,” Reuters, 9 March 16; Hermina Wong, “Bookseller Lee Bo Feared ‘Political Reasons’ Behind Colleague’s Disappearance, Before Vanishing Himself,” Hong Kong Free Press, 8 March 16.

<sup>61</sup>“Lee Bo: Gui Minhai Wrote about Senior Officials’ Mistresses, Was Repeatedly Warned” [Li bo: gui minhai xie gaoguan qingfu lu shou jinggao], Next Magazine, reprinted in Apple Daily, 7 January 16.

<sup>62</sup>For more information on Lui Bo, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00164. Lai Ying-kit, “Missing, Presumed Detained: Hong Kong Publisher of Books Critical of China Go Missing,” South China Morning Post, 13 November 15.

<sup>63</sup>For more information on Cheung Chi-ping, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00165.

<sup>64</sup>For more information on Lam Wing-kei, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00166.

<sup>65</sup>Lai Ying-kit, “Missing, Presumed Detained: Hong Kong Publisher of Books Critical of China Go Missing,” South China Morning Post, 13 November 15; “Hong Kong Bookseller Gui Minhai Suspected of Illegal Business Activity, Changing Cover To Evade Inspection” [Xianggang shu shang gui minhai shexian feifa jingying huan fengmian guibi jiancha], Phoenix Net, 28 February 16; Clifford Lo et al., “The First Missing Bookseller Returns: Lui Por in Hong Kong,” South China Morning Post, 4 March 16; Ng Kang-chung and Owen Fung, “Bookseller Lam Wing-kee Reveals Explosive Details of His Mainland Detention, Claims Lee Po Told Him He Was ‘Taken Away From Hong Kong,’” South China Morning Post, 16 June 16.

<sup>66</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Receive Reply Letter From the Mainland on the Four Missing Persons” [Jingfang jiu si ming shizong renshi shijian jiehuo neidi fuhan], 4 February 16.

<sup>67</sup>“Hong Kong Bookseller Gui Minhai Suspected of Illegal Business Activity, Changing Cover To Evade Inspection” [Xianggang shu shang gui minhai shexian feifa jingying huan fengmian guibi jiancha], Phoenix Net, 28 February 16.

<sup>68</sup>“Two Detained Booksellers Return to China After Brief Hong Kong Visits,” Radio Free Asia, 11 March 16; “Ningbo PSB: If Lam Wing-kei Does Not Return to Mainland, We Will Alter Criminal Compulsory Measures” [Ningbo gong’an: lin rongji ruo bu fan neidi jiang biangeng xingshi qiangzhi cuoshi], Sing Tao Daily, 5 July 16.

<sup>69</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Meet With Lui Bo in Hong Kong” [Jingfang yu lu bo zai xianggang huimian], 4 March 16; Clifford Lo et al., “The First Missing Bookseller Returns: Lui Por in Hong Kong,” South China Morning Post, 4 March 16.

<sup>70</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Meet With Cheung Chi Ping in Hong Kong” [Jingfang yu zhang zhiping zai xianggang huimian], 6 March 16; Clifford Lo et al., “Booksellers Slipped Back to Mainland China After Requesting Hong Kong Police Drop Missing Persons Cases,” South China Morning Post, 10 March 16.

<sup>71</sup>Clifford Lo et al., “Booksellers Slipped Back to Mainland China After Requesting Hong Kong Police Drop Missing Persons Cases,” South China Morning Post, 10 March 16.

<sup>72</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Police Meet With Lam Wing-kei in Hong Kong” [Jingfang yu lin rongji zai xianggang huimian], 14 June 16.

<sup>73</sup>“Full Transcript of Lam Wing-kee’s Opening Statement at His Hong Kong Press Conference,” South China Morning Post, 17 June 16.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>“Special Task Force Identified by HK Bookseller Usually Targets Only Top Officials, Analysts Say,” South China Morning Post, 18 June 16; Stuart Leavenworth, “Chinese Crackdown Aimed at Rooting Out Xi Opponents, Says Bookseller,” Guardian, 20 June 16.

<sup>76</sup>“Full Transcript of Lam Wing-kee’s Opening Statement at His Hong Kong Press Conference,” South China Morning Post, 17 June 16; Michael Forsythe and Alan Wong, “Bookseller’s Account of Abduction Rekindles Fear of Lost Rights in Hong Kong,” New York Times, 17 June 16.

<sup>77</sup>Jennifer Ngo and Jeffie Lam, “Followed by Strangers, Bookseller Lam Wing-kee Pulls Out of July 1 March Fearing ‘Serious Threat’ to Personal Safety,” South China Morning Post, 1 July 16; “Lam Wing-kei: Four Men Followed Me Home, ‘Like They Wanted To Grab Me,’ Police Refuse To Assign Protection” [Lin rongji: si dahan genzong fanjia ‘haosi xiang yu wo gan’ jing ju pai yuan baohu], Ming Pao, 5 July 16; Jeffie Lam and Joyce Ng, “‘I Think I’m Half Dead’: Hong Kong Police To Protect Lam Wing-kee in Wake of Claims He Was Tailed,” South China Morning Post, 6 July 16.

<sup>78</sup>PEN American Center et al., “Free Expression, Publishing, and Bookselling Organizations Urge Hong Kong To Take Action on Missing Booksellers,” 17 February 16; “Lee Bo Case a Worry, Says Bar Association Head,” Radio Television Hong Kong, 27 March 16. See also Human Rights Watch, “China/Hong Kong: Free ‘Disappeared’ Booksellers,” 10 February 16; “China’s Clampdown on Lawyers and Activists Draws Concern of UN Human Rights Chief,” UN News Centre, 16 February 16; Press Freedom Committee, Foreign Correspondents’ Club, Hong Kong, “Failure To Explain Missing Booksellers Undermines Hong Kong Freedoms,” 24 February 16.

<sup>79</sup>Tom Phillips, “Hong Kong Activist Hits Out at Beijing in Video Over Missing Booksellers,” Guardian, 4 January 16; Niall Fraser, “Lee Po Scandal Threatens Deal on Fugitives Between Hong Kong and Macau, Casts Shadow on Legal System,” South China Morning Post, 31 January 16.

<sup>80</sup>“Item 2: Joint Statement—Human Rights Situation in China,” Mission of the United States in Geneva, Switzerland, 10 March 16; Stuart Lau, “Bookseller Disappearances Raise Concerns About ‘Safety and Security’ of Foreigners in Hong Kong, Says German Consul,” South China Morning Post, 11 April 16; European Commission, “Joint Report to the European Parliament and the Council, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region: Annual Report 2015,” 25 April 16; UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, “The Six-Monthly Report on Hong Kong: 1 July to 31 December 2015,” 11 February 16, 3.

<sup>81</sup>“Item 2: Joint Statement—Human Rights Situation in China,” Mission of the United States in Geneva, Switzerland, 10 March 16; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “China: Forced TV Confessions Violate Principle of Presumed Innocence Before Trial, Constitute Cruel & Degrading Punishment,” 12 March 16. See also “China’s Clampdown on Lawyers and Activists Draws Concern of UN Human Rights Chief,” UN News Centre, 16 February 16.

<sup>82</sup>UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, “The Six-Monthly Report on Hong Kong: 1 July to 31 December 2015,” 11 February 16, 3. See also Kris Cheng, “UK Foreign Sec. Says Bookseller Lee Bo Was Taken to Mainland ‘Under Duress’, Still a UK Citizen,” Hong Kong Free Press, 8 April 16; “UK Challenges China Over Missing Hong Kong Bookseller Lee Bo,” BBC, 12 February 16.

<sup>83</sup>Demosisto, “Denounce False Imprisonment by the Chinese Government, Stand Up for Hong Kong’s Freedom” [Qianze zhonggong jinggu gangfu wuneng zong quan], 16 June 16; Democratic Party, “Democratic Party Chair Emily Lau Wai-hing Sends Letter to President Xi Jinping, Requesting Public Explanation of the Lam Wing-kei Incident” [Minzhu dang zhuxi liu huiqing qu xin guojia zhuxi xi jinpings, yaoqiu gongkai jiaodai lin rongji shijian], Facebook, 17 June 16; Simon Denyer, “The Saga of Hong Kong’s Abducted Booksellers Takes a Darker Turn,” Washington Post, 17 June 16; Michael Forsythe and Alan Wong, “Bookseller’s Account of Abduction Rekindles Fear of Lost Rights in Hong Kong,” New York Times, 17 June 16.

<sup>84</sup>Civic Party, “Civic Party Statement on the Causeway Bay Bookstore Incident” [Gongmin dang jiu “tongluo wan shudian shijian” gongkai shengming], 16 June 16.

<sup>85</sup>Aaron Tam, “Jack Ma’s South China Morning Post Takeover a Double-Edged Sword,” Agence France-Presse, 29 November 15.

<sup>86</sup>Hong Kong Journalists Association, “Survey Reveals Worrying Trend of Confidence Decline in Press Freedom,” 22 March 16.

<sup>87</sup>InMediaHK, Initium Media, MemeHK, and Stand News, “Online Hong Kong Media Sign Joint Letter, Requesting Government Extend Right To Report to Online Media and Citizen Journalists” [Xianggang wangmei lianshu, yaoqiu zhengfu kaifang wangmei ji gongmin jizhe caifang quan], reprinted in Initium Media, 11 March 16; Hong Kong Journalists Association, “HKJA Unhappy With ISD Not Allowing Several Online Media To Enter NT East By-Election Voting Place To Report, Urges [ISD] To Get With the Times” [Ji xie buman xinwen chu ju duo jia wangmei jin xin dong buxuan huichang caifang yu yushibingjin], 29 February 16; Hermina Wong, “Online Media Barred From Covering Vote Counting for Sunday’s By-Election,” Hong Kong Free Press, 29 February 16.

<sup>88</sup>Hong Kong Journalists Association, “Government Refuses To Approve Online News Media, HKJA Files Complaint With Ombudsman” [Zhengfu ju renke wangshang xinwen meiti ji xie qu han shensu zhuan yuan tousu], 13 June 16.

<sup>89</sup>“‘Ming Pao’ Journalist Beaten by Police for 15 Seconds, All Caught on Film!” [“Ming bao” jizhe bei jing ou 15 miao quancheng yingshai!], Apple Daily, 9 February 16; Hong Kong Journalists Association, “Several Reporters Attacked While Covering Disturbance, HKJA Strongly Condemns Violent Behavior” [Duo ming jizhe caifang saodong yuxi ji xie qianglie qianze baoli xingwei], 9 February 16; Allen Au-yeung, “Hong Kong Media Groups Unite To Condemn Violence Against Journalists,” South China Morning Post, 9 February 16.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.; Kris Cheng, “Local Newspaper Journalist To File Complaint After Being ‘Beaten Up’ by Police,” Hong Kong Free Press, 10 February 16.

<sup>91</sup>Aaron Tam, “Jack Ma’s South China Morning Post Takeover a Double-Edged Sword,” Agence France-Presse, 29 November 15.

<sup>92</sup>David Barboza, “Alibaba Buying South China Morning Post, Aiming To Influence Media,” New York Times, 11 December 15; Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian and David Wertime, “With New Ownership, Can an Influential Hong Kong Daily Keep Its Soul?” Foreign Policy, Tea Leaf Nation (blog), 11 December 15; Chris Buckley and Jane Perlez, “By Buying Hong Kong Paper, Alibaba Seeks To Polish China’s Image,” New York Times, 13 December 15. See also Chow Chung-yan, “Alibaba Buys the South China Morning Post: Full Q&A With Executive Vice Chairman Joseph Tsai,” South China Morning Post, 11 December 15.

<sup>93</sup>Hong Kong Journalists Association, “HKJA’s Response to the Control of South China Morning Post by Alibaba Group,” 11 December 15.

<sup>94</sup>“Young Chinese Legal Activist ‘Regrets’ Civil Rights Activism,” South China Morning Post, 11 July 16.

<sup>95</sup>For more information on Zhao Wei, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00277.

<sup>96</sup>Tom Phillips, “Mysterious Confession Fuels Fears of Beijing’s Influence on Hong Kong’s Top Newspaper,” Guardian, 25 July 16; CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 50–51, 272.

<sup>97</sup>David Bandurski, “The Mea Culpa Machine,” University of Hong Kong, China Media Project, reprinted in Medium, 15 July 16; Yaqiu Wang, “As Beijing Tightens Grip on Hong Kong Media, Mainland Journalists Suffer,” Committee to Project Journalists (blog), 15 August 16.

<sup>98</sup>Tom Phillips, “Mysterious Confession Fuels Fears of Beijing’s Influence on Hong Kong’s Top Newspaper,” Guardian, 25 July 16; David Bandurski, “The Mea Culpa Machine,” University of Hong Kong, China Media Project, reprinted in Medium, 15 July 16.

<sup>99</sup>Zheping Huang, “China Is Using Hong Kong’s Media To Broadcast Its Smear Campaigns,” Quartz, 1 August 16; David Bandurski, “The Mea Culpa Machine,” University of Hong Kong, China Media Project, reprinted in Medium, 15 July 16.

<sup>100</sup>Jeffie Lam et al., “Top Editor at Major Hong Kong Newspaper Abruptly Sacks Deputy,” *South China Morning Post*, 20 April 16; “Firing of Top Hong Kong Editor After Panama Report Rattles City’s Media,” *Radio Free Asia*, 20 April 16.

<sup>101</sup>Hong Kong Journalists Association, Independent Commentators Association, Hong Kong Press Photographers Association, Journalism Educators for Press Freedom, RTHK Programme Staff Union, Next Media Trade Union, and International Federation of Journalists, “Ming Pao Suddenly Fires Executive Chief Editor Keung Kwok-yuen, Seven Associations Express Deep Shock” [Ming bao tu jiegou zhi zong jiang guoyuan qi hui shen biao zhenjing], 20 April 16; Ming Pao Staff Association, “With Executive Editors Replaced One After Another, Staff Association Worried Reducing Expenses Is Really Payback” [Jie’erliansan chehuan bianji bu guanli ceng xiehui you jieliu zhi ming shi qiuhou suanzhang], reprinted in *InMediaHK*, 20 April 16.

<sup>102</sup>Michael Forsythe and Alan Wong, “Timing of Editor’s Firing Has Hong Kong Worried About Press Freedom,” *New York Times*, 20 April 16; “Firing of Top Hong Kong Editor After Panama Report Rattles City’s Media,” *Radio Free Asia*, 20 April 16.

<sup>103</sup>Jeffie Lam et al., “Top Editor at Major Hong Kong Newspaper Abruptly Sacks Deputy,” *South China Morning Post*, 20 April 16; “Firing of Top Hong Kong Editor After Panama Report Rattles City’s Media,” *Radio Free Asia*, 20 April 16; Ming Pao Staff Association, “With Executive Editors Replaced One After Another, Staff Association Worried Reducing Expenses Is Really Payback” [Jie’erliansan chehuan bianji bu guanli ceng xiehui you jieliu zhi ming shi qiuhou suanzhang], reprinted in *InMediaHK*, 20 April 16.

<sup>104</sup>Joseph Lian Yizheng, “Farewell HKEJ,” *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 1 August 16, translated in *EJInsight*, 2 August 16.

<sup>105</sup>Independent Commentators Association and Hong Kong Journalists Association, “ICA and HKJA Express Shock at HKEJ Ending Joseph Lian Yi-zheng’s Column” [Pingxie jixie dui “xinbao” ting lian yizheng zhuanlan biao zhenjing], 29 July 16; “Open Letter to HKEJ Editor-in-Chief Alice Kwok Yim-ming” [Zhi “xinbao” zongbianji guo yanming de gongkai xin], reprinted in Facebook, 31 July 16. See also Reporters Without Borders, “The Invisible Hand on Hong Kong’s Media,” 29 April 16, 9–10.

<sup>106</sup>Joseph Lian Yizheng, “How Hong Kong Independence Can Be Legal,” *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 11 April 16, translated in *EJInsight*, 13 April 16; Joseph Lian Yizheng, “What Beijing Needs To Understand About Separatists,” *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 25 July 16, translated in *EJInsight*, 26 July 16.

<sup>107</sup>Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo aomen tebie xingzhengqu jiben fa], passed 31 March 93, effective 20 December 99, arts. 47, 68; annexes I, II.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 40.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, arts. 12 (“The Macao Special Administrative Region . . . shall enjoy a high degree of autonomy . . .”), 16 (“The Macao Special Administrative Region . . . shall, on its own, conduct the administrative affairs of the Region . . .”), 22 (“No department of the Central People’s Government and no province, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government may interfere in the affairs which the Macao Special Administrative Region administers, on its own, in accordance with this Law.”).

<sup>110</sup>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 66, entry into force 23 March 76, art. 25(b). Article 25(b) of the ICCPR guarantees the right “to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage . . .”

<sup>111</sup>UN Human Rights Committee, Concluding Observations on the Initial Report of Macao, China, adopted by the Committee at its 107th session (11–28 March 2013), CCPR/C/CHN-MAC/CO/1, 29 April 13, para. 7; UN Human Rights Committee, Report on Follow-up to the Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee, CCPR/C/112/2, 8 December 14, 23.

<sup>112</sup>“Electoral Law Revision Approved With Critics From Pro-Democracy Wing,” *Macau Daily Times*, 10 August 16.

<sup>113</sup>Andreia Sofia Silva, “Secretary Sets Aside Increase in Deputies and Political Reform” [Secretária afasta aumento de deputados e reforma política], *Hoje Macau*, 24 November 15; “Electoral Law Revision Approved With Critics From Pro-Democracy Wing,” *Macau Daily Times*, 10 August 16.

<sup>114</sup>New Macau Association, “Association Won’t Stand for the Charge of Disobedience Being Imposed on Peaceful Petitioners” [Xueshe juebu jieshou xiang heping dixin zhe qiangjia weiling zuiming], reprinted in Facebook, 1 August 16; Angela Ka and Joana Freitas, “Another Accusation of Civil Disobedience” [Mais uma acusação de desobediência civil], *Hoje Macau*, 10 August 16. See also Daniel Beitler, “New Macau Head Deemed Suspect in Public Disorder Case,” *Macau Daily Times*, 17 June 16.

<sup>115</sup>Daniel Beitler, “New Macau Head Deemed Suspect in Public Disorder Case,” *Macau Daily Times*, 17 June 16.

<sup>116</sup>“3,000 March in Macau Calling on CE Chui Sai On To Step Down” [Aomen 3000 ren youxing cu teshou cui shi’an xiatai], *Radio Free Asia*, 16 May 16; Daniel Beitler, “Government Losing ‘Credibility’ and ‘Trust’ With Macau Youth,” *Macau Daily Times*, 17 May 16.

<sup>117</sup>Macau Journalists’ Association, “On the Pressure on Reporters, AJM Condemns Black Hands’ Interference in Jinan University Report” [Xiang jizhe shiye chuanxie qianze heishou ganyu jida baodao], Facebook, 13 May 16.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.* See also CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 171; CECC, 2013 Annual Report, 10 October 13, 189–90; CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 188–89; CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 328.

<sup>119</sup>“Law Proposal ‘Facilitates’ Handover of Convicts and Suspects to China” [Proposta de lei “facilita” entrega de condenados e suspeitos à china], *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 16 December 15; Macau Government Information Bureau, “Sonia Chan Hoi Fan: HK–Macao Talks on Criminal and Judicial Assistance Agreement Progressing Smoothly” [Chen haifan: gang’ao shangtao xingshi sifa huzhou xieyi jinzhuan shunli], 10 March 16.

<sup>120</sup>Macau Government Information Bureau, “Sonia Chan Hoi Fan: HK–Macau Talks on Criminal and Judicial Assistance Agreement Progressing Smoothly” [Chen haifan: gang’ao shangtao xingshi sifa huzhu xieyi jinzhan shunli], 10 March 16.

<sup>121</sup>“Law Proposal ‘Facilitates’ Handover of Convicts and Suspects to China” [Proposta de lei “facilita” entrega de condenados e suspeitos à china], *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 16 December 15; “New Macau Fears ‘Abuses of Power’ in Handover of Convicts or Fugitives” [Novo macau teme “abusos de poder” na entrega de condenados ou fugitivos], *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 4 February 16.

<sup>122</sup>“AL Rejects Extradition Treaty in Surprise Move,” *Macau Daily Times*, 9 May 16; “Macau Legislative Assembly Sends Extradition Bill Back to Government” [Aomen lifa hui tuihui zhengfu yindu fa’an], *Macau News*, 9 May 16.

<sup>123</sup>Macau Government Information Bureau, “Sonia Chan Hoi Fan: Withdrawal of ‘Law on Interregional Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters’ Is Strategic Readjustment” [Chen haifan: chehui “quji xingshi sifa xiezhu fa” shu celue tiaozheng], 18 June 16.

<sup>124</sup>UN Committee against Torture, Concluding Observations on the Fifth Periodic Report of Macao, China, adopted by the Committee at its 1393rd Meeting (3 December 2015), CAT/C/CHN-MAC/CO/5, 3 January 16, paras. 22, 23; UN Committee against Torture, Concluding Observations on the Fifth Periodic Report of China With Respect to Hong Kong, China, adopted by the Committee at its 1392nd and 1393rd Meetings (3 December 2015), CAT/C/CHN-HKG/CO/5, 3 February 16, paras. 22, 23.

<sup>125</sup>Raquel Carvalho, “Macau Handed Hong Kong Residents to Mainland Authorities, Despite Court Declaring It Illegal,” *South China Morning Post*, 21 February 16; “Ng Kuok Cheong Wants To See Handover of HKSAR Residents to China Clarified” [Ng kuok cheong quer ver clarificada entrega à china de residentes da RAEHK], *Jornal Ponto Final*, 23 February 16. See also Court of Final Appeal of the Macau Special Administrative Region, Case No. 12/2007 [Di 12/2007 hao an], issued 20 March 07, Summary; Court of Final Appeal of the Macau Special Administrative Region, Case No. 3/2008 [Di 3/2008 hao an], issued 12 February 08, Summary, 3; CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 329.

<sup>126</sup>New Macau Association, “Urging Wong Sio Chak To Make Public the So-Called ‘Consensus’ Reached by Hong Kong and Macau Governments on Extradition Agreement” [Cuqing huang shaoze gongbu gang’ao zhengfu jiu yijiao taofan xieyi dacheng suowei “gongshi”], 3 February 16; “Hong Kong Disappearances Could ‘Easily’ Happen in Macau, Argues Activist” [Desaparecimentos de hong kong poderiam ocorrer “facilmente” em macau, defende activista], *Jornal Ponto Final*, 5 January 16; Niall Fraser, “Lee Po Scandal Threatens Deal on Fugitives Between Hong Kong and Macau, Casts Shadow on Legal System,” *South China Morning Post*, 31 January 16.

<sup>127</sup>“New Macau Fears ‘Abuses of Power’ in Handover of Convicts or Fugitives” [Novo macau teme “abusos de poder” na entrega de condenados ou fugitivos], *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 4 February 16; “Law Proposal ‘Facilitates’ Handover of Convicts and Suspects to China” [Proposta de lei “facilita” entrega de condenados e suspeitos à china], *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 16 December 15.

<sup>128</sup>Raquel Carvalho, “Fugitive Hong Kong Billionaire Joseph Lau Could Face Jail Time in Macau if Legal Deal Is Retroactive,” *South China Morning Post*, 5 February 16.

<sup>129</sup>Niall Fraser, “Chinese Officials To Meet Macau Regulators as Mainland Tightens Screws on Gambling Hub,” *South China Morning Post*, 18 January 15. See also CECC, 2015 Annual Report, 8 October 15, 328–329.

<sup>130</sup>Niall Fraser, “Macau Could Face Crackdown as Beijing Gets Tough on Abuse of China UnionPay System,” *South China Morning Post*, 11 December 15; Monetary Authority of Macau, “Real-Time Monitoring System of Mainland Bank Cards” [Guonei yinhang ka zai xian jiankong xitong], 11 December 15.

<sup>131</sup>Monetary Authority of Macau, “Real-Time Monitoring System of Mainland Bank Cards” [Guonei yinhang ka zai xian jiankong xitong], 11 December 15.

<sup>132</sup>“Illegal Transactions With UnionPay Cards in Macau Rise to 140 Million Euros” [Transações ilegais com cartões union pay em macau ascenderam a 140 ME], *Lusa*, reprinted in SAPO24, 5 January 16.

<sup>133</sup>“Illegal Transactions With UnionPay Cards in Macau Rise to 238 Million Euros Through June” [Transações ilegais com cartões union pay em macau ascenderam a 238 ME até junho], *Lusa*, reprinted in SAPO News, 24 July 16.

<sup>134</sup>Monetary Authority of Macau, “Real-Time Monitoring System of Mainland Bank Cards” [Guonei yinhang ka zai xian jiankong xitong], 11 December 15.