

## XI. Hong Kong and Macau

### HONG KONG AND MACAU

#### *Findings*

- Since the 2019 pro-democracy protests, Hong Kong authorities have used national security laws to suppress and prevent all forms of political dissent. In 2024, 47 pro-democracy activists were convicted of subversion for organizing an unofficial primary election. A law passed in March 2024, the *Safeguarding National Security Ordinance*, introduced harsher penalties for offenses such as sedition and expanded the scope of punishable activities. By early 2025, hundreds had been arrested under national security charges, with many serving prison sentences. High-profile cases included the ongoing trial of publisher Jimmy Lai, charged with collusion with foreign forces, and the sentencing of former *Stand News* editors for publishing content critical of the government.
- More civil society organizations disbanded amid legal and political pressure. The Democratic Party, once Hong Kong's largest opposition party, began dissolution procedures after being approached by representatives allegedly linked to the PRC government. A religious group focusing on political engagement likewise announced disbandment, saying that it could no longer carry out its mission in the current social environment.
- Government control over the social work profession tightened, as the Legislative Council changed the law to consolidate control by government appointees and to disqualify social workers convicted of national security offenses, some of whom were present at protests in 2019 monitoring police conduct.
- Media restrictions continued, as journalists were deterred from advocating for press freedom by the threat of job termination. The Hong Kong government also denied entry to foreign journalists, a practice that could be regularized, as a law was passed that requires airlines to submit preboarding passenger information for screening purposes.
- Hong Kong authorities increasingly restricted the flow of information, including through censorship, with extraterritorial effect, as shown in their attempt to block the overseas publication *Flow HK*. A new law taking effect in 2026 will give police broad powers over designated private tech companies, raising concerns about privacy, corporate autonomy, and the government's access to data, including data stored overseas.
- The Macau government implemented extensive security measures for a visit by PRC leader Xi Jinping in December 2024, and reports of consequent disruptions were censored. In addition to celebrating the 25th anniversary of Macau's reunification with China, Xi also inaugurated the new chief executive, Sam Hou Fai, who was elected in an uncontested election and whose judicial rulings in his former capacity as a top judge contributed to the restrictions on fundamental freedoms.

## HONG KONG AND MACAU

### *Hong Kong*

Following the large-scale pro-democracy protests in 2019, Hong Kong authorities have been trying to suppress political dissent in the name of national security. Such efforts have resulted in the rapid curtailment of fundamental freedoms and the erosion of the rule of law, a trend that has continued during this reporting year.

### *Criminal Prosecution*

As the Hong Kong government emphasized security as a primary policy objective, authorities continued to impose criminal penalties to suppress dissent, mainly relying on national security laws.<sup>1</sup> Two sets of national security laws are enforced in Hong Kong: the *People's Republic of China (PRC) Law on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (National Security Law or NSL)* enacted in June 2020, and the *Safeguarding National Security Ordinance (SNSO)* enacted in March 2024.<sup>2</sup> The Hong Kong judiciary reported that as of February 2025, the court system had received 2,350 protest cases and 230 national security cases, at a rate of about 4 per month and 2.5 per month in 2024, respectively.<sup>3</sup> National security cases consume significant resources, as they must be adjudicated by three judges, which lengthens the wait time to nearly 400 days for non-political cases at the district courts.<sup>4</sup>

A study reported that between 2020 and 2024, Hong Kong authorities arrested 296 individuals under national security laws, charged 158, convicted 77, and acquitted 2.<sup>5</sup> Other laws, such as those applicable to rioting and unauthorized assembly, are similarly applied in ways that undermine fundamental freedoms, including speech, press, and assembly.<sup>6</sup> Taking into account a broader range of offenses such as rioting, non-profit organization Hong Kong Democracy Council documented 1,928 political prisoners as of April 2025.<sup>7</sup>

### NATIONAL SECURITY LAW

The prosecution of 47 pro-democracy activists, commonly referred to as the “Hong Kong 47,” highlights how the NSL has targeted peaceful civic participation. In November 2024, three High Court judges, Andrew Chan Hing-wai, Alex Lee Wan-tang, and Johnny Chan Jong-herng, sentenced 45 individuals to prison terms ranging from 4 years and 2 months to 10 years on subversion charges.<sup>8</sup> The court found four defendants to be principal offenders: **Benny Tai Yiu-ting, Au Nok-hin, Andrew Chiu Ka-yin, and Ben Chung Kam-lun.**<sup>9</sup> With the exception of **Gwyneth Ho Kwai-lam**, the defendants received sentence mitigation for various reasons, including having pleaded guilty or having assisted the investigation.<sup>10</sup> Twenty-eight defendants pleaded guilty, and two were acquitted in May 2024.<sup>11</sup> Police arrested the defendants in January 2021 for participating in an unofficial primary election conducted in July 2020 to select candidates in the pro-democracy camp to run for election to the Legislative Council.<sup>12</sup> The U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong maintained that peaceful participation in political activity is protected under Hong Kong's Basic Law.<sup>13</sup>

In a different case, pro-democracy figure **Jimmy Lai Chee-ying** completed his 52-day- long testimony in March 2025, concluding the 144-day trial in which he defended himself against two counts of conspiracy to collude with foreign forces and one count of conspiracy to publish seditious materials.<sup>14</sup> Authorities alleged that Lai, founder of newspaper *Apple Daily*, had urged foreign politicians to impose sanctions and trade restrictions on Hong Kong and China and that he had provided financial support for the pro-democracy movement in 2019.<sup>15</sup> As of March 2025, the closing argument was scheduled for August 2025.<sup>16</sup> Lai's legal team alleged that Lai had been held under solitary confinement, spending over 23 hours a day in his cell, and was deprived of independent medical care.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE SAFEGUARDING NATIONAL SECURITY ORDINANCE

Enacted in March 2024, the SNSO supplements the NSL primarily by modifying existing offenses and putting them in one place.<sup>18</sup> For example, the offense of sedition was moved from the *Crimes Ordinance*, and the maximum sentence was increased from 2 to 7 years (and 10 if foreign forces are involved).<sup>19</sup> Within the first year of the SNSO's enactment, Hong Kong authorities had charged five individuals, sentencing three, with the goal of suppressing conduct deemed seditious and discouraging support for "absconders."<sup>20</sup> Foreign investors expressed concern about offenses such as "theft of state secrets," and legal experts flagged the law's chilling effect on political speech.<sup>21</sup>

The number of people arrested under the SNSO remained undisclosed as of May 2025. Among those arrested were **Chow Hang-tung**, her mother and uncle, and five others,<sup>22</sup> who were accused by the police of using social media posts to incite hatred of the PRC and the Hong Kong governments ahead of June 4, 2024, the 35th anniversary of the violent suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests.<sup>23</sup> Authorities released the arrestees on bail, except for Chow, who remained held at the Tai Lam Centre for Women as of March 2025.<sup>24</sup>

The first conviction under the SNSO involved **Chu Kai-pong**, who wore a T-shirt and a mask bearing slogans used during the 2019 protests in Hong Kong.<sup>25</sup> Chief Magistrate Victor So Wai-tak sentenced Chu to 14 months in prison for sedition in September 2024, finding that an earlier prison sentence of three months for wearing a similar T-shirt did not sufficiently deter Chu.<sup>26</sup> Shortly thereafter, the judge sentenced **Chung Man-kit** to 10 months in prison on the same charge for writing protest slogans on bus seats.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, **Au Kin-wai** received a 14-month sentence for posting on social media with "seditious intention."<sup>28</sup>

The SNSO also amended existing law to retroactively provide that a prisoner convicted of a national security offense is ineligible for remission of sentence unless the commissioner of correctional services is satisfied that granting it would not be contrary to national security interests.<sup>29</sup> Individuals affected by this amendment include **Ma Chun-man**, who was convicted of inciting secession in 2021 for advocating for Hong Kong independence and was expected to be released by March 25, 2024, for good conduct, two days after the effective date of the SNSO.<sup>30</sup> Ma's appeal of the denial of his

## Hong Kong and Macau

remission application, however, was dismissed in December 2024 by High Court Judge Alex Lee Wan-tang.<sup>31</sup> Chief Executive John Lee said that not granting remission was standard practice in national security cases.<sup>32</sup>

In May 2025, **Kwok Yin-sang**, father of exiled activist **Anna Kwok**, appeared before Chief Magistrate Victor So on the charge of “attempting to deal with . . . any funds . . . belonging to . . . a relevant absconder,” after allegedly trying to obtain funds from Anna’s insurance policies.<sup>33</sup> He was the first person charged for this offense and was later granted bail.<sup>34</sup>

### SNSO SUBSIDIARY LEGISLATION

In May 2025, Hong Kong authorities enacted the *Safeguarding National Security (Office for Safeguarding National Security of the Central People’s Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) Regulation (SNSO Subsidiary Legislation)*.<sup>35</sup> The government introduced the bill using a procedure that allowed it to be published in the government’s gazette before being submitted for scrutiny by the Legislative Council, which vetted the legislation in about five hours.<sup>36</sup> Designed to facilitate the operations of the Office for Safeguarding National Security (OSNS) of the PRC central government, the law requires public servants to assist the OSNS and creates six offenses to punish people who frustrate demands made by it.<sup>37</sup> In June, the OSNS requested assistance from the national security arm of the Hong Kong Police Force and carried out a joint operation, raiding the homes of six people and the office of an organization suspected of collusion with a foreign country.<sup>38</sup>

Another piece of legislation, passed at the same time using the same abbreviated procedure, designated the offices of the OSNS as “prohibited places.”<sup>39</sup> Criminal liability may attach for anyone who approaches, inspects, or is in the neighborhood of a prohibited place without authorization.<sup>40</sup> Within days after the law was passed, police stopped journalists of a local media outlet from photographing and filming near two locations linked to the OSNS.<sup>41</sup>

### SEDITION

People prosecuted under the previous sedition law (the version before it was subsumed under and modified by the SNSO) included **Chung Pui-kuen** and **Patrick Lam**, former editors of news outlet *Stand News*, which was shuttered in 2021 after police raided its newsroom and froze its assets.<sup>42</sup> In September 2024, District Court Judge Kwok Wai-kin found that 11 articles published during the tenure of the defendants were intended to “smear and vilify” the PRC and Hong Kong governments when over half of Hong Kong society was distrustful of authorities.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, the judge sentenced Chung to 1 year and 9 months in prison and Lam to time served of 10 months.<sup>44</sup>

In March 2025, the Court of Final Appeal dismissed a challenge brought by radio host **Tam Tak-chi** concerning his 40-month sentence that was in part premised on his chanting a protest slogan deemed to be seditious.<sup>45</sup> One of the conclusions reached by the court was that “the prosecution was not required to establish that the words uttered by the appellant were intended to incite violence

or public disorder.”<sup>46</sup> Several pending cases were adjourned, as this ruling could have implications on how defendants plea.<sup>47</sup>

#### RIOTING

In February 2025, District Court Judge Stanley Chan Kwong-chi sentenced former opposition politician **Lam Cheuk-ting** to three years and one month in prison on a rioting charge, a heavier sentence than the sentences given the other six defendants who stood trial with him.<sup>48</sup> The charge was related to a mob attack that took place in July 2019 at a subway station where suspected gang members wearing white shirts indiscriminately attacked commuters (“721 incident”).<sup>49</sup> The judge rejected Lam’s contention that he was trying to de-escalate and to monitor police conduct, finding instead that Lam had provoked the attackers.<sup>50</sup> Lam himself was attacked by a white-shirted person and sustained injuries to his arms and head.<sup>51</sup> At the time of sentencing in this case, Lam was serving two other sentences: six years and nine months in the Hong Kong 47 case discussed above, and four months for disclosing information about an investigation concerning allegations of police misconduct in the 721 incident.<sup>52</sup>

#### UNAUTHORIZED ASSEMBLY

In August 2024, Magistrate Edward Wong sentenced **Isaac Lee** to eight weeks in prison for unauthorized assembly.<sup>53</sup> Sixteen years old at the time, Lee joined around 100 people singing songs in a shopping mall on June 30, 2020, hours before the NSL became effective.<sup>54</sup> Reports did not show that the prosecution alleged any acts of violence or disorderly conduct.<sup>55</sup>

Also convicted of unauthorized assembly for joining a peaceful demonstration were **Martin Lee Chu-ming, Margaret Ng Ngoi-ye, Jimmy Lai Chee-ying, Albert Ho Chun-yan, Lee Cheuk-yan, Leung Kwok-hung, and Cyd Ho Sau-lan**. In August 2024, the Court of Final Appeal dismissed their appeal, declining to follow a test established in British jurisprudence that assesses whether an official action disproportionately infringes on a fundamental right.<sup>56</sup>

Adjudicating an appeal challenging the acquittal of former district councilor **Lo Kin-hei**, the Court of Appeal in March 2025 affirmed the lower court’s decision, reasoning that the prosecution failed to establish the requisite intent to participate in an unauthorized assembly.<sup>57</sup> While Lo in November 2019 was near Hong Kong Polytechnic University where protesters and police clashed, he was not in protest gear and did not confront police, the court found.<sup>58</sup>

#### NATIONAL ANTHEM ORDINANCE

Enacted in 2020, the *National Anthem Ordinance* imposes up to three years of imprisonment on a person found to have “undermine[d] the dignity of the national anthem as a symbol and sign of the People’s Republic of China . . . .”<sup>59</sup>

In October 2024, **Chan Pak-yui** decided to drop his appeal and began serving his eight-week sentence for allegedly covering his ears, remaining seated, and singing a protest song when the national anthem was played at a volleyball game.<sup>60</sup> Magistrate Kestrel Lam Tsz Hong had previously rejected his defense that he had au-

tism and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, finding that he had told police that he disliked China’s team and the PRC anthem.<sup>61</sup>

In January 2025, **Lau Pun-hei** pleaded not guilty before Magistrate Don So to the charge of insulting the national anthem, which was based on police allegations that he had turned his back to the field and not stood for the entirety of the anthem when it was played at a soccer match.<sup>62</sup>

FAILURE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION

In March 2025, the Court of Final Appeal quashed the convictions of **Tang Ngok-kwan**, **Tsui Hon-kwong**, and **Chow Hang-tung**, who were members of the disbanded Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China (Hong Kong Alliance).<sup>63</sup> The convictions were premised on their refusal to surrender documents to authorities, who alleged that the group was a “foreign agent” for an unidentified organization.<sup>64</sup> In granting the appeal, the court held that the trial judge failed to establish acting as a “foreign agent” as a necessary element of the offense and that it was an error to preclude the defendants from challenging the validity of the notice demanding information.<sup>65</sup>

BANNER DISPLAY

Police arrested **Chan Ki-kau** after he displayed two banners in a park in 2023 without having obtained prior permission, charging him with an offense that carried a maximum sentence of three months in prison.<sup>66</sup> The wording on the banners was not political, but Chan was known to be an activist, having been on the front lines of demonstrations attempting to de-escalate tensions between protesters and police during the 2019 protests.<sup>67</sup> Chan stood trial and argued that briefly displaying the banners for about one minute lacked sufficient regularity or permanence to warrant the requirement of prior permission.<sup>68</sup> Agreeing with the argument, the judge acquitted Chan and awarded him litigation fees.<sup>69</sup>

Blocking Business Deal on National Security Grounds

Beyond the criminal context, PRC authorities tried to block a private business transaction on national security grounds, potentially leading to apprehension on the part of international businesses about investing in Hong Kong.<sup>70</sup> The proposed sale of two ports in Panama by Hong Kong-based CK Hutchison Holdings Limited to U.S.-based BlackRock, Inc. became the focal point of a contest of control between China and the United States over an important transportation route.<sup>71</sup> The PRC government, through state-controlled news outlet *Ta Kung Pao*, urged Hutchison to reconsider the sale, claiming that it could violate national security and antitrust laws.<sup>72</sup> Success in such effort could be evidence of the PRC government’s direct control over private companies and of the further erosion of Hong Kong’s reputation as an international financial hub.<sup>73</sup>



*Transnational Repression*

In December 2024, the Hong Kong Police Force issued arrest warrants for 6 exiled Hong Kongers, bringing the total number of such warrants to 19.<sup>74</sup> Accused of national security offenses including secession, subversion, and collusion with a foreign country, the six wanted individuals are **Tony Chung Hon-lam, Chung Kim-wah, Victor Ho Leung-mau, Joseph Tay, Carmen Lau Ka-man, and Chloe Cheung Hei-ching.**<sup>75</sup> The charges were based on speech and peaceful activities advocating for policy measures such as revoking diplomatic privileges of Hong Kong's economic and trade offices, or issuing warnings on the risk of conducting business in Hong Kong.<sup>76</sup> Simultaneously, police also announced the freezing of assets and cancellation of the passports of seven individuals who were previously identified as absconders.<sup>77</sup> As of March 2025, police also had taken in for questioning a total of at least 15 family members of some wanted individuals.<sup>78</sup> Partly in response to the arrest warrants, the United States Government imposed sanctions on 6 Hong Kong officials, adding to the list of 42 previously sanctioned individuals.<sup>79</sup> Commissioner of Police Joe Chow Yat-ming, appointed in April 2025, characterized the sanctions as evidence of the government's success in its national security work and vowed to do more of it.<sup>80</sup> [For more information, see Chapter 17—Human Rights Violations in the U.S. and Globally.]

*Civil Society*

The Hong Kong government further marginalized people who joined the protests in 2019 and directly or indirectly exerted pressure to cause more civil society groups to disband. The Legislative Council in July 2024 changed the composition of the Social Workers Registration Board, a statutory body responsible for regulating a body of 27,000 social workers by maintaining their registrations and handling disciplinary matters.<sup>81</sup> The legislative amendment increased seats on the board from 15 to 27 and raised the number of government-appointed seats from 6 to 18,<sup>82</sup> thus making elected representatives a minority on the Board.<sup>83</sup> A provision also was revised to disqualify a person for registration if convicted of a national security offense.<sup>84</sup> Over 90 percent of social workers and students in the field who responded to a survey were worried that social workers could be accused of national security offenses when doing their job and said that that would undermine professional autonomy.<sup>85</sup> Seven of the eight elected board members resigned before the amendment took effect, and the election for the reconstituted board saw a 17 percent drop in turnout.<sup>86</sup>

Some social workers, including those arrested for unlawful assembly and other charges related to the 2019 protests, were concerned that they could face obstacles when renewing their licenses in the future.<sup>87</sup> Social worker **Jackie Chen Hung-sau**, for example, was originally acquitted of the charge of “rioting,” but upon appeal by the prosecution was sentenced in April 2025 to three years and nine months in prison.<sup>88</sup> Chen was a member of a civil society organization called “Battlefield Social Worker” and was present at protests to monitor police action and to provide emotional support to people.<sup>89</sup>

Social work reportedly was one of three areas targeted by the central government, along with the judiciary and education.<sup>90</sup>

Shortly after the amendment of the social work ordinance, the Hong Kong Christian Institute announced that it would deregister and disband by the end of July 2024.<sup>91</sup> Having an expressed goal of engaging in social and political action, the group said that it could no longer freely carry out its mission in the current social environment.<sup>92</sup> The group supported the pro-democracy protests in 2019, during which it called for a strike and criticized the Hong Kong police's use of excessive force.<sup>93</sup> One of the group's former chairs, **Helena Wong Pik-wan**, was among those detained in the Hong Kong 47 case.<sup>94</sup>

In April 2025, the chairman of the Democratic Party told reporters that the party would begin a dissolution process once 90 percent of its 110 members voted in favor of it.<sup>95</sup> Senior members of the party said that PRC officials or their middlemen had asked the party to dissolve or face serious consequences.<sup>96</sup> Founded in 1994, the Democratic Party is considered the last remaining major opposition group previously active in the Legislative Council.<sup>97</sup>

In June 2025, another major pro-democracy group, the League of Social Democrats, announced its disbandment after nearly two decades of advocating for democratic reform and worker rights.<sup>98</sup> The group said the decision was made under "immense political pressure," as nearly all its members in leadership positions had been imprisoned.<sup>99</sup>

### *Freedom of Information*

Through a series of rulemaking and enforcement measures, Hong Kong authorities continued to restrict freedom of information, creating an environment more aligned with the PRC.<sup>100</sup> A November 2024 report identified 11 sets of laws that worked in tandem within the national security framework to restrict the flow of information on the internet, resulting in at least eight instances of website censorship since 2021.<sup>101</sup> One of these instances concerned the diaspora magazine *Flow HK*, which Hong Kong police tried to block by demanding that the publication's U.S.-based hosting provider Automattic Inc. cease its hosting services on national security grounds.<sup>102</sup> Despite threats of criminal liability, Automattic Inc. declined to comply.<sup>103</sup> But in October 2024, *Flow HK* reportedly was inaccessible through three network providers.<sup>104</sup> This development highlighted several risks faced by tech companies, including losing product control and creating conflicts with their code of ethics.<sup>105</sup>

The trend of increasing information restriction continued with the passage of a law called the *Protection of Critical Infrastructures (Computer Systems) Ordinance*.<sup>106</sup> Expected to take effect in January 2026, the law exempts government agencies from compliance and grants police broad search and seizure powers over private companies designated as "Critical Infrastructure Operators," the list of which will not be publicized.<sup>107</sup> While the Secretary for Security said that the law had no extraterritorial effect, the law requires covered companies to produce information accessible from Hong Kong even if it is stored elsewhere.<sup>108</sup> Analysts expressed concern that the law would empower the Hong Kong government to compel pri-



vate companies to disclose sensitive information, putting personal privacy and property rights at risk.<sup>109</sup>

### *Media Freedom*

In addition to its attempt to block *Flow HK* as mentioned above, the Hong Kong government continued to implement a policy that had the effect of undermining media freedom in the city. Diminishing media freedom was on display when the *Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) fired reporter Selina Cheng, who had been elected weeks before to chair the Hong Kong Journalists Association (HKJA), the city's largest press union with over 300 members.<sup>110</sup> Management of WSJ previously told Cheng to refrain from advocating for press freedom in Hong Kong and asked her to quit the HKJA board and to withdraw from the election.<sup>111</sup> Other HKJA members reportedly received similar pressure from their employers.<sup>112</sup> State-run news outlet *Global Times* ran an article speaking favorably of Cheng's termination, criticizing her for attacking national security laws in Hong Kong.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, Reporters Without Borders found that since the adoption of the NSL in 2020, press freedom in Hong Kong has "suffered an unprecedented series of setbacks," with 11 journalists being held in detention.<sup>114</sup>

Authorities also tried to interfere with the distribution of printed materials under the pretext of enforcing building codes. In December 2024, police and environmental hygiene officers inspected shop-front extensions during a weeklong independent bookfair.<sup>115</sup> While no building violations were cited, police searched the bags and identifications of people who bought books.<sup>116</sup> The bookfair was held at and near the location of the shuttered Mount Zero, an independent bookstore that hosted activities featuring pro-democracy topics and which was forced to close in 2024 due to a series of inspections and anonymous complaints.<sup>117</sup>

### **New Regulation May Regularize Entry Denials**

During this reporting year, Hong Kong authorities denied entry to at least three foreign journalists, namely, Haze Fan of *Bloomberg News*, Louise Delmotte of the *Associated Press*, and David Missal of Tibet Initiative Deutschland.<sup>118</sup> These cases add to the list of journalists and activists who were previously denied entry on apparent political grounds.<sup>119</sup>

With the enactment of the advance passenger information (API) regulation in September 2024, this type of entry denial may become more frequent.<sup>120</sup> The regulation requires airlines to furnish before departure the personal information of all inbound travelers, including those in transit, and authorizes immigration officers to deny entry without giving a reason.<sup>121</sup> While over 100 countries have similar API requirements,<sup>122</sup>

**New Regulation May Regularize Entry Denials—Continued**

Hong Kong’s regulation does not provide for any data retention period, creating privacy risks.<sup>123</sup> After several months of implementation, the Secretary for Security reported in February 2025 that the API system had successfully prevented persons ineligible for entry from boarding inbound flights, but he declined to provide the figures.<sup>124</sup> The Secretary added that the Immigration Department would “enhance intelligence exchanges with law enforcement agencies in Hong Kong and other places . . . to prevent the entry of undesirable persons into Hong Kong,”<sup>125</sup> which suggests that, as cautioned by the U.S. Government, travelers will be exposed to the increased risk of arbitrary enforcement of national security laws.<sup>126</sup>

*Self-Censorship in Media*

Increased restrictions on the media may have induced self-censorship.<sup>127</sup> While self-censorship is difficult to gauge due to its inherently private nature, a survey reflected an increased prevalence of the perception that self-censorship was being practiced in the media.<sup>128</sup> The survey, conducted by the Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI), showed that 65 percent of 669 Hong Kong residents interviewed “perceived news outlets to have practiced self-censorship—up eight per cent from [2023] and a record high—while only 22 per cent indicated otherwise.”<sup>129</sup>

*Chilling Effect on Opinion Polls*

Datapoints such as those collected by PORI, however, may soon no longer be available.<sup>130</sup> Shortly after the above-mentioned survey was published, PORI announced in February 2025 that it would suspend all self-funded research and may even close down.<sup>131</sup> The announcement was made after police raided its office and after they had twice taken in its CEO Robert Chung for questioning in January.<sup>132</sup> The questioning could be related to the arrest warrant for PORI’s former deputy CEO Chung Kim-wah, which was issued in December 2024 based on allegations that he had requested that foreign governments impose sanctions on the Hong Kong and PRC governments.<sup>133</sup> While the Secretary for Security said that the questioning of Robert Chung was unrelated to PORI’s survey results, Chung said that the organization had to suspend the promotion of scientific polling given the current environment.<sup>134</sup>

*Macau*

In December 2024, PRC leader Xi Jinping visited Macau to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the city’s reunification with China.<sup>135</sup> Extensive security measures affected the normal operations of the city, such as rail and ferry services.<sup>136</sup> A report about facilities being shut down was removed by its publisher, *All About Macau Media*, which issued an apology but declined to confirm whether the removal was ordered by authorities.<sup>137</sup> Political activists, including those living outside of Macau, were pressured to refrain from making “in-harmonious” comments.<sup>138</sup>

Another purpose of Xi's visit was to inaugurate Macau's new chief executive, Sam Hou Fai, who in effect won in a unanimous vote, as he was the only candidate.<sup>139</sup> During his tenure as the president of the Court of Final Appeal of Macau, Sam handed down several politically sensitive rulings that severely restricted fundamental freedoms in the city.<sup>140</sup>

## Notes to Chapter 16—Hong Kong and Macau

<sup>1</sup>“The Chief Executive’s 2024 Policy Address,” *Chief Executive’s Office, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, People’s Republic of China*, October 16, 2024, sec. 15. For previous coverage of the application of Hong Kong’s national security laws to suppress dissent, see, e.g., Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “2024 Annual Report,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, December 2024, 276–282.

<sup>2</sup>“Law of the People’s Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region,” passed and effective June 30, 2020; “Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305, passed and effective March 23, 2024.

<sup>3</sup>“司法機構稱過去一年新接獲約80宗反修例或國安案 認多宗案件曝目「審期超出預計」” [The Judiciary says it received about 80 new cases related to anti-extradition law [protests] and national security in the past year, admitting that many cases were “exceeding the expected trial time”], *Channel C HK*, April 2, 2025.

<sup>4</sup>“司法機構稱過去一年新接獲約80宗反修例或國安案 認多宗案件曝目「審期超出預計」” [The Judiciary says it received about 80 new cases related to anti-extradition law [protests] and national security in the past year, admitting that many cases were “exceeding the expected trial time”], *Channel C HK*, April 2, 2025.

<sup>5</sup>“Tracking the Impact of Hong Kong’s National Security Law,” *ChinaFile*, November 14, 2024.

<sup>6</sup>See, e.g., “Hong Kong Student Jailed for 8 Weeks over Unlawful Shopping Mall Demo in 2020,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 12, 2024.

<sup>7</sup>“Hong Kong Political Prisoners,” *Hong Kong Democracy Council*, April 8, 2025; “Hong Kong Reaches a Grim Milestone: 1,000 Political Prisoners,” *Hong Kong Democracy Council*, May 2022, 13–20.

<sup>8</sup>“47人案 | 港首宗顛覆案判刑 戴耀廷囚10年 官裁4人屬首要分子、三級罰則不完全適用” [Hong Kong 47 case | Hong Kong’s first subversion case sentenced; Benny Tai sentenced to 10 years in prison; judge ruled that 4 people were the main culprits, and the third-level penalty was not fully applicable], *Witness*, November 19, 2024; Brian Wong, “Hong Kong 47: Court Rules Subversion Scheme as Severe as Violent Attack against Government,” *South China Morning Post*, November 19, 2024.

<sup>9</sup>“47人案 | 港首宗顛覆案判刑 戴耀廷囚10年 官裁4人屬首要分子、三級罰則不完全適用” [Hong Kong 47 case | Hong Kong’s first subversion case sentenced; Benny Tai sentenced to 10 years in prison; judge ruled that 4 people were the main culprits, and the third-level penalty was not fully applicable], *Witness*, November 19, 2024; “Hong Kong: 45 Democracy Advocates Harshly Sentenced,” *Human Rights Watch*, November 20, 2024.

<sup>10</sup>“47人案 | 港首宗顛覆案判刑 戴耀廷囚10年 官裁4人屬首要分子、三級罰則不完全適用” [Hong Kong 47 case | Hong Kong’s first subversion case sentenced; Benny Tai sentenced to 10 years in prison; judge ruled that 4 people were the main culprits, and the third-level penalty was not fully applicable], *Witness*, November 19, 2024; “【47人案】被判罪成囚7年 何桂藍提出上訴” [Hong Kong 47 case] convicted and sentenced to 7 years; Gwyneth Ho appeals], *Radio Free Asia*, November 29, 2024.

<sup>11</sup>“47人案 | 港首宗顛覆案判刑 戴耀廷囚10年 官裁4人屬首要分子、三級罰則不完全適用” [Hong Kong 47 case | Hong Kong’s first subversion case sentenced; Benny Tai sentenced to 10 years in prison; judge ruled that 4 people were the main culprits, and the third-level penalty was not fully applicable], *Witness*, November 19, 2024; “【47人案】首宗《國安法》脫罪案件 劉偉聰李予信被判無罪理據” [Hong Kong 47 case] First acquittal under the National Security Law; Lau Wai Chung and Lee Yue-shun found not guilty], *Radio Free Asia*, May 30, 2024.

<sup>12</sup>Jessie Pang and James Pomfret, “Hong Kong’s Marathon Trial of 47 Democrats Draws to a Close,” *Reuters*, November 19, 2024.

<sup>13</sup>Kanis Leung and Zen Soo, “45 Hong Kong Democracy Activists Get 4 to 10 Years in Prison under Beijing-Imposed Law,” *PBS News*, November 19, 2024.

<sup>14</sup>Jessie Pang and James Pomfret, “Hong Kong Democrat Jimmy Lai Finishes Testifying in National Security Trial,” *Reuters*, March 6, 2025.

<sup>15</sup>“黎智英案第四日審訊 | 控方指黎積極聯繫外國政要 假借自由之名請求制裁” [Jimmy Lai Trial Day 4 | Prosecution alleges Lai actively contacted foreign politicians, seeking sanctions under the guise of freedom], *Witness*, January 2, 2024; “黎智英案第六日審訊 | 控方：黎是「重光團隊」主腦 支援全球登報、打國際線” [Jimmy Lai Trial Day 6 | Prosecution: Lai Was the Mastermind behind the “Reignite Team,” Supporting Global Newspaper Ads and International Lobbying], *Witness*, January 4, 2025.

<sup>16</sup>“黎智英案 | 案件改於8.14結案陳詞” [Jimmy Lai Case | Closing Arguments Changed to August 14], *Witness*, March 11, 2025.

<sup>17</sup>Caoilfhionn Gallagher et al., “Jimmy Lai’s International Legal Team Files Urgent Appeal with the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture,” *Doughty Street Chambers*, September 12, 2024.

<sup>18</sup>“Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305, passed and effective March 23, 2024; “Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305; Hong Kong SAR Government, “Safeguarding National Security: Basic Law Article 23 Legislation. Public Consultation Document,” January 2024, 38–42.

<sup>19</sup>“Crimes Ordinance,” Cap. 200; “Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305, secs. 23, 24.

<sup>20</sup>“Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305; Edith Lin and Connor Mycroft, “Hong Kong’s Article 23, a Year of Restraint but What about Broader Impact?,” *South China Morning Post*, March 25, 2025.

<sup>21</sup>Edith Lin and Connor Mycroft, “Hong Kong’s Article 23, a Year of Restraint but What about Broader Impact?,” *South China Morning Post*, March 25, 2025.

<sup>22</sup>Hillary Leung, “8th Arrest for ‘Sedition’ Linked to Tiananmen Crackdown Anniversary Posts under Hong Kong’s New Security Law,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 3, 2024; Edith Lin and Connor Mycroft, “Hong Kong’s Article 23, a Year of Restraint but What about Broader Impact?,” *South China Morning Post*, March 25, 2025.

<sup>23</sup>Hillary Leung, “8th Arrest for ‘Sedition’ Linked to Tiananmen Crackdown Anniversary Posts under Hong Kong’s New Security Law,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 3, 2024.

<sup>24</sup>Hillary Leung, “8th Arrest for ‘Sedition’ Linked to Tiananmen Crackdown Anniversary Posts under Hong Kong’s New Security Law,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 3, 2024; “Hong Kong’s Top Court Rules in Favour of Woman Human Rights Defender Chow Hang-Tung,” *Front Line Defenders*, March 13, 2025.

<sup>25</sup>“Hong Kong Man Sentenced to 14 Months in Jail for ‘Seditious’ T-Shirt,” *Al Jazeera*, September 19, 2024.

<sup>26</sup>“Hong Kong Man Sentenced to 14 Months in Jail for ‘Seditious’ T-Shirt,” *Al Jazeera*, September 19, 2024; David Pierson and Tiffany May, “This Is What Can Land You in Jail for Sedition in Hong Kong,” *New York Times*, September 27, 2024.

<sup>27</sup>David Pierson and Tiffany May, “This Is What Can Land You in Jail for Sedition in Hong Kong,” *New York Times*, September 27, 2024.

<sup>28</sup>David Pierson and Tiffany May, “This Is What Can Land You in Jail for Sedition in Hong Kong,” *New York Times*, September 27, 2024.

<sup>29</sup>“Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305, sec. 152.

<sup>30</sup>Kanis Leung, “A Jailed Hong Kong Activist Loses Appeal over Denial of Early Release under New Security Law,” *Associated Press*, updated December 6, 2024.

<sup>31</sup>Kanis Leung, “A Jailed Hong Kong Activist Loses Appeal over Denial of Early Release under New Security Law,” *Associated Press*, updated December 6, 2024; Song Ren, “因国安法获刑后提前获释受阻的马俊文司法复核被香港法院驳回,” [Hong Kong Court rejects Ma Chun-man’s judicial review after early release blocked following National Security Law conviction], *Voice of America*, December 7, 2024.

<sup>32</sup>Song Ren, “因国安法获刑后提前获释受阻的马俊文司法复核被香港法院驳回,” [Hong Kong Court Rejects Ma Chun-man’s Judicial Review after Early Release Blocked Following National Security Law Conviction], *Voice of America*, December 7, 2024.

<sup>33</sup>Kelly Ho, “Father of Wanted Activist Anna Kwok Detained for Allegedly Handling Absconder’s Assets,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, May 3, 2025; “Making of Subsidiary Legislation under Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” *Hong Kong Government*, May 13, 2025.

<sup>34</sup>Brian Wong, “Father of Wanted Hong Kong Activist Anna Kwok Granted Bail under Article 23 Law,” *South China Morning Post*, May 20, 2025.

<sup>35</sup>“Safeguarding National Security (Office for Safeguarding National Security of the Central People’s Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) Regulation,” L.N. 77 of 2025, B3079, May 13, 2025; Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Nat’l Security Subsidiary Laws in Effect,” *news.gov.hk*, May 13, 2025.

<sup>36</sup>“Explainer: Hong Kong’s National Security Crackdown—Month 59,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated June 28, 2025.

<sup>37</sup>“Making of Subsidiary Legislation under Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” *Hong Kong Government*, May 13, 2025.

<sup>38</sup>“Joint Operation by Office for Safeguarding National Security of the Central People’s Government in the HKSAR and Police National Security Department,” *Hong Kong Government*, June 12, 2025.

<sup>39</sup>“Safeguarding National Security (Declaration of Prohibited Places) Order,” L.N. 78 of 2025, B3115, May 13, 2025; “Making of Subsidiary Legislation under Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” *Hong Kong Government*, May 13, 2025.

<sup>40</sup>“Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” Instrument A305, passed and effective March 23, 2024, secs. 43–44.

<sup>41</sup>“Hong Kong Police Stop Journalists from Taking Photos, Videos of ‘Prohibited Places’ Linked to National Security Office,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, May 15, 2025.

<sup>42</sup>Hans Tse, “Ex-editor of Hong Kong’s Stand News Chung Pui-kuen Jailed for 1 Year, 9 Months for Sedition in Landmark Case,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated October 23, 2024.

<sup>43</sup>Hans Tse, “Ex-editor of Hong Kong’s Stand News Chung Pui-kuen Jailed for 1 Year, 9 Months for Sedition in Landmark Case,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated October 23, 2024.

<sup>44</sup>Hans Tse, “Ex-editor of Hong Kong’s Stand News Chung Pui-kuen Jailed for 1 Year, 9 Months for Sedition in Landmark Case,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated October 23, 2024.

<sup>45</sup>Kelly Ho, “Jailed Hong Kong Activist Tam Tak-chi Loses Landmark Appeal at Top Court Over Uttering ‘Seditious Words,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated March 7, 2025.

<sup>46</sup>Court of Final Appeal of the Hong Kong SAR, “HKSAR v. Tam Tak Chi,” FACC No. 12 of 2024 [2025], HKCFA 4, March 6, 2025, para. 83.

<sup>47</sup>Kelly Ho, “Jailed Hong Kong Activist Tam Tak-chi Loses Landmark Appeal at Top Court Over Uttering ‘Seditious Words,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated March 7, 2025.

<sup>48</sup>Fiona Chow, “Ex-Hong Kong Lawmaker Lam Cheuk-Ting Gets 37 Months’ Jail over Yuen Long Riot,” *South China Morning Post*, February 27, 2025. Hillary Leung, “Ex-lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting Among 7 Found Guilty of Rioting in Yuen Long 2019 Attacks,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 12, 2024.

<sup>49</sup>Fiona Chow, “Ex-Hong Kong Lawmaker Lam Cheuk-Ting Gets 37 Months’ Jail over Yuen Long Riot,” *South China Morning Post*, February 27, 2025. Hillary Leung, “Ex-lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting Among 7 Found Guilty of Rioting in Yuen Long 2019 Attacks,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 12, 2024.

<sup>50</sup>Hillary Leung, “Ex-lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting Among 7 Found Guilty of Rioting in Yuen Long 2019 Attacks,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 12, 2024.

<sup>51</sup>Fiona Chow, “Ex-Hong Kong Lawmaker Lam Cheuk-Ting Gets 37 Months’ Jail over Yuen Long Riot,” *South China Morning Post*, February 27, 2025. Hillary Leung, “Ex-lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting Among 7 Found Guilty of Rioting in Yuen Long 2019 Attacks,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 12, 2024.



<sup>52</sup>“Former Hong Kong Lawmaker Gets 3 More Years after Being Injured by Mob,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 28, 2025; James Lee, “Hong Kong’s Top Court Overturns ex-Lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting’s Acquittal over Disclosing ICAC Probe,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, April 1, 2025.

<sup>53</sup>Kelly Ho, “Hong Kong Student Jailed for 8 Weeks over Unlawful Shopping Mall Demo in 2020,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 12, 2024.

<sup>54</sup>Kelly Ho, “Hong Kong Student Jailed for 8 Weeks over Unlawful Shopping Mall Demo in 2020,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 12, 2024.

<sup>55</sup>Kelly Ho, “Hong Kong Student Jailed for 8 Weeks over Unlawful Shopping Mall Demo in 2020,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 12, 2024; Irene Chan, “HK Student Charged with Unlawful Assembly over Shopping Mall Protest 4 Years Ago,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, updated August 12, 2024.

<sup>56</sup>Court of Final Appeal of the Hong Kong SAR, “HKSAR v. Ng Ngoi Yee Margaret et al.,” FACC Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of 2024, [2024] HKCFA 24, August 12, 2024; James Lee and Hans Tse, “Jimmy Lai among 7 Hong Kong Pro-Democracy Figures to Lose Appeal Against Conviction over Taking Part in 2019 Demo,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 12, 2024.

<sup>57</sup>Kelly Ho, “Hong Kong Appeal Court Upholds Acquittal of Democratic Party Chair in 2019 Protest Case,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, March 21, 2025.

<sup>58</sup>Kelly Ho, “Hong Kong Appeal Court Upholds Acquittal of Democratic Party Chair in 2019 Protest Case,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, March 21, 2025.

<sup>59</sup>“National Anthem Ordinance,” Instrument A405, sec. 7.

<sup>60</sup>Kelly Ho, “HKer Drops Appeal against Conviction, Sentence for Insulting Chinese Anthem,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, October 3, 2024.

<sup>61</sup>Kelly Ho, “HKer Drops Appeal against Conviction, Sentence for Insulting Chinese Anthem,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, October 3, 2024; “Mr. Lam Tsz Hong, Kestrel,” *Government Telephone Directory*, accessed April 1, 2025.

<sup>62</sup>Kelly Ho, “HK Student Pleads Not Guilty to Insulting China’s Anthem during Football Match,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, January 6, 2025; “Judicial Appointments,” *Government of Hong Kong SAR, Press Releases*, June 26, 2020.

<sup>63</sup>Court of Final Appeal of Hong Kong SAR, “HKSAR v. Tang Ngok Kwan and Tsui Hon Kwong,” FACC Nos. 10 and 11 of 2024, [2025] HKCFA 3, March 6, 2025.

<sup>64</sup>“Hong Kong Court Sentences 3 Tiananmen Vigil Organisers to Jail,” *Al Jazeera*, March 11, 2023.

<sup>65</sup>Court of Final Appeal of Hong Kong SAR, “HKSAR v. Tang Ngok Kwan and Tsui Hon Kwong,” FACC Nos. 10 and 11 of 2024, [2025] HKCFA 3, March 6, 2025.

<sup>66</sup>“馬屎埔陳伯被控沒許可證獅子山展示條幅罪 辯方將爭議言論自由議題” [Uncle Chan from Ma Shi Po was charged for displaying a banner on Lion Rock without a permit; the defense will argue on the issue of freedom of speech], *Witness*, August 23, 2024; “Country Parks and Special Areas Regulations,” Cap. 208A, secs. 10, 20.

<sup>67</sup>Hans Tse, “HK Activist ‘Grandpa Chan’ to Plead Not Guilty to Showing Banners atop Lion Rock,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 23, 2024.

<sup>68</sup>“被控沒許可證獅子山展示條幅 「馬屎埔陳伯」獲判無罪 庭外哽咽籲珍惜人權” [Accused of displaying a banner on Lion Rock without a permit, “Uncle Chan from Ma Shi Po” was found not guilty and tearfully urged people outside the court to cherish human rights], *Witness*, December 10, 2024.

<sup>69</sup>“被控沒許可證獅子山展示條幅 「馬屎埔陳伯」獲判無罪 庭外哽咽籲珍惜人權” [Accused of displaying a banner on Lion Rock without a permit, “Uncle Chan from Ma Shi Po” was found not guilty and tearfully urged people outside the court to cherish human rights], *Witness*, December 10, 2024.

<sup>70</sup>Dennis Kwok and Sam Goodman, “Beijing’s Port Predicament,” *Wire China*, April 23, 2025.

<sup>71</sup>Dennis Kwok and Sam Goodman, “Beijing’s Port Predicament,” *Wire China*, April 23, 2025; “Blackrock Inc,” *Bloomberg*, accessed April 29, 2025; “CK Hutchison Holdings Ltd.,” *Bloomberg*, accessed April 29, 2025.

<sup>72</sup>Dennis Kwok and Sam Goodman, “Beijing’s Port Predicament,” *Wire China*, April 23, 2025; “新闻综述/香港各界支持依法审查长和交易 ‘回头是岸，请与国家站在一起’” [News Summary / Hong Kong sectors support the lawful review of CK Hutchison deal: “Turn back before it’s too late—stand with the country”], *Ta Kung Pao*, March 29, 2025.

<sup>73</sup>James Pomfret and Clare Jim, “Doubts over CK Hutchison Port Deal Add to Concerns about China’s Grip over Hong Kong,” *Reuters*, April 2, 2025.

<sup>74</sup>“Six More People Put on Wanted List,” *news.gov.hk*, December 24, 2024; Hans Tse, “National Security Police Issue HK\$1 Million Bounties for 6 ‘Fugitives,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 24, 2024.

<sup>75</sup>Hong Kong Information Services Department, “Six More People Put on Wanted List,” *news.gov.hk*, December 24, 2024.

<sup>76</sup>Hans Tse, “National Security Police Issue HK\$1 Million Bounties for 6 ‘Fugitives,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 24, 2024.

<sup>77</sup>“Seven Absconders Designated for National Security Offenses; Applicable Measures Outlined under the Safeguarding National Security Ordinance,” *Government of Hong Kong SAR, Press Releases*, December 24, 2024.

<sup>78</sup>“Two Relatives of Wanted Former District Councillor Carmen Lau Taken Away by National Security Police,” *Standard*, February 10, 2025; Hillary Leung, “Chung Kim-Wah’s Siblings Questioned by National Security Police - Reports,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, January 22, 2025; Irene Chan, “Activist Tony Chung’s Stepfather Questioned by HK Nat. Sec Police: Reports,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, March 18, 2025; Kelly Ho, “HK Nat. Security Police Take in 3rd Relative of Wanted Activist Carmen Lau,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 17, 2025.

<sup>79</sup>“U.S. Sanctions Six Individuals for Undermining Hong Kong’s Autonomy,” *U. S. Department of State*, March 31, 2025; “美制裁林定國蕭澤頤等 累計48人 新增6官員 京「將予反制」港強烈譴責”



[The U.S. sanctions Lam Ting-kwok, Siu Chak-ye, and others, bringing the total to 48 individuals; six more officials added. Beijing says it “will retaliate,” and Hong Kong strongly condemns the move], April 2, 2025.

<sup>80</sup>Jessie Pang, “New Hong Kong Police Chief to Increase Security Work despite US Sanctions,” *Reuters*, April 2, 2025.

<sup>81</sup>“SWRB E-Newsletter, Issue 54 (10/2024),” accessed April 25, 2025; “Social Workers Registration Ordinance,” Cap. 505, §7; “Hong Kong Social Worker Code of Conduct to Have National Security Provisions,” *South China Morning Post*, September 7, 2024.

<sup>82</sup>“SWRB E-Newsletter, Issue 54 (10/2024),” accessed April 25, 2025.

<sup>83</sup>Hillary Leung, “Hong Kong Begins Legislative Process to Increase Government Appointments to Social Workers’ Licensing Body,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, May 23, 2024.

<sup>84</sup>“Social Workers Registration Ordinance,” Cap. 505.

<sup>85</sup>Jiang Liying, “社工註冊局 | 九成半受訪社工憂修例削專業自主 怕更易踩「紅線」,” [Social Workers Registration Board | 95% of surveyed social workers fear the amendment will undermine professional autonomy and make it easier to cross “red lines.”], *Hong Kong 01*, June 27, 2024.

<sup>86</sup>Eunice Lam and Charlotte Lam, “Eight Elected to Social Workers’ Board but Turnout Plunges,” *Standard*, December 16, 2024.

<sup>87</sup>“香港修訂《社工註冊條例》後 社工面對的審查會越來越多嗎?,” [Will social workers face increasing scrutiny after Hong Kong amends the Social Workers Registration Ordinance?] *BBC*, September 24, 2024.

<sup>88</sup>Jessica Pang, “After a Retrial, a Hong Kong Court Jails a Social Worker for Nearly Four Years for Rioting,” *Reuters*, April 9, 2025.

<sup>89</sup>Jessica Pang, “After a Retrial, a Hong Kong Court Jails a Social Worker for Nearly Four Years for Rioting,” *Reuters*, April 9, 2025.

<sup>90</sup>“香港修訂《社工註冊條例》後 社工面對的審查會越來越多嗎?,” [Will social workers face increasing scrutiny after Hong Kong amends the Social Workers Registration Ordinance?] *BBC*, September 24, 2024.

<sup>91</sup>Hillary Leung, “Hong Kong Christian Institute to Disband amid ‘Social Environment,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, July 24, 2024.

<sup>92</sup>Hillary Leung, “Hong Kong Christian Institute to Disband amid ‘Social Environment,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, July 24, 2024.

<sup>93</sup>Hillary Leung, “Hong Kong Christian Institute to Disband amid ‘Social Environment,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, July 24, 2024.

<sup>94</sup>“荊刑6年6个月的‘香港47人案’至黃碧云女士的案情及简历,” [Case details and biography of Ms. Helena Wong Pik-wan, who was sentenced to 6 years and 6 months in the “Hong Kong 47” case], *Rights Defense Network*, January 28, 2025.

<sup>95</sup>James Pomfret and Jessica Pang, “Hong Kong’s Last Major Opposition Party Moves towards Disbanding,” *Reuters*, April 13, 2025.

<sup>96</sup>James Pomfret and Jessica Pang, “Hong Kong’s Last Major Opposition Party Moves towards Disbanding,” *Reuters*, April 13, 2025.

<sup>97</sup>James Pomfret and Jessica Pang, “Hong Kong’s Last Major Opposition Party Moves towards Disbanding,” *Reuters*, April 13, 2025.

<sup>98</sup>James Lee, “In Pictures: One of Hong Kong’s Last Pro-Democracy Groups Disbands Citing ‘Tremendous Political Pressure,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 29, 2025.

<sup>99</sup>James Lee, “In Pictures: One of Hong Kong’s Last Pro-Democracy Groups Disbands Citing ‘Tremendous Political Pressure,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 29, 2025.

<sup>100</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 13–17.

<sup>101</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 9–17.

<sup>102</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 17. See also “Safeguarding Freedom of Information in Hong Kong: Challenges, Opportunities and Remedies,” Resilience Innovation Lab, 2025, 24.

<sup>103</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 17.

<sup>104</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 17–18.

<sup>105</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 18.

<sup>106</sup>“Protection of Critical Infrastructures (Computer Systems) Ordinance,” Ord. No. 4 of 2025, A173; Lo Hoi-ying, “Hong Kong Passes Its First Cybersecurity Bill Covering Critical Infrastructure,” *South China Morning Post*, March 20, 2025.

<sup>107</sup>“Safeguarding Freedom of Information in Hong Kong: Challenges, Opportunities and Remedies,” *Resilience Innovation Lab*, 2025, 36–37; James Lee, “HK Passes Cybersecurity Law Covering ‘Critical Infrastructure,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, March 20, 2025; Lo Hoi-ying, “Hong Kong Passes Its First Cybersecurity Bill Covering Critical Infrastructure,” *South China Morning Post*, March 20, 2025.

<sup>108</sup>James Lee, “HK Passes Cybersecurity Law Covering ‘Critical Infrastructure,’” *Hong Kong Free Press*, March 20, 2025; Joshua Cole and Hoi Tak Leung, “Hong Kong Passes New Cybersecurity Law—What You Need to Know,” *Ashurst*, April 11, 2025.

<sup>109</sup>“Hong Kong Introduces New Cybersecurity Law, Raising Surveillance Concerns,” *Hong Kong Watch*, March 20, 2025; “Safeguarding Freedom of Information in Hong Kong: Challenges, Opportunities and Remedies,” *Resilience Innovation Lab*, 2025, 36.

<sup>110</sup>Tom Grundy, “New Leadership at HK Press Group as Security Chief Admonishes Newcomers,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, June 22, 2024; “Wall Street Journal Fires Hong Kong Reporter Selina Cheng,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, July 17, 2024.

## Hong Kong and Macau

<sup>111</sup>“Wall Street Journal Fires Hong Kong Reporter Selina Cheng,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, July 17, 2024.

<sup>112</sup>“Wall Street Journal Fires Hong Kong Reporter Selina Cheng,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, July 17, 2024.

<sup>113</sup>Chen Qingqing, “WSJ Firing Reporter Who Chairs Infamous Hong Kong Journalists Association ‘to Distance Itself to Avoid Being Implicated,’” *Global Times*, July 18, 2024.

<sup>114</sup>“Map,” *Reporters Without Borders*, accessed April 23, 2025.

<sup>115</sup>James Lee, “Authorities Deployed to Independent HK Bookfair Found No Violations, Gov’t Says,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, January 6, 2025.

<sup>116</sup>James Lee, “Authorities Deployed to Independent HK Bookfair Found No Violations, Gov’t Says,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, January 6, 2025.

<sup>117</sup>“港‘見山書店’原址辦書展遭警監視 有參展商受壓不展示書籍” [Hong Kong Book Fair at Former Mount Zero Bookstore Monitored by Police; Some Exhibitors Withheld Books Under Pressure], *Epoch Times*, December 30, 2024; Zhang Shiren, “「見山書店」難抵瘋狂投訴宣布結業 分析：當局阻不可控思想交流” [“Mount Zero Bookstore” Announces Closure Amid Flood of Complaints; Analysis: Authorities Aim to Block Uncontrolled Exchange of Ideas], *Radio Free Asia*, December 6, 2023.

<sup>118</sup>James Lee, “Hong Kong Denies Journalist Haze Fan a Visa, Bloomberg Tells Staff,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, August 20, 2024; “AP Photographer Louise Delmotte Denied Entry to HK after Visa Renewal Rejected,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, September 24, 2024; Tom Grundy, “German Activist David Missal Says Barred from HK,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, September 9, 2024.

<sup>119</sup>Tom Grundy, “German Activist David Missal Says Barred from HK,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, September 9, 2024.

<sup>120</sup>“Immigration (Advance Passenger Information) Regulation,” Cap. 115Q.

<sup>121</sup>“Immigration (Advance Passenger Information) Regulation,” Cap. 115Q, secs. 2, 3, 10, 11.

<sup>122</sup>Helene Dubos, “Understanding API PNR: Its Meaning for Flight Operators,” *Streamlane*, May 15, 2023.

<sup>123</sup>Yang Fan and Alex Roberts, “Come Fly with Me (or Not): Hong Kong’s New API Regulations,” *Linklaters*, August 11, 2023; “Immigration (Advance Passenger Information) Regulation,” Cap. 115Q.

<sup>124</sup>“LCQ3: Enhancing Prevention of Potential Non-Refoulement Claimants at Source,” *Government of Hong Kong SAR, Press Releases*, February 26, 2025.

<sup>125</sup>“LCQ3: Enhancing Prevention of Potential Non-Refoulement Claimants at Source,” *Government of Hong Kong SAR, Press Releases*, February 26, 2025.

<sup>126</sup>“China Travel Advisory,” *Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State*, November 27, 2024.

<sup>127</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 8–9, 27, 36, 44, 47.

<sup>128</sup>Athena Tong, “Web of Control: Hong Kong’s Crackdown on Internet Freedom,” *China Strategic Risks Institute*, November 2024, 33; “More Hongkongers Perceive News Outlets as Self-Censoring: Survey,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 10, 2024.

<sup>129</sup>“More Hongkongers Perceive News Outlets as Self-Censoring: Survey,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 10, 2024.

<sup>130</sup>James Lee, “Hong Kong Pollster Say It May Shut Down amid Nat. Security Scrutiny,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 13, 2025.

<sup>131</sup>James Lee, “Hong Kong Pollster Say It May Shut Down amid Nat. Security Scrutiny,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 13, 2025.

<sup>132</sup>James Lee, “Hong Kong Pollster Say It May Shut Down amid Nat. Security Scrutiny,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 13, 2025.

<sup>133</sup>“Details,” *Hong Kong Police Force*, accessed April 23, 2025; James Lee, “Hong Kong Pollster Say It May Shut down amid Nat. Security Scrutiny,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 13, 2025.

<sup>134</sup>James Lee, “Hong Kong Pollster Say It May Shut down amid Nat. Security Scrutiny,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, February 13, 2025.

<sup>135</sup>Oiwan Lam, “Chinese President Xi Jinping Visits Macau to Spotlight the Casino Hub as a Showcase of One Country Two Systems,” *Global Voices*, December 19, 2024.

<sup>136</sup>Oiwan Lam, “Chinese President Xi Jinping Visits Macau to Spotlight the Casino Hub as a Showcase of One Country Two Systems,” *Global Voices*, December 19, 2024.

<sup>137</sup>Oiwan Lam, “Chinese President Xi Jinping Visits Macau to Spotlight the Casino Hub as a Showcase of One Country Two Systems,” *Global Voices*, December 19, 2024; James Lee, “Macau Media Outlet Pulls Article about Security Measures Ahead of Xi Visit,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, December 19, 2024.

<sup>138</sup>Hong Kong Democracy Council (@hkdc\_us), “As Xi Jinping arrives in Macau for the 25th anniversary of the handover, Macau activist Jason Chao, now exiled in the UK & a UK citizen, was warned against making ‘inharmonious’ statements on social media or to the media. #TransnationalRepression” X, December 18, 2024, 7:23 a.m.; Oiwan Lam, “Chinese President Xi Jinping Visits Macau to Spotlight the Casino Hub as a Showcase of One Country Two Systems,” *Global Voices*, December 19, 2024.

<sup>139</sup>Oiwan Lam, “Chinese President Xi Jinping Visits Macau to Spotlight the Casino Hub as a Showcase of One Country Two Systems,” *Global Voices*, December 19, 2024; “Sam Hou Fai Is Macau’s New (pro-Beijing) Chief Executive,” *Pime Asia News*, October 14, 2024.

<sup>140</sup>“Sam Hou Fai Is Macau’s New (pro-Beijing) Chief Executive,” *Pime Asia News*, October 14, 2024; “Macau’s Civil Society ‘Falls Silent’ after 25 Years of Chinese Rule,” *Agence France-Presse*, reprinted in *Inquirer.net*, December 18, 2024.