

My Proposal on HKSAR's Constitutional Development

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I am writing to express my views regarding the SAR's Constitutional Development. I urge that we should respect the right of the NPC Standing Committee as stipulated in the Basic Law and lawfully observe her interpretation regarding Annex 1 and 2. I support the functional constituencies be preserved in the LEGCO and be expanded to better represent the interests of all sectors of society. I maintain the time horizon should be dimensioned and stretched beyond the "50-year-remains-unchanged" cliché when we are endeavoring the universal suffrage of the CE and the LEGCO.

KNOW OUR STRATEGIC MISSION, KNOW OUR CORE INTERESTS

The Basic Law clearly spells out the "Strategic Mission" of "One Country, Two Systems": "Upholding national unity and territorial integrity, maintaining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong, and taking account of its history and realities!". This has to be taken very seriously. Any failure of living up to that would mean putting 6.8 million HKSAR's population livelihood at risk. Our core interests hinges on the success of "One Country, Two Systems."

In the course of accomplishing the "Strategic Mission," prosperity and stability can convolutely be maintained by promoting economic recovery and restructuring on one hand², and putting forward constitutional development on the other³. In the space of CE selection and LEGCO election, the ultimate aim is universal suffrage⁴, which is clearly stated in the Basic Law, together with the "gradual and orderly progress⁵" as the mandated approach.

2007/2008 UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGES UNWISE

Hurriedly adopting universal suffrage for CE selection and LEGCO election in 2007 and 2008 might very well be destructive. First and foremost, the society still divides greatly on the issue. In fact, the 2004 LEGCO election vividly illustrates that our society continues to diverge not just on these "political" and "ideological" issues such as democracy, but also on the very philosophical foundation of social distribution systems and various government policies etc. Secondly, our economy has now arrived at its critical moments. Unemployment rate drops, GDP moves up, number of homeowners trapped in the negative equity abysses reduces, and foreign investment surges. After all these years, our economy has finally shown signs of recovery. Thirdly, the NPC Standing Committee has already excluded the possibility of universal suffrage in 2007 and 2008. Now, if we insist on changing the game plan, we'd better be prepared to pay hefty prices:

^{1 2}nd paragraph of the Preamble of the Basic Law (http://www.thestandard.com.hk/stdn/std/index.html)

The Standard, September 17, 2004 in the Subversion Bill Warning, "... we have satisfactorily dealt with economic recovery, economic restructuring and constitutional arrangements" (http://www.thestandard.com.hk/news_detail_frame.cfm?articleid=50836&intcatid=1)

Welcome Message of the Constitutional Development website: "Government would actively promote constitutional development in Hong Kong on the basis of maintaining "One Country, Two Systems" and adhering to the Basic Law" (http://www.info.gov.hk/cab/cab-review/eng/welcome/index.htm)

Article 45 and Article 68 of the Basic Law (http://www.info.gov.hk/basic_law/facts/index.htm)

- 1. Social tension strains further leading to endless squabble and widespread hostility from within:
- 2. Economy revitalization stagnates. Never-ending infightings and the subsequent brain draining result an ill-fated economy restructuring;
- 3. Relation with the Central Government ruptures setting off mutual distrusts and disapprovals.

The consequence can be appalling. Our society might just be split for generations triggered by endless power struggles, weakened and destabilized due to high jobless rate, and lastly, put "One Country, Two Systems" to test. At the end, universal suffrage brings us nothing but turmoil, poverty and a mere "political scaffold," inviting incessant attacks and struggles!

REFORM CAUTIOUSLY

Although universal suffrage in 2007 / 2008 is "prompt" and "aggressive" and it goes against the interests of the SAR, cautious constitutional development can still be pressed on. Reforms can still be introduced in 2007 / 2008, provided that these measures would promote balanced interests of all sectors of society and bring no harm to SAR's very stability.

PROPOSITION 1: EXPAND FUNCTIONAL CONSTITUECIES IN 2007/2008

For example, expansion of Functional Constituencies is conductive to balance the interest of all sectors of society. As the CSA⁶ testifies in the LEGCO, "the original intention to include functional constituencies in the current political structure of LEGCO was to **give consideration to the interests of the different sectors of society**, to ensure balanced participation by all sectors, and to facilitate the development of the capitalist economy?." In particular, such expansion can take form of relaxing FC⁸ voter qualification. This will not only enlarge the elector base but also enhance the respective FC representativeness. On the other hand, FC expansion can also be done through increasing the number of seats in the LEGCO, with the intention to build up a broader representative base. However, the 50:50 proportion between Geographical Constituencies and its Functional counterparts must remain unchanged. This is extremely crucial because the power balance shall be prevented from skewing towards either camp. Otherwise, the existing political power structure landscape will be altered, sowing seeds of instant destabilization (since this is essentially a variant of prompt universal suffrage approach).

PROPOSITION 2: ONE GENERATION FOR TRANSITIONING TO UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

While recognizing universal suffrage as the ultimate aim, we should not restrict our time horizon to 2047. In fact, 2047 should not be treated as any meaningful deadline of any kind at all.

"the socialist system and policies shall not be practiced in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years¹⁰." " ... and we mean it ... And I doubt that 50 years after 1997, when the mainland is developed, people will handle matters like this in a narrow-minded way¹¹." " ... And I want to add that there will be even less need to

5 CSA: Chief Secretary for Administration

Article 5 of the Basic Law (http://www.info.gov.hk/basic_law/facts/index.htm)

⁵ Article 68 of the Basic Law (http://www.info.gov.hk/basic_law/facts/index.htm)

Page 80 of LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, *OFFICIAL RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS, Wednesday, 11 February 2004,* (http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr03-04/english/counmtg/hansard/cm0211ti-translate-e.pdf)

FC: Functional Constituencies
2047 is 50 years after 1997

¹¹ Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping Volume III (1982-1992), 2rd paragraph of "MAINTAIN PROSPERITY AND STABILITY IN HONG

change them after the 50-year period. Hong Kong's status will not change, nor will our policy towards Hong Kong or Macao¹²." However, "to make sure the policy remains unchanged for 50 years and beyond, we must keep the socialist system on the mainland unchanged¹³."

Hence, 2047 can be a borderline or can be not. It's all up to us. If HKSAR does a good job on "<u>Upholding national unity and territorial integrity, maintaining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong..."</u> what will happen after 2047 is an non-issue, regardless whether universal suffrage is adopted or not. Alternatively, even if we have a full-blown universal suffrage system in place right now, uncertainties will remain all the way along.

If consensus is unlikely to be reached in any way in the near future regarding the universal suffrage timetable, why bother? Why risking our economy recovery and restructuring which is key to our very survival? Why such a hurry when there can be no deadline? Pass it to our next generation. I am sure they will be in a much better position than we are to deal this. Give us 20 years of time. Jumpstart the issue again and talk about universal suffrage in great details in a relatively relaxed and foreseeable macro-environment in 2022 or 2024.

Right now, let's focus, head down and endeavor <u>national unity, territorial integrity and the prosperity and</u> <u>stability of the HKSAR</u>.

13 Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping Volume III (1982-1992), 10th paragraph of "SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR DRAFTING THE BASIC LAW OF THE HONG KONG SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE REGION April 16, 1987" (http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/contents3.html)

KONG, October 3, 1984" (http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/contents3.html)

Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping Volume III (1982-1992), 3rd paragraph of "SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR DRAFTING THE BASIC LAW OF THE HONG KONG SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE REGION April 16, 1987" (http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/contents3.html)