

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

In the recent years, the international society is increasingly interested on the concept of democracy. The idea of democracy offers many benefits for society such as freedom and the basic rights. Generally, freedom refers about free to voice people speech, opinion and critics and the basic rights refer to the rights to participate in the whole aspects in society living such as people are participating in social, cultural, technology, and political. In other word, democracy gives a huge advantage toward society. Even today, the implementation of democracy system of a state becomes the desire of international society in other countries even in East Asia particularly in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong is a real example of the society which demands for a full democracy. Before further explanation, it is important to mention the elements of democracy itself. According to the United Nation (UN) General Assembly (2004), there are seven essential elements of democracy¹ are firstly, separation and balance of power. It refers to the power among the legislative, executive and judiciary should be distributed well. Secondly, independence of the judiciary means that the court of justice play a vital role in ensuring the governmental accountability by adjusting conflicts. Thirdly,

¹ Michael Mayer. *International Consensus: Essential Elements of Democracy*. October 2011. Retrieved from http://www.democracy-reporting.org/files/essential_elements_of_democracy_2.pdf Accessed on 3 November 2014, p.5.

a pluralistic system of political parties and organizations is needed for the protection of freedom of association including participation in political parties. Fourthly, respect for the rule of law. It means that every single thing in a state is under the law including individual, public, and private institution. Fifth, accountability and transparency refers to the obligation to provide information and explanation or about the freedom of information. Sixth, free, independent and pluralistic media refers to freedom of access to information freedom of expression. And lastly, respect for human and political rights; e.g., freedoms of association and expression; the right to vote and to stand in elections. It means that everyone has right to freedom of political debate, along with freedom of association and assembly.

Based on the seven essential elements of democracy above, is unsurprisingly the society want to implementing a democracy system in a state. In case of Hong Kong, beside the majority of Hong Kong people are demanding for a full democracy, the pro democracy people in Hong Kong are doing demonstration toward its government. This matter is totally getting the world attention which is interesting to study about the development of democracy process in Hong Kong.

Figure.1 Map of Hong Kong



Source: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/china.html>

Based on the map above, Hong Kong is a part of Chinese territory which is a normal condition for Hong Kong to follow the governmental system of Central Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC). In the contrary, Hong Kong has been installed a different governmental system of China. Apparently, that is a special autonomy given by China in order to get Hong Kong back from the colony of Britain in hundred years ago.

In the process for the handover of Hong Kong to China, Beijing had unsuccessful talk to Britain on the Hong Kong issue in September 1982.² However, in 1984 both Britain and China signed Joint Declaration in order

² Yufan Hao & Guocang Huan. The Chinese view of the world. In Zhiduan Deng (Ed.) *Beijing's policy on Hong Kong*. 1989, p.285.

to handover Hong Kong to China in 1997 with some conditions such as Hong Kong still retains the capitalist economic system and partially democratic political system for fifty years under the policy of “one state, two systems”.³ It means that through the agreement on Joint Declaration, Hong Kong will run self-government and economic matters in fifty years and after that China will exercise its communist system in Hong Kong.

The principle of “one country, two systems”⁴ is “the basic of national policy by the Chinese Government in order to achieve national unity”.⁵ This policy means as the guarantee to Britain to handover Hong Kong’s sovereignty to China. On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong started to establish its Special Administrative Region (SAR) under the policy of “one country, two systems”. It should be noted that the Hong Kong’s policy of “One Country, Two Systems” still gives the Central Government to play an important role in Hong Kong such as defense and foreign affairs. Therefore, beside the matters of defense and foreign policy, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) can enjoy its self-government, legal system, and economics.

³BBC News, *Hong Kong profile*, 14 October 2014, Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-16526765>, Accessed on 14 October 2014

⁴ “One country” refers to state of China which is Hong Kong is a part of Chinese territory and “Two systems” refer to the different government system implemented between China and Hong Kong. Simply put, “one state, two systems” is a policy that Hong Kong is allowed to implementing a different government system and economic system from China.

⁵ Secretary for Justice Ms Elsie Leung, *Understanding “One country, Two systems” through Hong Kong’s constitutional development* – a Basic Law seminar presentation, 29 May 2004, Retrieved from <http://www.doj.gov.hk/eng/archive/pdf/sj20040529e.pdf> Accessed on 16 October 2014, p.2.

In this regard, Hong Kong has own government structure. The head of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) is the Chief Executive. The HKSAR has two-tier system of representative government; they are the Legislative Council (LEGCO) and 18 district councils with its own functions.⁶ The HKSAR exercise a high autonomy under the Basic Law that authorized by the National People's Congress (NPC).⁷ Under the Basic Law, Hong Kong will exercise own government system and policies and used capitalist system in Hong Kong. The election method of Hong Kong Chief Executive shall be elected by a broadly representative Election Committee in accordance with the Basic Law and appointed by the Central People's Government.⁸ It also stated that the main aim in the Chief Executive Election is able to elect the Chief Executive by universal suffrage through democratic procedures.

Indirectly, through Hong Kong special autonomy given by People's Republic of China (PRC), Hong Kong had experiencing a democracy process. Hong Kong has its own executive, legislative, and judiciary especially the election of Chief Executive and Legislative Council by universal suffrage. It means that giving the rights to vote in election. In the first Chief Executive election held on May, 1996, Mr. Tung Chee Hwa was the first Hong Kong Chief Executive appointed by the Beijing to govern the post colonial Hong Kong.

⁶Information Services Department. *Hong Kong: The facts, Government Structure*. Retrieved from http://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/factsheets/docs/government_structure.pdf Accessed on 13 October 2014, p.1.

⁷ Secretary for Justice Ms Elsie Leung, *Loc.Cit.*

⁸ Information Services Department, *Loc. Cit.*

In 2002, Hong Kong held the second Chief Executive election, Mr. Tung Chee Hwa was the only candidates. However, Mr Tung has won the election by the major nomination of the members election committee. In 2004, Beijing had the right to veto any moves towards more democracy such as direct elections for the territory's chief executive.⁹ In 2005, the Chief Executive Tung Chee-Hwa resigned caused by the weak performance of administration. Mr. Tung Che-Hwa automatically replaced by Hong Kong Secretary of Administration, Mr. Donald Tsang, because there is no other candidate election in 2002.

In the third Chief Executive Election held on March, 2007, Mr. Donal Tsang has won the election against other candidate. On March 25, 2012, Hong Kong held the fourth Chief Executive Election. At that time, there are three candidates; they are Henry Tang, Albert Ho and Leung Chun Ying. Henry Tang was strongly supported by the Liberal Party which is a pro-business group backed by many of the city's tycoons, meanwhile Albert Ho is the chairman of the opposition Democratic Party and Leung Chun Ying was an independent candidate.¹⁰ In the election, Leung Chun Ying was not Beijing's favorite candidate because firstly he was an independent candidate whose not pro Beijing automatically Leung will not easily influenced by Beijing and secondly Beijing afraid that if he become the Chief Executive, Leung would cutting all Beijing's access and any intervene in Hong Kong. On contrary, Mr. Henry was coming from pro Beijing

⁹ BBC News, *Hong Kong profile*.

¹⁰ Keith Bradsher, *Pro-Beijing Elite elects Chief Executive of Hong Kong, 2012*, retrieved http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/25/world/asia/Leung-Chun-ying-Elected-as-Hong-Kong-Chief-Executive.html?_r=0 Accessed on 23March 2015.

political party which he would well cooperate with Beijing in order to run the city of Hong Kong. In this circumstance, Mr. Leung has to compete with two strong candidates. However, Mr. Leung won on the first ballot received 689 votes while Mr. Tang received 285 votes and Mr. Ho received 76 votes.¹¹ This unpredictable result was bringing rejection by the pro-Democracy Civic Party and Democratic Party, especially the Liberal Party and many business leaders were dissatisfied with Mr. Tang poor showing in polls.¹² Despite the rejection of Mr. Leung's rival political parties, his majority vote on the first ballot remain valid. Eventually, on March 28, 2012, Mr. Leung was officially appointed by the Central People's Government as the fourth-term Chief Executive. After become the Chief Executive of Hong Kong, Leung Chun Ying made an official speech as below:

Since my election campaign, I have visited many parts of Hong Kong and met people from all walks of life. I have promised to be a "Chief Executive for the people". I am committed to serving the community. With one heart and one vision, I am confident that we can build a better home for seven million people, a more prosperous, progressive and righteous Hong Kong.¹³

In addition, the fourth-term Hong Kong Chief Executive Election composed by 1,200 member election committee derived from four sectors and each sector has 300 members.¹⁴ In detail, those four sectors including firstly industrial, commercial and financial sectors with 300 members.

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² *Ibid*

¹³ Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, *Welcome Message*, 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.ceo.gov.hk/eng/> Accessed on 25 August 2015.

¹⁴ The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government. *Methods for Selecting the Chief Executive in 2007 and for Forming the Legislative Council in 2016*. December 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr13-14/english/panels/ca/papers/ca1209-cdoc20131204-e.pdf> Accessed on 3 November 2014.

Secondly, the professions with 300 members. Thirdly labour, social services, religious and other sectors with 300 members. And lastly, the members of the Legislative Council, representatives of members of the District Council, representatives of the Heung Yee Kuk, Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress, and representatives of Hong Kong members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

As mentioned earlier, the main aim of the election of Hong Kong Chief Executive is able to elect by universal suffrage. In fact, Chief Executive of Hong Kong is elected by member election committee. In this context, Hong Kong people are demanding to elect the next Hong Kong Chief Executive election held in 2017 using direct election or universal suffrage. On December 29, 2007, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC) made a decision that the Chief executive may be elected by universal suffrage in 2017.¹⁵ In this context, this decision is giving the chance or hope for the Hong Kong society to elect their leader. Unfortunately, on August 2014, the Chinese government announced that the voters will only have a choice from a list of two or three candidates selected by a nominating committee.¹⁶ It means that the elected voters of Hong Kong people are able to directly participate in next Chief Executive Election in 2017. Obviously, Beijing decision was welcomed by the demonstration as dissatisfaction toward the election method of Hong Kong Chief Executive

¹⁵ Hong Kong: The Facts, *Government Structure*, The Information Services Department, p.1 Accessed on 15 & 22 March 2015.

¹⁶ BBC News, *Hong Kong's democracy debate*, 7 October 2014, retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-27921954> Accessed on 9 October 2014.

in 2017. Hong Kong pro democracy protesters are exercising a great demonstration as the feedback of Beijing decision. Many of TV stations reported the phenomena of Hong Kong demonstration which captivated by the world's attention. Mostly, the protesters are High School students and other are University students.

The recent demonstration of pro democracy in Hong Kong is reminiscent of the Tiananmen Square demonstration in Beijing. It happened in 1989, before demonstration of democracy in Beijing by the year of 1989 the Chinese government has been faced two remarkable demonstration events. Firstly, in the event "Democracy Wall Movement" that happened in November 1978 until December 1979 as the result of the Chinese government's neglect of the basic political rights to its citizens.¹⁷ And secondly, the event "Student demonstrations for Democracy and Political Reform" in 1986 until 1987 in this event, the student protests due to the lack of democratic procedures in local direct elections and the slow pace of political reform.¹⁸ Even though in 1989 China had faced similar demonstration action toward the democracy in Hong Kong, China started to launch Hong Kong local government as the agreement of Britain and China in 1984 had successfully bring Hong Kong back to China in 1997.

Turning to the current demonstration in Hong Kong, exactly September 26, 2014, Hong Kong students started to protest about the Chinese government decision of the procedure election in 2017; they began a

¹⁷ James C.F. Wang. Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction. In *Democracy, Dissent, and the Tiananmen Mass Movement*. Prentice-Hall International, Inc. 1992. P.225

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.229.

separate class boycott and broke into the main government compound.¹⁹ In the same day, the student protesters leader -Joshua Wong- is 17 years old student was arrested after enter the Hong Kong SAR's government complex without permission. Joshua Wong is the founder of pro-democracy student group Scholarism.²⁰ He also noted as the leader of 120,000 people in a protest against the Communist school curriculum in 2012.

On September 27, 2014, many of Hong Kong students performed a large-scale protest as the number of pro-democracy is kept increasing. By following day, noted that there were 9,000 people protesting in Mong Kok which is the western part of Kowloon Peninsula of Hong Kong. On September 26 until 28, 2014, there is a big clash between student protesters and riot police. Hong Kong local police takes an action toward the uncontrolled number of pro democracy protesters through pepper spray and tear gas.²¹

On September 29, 2014, each protesters student bring umbrella in order to prevent from the tear gas and pepper spray. All pro democracy protesters are using umbrella in order to protect themselves from pepper spray and tear gas by local police. Since then, the term of "Umbrella Revolution" is

¹⁹ BBC News, *Why is Hong Kong protesting?*, 18 October 2014, retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-29054196> Accessed on 19 October 2014.

²⁰ Wilfred Chan & Yuli Yang. *Echoing Tiananmen, 17-year-old Hong Kong students prepares for democracy battle*, CCN News, September 28, 2014. Retrieved from http://edition.cnn.com/2014/09/21/world/asia/hong-kong-joshua-wong-democracy-protest/index.html?hpt=hp_c1 Accessed on 9 October 2014.

²¹ Lisa Larson-Walker, *Amazing image from Hong Kong's umbrella revolution*, Slate News, Sept. 29 2014. Retrieved http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2014/09/occupy_central_with_love_and_peace_and_the_umbrella_revolution_pro_democracy.html Accessed on 19 October 2014.

existed and it also represents the pro democracy protesters slogan. During September 29, 2014, the students got repressive treatment. The popular social media like “*instagram*” has been blocked by Chinese government in order to prevent the student protesters posting in internet.²²

In regards of current demonstration in Hong Kong, on early October 2014 the protesters in Hong Kong become bigger. Hong Kong students even prepared the pepper spray to fight the police. The protesters also called for the resignation of Chief Executive CY Leung in handling Hong Kong current situation.²³ In October 5, 2014, Hong Kong student was occupied the central road of Hong Kong. The protesters even slept at street. Hong Kong student protesters situation was strongly influencing the economy of Hong Kong, as they blocked the central road which the places there highly contribute to the Hong Kong economy such as the central of trade, business and central local government offices. Indirectly, it disturbed Hong Kong daily activity like public transportation could not operate due to the great demonstration in road.

Furthermore, on October 6, 2014, the Chinese is celebrating China National Day, however in Hong Kong the protesters called for democracy.²⁴ The following day, the demonstration action kept to continue. The interesting thing was that the student protesters studied or did their

²² Alex Kleiderman, Khanim Javadova, et al. *As it happened: Hong Kong protests 29 September*. BBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-29405576> Accessed on 13 October 2014

²³ BBC News, *Why is Hong Kong protesting?*

²⁴ Carrie Gracie, *Hong Kong protests: China's guide to democracy*, 6 October 2014, retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29512134> Accessed on 9 October 2014

homework at the street in order to prepare for the midterm test that will be held in a short time. The demonstration action and study matter were different; however the Hong Kong student protesters are well done on both areas.

On October 12, 2014, the Hong Kong Chief Executive (HKCE) Leung Chun Ying stated that pro democracy protesters have “almost zero chance” to change Beijing rule of next Chief Executive Election in 2017.²⁵ Leung’s statement shows that he rejects the demand of protesters about the free election of next Chief Executive. Leung also got fully supported by Beijing and currently has a good relation with Beijing government. Remembering Leung Chun Ying was not Beijing favor to become the Hong Kong Chief Executive. However through Leung’s decision has brought a closer relation with Beijing.

B. Research Question

Based on the explanation of problem background above, the research question will be as follow: *Why Leung Chun Ying rejected the proposal of direct election of the Hong Kong Chief Executive 2017?*

²⁵ The Guardian, Hong Kong leader says pro-democracy protests will not change Beijing’s stance. 12 October 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/12/kong-kong-leader-protests-not-change-beijing> Accessed on 11 October 2014.

C. Purpose of Research

The objective of this research will be sought to do the following:

1. To understand the development of democracy process in Hong Kong
2. To analyze the motives behind the rejection of the proposal of direct election of the Hong Kong Chief Executive in 2017 under Leung Chun Ying administration.

D. Theoretical Framework

a. Concept of Elite

Elite was originally developed to the status of a theory in political science by two Italian sociologists; they are Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941).²⁶ According to Pareto, elites would consist of the most talented and deserving individuals; but in actual societies, elites are those most adept at using the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, and who usually enjoy important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections.²⁷ In other word, people are counted as the elites if people have the ability of force, persuasion and also using their family wealth as power in order to fulfilling the interest.

²⁶ Duru, Onyekachi Wisdom Ceazar, *The relationship between the elite theory of politics and the concept of liberal democracy*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/5185474/THE_RELATIONSHIP_BETWEEN_THE_ELITE_THEORY_OF_POLITICS_AND_THE_CONCEPT_OF_LIBERAL_DEMOCRACY_By or available on <http://s3.amazonaws.com> Accessed on 19 February 2015

²⁷ Vilfredo Pareto (1915/1935), *The mind and society. A treatise on general sociology*. New York: Dover. In John Higley, *Elite Theory in Political Sociology*, University of Texas at Austin, p.1, Retrieved from http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_4036.pdf Accessed on 23 February 2015

According to Mosca (1939), the people are necessarily divided into two groups: the rule and the ruled. The ruling class controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society and exercises all power. Whatever form of government might be adopted. The rules are not competent to replace it.

Eventhough Pareto and Mosca's elite theory is only conceptual framework, it is noteworthy to note that elite theory is best to use in this undergraduate thesis in order to define who is the elites and the elite behavior. In case of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Chief Executive Leung Chun Ying is counted as Elite. In which Leung Chun Ying is in top position in Hong Kong, as the government of Hong Kong and the number one person in Hong Kong. As Pareto and Mosca have defined the elite, Leung Chun Ying has the ability to force and persuade, and obviously Leung Chun Ying has power in Hong Kong city.

According to Suzanne Keller (1963), elites is refers first of all to a minority of individuals designated to serve a collectivity in a socially valued way. In addition Keller also stated about elite is that:

Selection on the basis of individual competence implies dismissal for incompetence, and this principle links modern elites to the primitive institution of chiefship, were the chief may be killed if he fails to bring about the desired end: peace, harvest or health.²⁸

Based on statement above, meaning the elites is a selection among the individual and indirectly voice the heredity of wealthy family is not valid anymore in this modern society to be counted as elites. An elite is not only

²⁸ Kenneth L. Melmon, A society Without an Obvious Future: Can Elitism Help?, in Suzan Keller, *Beyond the Ruling Class*, 1963, p.32, retrieved from http://asci_ascending_files.s3.amazonaws.com/addresses/asci1979.pdf Accessed on 25 February 2015

coming from rich family background, but an elite is a selection people for having an individual competence among society. In this context, Leung Chun Ying is coming from a middle class background; Mr. Leung was hardly born into a cradle of privilege.²⁹ However he proves that he can be the Hong Kong Chief Executive with his efforts.

b. Theory of Elite

According to Shirley .L Zimmerman (1963), elite theory directs attention to the importance of position, influence, and power in transforming perceptions of the problems of families into policies and programs. Zimmerman also stated that policies and programs reflect the values and interests of elites in a hierarchically arranged society.³⁰ It means that every policy or program conducted by elite is reflected the value and interests of elite itself.

Based on Zimmerman explanation above, Chief Executive Leung's policy on the election of Hong Kong Chief Executive 2017 is that the voters only has a choice from a list of two or three candidates selected by a nominating committee. In which, not all Hong Kong people are able to participate in the next Hong Kong Chief Executive election. Leung's policy is reflecting to Leung's interests behind his decision to reject the direct election proposal, they are firstly, Leung Chun Ying interest is the Hong

²⁹ The Wall Street Journal. *Who is Leung Chun Ying?* , 2012, retrieved from <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2012/03/25/who-is-leung-chun-ying/> Accessed on 9 March 2015

³⁰ Shirley L Zimmerman, *Interest group theory, elite theory, and systems theory*. In S. L. Zimmerman, *Understanding family policy* (2nd ed, p.149), 1995, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Retrieved from <http://www.public.iastate.edu> Accessed on 19 March 2015

Kong Elites to fully control governmental system over its society. Hong Kong current political system is giving the elites a dominant voice in politics. Hong Kong society plays a limited role in political aspect, as they are unable participating in Chief Executive Election freely.

Secondly, Leung Chun Ying wants to maintain the Hong Kong status quo. In this context, government is responsible to maintain the status quo. In assuming Leung Chun accept the direct election proposal, absolutely there is a big changing in all aspects of Hong Kong like political reform. Leung Chun Ying is definitely did want any changing in Hong Kong.

Lastly, Chief Executive Leung interest is maintaining Hong Kong economic system. Hong Kong economic system is strongly influencing Leung Chun Ying decision to reject the direct election proposal by Hong Kong people. Simply, Hong Kong economic system is giving the advantage for the elites which is the prosperity for them self. Not only that, through Hong Kong capitalist system with the principle of free market economic policy that brings many great achievement for Hong Kong such as recognized as one of the Four Asian Tigers for its high growth rates and rapid industrialization between 1960's and 1990s.³¹ Importantly, the capitalist system in Hong Kong is successfully bringing Hong Kong as one of the world's leading financial centers.³² Not only that due to this system, Hong Kong's low-tax, Laissez-faire style of government has created one of

³¹ Budge, *Hong Kong*, retrieved from <http://www.budgerecruitment.com/hong-kong> Accessed on 25 March 2015.

³² *ibid*

the world's most successful economies and the territory's per capita GDP has soared from below \$7,000 two decades ago to about \$38,000 now.³³

F. Hypothesis

Leung Chun Ying rejected the proposal of direct election of Hong Kong Chief Executive 2017 because Leung Chun Ying's interests are the Hong Kong Elites to fully control Hong Kong governmental system particularly to maintaining the Hong Kong status quo and Hong Kong economic system.

G. Method of Research

In a bid to analyze and examine the research that indicated earlier, the method of research and data analysis will be preceded through the following approaches:

1. Study of Literature, in which this method will be practiced to examine the relevant data related to the case in order to explore the main problem as the starting point of this research. This research will be taken from a reference list of books; internet-based sources as well as the script and journals (secondary data).
2. Verification of Hypothesis, which can be derived from discussion of the problem and the analysis.

³³ Josh Noble, *Economic inequality underpins Hong Kong's great political divide*, 21 October 2014, Retrieved from <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/d123d896-5808-11e4-b47d-00144feab7de.html#axzz3WjQmyshj>, Accessed on 25 March 2015.

H. System of Writing

CHAPTER I

This chapter discusses about the reasons behind the choosing of undergraduate thesis title, problem background, research question, purpose of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, and system of writing.

CHAPTER II

This chapter explains the development of democracy process in Hong Kong by giving Hong Kong historical background in order to point out the emergence of democracy process in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER III

This chapter analyzes the interests of Leung Chun Ying behind his decision are the Hong Kong Elites to fully control the governmental system; maintain Hong Kong status quo; and maintaining Hong Kong economic capitalist system. The explanation of the elite class in Hong Kong, the advantages and disadvantages of Leung's decision and the actors behind Leung's decision are also provided in this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

This chapter is the closing part of this undergraduate thesis that contains the conclusion.