

香

歷史

HISTORY

香港——政治發展

HONG KONG
(POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT)

English Version

港

光 時

HONG KONG

歷史科市場領導

K. W. HO

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最強

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（上述學生全部報讀 K. W. Ho 起碼 8 期課程）

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傳奇·誕生

2016年，首年應考 DSE 只有 16 分的麗雯於重考時才新修歷史科(首年應考未曾讀過歷史科)，最終用了 10 個時間由零開始讀，成功取得了 5**的成績，開創新修傳奇!

2017年，首年應考 DSE 歷史科只取得 Level 2 的 Felix 上演奇蹟大逆轉，於 2017 年 DSE 歷史科取得 5**的成績，開創重考傳奇!

2016-2020年間合共打造超過 110 名 5**學生，大幅拋離坊間其他導師! 其中 2017 年每 2.7 位 DSE 歷史科 5**學生當中就有 1 位是 K.W.HO 門生!

就算底子再差，能力再弱，你願意努力、願意學習、願意跟隨，我就會拼盡全力教你。我用心，只希望你能夠創造屬於自己的傳奇。

K.W.HO

HISTORY ◊ 實力 · 技巧 · 配套 · 戰績 · 無懈可擊 ◊

光

輝歲月

K.W.HO

HISTORY ◊ 實力 · 技巧 · 配套 · 戰績 · 無懈可擊 ◊

時

光飛逝

K.W.HO 的話 — 革命 · 顛覆所有

從小開始，我就不喜歡讀書，會考時開始認真讀書只是為了追女仔，希望能令女神刮目相看。高考後開始做補習導師也只是因為山窮水盡，連袋有當時全副身家的銀包也遺失，迫於無奈只好「賣身」開始補習生涯。一切都是緣份，又或者是宿命。

由執教第一年就已經計劃如何結束補習生涯，但又不甘心自己的付出會隨著自己的退潮而埋藏於世。正如我高考後開設歷史科博客，就是希望能夠將我在高考期間歸納的應試心得及答題技巧、撰寫的數百篇範文公諸於世，流傳開去，令我曾經的努力變成無可估量的價值，改變其他人的思維，甚至乎是命運。

由一開始執教 DSE 課程，我已經訂立了明確的目標——我希望用我的思維、技巧去掀起一場學術革命，破除舊有背誦式的讀法及雜亂無章的答法，確立思考及邏輯性主導的讀法和系統性的答法。學術革命要達致成功，首先必須要提高接觸率及廣泛性。為此，我於 2015 年加盟大型補習社[英皇教育]，並於隨後幾年稱霸歷史科市場，每年門生數以千計，5**學生人數亦冠絕全港，遠超同行。

今年，我終於下定決心實踐革命夢的最後一步，也是最重要的一步，就是利用我多年來嘔心瀝血製作而成的數千頁筆記去推動學術革命。讓學生免費使用我的 Unbeatable Notes 以取代傳統非考試主導、低效用的教科書，藉此達致全面滲透入學生層的效用。除此之外，我也要改變歷史科的市場模式，由過往的「付費學習」變成「免費學習」，同學可以在無須付費的情況下獲得數千頁的補習教材，即使是窮學生也能憑藉強大的筆記提高自己的能力，改變自己的命運。

為實現學術革命的目的，我歡迎任何學生或老師免費使用此 Unbeatable Notes 作教學，亦希望各使用者能夠將此筆記推廣出去，令學術革命能夠開花結果。

背 · 輸個試

很多人以為我 AL 時以 88% 的求敗分數取得 A 級成績(比一般年份的 A 級成績 cut off 高出達 20% 分數)應該是沒有補習，純粹靠自己的天份和努力而取得。恰恰相反，我的歷史科成績是補習了 3 年的結果。如果我當年只是滿足於會考的 A 級成績，又或者只是滿足於學校的第一名成績，或許就沒有現在的我。

一般學生讀歷史科的最大障礙就是自以為背了課題的內容就可以取得好成績，這是我多年的教學經驗，每年接觸眾多重考生而得到的結論。歷史科是一科對於提問字眼和邏輯推理要求均是極高的科目，在眾多 DSE 科目中被譽為最講究答題技巧的科目也不失為過。然而，許多同學在讀歷史科仍然抱著「背」的心態，雖然可能足以應付校內測驗考試，自我感覺良好，但一到公開考試及放榜時，轉眼就變成「陳再修」，這是每年我所接觸的重考生大多存在的問題，而這些重考生當中不少更是曾經上網購買了我的筆記，死記爛背的學生。

其實歷史科是極為容易擺高 grade 的科目，我有學生由零開始新修歷史科，合共讀了不足 10 個月就取得 5**；也有重考生第一年取 Level 2，然後重考躍升上 5** (可參考《五星星考卷集：傳奇集》)。相比大多科目，歷史科更容易創造出傳奇成績，原因在於歷史科講究思維及答法，同時課程範圍偏小，令理解考試這個遊戲的學生更加容易突圍而出。如果不懂考試，一味以為背就可以取得好成績，最終只會在拉 curve 的考試制度下，淪為上述考試精英的踏腳石。

成績越叻的考生一般求知欲強，慣性思考，學然後知不足，希望透過不斷學習以力臻完善，這類型學生亦普遍被視為是聰明的學生。成績較差的考生一般求知欲低，不好思考但喜愛背誦，自以為背完就能夠應付一切，這類型學生亦普遍被視為是愚蠢的學生。其實要成為一個聰明的學生，抑或是一個愚蠢的學生，許多時並非取決於智商，而是取決於選擇，正如讀歷史科時，你選擇用腦去讀，還是選擇用背的方式去讀？

“The more I read, the more I acquire, the more certain I am that

I know nothing.”- Voltaire

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Study Outline

Curriculum Framework	
Source from: Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority, Senior Secondary Curriculum and Assessment Guide (Final Version) (March 2007)	
Key Points	Explanatory Notes
Political and institutional changes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Main trends of development ● Characteristics of different stages of development 	Through enquiring into the major political and institutional changes that occurred in Hong Kong from the beginning of the 20 th century to 1997, students will identify the main trends of political development, as well as different stages of development and their salient features.
Focuses of Learning	
I. Factors affecting Hong Kong's Political Development: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ China Factor* ➤ Britain factor ➤ Local factor ➤ Foreign factor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Importance and limitations for the Hong Kong's political development ◇ Relative importance versus other factors
II. Political Development in Hong Kong: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ British colonial rule in the early 20th century(1900-41) ➤ Japanese Occupation (1941-45) ➤ Post-war political and institutional changes (1945-67) ➤ Extended scope of reform(1967-84) ➤ Development of representative government(1984-97) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◇ Summary <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils, district council and administration system • Government agencies and public bodies • Localization of civil servants (Whole civil service, Administrative Officers, Senior Officials) • Chinese groups (Chinese associations, Political parties) • Policies concerning people's livelihood ◇ Reasons for the changes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China factor • Britain factor • Local factor • Foreign factor ◇ Major Characteristics

Factor-based Learning Design

Situation-based Learning Design

Factors affecting Hong Kong's Political Development – China factor

1. Importance of the China factor for Hong Kong's political development

A. The China factor sped up localization of civil servants

Before signing the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 with China, Britain made no serious effort to facilitate the localization of the *civil service* 公務員本地化. With respect to Government Secretaries, all of the positions were occupied by expatriate officers. However, after confirming the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' 港人治港 with the Chinese in the Declaration in 1984, the British found it necessary to accelerate the localization of the civil service for a smooth transition to 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' in the near future. Therefore, the British Hong Kong government gradually appointed local Chinese officers as Government Secretaries, such as *Anson Chan* 陳方安生 and *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權 who took up the posts as the Chief Secretary and the Financial Secretary in 1993 and 1995 respectively. Moreover, after China regained sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997, the method for selecting the Chief Executive has been under the overwhelming influence of China since the *National People's Congress* 全國人民代表大會 appointed all the 400 members of the *Selection Committee* 籌委會, an electoral college for electing the Chief Executive. In the end, *Tung Chee-hwa* 董建華, who was ethnic Chinese, was elected as the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong, and all posts of Government Secretaries were filled by local officers. Clearly, the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' has been fully implemented.

B. The China factor facilitated and affected the establishment of representative government

With respect to indirect impact, it all started with the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 of 1984, which stated that the sovereignty of Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. In order to prevent Hong Kong from falling prey to Chinese autocratic rule after the handover, the British government sped up the process of establishing a *representative government* 代議政制 in Hong Kong and pushed hard for a firmly established democracy in this city. For instance, the first indirect election of the *Legislative Council* 立法局 was held and all *official seats* 官守議席 in the District Council abolished in 1985 with the aim of raising the representative of the two councils. After that, Governor *Chris Patten* 彭定康 implemented his plan for political reform in 1992. He restructured the Legislative Council and changed all 60 seats into elected seats. As for direct impact, the Chinese government was unhappy with the radical political reform and criticized it for violating the Joint Declaration and Hong Kong Basic Law. The Chinese government set up the *Provisional Legislative Council* 臨時立法會 instead, whose members replaced those elected in 1995 after the handover of 1997. They were forced to 'get off the train' 下車 and the incident directly changed the political development of Hong Kong.

C. The China factor affected the development of party politics

The scheduled handover of Hong Kong motivated the Hong Kong British government to start a reform directed to build a *representative government* 代議政制. The requirements for voters were relaxed to introduce more democratic elements to Hong Kong. As a result, many people and organizations were attracted to form political parties so as to stand for elections of the Legislative and District Councils. Examples are the *Democratic Party* 民主黨, *Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB)* 民建聯 and *Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (HKFTU)* 工聯會. This was a decisive factor that led to the emergence of party politics in Hong Kong. In addition, the China factor indirectly built Hongkongers' support for pro-democracy parties. The bloody crackdown on the *1989 Democracy Movement* 八九民運 induced fear of the forthcoming Chinese rule among Hong Kong people. For that reason, they supported the pan-democratic camp more and hoped the democrats would fight for higher degree of democracy in Hong Kong to prevent possible autocratic administration after the handover. As a result, in the Legislative Council Election of 1991 as much as 14 of the 18 elected members were democrats. Furthermore, the China factor directly influenced the development of political parties. Parties in the pro-establishment camp, exemplified by the DAB and HKFTU, were strongly backed by the Chinese government. In the *Provisional Legislative Council* 臨時立法會 organized by China in 1996, the majority of legislators were pro-Beijing and all of them became the original members of the Legislative Council after the handover.

2. Greater significance of China factor in affecting Hong Kong's political development

A. China factor > Britain factor

- In terms of cause-result relationship, the China factor led to the British government's attempts at representative government.
- In the past, the British were reluctant to grant power to the Chinese as they worried that this would work against its colonial administration. There was thus no election for the Legislative Council.
- However, when the handover of Hong Kong to China was scheduled, the British government pushed forward the reform of Hong Kong's political system in order to make Hong Kong a more democratic city and prevent it from coming under Chinese autocratic rule. The British even accepted the political reform proposal suggested by *Chris Patten* 彭定康 in 1992 and changed all seats of the Legislative Council into elected seats.

B. China factor > Local factor (the demand of Hong Kong people)

- In terms of causality, the China factor was the main reason for Hongkongers' full political participation.
- It was China that established the principle of '*Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong* 港人治港' with Britain and motivated British reform in political system. These fueled the enthusiasm of Hong Kong people who were inspired to form political parties and to stand for elections. The China factor was therefore the fundamental factor that affected Hong Kong's political development.
- In addition, in terms of impact, the China factor gave much stronger impact when compared to the Hong Kong factor because China was able to intervene in the political development of Hong Kong directly. For example, China was unhappy with the list of legislators elected in 1995 and it formed another council named the *Provisional Legislative Council* 臨時立法會, whose members replaced those elected in 1995 after the handover. The Chinese influence was in fact much greater than the impact the local factor could make.

C. China factor > Foreign factor (impact of the trend of decolonization)

- In terms of influence, though the British colonial government extended local Chinese participation in the Legislative and Executive Councils due to the trend of *decolonization* 非殖民地化 after WW2, the scope is rather small. However, the British government absorbed considerable number of the Chinese into the government owing to the *1967 riots* 六七暴動 caused by the influence of the *Cultural Revolution* 文化大革命. Also, a wide-ranging social reform was put into practice, covering aspects like housing and education. Therefore, the China factor had a greater influence over the political development of Hong Kong.
- In terms of duration, the trend of decolonization affected Hong Kong mainly in the 1950-60s, and the China factor has influenced Hong Kong for half a century. In the 1960s, the impact of the *Cultural Revolution* 文化大革命 made the British colonial government implement reforms to stem people's discontent and contain Communist expansion in Hong Kong. From the 1980s onwards, the influence of China was increasing because of the fact that Hong Kong would return to China in 1997.

Factors affecting Hong Kong's Political Development—Other factors

A. Britain factor : the British government directly affected Hong Kong's political development

Before the Handover in 1997, the British government held the only decision-making power over Hong Kong affairs. Its decision directly affected Hong Kong political development. For example, the Chinese would not be appointed to senior positions and their *suffrage* 投票權 was limited by the 1970s. The government changed its mind later and had localized senior positions in the government since the 1980s. Increasing number of Chinese were promoted to senior posts, like *Anson Chan Fang On Sang* 陳方安生 became the first Chinese Chief Secretary in 1993 and *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權 became the first Chinese Financial Secretary in 1995. Besides, the British colonial government implemented reforms actively in the 1980s, like reducing the number of official seats and raising that of elected seats in the Legislative Council, to set up a representative government. Moreover, the British government allowed Governor *Chris Patten* 彭定康 to reform the Legislative Council, making all 60 seats of the Legislative Council elected in 1995. It raised the representativeness of the Council remarkably. From these, it can be seen that the British government had direct influence over Hong Kong political development.

B. Local factor

BI. Rapid population growth

The post-war *baby boom* 嬰兒潮 and *influx of immigrants* 難民潮 after the Second World War caused the rapid population growth in Hong Kong. In 1950, the population of Hong Kong exceeded 2 million. Facing the rapid population growth, the government had to set up new departments and recruit more civil servants to ensure effective administration. Under these circumstances, new departments were founded, including the *Social Welfare Department* 社會福利署(1958) and the *Information Services Department* 新聞處(1959). The government also recruited many Chinese civil servants. The number of Chinese civil servants increased from 23,000 in 1952 to 48,000 in 1962. The further increase in population afterwards stressed the need for social welfare and resources in the society. In 1965, population of Hong Kong reached 3.7 million. The government had to carry out a more comprehensive political and social reform to cope with the increasing needs of the society. In 1972, the government launched the *Ten-Year Housing Program* 十年建屋計劃 to provide affordable housing for low-income groups. The *Public Assistance Scheme* 公共援助計劃 was introduced in 1973 to provide financial assistance for those who could not maintain basic living standard. The policies show that the government placed more emphasis on people's livelihood.

BII. Rise of Chinese businessmen and the middle class

Economic and educational development created a small group of Chinese elite and businessmen like *Ho Tung* 何東 and *Chow Shouson* 周壽臣. They had significant influence over the society and could help British colonial administration. For example, Chow Shouson acted as a mediator during the *Guangdong–Hong Kong General Strike* 省港大罷工 in the period 1925-26. He frequently travelled to China and helped solve the conflicts between British colonial government and the Guangzhou government. His contribution allowed him to be appointed as the *first Chinese unofficial member* 華人非官守議員 of the Executive Council. Besides, economic prosperity and educational development after the Second World War led to the emergence of the middle class. They were politically conscious and demanded more political rights after the improvement in living standard. They became a new force in Hong Kong's politics. Starting from the 1980s, they even formed political parties, like the *Meeting Point* 匯點(1983) and the *United Democrats of Hong Kong* 港同盟(1990), to get into the Councils, affecting Hong Kong's political development greatly in the end of the 20th century.

BIII. The demand of Hong Kong people

The discontent of Hong Kong people towards the government shaped the city's political development as well. For example, the *1967 Riots* 六七暴動 reflected the accumulated discontent of the people and reminded the government that it was necessary to absorb more local Chinese into its structure and open channels of communication with the citizens. The government thus put forward the *City District Officers Scheme* 民政主任計劃 in 1968. 10 City District Offices were set up in Hong Kong Island and Kowloon to gather public opinion and stem public discontent towards the government. Besides, during the transitional period for Hong Kong to return to the mainland, Hong Kong people formed political parties and participated in the Legislative Council election to achieve '*Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong* 港人治港'. The *United Democrats of Hong Kong* 港同盟 set up by *Lee Chu Ming* 李柱銘 and *Szeto Wah* 司徒華 serves as an example. The formation of political parties facilitated the political development of Hong Kong.

C. Foreign factor

CI. Japanese occupation

The Japanese occupation ended the British rule over Hong Kong. Japan invaded Hong Kong on 8th December, 1941. On 25 December, British troops in Hong Kong were defeated and Governor *Mark Young* 楊慕奇 announced surrender, which marked the beginning of the Japanese rule lasting for 3 years and 8 months. The Japanese stopped the operation of the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils immediately after the occupation. They set up a *military government* 軍政廳(1941) instead to rule Hong Kong by martial law. The government was soon replaced by the *Governor's Office of the Captured Territory of Hong Kong* 香港佔領地總督部 in 1942. The Office was the highest administrative organ of Hong Kong at the time, with departments of civil administration, finance, economy and foreign affairs established to manage all aspects of Hong Kong. Besides, Hong Kong was divided into *three administrative regions and subdivided further into 28 districts* 三所二十八區 to facilitate military administration. It set an example for the British government to divide Hong Kong into 18 districts afterwards. It enhanced the development of district administration.

CII. Impact of the trend of decolonization 非殖民地化浪潮

The trend of decolonization swept across the world after the Second World War owing to the decline of colonial empires like Britain and France. Meanwhile, increasing number of colonies demanded independence. As a result, many countries overthrew colonial regimes and became independent, like the *Philippines* 菲律賓 (1946) and *Burma* 緬甸(1948). As the British government ruled Hong Kong as a colonial ruler, the trend led to the development of ideas about independence and dissatisfaction with the British colonial government. Hence, it had to carry out political reform to stem social discontent. One example is appointing more Chinese into the Executive and Legislative Councils. It was intended to absorb Chinese elite for better administration. As a result, the number of Chinese members in the Executive and Legislative Councils increased from 3 and 5 to 11 and 10 respectively, showing the increasing political participation of the Chinese.

Political Development in Hong Kong

1. First Stage: British colonial rule in the early 20th century(1900-41)

A. Summary

AI. Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils

Absorption of Chinese elite into Executive and Legislative Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Appointing Chinese elite into the government to ensure smooth administration. ✧ e.g. <i>Chow Shouson</i> 周壽臣, who acted as a mediator during the <i>Guangdong–Hong Kong General Strike</i> 省港大罷工, was appointed as the first Chinese unofficial member of the Executive Council in 1926. ✧ e.g. <i>Wei Yuk</i> 韋玉 was appointed as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council in 1914.
Establishment of the Urban Council (1936)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The <i>Sanitary Board</i> 潔淨局 was reconstituted as the <i>Urban Council</i> 市政局 in 1936. ✧ Responsible for municipal hygiene ✧ The first representative body in Hong Kong (<i>Ngan Shing-kwan</i> 顏成坤 was elected as the first Chinese member of the Council in 1946)

II. Government agencies and public bodies

No significant changes	\
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III. Localization of civil servants

No significant changes	\
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AIV. Chinese groups

Rising political influence of Chinese associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The government consulted Chinese associations on policies concerning local affairs. ✧ e.g. The government set up the <i>Heung Yee Kuk</i> 鄉議局 in 1926 as the channel of communication with villagers in the New Territories. ✧ Other Chinese associations like <i>Tung Wah Group of Hospitals</i> 東華三院 and <i>Po Leung Kuk</i> 保良局 served as the consultative bodies of the government also.
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AV. Policies concerning people's livelihood

Discrimination against the Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ e.g. the <i>Peak District Reservation Ordinance</i> 山頂區保留條例(1904) forbade the local Chinese to reside in the Peak District ✧ e.g. English was adopted as the only official language, ignoring the fact that most of the Hong Kong people were Chinese
Non-intervention in Chinese affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ e.g. setting off firecrackers in the New Territories during Lunar New Year

B. Reasons for the changes

China factor (the influence of the Guangzhou government)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ People at grass roots level led a hard life at the beginning of the 20th century. ✧ They started several strikes with the support of the <i>Guangzhou government</i> 廣州政府 (Sun Yat-sen) ✧ e.g. <i>Seamen's strike</i> 海員大罷工 in 1922 and <i>Guangdong-Hong Kong General Strike</i> 省港大罷工 in 1925
Britain factor (Expansion of British colonial territory)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The <i>Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory</i> 展拓香港界址專條 was signed in 1898 to lease territories north of the Boundary Street to Britain. ✧ The local inhabitants in the New Territories disliked British administration. For example, they firmly resisted the policy announced in 1923 that building houses on agricultural land requires the payment of premium. ✧ Therefore, the government had to carry out indirect rule and entrusted Chinese leaders and associations to assist her administration. ✧ e.g. The <i>Heung Yee Kuk</i> 鄉議局 was set up to serve as a communication channel between the government and local inhabitants in the New Territories
Local factor (the rise of Chinese elite)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Economic and educational development created a small groups of Chinese elite and businessmen ✧ e.g. <i>Ho Tung</i> 何東 and <i>Chow Shouson</i> 周壽臣. They had significant influence over the society and could help British colonial administration. ✧ <i>Chow Shouson</i> 周壽臣 acted as a mediator during the <i>Guangdong-Hong Kong General Strike</i> 省港大罷工 in the period 1925-26. He frequently travelled to China and helped solve the conflicts between British Hong Kong government and the Guangzhou government. His contribution allowed him to be appointed as the first <i>Chinese unofficial member</i> 華人非官守議員 of the Executive Council.
Foreign factor	\

C. Major Characteristics

Executive-led government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The government was led by executive branch. ✧ The Governor-led <i>Government Secretariats</i> 布政司署 made and proposed all policies and bills.
Governor as the core of power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The <i>Letters Patent</i> 英皇制誥, <i>Royal Instructions</i> 皇室訓令 and <i>Colonial Regulations</i> 殖民地規例 guaranteed the Governor's highest ruling power in Hong Kong ✧ The governor was the head of the <i>Government Secretariats</i> 布政司署, Executive Council and Legislative Council. He also had the right to appoint and dismiss members of the two Councils. ✧ Enjoyed judicial, military and certain rights in foreign affairs.
Executive and Legislative Councils assisted administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Executive and Legislative Councils were responsible for assisting the Governor to make decisions. ✧ Important officials, including the <i>Chief Secretary</i> 布政司, <i>Financial Secretary</i> 財政司 and <i>Attorney General</i> 律政司, were <i>ex-officio members</i> 當然議員 of the two Councils. ✧ Most of the members of the two Councils were the same. ✧ In other words, both councils were only responsible for passing the bills in fact.
Lack of electoral elements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils were appointed and dismissed by the Governor. ✧ Elections were only held for the <i>Urban Council</i> 市政局 established in 1936. However, only 2 of the 13 seats were elected.
Indirect rule over the Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ To prevent resentment of the Chinese, the government entrusted Chinese associations and small group of Chinese elite to assist her administration. ✧ e.g. <i>Heung Yee Kuk</i> 鄉議局(1926) served as the channel of communication between the government and the New Territories society. ✧ e.g. <i>Chow Shouson</i> 周壽臣's considerable contribution to solving Guangdong–Hong Kong General Strike allowed him to be appointed as the first Chinese unofficial member of the Executive Council (1926)
Non-intervention in Chinese affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ To avoid cultural conflicts, it was rare for the government to meddle in Chinese traditional lifestyle. ✧ e.g. setting off firecrackers in the New Territories during Lunar New Year
Discrimination against the Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The Chinese were discriminated to a certain extent. ✧ e.g. the <i>Peak District Reservation Ordinance</i> 山頂區保留條例(1904) forbid the local Chinese to reside in the Peak District ✧ e.g. English was adopted as the only official language, ignoring the fact that most of the Hong Kong people were Chinese

2. Second Stage: Japanese Occupation (1941-45)

A. Summary

AI. Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils, district council and administration system

Original bodies stopped functioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ In December 1941, Governor <i>Mark Young</i> 楊慕奇 announced surrender and the Japanese occupied Hong Kong. After that, the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils stopped functioning.
Establishment of the Governor's Office of the Captured Territory of Hong Kong (1942)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Japan set up a <i>military government</i> 軍政廳 in December 1941 to rule Hong Kong by martial law. ✧ It was replaced by the <i>Governor's Office of the Captured Territory of Hong Kong</i> 香港佔領地總督部 in February 1942 ✧ The Office was the highest administrative organ of Hong Kong during the Japanese occupation ✧ Departments of civil administration, finance, economy and foreign affairs, etc. were set up to manage all aspects of Hong Kong.
Adoption of District Administration (1942)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Hong Kong was divided into 3 <i>administrative regions and subdivided further into 28 districts</i> 三所二十八區 ✧ '3 administrative regions' refers to the establishment of <i>District Offices</i> 地區事務所 in the Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories ✧ Each of the 28 districts had a <i>District Affair Bureau</i> 區政所.

II. Government agencies and public bodies

No significant changes	\
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III. Localization of civil servants

No significant changes	\
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AIV. Chinese groups

Establishment of the 'Two Chinese Councils' (1942)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ 'Chinese Rehabilitation Committee 香港善後處理委員會' was established in January 1942. ✧ It was reconstituted as the <i>Chinese Representative Council 華民代表會</i> and <i>Chinese Cooperative Council 華民各界協議會</i> in 1942, known as the 'Two Chinese Councils 兩華會', with the large-scale participation of the Chinese. ✧ It acted as advisory bodies and were responsible for handling district affairs ✧ The Japanese adopted the measure of 'ruling Chinese with Chinese 以華制華' to stem anti-Japanese sentiment.
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AV. Policies concerning people's livelihood(affected people's livelihood)

Food rationing system 糧食配給政策	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Food rationing system was adopted. Everyone could get a rationing license a day from the District Affair Bureaus to buy a small amount of food.
Repatriation Scheme 歸鄉政策	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Repatriation Scheme was introduced in 1942 to force the local Chinese to return to the mainland.

B. Reasons for the changes

China factor	\
Britain factor (Defeat of Britain)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Japanese troops started invading Hong Kong on 8th December, 1941. After a 17-day battle, the <i>Governor Mark Young 楊慕奇</i> announced surrender and formally ended British administration of Hong Kong.
Local factor	\
Foreign factor (Invasion of Japan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Japan invaded Hong Kong on the day after she launched a surprise attack against <i>Pearl Harbour 珍珠港</i> on 8th December, 1941. ✧ Hong Kong was captured in less than a month. Governor Mark Young surrendered to the Japanese on 25th December, 1941. ✧ It marked the beginning of the 3 years and 8 months of Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong.

C. Major Characteristics

Military demands as the emphasis of administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Military demands were the emphasis of the Japanese administration throughout the occupation period. ✧ e.g. It adopted <i>food rationing system</i> 糧食配給政策, i.e. one could only buy food with a license. Also, it introduced the <i>Repatriation Scheme</i> 歸鄉政策 to get rid of the influence of the GMD and the CCP in Hong Kong.
Strict and harsh control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The Japanese maintained a strict control over Hong Kong during the Occupation. ✧ e.g. <i>Food rationing system</i> 糧食配給政策 was adopted, i.e. everyone could get a rationing license a day from the District Affair Bureaus to buy a small amount of food. ✧ e.g. The <i>Repatriation Scheme</i> 歸鄉政策 was introduced in 1942 to force the local Chinese to return to the mainland. ✧ e.g. <i>Military yen</i> 軍票 was adopted as the only legal tender in 1943.
District Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Hong Kong was divided into 3 <i>administrative regions and subdivided further into 28 districts</i> 三所二十八區 ✧ Each administrative region had a District Office; each district had a District Affair Bureau. ✧ The system acted as a model for district administration in the future.
Ruling Chinese with Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The principle of '<i>ruling Chinese with Chinese</i> 以華制華' was applied through the '<i>Two Chinese Councils</i> 兩華會'. ✧ <i>Robert Hormus Kotewall</i> 羅旭龢 and <i>Chow Shouson</i> 周壽臣 were appointed as the chairmen of the two councils respectively. ✧ Indirect rule was adopted and the Chinese were allowed to handle district affairs.
Japanization policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The Japanese implemented Japanization policies to promote Japanese culture to local Chinese ✧ e.g. changing official language from English to Japanese ✧ e.g. Japanese language and culture were taught in schools

3. Third Stage: Post-war political and institutional changes (1945-67)

A. Summary

AI. Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils, district council and administration system

<p>Young Plan (1946)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Political reform proposal was introduced by Governor <i>Mark Young</i> 楊慕琦 in 1946. ✧ He intended to 'give Hong Kong citizens a more reasonable share of managing their own affairs' 香港市民有更多責任去管理自己的事務. ✧ Proposed the establishment of a <i>Municipal Council</i> 市議會 with 2/3 of the seats directly elected ✧ Increased the number of <i>unofficial members</i> 非官守議員 of the Legislative Council, letting them be in the majority of the Council ✧ Aimed at speeding up democratization and localization in Hong Kong ✧ The plan was cancelled owing to the departure of Mark Young and the establishment of communist regime in China
<p>Increasing representativeness of the councils</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of <i>official members</i> 官守議員 of the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils were decreasing, while more unofficial members were appointed to the Councils. ✧ e.g. In the period 1948-51, the number of unofficial members of the Executive Council increased from 4 to 6. Meanwhile, that of official members decreased from 7 to 6. ✧ e.g. In the period 1948-51, the number of unofficial members of the Legislative Council increased from 1 to 8. Meanwhile, that of official members remained at 9. ✧ e.g. In the period 1953-56, the number of elected seats of the Urban Council increased from 4 to 8.
<p>Strengthening communication with citizens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>Office of the Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils</i> 行政立法兩局非官守議員辦事處 was established in 1963 to strengthen communication between unofficial members of the two councils and citizens. ✧ The government set up various consultative bodies starting from the 1960s. The number of these bodies reached 67 in 1962.

All. Government agencies and public bodies

Expansion of government agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The government set up many new government agencies starting from the end of the 1950s. ✧ e.g. the <i>Social Welfare Department</i> 社會福利署(1958), the <i>Information Services Department</i> 新聞處(1959), the <i>Immigration Department</i> 人民入境事務處(1961), the <i>Transport Department</i> 運輸署(1965) and the <i>Legal Aid Department</i> 法律援助署(1967)
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Alll. Localization of civil servants

Expansion of civil service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of Chinese civil servants increased continuously. ✧ e.g. In 1952, there were 22,900 Chinese civil servants, accounting for 95.56% of the total. In 1962, the figure increased to 48,277 (96.74% of the total)
Emergence and increasing number of local Administrative Officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Increasing number of Chinese <i>Administrative Officers (AO)</i> 政務官 ✧ e.g. <i>Paul Tsui Ka Cheung</i> 徐家祥 was appointed as the first local Administrative Officer in 1948. In 1962, the number of Chinese Administrative Officers increased to 12, accounting for about 15% of the total number of AO. ✧ e.g. Anson Chan Fong On-sang was appointed as Administrative Officers in 1962.

AIV. Chinese groups

No significant changes	\
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AV. Policies concerning people's livelihood

No significant changes	\
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B. Reasons for the changes

China factor (establishment of communist regime in China)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 made the British colonial government worry about the spread of Communism in Hong Kong. ✧ The <i>Young plan</i> 楊慕琦計劃 was thus cancelled.
Britain factor (Continuation of British colonial rule)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The British government promised to introduce self-government throughout the British colonial empire before the end of the Second World War. ✧ Therefore, after the surrender of Japan in 1945, the British rule was reinstated and <i>Young Plan</i> 楊慕琦計劃 was introduced.
Local factor	Rapid population growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The post-war <i>baby boom</i> 嬰兒潮 and <i>influx of immigrants</i> 難民潮 after the Second World War caused the rapid population growth in Hong Kong. In 1950, the population of Hong Kong exceeded 2 million. ✧ The government had to set up new departments and recruit more civil servants to cope with the needs of the society.
	Rise of the middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Economic prosperity and educational development after the Second World War led to the emergence of the middle class. ✧ They were politically conscious and demanded more political rights after the improvement in living standard.
Foreign factor (trend of decolonization)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The trend of decolonization swept across the world after the Second World War. ✧ Ruling Hong Kong as a colonial ruler, the British colonial government had to implement reforms to stem social discontent.

C. Major Characteristics

Decreasing number of official seats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of <i>official seats</i> 官守議席 in the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils decreased gradually. ✧ e.g. In the period 1948-51, the number of unofficial members of the Executive Councils increased from 4 to 6, while that of official members decreased from 7 to 6.
Continual increase in the status of the Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of the Chinese involved in politics increased and they achieved higher level of political participation. ✧ The number of Chinese members in the Executive and Legislative Councils increased.
Further localization of civil servants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The percentage and number of local civil servants increased. ✧ In 1962, 96.74% of the civil servants were Chinese.
Emergence of new government agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Many new government agencies were set up to cope with the rapid population growth. ✧ e.g. the <i>Social Welfare Department</i> 社會福利署(1958), the <i>Information Services Department</i> 新聞處(1959), the <i>Immigration Department</i> 入境處(1961), the <i>Transport Department</i> 運輸署(1965) and the <i>Legal Aid Department</i> 法律援助署(1967)

4. Fourth Stage : Extended scope of reform(1967-84)

A. Summary

AI. Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils, district council and administration system

Increasing representativeness of the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of seats of the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils and participation of the Chinese increased. ✧ e.g. In the <i>Legislative Council</i> 立法局, the number of Chinese members increased from 10 to 23 in the period 1966-74. ✧ e.g. In the <i>Executive Council</i> 行政局, the number of Chinese members increased from 11 to 19 in the period 1966-74. ✧ e.g. All official seats of the <i>Urban Council</i> 市政局 were abolished in 1973.
City District Officer Scheme (1968)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ <i>City District Officer Scheme</i> 民政主任計劃 was implemented in 1968. It divided Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into 10 district and set up City District Offices in the districts to collect public opinions. ✧ The Secretariat for Chinese Affairs was reorganized as the <i>Secretariat for Home Affairs</i> 民政司署, which was in charge of the management of district offices. ✧ <i>City and New Territories Administration</i> 政務總署 was established in 1981 to manage District Office in different districts.
Secretariat for Home Affairs (1969)	
City and New Territories Administration (1981)	
District Council (1982)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Divided Hong Kong into 18 districts and setting up a <i>District Board</i> 區議會 in each district with members partially elected ✧ The first election of District Council was held in 1982. ✧ All Hong Kong residents who were aged 21 or above and had lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years were eligible voters.

All. Government agencies and public bodies

Establishment of the ICAC 廉政公署 (1974)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The <i>Prevention of Bribery Ordinance</i> 防止賄賂條例 was introduced in 1971. Government officials, who are in control of wealth disproportionate to his income and without satisfactory explanation, are guilty of an offence. ✧ The <i>Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC)</i> 廉政公署 was established in 1974 to fight against corruption. ✧ It directly reported to the Governor and enjoyed high degree of independence.
Establishment of statutory public bodies 法定公營機構	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ In order to enhance efficiency and reduce administrative costs, the government established different statutory public bodies to handle different tasks. ✧ e.g. the <i>Consumer Council</i> 消費者委員會(1974), the <i>Kowloon-Canton Railway Corporation (KCR)</i> 九廣鐵路公司(1982), etc.

AIII. Localization of civil servants

Expansion of civil service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of Chinese civil servants increased continuously. ✧ e.g. In 1972, there were 88,121 Chinese civil servants. The figure increased to 124,950 in 1980.
Increasing number of Chinese Administrative Officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ In 1968, there were only 23 Chinese Administrative Officers, accounting for around 23% of the total. In 1978, the figure increased to 91, accounting for 44% of the total. ✧ Tsang Yam-kuen, Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor and John Tsang Chun-wah became Administrative Officers in 1971, 1980 and 1982 respectively.

AIV. Chinese groups

No significant changes	✧ the <i>Meeting Point</i> 匯點(1983)
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AV. Policies concerning people's livelihood

Social Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Issued the <i>Social Welfare in Hong Kong: the Way Ahead</i> 社會福利在香港的前景(1973) and <i>White Paper: Social Welfare into the 1980s</i> 進入八十年代的社會福利白皮書(1979). ✧ Provided assistance to the underprivileged, like low-income groups, the disabled, the unemployed and elderly. ✧ e.g. <i>Public Assistance Scheme</i> 公共援助計劃, which was replaced by the <i>Comprehensive Social Security Assistance</i> 綜援 later, was introduced in 1973.
Housing Schemes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Launched the <i>Ten-Year Housing Program</i> 十年建屋計劃 in 1972 and planning to provide public estates for 1.8 million Hong Kong citizens in the period 1973-82. ✧ Established the <i>Housing Department</i> 房委會 in 1973 to formulate and launch public housing programs. ✧ Implemented the <i>Home Ownership Scheme</i> 居者有其屋計劃 in 1976 to provide housing below market price.
Provision of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Introduced 6 years of compulsory and free education in 1971 for school-aged children (aged between 6 – 12) ✧ Implemented the <i>Nine-Year Compulsory Education Scheme</i> 九年免費教育 in 1978 to extend compulsory education to junior secondary forms.

AVI. Others

Chinese as an Official Language (1974)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Amended the <i>Official Language Ordinance</i> 法定語文條例 in 1974 to make Chinese an official language ✧ Made consultation with Hong Kong citizens easier
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B. Reasons for the changes

China factor (Impact of the Cultural Revolution)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The 1967 Riots 六七暴動 were caused by the influence of the Cultural Revolution in China. ✧ The government had to improve people's livelihood so as to reduce the influence of Communism in Hong Kong.
Britain factor		\
Local factor	Rapid population growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The population of Hong Kong grew continuously after the Second World War. It reached 3.7 million in 1965. ✧ The rapid population growth led to an increasing demand for social welfare, education, housing, medicine, etc. ✧ The government had to implement a more comprehensive political and social reform to cope with the needs of the society.
	Emergence of the middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Economic prosperity and further educational development after the Second World War led to the emergence of the middle class. ✧ They were politically conscious and demanded more political rights after the improvement in living standard.
	Impact of the two riots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Most of the Hong Kong people were still leading a hard life despite the economic prosperity in the 1950-60s. ✧ The 1967 riots 六七暴動 revealed the discontent among the people at the grass roots level with the fact that they could not benefit from the economic development. ✧ In order to settle social discontent and instability, the government set up more communication channels with citizens and introduced many policies to improve people's livelihood.
	Lack of coordination among departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The rapid expansion of government structure after WW2 led to a series of shortcomings, including lack of coordination among departments, inefficiency in administration and heavy financial burden. ✧ Therefore, the government had to set up more statutory public bodies to raise efficiency and reduce costs.
Foreign factor (Trend of decolonization)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The trend of decolonization swept across the world after the Second World War. ✧ Ruling Hong Kong as a colonial ruler, the British colonial government had to implement reforms to stem social discontent.

C. Major Characteristics

Decreasing number of official seats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of official seats in the Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils decreased gradually. ✧ All official seats of the <i>Urban Council</i> 市政局 were abolished in 1973.
Increase in the status of the Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of the Chinese involved in politics increased and they achieved higher level of political participation. ✧ The number of Chinese members in the Executive and Legislative Councils increased. ✧ The number of Chinese <i>Administrative Officers</i> 政務官 increased.
Further localization of civil servants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The percentage and number of local civil servants increased. ✧ In 1980, 97.61% of the civil servants were Chinese. ✧ The percentage and number of Chinese <i>Administrative Officers</i> 政務官 increased rapidly. ✧ In 1978, there were 91 Chinese AOs, accounting for 44% of the total number of AOs.
Increase in the participation of citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The establishment of the District Council and the reform on the Executive and Legislative Councils extended the franchise of Hong Kong citizens. ✧ e.g. All Hong Kong permanent residents who were aged 21 or above and had lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years were eligible voters in the election of the <i>District Council</i> 區議會 in 1982.
Comprehensive development of social services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The scope of social services provided by the government extended in face of rapid population growth. ✧ e.g. establishment of many <i>statutory public bodies</i> 法定公營機構, including the <i>Consumer Council</i> 消費者委員會(1974) and the <i>Kowloon-Canton Railway Corporation</i> 九廣鐵路公司(1982) ✧ e.g. providing a series of social welfare, like the <i>Nine-Year Compulsory Education Scheme</i> 九年免費教育(1978) and the <i>Public Assistance Scheme</i> 公共援助計劃(1973)

5. Fifth Stage: Development of representative government(1984-97)

A. Summary

AI. Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils, district council and administration system

Legislative Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The first indirect election was held in 1985, with 24 out of 56 seats elected by electoral colleges and functional constituencies. ✧ The first direct election was held in 1991, with 18 seats from geographical constituencies elected by the method of 'one person, one vote' 一人一票 ✧ In 1992, Governor <i>Chris Patten</i> 彭定康 put forward his plan for political reform to restructure the Legislative Council and to accelerate democratization. ✧ In 1993, the President of the Legislative Council was no longer the Governor but to be elected among the councilors themselves. ✧ All 60 seats were elected in 1995.
'through train' arrangement of the Legislative Council 立法會直通車	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Originally, the members of the Legislative Council elected in 1995 were able to take the 'through train' 直通車 and travel safely through 1997 and beyond. ✧ However, Chris Patten's plan for political reform was deemed to infringe the Basic Law as it was not agreed by both Chinese and British governments before proposing. Thus, the Chinese government set up a <i>Provisional Legislative Council</i> 臨時立法會 in 1996. ✧ The councilors elected in 1995 were replaced after the Handover, part of them had to 'get off the train' 下車.
District Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ All <i>official seats</i> 官守議席 were abolished in 1985. ✧ All <i>appointed seats</i> 委任議席 were abolished in 1994. The voting age was lowered from 21 to 18.
Urban and Regional Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Holding the first direct election of the Urban Council in 1983 ✧ The Regional Council, which was responsible for recreation and public health, was set up for the New Territories. The seats were partially elected. ✧ All appointed seats of both councils were cancelled in 1995.

All. Government agencies and public bodies

Establishment of statutory public bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Along with the development of the financial sector in the 1980s, the government set up statutory public bodies for financial industry to maintain a healthy development of the financial market. ✧ e.g. the <i>Securities and Futures Commission</i> 證監會(1989), the <i>Hong Kong Mortgage Corporation Limited</i> 香港按揭證券有限公司(1997), etc.
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All. Localization of civil servants

Expansion of civil service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ e.g. In 1980, there were 123,950 Chinese civil servants (97.61% of the total). The figure increased to 188,393 in 1990 (98.68% of the total).
Increasing number of Chinese Administrative Officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Owing to the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' 港人治港 and the policy of the government that raised the number of Administrative Officers in the end of the 1970s ✧ The number of Chinese Administrative Officers was increasing. ✧ e.g. Michael Wong Wai-lun and Raymond Tam Chi-yuen were appointed as Administrative Officers in 1983 and 1987 respectively.
Senior Officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ With the implementation of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong', more and more local Chinese were promoted to senior positions and even top positions. ✧ e.g. <i>Li Kwan Ha</i> 李君夏 became the first Chinese Commissioner of Police (1989) ✧ e.g. <i>Anson Chan Fang On Sang</i> 陳方安生 became the first Chinese Chief Secretary (1993) ✧ e.g. <i>Donald Tsang Yam Kuen</i> 曾蔭權 became the first Chinese Financial Secretary (1995)

AIV. Chinese groups

Political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Alongside the signing of the <i>Sino-British Joint Declaration</i> 中英聯合聲明 and the development of representative government, the Chinese formed political parties to participate in politics. They competed for the elected seats of the Legislative, District, Urban and Regional Councils. ✧ e.g. the <i>United Democrats of Hong Kong</i> 香港民主同盟(1990), the <i>Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB)</i> 民主建港協進聯盟(1992), the <i>Liberal Party</i> 自由黨(1993) and the <i>Democratic Party</i> 民主黨(1994)
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AV. Policies concerning people's livelihood

Social welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The Public Assistance Scheme was replaced by <i>Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA)</i> 綜合社會保障援助計劃 in 1993 to provide assistance to those who could not maintain the basic living standard.
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B. Reasons for the changes

China factor	Impact of the June Fourth Incident	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The British government worried that Hong Kong would be ruled by China with oppressive measures because of the <i>June Fourth Incident</i> 六四事件 in 1989. ✧ Britain thus sped up democratization in Hong Kong. Governor <i>Chris Patten</i> 彭定康 even made all 60 seats of the Legislative Council elected in 1995.
	China supported the development of pro-Beijing camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Parties in the pro-establishment camp, exemplified by the <i>DAB</i> 民建聯 and <i>HKFTU</i> 工聯會, were strongly backed by the Chinese government. In the <i>Provision Legislative Council</i> 臨時立法會 organized by China in 1996, the majority of legislators were pro-Beijing and all of them became the original members of the Legislative Council after the handover.
Britain factor (Increasing the electoral elements in Hong Kong's political structure)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997 in accordance of the <i>Sino-British Joint Declaration</i> 中英聯合聲明 signed in 1984. ✧ The British colonial government thus sped up democratization, set up a representative government and laid a foundation of democracy in Hong Kong.
Local factor	Emergence of the middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The rise of the middle class and the emergence of professionals constituted a new force in Hong Kong's politics. They were eager to participate in politics and work for the government. ✧ In the 1980s, they influenced Hong Kong's political development through forming political parties and joining elections of councils.
	The demand of Hong Kong people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ During the transitional period for Hong Kong to return to the mainland, Hong Kong people formed political parties and participated in the Legislative Council election to achieve '<i>Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong</i>' 港人治港. The United Democrats of Hong Kong set up by <i>Lee Chu Ming</i> 李柱銘 and <i>Szeto Wah</i> 司徒華 serves as an example. The political parties facilitated the political development of Hong Kong.
Foreign factor		\

C. Major Characteristics

Development of representative government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The <i>official</i> 官守 and <i>appointed</i> 委任 seats of the Executive, Legislative, Urban and Regional Councils were abolished gradually. ✧ The number and percentage of elected seats were increasing. ✧ All seats in the Legislative Council were elected in 1995.
Continual growth of the Chinese status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The number of the Chinese involved in politics increased and they achieved higher level of political participation. ✧ The number of Chinese members in the Executive and Legislative Councils increased. ✧ Also, more and more Chinese officials were appointed to top posts until the end of the 20th century.
Further localization of civil servants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The percentage and number of local civil servants increased. ✧ In 1990, 98.68% of the civil servants were Chinese. ✧ The number of Chinese heads of departments and senior officers increased continuously. ✧ e.g. <i>Anson Chan Fong On Sang</i> 陳方安生 and <i>Donald Tsang Yam Kuen</i> 曾蔭權.
Growing maturity of party politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The development of political parties led to their participation in elections and merging of parties. ✧ e.g. the Meeting Point and the United Democrats of Hong Kong combined to form the <i>Democratic Party</i> 民主黨 in 1994. ✧ Trade union organizations also developed into political parties, e.g. the <i>Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (HKFTU)</i> 工聯會 and the <i>Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTU)</i> 職工盟.
Increase in the participation of citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✧ The voting age was lowered from 21 to 18 in the District Council election in 1994. ✧ More citizens enjoyed voting rights.

Timeline	
Year	Event
1880	Appointing Ng Choy as the first Chinese unofficial member of the Legislative Council
1904	Peak District Reservation Ordinance
1914	Appointing Wei Yukas an unofficial member of the Legislative Council
1922	Seamen's Strike
1925-26	Guangdong–Hong Kong General Strike
1926	Appointing Chow Shouson as the first Chinese unofficial member of the Executive Council
	Establishment of the Heung Yee Kuk
1936	Renaming of Sanitary Board to the Urban Council
1941	Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, the surrender of the British Hong Kong government
	Establishment of the military government
1942	Establishment of the Governor's Office of the Captured Territory of Hong Kong
	Establishment of District Affair Bureaus
	Establishment of Chinese Rehabilitation Committee
	Establishment of the 'Two Chinese Councils'
1946	Proposal of Young Plan
	Appointing Ngan Shing Kwan as the first Chinese member of the Urban Council
1948	Tsui Ka Cheung was appointed as the first local Administrative Officer
1958	Establishment of the Social Welfare Department
1959	Establishment of the Information Services Department
1961	Establishment of the Immigration Department
1963	Establishment of the Office of the Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils
1965	Establishment of the Transport Department
1967	Riots of 1967
	Establishment of the Legal Aid Department
1968	City District Officer Scheme
1971	Prevention of Bribery Ordinance

1972	Ten-year Housing Programme
1973	Social Welfare in Hong Kong : the Way Ahead
	Public Assistance Scheme
	Establishment of the Housing Department
1974	Establishment of the ICAC
	Establishment of the Consumer Council
	Official Language Ordinance
1976	Home Ownership Scheme
1978	Nine-year Compulsory Education Scheme
1979	White Paper : Social Welfare into the 1980s
1981	Establishment of the City and New Territories Administration
1982	First direct election of the District Board
	Establishment of the Kowloon-Canton Railway Corporation (KCR)
1983	Establishment of the Meeting Point (political party)
1984	Signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration
1986	Establishment of the Regional Council
1989	June Fourth Incident
	Li Kwan Ha was appointed as the first Chinese Commissioner of Police
1990	Establishment of the United Democrats of Hong Kong (UDHK) (political party)
1992	Establishment of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB) (political party)
1993	Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA)
	Anson Chan Fang On Sang was appointed as the first Chinese Chief Secretary
	Establishment of the Liberal Party (political party)
1994	Establishment of the Democratic Party (political party)
1995	All of the 60 seats in the Legislative Council were elected
	Donald Tsang Yam Kuen was appointed as the first Chinese Financial Secretary
	Lai Hing Ling was appointed as the Secretary for Security
1996	Unilateral formation of the Provisional Legislative Council by China
1997	Hong Kong Handover

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Trend Analysis of HKDSE Past Papers

	DBQ	Essay
SP	\	<p>Q1. To what extent was Hong Kong modernized politically and economically by the year 2000? Explain your answer with reference to Hong Kong's history from the 1970s to 1990s.</p> <p>Q7. Select one country or region as example and discuss in what ways was the Second World War a turning point for it in the 20th century.</p>
PP	\	<p>Q7. Select any one country or region and discuss to what extent this country or region in the early 20th century was different from what it had been in the late 20th century.</p>
12	\	<p>Q1. 'There was increasing political participation by the Chinese in Hong Kong.' Comment on the validity of this statement with reference to period 1960-97.</p>
13	\	<p>Q1. 'The China factor was the main factor that shaped the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1980-2000.' Comment on the validity of this statement.</p>
14	\	<p>Q1. Examine how the Hong Kong government tackled the problems arising from the influx of Chinese immigrants in the 1950s and 60s, and the question of Hong Kong's future in the 1980s and 90s.</p>
15	\	<p>Q1. Trace and explain the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1950-97.</p>

16	\	Q1. To what extent did the China factor affect the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1967-97?
17	1 st question Does the future problem of Hong Kong raise the political consciousness of Hong Kong people	\
18	1 st question Do you agree that the British Government shown that its governance improved during 1967-97	\
19	\	Q1. To what extent did Hong Kong undergo transformation in terms of socio-economic and political development in the period 1967-97?
20	1 st question Do you agree that Hong Kong had become better in terms of democracy and racial equality from 1951 until 1997.	\

DBQ

#1

Political Development in Hong Kong

Study Sources A and B.

SOURCE A

The table below is extracted from a survey conducted by a pressure group on the question of Hong Kong's future in 1982. It asked the interviewees about their preferred situations of Hong Kong after 1997.

To maintain the status quo as a British colony	70%
To become a trust territory*	15%
To be taken back by China and put under Chinese administration	4%
None of the above	2%
Don't know	9%

*Trust territory: a non-self-governing territory administered by the United Nations

SOURCE B

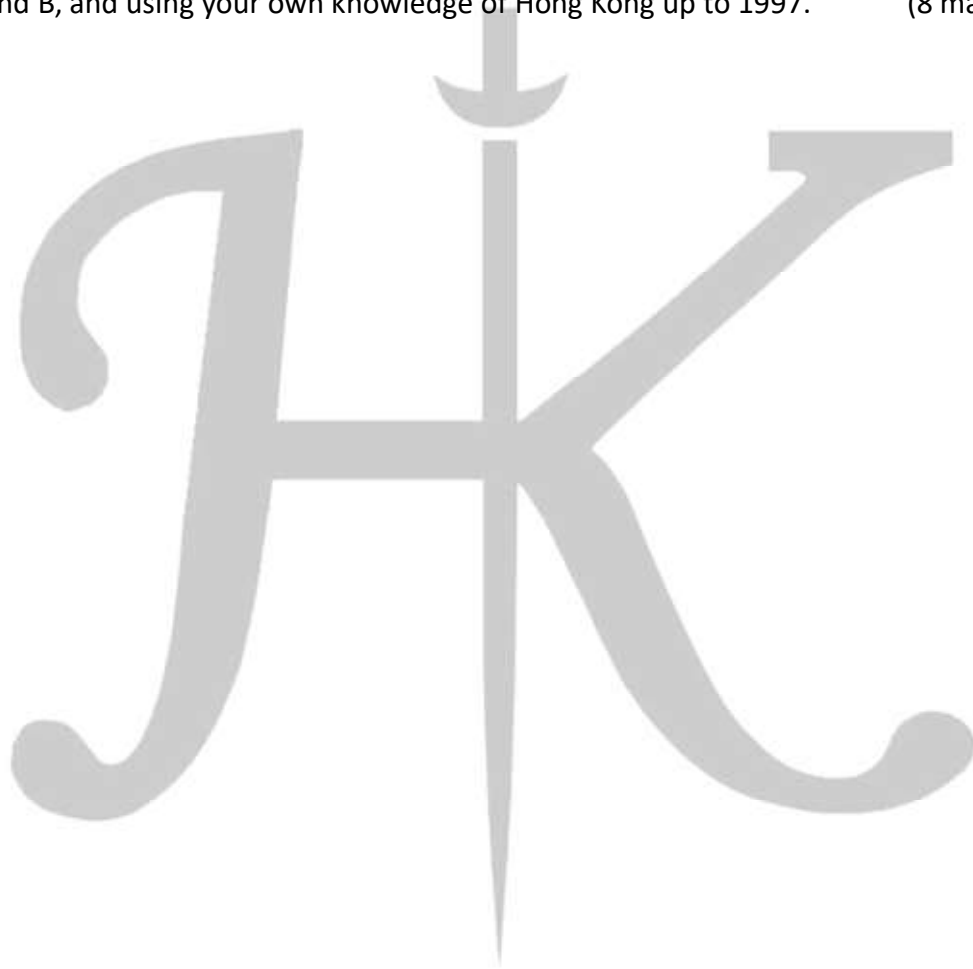
The following extract is adapted from the translated lyrics of the song 'Could Not Care Less About 1997' written by Cantonese pop singer Sam Hui in 1990.

I could not care less about 1997.
In fact there is no reason to be afraid.

Do not stay at home anymore.
Go ask your friends out with your pager for a slapstick comedy,
Then karaoke with a bottle of brandy to get drunk and sing loud,
And finally gaming in Mong Kok.
No one cares about tomorrow and enjoying the moment is the most important.

I could not care less about 1997.
In fact Hong Kong is adaptable and resilient.
I guess when it is 1997,
prosperity will come and there will be gold everywhere.

- (a) With reference to Source A, infer one anxiety among Hong Kong people about the future of Hong Kong. (3 marks)
- (b) According to Source B, did the anxiety you inferred in (a) still exist in 1990? (4 marks)
- (c) Do you agree that the question of Hong Kong's future enhanced Hong Kong people's political awareness? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge of Hong Kong up to 1997. (8 marks)



Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

- a) With reference to Source A, infer one anxiety among Hong Kong people about the future of Hong Kong. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

Anxiety: [1 mark]

e.g. - China would take Hong Kong back after 1997

L1 Able to cite relevant clues without due explanation [max. 1]

L2 Able to cite relevant clues with due explanation [max. 2]

e.g. – More than 70% of the interviewees wanted Hong Kong ‘to maintain the status quo as a British colony’, while only 4% of them wanted the city ‘to be taken back by China and put under Chinese administration’.

Suggested Answer

The anxiety was that China would take Hong Kong back after 1997.

From the Source, more than 70% of the interviewees wanted Hong Kong ‘to maintain the status quo as a British colony’. It was clear that a majority of Hong Kong people wanted to preserve the status quo and showed reluctance to Chinese administration. They were thus anxious if the status quo would change.

Only 4% of the interviewees preferred Hong Kong ‘to be taken back by China and put under Chinese administration. Apparently, only a small minority of Hong Kong people embraced Chinese administration while most of them did not. Therefore, Hong Kong people were anxious if Hong Kong would come under Chinese administration.

b) According to Source B, did the anxiety you inferred in (a) still exist in 1990?

(4 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Attempts to explain but reference to the Source is weak or vague. [max. 2]
L2 Clearly explains the answer with effective use of the Source. [max. 4]

Did not exist:

e.g. - The lines 'I could not care less about 1997', 'In fact there is no reason to be afraid', 'No one cares about tomorrow and enjoying the moment is the most important', and 'I guess when it is 1997, prosperity will come and there will be gold everywhere' showed the spirit of seizing the day and not worrying too much about the future.

* After reading the Source, candidates in general will hold the view that the anxiety no longer existed. However, marks may be awarded to answers that hold the opposite view and are presented logically.

Suggested Answer

The anxiety no longer existed.

The lines 'I could not care less about 1997' and 'In fact there is no reason to be afraid' showed that the handover of Hong Kong in 1997 was not a catastrophic event and there was no reason to be worried. It was clear that the anxiety no longer existed.

The line 'No one cares about tomorrow and enjoying the moment is the most important' showed the author's view that there was no reason to worry too much about the future and seizing the day was the most important, demonstrating that the anxiety no longer existed.

The line 'In fact Hong Kong is adaptable and resilient' pointed out that Hong Kong people had high adaptability and should not worry about changes after the handover as they would certainly overcome the challenges ahead. It was clear that the anxiety no longer existed.

The line 'I guess when it is 1997, prosperity will come and there will be gold everywhere' showed the author's expectation that there would be plenty of opportunities and wealth for Hong Kong people after the handover. His positive view illustrated that the anxiety no longer existed.

- c) Do you agree that the question of Hong Kong's future enhanced Hong Kong people's political awareness? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge of Hong Kong up to 1997. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Vague argument, ineffective in using both Source and own knowledge. [max. 2]
- L2 Unbalanced argument, using Source *or* own knowledge only. [max. 4]
- L3 Reasonable and balanced argument, using both Source and own knowledge [max. 8]

Agree:

- e.g. - Pressure groups interviewed citizens to collect public opinions, showing their concern for Hong Kong's future. (Source A)
- Before the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, party politics was not prevalent in Hong Kong. However, as the question of Hong Kong's future arose, many politicians formed political parties and got involved in politics. (Own knowledge)
 - Many creative works completed after the question of Hong Kong's future became known were related to the question of Hong Kong's future, showing Hong Kong people's awareness of local politics. (Own knowledge)

Disagree:

- e.g. - The line 'no one cares about tomorrow and enjoying the moment is the most important' showed that Hong Kong people did not care about the handover and would rather seize the day and enjoy themselves first. (Source B)

Suggested Answer

I agree with the statement to a large extent.

In terms of pressure groups, Source A was 'a survey conducted by a pressure group on the question of Hong Kong's future'. Clearly, it was the question of Hong Kong's future that drew public attention to pressure groups and prompted them to collect Hong Kong people's opinions through interviews. There was thus increasing political awareness.

In terms of Hong Kong people's responses, from Source A, only 9% of the interviewees answered 'Don't know' to Hong Kong's future, and the other 91% of them clearly indicated their preferences. It was clear that because of the question of Hong Kong's future, most Hong Kong people were aware of the city's political future and able to present their own views. There was clearly an increase in political awareness among them.

From my own knowledge, in terms of popular culture, it was rather distant from political issues before the question of Hong Kong's future came to light. It was more about everyday life as demonstrated by the song 'Ban Jin Ba Liang' (1976) talking about the blue-collar life. There was relatively low political awareness.

However, after the question became known in 1982, artists had frequently expressed their feelings towards the question in pop culture. For example, Andy Lau expressed his hope for greater sense of identity as Chinese citizens among Hong Kong people in his song 'Chinese people'. Apparently, the question of the city's future led to political elements in Hong Kong pop culture and an increase in political awareness.

In terms of political parties, their number was limited before the question of Hong Kong's future became known. Also, organizations such as The Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions had not yet transformed into political parties and were only social welfare organizations. The political awareness in Hong Kong remained low.

However, after the question became known in 1982, Hong Kong people made active efforts to form political parties and pressure groups, as exemplified by the Meeting Point (1983) and the DAB (1992). The HKFTU also transformed from a welfare organization into a political party that ran for elections. It was clear that the question led to Hong Kong people's increasing political participation through different organizations and their growing political awareness.

In terms of voting, before the question of Hong Kong's future came to light, most Hong Kong people did not enjoy the right to vote and had low political awareness.

However, after the question became known, the British government granted suffrage to more Hong Kong people and made them more aware of politics. For example, after the June Fourth Incident of 1989 that induced fear among Hong Kong people of Chinese administration, most of them voted for pan-democrats in the LegCo Election of 1991 in protest at the pro-Beijing camp. As a result, 14 out of the 18 lawmakers elected were pan-democrats. Apparently, the question increased Hong Kong people's political participation with their votes and boosted their political awareness.

However, to a small extent, Hong Kong people's political awareness did not increase because of the question of the city's future.

From Source B, the song 'Could Not Care Less About 1997' suggested that 'no one cared about tomorrow and enjoying the moment was the most important'. The lyrics encouraged people to put aside the issue of the handover and seize the day to enjoy themselves. Evading from the question of Hong Kong's future, Hong Kong people did not show improvement in their political awareness.

In conclusion, although Hong Kong people's political awareness was not enhanced in some aspects, they were mostly politically aware in the late 1980s as opposed to how they were before the question of Hong Kong's future became known in 1980. Therefore, I agree with the statement to a large extent.

Study Sources A and B.

DBQ
#2

SOURCE A

The following is a description of the 'Hong Kong Letters Patent' from a book published in Hong Kong.

Regarding the power enjoyed by the Governor of Hong Kong, he had the supreme authority to direct all the political affairs in Hong Kong according to the Letters Patent. Since he represented the British Queen in Hong Kong, all military and civil officials ought to pledge loyalty and obey to him. "In a colony, the governor's authority is merely second to god's only." Alexander Grantham, the Governor of Hong Kong, summarized his experience after abdication.

Further, the establishment of the Executive Council was also based on the Letters Patent. The Hong Kong Royal Instructions indicates that the Governor must consult the Executive Council on all political affairs except for those that are non-urgent, trivial or highly confidential. However, the power to make final decisions was still held in the hands of the Governor. Therefore, the Executive Council was the highest administrative body in the Hong Kong political system set up in accordance with relevant provisions, but it was in fact nothing more than an advisory body under the supreme authority of the Governor.

Source B

The following extract is adapted from a commentary on Hong Kong colonial cadets from a book published in Hong Kong.

The intention of the Colonial Cadets Program is to train a group of elite administrative officials to be colonial governors in different places. However, most of them were 'reluctant to be transferred to other posts'. Except few isolated examples, most of the cadets were completely unconcerned about matters relating to the local Chinese. Although the cadets were few in number, they should not turn a deaf ear to things happening in the neighboring countries. Instead of foreseeing and getting ready for new challenges and threats that Hong Kong could face, most of them became intoxicated with peace and prosperity of the British Empire.

Most worked as the decision-makers in the colonial government were those insular cadets. This accounts for their disappointing performance in the eyes of the public when Hong Kong faced unprecedented challenges between life and death (The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in 1941).

- (a) According to Source A, identify **two** arrangements of power for the colonial administration of Hong Kong that can be found in the 'Hong Kong Letters Patent'.
(4 marks)
- (b) What was the attitude of the author of Source B towards the colonial cadets? Explain your answer with reference to the language and arguments used in Source B.
(4 marks)
- (c) Do Sources A and B adequately reflect the characteristics of the British rule in Hong Kong before the Second World War? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge.
(7 marks)

Marking Scheme & Suggested Answer

(a) According to Source A, identify two arrangements of power for the colonial rule of Hong Kong found in the 'Hong Kong Letters Patent'. (4 marks)

Marking Scheme

L1 One arrangement only with effective clue from the Source; or two arrangements with weak support from the Source. [max. 2]

L2 Two arrangements with effective clues from the Source. [max. 4]

- e.g.
- Grant the Governor highest authority ('He had the supreme authority to direct all the political affairs in Hong Kong according to the Letters Patent.')
 - Limit the actual power of the Executive Council to consultation. ('The Executive Council was in fact merely an advisory body under the supreme authority of the Governor.')

Suggested Answer

First of all, the Letters Patent granted the Governor the highest authority. From the Source, the Governor 'had the highest authority to direct all the political affairs in Hong Kong'. Grantham, a former Governor, even described 'governor's authority' as 'merely second to god's only'. These show the highest power the Letters Patent granted the Governor.

Secondly, the Executive Council was claimed to be the highest administrative body in the Letters Patent. However, its actual power was limited to consultation only. From the Source, the Governor must consult the Executive Council about most political affairs, but he had the final decision-making power and the council was just 'an advisory body under the supreme authority of the Governor'. Therefore, it only had advisory function.

(b) What was the attitude of the author of Source B towards colonial cadets? Explain your answer with reference to the language and arguments used in Source B. (4 marks)

Marking Scheme

L1 Vague answer, unable to clearly identify the author's attitude, and/or only able to make good use of the language or arguments used in the Source to explain the answer. [max. 2]

L2 Clear answer, able to identify the author's attitude, with good use of the language and arguments used in the Source to explain the answer. [max. 4]

Attitude:

e.g. - criticizing

Language:

e.g. - 'insular', 'intoxicated'

Argument:

e.g. - The colonial cadets were apathetic to people's livelihood and the local Chinese. They also turned a deaf ear to things happening in the neighboring countries.
- Their performance during Japanese occupation of Hong Kong was disappointing.

Suggested Answer

The author took negative, criticizing and discontented attitude towards colonial cadets.

In terms of language, the author used the word 'insular' to describe the colonial cadets as conservative and not willing to keep in touch with the outside world, showing his negative and criticizing attitude towards them.

Also, he claimed that the colonial cadets were 'intoxicated with peace and prosperity in the British Empire'. He satirized that they did not want to make further improvement and satisfy with the honour brought by Britain, showing the intention of criticizing them.

Next, his attitude is going to be examined in terms of arguments.

The author claimed that the colonial cadets 'acted completely unconcerned about' people's livelihood and other things relating to the Chinese. They also 'turned a deaf ear to' situation of countries near to Hong Kong, acting completely different from how potential leaders should be. The arguments show his discontent with them.

In addition, when Hong Kong faced 'challenges between life and death' for the first time during the Japanese occupation, the performance of those colonial cadets was poor and disappointing. Therefore, the author should be discontented with that.

(c) Do Sources A and B adequately reflect the characteristics of the British rule in Hong Kong before the Second World War? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge. (7 marks)

Marking Scheme

L1 Lopsided (merely referring to the Sources or citing relevant historical facts) or holding the view of 'adequate'. [max. 4]

L2 Refer to both the Sources and cite relevant historical facts; clearly state the viewpoint. [max. 7]

Sources:

- e.g. - the Governor was in the corridors of power and had the highest authority. (Source A)
- the Executive Council only served consultative function. (Source A)
 - Administrative Officers (colonial cadets) and government officials did not concern matters relating to the local Chinese and their livelihood at all. (Source B)

Own knowledge:

- e.g. - One administrative characteristic of the Hong Kong British government was that it was executive-led.
- The Legislative Council assisted the Governor in administering Hong Kong as well.
 - Lack of electoral elements.
 - Chinese associations and elite were used to ensure effective administration.
 - The government seldom interrupted traditional customs of the local Chinese.
 - The Chinese were discriminated in certain aspects.

Suggested Answer

Sources A and B do not adequately reflect the characteristics of the British rule in Hong Kong before WW2.

First of all, Source A shows that the Governor was in the corridors of power. The Letters Patent guaranteed his 'supreme authority to direct all the political affairs in Hong Kong', which indicates that he was the highest decision-maker.

Also, Source A shows that the Executive Council was only an advisory body. Though the Governor must consult the council about most political affairs, the former was the one who got the final decision-making power. The council had no actual power.

In addition, Source B shows that the colonial cadets and the government were indifferent to the local Chinese and their livelihood. They only 'became intoxicated with peace and prosperity in the British Empire' and not particularly cared about matters relating to the Chinese.

However, there are quite a number of limitations.

Firstly, the Sources B do not show that the British Hong Kong government was executive-led, which was an administrative characteristic. The Government Secretariat headed by the Governor formulated and proposed different policies and bills.

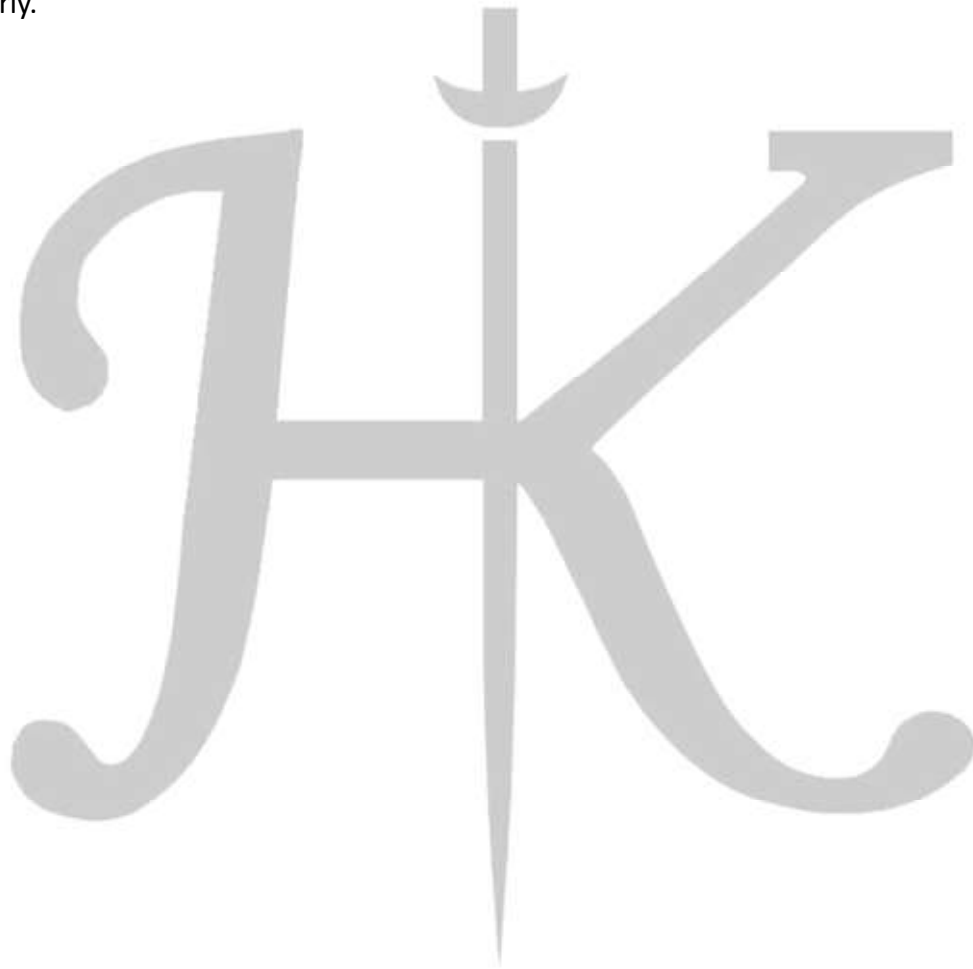
Secondly, the Sources B do not cover the Legislative Council, which also assisted the Governor in administrating Hong Kong. Key government officials like the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary and Attorney General were appointed as ex officio members of the council, endorsing decisions in favour of the government.

Also, the Sources B do not mention the lack of electoral elements in the previous political system. Members of the two Councils were appointed by the Governor, and there were only a few elected members in the Urban Council founded in 1936.

Moreover, the Sources B do not state the fact that the government used Chinese associations and elite to ensure effective administration. Examples are Heung Yee Kuk and Chow Shouson. They facilitated communication between the colonial government and the Chinese.

Furthermore, the Sources B do not mention that the government seldom interrupted traditional customs of the local Chinese, like the custom of setting off firecrackers during Chinese New Year for people living in the New Territories. As a result, some traditional Chinese customs were preserved.

Last but not the least, the discrimination against the Chinese in certain aspects was not covered in the Sources. For example, the Peak District Reservation Ordinance was introduced in 1904 to ban Chinese citizens from living in the Peak. They were treated unfairly.



Study Sources A and B.

DBQ
#3

SOURCE A

The following cartoon was from a Hong Kong newspaper published in 1986. The man on the left is referring to the Hong Kong people. While the man on the right, Lu Ping, is a Chinese official in charge of Hong Kong affairs.



港人治港：Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong

評判：adjudicator

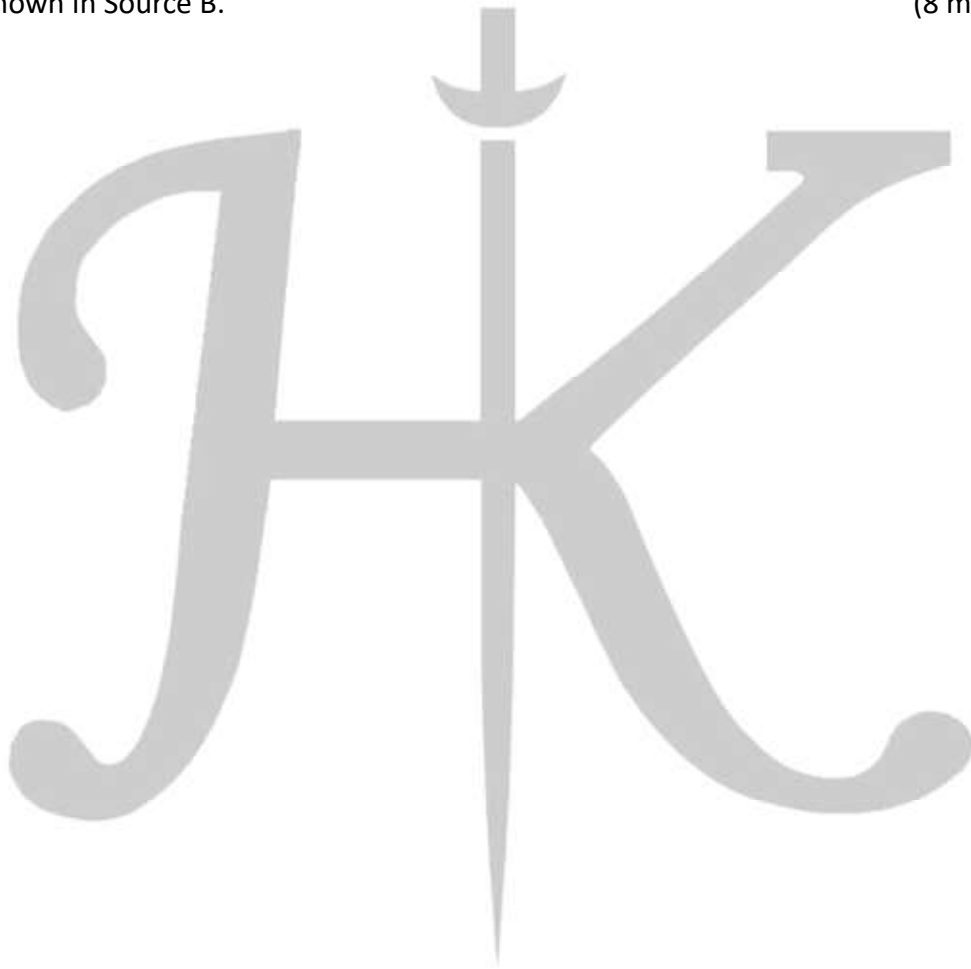
SOURCE B

The following list is the result of the first direct election in 1991.

Political affiliation	Name
United Democrats of Hong Kong (UDHK)	Chan Wai-yip Fung Chi-wood Huang Chen-ya Lam Kui-shing Lau Chin-shek Lee Chu-ming, Martin Li Wing-tat Man Sai-cheong Ng Ming-yum Szeto Wah To Kun-sun, James Yeung Sum
Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (ADPI)	Fung Kin-kee, Frederick
Meeting Point (MP)	Li Wah-ming Tik Chi-yuen
Federation for the Stability of Hong Kong (FSHK)	Tai Chin-wah
Nil	Lau Wai-hing, Emily Wong Wang-fat

*United Democrats and Meeting Point were combined in 1994 and became the current Democratic Party.

- (a) According to Source A, what was the attitude of the cartoonist towards China?
Explain your answer. (4marks)
- (b) Identify one characteristic of the result of the 1991 direct election according to the members' political affiliations from the Source. (3 marks)
- (c) With reference to Source A and your own knowledge, explain the usefulness and limitations of Source A in explaining the result of the 1991 direct election which shown in Source B. (8 marks)



Suggested Answer

(a) According to Source A, what was the attitude of the cartoonist towards China?
(4 marks)

Suggested Answer

The cartoonist held a negative, dissatisfied, disdainful and satirical attitude.

First of all, the cartoonist depicted Lu Ping as a biased 'adjudicator' who prevented Hong Kong people from building the house of cards successfully, showing dissatisfaction with that.

Secondly, Lu wore a conspiratorial smile after the house of cards collapsed. The cartoonist intended to satirize how smug he became after shattering Hong Kong people's hope, showing a satirical attitude.

Lastly, Hong Kong people in the cartoon wanted to realize their hope. Unfortunately, they were tricked by the Chinese official. As a Hongkoner, the cartoonist should feel bitter about it.

(b) Identify one characteristic of the result of the 1991 direct election according to the members' political affiliations from the Source.
(3 marks)

Suggested Answer

The characteristic was that the majority of the councilors came from the pan-democratic camp.

From the Source, 12 out of the 18 elected Legislative Council members were from 'UDHK'. With another 2 members from 'MP', the pan-democrats secured an edge in the direct election. More 2/3 of the members came from the pan-democratic camp.

(c) With reference to Source A and your own knowledge, explain the usefulness and limitations of Source A in explaining the result of the 1991 direct election which shown in Source B. (8 marks)

Suggested Answer

Source A depicted Lu Ping as a biased ‘adjudicator’ who prevented Hong Kong people from building the house of cards successfully. It reflects Hong Kong people’s suspicion against the Beijing government about its sincerity in realizing ‘Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong’. They thus elected democrats as Legislative councilors to represent them and the democrats were able to enjoy great success in the election.

Source A also reveals Hong Kong people’s demand for ‘Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong’. From the Source, the man representing Hong Kong people built the house of cards symbolizing ‘Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong’. Their wishes for the principle led to the election result that all elected councilors were Chinese.

However, many limitations exist.

From my own knowledge, the Source does not mention the fact that the election platforms of the democrats echoed the needs of Hong Kong people, like monitoring the government and seeking official reassessment of the Tiananmen crackdown. This helped the democrats gain support from them.

Also, the June Fourth Incident in 1989 made Hong Kong people worry about the rule of Chinese government. They considered political democratization as a means to safeguard their future and thus supported the democrats.

Moreover, Hong Kong people knew more about and became more eager for democracy due to the establishment of a more representative government in the 1980s. It also helped the democrats who advocated democracy to win their support.

In addition, the emergence of the middle class was not mentioned as well. They were well-educated and enthusiastic about politics. They formed political parties in hopes of getting advantages in elections. Therefore, most of the elected members had political affiliations.

Grid Method:

Study Sources A and B.

DBQ

#4

SOURCE A

The following table shows the numbers and proportions of Chinese and foreign civil servants in Hong Kong in the period 1952-90.

Year	Chinese civil servants	Foreign civil servants
1952	22,900(95.56%)	1,063(4.44%)
1962	48,277(96.74%)	1,625(3.26%)
1972	88,121(97.88%)	1,905(2.12%)
1980	124,950(97.61%)	3,064(2.39%)
1988	182,843(98.56%)	2,640(1.44%)
1990	188,393(98.68%)	2,485(1.32%)

SOURCE B

The following is adapted from a local history textbook.

Before the 1920s, it was extremely rare for the Chinese to be appointed as members of the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. The condition has changed since 1925-26. The Governor Cecil Clementi appointed the first Chinese unofficial member of the Executive Council so as to inspire the loyalty of the Chinese and maintain political stability. ... The Heung Yee Kuk founded in 1926 served the functions of facilitating communication between the government and inhabitants in the New Territories, monitoring the government's land policy and safeguarding the interests of the indigenous inhabitants in an attempt to show great respect to Chinese traditions.

- (a)(i) With reference to Source A, describe the changes of characteristics of Hong Kong civil servants in the period 1952-90. (2 marks)
- (ii) What factors caused the changes you have mentioned in (a)(i)? Explain your answer using your own knowledge. (3 marks)
- (b) Identify **two** methods the British Hong Kong government used to improve its relationship with the local Chinese. Explain your answer with reference to Source B. (2 marks)
- (c) What are the usefulness and limitations of Sources A and B in reflecting political participation of the local Chinese in Hong Kong during the 20th century? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge. (8 marks)

Suggested Answer

(a)(i) With reference to Source A, describe the changes of characteristics of Hong Kong civil servants in the period 1952-90. (2 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Able to identify the change without due reference to the Source. [max. 1]
L2 Able to identify the change with due reference to the Source. [max. 2]

- e.g. - The total number of civil servants kept increasing.
- The proportion of Chinese civil servants increased, while that of their foreign counterparts decreased.
 - The growing proportion of Chinese civil servants went into a one-off decline during 1972-80, while that of foreign civil servants went up in the same period.

Suggested Answer

First of all, the Source shows the continuous growth in the total number of civil servants. It climbed up from about 24,000 to about 190,000, experiencing an eight-fold increase.

Also, the Source reflects the increase in proportion of Chinese civil servants. It rose from 95.56% in 1952 to 98.68% in 1990. But that of their foreign counterparts decreased from 4.44% in 1952 to 1.32% in 1990.

What deserves our attention is that the growing proportion of Chinese civil servants went into a one-off decline of 0.27% during 1972-80, while that of foreign civil servants went up in the same period.

(a)(ii) What factors caused the changes you have mentioned in (a)(i)? Explain your answer using your own knowledge. (3 marks)

Marking Scheme

- e.g.
- Growing population of Hong Kong.
 - The trend of decolonization swept across the world.
 - Establishment of communist regime in China.
 - Riots in the 1960s.
 - The coming Hong Kong Handover to China in 1997.

Suggested Answer

Firstly, owing to the growing population of Hong Kong, the British Hong Kong government needed to increase the number of civil servants to assist her administration.

Secondly, the trend of decolonization swept across the world after WW2. The government thus hired more local Chinese civil servants to stem discontent among the Chinese.

Also, as the communists have ruled China since 1949, the government was obligated to garner support from the Chinese so as to lower the influence of communist China in Hong Kong.

Moreover, the two large-scale riots in the 1960s (1966 & 1967) forced the government to respond to the demands from the Chinese. It thus hired more Chinese government officials in order to keep down people's dissatisfaction.

Last but not least, since Hong Kong would be handed back to China in 1997, the government hired more Chinese officials to faithfully implement the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong'.

(b) Identify two methods the British Hong Kong government used to improve its relationship with the local Chinese. Explain your answer with reference to Source B. (2 marks)

Marking Scheme

- e.g. - Appointing Chinese Executive Councilors. [1+1 marks]
- Communicating with the indigenous inhabitants in the New Territories through the Heung Yee Kuk.

Suggested Answer

The first method was appointing Chinese Executive Councilors to improve its relationship with the local Chinese. From the Source, the government appointed the first Chinese unofficial member of the Executive Council with a view to winning the loyalty of the Chinese and maintaining political stability.

The second method was communicating with the indigenous inhabitants in the New Territories through the Heung Yee Kuk. From the Source, the function of the Heung Yee Kuk was to 'facilitating communication between the government and inhabitants in the New Territories'. It shows that the government paid great respect to Chinese traditions for the purpose of improving its relationship with the Chinese.

- (c) What are the usefulness and limitations of Sources A and B in reflecting political participation of the local Chinese in Hong Kong during the 20th century? Explain your answer with reference to Sources A and B, and using your own knowledge. (8 marks)

Marking Scheme

- L1 Lopsided; discussing either usefulness or limitations of the sources. [max. 4]
L2 Comprehensive; discussing both usefulness and limitations. [max. 8]

Usefulness

- e.g. - Source A: Process of localization of civil servants
- Source B: Appointment of Chinese Executive Councilor.
- Source B: The Heung Yee Kuk was the channel of communication between the government and the Chinese.

Limitations

- e.g. - Lack of substantial examples like Chow Shouson who was appointed as unofficial member of the Executive Council in 1926 and Tsui Ka-cheung who was appointed as Administrative Officer in 1948.
- The participation of the Chinese in the Legislative Council and the Urban Council was also increasing.
- Besides the Heung Yee Kuk, the Po Leung Kuk and the Tung Wah Group of Hospital were also channels of communication between the British Hong Kong government and the Chinese.
- Chinese political parties rose in the 1980s and sent representatives to stand for elections of the District Council and the Legislative Council.
- Localization of senior officials represented by Anson Chan Fong On-sang and Donald Tsang Yam-kuen.

Suggested Answer

Firstly, Source A shows the process of localization of civil servants. The proportion of Chinese civil servants increased from 95.56% in 1952 to 98.68% in 1990, and the number of them reached 188,000. These figures show that the participation of the local Chinese in the government increased greatly.

Secondly, Source B points out that the government ‘appointed the first Chinese unofficial member of the Executive Council’ in 1925-26, which means that the Chinese’s participation in the government was elevated in the 1920s and there was finally Chinese member in the Executive Council participating in the governance of Hong Kong.

Also, Source B identifies the establishment of the Heung Yee Kuk in 1926, which served the purpose of ‘facilitating communication between the government and inhabitants in the New Territories’. This proves that the government attached more importance to the Chinese and increasingly valued their opinions.

However, the Sources do have their limitations.

First of all, the Sources lack substantial examples like Chow Shouson who was appointed as unofficial member of the Executive Council in 1926 and Tsui Ka-cheung who was appointed as Administrative Officer in 1948. These cases are all not covered in the Sources.

Secondly, the Sources indicate Chinese participation in the Executive Council but do not mention their increasing participation in the Legislative Council and the Urban Council. In the late 20th century, the majority of the Legislative and Urban Councilors were Chinese.

Moreover, besides the Heung Yee Kuk, the Po Leung Kuk and the Tung Wah Group of Hospital were also channels of communication between the British Hong Kong government and the Chinese. But they are left unmentioned in the Sources.

Furthermore, the Sources do not mention that Chinese political parties rose in the 1980s and sent representatives to stand for elections of the District Council and the Legislative Council. Examples are the United Democrats of Hong Kong, the Meeting Point and the DAB.

Lastly, the Sources only illustrate the general situation of civil servants but miss details like localization of senior officials. For instance, Anson Chan Fong On-sang and Donald Tsang Yam-kuen were picked as the Chief Secretary and the Financial Secretary in 1993 and 1995 respectively.

Grid Method:

(a) Infer two characteristics of Hong Kong's political system.

(4 marks)

Suggested Answer

The first characteristic was the overwhelming majority enjoyed by expatriates. Of the 27 Legislative Council members, only 5 were ethnic Chinese and the other 22 were all non-ethnic Chinese. It was clear that the Legislative Council was expatriate-dominated and ethnic Chinese people only had a limited role to play there.

The second characteristic was the enormous power enjoyed by the Governor. From the Source, Governor Grantham served as the President of the Legislative Council and all other members of the Council were Governor appointed. It was clear that the Governor enjoyed enormous, if not absolute power as he had full control over the composition of the Council.

The third characteristic was its executive-led nature. From the Source, of the 27 Legislative Councilors, 18 were government officials (President and official members) while only 9 were unofficial members. In other words, the Legislative Council was inclined to support policies proposed by the government and would in no way hinder its administration, demonstrating features of executive-led governance.

(b) Identify and explain one administrative problem with reference to the first paragraph.

(3 marks)

Suggested Answer

Language barriers to communication between the police and the Legal Department were one of the administrative problems.

From the Source, the police had been urging the government 'to appoint a bilingual Chinese Crown Counsel to facilitate a better understanding and working relationship with the Legal Department'. It was clear that language barriers prevented the police from having effective communication with the Legal Department and led to difficulties in prosecution.

From the Source, police officers were required to 'brief non-Chinese speaking members of the Legal Department'. In other words, most staff of the Legal Department were expatriates at that time and did not share the same mother tongue with the majority of the police force. Such language barriers prevented police officers from reporting details of their cases effectively and could lead to delays in prosecution.

(c) Do you agree that Hong Kong had become better in terms of democracy and racial equality from 1951 until 1997.[S+K] (8 marks)

Suggested Answer

I agree.

The democratic development of Hong Kong supported this statement.

From Source A, in terms of the Legislative Council, in 1951, all 26 members except the President were appointed by the Governor and unofficial members only got 9 out of 27 seats in the Council. Clearly, the Legislative Council had no elected elements and was dominated by government officials at that time, showing a low degree of democracy.

However, from my own knowledge, in 1985, the British Hong Kong government introduced the first election of the Legislative Council. In 1995, Chris Patten even made all 60 seats of the Council elected, removed seats for official members and handed over the presidency to a member elected from among Legislative Councilors. Apparently, the Legislative Council experienced a transformation with many elected elements added by the end of the 20th century, showing great improvements compared to how it was in the 1950s.

In terms of district administration, there had been elections for the Urban Council since 1936 but the Council had limited elected elements and was merely a government body responsible for sanitary issues rather than a consultative and representative organization. It was clear that there was a lack of democratic elements and representation for district matters in the 1950s.

However, in 1968, the British Hong Kong government introduced the City District Officer Scheme, which was to divide Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into ten districts and set up District Offices in every district to gather public opinions. In 1982, there was the first District Council election in which Hong Kong citizens got to elect their representatives. It was clear that democratic elements were added to district administration and citizens were given the right to elect District Councilors to represent them in district affairs, which all showed huge democratic progress.

The statement was also correct in racial aspect.

From Source B, in terms of remuneration package for government officials, ethnic Chinese people faced inequalities in the 1950s. According to the Source, 'living quarters was one of the distinguishing features in the employment of all expatriates' while local Chinese officials had no 'living quarters, housing allowance and long leave with pay'. It was clear that expatriates enjoyed substantial housing allowance and other benefits that local Chinese officials were denied. Such discriminatory treatment demonstrated racial inequality at that time.

From my own knowledge, by 1997, ethnic Chinese officials were gradually given the same employee benefits as their expatriate counterparts, including housing and medical benefits. For this reason, civil service positions were regarded as 'iron rice bowls' with job security and steady income and became much sought after by many local Chinese people. It was clear that staff benefits for government officials were greatly improved and brought into line with expatriates by the end of the 20th century.

In terms of language, the British Hong Kong government did not recognize the importance of the Chinese language in the 1950s, listing only English as the official language despite the fact that ethnic Chinese people were the majority in the city. It was clear that the government's language policy showed discrimination against local Chinese people and was a sign of racial inequality.

In 1974, the British Hong Kong government declared Chinese as one of its official languages, ending the dominance of English. It was clear that the government enhanced racial equality in terms of language by allowing Hong Kong, a predominantly Chinese society, to finally have Chinese as one of its official languages.

a) Infer one anxiety among Hong Kong people about the future of Hong Kong.

(3 marks)

Suggested Answer

The anxiety was that China would take Hong Kong back after 1997.

From the Source, more than 70% of the interviewees wanted Hong Kong 'to maintain the status quo as a British colony'. It was clear that a majority of Hong Kong people wanted to preserve the status quo and showed reluctance to Chinese administration. They were thus anxious if the status quo would change.

Only 4% of the interviewees preferred Hong Kong 'to be taken back by China and put under Chinese administration. Apparently, only a small minority of Hong Kong people embraced Chinese administration while most of them did not. Therefore, Hong Kong people were anxious if Hong Kong would come under Chinese administration.

b) Did the anxiety you inferred in (a) still exist in 1990?

(2 marks)

Suggested Answer

Such anxiety still existed.

From the Source, the line 'Difficulties and challenges we face boldly' showed that there were still many difficulties and challenges in Hong Kong at that time and the song was to encourage Hong Kong people to face them bravely. Clearly, there remained the anxiety about the return of Chinese administration in the city.

From the Source, the line 'I'll definitely break through and overcome darkness' showed the songwriter's view that darkness still prevailed and he encouraged Hong Kong people to do their parts well in order to overcome it. It was clear that the anxiety inferred in (a) still existed.

c) Do you agree that the question of Hong Kong's future enhanced Hong Kong people's political awareness? (7 marks)

Suggested Answer

I agree with the statement.

In terms of pressure groups, Source A was 'a survey conducted by a pressure group on the question of Hong Kong's future'. Clearly, it was the question of Hong Kong's future that drew public attention to pressure groups and prompted them to collect Hong Kong people's opinions through interviews. There was thus increasing political awareness.

In terms of Hong Kong people's responses, from Source A, only 9% of the interviewees answered 'Don't know' to Hong Kong's future, and the other 91% of them clearly indicated their preferences. It was clear that because of the question of Hong Kong's future, most Hong Kong people were aware of the city's political future and able to present their own views. There was clearly an increase in political awareness among them.

In terms of popular culture, Source B was only lyrics but the songwriter showed his concern over the city's future with lines such as 'Hong Kong is my heart' and 'I am extremely reluctant to migrate elsewhere as a second-class citizen'. Taking Hong Kong to his heart, he showed his reluctance to migrate and encouraged Hong Kong people to overcome the hardship together. It was clearly the question of Hong Kong's future that led to these tokens of political awareness in pop culture.

From my own knowledge, in terms of popular culture, it was rather distant from political issues before the question of Hong Kong's future came to light. It was more about everyday life as demonstrated by the song 'Ban Jin Ba Liang' (1976) talking about the blue-collar life. There was relatively low political awareness.

However, after the question became known in 1982, artists had frequently expressed their feelings towards the question in pop culture. For example, Andy Lau expressed his hope for greater sense of identity as Chinese citizens among Hong Kong people in his song 'Chinese people'. Apparently, the question of the city's future led to political elements in Hong Kong pop culture and an increase in political awareness.

In terms of political parties, their number was limited before the question of Hong Kong's future became known. Also, organizations such as The Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions had not yet transformed into political parties and were only social welfare organizations. The political awareness in Hong Kong remained low.

However, after the question became known in 1982, Hong Kong people made active efforts to form political parties and pressure groups, as exemplified by the Meeting Point (1983) and the DAB (1992). The HKFTU also transformed from a welfare organization into a political party that ran for elections. It was clear that the question led to Hong Kong people's increasing political participation through different organizations and their growing political awareness.

In terms of voting, before the question of Hong Kong's future came to light, most Hong Kong people did not enjoy the right to vote and had low political awareness.

However, after the question became known, the British government granted suffrage to more Hong Kong people and made them more aware of politics. For example, after the June Fourth Incident of 1989 that induced fear among Hong Kong people of Chinese administration, most of them voted for pan-democrats in the LegCo Election of 1991 in protest at the pro-Beijing camp. As a result, 14 out of the 18 lawmakers elected were pan-democrats. Apparently, the question increased Hong Kong people's political participation with their votes and boosted their political awareness.

Therefore, the question of Hong Kong's future greatly enhanced Hong Kong people's political awareness.

Analysis of Exam Essays by K.W. HO

A. Factor

★ Multi-factor and 'relative importance' (Single-subject)

- 1 'The China factor was the main factor that shaped the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1980-2000.' Comment on the validity of this statement.
- 2 'External factors were the most important in causing changes in Hong Kong's political development after the Second World War.' Comment on the validity of this statement.
- 3 'The local Chinese were the most important driving force behind the political development of Hong Kong.' Comment on the validity of this statement with reference to the period 1945-2000.

★ Multi-factor and 'relative importance' (Dual-subject)

- 4 Assess the relative importance of the China factor and the Britain factor in shaping Hong Kong's political development in the period 1980-2000.

★ Multi-factor and 'relative importance' (Multi-subject)

- 5 Assess the relative importance of the major factors that shaped Hong Kong's political development in the period 1970-97.

B. Situation

★ Declarative and Evaluative

6	Identify and explain the characteristics of British administration in Hong Kong in the first half of the 20th century.
7	Examine the main political features of British rule in Hong Kong after 1945.
8	Trace and explain the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1950-97.
9	Trace and explain the political participation of the local Chinese in the 20 th century.
10	Examine how the Hong Kong government tackled the problems arising from the influx of Chinese immigrants in the 1950s and 60s, and the question of Hong Kong's future in the 1980s and 90s.

★ Polar

11	'There was increasing political participation by the Chinese in Hong Kong.' Comment on the validity of this statement with reference to period 1960-97.
12	To what extent was Hong Kong modernized politically and economically by the year 2000? Explain your answer with reference to Hong Kong's history from the 1970s to 1990s.
13	Discuss to what extent Hong Kong in the late 20th century was different from what it had been in the early 20th century.
14	To what extent were the features of the administration of the British Hong Kong government lasted until 1997?

C. Significance

★ Comparative

15	To what extent was 1967 a turning point of Hong Kong's politics?
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To what extent was Hong Kong's political development in the period 1967-97 shaped by the China factor?

After one and a half century of British colonial rule, Hong Kong was finally handed over to China in 1997. In 1967-97, the China factor had been the most important factor that shaped Hong Kong's political development. Great influence was made by the Situation, policies, ideologies of China which had greater importance than the Britain factor and Hong Kong factor. Therefore, the statement is valid.

Situation of China greatly affected the Hong Kong political development. The political situation of China was closely related to that of Hong Kong. For instance, the Cultural Revolution broke out in China in 1966. Red Guards purged the capitalist roaders. The leftist wing led by *Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions* 工聯會 echoed with the advocate of its mother land. People went on strike, march and protest to fight against the colonial rule of capitalist countries such as Britain. Eventually, in order to cease the discontent of Hong Kong people, the British colonial government greatly increased the communication channel with citizens. For instance, in 1968, *City District Councilor Scheme* 民政主任計劃 was launched which divided Hong Kong and Kowloon into 10 areas. *District offices* 民政處 were established to collect the public opinions; in 1982, the first *District Council election* 區議會選舉 was launched in 1982 which allowed Hong Kong permanent residents who aged 21 or above and lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years the rights to vote. It fostered the development of Hong Kong regional politics. Apart from that, the situation of China indirectly sparked the support of Hong Kong people towards the democratic political parties in the 1990s. Due to the crackdown of China during the 1989 *Democracy Movement* 八九民運, Hong Kong people were fear of the ruling of China and hence supported more on democratic camp. They hoped that the democrats could help strive for democracy in Hong Kong and prevented it from falling into the authoritarian rule of China after handover. This led to the Legislative Council election in 1991. Among 18 directly elected members, 14 of them are from the pan-democratic camp. This showed that the situation of China fostered the development of regional politics of Hong Kong and allowed democratic councilors to obtain support from local people.

The policy of China affected the Hong Kong political development. China would like to get back the sovereignty of Hong Kong and hence started the negotiation with Britain in 1982 concerning the future of Hong Kong. Eventually, in 1984, the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 was formed and it was certain that Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. Principles such as *One-Country-Two-Systems* 一國兩制 and *Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong* 港人治港 were established. In the aspect of One-Country-Two-Systems, in order to make sure that Hong Kong would not be put under the authoritarian rule of China, the British government sped up the process of establishing a representative government in Hong Kong and pushed hard for a firmly established democracy in this city. For instance, the first indirect election of the Legislative Council was held and all *official seats* 官守議席 in the District Council were abolished in 1985 with the aim of raising the representativeness of the two councils. After that, Governor *Chris Patten* 彭定康 implemented his plan of political reform in 1992. He restructured the Legislative Council and changed all 60 seats into elected seats. This greatly sped up the democratization of Hong Kong politics. In the aspect of Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong, in order to nurture the ruling class after the return of sovereignty, the British colonial government gradually appointed Chinese to be the Chief Secretary and the Financial Secretary. For instance, *Anson Chan* 陳方安生 and *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權 were appointed as Chief Secretary and Financial Secretary respectively in 1993 and 1995. Until the reunification in 1997, a Chinese, *Tung Chee-hwa* 董建華, became the first Chief Executive. Posts of senior government officials were taken up by Chinese. This showed that the Chinese factors accelerated the process of democratization and localization of civil servants in Hong Kong.

The Chinese ideological factors affected the development of Hong Kong politics. China is a communist state that advocates one-party dictatorship. All of power was belonged to the party. Hence, China used direct and indirect methods to increase the control towards Hong Kong politics, making it even more authoritarian. In the direct influence, China was discontented with the reform package introduced by *Chris Pattern* 彭定康 in 1992 (in which the 60 seats of Legislative Council were wholly elected) as China thought that the electoral element of the Legislative Council was too high. It worried that such arrangement would affect the seats occupied by pan-establishment camp. Hence, the *Provincial Legislative Council* 臨時立法會 was formed in 1996. After the handover in 1997, this council replaced the legislative councilors elected in 1995 which forced some of them to 'get off the train 下車'. This directly changed the political history of Hong Kong. Apart from that, in the indirect influences, China actively supported the development of pan-establishment parties in Hong Kong, including Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, and Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions. In the *Provincial Legislative Council* 臨時立法會(1996) organized by China, the pan-establishment camp was the majority. They later became the first batch of Legislative Council after the handover. Moreover, the Provincial Legislative Council passed the *Legislative Council Ordinance* 立法會條例(1997) right after the return. *Functional constituency* 功能組別議席 was revised which allowed the Legislative Council to be controlled by the pan-establishment camp at the first place. All the proposals could not be passed without the consent of China. China could effectively control the politics of Hong Kong as the proposals were banned in the counting of votes. This showed the Chinese ideological factors could make the politics of Hong Kong to be more authoritarian directly and indirectly.

The Britain factor and Hong Kong factor also affected Hong Kong's political development but they were less important than the China factor.

The Britain factor was also involved in shaping Hong Kong's political development. Before the handover of 1997, the British government held absolute decision-making power over Hong Kong and directly influenced its political development. For example, the British had no intention of adding democratic elements into Hong Kong's political system before the 1980s and there was no extensive reform introducing a representative government. It was not until the 1980s when the British started the reform and launched Legislative Council elections. In 1992, the British government permitted Governor *Chris Patten* 彭定康 to transform the Legislative Council and to change all the 60 seats into elected ones in 1995, boosting the representativeness of the Council. Therefore, the British government had direct influence upon Hong Kong's political development.

But the China factor was more important than the Britain one. In terms of cause-result relationship, the China factor led to the British government's attempts at representative government. In the past, the British were reluctant to grant power to the Chinese as they worried that this would work against its colonial administration. There was thus no election for the Legislative Council. However, when the handover of Hong Kong to China was scheduled, the British government pushed forward the reform of Hong Kong's political system in order to make Hong Kong a more democratic city and prevent it from coming under Chinese autocratic rule. The British even accepted the political reform proposal suggested by Chris Patten in 1992 and changed all seats of the Legislative Council into elected seats. Therefore, the China factor was the determinant of British attempts at political reform and it was the most important factor in shaping the city's political development.

The Hong Kong factor was also one of the factors affecting the development of Hong Kong politics. Hong Kong 1967 Leftist riots broke out in Hong Kong in 1966-67 which prompted the British colonial government to reform the regional politics. It included the implementation of *City District Councilor Scheme* 民政主任計劃(1968) so as to reduce the discontent of local people. Also, Hong Kong people longed for the implementation of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong 港人治港'. They enthusiastically formed political parties starting from the 1980s, including the *Meeting Point* 匯點(1983) and the *United Democrats of Hong Kong* 港同盟(1990), with the aim of entering the Legislative Council and standing for the District Council elections. This led to the proliferation of political parties after 1980. Therefore, the local factor was also an important motivational force for Hong Kong's political development.

However, the Chinese factor was more important than the Hong Kong factor. In the casual relationship, the Chinese factor was the major reason leading to the occurrence of Hong Kong 1967 Leftist riots. The Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966, which motivated the leftist forces in Hong Kong to echo with the movement. It resulted in the Hong Kong 1967 Riots. Apart from that, in terms of causality, the China factor was the main reason for Hong Kongers' full political participation. It was China that established the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' with Britain and motivated British reform in political system. These fueled the enthusiasm of Hong Kong people who were inspired to form political parties and to stand for elections. The China factor was therefore the fundamental factor that affected Hong Kong's political development. Therefore, the China factor was the chief factor that shaped Hong Kong's political development.

In conclusion, although the Britain factor and Hong Kong factor also shaped Hong Kong's political development, they were far less important than the China factor. After the handover of 1997, China even had absolute power over the decision-making process involved in Hong Kong's politics, exerting significant effect on the city's political development.

Words: 1591

考生答卷示範 (一)

分數：_____/15

To a large extent the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1967-97 was a result of the China factor, with China factor leading to the increasing Chinese participation and the formation of political parties.

Firstly, the increasing Chinese participation in political aspect was a result of the China factor. Due to the 1984 “Sino-British Joint Declaration”, the China government was going to get back the sovereignty of Hong Kong and it declared that “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong” as an important element of the declaration. Thus, the British government paved way for the handover. In 1950s, there were only 20000 civil servants who were Chinese, while the number increased to 200000 until 1997. Moreover, for senior officials, Anson Chan was appointed as the Chief Secretary of Hong Kong in 1993 as well as Donald Tsang was appointed the Financial Secretary of Hong Kong in 1995. This shows that due to the signing of the “Sino-British Joint Declaration”, more Chinese residents actively involved in the political development of Hong Kong and increased the Chinese participation in political aspect. It was a result by China factor.

Secondly, the formation of the political parties was also a result by the China factor. As the June 4th Incident happened in 1989 in China, people afraid that after the handover China would still use out oppressive method to rule Hong Kong even there was the “Sino-British Joint Declaration” signed in 1984. Thus, the residents would like to actively engage in politics and formed political parties. For example, the democratic party, the DAB and the HKFTU were formed as different political parties of Hong Kong. Also, the June 4th Incident of China led to people who voted for the democratic parties, resulting in more than half of them were come from democratic parties in the Legislative Council. This shows that the China’s June 4th movement led to Hong Kong political parties’ foundations in the year 1980s-90s. This showed that it was a result of China factor.

However, there were also some other factors which caused the political development of Hong Kong, such as the local factor and the British factor. However, their significances were not as important as the China factor.

For the local factor which was not China factor, after the 1967 riots, many of the Hong Kong people revealed that they had discontent to the government and would

like to participate in politics to change the situation of limited Chinese participations in political aspect in the government. For example, at the 1970s, there were still official members in the Legislative and Executive Council, which there was no direct elections of Hong Kong People to the two councils. This led to Hong Kong people would like to engage in Hong Kong's politics and hence resulted an increasing Chinese participation.

However, this was mainly caused by the China factor. Although the Hong Kong people would like to have more political participation after the 1967 riots to ease their discontent. Yet, only under the condition of the signing of the 1984 “Sino-British Joint Declaration” and the emphasis of “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong” could let the Hong Kong people to have a chance to participate in the politics, such as the appointment of Anson Chan as the Chief Secretary in 1993, showing the China factor was the main factor to the political development of Hong Kong.

Moreover, the British factor also paved the way for the political development in Hong Kong. The British government employed 200000 civil servants in the 1990s. Moreover, it started the first direct election of the Leg-Co and extended the seats to 60 in 1995, which allowed more Chinese to participate in. Meanwhile, the British government, except the governor, they had Chinese people as Donald Tsang as the Financial Secretary in 1995. This shows that British factor had contributed to more Chinese participation in Hong Kong's political development.

However, the China factor was more important. As Hong Kong was to be returned to China in 1997 under the “Sino-British Joint Declaration” which signed in 1984. The British government only changed the participation of Chinese after the signing of the declaration to paved the way for “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong”. Therefore, as the “Sino-British Joint Declaration” was initiated by China which was the China factor, leading to the British government to make changes on the political development. Hence, the China factor is more important.

To sum up, although the local factor and the British factor also led to changes and increasing participations of Chinese in terms of political development, they were mainly dominated by the China factor. Therefore, the political development of Hong Kong was a result of the China factor in 1967-97 to a large extent

字數：789

考生答卷示範 (二)

分數： _____/15

From 1967-1997, Hong Kong's political development underwent drastic changes and it was the result of China factor to a large extent.

Firstly, from 1967-1980s, Hong Kong's slightly increasing representativeness and local participation in politics. It was due to the 1966-67 Riots which was brought by the influence of Cultural Revolution and Chinese support. From 1966 to 1967, which occurred with Cultural Revolution in China, nationalism was boosted and spread to Hong Kong, with Chinese revolutionists coming to Hong Kong to provide support in 1966-67 Riots. As such, the influence or pressure of local groups to the British government increased, pressuring British government to initiated changes to people who were more national with. Also, as British government wanted to prolong administration and reduce locals desire to return back to China and resist communism. Britain government started to establish representatives of Hong Kong government. For instance, there was improvement in administration as reflected by setting up of officers or unofficial in Leg-co members and more administrative bodies e.g. Consumer Council to gather public opinions so as to panty people. The representative governments with setting up of City District Officers in 1969, abolishing official seats in Urban Council and expansion of Leg-co and Exe-co was introduced in Hong Kong so as to allow more public participation. Also, localization of civil service occurred with more Chinese involvements as to satisfy people's desires as shown by 1966-67 Riots influenced by the Chinese support., avoiding Hong Kong to form communist.

Secondly, from 1986s to 1990s, Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 sped up even more radical development of representative government in Hong Kong. In 1984, Margaret Thatcher and Deng Xiao Peng agreed to allow China to resume exercise of sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997, with high degree of autonomy and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" principles. As such colonial government sped up increasing government representativeness as reflected by localization of civil services. In 1980s, for instance, percentage of Chinese government secretaries reached 40% up from only 19% in 1970. Also, indirect election of Leg-co by functional constituencies and electoral colleges, increasing representativeness. In 1991, direct election of Leg-co was introduced with direct participants of locals in geographical constituencies. All 60 members were elected and more were appointed. President of Leg-co was also elected from and by Leg-co members, showing increasing representativeness as British government wanted to empower Hong Kong locals to rule themselves after handover in 1997, as stated in Sino-British Joint Declaration. Plus, white paper was set to discuss future development of representative government in Hong Kong in 1984 so as to check Hong Kong with more democratic to rule themselves after 1997 handover. Moreover,

political parties e.g. Liberal Party and Democratic Party were set up in 1980s as Hong Kong locals were in favor of. Closer and closer handover of China wanted to increase political participation and gather public opinions so as to improve to rule Hong Kong after handover.

Thirdly, China led to handover in 1997, which led to the setting up of a full Chinese member provisional Leg-co and more active participation of political parties. In 1997, as China controlled Hong Kong again, she declared no through train for Governor Patten's Leg-co reforms, giving rise to provisional Leg-co in civil all 60 members were selected by. Chinese Basic Law was also drafted. Chinese political leaders e.g. Donald Tsang, Anson Chan etc. even entered in Leg-Co and other government bodies. Political parties e.g. Democratic party also played very important roles in making sure Chinese rule over Hong Kong would follow the Sino-British Joint Declaration, showing active public political participation brought by Chinese handover in 1997.

Despite so, Hong Kong's political development was also caused by other factors.

Increasing status of local people was one of the factors. As Hong Kong locals received more education and earned more money in economic take off in economic take off since 1970s, Hong Kong people e.g. Anson Chan, became very capable and could participate in political development e.g. ruling political parties and becoming Leg-co members.

Yet, this was less important as Hong Kong people in fact were already increasing in education level in the first half of 20th century. However, it was because of Chinese resumption of sovereignty in Hong Kong which was the root cause affecting government. Localization policies to increase Hong Kong people's participation in a very large scale.

Also, another factor was increasing political concerns and awareness of Hong Kong locals. Due to economic take off, Hong Kong people had stronger sense and self-belongings to Hong Kong and wanted to improve Hong Kong by voicing out their concerns.

Yet, this was less important as China in fact led to Cultural Revolution, spreading nationalism to Hong Kong people, showing that China factor was more fundamental.

Also, China played significant role in economic take off, boosting Hong Kong people's sense of belongings. For instance, China engaged in long-term arrangement and full localization policy in Hong Kong, strengthening the economic growth and increasing Hong Kong people's political awareness.

Thus, to a large extent, Hong Kong political development was due to China factor.

字數：846

'The China factor was the main factor that shaped the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1980-2000.' Comment on the validity of this statement.

After one and a half century of British colonial rule, Hong Kong was finally handed over to China in 1997. From 1980 through 2000, the China factor had been the most important factor that shaped Hong Kong's political development. It influenced the development of representative government, party politics and localization of civil servants in Hong Kong, having greater importance than the Britain factor and Hong Kong factor. Therefore, the statement is valid.

First of all, the China factor directly and indirectly impacted upon the development of a representative government in Hong Kong in the period concerned. With respect to indirect impact, it all started with the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 of 1984, which stated that the sovereignty of Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. In order to prevent Hong Kong from falling prey to Chinese autocratic rule after the handover, the British government sped up the process of establishing a representative government in Hong Kong and pushed hard for a firmly established democracy in this city. For instance, the first indirect election of the Legislative Council was held and all official seats in the District Council abolished in 1985 with the aim of raising the representative of the two councils. After that, Governor Chris Patten implemented his plan for political reform in 1992. He restructured the Legislative Council and changed all 60 seats into elected seats. As for direct impact, the Chinese government was unhappy with the radical political reform and criticized it for violating the *Joint Declaration* 聯合聲明 and Hong Kong *Basic Law* 基本法. The Chinese government set up the *Provisional Legislative Council* 臨時立法會 instead, whose members replaced those elected in 1995 after the handover of 1997. They were forced to 'get off the train' 下車 and the incident directly changed the political development of Hong Kong. Therefore, the China factor was of special significance as it directly and indirectly affected the development of a representative government in Hong Kong.

Secondly, the China factor shaped the development of party politics in Hong Kong. The scheduled handover of Hong Kong motivated the Hong Kong British government to start a reform directed to build a representative government. The requirements for voters were relaxed to introduce more democratic elements to Hong Kong. As a result, many people and organizations were attracted to form political parties so as to stand for elections of the Legislative and District Councils. Examples are the *Democratic Party* 民主黨, *DAB* 民建聯 and *HKFTU* 工聯會. This was a decisive factor that led to the emergence of party politics in Hong Kong. In addition, the China factor indirectly built Hongkongers' support for pro-democracy parties. The bloody crackdown on the *1989 Democracy Movement* 八九民運 induced fear of the forthcoming Chinese rule among Hong Kong people. For that reason, they supported the pan-democratic camp more and hoped the democrats would fight for higher degree of democracy in Hong Kong to prevent possible autocratic administration after the handover. As a result, in the Legislative Council Election of 1991 as much as 14 of the 18 elected members were democrats. Furthermore, the China factor directly influenced the development of political parties. Parties in the pro-establishment camp, exemplified by the *DAB* 民建聯 and *HKFTU* 工聯會, were strongly backed by the Chinese government. In the *Provision Legislative Council* 臨時立法會 organized by China in 1996, the majority of legislators were pro-Beijing and all of them became the original members of the Legislative Council after the handover. Therefore, the China factor influenced the development of Hong Kong party politics and played an important in shaping the city's political development.

Thirdly, the China factor facilitated the localization of civil servants in Hong Kong and had great influence over Hong Kong's political development. Regarding the prospect of Hong Kong, China and Britain confirmed the principle of '*Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong* 港人治港'. The Hong Kong British government found it necessary to accelerate the localization of civil service for a smooth transition to '*Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong*' in the future. Therefore, the government increased the number and subsequently the proportion of Chinese civil servants. This was manifested through the increase in the number of Chinese civil servants from 124,950 in 1980 to 188,393 in 1990 and in the percentage of them from 97.61% to 98.68% in 1990. As a result, more Chinese people took part in the governance of Hong Kong. As for senior officials, the changes were even more significant. No secretaries were Chinese before 1980; however, after the signing of the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 in 1984, the Hong Kong British government gradually appointed Chinese officials as secretaries. For instance, *Anson Chan* 陳方安生 and *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權 took up the posts as Chief Secretary and Financial Secretary in 1993 and 1995 respectively. In the post-colonial period, *Tung Chee-hwa* 董建華, who is native Chinese, became the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong and all secretaries were Chinese. It is quite obvious that the China factor played a decisive role in facilitating the localization of civil services in Hong Kong.

The Britain factor and Hong Kong factor also affected Hong Kong's political development, but they were less important than the China factor.

The Britain factor was also involved in shaping Hong Kong's political development. Before the handover of 1997, the British government held absolute decision-making power over Hong Kong and directly influenced its political development. For example, the British had no intention of adding democratic elements into Hong Kong's political system before the 1980s and there was no extensive reform introducing a representative government. It was not until the 1980s when the British started the reform and launched Legislative Council elections. In 1992, the British government permitted Governor *Chris Patten* 彭定康 to transform the Legislative Council and to change all the 60 seats into elected ones in 1995, boosting the representativeness of the Council. Therefore, the British government had direct influence upon Hong Kong's political development.

But the China factor was more important than the Britain one. In terms of cause-result relationship, the China factor led to the British government's attempts at representative government. In the past, the British were reluctant to grant power to the Chinese as they worried that this would work against its colonial administration. There was thus no election for the Legislative Council. However, when the handover of Hong Kong to China was scheduled, the British government pushed forward the reform of Hong Kong's political system in order to make Hong Kong a more democratic city and prevent it from coming under Chinese autocratic rule. The British even accepted the political reform proposal suggested by Chris Patten in 1992 and changed all seats of the Legislative Council into elected seats. Therefore, the China factor was the determinant of British attempts at political reform and it was the most important factor in shaping the city's political development.

The Hong Kong factor also affected Hong Kong's political development. Economic prosperity and further educational development after the Second World War led to the emergence of the middle class. They were politically conscious and demanded more political rights after the improvement in living standard. They became a new force in Hong Kong's politics. Also, Hong Kong people longed for the implementation of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong 港人治港'. They enthusiastically formed political parties starting from the 1980s, including the *Meeting Point 匯點*(1983) and the *United Democrats of Hong Kong 港同盟*(1990), with the aim of entering the Legislative Council and standing for the District Council elections. This led to the proliferation of political parties after 1980. Therefore, the local factor was also an important motivational force for Hong Kong's political development.

However, the China factor was more important than the Hong Kong one. In terms of causality, the China factor was the main reason for Hongkongers' full political participation. It was China that established the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong 港人治港' with Britain and motivated British reform in political system. These fueled the enthusiasm of Hong Kong people who were inspired to form political parties and to stand for elections. The China factor was therefore the fundamental factor that affected Hong Kong's political development. In addition, in terms of impact, the China factor gave much stronger impact when compared to the Hong Kong factor because China was able to intervene in the political development of Hong Kong directly. For example, China was unhappy with the list of legislators elected in 1995 and it formed another council named the *Provisional Legislative Council 臨時立法會*, whose members replaced those elected in 1995 after the handover. The Chinese influence was in fact much greater than the impact the local factor could make. Therefore, the China factor was the chief factor that shaped Hong Kong's political development.

In conclusion, although the Britain factor and Hong Kong factor also shaped Hong Kong's political development, they were far less important than the China factor. After the handover of 1997, China even had absolute power over the decision-making process involved in Hong Kong's politics, exerting significant effect on the city's political development.

Words: 1500

Trace and explain the political development of Hong Kong in the period 1950-97.

The political development in Hong Kong had significant changes in the second half of the 20th century. After thorough examination, Hong Kong's political development from 1950 to 1999 can be divided into 3 stages, namely the limited reform period (1950-67), the comprehensive reform period (1967-84) and the representative democracy development period (1984-97) respectively. The distinctive characteristics of each period will be discussed.

The first stage was the limited reform period (1950-67). In this period, Hong Kong's political development revolved around the expansion of government agencies and public bodies and the localization of civil servants. However, there were no innovative reforms on executive, legislative councils. In terms of the expansion of government agencies, the government began to set up them in the late 1950s such as the *Social Welfare Department* 社會福利署(1958) and the *Information Services Department* 新聞處(1959), providing the local citizens with more information and services. In terms of the localization of civil servants, the number of Chinese civil servants increased continuously. In 1952, there were 22900 Chinese civil servants. In 1962, there were 48277 in total. Although the government began to appoint the first local Administrative Officer in 1948, in 1967, there were already 20% of Administrative Officers being Chinese, showing a rapid localization of civil servants. However, regarding the changes of executive and legislative councils, they were not obvious. *Official members* 官守議員 were still more than unofficial members. The government did not give more powers to these 2 councils. Thus, in this period, Hong Kong's political development was limited, confining to the expansion of government agencies and public bodies and the localization of civil servants.

The rapid population growth and the fear of Britain were the factors accounting for the limited reform in Hong Kong's political development in this period (1950-67). The post-war *baby boom* 嬰兒潮 and the *influx of immigrants* 難民潮 after the Second World War caused rapid population growth in Hong Kong. In 1950, the population of Hong Kong exceeded 2 million. The government had to set up new departments and recruit more civil servants to cope with the needs of the society. Thus, a number of public bodies and government agencies. More civil servants were recruited, thus giving rise to rapid growth of local civil servants. At the same time, Britain was not willing to carry out large-scale reforms on the Executive and Legislative councils as the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 made Britain worried that Communism would spread to the Hong Kong government. Hence, Britain was reluctant in introducing elections into these 2 councils. Britain only revived the elections in the *Urban Council* 市政局 in 1952. The number of elected seats of the Urban Council even increased from 4 to 8. Therefore, the rapid population growth and the fear of Britain were the factors accounting for the limited reform in Hong Kong's political development.

The second stage was the comprehensive reform period (1967-84). In this stage, there were an increasing number of revolutionary political changes at local level in Hong Kong, and a more comprehensive policy concerning people's livelihood was introduced to expand the reform. As for reform at local level, the government put forward the City District Officers Scheme in 1968 to divide Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into 10 districts and set up a City District Office in each of them to collect public opinion. Afterwards, it further divided Hong Kong into 18 districts and held the first ever District Council Election in 1982 that gave Hong Kong permanent residents who were above 21 and had resided in the city for more than 7 years the right to vote. These demonstrated a sweeping change in local politics. As for policy concerning people's livelihood, the government implemented the *Ten-Year Housing Program* 十年建屋計劃 (1973), *Public Assistance Scheme* 公共援助計劃 (1973) and a *nine-year compulsory education scheme* 九年免費教育 (1978) with similar policies mushrooming. Therefore, during this stage, all-round administrative reform took place in Hong Kong and the changes were significant.

The emergence of Riots and the substantial growth in population were the factors for the comprehensive reforms introduced in this period (1967-84). The *1967 Riots* 六七暴動 were caused by the discontent of Hong Kong people towards Britain's administration. This made the British government realize reforms were needed to absorb more Chinese to the government, which set up a channel for communication between the government and the public. For instance, the *City District Officer Scheme* 民政主任計劃 in 1968 divided Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into 10 district and set up City District Offices to collect public opinions. Besides, in order to settle the discontent of people at the grass roots level, the government launched a lot more policies which improved people's livelihood in social welfare, education and housing aspects, being the turning point of Hong Kong government in improving people's livelihood by means of policies. Meanwhile, population continued to grow, reaching 3.7 million in 1965. The increase in population led to an increasing demand for social welfare, education as well as housing. Therefore, the government was willing to carry out a more comprehensive reform to cope with the needs of the society. Therefore, the emergence of Riots and the substantial growth in population were the factors for the comprehensive reforms introduced in this period (1967-84).

The third stage was the rapid representative democracy development period (1984-97). Representative democracy developed rapidly at this stage, including both district and central level. At the same time, the constitutional principle 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' was confirmed. In terms of district level, the official seats in District Councils were cancelled in 1985 and all appointed seats were abolished in 1994. The voting age was lowered from 21 to 18. This facilitated the development of geographical constituencies as well as broadened the base of voters. Meanwhile, the first indirect election of Legislative Council was held in 1985, with 24 out of 56 seats elected by electoral colleges and functional constituencies. All 60 seats were elected in 1995. This promoted representative democracy and sped up democratization in Hong Kong. In addition, the constitutional principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' 港人治港 was also actualized as reflected by Hong Kong people becoming the senior officials. Anson Chan 陳方安生 became the first Chinese Chief Secretary in 1993 and Donald Tsang 曾蔭權 became the first Chinese Financial Secretary in 1995. Chinese began to occupy some high-ranking posts. Thus, this was the rapid representative democracy development period (1984-97). The representativeness of the government enhanced and more Chinese became high-ranking officials.

The fact that Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997 was the main factor contributing to the political development in this period. Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997 in accordance with the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 signed in 1984. The constitutional principle of 'one country, two systems' 一國兩制 and 'Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong' 港人治港 were confirmed so the British government hoped to speed up the democratization so as to lay a sound foundation of democracy in Hong Kong by introducing representative democracy. Since Britain feared Hong Kong would be affected by the autocratic ruling style in China, the British carried out large-scale reforms in not only district level, but also central level. In 1995, all the appointed seats in the Legislative Council were abolished, replaced by elections. Moreover, with a view to ensuring that 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' 港人治港 would run smoothly, the British government allowed more local Chinese to become high-ranking officials. Before the transfer of sovereignty, only the governor and the Commander of British Troops were occupied by British, other senior or top positions were occupied by Chinese. Therefore, it was the fact that Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997 that prompted the political development in this period, which was the rapid representative democracy development period (1984-97).

In conclusion, Hong Kong's political development from 1950 to 1999 was divided into 3 stages, namely the limited reform period (1950-67), the comprehensive reform period (1967-84) and the representative democracy development period (1984-97). The last period even sped up democratization in Hong Kong, which made Hong Kong enjoy a high degree of democracy before 1997.

‘There was increasing political participation by the Chinese in Hong Kong.’ Comment on the validity of this statement with reference to period 1960-97.

Since 1960, the political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong was increasing gradually. Eventually, they became the backbones of society which determined the future of Hong Kong after the handover to China in 1997. Hence, the above view was agreed. Below, the increasing political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong would be reflected in few aspects: Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils; Senior civil servants; Administrative Officers; Overall civil servants; Chinese groups and the general public.

The change in Urban, Legislative and Executive Councils reflected the increasing political participation on the part of Chinese in Hong Kong. The British colonial government started to appoint Chinese to enter the Legislative and Executive Councils since the late 19th century. Also, electoral elements were added in the Urban Council in 1936. However, in the 1960s, the proportion of Chinese in the Urban, Executive and Legislative Councils was small. For instance, in 1962, only 5, 3 and 11 members were Chinese. As the British colonial government gave out more power later, more local Chinese elites were given the opportunity to help ruling Hong Kong by entering the government. More Chinese could thus work in the Urban, Legislative and Executive Councils. For instance, the number of Chinese members increased to 23, 6 and 19 in 1978. After that, the British colonial government greatly increased the number of Chinese Executive Council members to 9 (1996) due to the fact that Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. It accounted for 75% of the total members. Such arrangement was to prepare for the transition period. This allowed the participation of Chinese in policy formulation to greatly increase. This showed that the participation of Chinese in the Legislative, Executive and Urban Councils increased continuously.

The change in senior civil servants illustrated that there was increasing political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong. In the mid of the 20th century, no Chinese could take up the positions of senior civil servants. Senior positions such as officials at the rank of Secretaries of Departments and directors were taken up by foreigners. However, after the signing of *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 in 1984, the British colonial government gradually appoint Chinese as senior civil servants in the hope of implementing the Principle of *Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong* 港人治港 and nurture rulers after the handover. For instance, in the level of *directors* 處長, *Li Kwan-ha* 李君夏 was appointed as the Commissioner of Police in 1989 and he was the first Chinese playing this role. After that, the localization of senior civil servants was more extensive. In the 1990s, more and more Chinese were appointed as *Secretaries* 司長 of Departments. For instance, *Anson Chan* 陳方安生 and *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權 were elected as the Chief Secretary and Financial Secretary in 1993 and 1995. This shattered the tradition of these positions being monopolized by foreigners. Until before the handover in 1997, most of the Secretaries of Departments were Chinese apart from the *Governor* 港督 and *Commander British Forces* 英軍司令. This showed that the participation of Chinese in senior civil servant increased gradually and became the rulers of Hong Kong after the handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997.

The increasing political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong could be reflected from the Administrative Officer. It was a tradition that the Administrative Officers were seen as the future elites taking up the positions of senior officers. Therefore, most Administrative Officers were foreigners. Until 1948, *Paul Tsui Ka-cheung* 徐家祥 was the first Chinese Administrative Officer. In the 1960s, just a small portion of Chinese could take up this position. For instance, in 1962, the number of Chinese and Foreign Administrative Officers was 12 and 66 respectively. The proportion as about 1:5.5. This reflected that the participation of Chinese was low. However, with the increasing economic development and educational level, more and more Chinese could move to the upper class of society. The number of Chinese Administrative Officers thus rose to 40 in 1970. Later, the amount rose to 91 in 1978. The proportion of that of Chinese and Foreigner narrowed to 1:1.25. The participation of Chinese in the issues of Hong Kong greatly increased. This showed that the participation of Chinese as Administrative Officers increased greatly.

The situation in the overall civil servants reflected that there was increasing participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong. The number of Chinese occupied for a large proportion of the overall civil servants, that was 96.4% (48,277) in 1962. Along with the increasing population and administration organizations, the British colonial government needed to recruit more Chinese civil servants to help in ruling Hong Kong. In 1972, the number of Chinese civil servants rose to 88,121 and this occupied for 97.88% of the overall civil servants. After that, the percentage soared to 98.68% in 1990 and the amount rose to 188,393. They became an important force in supporting and sustaining the operations of the Hong Kong government. This showed that the increasing political participation of Chinese in Hong Kong was proved by their growth in number and proportion.

Chinese groups and political parties showed that there was increasing political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong. In the 1960s, Chinese groups mainly provided welfare benefits, such as *Tung Wah Group of Hospitals* 東華三院 and *Po Leung Kuk* 保良局 organized schools and hospitals. Apart from that, *Heung Yee Kuk* 鄉議局 facilitated the British colonial government in communicating with the local residence in the New Territories and helped in the implementation of local policies. However, Heung Yee Kuk did not directly influence governmental policies. It was just playing the roles of *consultant* 顧問 and *facilitator* 輔助者. However, the British colonial government greatly implement the reform of Representative Government in the 1980s. It gradually allowed citizens to choose the District and Legislative Councilors of their own areas. This provided chances for Hong Kong people to participate politically by organizing political parties. As a result, a lot of political parties formed such as *United Democrats of Hong Kong* 港同盟(1990) and *DAB* 民建聯(1992). These political parties helped in the ruling of local and central through District Council and Legislative Council Elections. The decision-making of Hong Kong was being affected. This showed that the development of Chinese groups could reflect that there was increasing political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong.

Participation of ordinary residents reflected that there was increasing political participation on the part of the Chinese in Hong Kong. In the early 1960s, the government seldom consulted the Chinese in formulating policies. The Hong Kong 1967 riots 六七暴動 reflected that local people were greatly discontented with the ruling of the British colonial government. Therefore, after the riot, the government reformed and consulted the opinions of Chinese. For instance, *City District Officer Scheme* 民政主任計劃 was implemented in 1968. It divided Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into 10 district and set up City District Offices in the districts to collect public opinions. After that, the *District Council Election* 區議會選舉 was carried out in 1982. Permanent residents who aged 21 or above and lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years had the voting right. The number of registered voters was about 0.9 million. After that, the local Chinese actively supported the way of affecting the development of Hong Kong politics by casting their votes. Also, the age of voters reduced to 18 in 1994 and the number of registered voters further increased to 3.8 million. More Chinese could affect the politics of Hong Kong by voting. This showed that there was increasing political participation on the part of the ordinary Chinese in Hong Kong.

To sum up, Executive, Legislative and Urban Councils; Senior civil servants; Administrative Officers; Overall civil servants; Chinese groups and the general public reflected that there was increasing political participation on the part of the ordinary Chinese in Hong Kong in 1960-97. After the Handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997, the Chinese had an even comprehensive command on the politics of Hong Kong. Therefore, the view was agreed.

Words: 1342

考生答卷示範

分數：_____/15

我同意香港華人的政治參與在 1900-97 年間持續增長，現從吸納地方精英，議會代表性，公務員本地化，代議政制及政黨數方面分析之。

首先在吸納地方精英方面，政府在 1960 年代推行地方行政。受 66-67 暴動影響，及香港人口平水增加，政府推行地方行政，即按各區需要，施行相應的政策，在 1969 年，政府推出民政主任計劃，在香港島、九龍各區設立民政署，一方面各區市民宣傳政府政策，一方面以地方諮詢及吸納市民的意見，並吸納地方精英，各界人士作諮詢對象作為政府與市民之利的溝通橋樑。相比以往華人社團(東華三院)及華人精英(周壽臣 1926)香港人參政機會明顯上升。

此外，政府又在 1960 年代相繼設立諮詢委員會，例如禁毒委員會、交通諮詢委員會等，透過吸納華人進入委員會，政府參考各方訴求，完善政策，例如華人張緣萍便是消委會成員之一。

另外，政府在 1981 年推出《香港地方行政白皮書》，在 1982 年設立區議會，在全港設立 18 區。市民除了能透過選舉晉身議會外，當時部分選民亦能參與選舉投票，華人參政渠道增加。

另外，在議會代表方面，受中英聯合聲明(1984)、香港前進問題、華人教育水平提升影響下，政府在 80 年代加快代議政制的發展，代議政制是指市民選出屬於代表，在議會代表自己發聲。香港的政制改革是由下而上開始，由地方至中央層面。在市政局方面，市政局在 1973 年廢除所有官守議席。並在 1995 年推行全民直選，除了委任議席外，官守議席被全面廢除外，選民資格亦大增，凡年滿 18 歲香港永久居民才可參與選舉，而且仍保留委任、官守議席。促進代議政制的發展，區議會在 1994 全面廢除委任議席，並大幅擴大選民基礎。選舉資格與市政局相同：凡年滿 18 歲永久居民使可投票。

此外，在區議會方面。以往立法會從未舉行過代議政制轉趨成熟。在 1995 年，政府首次讓立法會推行直選，所有委任議席被廢除，此次直選意義重大，事實上，自麥理浩上位以來，他不斷擴大立法會的非官守議席人數，在 1980 年代，非官守議員中有 80% 是華人。市民首次有機會以選舉方式晉身立法會的中央層面政治架構，市民也可投票選舉代表，選舉資格與區議會相同。可見華人政治參與不斷上升。

另外，在行政局方面，在麥理浩在任事期他不定期增加非官守議席，在 1960 年代末，非官守議席首次超過官守議席。華人精英得以進入中央政治架構。相比 20 世紀初只有少數華人如周壽臣，雖能晉身行政局，1960-97 年間華人政治參與機會明顯持續增加，代表人物如鍾士元。

此外，在公務員本地化方面，隨 66-67 暴動，香港人口不斷上升影響，政府漸關注民生，以完善社會公眾服務需求，因而大增聘用華人，至 90 年代前，華人擔任政務官(AO, EO)的人數大幅增加。另外香港前途問題亦讓華人晉身高級公務員，例如在 1990 年代，陳方安生曾為華人布政司，及曾蔭權打破英國人長期壟斷政府高層層面，華人參政機會不斷上升。

此外在政黨政治方面，隨代議政制的發展，香港政治亦漸發展成熟，在 1990 年代有不少政黨成立，包括民建聯、自由黨、民主黨。華人能以以參選方式進入立法會，為市民發聲。

最後，普通市民參與渠道不斷上升，在二十世紀初又有擔任陪審團資格，懂英文的華人精英才可以投票。但在 1960-97 年間，華人選民基礎不斷擴大，由所有年滿 21 歲永久居民，擴展至 90 年代，所有年滿 18 歲永久居民均可投票，選舉於代表。可見華人政治參與機會不斷上升。

雖然華人參政機會在 1960-97 年不斷增長，但亦有部分局限。

例如立法會雖廢除委任議席，但仍沒「功能組別」以間選方式選出代表，佔立法會議員一半。令立法會未能達至全面普選。

此外，立法會 1995 年的選舉結果更被中國政府所否定，要求在 1997 回歸前「全部下車」，這些都阻礙華人參政機會。

總言之，華人在 1960-97 參政機會不斷增長，受地方行政及代議政制的影響下，華人參政會大增。雖然參政機會仍受部分阻礙，如立法會但相比二十世紀初或 1960 年代初，無可否認華人的參政機會大增，擔任角色越重要。

字數：1523

Examine how the Hong Kong government tackled the problems arising from the influx of Chinese immigrants in the 1950s and 60s, and the question of Hong Kong's future in the 1980s and 90s.

The British colonial government used different methods to deal with the large amount of immigrants from Mainland China in the 1950s-1960s and the issue on future of Hong Kong in 1980s-1990s. In dealing with the former problem, the government established more government agencies, implemented a more comprehensive policies concerning people's livelihood, promoted contraception and implemented population policies. In coping the problems brought by the future of Hong Kong, the government advocated the establishment of representative government, as well as actualized the Principle of Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong. The above points would be discussed in the essay.

The British colonial government established more government agencies to deal with the problems brought by the large amount of immigrants from Mainland to Hong Kong. After the second world war, large amount of Mainlanders migrated to Hong Kong and led to a great increase in population size. However, it created pressure to the provision of different government service. At the same time, the original government agency failed to solve the problems brought by the rise in population. For instance, the increase of crimes along with immigration. Hence, there was a great challenge to the governance. Therefore, the government set up a lot of government agencies in the late 1950s. It includes the reorganization of Social Affairs Bureau into *Social Welfare Department* 社會福利署 in 1958. It provides concrete material assistance to people who in need urgently; *Immigration Department* 入境處(1961) is established to carry out restrictions in immigration and emigration by sea and land, and combated illegal activities. Such action was to deal with the problems brought by large amount of people moving to Hong Kong. This showed that the British colonial government established a lot of government agencies to deal with the problems brought by great amount of migration of Chinese to Hong Kong.

The government implemented a more comprehensive policies concerning people's livelihood, so as to deal with the problems brought by large amount of Mainland immigrants living in Hong Kong. In the wave of mass migrations from Mainland to Hong Kong in 50s-60s, most of the migrants were from the lower class and had a relatively poorer economic conditions. They lived in poor environment such as *cage home* 籠屋 and *area with wooden houses* 木屋區. Also, their offsprings lacked the opportunity to receive education due to their financial difficulties. The above situation easily bred the discontent of Mainland migrants to government and shook its governance. The *1967 riots* 六七暴動 was launched by the grassroots to express discontent to government. Therefore, the government implemented policies concerning people's livelihood in the late 60s. For instance, as for social welfare, *Comprehensive Social Security Assistance* 公共援助計劃(1973) was implemented so as to provide assistance to the needy; as for housing, *Ten-year Housing Program* 十年建屋計劃(1972) was launched to build public housings to 1.8 million citizens; as for education, *6-year Compulsory Education* 六年免費教育(1971) was implemented to provide basic education to children aged 6-12 so as to alleviate the discontent of grassroots and stabilized the governance. This showed that the government implemented a more comprehensive policies concerning people's livelihood so as to deal with the problem brought by large amount of Mainland migrants.

The British colonial government promoted contraception and implemented population policies in dealing with the problems brought by Mainlanders migration to Hong Kong. With the large number of Mainland residents moving to Hong Kong in the 50s-60s, the population of Hong Kong increased tremendously. It rose from 1.97 million in 1950 to 3.07 million in 1960. As the Chinese was being affected by the traditional family concepts, the fertility rate was usually higher and the population expanded continuously. As a result, pressure was created to the societal resources and welfare. Therefore, the government actively promoted contraception. It utilized the great amount of promotion of the Family Planning Association of Hong Kong to advocate idea of '*Two is enough* 兩個夠晒數' and tried to correct the traditional value of big family. Apart from that, the government gradually took charge of the Birth Control Clinics in the 32 Family Health Service in *Family Planning Association* 家計會 of Hong Kong in 1970s. It provided services included trans abdominal tubal ligation and termination of pregnancy so as to halt the rapid population growth. Also, in order to prevent the Mainland migrants flowed into Hong Kong, the *Touch Base Policy* 抵壘政策 was established in 1974 so as to reduce the number of Mainlanders living in Hong Kong. This showed that the government actively promoted contraception and implemented population policy so as to deal with the problems brought by large amount of Mainlanders moving to Hong Kong.

The above showed the ways that the government deal with the problems brought by large amount of Mainlanders migrating to Hong Kong. In the following, it would discuss the ways that the government deal with the problems brought by the issue of the future of Hong Kong.

The British colonial government advocated the reform of representative government to deal with the future of Hong Kong. With the signing of the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明 in 1984, Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. However, the British government afraid that the handover would make the ruling of Hong Kong became autocratic with the influence of communism and lost democracy. Also, a lot of Hong Kong people were fear of the handover and led to the *waves of mass migrations* 移民潮 from Hong Kong in the 90s. Therefore, the British government authorized Hong Kong government to actively reform the representative government so as to establish democracy and built the confidence of people towards the future of Hong Kong. For instance, the *official* 官守 and *appointed* 委任 seats of Legislative Council, District Council and Urban Council were cancelled. Also, number of elected seats increased. Apart from that, *Chris Patten* 彭定康, the governor, carried out the constitution package in 1992 and greatly changed the formation of Legislative Council. In 1995, all 60 seats in the Legislative Council were voted by people. The democratic elements of the Legislative Council increased tremendously and the foundation of democracy was established. Such move was to reduce the autocracy of Hong Kong under the influence of China. This showed that the Hong Kong government greatly advocated the representative government in respond to the problems brought by the issue of future of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong government actualized the Principle of Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong so as to deal with the problem in the handover of Hong Kong. China would resume her sovereignty on Hong Kong in 1997, the British colonial government hence faced the problem on handing over of rulers. Before, the senior positions were monopolized by foreigners, local Chinese could hardly work in a senior position. If the situation continued, huge challenge was resulted to the formation of ruling party after the handover. Therefore, the Hong Kong government actively implemented the Principle of *Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong* 港人治港 after the signing of *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明. More and more local Chinese were appointed as senior civil servants. For instance, *Anson Chan* 陳方安生 was appointed as the first Chinese Chief Secretary in 1993. Later, *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權 was appointed as the first Financial Secretary. In 1996, apart from the *Governor* 港督 and *Commander British Forces* 英軍司令., all major officials were occupied by Chinese. Such act was to nurture rulers which could help ruling Hong Kong after the handover. This showed that the Hong Kong government implemented Principle of Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong so as to deal with the problems brought by the handover of Hong Kong.

To sum up, the Hong Kong government practiced different ways to deal with the large amount of Mainlanders migrating to Hong Kong in 1950s-60s as well as the problems brought by the issue of future of Hong Kong in 1980s-90s. Effectiveness was reached by these ways and the problems could be handled.

Words: 1292

To what extent were the 1967 riots a turning point in Hong Kong's history? Explain your answer with reference to the history of Hong Kong in the 20th century.

The 1967 riots were the largest scale turmoil ever in Hong Kong's recorded history. In the aftermath of that, the British Hong Kong government introduced sweeping reforms in an effort to remedy the people's grievances, leading to many political and social changes after 1967 that made the year a turning point to a large extent. This essay is going to prove this with reference to the government's attitude towards public opinion, statutory public bodies and anti-corruption campaigns, and social welfare policies.

In political aspect, the 1967 riots prompted the government to change its attitude towards public opinion from disregarding to listening, serving as a turning point. Before the 1967 riots, the government did consult local Chinese associations about its governance, including the *Heung Yee Kuk* 鄉議局(1926) as a channel of communication between the government and New Territories villagers, but it did not put much emphasis on the popular view and rarely considered that when formulating policies. Also, there was a lack of government departments to collect public opinion and the will of Hong Kong people was often ignored. However, the 1967 riots served as a wake-up call to the British Hong Kong government for its governance. Spanned nearly eight months, the riots were the largest in Hong Kong in terms of scale since its founding. After this incident, the government wanted to alleviate the people's discontent and prevent the recurrence of a similar riot by creating more channels of communication with them. For example, the government launched the *City District Officer Scheme* 民政主任計劃 in 1968 to divide Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into ten districts and set up a *City District Office* 民政處 in each district to collect public opinion. Afterwards, it held the first *District Council election* 區議會選舉 in 1982 and allowed Hong Kong people to get involved in affairs within the district they belonged to, promoting their political participation. Comparatively speaking, regarding the extent of British Hong Kong government concerning public opinion, the British Hong Kong government before the riots ignored public opinion, but the 1967 riots gave rise to a crisis of governance that prompted the government to establish many advisory bodies and allow its people to take part in regional political affairs after 1967. Therefore, the year was a turning point with regard to the increasing emphasis on public opinion.

Politically speaking, the 1967 riots were the turning point leading to the advent of statutory public bodies and anti-corruption campaigns. Before 1967, due to its scant attention paid to people's livelihood, the British Hong Kong hardly set up any statutory public body aimed at improving people's lives. Meanwhile, despite the serious corruption problem before 1967, there was not enough pressure from society on the government forcing it to combat corruption by ways like setting up organizations dedicated to investigation of corruption cases. However, the 1967 riots made the government realize that it was necessary to improve people's standard of living in order to stem their discontent. On the other hand, it also reflected the discontent of the citizens over the corruption of the government officials. Different types of statutory public bodies therefore burgeoned, including the *Hong Kong Housing Society* 香港房屋協會(1973), *Consumer Council* 消費者委員會(1974) and *Mass Transit Railway Corporation Limited* 地下鐵路公司(1975), to provide all kinds of services to the people as a way to dispel their grievances. Moreover, one of the reasons for the riots was people's disaffection with how corrupted government officials were. Hence, regarding anti-corruption activities, in an attempt to regain reputation and popular support, the government established the *ICAC* 廉政公署 in 1974, which was committed to eliminate corruption and promote education against corruption, to start anti-corruption campaigns after the riots. Comparatively speaking, regarding statutory public bodies and anti-corruption activities, there were not many statutory public bodies and corruption was serious before 1967, but these organizations mushroomed and anti-corruption campaigns were in full swing after the 1967 riots. Reversing the situation completely, the riots were clearly a turning point.

In social aspect, the 1967 riots changed the government's attitude towards social welfare from passive to active. Before 1967, it was true that the government restructured the Social Welfare Office into the *Social Welfare Department* 社會福利署 in 1958, and introduced the 'low-cost housing scheme' in 1961 to provide social welfare for those in need. However, the government's social welfare policies were more passive before 1967, characterized by smaller scale and more restrictions. For example, the 'low-cost housing scheme' 廉租屋計劃 had income limits and the lower class was excluded from the coverage. However, the 1967 riots demonstrated the extreme dissatisfaction of the people towards their lives, and the government, with a view to pacify its citizens, introduced a wave of social policies after 1967. Afterwards, regarding the relieve of poverty, a *public assistance scheme* 公共援助計劃 was introduced in 1973 to provide financial aid for those living in difficult circumstances. In terms of housing, the *Ten-year Housing Programme* 十年建屋計劃 was introduced in 1972 to provide 1.8 million Hong Kong citizens with self-contained public housing flats. In terms of education, compulsory education of six years was enforced in 1971 and extended to nine years in 1978. These show that the government had taken an active role in providing social welfare. Comparatively speaking, regarding social welfare reform, the government took a passive attitude towards social welfare before 1967, but the 1967 riots reversed this situation and the government showed a positive attitude by implementing extensive social welfare policies covering different scopes and benefiting many. The year was therefore clearly a turning point.

However, in some aspects, the 1967 riots gave rise to continuities rather than act as a turning point.

Politically speaking, the 1967 riots only marked a continuity of the Chinese elite's involvement in government affairs. Before 1967, the British Hong Kong government had already been absorbing the Chinese elite into its structure for better governance. As for administrative officer, *Paul Tsui Ka-cheung* 徐家祥 became the first Chinese AO in 1948. As for the Executive and Legislative Councils, there were three and five Chinese members in these two councils respectively in 1962. It was clear that the government had already included the Chinese elite in Hong Kong's governance before the riots. Until the 1967 riots, the incident shows the citizen's dissatisfaction towards the government. After the 1967 riots, to relieve the dissatisfaction, the government further brought more Chinese into the government in order to comfort its people. For example, the number of Chinese administrative officers increased from 12 in 1962 to 23 in 1968, and eventually reached 91 in 1978. For the two councils, the number of Chinese members also increased from 11 to 19 (ExCo) and from 10 to 23 (LegCo) in the period 1966-74. These show an increasing number of the Chinese elite holding key positions in the government and getting involved in the governance of Hong Kong. Comparatively speaking, in terms of the Chinese participation in the government, the government started introducing the Chinese elite into its structure by appointment before 1967, and the riots only sped up this process and allowed more Chinese people to be promoted to senior government positions. In this regard, the 1967 riots represented continuity instead of a turning point.

Economically speaking, the 1967 riots were not the turning point that changed the industries driving Hong Kong's economy. Since 1959, Hong Kong's total exports had outweighed the total re-exports. This indicated the successful economic transition of Hong Kong from entrepot to industrial city with manufacturing as its core industry. Rapid development could be seen in different light industries, including textile, clothing and plastic industries in the 1950s as well as the production of electronics, watches, clocks and toys in the 1960s. It was clear that manufacturing was already the major industry of Hong Kong before the riots. After the 1967 riots, the disturbances impaired investors' confidence in Hong Kong. As a result, their investment in the city only took up less than 20% of its GDP in the late 1960s, showing a sharp decline. But this created only short-term impact and did not cause any fundamental change in Hong Kong's economic structure. Afterwards, the city's economy was still based on industry and the manufacturing industry demonstrated its importance to the economy by contributing the most to employment and the GDP of Hong Kong in the 1970s. Comparatively speaking, in terms of the economic development in Hong Kong, Hong Kong's economy was driven by industrial development before and after the 1967 riots, and although steady economic diversification was seen starting from the late 1970s, it was a result of China's reform and opening up policy instead of the riots. Therefore, the 1967 riots were not a turning point that changed the industries driving Hong Kong's economy and they led to continuity only.

In conclusion, although the 1967 riots brought only continuities of the inclusion of the Chinese elite and industries driving Hong Kong's economy, they caused fundamental changes in areas like the government's attitude towards public opinion, statutory public bodies and anti-corruption campaigns, and social welfare policies. These changes greatly influenced the overall situation of Hong Kong and the riots were therefore a turning point to a large extent.

Words: 1507

To what extent was the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 a turning point in Hong Kong's political development? Explain your answer with reference to the period 1945-2000.

Being governed as a colony under the British rule for more than one and a half centuries, it was agreed that Hong Kong would return to China in 1997 with the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration between China and Britain in 1984. Yet, the signing of the Declaration brought decisive influence to politics in Hong Kong. It was a turning point for the development of representative government, localization of senior officials and party politics. Therefore, to a large extent, the signing of the Declaration was a turning point in Hong Kong's political development.

The signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration was a turning point for the development of representative government. Before the signing of the Declaration, the British Hong Kong government only allowed electoral right to a limited extent. Direct election was introduced in the *District Boards* 區議會 in 1982, which local citizens were able to elect District Council members at district level. Yet the development of representative government was very limited before 1984. Election was only introduced at the district level but not the Legislative Council at the central level. All members of the Legislative Council were appointed by the government, reflecting that the development of representative government was constrained at that time. However, with the negotiation between China and Britain about the question of Hong Kong's future and the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, Hong Kong would return to China in 1997. Hong Kong would implement 'one country, two systems' 一國兩制, and enjoy a 'high degree of autonomy' 高度自治. The British Hong Kong government was worried that Hong Kong would be affected by the increasingly autocratic rule of China after her return, and principles like 'one country, two systems' could not be implemented effectively, so the government actively implemented reform for representative government. In 1985, the government introduced an indirect election in the *Legislative Council* 立法局. Later in 1991, the first direct election was held. Governor *Christopher Patten* 彭定康 even proposed a reform proposal which advocated all 60 seats in the Legislative Council to be entirely elected in 1995. It greatly facilitated the reform of representative government, making elections also possible at central level. By comparison, Hong Kong's development of representative government was very limited before 1984, which was confined to the District Boards at the district level. Yet, after the signing of the Declaration, the British Hong Kong government expanded the reform of representative government to the Legislative Council at central level, meaning that electoral element was even brought to the core government organization. Thus, the Declaration was a turning point for Hong Kong's political development.

The signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration was a turning point for the localization of senior officials. After the Second World War, although there were Chinese being appointed as Administrative Officer by the government, such as *Paul Tsui Ka-cheung* 徐家祥 who was the first Chinese Administrative Officer in 1948, the government did not carry out the localization of senior officials before the signing of the Declaration. In order to maintain the colonial rule of the British government in Hong Kong, Governor and all positions of secretariat and directorate were dominated by foreigners. The local Chinese could not get into core positions with decision-making power. Yet, the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 confirmed that Hong Kong would return to China in 1997, and the principle of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' 港人治港 was established. So, in order to equip and train the leaders who could help Hong Kong smoothly hand over to the rule of China, the British Hong Kong government started to appoint Chinese for Secretariat positions gradually. For directorate positions, the government started to appoint Chinese in the late 1980s, such as *Li Kwan-ha* 李君夏 who became the first Chinese Commissioner of Police in 1989. As for Secretariat positions, the government appointed *Anson Chan Fang On Sang* 陳方安生 and *Donald Tsang Yam Kuen* 曾蔭權 as the first Chinese Chief Secretary in 1993 and the first Chinese Financial Secretary in 1995 respectively. The Chinese were able to get into the high-ranking Secretariat positions. After the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, *Tung Chee-hwa* 董建華 became the first Chinese Hong Kong government, and Secretariat positions were all held by Chinese. By comparison, regarding the change of senior officials, local Chinese could not get into senior positions of civil servants before the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. Yet, the signing of the Declaration facilitated the need for the British Hong Kong government to appoint Chinese to be senior officials gradually so as to train the Chinese ruling force, resulting in the turning point for the localization of senior officials.

The signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration was a turning point for the development of the political parties in Hong Kong. Before the signing of the Declaration, the development of the political parties in Hong Kong was not vigorous. Although there were different Chinese associations and organizations, such as the *Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (HKFTU)* 工聯會 which was established in 1948 as well as the *New Youth Study Society* 新青學社 (the former organization of the Neighbourhood and Worker's Service Centre) in 1975, these associations were not positioned as political parties. For example, the HKFTU aimed at striving for labor rights, while the New Youth Study Society was targeted to provide study programs for teenage labor. So, party politics was not mature in that period. Yet, with the signing of the Declaration, Britain was worried that Hong Kong would fall into the autocratic rule of China after her return in 1997. Thus, reform in representative government was actively carried out, and election was introduced to the Legislative Council. As a result, a significant number of people and organizations set up political parties so as to take part in election, hoping to expand sphere of influence and increase reputation through gathering people with similar political views. The number of political parties grew significantly after 1984. Examples of political parties are the *United Democrats of Hong Kong* 香港民主同盟 (1990), the *Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB)* 民主建港協進聯盟 (1992), the *Liberal Party* 自由黨 (1993) as well as the *Democratic Party* 民主黨 (1994), etc., showing the flourishing development of political parties. Moreover, the HKFTU and the New Youth Study Society also became political parties after the introduction of election. For example, the New Youth Study Society was renamed as the *Neighbourhood and Worker's Service Centre* 街工 in 1985 so as to join the elections at the District Boards and the Legislative Council. Comparatively, speaking of the development of political parties, the party politics in Hong Kong was not mature before the signing of the Declaration in 1984. Yet, with the signing of the Declaration, the reform in representative government started in Hong Kong, and many people holding different political views set up political parties one by one to join elections. The signing of the Declaration was therefore the catalyzer for the development of the political parties in Hong Kong.

Despite the fact that the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration marked turning points in various aspects, it did not change the reform in district administration.

The signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration was not a turning point for the district administration in Hong Kong. The British Hong Kong government had started district reform before 1984. Regional consultation channel was built in the government structure after *1967 Riots 六七暴動*, for instance, the *City District Officer Scheme 民政主任計劃*(1968) divided Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into 10 districts, and City District Offices were set up in each district to collect public opinions. In 1982, election was held in the District Boards. *District Boards 區議會* of 18 administrative districts were formed, and part of the members was directly elected by people. Moreover, the *Urban Council 市政局* also held its first direct election in 1983, reflecting that the British Hong Kong government had already carried out district reform before 1984 and had given electoral right at district level. This raised the political participation of local citizens. After the signing of the Declaration in 1984, the government only continued the original district reform. For instance, the government abolished all *official seats 官守議席* in the District Boards in 1985. In 1994, all *appointed seats 委任議席* in the Boards were removed as well, and there was a change in voter qualification which lowered the age requirement from 21 to 18 years old. For the *Regional Council 區域市政局*, it was set up in 1986 in New Territories. In 1995, all appointed seats in both the Urban and Regional Council were abolished, which increased the representativeness of the district elections. Comparatively, regarding district administration, the government had carried out district reforms before 1984 and had introduced elections, which was not because of the influence of the signing of the Declaration in 1984. Yet, after the signing of the Declaration, the government only took more measures and implemented a more thorough district reform. Therefore, the signing of the Declaration was not a turning point for the reform in district administration, but just a continuation.

In conclusion, the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 brought great changes for the political development in Hong Kong. The development of the representative government expanded from district level to central level, also there was a localization of senior officials, and the party politics became thriving as well. It is obvious that there was a completely different situation for politics in Hong Kong. Thus, to a large extent, the signing of the Declaration was a turning point for Hong Kong's political development.

Words: 1572

Examine the main political features of British rule in Hong Kong after 1945.

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China, rapid increase in population of Hong Kong and the trend of decolonization over the world after the Second World War, Britain changed its rule of coercion towards Hong Kong, which caused changes in political ruling features of Britain in Hong Kong. Generally speaking, the expansion of representative government, the continuous rising status of Chinese, the continuous localization of civil servants, the more mature development of political parties, the increase in political participation of citizens and the thorough development of public service were the main political features of British rule in Hong Kong after 1945.

Firstly, the expansion of representative government was one of the main political features of British rule in Hong Kong after 1945. The British government in Hong Kong gradually abolished the official seats and appointed seats in the Urban Council, the District Council and the Legislative Council since 1945, and continuously increased the number of elected seats and its ratio. For example, all official seats in the *Urban Council* 市政局 were abolished in 1973 and they were all substituted by elected seats. Plus, first direct election was introduced to the *District Board* 區議會 in 1982. All official seats and appointed seats were abolished in 1985 and 1994 respectively, so that all members of the District Board were directly elected and chosen by people. Also, the change of seats in the *Legislative Council* 立法局 could show the development of representative government even more, as it was one of the core government agencies. After the signing of *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明(1984), the number of elected seats and its ratio greatly increased in the Legislative Council. Starting from 1995, all the 60 seats in the Legislative Council were directly elected, greatly raising the representativeness of the government. Therefore, the expansion of representative government was one of the political features of British rule in Hong Kong after the Second World War.

Secondly, the continuous rising status of Chinese was also one of the main political features of British rule in Hong Kong. The number of Chinese participating in politics and their level of participation increased continuously. Both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council absorbed more Chinese. For instance, the number of Chinese members in the *Legislative Council* 立法局 increased from 10 to 23 in 1966-74; the number of Chinese members in the Executive Council also increased from 11 to 29 in the same period. It showed that the level of political participation of Chinese was increased. What's more, there were Chinese being appointed as senior officials in the late 20th century. For example, *Anson Chan* 陳方安生(1993) and *Donald Tsang* 曾蔭權(1995) became the first Chinese Colonial Secretary and first Chinese Financial Secretary respectively. Until 1997, most of the senior officials in government, except governor and the Commander of British troops, were Chinese and they were taking up the ruling positions in the government. So, we can see that both the Chinese participation in politics and their status increased constantly.

Thirdly, the continuous localization of civil servants was one of the main political features of British rule in Hong Kong after the Second World War. The ratio and the number of Chinese civil servants constantly increased after the Second World War. Although the number of local civil servants reached 22,900 people in 1952, which accounted for 95.56% of the total number of civil servants, the British government continue to hire more Chinese civil servants because of the increase in both the population and administrative bodies. So the number of Chinese civil servants increased constantly. Until 1990, the number of Chinese civil servants reached 188,393 (accounted for 98.68% of the total), reflecting the continuous expansion of localization of civil servants. Also, the same situation applied for the Chinese administrative officers (AO). The number of Chinese AO and foreign AO was 12 and 66 respectively in 1962, in a ratio of 1:5.5. But until 1970, the number of Chinese AO reached 40, and it continued to increase to 91 in 1978. The aforementioned ratio narrowed to 1:1.25. It reflected that more and more Chinese became administrative officers (AO). Therefore, the continuous localization of civil servants was another political features of British rule in Hong Kong after 1945.

Fourthly, the more mature development of political parties was the political feature of British rule in Hong Kong. With the signing *Sino-British Joint Declaration* 中英聯合聲明(1984) and the development of representative government, some Chinese elites stated to organize political parties, such as the *Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB)* 民建聯(1992) and the *Liberal Party* 自由黨(1993), etc., to join the elections in the District Board and Legislative Council. Plus, there were even political parties integrating together so as to unite and strengthen its camp and power. For instance, the *Meeting Point* 匯點 and the *United Democrats of Hong Kong* 香港民主同盟 merged in 1994 to form the *Democratic Party* 民主黨 so as to converge the democratic power. Furthermore, trade unions and organizations also participated in politics and turned into political parties in order to fight for labor rights, such as the *Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (HKFTU)* 工聯會 and *Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTU)* 職工盟, etc., making the development of political parties in Hong Kong enter the vivid and competitive era. Therefore, the more mature development of political parties in the late 20th century was the political feature of British rule in Hong Kong.

Fifthly, the increase in political participation of citizens was another political feature of British rule in Hong Kong. The level of political participation of citizens was limited before the Second World War, only the Urban Council had limited electoral elements. However, since 1960s, the British government set up advisory bodies broadly. For example, the *City District Officer Scheme* 民政處計劃 was implemented in 1968. It divided Hong Kong Island and Kowloon into 10 districts, City District Offices were set up to collect public opinions. Also, the British government amended the *Official Languages Ordinance* 法定語文條例 in 1974, which recognized Chinese as an official language. Citizens could therefore express their views to the government more conveniently and thus, encouraging the political participation of citizens. What's more, citizens' right to vote raised significantly after the establishment of the *District Board* 區議會 and the innovation of the Urban Council and the Legislative Council, so the level of political participation of citizens increased drastically. Therefore, the increase in political participation of citizens was one of the political features of British rule in Hong Kong.

Sixthly, thorough development of public service was also the political feature of British rule in Hong Kong. With the rapid increase of population in Hong Kong after the Second World War, the British government needed to provide more public service in order to satisfy the needs of the population. Therefore, lots of *statutory public bodies* 法定公營機構 were set up, including the *Consumer Council* 消費者委員會(1974), the *Kowloon-Canton Railway Corporation* 九廣鐵路公司(1982), etc., so as to provide different services to citizens. Moreover, the British government devoted to improve social services and welfare after the *riot of 1967* 六七暴動. For instance, the *Public Assistance Scheme* 公共援助計劃 was introduced in 1973. Later it was further changed to the *Comprehensive Social Security Assistance* 綜合社會保障援助計劃 in 1993 to help low-income groups. Furthermore, the British government also made endeavors to improve education and housing welfare. For instance, the *Nine-year Compulsory Education Scheme* 九年免費教育 was carried out in 1978, and *Ten-year Housing Programme* 十年建屋計劃 was launched in 1972, improving the public service in Hong Kong. Therefore, the thorough development of public service after the Second World War was the political feature of British rule in Hong Kong.

To conclude, the British rule in Hong Kong started to change after 1945, making the political affairs of Hong Kong become more open. Moreover, the main principles “one country, two systems” and “Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong” were implemented after the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997.

Word Count: 1301

K.W. HO

歷史 HISTORY

考場戰神 · 求敗 · 高考歷史科全卷88%分數奪A

【變強，首先要承認自己的不足】

K.W.HO於會考及高考期間，深知單憑學校教導不足以取得最強成績，因此不斷補習取經，進而歸納技巧，再不斷反覆驗證答題方法，最終於會考取得A級成績，更在高考以88%的求敗分數奪A！

【天才 · 出於勤】

歷史科只有「努力型天才」，並不存在「天賦型天才」。只要透過努力及正確方法，任何人均可以於歷史科獲取佳績。K.W.HO出身於天水圍一所band 2中學，歷史科在中四時候僅取得中游成績，但往後透過不斷積極求學，以及鑽研答題要求及方法，最終於高考取得88%的求敗成績，誰與爭鋒？

【專注 · 極至】

K.W.HO除了高考歷史科獲A外，高考通識科亦以Straight A(三份卷全A)的完美姿態奪A。然而，K.W.HO斷然放棄學生人數較歷史科多近10倍的通識科[^]，專注鑽研、任教歷史科。原因僅單純出於興趣及責任，希望專心致志地教好一科、教好每一個學生，這才是問心無愧。

【革命 · 顛覆所有】

於高考過後，K.W.HO內心有一個很強烈的念頭，就是將他對歷史科所有的研究毫無保留地公諸於世。於是，K.W.HO於19歲時開設了K.W.HO_History Blog (<http://cyruzho.mysinablog.com/>)，記錄他在高考2年來點滴積累的論文、考試心得，供人免費觀看。在他不斷堅持下，累積超過500篇文章，瀏覽人次高達165萬。於2015年，K.W.HO感覺到單純以「網站分享」已經到達了瓶頸，必須有更強大的力量支持方能完成他的革命。所以，K.W.HO加盟英皇教育，親身將答題技巧教授予同學，徹底改變同學對於讀歷史科的思維模式！

【戰績 · 有誰可比？】

連續4年(2016-2019年)蟬聯全港最多DSE歷史科5+、5**學生
歷史科市場領導! 4年合共打造過百名5**學生!
大幅拋離坊間其他導師!
2017年有重考門生由Level 2跳升至5**，創造重考傳奇!
2016年有門生僅用10個月時間新修歷史科取得5**，開創新修傳奇! [^]
[^]根據學生向英皇教育提供的數據或資料分析



K.W. Ho



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