

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the civil service.

In our pursuit of localisation, we must not discriminate against overseas officers whose contributions have indeed been great, and I am glad to hear that there will still be a place for such officers not only during the transitional period but also after 1997 as is provided for under the Joint Declaration. Much of Hong Kong's achievements have been accomplished not only through the efforts of local civil servants but also with the help and guidance of their expatriate colleagues.

In conclusion, I would like to remind the civil service as a whole, that their primary task is to serve the community in order to improve the quality of life in Hong Kong. We not only require a loyal and dedicated civic service but also one which is capable of inculcating a sense of devotion to the needs of the public so that it may discharge its responsibilities in the best interest of Hong Kong.

With these remarks, Sir, I support the motion.

MR. MARTIN LEE:—Sir, the people of Hong Kong love their present way of life; they particularly cherish their many freedoms. They do not wish to live in a communist system. Their wishes have been taken into account by the Chinese and British Government; for it is now clearly provided in the Joint Declaration that for 50 years beyond 1997, Hong Kong will continue to have a capitalist system.

But in order to ensure that the principle of 'one country two systems' can work efficiently, it is thought by both Governments that the political system in Hong Kong must change in at least three areas:

- (a) The chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region will be appointed by the Central People's Government on the basis of the results of elections or consultations to be held locally;
- (b) Secondly, the legislature of the Hong Kong S.A.R. shall be constituted by elections; and
- (c) Thirdly, the executive authorities shall be accountable to the legislature.

Thus, in order to ensure that 'the current social and economic systems in Hong Kong will remain unchanged, and so will the life-style', the political system has to change, so as to provide for a more open, responsible and democratic government, with a high degree of autonomy.

Before the draft Joint Declaration was published, many people in Hong Kong did not believe that the principle of 'one country two systems' would work, and hence the outflow of capital and talent. The Joint Declaration has restored confidence in Hong Kong, for people thought that there was some chance for it to work, difficult though it seemed. Indeed, a fair number of able people in Hong Kong are willing to do their part to make it work. They are prepared to sacrifice their time and career to do something for the future of Hong Kong. But

there is a doubt in their minds: will China interfere in the internal administration of Hong Kong, whether in the law-making sphere or executive decisions or the judicial process?

It is not surprising, therefore, that the people of Hong Kong began to look very hard for some safeguards, realising always that these safeguards must be compatible with the Joint Declaration. Many believe that the only possible safeguard is to evolve a system which will produce a really effective and highly autonomous government in the future S.A.R. so that it can withstand such attempts to interfere. The system must not depend for its success on the integrity and ability of just a few individuals; but rather, those in power should be able to derive support from the system. And what can be better than a system where those in power are put there by the people of Hong Kong and can therefore be removed by the people of Hong Kong? In such a system, whenever there is any interference or attempt to interfere, those in power can say: 'The people of Hong Kong will not allow it.' That is why it is thought necessary to provide in the Joint Declaration that the executive shall be accountable to the legislature which shall be constituted by elections. But these provisions will be meaningless unless a substantial number of Members of this Council are elected directly by the people of Hong Kong. And that is the whole rationale behind direct election; and that is why so many people have been, and are, clamouring for direct election in Hong Kong. Indeed, it is our only hope to realise the ideal of 'one country two systems'. Sir, this has now become the spirit of the times and no one can resist it. Take that away, and the beautiful and courageous dream of a grand old man will turn into a nightmare; and our freedoms can no longer be safeguarded.

The elections held this September as a result of the recommendations contained in the White Paper on the Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong have been well received by the public. I suggest that the most natural and logical second step in the direction towards a more open, responsible and democratic government within the constraints of the Joint Declaration is to introduce direct election in 1988. This suggestion follows the recommendations in the White Paper which acknowledged that 'the bulk of public response from all sources suggested...a gradual start by introducing a very small number of directly elected members in 1988 and building up to a significant number of directly elected members by 1997...In summary, there was strong public support for the idea of direct elections but little support for such elections in the immediate future. In the context, the immediate future meant September 1985.

Sir, I have detected no sign whatsoever of any change of public sentiment in this regard. On the contrary, having regard to my platform and those of my many colleagues in the recent elections, it is obvious to all that those of us who had, in our respective election campaigns, pledged to support the introduction

of direct election in 1988, have received a clear mandate to do so. And that mandate is a very wide one, embracing most of the district boards and functional constituencies.

Those who are opposed to direct election are worried that 'the wrong people' may be elected to this Council; that the boat may be rocked; and that the heart of our success, our economy, may be threatened. But Sir, our economic success, which is indeed the heart of our being, needs the support of the other vital organs of the body; and it cannot exist independently from the rest of the body. Or to borrow my honourable colleague Miss Lydia DUNN's famous analogy; our economy is not the only pillar in our structure of success; nor can it stand by itself.

Sir, the strength of our economy can only be maintained if, and only if, the people of Hong Kong believe that this principle of 'one country two systems' can work; that is, they can reasonably expect that the much mightier system across the border will not interfere in the administration of our much smaller system; or that if there be such attempts to interfere, there is a sufficiently strong and effective government in Hong Kong to withstand them. It is not realistic to hope that China will not interfere or at least attempt to interfere; and we must be prepared for it. Indeed, it must be clear by now to everyone, including those who are afraid of direct election, that unless we have direct election, we will never have an effective and highly autonomous government to keep our system separate from the rest of China. In such a situation, the outflow of capital and talent will continue as before; and although the boat will not be rocked, our economy will languish and die.

But as it is desirable to carry out our political reforms gradually, I suggest that we should only have 25 per cent of the seats to this Council via the direct election route in 1988. As to the rest, we should wait for the review in 1987, which should commence as soon as possible. We will need to assess the position again after the 1988 elections before deciding on the next step.

Sir, I do not see how it could be suggested that the introduction of direct election can be said to contravene the Joint Declaration. Although the Joint Declaration does not say that the legislature should be by direct election, it does not prohibit it either. Of all the capitalist countries in the world that have elections, the great great majority have direct election, which is acknowledged to be the best mode of elections. And since the Joint Declaration specifically provides that Hong Kong will continue to have its capitalist system for 50 years beyond 1997, it is only logical to expect that the method of elections should follow that of most other capitalist countries in the world.

Sir, I am confident that once it is introduced, direct election will be acceptable even to the people of Hong Kong who have reservations about it now. But whether it will really be a success or not, it is our only hope; and no one has pointed to a better way which would give our future S.A.R. government that high degree of autonomy.

Further, this experience of direct election in 1988 must be beneficial to the members of both the drafting and consultative committees of the basic law, because they could judge for themselves whether the actual experience will show direct election to be a success or failure.

Sir, if I may summarise my speech in the form of an equation:

Prosperity and stability = one country two systems = no intervention = effective government = answerable to people = fully elected Legislative Council (at least 25 per cent direct)

I call this 'the equation of success'; and I suggest it is already contained in the Joint Declaration.

Sir, everybody wishes to see the Joint Declaration implemented, and fully implemented. Nobody likes to see this Government becoming a lame-duck administration. Nobody likes to see China interfering in the administration of Hong Kong during this period of transition and thereafter. But, Sir, it is useless for our top civil servants to proclaim from the house-tops everyday that theirs is not a lame-duck administration. Show us. It is equally useless for the leaders of China to shout from their house-tops across the border that they will not interfere. Show us.

Sir, this Government must not be forced into inaction during these vital few years, and wait for the basic law to be promulgated. For the direction of our future political reform is already set out in the Joint Declaration and there is no reason why we should not proceed in that direction even now. Likewise, Members of this Council must not be forced into silence and prevented from debating or considering our future political reforms. Our terms of office is only for three years. How can we be faithful to our oath to serve the people of Hong Kong conscientiously and truly if we do not address our minds to the most burning question of the day? Of course, we will listen to the views of the people of Hong Kong; but it must be recognised that only the people of Hong Kong can tell us what to do. Nobody else can.

Sir, the people of Hong Kong who care for their future must speak up now, and let the world know that this Council has their support in introducing direct election in 1988.

Sir, I believe there is a future for Hong Kong. And like everyone else, I too want to see this ideal of 'one country two systems' successfully implemented in Hong Kong. That is why I have said these things. I do not intend to be confrontational when I said what has to be said. It is from the heart—not only mine, but also those of many other people who share the common objective of working out a bright future, not only for ourselves, but for our children and their children. I know we can do it together.

Sir, I support the motion.