# Eighth Meeting of the Committee on Governance and Political Development of the Commission on Strategic Development to be held on 25 January 2007 at 2:30 p.m. in the Conference Hall, 1/F, New Annex, Main Wing, Central Government Offices 

## Agenda

I. Matters arising from the last meeting
II. Further discussion on possible models for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage (Paper Ref: CSD/GC/1/2007)
III. Further discussion on possible models for forming the Legislative Council by universal suffrage (Paper Ref: CSD/GC/2/2007)
IV. Any other business

Secretariat to the Commission on Strategic Development
January 2007

# Commission on Strategic Development Committee on Governance and Political Development 

# Further Discussion on Possible Models for Selecting the Chief Executive by Universal Suffrage 

## Introduction

Members commenced discussion on possible models for selecting the Chief Executive ("the CE") by universal suffrage last July (Paper No: CSD/GC/7/2006), and further discussed the issue in detail at the meeting last November (Paper No: CSD/GC/9/2006). This paper summarizes members' views on possible models for selecting the CE by universal suffrage, in order to facilitate members' discussion on the subject in focus and to further narrow differences.
2. For members' easy reference, we have updated the summary of views of various organizations and individuals on possible models for selecting the CE received by the Administration and the LegCo, as appended at Annex I and Annex II respectively. A summary of written submissions received from individual members in the past and recently by The Commission Secretariat is at Annex III.

## Key issues discussed

3. In the previous meetings and workshops, members discussed the following three key issues relating to possible models for selecting the CE by universal suffrage :
(i) composition and size of the nominating committee;
(ii) method of nomination; and
(iii) method for selecting the CE by universal suffrage following nomination.
4. Paragraphs 5-22 summarize members' views on the above-mentioned issues, and propose the direction for further discussion on these issues.

## Composition of the nominating committee

5. Regarding the composition of the nominating committee, members previously focused on discussing the following two options:
(i) to use the composition of the Election Committee as a basis to consider that of the nominating committee (but the size of the nominating committee, and the composition and delineation of the sectors could be different from those of the Election Committee); and
(ii) to form the nominating committee by 60 Legislative Council ("LegCo") Members.
6. Also, some members made other proposals, for example, to allow political parties/groups or a certain number of registered voters to recommend a contender to the nominating committee. A contender so recommended could formally become a candidate only upon endorsement by the nominating committee.
7. Recently, a LegCo Member proposed that, apart from being nominated by the nominating committee, a CE candidate could be nominated by $5 \%$ of the registered voters. However, members had already agreed that, in accordance with Article 45 of the Basic Law, the selection of the CE by universal suffrage should be preceded by the nomination of CE candidates by a nominating committee. Any proposals which did not suggest the nomination of candidates by a nominating committee (e.g. a CE candidate would first be nominated by a certain number of registered voters, and then elected by universal suffrage on the basis of "one-person-one-vote") or which suggested the selection of the CE only by universal suffrage (i.e. without forming a nominating committee), would not be consistent with the Basic Law requirement.
8. Summarizing the previous discussions, members were inclined to support using the composition of the Election Committee as a basis to consider that of the nominating committee. Quite a number of members
had reservations about the proposal of forming the nominating committee by 60 LegCo Members.
9. More members supported using the composition of the Election Committee as a basis to consider that of nominating committee. The main reasons included:
(i) Article 45 and Annex I of the Basic Law stipulated respectively that the nominating committee and the Election Committee should be "broadly representative". If the composition of the Election Committee was used as a basis, this should give rise to fewer disputes and should be conducive to forging consensus within the community on the composition of the nominating committee;
(ii) the composition of the Election Committee complied with such principles as "meeting the interests of the different sectors of society" and "facilitating the development of the capitalist economy". Making reference to the composition of the Election Committee could ensure that the formation of the nominating committee would comply with these principles; and
(iii) the formation of the Election Committee by four sectors was a good reference. Also, using the Election Committee as a basis could help ensure the smooth operation of the nominating committee.
10. However, a Member had reservation about the proposal of using the composition of the Election Committee as a basis for forming the nominating committee because the composition of the Election Committee did not comply with the principles of universal and equal suffrage. Also, voters' right of nomination was not equal.
11. As for the proposal of forming the nominating committee by 60 LegCo Members, the member who made the proposal considered that LegCo Members had the broadest electorate base and were the most representative. However, quite a number of members had reservation about this proposal for the following reasons:
(i) the Basic Law had already clearly prescribed the functions of LegCo, and had not empowered LegCo Members to nominate

CE candidates. The proposal of allowing LegCo to nominate CE candidates was not consistent with the Basic Law;
(ii) according to the Basic Law, the relationship between the executive authorities and the legislature was one of mutual regulation. The proposal of allowing LegCo to nominate CE candidates was not consistent with the legislative intent of the Basic Law and went beyond the powers and functions of LegCo;
(iii) during the drafting of the Basic Law, the option of nominating CE candidates by LegCo had already been ruled out because this was not consistent with the "executive-led" principle; and
(iv) when giving their votes to LegCo Members, voters had not authorized them to nominate CE candidates on their behalf.
12. As prescribed in the Basic Law, the ultimate aim is the selection of the CE by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures. Given that members are inclined to support using the Election Committee as a basis to consider that of the nominating committee, we suggest members further consider the following issues, and decide whether to continue with discussion on other models:
(i) if the nominating committee is composed of 60 LegCo Members, whether it would be consistent with the requirement of being "broadly representative";
(ii) the powers and functions of LegCo, as prescribed by the Basic Law, do not include allowing LegCo Members to nominate CE candidates. Under the framework of the Basic Law, whether the proposal of allowing LegCo members to nominate CE candidates could be implemented; and
(iii) regarding the proposal of allowing political parties/groups or a certain number of registered voters to recommend a contender to the nominating committee, whether that would be consistent with the requirement of nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance
with democratic procedures, as set out in the Basic Law.
13. If members take the view that the forthcoming discussion should focus on the proposal of using the composition of the Election Committee as a basis to consider that of the nominating committee, they may, on this basis, further consider the composition and size of the nominating committee. In this regard, members had put forth various proposals, including:
(i) whether the nominating committee should be formed by reference to the existing 800 -member Election Committee, or by expanding it to 1200 or 1600 members;
(ii) regarding the composition of the nominating committee and delineation of the sectors, members had put forth different proposals:
(a) to allocate the additional seats to sectors which were currently not represented in the Election Committee;
(b) to allocate the additional seats to District Council members; however a member did not agree to this;
(c) to allow all Hong Kong members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress (NPC) to become ex-officio members, thereby realizing the status of "One Country" under Hong Kong’s constitutional system;
(d) to establish a new sector "the establishment of the HKSAR", which would include the CE, all members of the Executive Council and LegCo, and all chairpersons of standing consultative bodies. This was to reflect the political status of the HKSAR establishment; and
(e) to suitably increase the number of members from the business sector, for example, by raising the percentage of members from the industrial, commercial and financial sectors in the Election Committee from $25 \%$ to $35 \%$ to reflect the contribution of the business sector to Hong

Kong. However, a member considered that the composition of the current Election Committee was already slanted towards the industrial, commercial and professional sectors.
(iii) Recently, there was suggestion that using the 2007/08 proposal put forth by the Government in 2005 as a basis, all District Council members could be included in the nominating committee. Members may discuss whether this proposal could, through wider participation of the representatives of the public, ensure that the nominating committee is broadly representative.

## Method of Nomination

14. Regarding the method of nominating CE candidates by the nominating committee, members focused on the following issues in the previous discussions:
(i) the number of subscribers required for nominating a candidate. Members were inclined to support that, at the early stage of implementing universal suffrage, the nomination threshold should not be too low;
(ii) whether it was necessary to impose additional nomination requirements, including setting an upper limit on the number of subscribers or requiring candidates to obtain a certain number of nominations in each sector;
(iii) whether a relatively high nomination threshold should first be set, and allow evolution of the electoral system after implementation of universal suffrage; and
(iv) whether each member of the nominating committee could nominate more than one candidate.
15. As for the number of subscribers required for nominating CE candidates, members had a relatively clear inclination: more members proposed to set the nomination threshold in the range of one-eighth to one-quarter of the size of the nominating committee. Further discussion would be needed to work out the specific nomination threshold within this
range. Regarding the number of candidates, which was related to the nomination threshold, most members considered that it should not be too large. More members suggested limiting the number of candidates to four or eight. However, regarding other issues, members still held diverse views and further discussion would be needed.
16. Moreover, members agreed that any proposals regarding the nomination mechanism should be made under the framework of the Basic Law. According to Article $45^{1}$ of the Basic Law, the selection and appointment of the CE involves three steps when universal suffrage is attained:
(i) nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures;
(ii) selection by universal suffrage following nomination; and
(iii) appointment by the Central People’s Government.

In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Basic Law, the responsibility of nominating CE candidates should rest with the nominating committee.

## Method of Universal Suffrage after Nomination

17. Members agreed that, after the nomination of candidates, the CE should be elected by universal suffrage on the basis of "one-person-one-vote".
18. Members should further discuss the following issues:
(i) whether the CE should be elected through one round of election without the requirement that a candidate should receive more than half of the valid votes to be elected, or whether there should be a requirement that a candidate should

[^0]receive more than half of the valid votes to get elected, and thus more than one round of election would be held if necessary;
(ii) if there is only one candidate, whether the election proceedings should continue (e.g. the candidate should receive more than half of the valid votes to get elected).

## Universal suffrage for the CE preceding that for LegCo

19. In the previous discussions, members generally agreed that the model for selecting the CE by universal suffrage was relatively less complicated as compared with that for LegCo. Since the Basic Law had already provided a relatively clear framework, there was a higher chance of the community reaching consensus on the way forward for selecting the CE by universal suffrage, and hence, the issue could be first explored. Moreover, a CE returned by universal suffrage would have a stronger public mandate, which could enhance effective governance. In the long run, this would be conducive to realizing the principle of an executive-led system.
20. Currently, members' discussion on models for selecting the CE by universal suffrage is more focused. Members are studying specifically the composition of the nominating committee and the nomination mechanism. Relatively speaking, there are still grave differences among members on models for forming LegCo by universal suffrage, particularly on how the functional constituencies (FCs) should evolve (e.g. whether FC seats should be abolished altogether or be retained in some form; please refer to Paper CSD/GC/2/2007 for details). If that is the case, there should be a higher chance that members could first reach consensus on the model for selecting the CE by universal suffrage.
21. Having regard to members' views set out in paragraphs 19-20 above, we propose that members should consider whether our work should be taken forward based on the direction of "universal suffrage for the CE preceding that for LegCo".

## Conclusion

22. To conclude, we propose that members should further discuss the following issues:
(i) regarding the composition of the nominating committee, whether to focus on examining the proposal of using the composition of the Election Committee as a basis to consider that of the nominating committee;
(ii) the composition and size of the nominating committee;
(iii) the specific nomination threshold;
(iv) other nomination requirements, including whether there should be an upper limit on the number of subscribers or a requirement for candidates to obtain a certain number of nominations in each sector; whether a relatively high nomination threshold should first be set, and allow evolution of the electoral system after implementation of universal suffrage; and whether each member of the nominating committee could nominate more than one candidate;
(v) whether the CE should be elected through one round of election without the requirement that a candidate should receive more than half of the valid votes to be elected, or whether there should be a requirement that a candidate should receive more than half of the valid votes to get elected, and thus more than one round of election would be held if necessary;
(vi) if there is only one candidate, whether the election proceedings should continue; and
(vii) whether our work should be taken forward based on the direction of "universal suffrage for the CE preceding that for LegCo".

# Commission on Strategic Development Committee on Governance and Political Development 

## Public views on possible models for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage

## Written submissions received by the Government

Organizations/individuals
making the submissions

Mr Eric K C LI
Mr

Summary of Views Submission
4.1.2004 • First Phase: turn the 800-member Election Committee into a nominating committee and elect no more than 3 candidates for universal suffrage.

- Second and Final Phase: full universal suffrage.

SynergyNet
13.2.2004 • Any 500 registered voters can together make a preliminary nomination of a candidate for the CE post. Each registered voter can make only one such nomination.

- Preliminary nominees will be scrutinized by the Nomination Committee. Only those preliminary nominees who obtain the endorsement of a minimum of 100 members of the Nomination Committee will be put forward for election by universal suffrage. Each Committee member can nominate only one preliminary nominee. In practice, this means a maximum of 8 preliminary candidates to be

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of Submission
'screened in' by an 800-member Nomination Committee for popular election.

- The total membership of the Nomination Committee can be 800 or an enlarged number such as $1000-1$ 200. Members of the Nomination Committee from different sectors should be elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote within the sectors to which they belong.

Hong Kong Democratic Foundation and Power for Democracy

Article 45 Concern Group
23.2.2004
13.2.2004 - Option 1: Formal candidacy for the CE requires nomination by a certain number of Election Committee members. A low threshold such as 50 can facilitate candidates from various political backgrounds to stand for election. Election of the CE by universal suffrage after nomination by the Election Committee.

- Option 2: A CE candidate may qualify for formal candidacy through the collection of a certain number of supporting signatures from registered voters (say, $50000-100$ 000), followed by election by universal suffrage.
- Either to convert the present Election Committee to a nomination committee whose only function is to nominate any candidate with the endorsement of say, $5 \%$ of its members, or to give power to the Legislative Council (LegCo) to

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Democratic Party

Hong Kong University
Graduates Association
Political Reform
Concern
Group

Summary of Views
Submission
nominate any candidate with the endorsement of say, 5 members. The general electorate will vote on all candidates thus nominated on a one-person- one-vote basis.
25.5.2004 • The Nominating Committee should be formed by Members of the LegCo. A CE candidate may be nominated by 5 LegCo Members (each LegCo Member may nominate only one candidate). Members of the public will vote on all candidates thus nominated on a one-person-one-vote basis.
9.2004 - To transform the 800-member Election Committee into a 1200member nominating committee. The method for electing members should be similar to that of the existing Election Committee.

- A CE candidate should be jointly nominated by not less than 150, but not more than 200 members of the Nominating Committee (with not less than 25 members from each sector). Each member may only nominate one candidate.
- Election of the CE by universal suffrage will be held after nomination. As regards the election and vote counting methods, consideration should be given to requiring a candidate to secure more than half of the valid votes in order to

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

The Law Society of Hong Kong

Hon Mrs Rita FAN

Hon Albert CHAN

Date of
Submission
be elected.
27.9.2004 - The nominating committee can take the form of either a separate Committee, or transformed from the Election Committee or the LegCo.
27.9.2004 • CE candidates could be elected by universal suffrage upon nomination by a nominating committee.

- The Nominating Committee should comprise 1600 members from different sectors (same as those of the Election Committee) who are returned by election. Formal candidacy for the CE requires nomination by not less than 400 Committee members.
15.10.2004 • A CE candidate may qualify for formal candidacy if he is able to secure nominations by not less than 5000 registered voters, and the support of not less than $5 \%$ of the Election Committee.
- After nomination, candidates will be elected by all electors in Hong Kong by universal suffrage. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes will become the CE. The Election Committee should validate the election result procedurally, and the candidate elected will become the CE upon validation.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Joint Committee for the Promotion of the Basic Law of Hong Kong

Business and
Professionals
Federation of Hong
Kong

Date of Submission
21.10.2004 • To turn the Election Committee into the Nominating Committee. The method for electing members of the Nominating Committee should be the same as that for electing members of the Election Committee. The number of members should be increased to 1 600. In each sector, there should be 25 members returned by universal suffrage through geographical constituencies.

- Each member of the Nominating Committee may nominate only one candidate, and each candidate must be nominated by 200 members.
- If only one candidate is selected by the Nominating Committee, that candidate will be elected ipso facto. If more than one candidate are selected by the Nominating Committee, election by universal suffrage shall be held.
25.7.2006
- The Election Committee which currently elects the CE consists of four sectors, each comprising 200 delegates.
- These delegates are themselves elected or chosen by either the individual members or by the elected committee of the relevant organization.
- The first, second and third sectors of the Committee elect or select their

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views
representatives some by the votes of individual members, and some chosen by the committee of the organization. In order to make sure the representatives do indeed represent the general membership of the constituent organization there should be an effort to systemize the method of selection and to endeavour to involve the general membership on these organizations in the election of their representatives.

- The fourth sector comprises the individual members of representative bodies having a largely political role. To enhance the authority of this sector, a number of new seats were proposed to be elected by an electoral college of all the District Councillors. Changes in the District Councils are currently being examined and the role of the appointed members will no doubt be discussed during the course of this review. Thus the inclusion or not of District Councillors should wait until this review is completed.
- Nomination of CE candidates should be based on a closed-ballot.
- Each candidate should secure the support and nomination of at least 100 members out of a Nominating Committee of 800 .
- Candidates might be required to secure at least 20 nominations from

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of Submission
each of the four sectors and each candidate in addition should have among his nominators the support of at least 15 of the 60 Members of LegCo (i.e. one-fourth of the 60 LegCo Members). This requirement would limit the number of candidates to four to enter the final election process.

- To elect the CE through a one man one vote process; the one-round first-past-the-post voting method is the preferred option.

Mr. David YUEN
29.7.2006 • An electoral college system (with 1000 electoral college votes) should be adopted, of which $30 \%$ of the votes (i.e. 300 electoral college votes) should be determined by the Central Government while the other 70\% should be decided by universal suffrage.

- Election on the basis of one-person-one-vote should be first held. The 700 electoral college votes should be apportioned on the basis of the votes received. In the following 1-2 weeks, the Central Government would cast its sacred vote (i.e. the 300 electoral college votes). The election result would then be determined by the number of the electoral college votes received by the candidates.
- As for the nomination method, candidates would be required to

Organizations/individuals making the submissions
lege
Students' Union

Date of Submission
secure nominations from 200 registered voters.
13.8.2006 • Composition of the nominating committee:

The first sector: about 200 members from the business sector.

The second sector: about 200 members from the professional sector.

The third sector: about 400 members from education, labour, religious, social services and other sectors.

The fourth sector: about 700 members comprising LegCo Members, District Councils (DC) members, Executive Council Members, Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress (NPC), Hong Kong members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC).

- Based on the above, a nominating committee with 1500-1600 members will be formed.
- For candidates nominated by political parties, they will be required to secure nomination from only $5 \%$ of the nominating committee members. As for independent candidates, they will be required to secure nominations from $10 \%$ of the nominating committee members. Those who have

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

City University of Hong
Kong Students' Union

Date of
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secured sufficient number of nominations will become CE candidates for election by universal suffrage.
14.8.2006 - As a transitional arrangement before implementing universal suffrage, the composition of the nominating committee should make reference to the proposed package put forth last year. The number of members should increase from 800 to 1600 . Members of the Election Committee in the first sector (industrial, commercial and financial sectors), second sector (the professionals) and third sector (labour, social services, religious and other sectors) should increase from 200 to 300. The fourth sector (LegCo members, DC members, representatives of Heung Yee Kuk, Hong Kong deputies to the NPC, representatives of Hong Kong members of the CPPCC) should increase from 200 to 700, including all DC members.

- The nomination threshold for electing the CE by universal suffrage for the first time could be increased (e.g. from $1 / 8$ of all committee members to $1 / 4$ ), but the Government should undertake to conduct regular reviews in future with a view to lowering the threshold gradually.
- In addition to increasing the nomination threshold, a mechanism to

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Heung Yee Kuk (Submission for the 2006/07 Policy Address)
allow voters to recommend candidates should be introduced. Any person who has the support of $5 \%$ of eligible voters in Hong Kong should be deemed to be recommended by voters as a candidate. As the candidate endorsed by voters should have already obtained a certain level of support from the electorate, the nomination threshold for him should be lowered. He will only need to obtain endorsement from $1 / 8$ of the nominating committee members to stand for election.

- When the model for implementing universal suffrage has been fully developed, consideration should be given to allowing the public to take lead in the nomination process. For example, CE candidates would only be eligible for consideration by the nominating committee if they have obtained nominations from a certain number of registered voters. A candidate can stand for election at the final stage only after he has secured a certain level of support from the nominating committee.
- To increase the number of committee members from 800 to 1200 .
- Regarding the method for forming the committee responsible for nominating CE candidates, the nomination method and the number of subscribers required for nominating a CE


# Organizations/individuals making the submissions Submission 

candidate, further discussion within the community will be needed in order to reach consensus.

Hong Kong Democratic
Foundation
16.8.2006 Option 1:

- Direct election of the CE through universal suffrage as soon as possible, namely 2012.


## Option 2:

- Increasing the membership of the Election Committee from 800 to, say, 1600 or 2400 , turning it into a Nominating Committee.
- After the Nominating Committee endorses a number of candidates, who will have to compete among themselves by gaining a certain percentage of votes from the Nominating Committee, then all the eligible voters in the HKSAR will be entitled to vote for their CE candidates.


## Option 3:

- Widening the membership of the Election Committee. This option is arguably so conservative that it will perhaps be bound to be rejected in the legislative assembly.

Executive Committee of the Hong Kong
University Students'
Union
16.8.2006
6.8.2006

- As a transitional arrangement for one term, the existing Election Committee should be responsible for nominating the CE candidates.
- The Election Committee should

| Organizations/individuals <br> making the submissions | Date of <br> Submission | $\underline{\text { Summary of Views }}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- |
|  |  | include all LegCo Members and <br> elected DC members. |

- As for other subsectors, corporate voting should be abolished and replaced by individual voting. The nominating committee should be abolished in 2012 in order to achieve the aim of electing the CE by universal suffrage.
- As regards the nomination threshold, candidates should be required to secure nominations from $10 \%$ of the nominating committee members when the committee is still in place. In future CE elections, candidates who have received nominations from 500 members of the public would be eligible to stand for election.
- If there is only one candidate or there are two, a candidate must obtain more than half of the support votes to get elected, or a fresh round of election would be conducted. If there are three or more candidates and none of them receives more than half of the votes in the first round, then the two candidates with the highest number of votes in the first round will enter into the second round. A fresh round of election would be held if none of the candidates receives more than half of the votes cast.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Mr. Hilton
CHEONG-LEEN

Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong
(DAB's expectations of the 2006/2007 Policy Address)

Date of Submission
18.8.2006
18.8.2006
politica environment and the level of socio-economic development of Hong Kong, we should promote the approaches of "formulating a roadmap before a timetable" and "resolving the simple issues before the difficult ones".

- By "formulating a roadmap before a timetable", we should first formulate the ultimate models for implementing universal suffrage for the two elections, to be followed by formulating a phased plan leading to universal suffrage. Finally, a timetable can be formulated based on the actual situation.
- By "resolving the simple issues before the difficult ones", universal suffrage for the CE can first be implemented. Thereafter, according to the actual situation, we can reform the method for forming the LegCo and its procedures of voting in two or three stages, and finally implement universal suffrage for the LegCo.
21.8.2006 - Before the Basic Law can be amended, the "broadly representative nominating committee" under Article 45 should be formed by election on the basis of one-person-one-vote.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions<br>Submission

The Chinese General
Chamber of Commerce

Summary of Views

- The threshold for nominating candidates should not be too high, and the nomination mechanism should not be used to prevent those holding dissenting views from participating in the election. If restrictions are imposed to prevent those candidates not acceptable to the Central Authorities from standing for election, such an election by universal suffrage would be hypocritical and deceptive.
23.8.2006 - The composition of the nominating committee may model on that of the existing Election Committee. The number of members can remain at 800.
- Each candidate should be required to receive nominations from at least 200 nominating committee members. With each member nominating only one candidate, there will not be more than four CE candidates.
- Of the nominations received by a candidate, at least 50 should come from the industrial, commercial and financial sectors.
- Following nomination, the CE will be returned by election on the basis of one-person-one-vote by all eligible voters.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Hong Kong Federation of Fujian Associations

Mr. Robin CHAN
Yau-hing Chairman, Hong Kong Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations

Date of Submission
23.8.2006 - It will be more appropriate to maintain the membership of the Election Committee at 800. The 38 subsectors under the four sectors in the existing Election Committee have already covered different sectors of society.

- Those who intend to stand for the CE election should be required to receive nominations from and support of $1 / 4$ of the nominating committee members. Two to three candidates will then be selected to stand for election. The CE will be returned by election on the basis of one-person-one-vote.
29.8.2006 • The nominating committee should be formed on the basis of the existing Election Committee, with all Hong Kong members of the CPPCC included.
- Aspiring individuals should be required to receive nominations from $1 / 4$ of the nominating committee members to become candidates. This is to ensure that candidates are qualified and endorsed by different parties.
- Finally, the CE will be returned by universal suffrage.
29.8.2006 • Before universal suffrage for CE is implemented, the electorate base of the Election Committee should be

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of
Summary of Views
Submission

Policy Address)
Kowloon City District 30.8.2006
Resident Association
expanded.

- The functions of the existing Election Committee should be changed by retaining the function of nominating CE candidates while removing that of selecting the CE.
- The formation of the Election Committee based on different professions/sectors, the election method and the size of membership at 800 should remain unchanged.
- Candidates should secure a prescribed number of nominations from the nominating committee members before they can enter the stage which their eligibility will be verified by the Electoral Affairs Commission. The nomination threshold should be lower than the present one (i.e. 100 nominations). For example, the minimum requirement may be set at 50 nominations.
- Each member may nominate only one candidate.
- It is appropriate to limit the number of candidates to two. If more than two contenders have received the required number of nominations, the two who secured the highest number of nominations will become CE candidates.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of Submission

- The CE will be returned by election on the basis of one-person-one-vote by all eligible voters.

Civic Party
(Civic Party's Policy
Expectations of the SAR Government)

Democratic Party
(Democratic Party's
submission for the
2006/07 Policy Address
"The Building of a
Truly Accountable
Government")
31.8.2006 • Hong Kong is long ready for implementing universal suffrage for the two elections. Democratic election to be held on the basis of equal and universal suffrage is a prerequisite for being an "international city".
4.9.2006

- The nominating committee should be formed by LegCo Members. The CE should be returned by election on the basis of one-person-one-vote and appointed by the Central People's Government.
- A CE candidate may be nominated by five LegCo Members. Each LegCo Member may nominate only one candidate.
- A candidate with political party background, if elected as CE by universal suffrage, should not be required to withdraw from his party.
- In order to improve governance, the Government should carry out political reforms with a view to attaining universal suffrage and enhancing its legitimacy.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Kowloon Federation of Associations
(Opinion survey on expectations of the 2006-07 Policy Address)

Date of
Submission
5.9.2006 - Under the principle of gradual and orderly progress in taking forward Hong Kong's constitutional development, this Association supports taking the approach of "resolving the simple issues before the difficult ones". The issue of electing the CE by universal suffrage should be handled first. The elections of the CE and LegCo by universal suffrage should not be bundled together, otherwise the pace of constitutional development in Hong Kong will be dampened.
13.9.2006 • Universal suffrage for electing the CE should be implemented before that for forming the LegCo.

- Reference should be made to the composition of the existing Election Committee. The number of members should remain at 800 . The Committee should be formed by four sectors: (a) 200 members from the industrial, commercial and financial sectors; (b) 200 members from various professions; (c) 200 members from the labour, social services, religious sectors; (d) 200 members from LegCo Members, representatives of district-based organizations, Hong Kong deputies to the NPC, and representatives of Hong Kong members of the СРРСС.
- The election method should be modelled on that for the existing

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of Submission

Election Committee to ensure smooth transition from the old to the new electoral system.

- Nominating committee members should select, by election on the basis of one-person-one-vote, not more than three CE candidates from those who have obtained nominations from 100 or more members.
- The CE should be returned by universal suffrage on the basis of one-person-one-vote. Among the CE candidates (no more than three), the one who obtains the highest number of valid votes cast will be returned as the CE elect, who will then be officially appointed by the Central People's Government as the CE.

Professor WONG
14.9.2006

Ka-ying

Mr. Ivan CHOY
Chi-keung
2.10.2006

- The delineation of the sectors of the existing Election Committee can generally be adopted. That is, if the
nominating committee comprises 800 members, 200 can be from the industrial, commercial and financial sectors, 200 from the professions, 200 from the political sector and 200 from various sectors of the community.
- Members of different sectors of the nominating committee should be returned by democratic elections as far as possible, so as to enhance the representativeness and credibility of the nominating committee.
- In essence, if a certain nomination threshold is set to help forge consensus of different parties on implementing universal suffrage for the CE in 2012, a timetable should be formulated to abolish such a threshold in two or three terms.
- For electing the CE by universal suffrage for the first time, a relatively higher number of subscribers could be required (e.g. 100). Thereafter, the number of subscribers required should be reduced gradually.
- Among the 100 subscribers, the number of subscribers from each of the four sectors should at least be 10 .
- Among the 100 subscribers, at least 15 should come from LegCo Members.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of
Submission

- A two-round voting system should be adopted. Any candidate who has received more than half of the votes cast in the first round will be elected. If none of the candidates is able to obtain more than half of the votes, the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes will enter into the second and final round. The candidate who receives a majority of votes in the second round will be elected.

Mr CHANG Chak-yan 23.11.2006 • In principle, it is impossible to break away from the realm of sovereignty. Also, according to international practice, the power to make appointment reflects the sovereignty of a country. After assessing political risks, the proposal to prescreen CE candidates before universal suffrage is preferable.

- In order to remove doubts about verification of the eligibility of candidates and reduce political controversies, the best course of action is to reach consensus first before enacting a law on verification of the eligibility of CE candidates.

Kowloon Federation of Associations
4.12.2006

- Should first deal with the selection of the CE by universal suffrage, which is less controversial and adopt the pragmatic approach of "resolving the simple issues before the difficult ones". Support focusing on handling the election of the CE by universal suffrage first.

Summary of Views

- The roadmap of universal suffrage should be drawn up first with a view to reaching consensus among different sectors of society. Practical and sound proposals on the timetable issue could then follow.
- The Election Committee should double its membership to 1600 and turn into a nominating committee.
- The total nominations secured by a CE candidate from the 1600-member nominating committee should not be less than 100 (i.e. $1 / 16$ ). Nominations so secured should include at least 10 nominations from each of the four sectors within the nominating committee. In addition, it should include nominations from at least five LegCo Members and five HK Deputies to the NPC.
- A CE candidate should be required to secure more than $50 \%$ of the valid votes cast to get elected. If none of the candidates obtains more than $50 \%$ of the valid votes cast, a second round should be held to select the CE among the two candidates who have received the highest votes in the first round.


# Public views on possible models for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage 

## Written submissions received by the Legislative Council

Organizations/individuals making the submissions (Submission No. ${ }^{\text {Note }}$ )

Hong Kong Bar
Association
(Submission No. 03 in
Appendix I to LC Paper
No. CB(2)2386/05-
06(01))

Date of
Submission

Hong Kong University
Graduates Association
Political Reform Concern
Group
(Submission No. 04 in
Appendix I to LC Paper
No. CB(2)2386/05-
06(01))

## Summary of Views

3.3.2000 All members of the Election Committee shall be returned by direct or indirect election; at least half of the members of the Election Committee be returned by geographical constituency election by universal suffrage.
9.2004
Election Committee into a 1200-member nominating committee. The method for electing members should be similar to that of the existing Election Committee.

- A CE candidate should be jointly nominated by not less than 150, but not more than 200 members of the Nominating Committee (with not less than 25 members from each sector). Each member may nominate only one candidate.
- Election of the CE by universal suffrage will be held after nomination. As regards the election and vote counting methods, consideration should be given to requiring a candidate to secure more

Organizations/individuals making the submissions (Submission No. ${ }^{\text {Note }}$ )

Date of Submission

Summary of Views

Civic Exchange
(Submission No. 01 in
Appendix I to LC Paper
No. CB(2)2386/0506(01))

Association for the
Advancement of
Feminism
(Submission No. 14 in
Appendix I to LC Paper
No. CB(2)2386/05-
06(01))
than half of the valid votes in order to be elected.
15.2.2005

- The Election Committee to be composed of not less than 5000 members and be changed into a nominating committee.
- As regards the composition of the nominating committee, apart from the ex-officio members (such as the Legislative Council Members, Hong Kong Deputies to the National People’s Congress and representatives of Hong Kong members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference), the other members may be selected at random based on each of the District Council constituency.
- A candidate needs to secure nominations from not less than 250 members of the nominating committee and 2500 registered voters in order to be qualified to stand at election.
9.11.2005

The Chief Executive should be elected by direct election on a "one-person-one-vote" basis. No need to establish any form of election committee.

Organizations/individuals
making the submissions (Submission No. ${ }^{\text {Note }}$ )

Hon LEUNG Kwok-hung
(Submission No. 13 in
Appendix I to LC Paper
No. CB(2)2386/05-
06(01))

Democratic Party
(Submission No. 02 in
Appendix I to LC Paper
No. CB(2)2386/05-
06(01))

Hon CHEUNG
Man-Kwong

Date of
Submission
16.1.2006 It is inappropriate to retain the nominating committee for the selection of the CE. A candidate can only be nominated when he has secured support from a specified percentage of registered voters. The nomination and election proceedings should adhere to the principle of "one-person-one-vote".
4.2006 The nominating committee to be formed by the Members of the LegCo. The CE should then be elected by members of the public on a "one-person-one-vote" basis and appointed by the CPG. A CE candidate is to be nominated by five LegCo Members. Each Member may nominate only one candidate.
18.12.2006 The Government should make reference to the "dual nomination system" as practised by other countries, under which candidates may either be nominated by a nominating committee or by the public if they could enlist a certain percentage of public support. Aspiring candidates who are able to secure nominations from 5\% of voters should be eligible to stand for the CE election.

Note: Please refer to the Legislative Council webpage for the original text of the submissions (LC Paper No. CB(2)2386/05-06(01)). (www.legco.gov.hk/yr05-06/english/panels/ca/papers/ca0619cb2-2386-1 e.pdf)

Annex III

## Views on possible models for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage

## Written submissions received by the Committee on Governance and Political Development of the Commission on Strategic Development

Members Submitting Views

Hon. LEE Cheuk-yan

Date of Submission
9.1.2006 - The composition of the nominating committee must realize the principle of universal and equal rights for all citizens to nominate and be nominated. The current composition of the Election Committee stipulated in Annex I to the Basic Law is obviously not in line with the principle of equal and universal rights. It will not be consistent with the provisions of "democratic procedures" and "ultimate aim of universal suffrage" stipulated in Article 45 if such a composition is taken as a blueprint for forming the nominating committee.

- Regarding the voting method for selecting the CE by universal suffrage, it is necessary to consider whether to adopt a "simple majority" voting method or a "two-round polling system" (i.e. if no candidate obtains more than half of the valid votes cast in the first round of polling, a second round will be held for voters to select the CE between the two candidates obtaining the most votes in the first round).

Members Submitting<br>Views<br>Mr. CHAN Chung-bun, Bunny

Hon. LEE Wing-tat

Hon. LEE Cheuk-yan

Date of Submission
20.1.2006 To expand considerably the membership of the Election Committee (including all District Council members as originally proposed by the Government).
26.5.2006

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
election. He will become a formal candidate for the CE election only after the recommendation is validated by the nominating committee.

- Regarding the voting method for selecting the CE by universal suffrage, it is necessary to consider whether to adopt a "simple majority" voting method or a "two-round system" (i.e. if no candidate obtains more than half of the valid votes cast in the first round of polling, a second round will be held for voters to select the CE among the two candidates who have received the highest number of votes in the first round).

Mr. TAM Kwok-kiu

19.7.2006 Option 1:

- To transform the existing Election Committee into a nominating committee. To expand the number of members from the present 800 to 3 200;
- The electorate base of the nominating committee should be expanded to cover all eligible voters in Hong Kong;
- Certain sectors should be added or removed, and some should have its composition adjusted to reflect the relative importance of these sectors in the community;
- Each voter should be assigned to one of the sectors according to the new

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Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
delineation, and should have the right to vote and stand for election in the respective sector;

- The number of seats allocated to the respective sectors in the nominating committee should be proportionate to their population size;
- To abolish corporate voting;
- A CE candidate should be required to secure nominations from at least $5 \%$ of the members of the nominating committee. Each member of the nominating committee may nominate only one candidate;
- The number of candidates should be limited to 10. Candidates will be ranked according to the number of nominations they received. The 10 people who received the highest number of nominations will be qualified for formal candidacy; and
- A CE should be returned by universal suffrage on the basis of "one-person-one vote" by a "simple majority voting method". The CE elect will become the CE of the SAR upon appointment by the Central People's Government.


## Option 2:

- The future nominating committee should be formed by all 60 Members of

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
the LegCo;

- Only those who have secured nominations from $10 \%$ of the Members of the LegCo (i.e. 6 Members) should formally become a candidate in the CE election. Each LegCo Member may nominate only one candidate, thus limiting the number of candidates to 10 ; and
- A CE should be returned by universal suffrage on the basis of "one-person-one vote" by a "simple majority voting method". The CE elect will become the CE of the SAR upon appointment by the Central People's Government.

Miss Maria TAM
Wai-chu
28.7.2006

- To use the Election Committee as a basis and to maintain the four sectors, namely the industrial and commercial, the professions, grassroots and political sectors, each taking up one-fourth of the seats.
- The nomination threshold should not be too low, as this will lead to too many candidates with mixed quality standing for election.
- It is more appropriate to first focus on discussing the operation of the first-term nominating committee. The nomination method of the subsequent terms should be improved gradually in future.

Mr. YU Kwok-chun
28.7.2006
28.7.2006

- For electing the CE by universal suffrage for the first time, the nomination threshold should be set at $25 \%$ of all members of the nominating committee. In principle, there should be no more than four candidates.
- Apart from receiving the required number of subscribers, candidates should also have the support of at least one-fourth of all Members of the LegCo and one-fourth of the Hong Kong deputies to the NPC.
- The existing Election Committee should serve as a blueprint for forming the nominating committee, with adjustments made as appropriate.
- All Hong Kong members of the
CPPCC should be included in the

All Hong Kong members of the
CPPCC should be included in the nominating committee.

- For the selection of the first CE by
universal suffrage, the nomination
threshold should be set at $25 \%$ of
members of the nominating committee.
- For the selection of the first CE by
universal suffrage, the nomination
threshold should be set at $25 \%$ of
members of the nominating committee.
- For the selection of the first CE by
universal suffrage, the nomination
threshold should be set at $25 \%$ of
members of the nominating committee.
- For the selection of the first CE by
universal suffrage, the nomination
threshold should be set at $25 \%$ of
members of the nominating committee.
- Following nomination, the CE will be returned by universal suffrage.

Mr. NG Sze-fuk, George 28.7.2006

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Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

- The Election Committee should serve as the blueprint for forming the nominating committee.
- The number of members of the nominating committee could be modeled on that of the Election

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

Committee, and be adjusted appropriately in the light of the actual situation in Hong Kong and public views.

- The number of candidates should be limited to four. A preliminary selection mechanism should be set up to enable aspiring candidates to pass a lower threshold. For example, contenders who are able to secure 100 supporting signatures from the 800 -strong nominating committee will undergo the preliminary selection mechanism. Members of the nominating committee may cast a maximum of four votes by secret ballot and those four contenders receiving the highest number of votes will become CE candidates.

Hon. SHEK Lai-him, Abraham
28.7.2006 - The composition of the nominating committee should model on the four sectors of the existing Election Committee. On this basis, corresponding adjustments could be made e.g. to increase the number of members from the business sector to encourage greater participation of the sector in the process.

- The number of members of the nominating committee should double that of the existing Election Committee, amounting to 1600 .
- All new seats should be allocated to the existing four sectors, with more seats for members from the business sector.

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Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

The proportion of members from the industrial, commercial and financial sectors should be increased from the current $25 \%$ to $35 \%$ to reflect the sectors' commitment to and influence on the Hong Kong community.

- The nomination threshold should be increased from the current $12.5 \%$ to $25 \%$.
- There should not be any upper limit on the number of subscribers required for nomination.
- Each member of the nominating committee may nominate only one candidate.
- The CE should be elected by all eligible voters in Hong Kong on the basis of one-person-one-vote.
- Abolition of corporate voting will hamper the participation of the business sector and undermine the confidence of investors in Hong Kong. It is not in line with the fundamental interests of Hong Kong.

Mr. CHAU How-chen 28.7.2006

- The existing Election Committee should be taken as a blueprint for forming the nominating committee.
- The number of members of the nominating committee should be increased to 1600 , of which different strata and major sectors of the community should be included.

Views

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

- A relatively higher nomination threshold for candidates should be set to ensure that they are capable of soliciting support from different sectors of society.
- Each candidate should receive at least 400 nominations. Each member of the nominating committee can only nominate one candidate.
- There should be an upper limit for the number of subscribers, say $50 \%$ of the members of the nominating committee. There will be two to four candidates under such a nomination mechanism.
- In addition, each candidate should also secure supporting signatures from not less than 5000 registered voters. Each registered voter may sign up to support one candidate.
- The particulars of candidates should be submitted to the Central Government for the record. The CE will then by returned by universal suffrage on the basis of one-person-one-vote by secret ballot, using the simple majority voting method. There is no need to set up a threshold for the percentage of votes to be received by the winning candidate. The candidate who receives the highest number of votes will be elected for appointment by the Central Government in accordance with the Basic Law.

| Members Submitting Views | Date of Submission | Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mr. SZE Chin-hung, Jerome | 31.7.2006 | - In forming a "broadly representative" nominating committee, the following |
|  |  | (1) to carefully examine whether the existing 38 subsectors of the Election Committee are sufficiently broadly representative; <br> (2) all Hong Kong members of the CPPCC should become members of the nominating committee; |
|  |  | (3) in principle, it is reasonable to have a nominating committee larger than the Election Committee. It will be conducive to allowing contenders from different sectors to secure nominations by expanding the number and size of the subsectors. |
|  |  | - The nomination threshold should allow no less than six candidates to get nominated. |
|  |  | - The nominating committee can exercise a veto power. Any contender who is vetoed by $50 \%$ or more of the members will automatically lose his eligibility for nomination. |
| Mr. LAU Nai-keung | 1.8.2006 | - The nominating committee should comprise about 1500 members: |
|  |  | The first sector |
|  |  | 200 members from the business sectors. Corporate voting should be abolished. |

The first sector
200 members from the business sectors. Corporate voting should be abolished.

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

## The second sector

200 members from the professions. Corporate voting should be abolished.

## The third sector

200 members from education and social welfare sectors. Corporate voting should be abolished.

## The fourth sector

Around 200 members representing the establishment of the Central Authorities, including the deputies to the NPC and members of the CPPCC.

## The fifth sector

Around 200 ex-officio members representing the establishment of the HKSAR, including the CE, members of the Executive Council, all Members of the LegCo, as well as chairpersons of standing advisory bodies.

The sixth sector
Around 500 ex-officio members representing the district organizations, including all elected DC members.

- The nominating committee is highly representative of the population since all elected DC members are included. There is no need to consider adding other functional sectors such as housewives.
- Contenders should be required to receive nominations from not less than $10 \%$ (about 150 members) and not

Views

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Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
more than $30 \%$ (about 450 members) of the members of the nominating committee. They should also obtain nominations from not less than $10 \%$ of the members in each of the sectors (about 20 from each of the first five sectors, and 50 from the $6^{\text {th }}$ sector) to formally become a CE candidate. Each member of the nominating committee may nominate one candidate, and the nominations should be made public and on record.

- Universal suffrage should be held four months before the current term of the office of the CE expires. The new CE should be elected by all eligible and registered electors on the basis of one-person-one-vote by secret ballot.
- Polling should still be held even if there is only one candidate. The candidate must receive more than half of the votes cast before being put forth for appointment by the Central Government. The election will become invalid if the candidate fails to receive more than half of the votes. A fresh round of nomination and election should be held within two months. The proceedings will continue until a new CE is elected.
- If none of the candidates is able to receive more than half of the votes cast, the two candidates with the highest number of votes will contest the second round of election which should be held

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
within two weeks. The candidate who receives more than half of the votes will be elected and put forth for appointment by the Central Government.

- The nominating committee should comprise 1600 members from different sectors.
- Those who stand for the CE election must receive nominations from 50 or more members of the nominating committee. Among the nominations, five should be from LegCo Members and five from the Hong Kong deputies to the NPC.
- Contenders should go through preliminary selection procedures. Each member of the nominating committee can select two contenders. The two contenders having the highest number of votes will become CE candidates. All eligible electors in Hong Kong may cast their votes on the basis of one-person-one-vote. The candidate who receives more than $50 \%$ of the valid votes cast will be elected and put forth for appointment by the Central People's Government.

Mr. CHAN Chung-bun, 31.8.2006 Bunny

- The Election Committee should be taken as a blueprint, but the number of members should be increased. The 800-member Election Committee comprises four sectors (each with 200 members). These four sectors should be

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Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
maintained, while the number of members of each sector should be increased to 300 (i.e. the nominating committee will have 1200 members).

- Each candidate must receive nominations from at least 240 (i.e. $20 \%$ ) members of the nominating committee (if the total membership of the committee is increased to 1200 ).
- Each member of the nominating committee may nominate only one candidate.
- The number of subscriptions obtained by a candidate should be capped at half of the total membership of the nominating committee.
- Under the executive-led principle, it is important that a candidate will be elected as the CE only if he obtains more than half of the votes cast.


## Option 1:

Candidates who receive the smallest number of votes will be eliminated first. Polling arrangements will then be made for voters to elect from among the remaining candidates. After one or more rounds of elections, there will finally be two candidates left. The candidate who secures more than half of the votes cast will become the CE.

## Option 2:

To limit the number of candidates

Hon. LEE Wing-tat

Mr. SZE Chin-hung, 5.9.2006
Jerome
standing for the election by universal suffrage. Only the two candidates receiving the highest number of nominations should appear on the list. The candidate so returned must have received more than half of the votes cast.
9.2006 - The nominating committee should be formed by LegCo Members for nominating CE candidates, who will then be elected by universal suffrage on the basis of one-person-one-vote.

- A lower nomination threshold should be set - five LegCo Members may jointly nominate a candidate to stand for election.
- There are two requirements for nomination under the Basic Law nomination by a "broadly representative" nominating committee "in accordance with democratic procedures".

The first requirement is to admit individuals who are "broadly representative" into the nominating committee so that they can nominate aspiring contenders in their personal capacity.

The second requirement is that the committee as a whole will nominate "formal" candidates "in accordance with democratic procedures". Those who have received the prescribed

Hon. TIEN Pei-chun, James

Mr. WONG Ying-ho, Kennedy

Date of Submission
number of subscription should undergo a "veto or confidence voting" by all members of the committee "in accordance with democratic procedures". A member may indicate on the nomination list the candidates whom they have no confidence on. Any nominees who are "vetoed" by $50 \%$ or more of the members will lose their eligibility in running the election.
8.9.2006 - Provided that favorable conditions are available (e.g. with good coordination in political work), 2012 could be the earliest possible date for implementing universal suffrage for the CE election.

- Before implementing universal suffrage for the CE election, it is necessary to enhance cooperation between the executive authorities and the legislature. In this regard, the formation of a governing coalition can ensure that government policies will have regular and sufficient support in the LegCo.
14.9.2006 - In regard to the election of the CE by universal suffrage for the first time, consideration can be given to transforming the Election Committee into a nominating committee in accordance with the existing method for forming the Election Committee. The membership of 800 should remain unchanged.
- The composition of some trades may have undergone major changes, with

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$
some new sectors keep emerging. Suitable adjustments should be made in the light of the actual situation, but such adjustments should not deviate from the guiding principles stipulated in the Basic Law (i.e. each sector to take up one-fourth of the membership of the nominating committee).

- The operation of the nominating committee can be divided into two stages:

Stage 1: Aspiring contenders should first receive supporting signatures from 100 (or more) members of the nominating committee, with at least 25 signatures from each of the four sectors. Each member of the committee may support eight candidates at most.

Stage 2: The 800 members of the nominating committee should select candidates by secret ballot. It should be prescribed in the Chief Executive Election Ordinance that the maximum number of candidates is three. The number of votes to be cast by nominating committee members will be determined by the number of contenders, with a maximum of three.

- If there are more than three contenders, each member of the nominating committee may cast three votes to nominate three nominees. If there are only three contenders, each member may cast two votes. The contenders
Members Submitting

Views

Date of Submission
who secure more than half (i.e. more than 400 votes) of the votes will be selected as CE candidates.

- If there are only two contenders, the abovementioned voting procedures should take place to return candidates. If there is only one contender, members should cast a vote of confidence in accordance with the above procedures and the contender should not be selected as candidate automatically.

Ms CHOW, Wendy
18.9.2006

- To take the first and the subsequent two elections of the CE by universal suffrage as a pilot scheme. A review should be conducted to formulate a long term electoral method thereafter.
- During the pilot period, the electoral method for selecting the CE by universal suffrage can be carried out in 3 stages:


## Stage 1

To transform the Election Committee to a nominating committee. The number of members should remain unchanged.

The nomination threshold should be raised to $20 \%$.

If there are more than two eligible CE candidates, the CE will be elected by eligible registered voters on the basis of one-person-one-vote through two rounds of elections.

Views

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

## Stage 2

The original four sectors should be maintained, but a fifth sector (comprising 200 members who are directly elected by all eligible voters from different districts on the basis of one-person-one-vote) will be added.

Voters may choose to vote in one of the five sectors to which they are qualified to vote. Corporate voting should be abolished.

Candidates will be required to receive nominations from not less than $20 \%$ of members in each of the sectors. Among the nominations, at least $10 \%$ should come from Hong Kong deputies to the NPC and Hong Kong members of the СРРСС.

The voting method will be the same as that in stage 1.

## Stage 3

The membership of the fifth sector (directly elected members) should increase from 200 to 400.

Nomination and voting methods are the same as those in stage 2.

The electoral system should be reviewed after completion of the third election of the CE by universal suffrage.

Members Submitting
Views

Dr LEUNG Mei-fun, 22.9.2006 Priscilla

Date of Submission
22.9.2006 - The number of the nominating committee members should increase to 1 600. Making reference to the existing method for forming the Election Committee, the nominating committee should comprise the original four sectors, with the membership in each sector doubled and returned through either election or consultations.

- The nominating committee may subsequently be further expanded and returned by universal suffrage.
- Contenders must receive at least 300 nominations. Eligible candidates will be elected by all voters in Hong Kong on the basis of one-person-one-vote.
- The Registration and Electoral Office of Hong Kong should submit the names of candidates who have received sufficient nominations to the Central Government. Verification of their eligibility will be conducted by the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, which is a department directly under the Central Government.
- Upon verification of the eligibility of candidates, election by universal suffrage can be conducted. The CE elected by universal suffrage can be appointed by the Central Government in a smooth manner.


Mr LIE-A-CHEONG
Tai-chong, David


- The nomination threshold should be set at $12.5 \%$ to $25 \%$ of the membership.
- Each member may nominate only one candidate.
- Simple majority voting method should be used.
23.11.2006 Dr LEUNG Mei-fun, Priscilla

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

- A consensus should first be reached on the constitutional development proposals put forth by the Government in 2005. On this basis, the existing Election Committee should be expanded. In addition to the current 800 members, consideration could be given to including all DC members and HK members of the CPPCC. Those from sectors which are not yet included could also be included as appropriate. The size of the Election Committee should not exceed 1600.
- The Election Committee is only a transitional arrangement, which should be improved through operation. Ultimately, it could turn into a nominating committee when universal suffrage for CE is attained.
- The Central Authorities and Hong Kong will face a great political crisis if candidates returned by universal suffrage are in the end not appointed by the Central Authorities.

Members Submitting
Views

Date of Submission

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

- A simple and forthright approach is to allow the Central Authorities to participate directly in the candidate selection process.
- If the proposal of allowing the Central Authorities to verify the eligibility of candidates could hardly be accepted, consideration may be given to forming a committee. Selection of members and composition of the committee could further be examined (participation of Hong Kong people in the committee should not be ruled out).
- The function of this committee is mainly to verify the eligibility of candidates. The size of the committee should not be too big. Its role is to verify eligibility of candidates, rather than nominating candidates.

Note: Please refer to the Central Policy Unit webpage ("Committee on Governance and Political Development - Members’ views on strategic issues discussed outside committee meetings") for the original text of the submissions.
(www.cpu.gov.hk/english/csd_gc_submissions.htm)

# Commission on Strategic Development Committee on Governance and Political Development 

Further Discussion on Possible Models for Forming the Legislative Council by Universal Suffrage

## Introduction

Members commenced discussion on possible models for forming the Legislative Council ("LegCo") by universal suffrage last September (Paper No: CSD/GC/8/2006), and further discussed the issue in detail at the meeting last November (Paper No: CSD/GC/10/2006). This paper summarizes members’ views on possible models for forming LegCo by universal suffrage, in order to facilitate members' discussion on the subject in focus and to further narrow differences.
2. For members' easy reference, we have updated the summary of views of various organizations and individuals on possible models for forming the LegCo received by the Administration and the LegCo, as appended at Annex I and Annex II respectively. A summary of written submissions received from individual members in the past and recently by the Commission Secretariat is at Annex III.

## Discussion progress on possible models for forming LegCo by universal suffrage

3. Regarding possible models for forming LegCo by universal suffrage, members previously focused on discussing the following three options:
(i) to return all seats by geographical constituencies ("GCs") through direct elections; to abolish all functional constituency ("FC") seats;
(ii) to return seats by GCs through direct elections; FC seats would not continue to be returned by the existing election method; and
(iii) a bicameral system.
4. At the meeting in November 2006, members agreed to set aside for the time being any further discussions on a bicameral system as an option for implementing universal suffrage. The main reasons included:
(i) the implementation of a bicameral system would entail complicated procedures. Not only would it involve amendments to Annex II to the Basic Law, the principal provisions of the Basic Law might also need to be amended;
(ii) if there were two chambers, the bills and motions introduced by the Government would need to be passed by both chambers. This would add to the difficulties in getting bills and motions passed, and undermine governance and the efficiency of the Government; and
(iii) if the proposal was meant to be only a transitional arrangement, it would not be worth the effort politically. If it was meant to be the ultimate model, it might not be consistent with the principle of universal suffrage.
5. However, members had yet to form a mainstream view on the following issues:
(i) whether FC seats should be abolished altogether or retained in some form; and
(ii) whether transitional arrangements should be put in place before attaining the ultimate aim of universal suffrage, and if so, the model to be adopted.

## Possible models for forming LegCo by universal suffrage

6. Members had discussed in detail whether FC seats should be abolished altogether or retained in some form. However, they still had grave differences on the issue.
7. Some members considered that all FC seats should be abolished when universal suffrage was implemented. In this regard, specific
proposals put forth by members included:
(i) all seats to be returned by GCs through direct elections, with half of the seats returned by a "single seat single vote" system on a district basis, and the other half by a proportional representation system, under which the whole of Hong Kong would form a single constituency (i.e. each voter would elect LegCo Members on the basis of "one-person-two-votes"). This proposal could give all members of the public universal and equal voting rights; and
(ii) all seats to be returned by "one-person-one-vote", such that the number of seats allocated to different political parties would be proportional to the respective number of votes they received. This proposal would be conducive to the development of political parties.
8. However, some members had reservations about the proposal to abolish all FC seats. The major reason was that, given that any amendment to the electoral methods specified in the Annexes to the Basic Law required the endorsement of a two-thirds majority of all the members of LegCo, it would not be possible to secure sufficient support in LegCo for a proposal to abolish all FC seats at the current stage. On the contrary, they considered it worthwhile to retain the FC seats for reasons including:
(i) FCs had been playing an important role in LegCo and in society. In particular, they had brought the voices of the business and professional sectors into LegCo and had, through their expertise, assisted LegCo in carrying out legislative function and in monitoring the Government's work. FC members had made contributions to the community;
(ii) FCs could meet the interests of different sectors of society, which was consistent with the principle of "balanced participation"; and
(iii) abolition of FCs altogether was bound to meet with objections from the community, and it would be difficult to reach consensus on the issue.
9. Some members proposed that when universal suffrage was implemented for LegCo, the FC seats should be retained in some form, but changes could be made to the electoral system so as to make the arrangements consistent with the principles of universal and equal suffrage. Members discussed various options as to how FC seats could be retained in some form when universal suffrage was implemented:
(i) to include voters who were currently not entitled to vote at FCs. In other words, each voter would elect LegCo members on the basis of "one-person-two-votes": one vote to return directly elected GC Members, and the other to return FC Members.

Those members who supported the proposal considered that, as long as every voter would be entitled to vote for FC Members, the principles of universal and equal suffrage would be complied with.

However, a member considered that under this kind of proposals, there would be great disparity in the number of voters among different FCs, leading to inequality in the "value" of each vote. However, another member pointed out that even for universal suffrage which was implemented on the basis of GC elections, it would not be possible for each vote to carry the same "value".
(ii) to allow FC Members to nominate candidates for election by all voters through "one-person-multiple-votes" i.e. one vote to return directly elected GC Members, and multiple votes to return FC Members.

Those members who supported the proposal considered that this could help ensure that candidates would not only look after the interests of individual sectors, but would also strive to gain the support of the community at large. This would be consistent with the principles of universal suffrage and "balanced participation", and would be conducive to maintaining the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong.

However, some members pointed out that this proposal would require further consideration. For example, if every voter could cast one vote to return directly elected GC members and multiple votes to return 30 FC Members, this would mean that each voter would have 31 votes. The voting system might be too complicated for voters. Moreover, the proposal would restrict voters' right to nominate, which could not be regarded to be consistent with the principles of "universal" and "equal" suffrage.
(iii) to return half of the seats by "occupational constituencies" through direct elections i.e. eligibility for candidature for these seats would be defined by occupation, and the seats would be returned by universal suffrage.
10. However, members who supported abolishing FCs as soon as possible considered that any electoral system conferring special rights on FCs to nominate candidates or to vote would not be consistent with the principle of universal suffrage.

## Transitional arrangements before attaining the ultimate aim of universal suffrage

11. Although members held diverse views on models for forming LegCo by universal suffrage, they agreed that, in taking forward Hong Kong's constitutional development, we would have to face the political reality that 30 out of the 60 LegCo seats were returned by FCs. As any amendment to the electoral method for LegCo required the endorsement of a two-thirds majority of all the members of LegCo, in practice, this meant that the endorsement and support of members returned by FCs as well as those returned by GCs through direct elections would be required.
12. On the premise set out above, members examined vigorously whether universal suffrage for LegCo should be implemented in phases, so that the Central Authorities and certain people in Hong Kong would find such arrangements more acceptable. A member considered that a transition timetable for implementing universal suffrage must first be formulated before discussing the proposal to implement universal suffrage for LegCo in phases. Also, a member considered that it was worthwhile to examine the proposal of implementing universal suffrage for LegCo in phases, but that the transitional period should not be too long, particularly when
universal suffrage for CE would first be implemented. Otherwise, the legitimacy of LegCo would be affected, which would in turn undermine its role to perform checks and balances over the executive authorities.
13. Members put forth the following proposals regarding the transitional arrangements:
(i) to introduce reforms before abolishing the FCs, including to expand the electorate base of FCs, replace corporate voting by individual voting, and abolish or merge some of the existing FCs;
(ii) to return directly elected Members by GCs and, at the same time, to allow FC Members to nominate candidates for election by universal suffrage;
(iii) to abolish the FC seats in phases. However, some members considered that it might lead to dispute on which FCs should be abolished first. The problem could not be resolved easily and, therefore, the proposal might not receive a two-thirds majority support from LegCo.
(iv) to increase the proportion of GC seats to FC seats. For example, consideration could be given to increase the number of GC seats, while the number of FC seats should remain unchanged. Moreover, a member suggested increasing the number of LegCo seats returned by District Councils by making reference to the proposed package for the 2007/08 elections put forth by the Government in 2005.

## Conclusion

14. To conclude, regarding possible models for implementing universal suffrage for LegCo, members generally agreed that, when universal suffrage was attained, the FC seats could not continue to be returned by the existing election method. Otherwise, it would go against the ultimate aim of universal suffrage as provided for in the Basic Law.
15. In order to further narrow differences, we suggest members draw conclusion on the previous discussions and continue to examine the following issues:
(i) whether FC seats should be abolished altogether or retained in some form, and the specific models for implementing universal suffrage;
(ii) whether transitional arrangements should be put in place before attaining the ultimate aim of universal suffrage, and if so, the model to be adopted.

Constitutional Affairs Bureau
January 2007

## Annex I

## Public views on possible models for forming the Legislative Council by universal suffrage

## Written submissions received by the Government

## Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Mr. Eric K C LI

Hong Kong Civic Association

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views
4.1.2004 - First phase: add 30 more geographically elected seats and maintain 30 functional constituency (FC) seats.

- Second phase: turn the 30 FC seats into nominating committees. Each nominating committee to select no more than three candidates who must then obtain the mandate from the people of Hong Kong in a universally held direct election.
- Final phase: all 90 seats open for universal suffrage.
12.1.2004 - To consider a bicameral legislature consisting of a House of Representatives (i.e. Lower House) and a Senate (i.e. Upper House).
- The House of Representatives could be elected on a geographical constituency (GC) basis, at a ratio of one representative for every 120,000 to 150,000 residents, for a 4 -year term of office.

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Article 45 Concern Group

The Frontier

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views

- The Senate could have between 40-50 members, about one-quarter of whom would come from the District Councils. The rest of the Senate seats should be apportioned among different sectors, such as commerce and industry, labour, education, culture, medical and social welfare etc. The term of office could be between 4 to 6 years, with half of the Senate seats coming up for election every 2-3 years.
28.1.2004 The inequities in the current system of FCs are legion. The consequence of these defects in the structure is that the HKSAR Government is out of touch with the citizens. Must reflect to the Central People's Government the positive consequences if a change to universal suffrage is allowed.
29.1.2004 The future development of the political system is already prescribed clearly and in detail in the Basic Law. Article 68(2) provides that "The method for forming the LegCo shall be specified in the light of the actual situation in the HKSAR and in accordance with the principle of gradual and orderly progress. The ultimate aim is the election of all the members of the LegCo by universal suffrage."

Hong Kong Democratic
Foundation and Power for
Democracy

Date of
Submission

All seats in LegCo should be directly elected. If this ultimate goal is to be delayed, then transitional arrangements should be considered by the Administration, including proposals such as increasing the number of directly-elected seats and reducing the number of FC seats, increasing the number of directly-elected seats only, or increasing the number of both directly-elected and FC seats, or establishing a two-chamber system.

SynergyNet
The number of LegCo seats should be increased to 90. All Members should be elected by universal suffrage through three different ways to achieve balanced representation:
(i) 30 members to be directly elected from single-seat GCs, using the "first past the post" principle.
(ii) 30 members to be directly elected on a regional single-list system. There will be three regions namely Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories. Seats will be allocated on the basis of the percentage of votes received by each list. The number of seats in each region will be dependent on the population of the region.
(iii) 30 members to come from designated functional sectors (similar to the existing FCs) to be

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views
elected by universal suffrage. This can be done in two ways:
(a) turn all FCs into "occupational constituencies" so that each member of the public will belong to one of these constituencies and can take part in the election of his functional/occupational representative; or
(b) nomination of candidates by recognized bodies of the designated functional sectors (such as business and commerce chambers, trade unions and professional societies); election by universal suffrage.

Organizations/individuals
making the submissions

Hon. Rita FAN

Hong Kong University
Graduates Association
Political Reform Concern
Group

Hon. Albert CHAN Wai-yip

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views

Members.
27.9.2004 - The current arrangement under which Members are returned by FCs can be replaced by a new arrangement under which Members will be nominated by the constituents of the FCs and elected by universal suffrage. This can be done over three phases.

- Candidates who are nominated by FCs to participate in election by universal suffrage should be nominated by at least one-third of the electors in the respective sector.
9.2004 - First phase: every eligible GC elector should have voting right in FC elections. Add a "general FC seat" under which all GC electors, whose occupations or professions are not included in other FCs, can be registered as electors.
- Second and final phase: reduce the number of FC seats to less than one-fourth, and ultimately change all FC seats to GC directly elected seats.
15.10.2004 Abolish LegCo FC seats. Increase the number of seats to 90 . The whole of Hong Kong to be divided into 45 GCs, with two seats in each GC. Every voter can cast two votes for two candidates. The two candidates receiving the

Organizations/individuals
making the submissions

Joint Committee for the
Promotion of the Basic Law of Hong Kong

Dr. Simon N M YOUNG

Hong Kong Association for
Democracy and People’s
Livelihood

Liberal Party

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views
highest number of votes in a constituency will be elected.
21.10.2004 Elect FC members by "one person, one vote".

- All LegCo members to be elected by way of direct elections on the basis of GCs.
- From amongst the elected legislators, a sub-group will be further elected on the basis of FCs. The FCs will be based on policy areas. The elected FC legislators could serve as the chairpersons of LegCo Panels, and would also have a role to play in the executive apparatus of government. For example, the new FC legislators must be given a seat in the Executive Council, even if it is only a non-voting one.
23.3.2005 • Only by abolishing the FC seats in the LegCo can implementation of universal suffrage fulfill the principles of balanced participation and gradual and orderly progress.
31.5.2005 • In accordance with the Basic Law, the method for forming the LegCo shall be specified in the light of the actual situation in Hong Kong and in accordance with the principle of gradual and orderly progress. The

The Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong

Business and Professionals
Federation of Hong Kong

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views
ultimate aim is the election of all the Members of the LegCo by universal suffrage. However, FC Members' contributions to the LegCo and the Hong Kong community should not be brushed aside.

- At present, the number of Members returned by FCs is equal to that of directly elected members. They serve to complement each other. We need to be cautious if this balanced situation is to be changed. There is a suggestion in the community that a bicameral system should be introduced. This suggestion merits consideration by the Administration.
31.5.2005 - With regard to constitutional development after 2008, it is proposed that favourable conditions should be actively created with a view to achieving the ultimate aim of forming the LegCo by universal suffrage as stipulated in the Basic Law as early as possible.
19.8.2005 - The first chamber to be constituted by directly elected members, and the second chamber for the vocational or functional representatives.
- The number of directly elected members in the first chamber to be

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of
Submission
increased from 30 to 40 or more. The number of functional representatives may also need to be increased.

- The second chamber is a place to allow for second thoughts to be given to bills and motions passed by the first chamber, to give careful scrutiny, to appoint an expert committee, to seek wider consultation, if necessary to propose amendments to legislation and then to refer the findings of the deliberations to the first chamber.
- A lack of agreement between the two chambers can be dealt with by giving the second chamber the power to delay the passage of bills or motions, by appointing a joint committee of both chambers, or by providing for bills to shuttle between both chambers until agreement is reached.
- Adoption of a bicameral system would amount to gradual and orderly progress towards greater democracy.

City University of Hong Kong Students’ Union
14.8.2006 • While the principle of equal suffrage and the system of "one person, one vote" should be promoted, there should also be an interim proposal to gradually enhance the representativeness of

Date of Submission
the legislature and to limit the political power of FC Members.

- As a transitional arrangement, the number of directly elected seats in 2012 could be increased from 30 to 40, while the number of FC seats shall remain unchanged.
- LegCo procedures for voting can be reformed in two ways. Firstly, the bicameral voting system should be abolished. Secondly, the political roles of FCs should be redefined. With reference to a bicameral system, FCs can play the role of an upper house. Through the power to delay passage of bills, they can provide checks and balances to a lower house constituted by directly elected members.
- If a bicameral system is to be further developed, FCs should undergo further reforms e.g. certain FCs of exceptionally small size should be abolished; members returned by universal suffrage and some appointed members could be included in the upper house. It is envisaged that FC seats in the second chamber will gradually be replaced by directly elected seats and all seats will eventually be returned by universal suffrage.

Hong Kong Democratic Foundation

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views
16.8.2006 - Structural reforms of the LegCo:

Option 1
Increasing the number of directly elected members and FC members proportionately.

## Option 2

Adopting two houses with a fully directly-elected lower house.

## Option 3

Reforming the FCs, including (1) widening the franchise of electors eligible to vote for their functional representatives; (2) enlarging the number of electors beyond those executive committee members in corporate organizations eligible to vote in FC elections; and (3) co-opting new functional groups, particularly women groups, ethnic minorities and youth organizations that are relatively under-represented in the existing LegCo etc.

## Option 4

Abolishing FCs. The option of abolishing the FCs will perhaps be politically acceptable to the vested interest groups in the event that a bicameral system is adopted.

## Option 5

Maintaining the number of LegCo Members at 60 but fully democratizing the election of FC

Date of Submission
representatives (i.e. to maintain the existing 30 directly elected representatives through GCs while democratizing the elections of the FC representatives to the fullest extent). This means that FC groups can nominate representatives to run in territory-wide direct elections. After the nomination process, the candidates will compete in territory-wide elections in which each citizen will have two votes, one vote for a representative in his or her GC and the other vote for another representative in his or her occupational sector. In this way, democratization of the entire LegCo will be in conformity with the Basic Law principle of achieving universal suffrage for the whole legislative body. While FCs will be maintained, their electoral method will be democratized to the fullest extent.

- The two houses system, or the bicameral model, can be viewed not necessarily as the final product of democratization, but as an interim solution. The following structural reforms can be considered if a bicameral model is to be adopted:


## Option 1

A wholly directly-elected 60-member LegCo (Lower House)

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Representatives from the Executive Committee of the Hong Kong University Students’ Union

Date of Submission
and a newly created 60-member upper house.

The composition of the upper house: (1) all the existing FCs in the legislature and also new functional sectors such as women, youth and ethnic minorities. Furthermore, some existing FCs can be augmented, such as allocating more upper house seats to the labour groups; (2) members from not only FCs but also Hong Kong deputies to the National People's Congress, Hong Kong members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and other former politicians of the HKSAR.

## Option 2

Introducing a smaller upper house (30 seats) comprising the existing and the newly added FCs, and a fully directly-elected 60-member lower house.
16.8.2006 • Adopting a bicameral system in Hong Kong is not without merits. The composition of the upper house can be adjusted according to the actual situation. A bicameral system is to protect vulnerable groups whose fundamental interests are hampered (and not to protect vested interests). Hence, the existing FCs in their present form should not be incorporated into the upper house.

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views

- Election method


## Lower House

Comprising members returned by GCs through direct elections; may review the delineation of the constituencies and the number of seats in each of the constituencies as appropriate.

Retaining the proportional representation system. Further, an open-list proportional representation system can be adopted so that voters will not be affected by the ranking of candidates on the list pre-determined by political parties.

## Upper House

Members of the upper house can be elected by District Council elected members or through a territory-wide election. May add some new seats representing the grassroot sectors.

- Functions and responsibilities of the two houses: the power of the upper house and its number of seats must be less than that of the lower house.
- If a bicameral system is not supported by the public after thorough discussions, it will be desirable and indeed necessary to adopt a fully directly-elected

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views

The Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong
(DAB's Expectations of the 2006/07 Policy Address)

LegCo, to abolish the FCs, and to restore the normal functions of the legislature.
18.8.2006 - Given the present political environment and the level of socio-economic development of Hong Kong, we should promote the approaches of "formulating a roadmap before a timetable" and "resolving the simple issues before the difficult ones". By "formulating a roadmap before a timetable", we should first formulate the ultimate models of the two elections by universal suffrage, then draw up a phased plan leading to that ultimate aim, and finally work out a timetable based on the actual situation. By "resolving the simple issues before the difficult ones", universal suffrage for the CE can be implemented first. Thereafter, according to the actual situation, we can reform the method for forming the LegCo as well as its procedure of voting in two or three stages, and finally implement universal suffrage for the LegCo.

- Moving towards universal suffrage in this direction will be conducive to enhancing the legitimacy of the CE and realizing the principle of an executive-led system as stipulated in the Basic Law. Furthermore, with the experience gained from

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Hon. Emily LAU Wai-hing
(Proposals for the Policy
Address)

Date of
Submission
selecting the CE by universal suffrage, this will create favourable conditions for implementing universal suffrage for the LegCo, facilitate the public in forging consensus and thus turning a new page in constitutional development.

- We should actively create favourable conditions for constitutional development, including accelerating the economic integration of Hong Kong and the Mainland so as to build a solid economic foundation for constitutional development; nurturing political talents; and strengthening national education to promote Hong Kong people's understanding of the concept of "one country" and the Basic Law. Hence, the aim of attaining universal suffrage as stipulated in the Basic Law can be achieved as early as possible.
21.8.2006 • To abolish FCs as soon as possible and elect all LegCo Members on the basis of "one person, one vote".
- If FCs cannot be abolished at once, at least company/corporate votes should be abolished and the electorate base for the FCs should be expanded to allow more members of the public to participate in the election.

Organizations/individuals
making the submissions

The Hong Kong Social Workers 29.8.2006
Association
(Views on the 2006 Policy
Address)

The Civic Party
(Civic Party’s Policy
Expectations of the SAR
Government)

Date of
Submission
31.8.2006

## Summary of Views

29.8.2006 - To formulate a timetable for implementing universal suffrage for the two elections and elect all LegCo Members by universal suffrage as soon as possible.

- Before all LegCo Members are elected by universal suffrage, broaden the electorate base of FC elections.

Democratic Party 4.9.2006
(Submitted at the consultation
session on the 2006/07 Policy

- Hong Kong has long acquired the conditions for implementing universal suffrage for the two elections. Democratic elections by equal and universal suffrage are the basic conditions for any city which claims to be an "international city".
- The CE has tasked the The CE has tasked the
Commission on Strategic Development, with all of its members appointed, as the main platform to discuss a roadmap and timetable for universal suffrage. However, the conclusions of the Commission cannot replace the views of the public. The Policy Address to be delivered in October should announce an immediate commencement of a public consultation exercise on the issue.
Address to be delivered an immediate
- Propose to adopt a mixed system of a "single seat single vote system" and a "proportional

Organizations/individuals making the submissions

Date of
Submission

Address)

Ms. Regina IP LAU Suk-yee
9.2006 - The principles of "balanced representation" and "facilitation of a capitalist economy" can be preserved by the HKSAR adopting a mixed system.

- A mixed system means seats in LegCo may be divided into two categories:

1) Seats in multi-member GCs which may be returned by elections in the districts as at present, and seats to be filled by candidates on a party list;
2) Each voter may be given two votes: a vote in a GC and a vote for a candidate from the party list. In both categories, the number of candidates from each party will depend on the number of votes cast for candidates on a party list.

- Such a mixed system, which may be called "parallel geographical-party list" system, would have the advantage of

Date of Submission
enabling two categories of candidates, those who focus on representation of local interests in GCs, and those who focus on broader, Hong Kong-wide issues to stand for elections.

Civic Exchange

Kowloon Federation of Associations
4.12.2006 - Should first handle the issue of selecting the CE by universal suffrage. With the experience and insight gained from implementing universal suffrage for the CE, it would be a practical way to implement universal suffrage for LegCo afterwards.

## Public views on possible models for forming the Legislative Council by universal suffrage

## Written submissions received by the Legislative Council

Organisations/individuals making the submissions (Submission No. ${ }^{\text {Note }}$ )

Date of
Submission

Summary of Views

Dr Anthony B L CHEUNG (Submission No. 15 in Appendix II to LC Paper No. CB(2)2386/05-06(01))
27.1.2000 • Ways to move to a democratically elected LegCo -
(a) all 60 LegCo seats to be directly elected on a GC basis; or
(b) 30 seats to be directly elected on a GC basis and the remaining 30 on a territory-wide single-list system so as to achieve mixed representation of local and territory-wide interests; or
(c) 30 seats to be directly elected on a GC basis and 30 FC seats on a universal franchise basis (each voter is eligible to vote in one GC and one FC).

- To allay concerns of the business and professional sectors about direct election, the number of LegCo seats can be increased to, say, 100 or 120 to provide greater chance for elite members of the community to be elected to LegCo under the proportional representation voting system.

Organisations/individuals making the submissions (Submission No. ${ }^{\text {Note }}$ )

Mr KY SHAW
(Submission No. 18 in
Appendix II to LC Paper No. CB(2)2386/05-06(01))

Association for the
Advancement of Feminism
(Submission No. 14 in
Appendix II to LC Paper No.
CB(2)2386/05-06(01))

Hong Kong Christian
Institute
(Submission No. 17 in
Appendix II to LC Paper No.
CB(2)2386/05-06(01))
Shatin Tertiary Students'
Association
(Submission No. 20 in
Appendix II to LC Paper No.
CB(2)2386/05-06(01))

Date of Submission
14.2.2000

LegCo Members to be elected on a GC basis. The delineation of GC boundaries is open to discussion, and the number of seats in a GC should be in direct proportion to the population of the GC.
9.11.2005

- Abolish FCs.
- All Members to be elected by way of direct elections on the basis of GCs.

All 60 Members to be returned by GCs under a "one person, one vote" and a simple majority system.

- Explore the possibility of implementing a bicameral legislature.
- Universal suffrage could take the form of direct or indirect election.

Note: Please refer to the Legislative Council webpage for the original text of the submission (LC Paper No. CB(2)2386/05-06(01)). (www.legco.gov.hk/yr05-06/english/panels/ca/papers/ca0619cb2-23861e.pdf)

# Written Submissions Received by <br> the Committee on Governance and Political Development of the Commission on Strategic Development 

Hon. LEE
Cheuk-yan

Members
Submitting Views

Date of
Submission
29.11.2005

Wai-chu, Maria
1.2006
.

- The FC system should be abolished as soon as possible.
- Before the abolition of FC elections, the Government should introduce the following two reform measures:
(a) expand the electorate base of FCs replacing corporate votes with individual votes (for example, expanding the electorate base of the Labour FC to cover all members of the registered trade unions); and
(b) review the need to retain FCs with little competition in elections consider abolishing these FCs or merging them with other FCs.

Dr. LEUNG
Mei-fun, Priscilla
16.1.2006
16.1.2006

In the process of developing the existing system towards the ultimate aim of universal suffrage, we may consider:

| $\underline{\text { Members }}$ |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\underline{\text { Submitting }}$ | $\underline{\text { Date of }}$ |
| $\underline{\text { Views }}$ | $\underline{\text { Submission }}$ |$\quad \underline{ }{ }^{\text {Note }}$

(a) gradually reducing the number of FCs, starting with turning those FCs which support universal suffrage into GC seats, and ultimately abolishing all FCs.
(b) abolishing corporate votes of FCs. FC representatives should be elected by eligible voters in the respective FCs by "one person, one vote". Voters in FCs must be clearly delineated.
(c) If it is not possible to reduce the number of FCs, we may consider introducing more FCs and re-delineating the electorate of the FCs to pave way for reform e.g. adding a Chinese medicine FC, a higher education FC, an environmental protection FC , a publishing FC or any other FCs which should have been represented in the LegCo. There may even be a FC for homemakers. In the end, LegCo members returned by FCs would be as representative as those returned by GCs through direct elections.

Hon. SHEK
19.1.2006

Lai-him,
Abraham

- In the light of political reality, if FCs are abolished, it would be difficult to realize a political system that can meet the interests of different sectors of society and facilitate the development of a capitalist economy.
- If the design of a bicameral system can reflect the actual situation of Hong Kong and help resolve the complicated issues relating to the design of the political structure, it will be worthwhile to examine and explore this option.
- In the event that a bicameral system is adopted for LegCo in future, and if
$\frac{\text { Members }}{\text { Submitting }} \quad \underline{\text { Views }} \quad \underline{\text { Dabmise of }}$
$\underline{\text { Submion }}$
members returned by FCs are to form the second chamber, the electorate base of these FCs could be expanded suitably. For example, a "one person, one vote" system could be adopted for professional sectors where voters are professionally qualified and have certain years of experience in the related trades. Moreover, the existing corporate voting system should be maintained to protect the interest of investors.

Mr. CHAN
Chung-bun, Bunny
20.1.2006


- Should examine ways to retain FCs and to strengthen their roles, operation and functions.
- At present, many people have not yet been included in FCs. There is a need to work out feasible arrangements enabling the concerned people, including those who are not working such as housewives, to also have two votes.
- As for FC elections, all organizations should adopt an open and competitive process as far as practicable to allow all electors in the constituencies to vote for their LegCo representatives.

Mr. LAU Nai 1.3.2006 Keung

Summary of Views ${ }^{\text {Note }}$

Members Date of
Submitting Submission Views

Authorities in Hong Kong, require special regard on a long-term basis, and that a bicameral system should be a long-term arrangement. As such, the upper house should have more extensive veto power, which should at least cover bills relating to constitutional reform and the relationship between the Central Authorities and the SAR, private bills proposed by members of the lower house, and other important bills which currently require the endorsement of a two-third majority of the LegCo.

- To achieve the ultimate aim of having all LegCo seats returned by universal suffrage, one possible method is that the seats in the upper house be nominated by the respective FCs, and be elected by "one person one vote". This could likely avoid the need to amend the Basic Law.

Hon. LEE Wing Tat 5.2006 • All the present 30 FC seats in LegCo should be abolished and be returned by universal suffrage instead.

- Consideration should be given to a mixed election model combining the "single seat single vote system" and the "proportional representation system", where all LegCo Members will be returned through elections by "one person, two votes".
- Under this model, LegCo seats will be divided into two groups. The first group will be returned by a "single seat single vote system". The whole Hong Kong will be divided into certain number of constituencies based on population ratio. Another group of seats (half of all seats)
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will be returned by a proportional representation system. The whole of Hong Kong will form a single constituency. In other words, each elector will have two votes for electing LegCo Members.

- Regarding the criteria for delineation of constituencies, under the proposed option, 30 LegCo members will be returned by GCs on a "single seat single vote" basis. In other words, 30 constituencies will be delineated across the territory according to population ratio, each returning one LegCo Member.
- Apart from the population quota, it is proposed that other criteria provided for in the existing legislation should continue to be adopted. These include community identities, the preservation of local ties and physical features of the relevant areas etc. As for the existing boundaries of districts and GCs, they will need to be delineated afresh.
- On the voting system, under the proposed model, a "single seat single vote system" will be adopted for GC elections, and a "proportional representation system" adopted for the single constituency covering the whole territory. It is proposed that the "list voting system" under the "proportional representation system" should continue to be adopted, and that the election results should be determined by the largest remainder formula. Such election method is familiar to the public. Review could be conducted in future as necessary.

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Mr. CHAN Chung 26.5.2006 • As the FCs have been playing a very Bun, Bunny important role in the LegCo and in the community at large, consideration should be given to preserving their role in the legislative framework.

- However, the issue seems to be that, conceptually, under a LegCo with all members returned by universal suffrage, there should no longer be any FCs. Even if we further enhance the role of FCs, the continual existence of FCs should only be temporary and the FCs should be abolished eventually.
- If there is sufficient support for preserving the FCs, the direction should be that the composition and election method of the FCs should remain unchanged. Only by doing so will it be consistent with the view that FCs are indispensable.
- Increasing the number of seats in the "District Council FC" for LegCo election will enhance the representativeness of the FCs as members of the District Councils are elected by all GC voters.
- Another possible option is to add new LegCo FCs so that eligible voters who are currently not covered by the FCs, such as housewives, employees in business entities, persons without professional qualifications and students having reached the voting age, will be included. The ultimate aim is that all eligible voters are covered by the FCs. Under this model, all eligible voters will have two votes each, i.e. one for a GC and one for an FC.

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Hon. SHEK
Lai-him, Abraham
22.9.2006

- In the future LegCo formed by universal suffrage, half of the seats should be allocated to FC members.
- Regarding the method for returning FC Members, candidates should be nominated by voters in their respective FCs for election by universal suffrage. Candidates should be required to obtain support from at least $30 \%$ of the voters in the relevant trade to become eligible for running the election.
- To abolish corporate voting cannot meet the principle of "facilitate the development of a capitalist economy".
- After implementation of universal suffrage, candidates nominated by FCs will need to stand for election on the basis of "one-person-one-vote". Candidates will have wider legitimacy and will be able to truly represent their respective trades if corporate voting can be retained.
- Since FC Members will be returned by universal suffrage, it would be meaningless to expand the electorate base of FCs. To expand the electorate base of FCs would only give rise to more disputes concerning how to determine the eligibility of voters.

Miss TAM
Wai-chu, Maria
22.9.2006 A legislature with half of its members returned by GCs through direct election and half by FCs is indeed more representative. As a matter of fact, such a legislature has helped maintain Hong Kong's long term social stability and had helped ensure that the Government policies would take fuller account of the interests of different sectors. It is on this basis that the nomination right of FCs should be retained

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when moving towards universal suffrage.

Dr. LEUNG 22.9.2006 • On the basis of the current arrangements,
Mei-fun, Priscilla, Prof CHENG
Kwok-hon, Leonard there should continue to be equal number of seats for FC and GC Members. The number of seats could be increased on the same proportion. The 30 FC seats should form a separate chamber.

- To introduce the concept of "one council two groups". To require separate voting by the "FC group" and the group returned by universal suffrage on passage of bills, thereby formally separating the two groups.
- Through returning FC Members by universal suffrage, not only can the ultimate aim of forming LegCo by universal suffrage as stipulated in the Basic Law be achieved, the interests of the relevant trades and different sectors can also be met.
- FCs:

First Phase
(1) To expand the electorate base and the constituencies
Once the principle that a candidate must come from his respective trade is laid down, all eligible voters can either select the candidates on the basis of "constituency", or select the candidates by marking on the list of candidates for each FC.
(2) Abolishing corporate voting in the FCs FC representatives should be elected by eligible voters in the respective FCs by "one-person-one-vote". Voters in FCs
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must be clearly delineated.
(3) Adding more FCs

If it is not possible to reduce the number of FCs gradually, consideration can be given to introducing more FCs and re-delineating the electorate of the FCs to pave way for reform. Some proposed new FCs include Chinese medicine, higher education, environmental protection, publication or any other sectors which should have been represented in the LegCo. There could even be a "comprehensive FC" to cover all those voters who are not included in any other FCs.

## Second Phase

To allow all voters to vote at FCs (i.e. voters will have one vote to return directly elected members and other votes to return all FC Members).

## Third Phase

Should only consider abolishing all FC seats and returning all seats by universal suffrage when the necessary pre-conditions are ready.

Mr. YU Kwok-chun 27.9.2006 FCs should be retained when universal suffrage is implemented; the roles and functions of FCs should be substantiated.

Ms. Janie FONG 6.10.2006

- Models with nominated FC candidates elected by universal suffrage, along with open elections of GCs through direct elections may serve as viable solutions to ensure a certain level of stability in the policy making process with experienced and

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proven legislative policy leaders during the transition process.

- The proposed bicameral system requires careful review as to whether it is legally viable and conforms to the Basic Law.

Note: Please refer to the Central Policy Unit webpage ("Committee on Governance and Political Development- Submissions from Members) -for the original text of the submissions. (www.cpu.gov.hk/english/csd_gc_submissions_meeting.htm)

Related views raised by Members at previous meetings have been recorded in the summary of views expressed at the meetings. Members are welcome to continue to express their views.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Article 45 of the Basic Law prescribes that: "The Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be selected by election or through consultations held locally and be appointed by the Central People's Government. The method for selecting the Chief Executive shall be specified in the light of the actual situation in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and in accordance with the principle of gradual and orderly progress. The ultimate aim is the selection of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures."

