

***HKU alumni in the monthly Friday Luncheon Party, May 13, 1966***

*Front row from left: Dhun J. Ruttonjee (third), Leo D'Almada e Castro (fourth), Chau Sik-nin (fifth), Albert Rodrigues (eighth), David Trench (the Governor, ninth) and Fung Ping-fan (sixteenth)*

*Second row from left: Lo Kwee-seong (seventh), Lee lu-cheung (thirteenth), Li Fook-shu (fourteenth) and Kan Yuet-keung (nineteenth)*

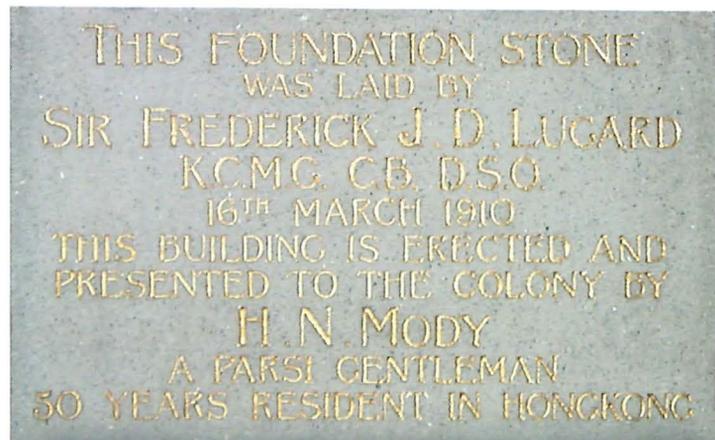
*Third row from left: Chung Sze-yuen (seventh)*

*Back row from left: Wilson Wang Tze-sam (third), Cheng Tung-choy (fourteenth) and Teng Pin-hui (fifteenth)*

## Chapter

# 10

*They have championed varying modes  
of political participation*



THIS FOUNDATION STONE  
WAS LAID BY  
SIR FREDERICK J. D. LUGARD  
K.C.M.G. C.B. D.S.O.  
16<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1910  
THIS BUILDING IS ERECTED AND  
PRESENTED TO THE COLONY BY  
H. N. MODY  
A PARSI GENTLEMAN  
50 YEARS RESIDENT IN HONGKONG



*Hong Kong handover, 1997*



*An Urban Council meeting, 1960s*

# Surfing the Political Arena

Hong Kong has been described as a land of political apathy. There was a time when the absence of politics was touted, and perhaps even envied, as a blessing. The political turmoil across the border, from which many had fled, reinforced that apathy. For many, Hong Kong was indeed “a borrowed place at a borrowed time”. Many simply desired a shelter wherein to make a living, if possible a fortune, but very little else.

However, this is a narrow perspective which equates political participation with party politics and the ballot box. Even at a time when only a select few were appointed to the decision-making bodies, many did contribute whole-heartedly to the development of Hong

Kong. Among them were the University's graduates who gained a reputation for being outspoken and provocative.

In hindsight, the elite appointments, the extensive consultations, the district administrative organs and the Urban Council were all important steps whereby Hong Kong developed towards greater political sophistication. The University's graduates have been visible in all these historical modes of political participation, championing different interests and ideologies.

Over time, the growth in the stability and prosperity of our society has brought about a greater demand for political involvement. The University's graduates, with their liberal educational background and exposure to Western lifestyles, have always played their part through open participation which has been increasing all the time. Some exploited their political positions or social status to make a substantial impact on government policies, creating new norms towards democracy. Others pioneered political movements unprecedented at the time. Still others played advocates of the opposition. Divided they may be, but they agree to disagree.

Structured political participation started in the mid-1980s with the introduction of elections at all levels in anticipation of a high degree of self-governance after 1997. With diverse political affiliations, even in rival camps, the University's graduates have been active in all political parties, and form a major part of the important decision-making organs, including the Legislative Council and Executive Council. However, restructuring of governance in 2002 has substantially changed the political scene, with it a change of power and political culture. HKU graduates, together with other community leaders, have yet to prove they can govern Hong Kong in a new era.

## Introduction



*Legislative Council members with Ho Kai 何啟, a local Chinese leader, at the rear, 1897*

of political participation, and discuss related developments where possible.

The Chief Executive, and formerly the Governor, *de jure*, has the ultimate decision-making power as the head of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). The Executive Council (ExCo) is the highest advisory body to the Chief Executive. Members of ExCo are all appointed, and this has rendered ExCo the Chief Executive's personal adviser. Many prominent HKU graduates have served on the ExCo, both before and after the change of sovereignty in 1997.



*The Legislative Council in session with Governor Robert Black presiding, 1960*

The Legislative Council (LegCo) is responsible for legislation and the appropriation of public funds. It used to comprise official members (i.e. government officials) and unofficial members. Before 1985, all members were appointed by the Governor, who also presided over the Council. HKU graduates were appointed to LegCo for their expertise, experience and contributions. Since 1985, elements of indirect and direct election were gradually introduced to LegCo. By September 1995, all members of LegCo were elected, either directly or indirectly. Throughout the years, regardless of the system – appointment, indirect election or direct election – many HKU graduates have been active members of LegCo. Since 1993, unofficial members have served as the President of the Council. They are John Joseph Swaine 施偉賢 (BA 1952), Andrew Wong Wang-fat 黃宏發 (BA 1967) and Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai 范徐麗泰 (BSc 1967, MSocSc 1973).

The Urban Council (UrbCo) was a statutory council responsible for the provision of municipal services to urban areas. It had considerable executive authority and a certain degree of financial autonomy. Its forerunner was the Sanitary Board (衛生局) set up in 1883 and became partly elected in 1887. It was the first government body with an elected element and was reorganised into UrbCo in 1936. In the 1980s, half of the members were appointed by the government and the other half returned by direct election. HKU graduates served as both elected and appointed members, and chairman and vice-chairman.



*Urban Council Meeting, 1963*

The Regional Council (RegCo) was set up in 1986 along the lines of the Urban Council for similar services in the New Territories. Thereafter, an element of indirect election was introduced with representative members from the District Boards. HKU graduates served as appointed and elected members, some as vice-chairmen.

By 1995, all seats in the Urban and Regional Councils were elected. These Councils were abolished in 2000 as a result of a change of framework for the delivery of municipal services by the HKSAR.

Political participation at the district level started with the establishment of District Boards as early as 1982. They were statutory bodies, which provided a forum for public consultation and participation in the administration of the districts. There were a total of 18 District Boards in Hong Kong. In the 1980s and early 1990s, many HKU graduates served as both elected and appointed members and District Board chairmen. By 1994, all seats were elected. Following a review in 1998, District Boards have been renamed District Councils, which now have both appointed members and elected members with the latter forming the majority.



*Central District, early post-war years*

### *From the 1940s through the Early 1980s*

During these early years, the main channel of political participation of HKU graduates was through appointment by the government to various Councils. At that time, a political career in Hong Kong typically started off with an appointed membership of UrbCo and HKU graduates were no exception. Subsequent appointments would be to LegCo and, if selected, to ExCo. One of our earliest graduates Chau Sik-nin 周錫年 (MBBS 1924, HonLLD 1961) took such a path. He was a member of UrbCo (1936-1941), LegCo (1946-1959) and ExCo (1948-1962).

Chau had significant impact in areas such as banking, commerce and industry and was knighted. Other HKU graduates following his footsteps with knighthoods from the British Crown included Albert Rodrigues 羅理基 (MBBS 1935, HonLLD 1962), Kan Yuet-keung 簡悅強 (BA 1935, HonLLD 1973), Harry Fang Sin-yang 方心讓 (MBBS 1949, HonLLD 1977) and Chung Sze-yuen 鍾士元 (BSc(Eng) 1941, HonDSc 1976).

Albert Rodrigues, a younger graduate of the Medical School, was an elected member of UrbCo in 1940 and was later an appointed member (1945-1948); then a member of LegCo (1950-1954) and a member of ExCo (1954-1974), being its Senior Member from 1960 to 1974. Rodrigues was a distinguished obstetrician and served as the Pro-Chancellor of HKU for 26 years before his retirement in 1994.

A contemporary of Rodrigues is Kan Yuet-keung. He was a solicitor by profession and served as an appointed member of UrbCo (1957-1962), member of LegCo (1961-1971) and member of ExCo (1966-1980). His impacts were felt as the Founding Chairman of the Trade Development Council, a position he maintained

for two sessions, the first Chairman of the Consumer Council and the Pro-Chancellor and Council Chairman of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK).

Oswald V. Cheung 張奧偉 (1938-1941, HonLLD 1979) was another lawyer who, apart from being an eminent barrister, was also a long-time member of LegCo (1970-1981) and ExCo (1974-1986). Cheung spoke out on a number of issues such as the massive reassessment of Crown rents and rent control in the early 1970s. He was also the first Senior Unofficial



*UMELCO Dinner in honour of Princess Alexandra, 1966*

Member of LegCo who did not vote for the Budget in 1979 in protest against “the savage cuts in the public works programme” (*South China Morning Post*, April 26, 1979). In 1984 when the heated debate about the future of Hong Kong started, Cheung was a member of Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils (Umelco) delegation to London to express its views.

An outstanding female educator, Catherine Joyce Symons (née Anderson) (BA 1939, HonLLD 1978), Headmistress of Diocesan Girls’ School, also started off her political career as a member of UrbCo (1969 -1972). She was appointed to LegCo (1972-1976) and ExCo (1976-1978).

Peter Wong Chak-cheong 王澤長 (BA 1950) was another solicitor active in Council work. He was appointed to LegCo (1976-1988) and ExCo (1986-1988).

A medical doctor who has actively participated in politics is Harry Fang Sin-yang. He was a member of LegCo (1974-1985) and a member of ExCo (1978-1983). Fang is known for his contributions to the development of rehabilitation and welfare services in Hong Kong.

Chung Sze-yuen was first appointed to LegCo in 1965. From 1974, he was the Senior Unofficial Member of the Council until 1978. At the same time, he had been a member of ExCo since 1972 and its Senior Member since 1980 until his retirement in 1988. In 1997, he was appointed the Convenor of ExCo until his retirement in 1999.

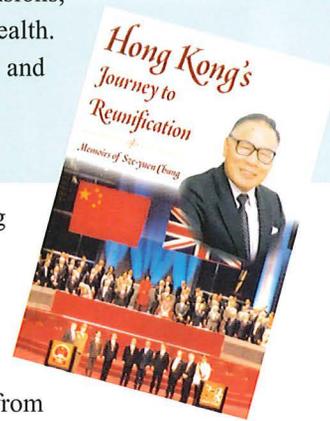
### The “Godfather” of Hong Kong Politics: Chung Sze-yuen

Born in Hong Kong in 1917, Chung Sze-yuen is a veteran politician whose impact on Hong Kong’s political, social, economic and educational developments for the past four decades is remarkable.

In his first speech to LegCo in 1965, he criticised the design of a tunnel and abstained from voting, which was unusual in those days. When simultaneous interpretation was provided for LegCo meetings in 1972, he was the first one to speak in Cantonese. He also initiated the idea of providing financial allowances for LegCo members so that representatives from the grassroots could afford to become full-time members. During the Sino-British negotiation over the future of Hong Kong, Chung as Senior Member of the Executive Council frequently shuttled between Beijing and London.

His contributions to Hong Kong can be found in many dimensions, including industry, trade and commerce, tertiary education and health. He was instrumental in the establishment of the two Polytechnics and the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.

Chung retired from all official capacities in 2001.



Li Fook-shu 李福樹 (BA 1941) is a pioneer in the accounting field and helped set up the Hong Kong Society of Accountants. He was appointed to UrbCo in 1960, LegCo from 1961 to 1968, and ExCo in 1966.

Rayson Huang Li-sung 黃麗松 (BSc 1942, HonDSc 1968), then Vice-Chancellor of HKU, also served as a member of LegCo from 1977 to 1983.

There were also many other HKU graduates who were appointed to Councils before election became an alternative. They include John Swaine, appointed to LegCo in 1980, who also served as a member of the ExCo in the 1990s; Selina Chow Liang Shuk-ye 周梁淑怡 (BA 1965), appointed LegCo member and Urban Councillor; Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai; Yeung Po-kwan 楊寶坤 (BA 1962), an educationalist, and Kim Cham Yau-sum 湛佑森 (BA 1968), a businessman and an accountant, also an appointed Urban Councillor.

Other HKU graduates participated in non-governmental political groups. From the 1950s to 1970s, the Hong Kong Civic Association (香港公民協會) and the Reform Club of Hong Kong (香港革新會) were the most active and only political groups in Hong Kong and their members often ran for Urban Council elections. A pioneer in this area was Peter Lee Chung-yin 李仲賢 (MBBS 1952, HonLLD 1977), a founding member of the Hong Kong Civic Association in 1955, one of the first political groups in Hong Kong. Lee was its Secretary-General between 1958-1964. He was also the Secretary-General of the Civic Association/ Reform Club Coalition (1960) that went to London to press the British government for constitutional reforms in Hong Kong. A barrister, Shum Cheuk-yum 岑灼欽 (BA 1954) was the Secretary of the Reform Club of Hong Kong in the mid-1960s.



*Li Fook-shu (right) and Arnaldo de Oliveira Sales, Urban Council Chairman (1973-1981)*



*From left: Andrew Wong Wang-fat, Ronald Leung Ding-bong, John Swaine and Cheung Yan-loong 張人龍*

## *Increased Political Participation in the 1980s*

The question of the future of Hong Kong emerged in the early 1980s, followed by intense negotiation between the Chinese and British governments. The Hong Kong government introduced the District Administration Scheme and District Board Elections in 1982. Following the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 were the introduction of indirect elections to the Legislative Council in 1985 and the establishment of the Regional Council in 1986. These changes brought about more opportunities and channels for political participation. As a result, there were significant changes in the nature and scope of political participation in Hong Kong in the 1980s.

### Rise of Political Groups

Even before direct elections were ever on the agenda, the Hong Kong Observers (香港觀察社), a group of some 40 young professionals who fancied themselves analysts and critics of local political and social changes, was set up in 1975 and became vocal and influential. They were perhaps the first pressure group with a political agenda, and became influential to the extent that government felt some threat. Among members of Hong Kong Observers were HKU graduates Margaret Ng Ngoi-yeet 吳靄儀 (BA 1969, MA 1975, PCLL 1988), Anna Wu Hung-yuk 胡紅玉 (LLB 1974, PCLL 1975), and Cheng Yu-shek 鄭宇碩 (BSocSc 1972), many of them evolved into party politicians later during the transition. In hindsight, the Hong Kong Observers was the precursor to local political parties.

One of the largest and earliest political organisations close in composition to a political party was the Meeting Point (匯點) which was formed in 1982. Its leading members included Lau Nai-keung 劉迺強 (BSocSc 1970), Tsang Shu-ki 曾樹基 (BA 1973), Lai Chak-fun 黎則奮 (BSocSc 1975), Anthony Cheung Ping-leung 張炳良 (BSocSc 1974), Yeung Sum 楊森 (BSocSc 1974, PhD 1990), Luk Shun-tim 陸順甜 (BSc(Eng) 1975), Lo Chi-kin 盧子健 (BSocSc 1984) and Lee Chik-yuet 李植悅 (LLB 1990, PCLL 1991, LLM 1994).

Subsequently, other political groups were formed. Many of their leading members were HKU graduates. They included:

- Hong Kong Association for Democracy & People's Livelihood (香港民主民生協進會): Lee Wing-tat 李永達 (BSc 1980, CertEd 1982) and Bruce Liu Sing-lee 廖成利 (PCLL 1992)
- Hong Kong Affairs Society (太平山學會): Albert Ho Chun-yan 何俊仁 (LLB 1974, PCLL 1975), Huang Chen-ya 黃震遐 (MBBS 1966), Nelson Chow Wing-sun 周永新 (BA 1969, DipSocWk 1970, PhD 1978) and Man Sai-cheong 文世昌 (BA 1966, MPhil 1972)
- Hong Kong Democratic Foundation (香港民主促進會): Edward Leong Che-hung 梁智鴻 (MBBS 1962)



*Wong Siu-lun*



*Tsang Shu-ki*



*Cheng Yu-shek*



*Lai Chak-fun*



*Lau Nai-keung*

- Hong Kong People's Association (港人協會): Michael Luk Yan-lung 陸人龍 (BA 1969, MPhil 1975), Lee Ming-kwan 李明堃 (BSocSc 1971) and Wong Siu-lun 黃紹倫 (BSocSc 1971)

The Meeting Point later merged with the United Democrats of Hong Kong, founded in 1990, to form the Democratic Party (民主黨). The Hong Kong Association for Democracy & People's Livelihood has remained active and participated in elections. The other groups were largely pressure groups whose roles have been overtaken by political parties in the 1990s and have become inactive.

### The LegCo with its First Elected Members

As a result of the further development of representative government in Hong Kong, indirect elections were introduced to the Legislative Council in 1985. The first HKU graduates who were elected as members of LegCo from functional constituencies included:

- Chiu Hin-kwong 招顯洸 (MBBS 1953) and later Edward Leong Che-hung from the Medical Functional Constituency. Chiu became a member of Executive Council from 1986 to 1988.
- Hui Yin-fat 許賢發 (BA 1960, Dip(SocStud) 1961) was returned from the Social Welfare Functional Constituency and served as a member till 1995. He was also a member of ExCo from 1991 to 1992.
- Martin Lee Chu-ming 李柱銘 (BA 1960), the Chairman of the Hong Kong Bar Association from 1980 to 1983, was returned from the Legal Functional Constituency.

Others were returned from geographically-based electoral colleges. They included Conrad Lam Kui-shing 林鉅成 (MBBS 1962), a medical doctor; Michael Cheng Tak-kin 鄭德健 (BA 1966), an educationalist; Andrew Wong Wang-fat, an academic at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and a member of ExCo in 1991-1992.

Lee, Wong and Leong have remained politically active and have remained members of the Legislature after 1997.

In the later part of the 1980s, new members were also appointed to the Council, including Rosanna Wong Yick-ming 王葛鳴 (BSocSc 1975), the Executive Director of Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups; Poon Chung-kwong 潘宗光 (BSc(Gen) 1963, BSc(Sp) 1964), then Dean of Science of HKU; Edward Ho Sing-tin 何承天 (BArch 1963), a prominent architect; Miriam Lau Kin-ye 劉健儀 (BA 1968), a solicitor and also an appointed member of the Regional Council (1986-91); Chan Ying-lun 陳英麟 (BSocSc 1972), a personnel manager; and Leung Wai-tung 梁煒彤 (BA 1968, MPhil 1973), an academic at HKU.

Both Ho and Lau later became founding members of the Liberal Party (自由黨) and were returned to LegCo from functional constituencies. Rosanna Wong has continued her political career through the government appointment system.



*Martin Lee (right) and Yeung Sum*



*Edward Leong Che-hung*



*The last LegCo election before 1997*



*Rosanna Wong Yick-ming (middle) with Tung Chee-hwa 董建華 (left), the SAR Chief Executive, and Wu Jieping 吳階平 (right), Vice-Chairman of National People's Congress*

Rosanna Wong Yick-ming is a HKU social work graduate and is a prominent social worker on youth. She was appointed to LegCo in 1985 and ExCo in 1988, then its youngest member. In the same year, she became the Chairman of the Social Welfare Advisory Committee. She later resigned from public office to further her studies in the US and obtained her PhD in 1997. In 1992, she returned to Hong Kong and was re-appointed a member of the Executive Council. Apart from Raymond Chien Kuo-fung, she is the only unofficial member of the Executive Council who has straddled 1997 and retained her membership after the transition. From 1993 to 2000, she was the Chairman of the Housing

Authority. She was appointed the Chairman of the Education Commission in 2001.

### The Urban Council and the New Regional Council

The 1980s saw the continuous appointments of HKU graduates to the Urban Council. They included Ronald Leung Ding-bong 梁定邦 (MBBS 1959), Chairman of Kwong On Bank Ltd; Lo King-man 盧景文 (BA 1962), Director of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts; and Margaret Ng Suk-kay 吳淑姬 (BSocSc 1971, MPhil 1979, CertPsych 1983).

Others were elected: Lee Chik-yuet, Man Sai-cheong, Chow Cheung Wai-ping 周張慧冰 (BA 1960, AdvDip (SocWk) 1961), a school principal and Ambrose Cheung Wing-sum 張永森 (BSocSc 1973), a solicitor and a businessman.

The establishment of the Regional Council in 1986 provided more opportunities for political participation in the New Territories areas. Early appointed members included Richard Ho Man-wui 何文匯 (BA 1969, MPhil 1972), an academic at CUHK and Pang Hok-tuen 彭學端 (MBBS 1968), a medical doctor and a member of the Heung Yee Kuk (a representative body of indigenous inhabitants in the New Territories). Others joined the Council through direct election: Lee Wing-tat, James Wong Man-tai 黃文泰 (BSocSc 1977, MSW 1979), a social worker, and Sin Chung-kai 單仲偕 (BSc 1982), an executive in information technology.



*Ronald Leung Ding-bong (front) at a public toilet excursion*

### District Boards Since the 1980s

Quite a number of HKU graduates have also been elected or appointed members of the 18 District Boards (established in 1982, renamed District Councils since 2000). The more prominent ones include those who have been Chairmen of District Boards, such as Vincent Ko Hon-chiu 高漢釗 (BA 1969), a solicitor, of Central and Western District; Michael Cheng Tak-kin and later Michael Lee Yuk-kwan 李玉焯 (MBBS 1965) of Wong Tai Sin; Sin Chung-kai and Lee Wing-tat of Kwai Tsing District; Hui Yung-chung 許湧鍾 (BA 1980, CertEd 1982) of the Southern District; and Tam Kwok-kiu 譚國僑 (MSW 1992) of Sham Shui Po District.

Some members of LegCo, UrbCo and RegCo have also been members of District Boards at the same time, especially in the case of elected members. The District Board membership has given them advantages in district-based elections. Examples, among others, are Conrad Lam Kui-shing and Michael Cheng Tak-kin (Wong Tai Sin District), Ambrose Cheung Wing-sum and Lee Chik-yuet (Sham Shui Po

District), Andrew Wong Wang-fat, Harwood Fung Chi-wood 馮智活 (BSc 1979) and Tony Kan Chung-nin 簡松年 (PCLL 1980) (Shatin District), Sin Chung-kai and Lee Wing-tat (Kwai Tsing District), Man Sai-cheong (Eastern District), and Grace Au Yuk-har 歐玉霞 (MSW 1994) (Kwun Tong District).



*Sino-British Joint Declaration on Hong Kong's future, 1984*

## *Political Transition in the 1990s*

There were two observable developments in Hong Kong's political arena in the 1990s. The first was the evolution of political groups into political parties in the early 1990s, very much induced by the promulgation of the Basic Law in 1990 and the direct elections in LegCo since 1991. The second was the political confrontation that developed between the Chinese and British governments since 1992. The latter resulted in the failure of the "through-train" notion and the necessity of a Provisional Legislative Council in order to avoid the new Council of the HKSAR inheriting the entire pre-transition membership.

### **The Formation of Political Parties**

The June 4th Incident in Beijing in 1989 and the direct elections promulgated by the Basic Law in 1990 further sensitised political groups in Hong Kong and



*Mass rally in Hong Kong, 1989*

prompted the formation of political parties. The Incident underpins the birth of the United Democrats of Hong Kong in 1990 with the merger of the Hong Kong Affairs Society, the Association for Democracy and People’s Livelihood and Meeting Point. The Founding Chairman of the United Democrats of Hong Kong was Martin Lee, while the Vice-Chairmen were Albert Ho Chun-yan and Yeung Sum. They were joined by other political figures such as Mak Hoi-wah 麥海華 (BA 1976, MSW 1978). Mak is a trade-unionist, a social worker and was the President of Hong Kong Social Workers’ General Union from 1980-1988.

**Champion of the Democrats: Martin Lee Chu-ming**



Martin Lee Chu-ming is a barrister by profession. He was the Chairman of the Bar Association between 1980 and 1983 and the Founding Chairman of the United Democrats of Hong Kong, the first political party in Hong Kong. Lee has also been the Chairman of the Democratic Party since its establishment in 1994. The Party has become one of the largest political parties in the legislature.

He was appointed a member of the Drafting Committee for the Basic Law (1985-1989), but resigned in 1989 in protest against the June 4th Incident.

Lee has been successful in championing the democratic movement in Hong Kong. He has gained respect in the international arena. The American Bar Association awarded Lee its 1995 International Human Rights Award. In 1996, Liberal International awarded him the Prize for Freedom. In 1997, the National Endowment for Democracy presented Lee its Democracy Award in Capitol Hill in Washington, DC. The European People’s Party and European Democrats in the European Parliament named Lee the first non-European recipient of the Schumann Medal in January 2000.



Front row (from left): Law Chi-kwong, Lo Chi-kin, Yeung Sum and Li Wing-tat  
Back row (from left): To Kun-sun (second), Cheung Ping-leung (third), Rosanna Wong Yick-ming (fourth)

In the 1991 LegCo election, the United Democrats of Hong Kong scored twelve out of the 18 directly elected seats and two seats from functional constituencies. Their new members in the LegCo included Huang Chen-ya, Yeung Sum, Lee Wing-tat, Man Sai-cheong, James To Kun-sun 涂謹申 (LLB 1985, PCLL 1986), a solicitor and Harwood Fung Chi-wood, a clergyman from the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui and a social activist.

This prompted the formation of other political parties. Tsang Yok-sing 曾鈺成 (BA 1968, CertEd 1981, AdvDipEd 1982, MEd 1983), a school principal at that time, founded the Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong (民主建港聯盟) in 1992. Other founding members included Gary Cheng Kai-nam 程介南

The Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong ran for election



(PCEd 1990) and Elsie Leung Oi-sie 梁愛詩 (LLM 1988). Leung became the Secretary for Justice of the HKSAR after 1997.

### “From St Paul’s to Pui Kiu”: Tsang Yok-sing

Tsang Yok-sing is the Founding Chairman of the Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong and has held the position since.

After graduation from HKU, Tsang joined Pui Kiu Middle School, one of the “patriotic schools”, as a school teacher. This was seen as an unprecedented move by a HKU graduate and was reported by the *Undergrad*, the student magazine (March 1, 1970 issue), in a famous headline “From St Paul’s to Pui Kiu”. Tsang had been a high-flier at St Paul’s College.

His political involvement began after the signing of the 1984 Joint Declaration. He was associated with the “Group of 38”, who made a substantial proposal on the political development in Hong Kong, particularly in an attempt to come to a consensus on the future political system.

The establishment and the growth of the United Democrats prompted Tsang and his group to speak in an alternative voice and form their own political party. Hence, the Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB) was founded in 1992.

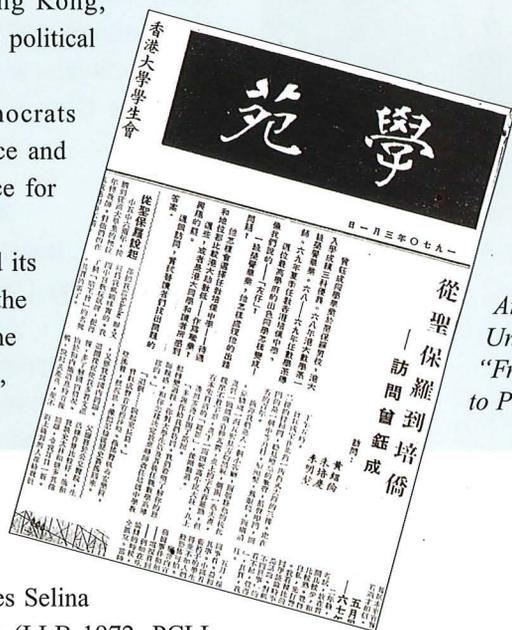
In the years after 1997, the DAB has gradually transformed its image from “pro-Beijing” to one which is more in line with the needs of Hong Kong people, has become more accepted by the populace, as is demonstrated in the elections after 1997. In 2002, Tsang was appointed to the ExCo.

In 1991, some 20 appointed and indirectly elected members of LegCo formed the political group Co-operative Resources Centre, which later evolved into the Liberal Party (自由黨) in 1993. Its leading members included HKU graduates Selina Chow, Miriam Lau, Edward Ho, Moses Cheng Mo-chi 鄭慕智 (LLB 1972, PCLL 1973), a solicitor and an appointed member from 1991 to 1995. Ho was also a member of ExCo from 1991-1992. Its political platform was to promote the international status of Hong Kong and to enhance its economic competitiveness.



Choy So-yuk

In 1994, the United Democrats of Hong Kong merged with Meeting Point and formed the Democratic Party, with Martin Lee as the Chairman, and Anthony Cheung and Yeung Sum as Vice-chairmen (current Vice-Chairmen: Law Chik-wong, Lee Wing-tat). In the same year, some businessmen, industrialists and professionals formed the Hong Kong Progressive Alliance (香港協進聯盟) with Choy So-yuk 蔡素玉 (BSc 1974) and Michael Cheng Tak-kin among the founders. The Frontier (前綫) was also formed in 1996 with a



An article in *Undergrad*, “From St Paul’s to Pui Kiu”, 1970



Liberal Party running for the Legislative Council election

political platform to defend human rights and the rule of law in Hong Kong with Lee Cheuk-yan 李卓人 (BSc (Eng) 1978) who also set up the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions, as its core member. These main political parties have dominated the local political scene in the 1990s.



Lee Cheuk-yan

### The Last Appointed LegCo Members

In LegCo, John Swaine became the President of the Council from 1993 to 1995, the first unofficial member to assume the position. More HKU graduates were appointed to LegCo from the early 1990s onwards, including Anna Wu, a barrister; Timothy Ha Wing-ho 夏永豪 (BA 1960, DipEd 1965), an educationalist; Roger Luk Koon-hoo 陸觀豪 (BSocSc 1973), a banker; Yeung Po-kwan, a school principal; and Edward Chen Kwan-yiu 陳坤耀 (BA 1967, MSocSc 1971), an Economics Professor and former Director of the Centre of Asian Studies at the University of Hong Kong. Chen was also a member of the Executive Council from 1992 till 1997, and is currently President of Lingnan University.



LegCo election, 1985

### The Municipal Councils in the 1990s

In UrbCo, Ronald Leung Ding-bong was elected the Chairman from 1992 till the abolition of the Council in 2000. Lo King-man became the Vice-Chairman from 1992 to 1995.

Additional appointed members until 1995 included Jason Yuen King-yuk 袁景煜 (BArch 1958), a prominent architect, Carlye Tsui Wai-ling 徐尉玲 (BA 1969), CEO of the Hong Kong Institute of Directors, and Leung Ping-chung 梁秉中 (MBBS 1966, MS 1981, HonDSocSc 2001), a medical professor. Newly elected members included Leung Kam-iao 梁錦滔 (MSW 1990), a social worker, Alexander Lai Hok-lim 黎學廉 (BA 1981), a lawyer, Lee Kwok-keung 李國強 (MSW 1993), Grace Au Yuk-har and Tam Kwok-kiu 譚國僑 (MSW 1992). Lee, Au and Tam are social workers and elected District Board members.

In RegCo, appointed member Pang Hok-tuen became the Vice-Chairman from 1989 to 1995. New appointed members included, Almon Poon Chin-hung 潘展鴻 (PCLL 1986), a lawyer, from 1989 to 1995. New elected members included Fung Chi-wood and Albert Ho Chun-yan and Tony Kan Chun-nin who was the Vice-Chairman of the Regional Council from 1997 to 1999. Kan is a solicitor and has also been an elected member of Shatin District Board/Council since 1985.



Andrew Wong Wang-fat as President of the Legislative Council, 1995-1997

### The LegCo on the Eve of 1997

The last election to LegCo before 1997 was held in September 1995. All the seats were elected, through direct election, from functional constituencies, and indirect election through the Election Committee.

Andrew Wong Wang-fat was elected President of the Legislative Council from 1995 to 1997. Former appointed members Selina Chow and Miriam Lau were

then returned from functional constituencies. New members included Andrew Cheng Kar-foo 鄭家富 (PCLL 1992), a solicitor; Anthony Cheung Bing-leung, an academic from City University of Hong Kong; Albert Ho Chun-yan, a solicitor; Lee Cheuk-yan; Law Chi-kwong 羅致光 (BSocSc 1976, MSW 1981), returned from the Social Welfare Functional Constituency, a social work lecturer at the University of Hong Kong; Leung Yiu-chung 梁耀忠 (CertEd 1986), a teacher; Margaret Ng Ngoi-ye, returned from the Legal Functional Constituency; Sin Chung-kai, an executive in information technology; and Elizabeth Wong Chien Chi-lien 黃錢其濂 (BA 1959, DipEd 1960), a former senior civil servant.



*Wong Chien Chi-lien*

### From Appointed to Elected LegCo Member: Selina Chow Liang Shuk-ye

Selina Chow Liang Shuk-ye is a Founding Member of the Liberal Party and is now its Vice-Chairman. She has been a member of LegCo since 1981 and is now the Chairman of the House Committee of the Council.

Liang started her career in the public eye as a TVB “weather girl”, the leading television channel in Hong Kong. She then became an executive at TVB and was known for the famous take-over of Commercial Television Limited in 1975. She was appointed to LegCo in 1995 and retained her seat ever since. She is therefore one of the Council’s longest serving members.

Appointed LegCo members, who were invited by the Governor as a matter of respect and recognition of contributions, often found it difficult to launch election campaigns where one had to engage in self-promotion and volunteer for public scrutiny. Liang was perhaps the first one to breakthrough that psychological barrier and was among the first executives to turn to public election. She symbolises an adaptation of the executive elites to the fast changing political environments.

Throughout the years, Liang has served in many important positions in the community. She was the Chairman of the Consumer Council from 1984-1988 and is the Chairman of the Hong Kong Tourism Board.



## *The Sino-British Confrontation*

The Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984, symbolised by Margaret Thatcher’s meeting with Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平 in Beijing, had raised high hope for a peace agreement. However, when the Basic Law took shape and the details of the government handover were deliberated, hostility and confrontation took over. In hindsight, many would admit that during those difficult years, Hong Kong was overwhelmed by excessive political suspicions and disputes, very much at the expense of other important dimensions of its normal development. In those difficult years, HKU graduates, playing different roles and representing different interests and ideologies of Hong Kong people, were heavily involved in the political whirlpool. It was their commitment to Hong Kong that underpins such involvements which do not always bring personal benefit.

With the signing of the Joint Declaration, a Joint Liaison Group was set up in order to meet the requirements for liaison, consultation and the exchange of information. HKU graduates sat on different sides of the bargaining table. On the British side were Eric Peter Ho Hung-luen



*Deng Xiaoping (left) received Margaret Thatcher, 1984*

何鴻鑾 (BA 1950), then Secretary for Trade and Industry and John Chan Cho-chak 陳祖澤 (BA 1964, DipMS 1971), then Deputy Secretary (General Duties). On the Chinese side was Timpson Chung Shui-ming 鍾瑞明 (BSc 1976, CertEd 1977), then a senior researcher of the economics department of the local branch of the Xinhua News Agency. The appointment of Chung on the Chinese side warranted a certain amount of public attention, as this ran against the somewhat sour notion by some traditional critics that HKU is an institution which produces only pro-British civil servants.

### The Preliminary Working Committee

In 1993, the Chinese government set up the Preliminary Working Committee (香港特區籌備委員會預備工作委員會). It was an advisory body to lay the groundwork for the subsequent operation of the Preparatory Committee. Some of the key figures appointed included Simon Li Fook-sean 李福善 (1937), Chung Sze-yuen, Rita Fan, Tsang Yok-sing, Raymond Wu Wai-yung 鄔維庸 (MBBS 1963) Lau Siu-kai 劉兆佳 (BSocSc 1971), then Director of Social Research Centre at CUHK, Dorothy Liu Yiu-chu 廖瑤珠 (BA 1956), a lawyer and deputy to the National People's Congress from 1988 to 1998, and Wilfred Wong Ying-Wai 王英偉 (BSocSc 1975), business executive and a former senior civil servant. Liu refused to work on the Committee and her decision drew much public attention.



*Dorothy Liu Yiu-chu*



*Raymond Wu Wai-yung*

### The Preparatory Committee

In 1996, the Preparatory Committee (香港特區籌備委員會) was set up to prepare for the establishment of the HKSAR, including the prescription of the method for the formation of the first government and the first LegCo at 1997. HKU graduates in the Preliminary Working Committee were included in the Preparatory Committee. Others included Poon Chung-kwong;

Nelson Chow Wing-sun, a Professor at HKU; Cheng Yiu-chung 鄭耀宗 (BSc 1963), then HKU's Vice-Chancellor; Antony Leung Kam-chung 梁錦松 (BSocSc 1973), then a banker; Peter Wong King-keung 黃景強 (BSc(Eng) 1968, MScEng 1970), a prominent engineer; Victor Sit Fung-shuen 薛鳳旋 (BA 1970, MA 1974) a HKU academic; and Chang Ka-mun 張家敏 (BSocSc 1983, MSocSc 1987) of the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood.

In February 1996 the Preparatory Committee endorsed the setting up of a provisional legislature for Hong Kong.

Numerous HKU graduates were also appointed Advisers of Hong Kong Affairs (港事顧問).



*The last day of colonial rule in Hong Kong*

### People's Congress

Under the “One Country, Two Systems” arrangement, HKU graduates have also been serving on the Chinese national legislature and consultative organs.

Some of them are appointed as deputies to the National People's Congress. They include Wilfred Wong Ying-wai, Lo Chung-hing 盧重興 (MBA 1996), Raymond Wu Wai-yung, Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai, Leung Ping-chung, Kan Fook-ye 簡福飴 (PCLL 2001) and Victor Sit Fung-shuen.

Other HKU graduates serve as delegates of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, including Lau Nai-keung, Chang Ka-mun, Nelson Chow Wing-sun, Cheng Yiu-chung, Peter Wong King-keung, Leung Tin-pui 梁天培 (BSc(Eng) 1967), Tsang Yok-sing and Poon Chung-kwong.



*Victor Sit Fung-shuen*

### The Provisional Legislative Council

The Provisional Legislative Council was a one-year interim legislature before the formation of the first Legislative Council of the HKSAR. The Provisional Legislative Council was elected by the Selection Committee in December 1996. The Council held its first meeting in Shenzhen in January 1997. The President was Rita Fan. Members included Edward Ho, Selina Chow, Leong Che-hung, Hui Yin-fat, Tsang Yok-sing, Andrew Wong, Miriam Lau, Bruce Liu, Raymond Ho Chung-tai 何鍾泰 (BSc(Eng) 1963), and Choy So-yuk.

The Provisional Legislative Council passed 13 pieces of legislation deemed necessary to come into effect immediately on July 1, 1997, endorsed the 1997/98 Budget, passed the motions required to effect the appointment of judges and adopted its own Rules of Procedures.



*The democrats' demonstration at the LegCo Building on June 30, 1997*



*The Handover Ceremony in 1997: Hong Kong Special Administrative Region established*

## *The First Years of the HKSAR*

The political arena after the change of government at 1997 did not see much of an abrupt transformation. Many may argue that the political culture in Hong Kong has been evolving in a direction that it is not used to, but the anticipated overt or subtle interference from Beijing did not come forth, very much to the disappointment of foreign watchers of Hong Kong. In this context, there is very little visible change in political participation. The participation of HKU graduates is no exception. However, issues of contention have evolved.

### **The Executive Council**

The Convenor of the post-1997 Executive Council, from 1997 to 1999 was Chung Sze-yuen. Unofficial members of the ExCo who were HKU graduates include Rosanna Wong, Antony Leung, and Timpson Chung Shui-ming. Chung was the Chief Executive Officer of the Land Fund and later became Chairman of the Hong Kong Housing Society.

In 2002, with the introduction of the reform in governance, there is an almost total reshuffle of the membership in ExCo. The ExCo membership now includes the ministerial Secretaries of whom many are HKU graduates (as is mentioned in earlier chapters). Besides, Tsang Yok-shing and Andrew Liao Cheung-sing 廖長城 (LLB 1972) were appointed to the ExCo.

### **The Legislative Council**

Members of the first two terms of the Legislative Council of the HKSAR were elected either directly, or indirectly from functional constituencies or the election committee. Elections were held in 1998 and 2000. Most of the members in the pre-1997 legislature have returned. They include Democratic Party core members Andrew Cheng, Albert Ho, Law Chi-kwong, Martin Lee, Lee Wing-tat, Sin Chung-kai, James To, Yeung Sum and others such as Leung Yiu-chung, Margaret Ng, Lee Cheuk-yan and Ambrose Cheung.

New HKU graduates who joined the LegCo include Lo Wing-lok 勞永樂 (MBBS 1979) from the Medical Functional Constituency (also President of Hong Kong Medical Association); Audrey Eu Yuet-mee 余若薇 (LLB 1975), a barrister and once President of the Hong Kong Bar Association, through direct election; and Lau Ping-cheung 劉炳章 (MSc(ConstProjectMan)1990) from the Architectural,



*Lo Wing-lok (middle) and Chong Chan-yau (left)*



*The Legislative Council of the HKSAR, 2002*

Surveying and Planning Functional Constituency. He was the President of the Hong Kong Institute of Surveyors and Chairman of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (Hong Kong Branch) and Surveyors Registration Board in the mid-1990s.

HKU graduates now constitute one-third of the Council. Rita Fan has been elected among members as the Council President since 1997.

### Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai



*As student*

After her graduation in 1966 as a Science student, Hsu worked in the University of Hong Kong, and then the Hong Kong Polytechnic (predecessor of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University), in the realm of student affairs.

She was appointed a member of the Executive Council in 1989 and a Legislative Councillor in 1993. Before 1997 she was known for her negotiations pertaining to the Vietnamese illegal immigrants and the issue of Right of Abode. She was also the Chairman of the Education Commission (1990-1992) that was instrumental for the setting up of the Hong Kong Institute of Education. She was particularly known for her resignation from the Executive Council during the reign of Governor Chris Patten, generally seen as a reflection of her independence to political power.

Hsu was the President of the Provisional Legislative Council (1997-1998). Amidst controversies and distrusts, her consistent impartiality, fairness and objectivity have earned her the support and respect of fellow Councillors. She was elected President for the first two terms of SAR LegCo since 1998.

In her presidency, Hsu has kept a low profile on the media, but has played invisible yet valuable role in the keeping of the LegCo.



*Hsu as the President of the SAR LegCo*

In the election 2000, the Democrats maintained its majority position. However, the DAB achieved a significant turn around in terms of popular support. Nevertheless, the tug-of-war between the Democrats and the DAB is attracting increasingly less attention given the new accountability system where the role of the LegCo has become precarious. The new interplay among the ExCo, the LegCo and the Civil Service is yet to evolve.

Under these circumstances, there is some subtle dissatisfaction of the ineffectiveness of parliamentary politics, and a felt need of alternative mode of political participation.

In 2002, a group of intellectuals and professionals from the academic, business, social service and political sectors launched the SynergyNet (新力量網絡). It aims to create a new vision for Hong Kong amid the economic downturn and deterioration in political governance. Anthony Cheung Bing-leung and Louis Shih Tai-cho 史泰祖 (MBBS 1977) are the Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. Half of its founding members are Democratic Party members.

### Political Polls and Critics

Political participation is also realised in consultations and commentaries on government policies, where HKU graduates have widespread involvement from the perspective of their respective community roles.



*The Swearing-in Ceremony for members of the Hong Kong SAR Provisional Legislative Council, 1997*



*Chan Yuk-cheung*



*The Golden Jubilee Precious Blood School evoked a social campaign, 1970s*



*Robert Chung Ting-yiu*



*Lau San-ching*

Among political commentators, Cheng Yu-shek was among the earliest in Hong Kong who paid special attention to the political development. Cheng is an academic at CityU. Cheung Chor-yung 張楚勇 (BA 1980), who once worked in BBC in London, is another outspoken academic at CityU. Lau Siu-kai, a professor in CUHK, was another political commentator who participated in Preparatory Committee in 1993, but became a critical commentator after 1997. Lau is now Head of the government's Central Policy Unit and has to face new loyalty.

Opinion polls also play a role in the political development of Hong Kong. Based in the University of Hong Kong, Robert Chung Ting-yiu 鍾庭耀 (BSocSc 1982, MPhil 1988, PhD 2000) has conducted more than 450 surveys on various social and political issues. His polls on the popularity of political figures, however, led to the unfortunate incident in 2000 where alleged government interference resulted in the resignation of HKU's Vice-Chancellor.

There are also other ways of participation that are not shared by many. David Chan Yuk-cheung 陳毓祥 (BSocSc 1975, CertEd 1976) was active in elections, but in a protest against the Japanese at Diaoyutai was drowned. Lau San-ching 劉山青 (BSc 1976) was imprisoned on the mainland because

of his political advocacy.

As HKU graduates, they all pledge to pursue the fulfilment of a personal cause, but they are rewarded differently by the reality.

The political arena is perhaps the only one where HKU graduates made a contribution even before they graduated. However, instead of lengthy descriptions, we will give only a brief account of student movements in Hong Kong, and its relevance to HKU, in the following pages.

### Looking Ahead

Politics is a favourable term in Hong Kong only in the last decades of the 20th century. The political development in Hong Kong is a complex process where the formal political structure plays only a part. In the older colonial days, government decision-making was not meant to be transparent, and only those close to the Governor or the government, among them HKU graduates, could have an influence. Since the 1970s, extensive consultations spread over all policy arenas, and they contribute to a generation that is trained to participate in policy discussions, yet not quite inside the formal government structure. It was also the time when HKU graduates enter the policy arena as intellectuals and professionals. Meanwhile, other HKU graduates contributed to Hong Kong's development as advocates or leaders of social movements.

In the decade before the transition in 1997, political developments in Hong Kong were overshadowed by competitions for seats in the legislature. Partisan battles, fierce as they were, have not brought much progress. In the first few years of the SAR, such competitions have sustained in lieu of more serious discussions and planning for the development of Hong Kong. In these circumstances, Hong Kong's political development is awaiting more committed intellectuals who would breakthrough the stagnancy. In 2002, with a new political structure for policy-making, there is a new call for HKU graduates for a revised way of contributing to Hong Kong's political development.

### Snapshots of Hong Kong Student Movements



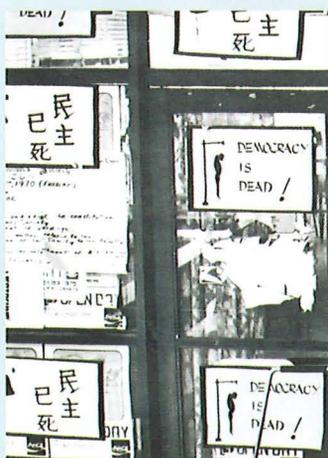
Chinese Language Movement



Demonstration of Morrison Hall students in the 1960s against the University: Ng Siu-qing (fifth left, front, later known as Yuen Quing, a Buddhist monk)



Defend Diaoyutai Movement



Student movement posters



Student publications

## Student Movements



*John Lau Shek-yau as student in a social gathering*

Some HKU graduates made their impact on Hong Kong's development even before they graduated. They were active participants in student movements that carried far-reaching implications for the community. In Hong Kong, as is the case elsewhere, student movements are often controversial or even seem intolerable at the time when they occur. Hence their contributions are often appreciated only long after they were over. Many leaders of today owe their growth to participation in student movements.

As early as the 1960s, there was the emergence of the Social Service Group in HKU that took on concern for the deprived as its mission. The Group has bred many leaders of today. In 1964, the Current Affairs Committee (CAC) was established within the HKU Students' Union (HKUSU) framework. The CAC has since played essential roles in opening up HKU students to the community at large. There were also some traces of participation in the riots and demonstrations in 1966-1967, sometimes in opposite camps. Tsang Yok-sing, for example, supported the left wing, whereas Dominic Tsim Tak-lung 詹德隆 (BA 1968), as Union President, issued a statement in support of the government.

In 1968, when John Lau Shek-yau 劉石佑 (BSocSc 1971) was the Union President, the Union launched a campaign for student financial assistance and gained wide support. It led to the establishment of the Government Grant and Loan Scheme for students, which continues to this day.

In the late 1960s, influenced by the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and as part of the global student upheavals, HKU students took the lead in several genuine student movements.

Earlier, in 1967, the *Undergrad* (學苑) called for the equal status of Chinese and English as official languages. In July 1970, 13 student publications and social organisations formed the Joint Committee to Fight for the Official Status of the Chinese Language. This started the Chinese Language Movement (中文運動) and is perhaps the first significant student movement in Hong Kong with a nationalistic colour. The HKUSU was under the Presidency of Sidney Chow Chi-keung 周志強 (BSocSc 1971, DipMS 1978). Other active figures include Kenneth Kwok Hing-wai 郭慶偉 (LLB 1972), HKUSU's Current Affairs Committee Chairman, Joseph Luk Man-keung 陸文強 (BSocSc 1973), Vincent Kwan Pun-fong 關品方 (BSocSc 1973, MPhil 1976), and Stephanie Cheung Sau-yu 張秀儀 (LLB 1972) and Mok Yeuk-chi 莫若志 (LLB 1972) from the Hong Kong Federation of Students. The subsequent movements culminated into the recognition of Chinese as an official language for Hong Kong in 1974.

The wave of movements for university administration (校政改革運動) in 1969 could be seen as the starting point of a major campus-wide campaign. The campaign led to the formal student representation at all levels of University decision-making which is still unique to HKU.

Then came the worldwide Defend Diaoyutai Movement (保釣運動) in protest of the Japanese occupation of the Diaoyutai. On April 10, 1971,



*Undergrad was an influential student magazine in the 1970s. Students expressed differences in political ideology by burning the magazine.*



*Undergrad, 2002*



*Students expressed their demand for a more visible role in University management, late 1960s. (Students after an emergency meeting).*

Peter Tung King-kuk 董景谷 (BA 1972, CertEd 1977) was arrested during a demonstration among six other post-secondary students. A week later, about a thousand HKU students, with Lawrence Fung Siu-por 馮紹波 (BSocSc 1972) as the Union President, staged a demonstration near the Lily Pond on University campus to denounce the Japanese government. On July 7, 1971, over three thousand people gathered together at a demonstration organised by the Hong Kong Federation of Students in Victoria Park. Twenty-two students were arrested and others wounded. Joseph Luk Man-keung, Union President in 1972, carried on the movement. Yeung Sum and Anthony Cheung Bing-leung also participated in the movement. In 1996,



*Cheung Bing-leung  
as student*

when some Japanese rebuilt a lighthouse on Diaoyutai, David Chan Yuk-cheung rekindled the movement and was drowned during a protest.

In late 1971, the HKUSU under the Presidency of Lawrence Fung Siu-por together with Perry Mak Wah-cheung 麥華章 (BA 1973) launched the first student visit to the mainland when the Cultural Revolution was still in progress and tours to the mainland were extremely rare. This is often known as the historic First Beijing Tour (回國觀光第一團) that has attracted wide public attention.

Since then, there was the emergence of a category of students who identified themselves with the development of China, at times influenced by Mao, yet were brought up with liberal thoughts due to their schooling and the University.

The China Study Society (國是學會) was established in HKU in 1972 as a core organisation of China identify. Perry Mak Wah-cheung was among the founders. The Society became the main driving force in the campaign “understand China, care about society” (認中關社), a banner that proved appealing at the time.

In 1973, the escape of Chief Police Superintendent Peter Godber while under investigation for corruption led to a public uproar and a series of student protests in the tertiary sector. This movement (反貪污 捉葛柏) signified the quest for social reforms.

The staggered development of China’s foreign relations in the international arena prompted a wave of “China fever” (中國熱). The Hong Kong Federation of Students organised the first China Week in 1973, a photo exhibition, which attracted over 10,000 students and citizens. Thereafter, it was held for five more terms. The China Week had tremendous implications on secondary schools.

There is then the split between those who identify themselves with China (the “national” group 國粹派) and those who would place local social reform as their first priority (the “social” group 社會派). The heated confrontations were often reminisced by those who experienced the romance, who referred to those days as “The Fiery Red Era” (火紅年代).



*First Beijing Tour, 1971*



*Anti-corruption rally*



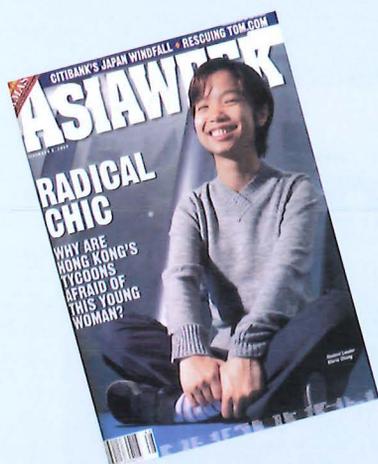
(From left) Chu Yu-lun, Chan Yuen-ying and Joseph Luk Man-kueng



Chan Man-hung



Monica Wong Ching-man (right)



Gloria Chang Wan-ki on the cover of *Asiaweek*

In 1975, Mak Hoi-wah 麥海華 (BA 1976, MSW 1978) won the election in Students' Union. That marks a disruption of the reign of the “national” group. Along the lines of the “social” group, he organised the “Hong Kong Week” and organised protests against rise in telephone charges and against the Queen’s visit to Hong Kong.

Many of the Union Presidents, divided in their political incidents, happened to be residents of Old Halls under the Wardenship of Fung Yee-wang 馮以滋 (BA 1960, MA(Ed) 1967). They include:

- 1971 Lawrence Fung Siu-por, now a newspaper chairman
- 1972 Joseph Luk Man-keung, now a businessman
- 1973 David Chan Yuk-cheung
- 1974 Linda Tsui Yee-wan 崔綺雲 (BA 1975, CertEd 1977), first female president, currently a PR professional and a retired academic from the Baptist University of Hong Kong.
- 1975 Mak Hoi-wah, a social worker, now an academic at the City University.

Other key figures during this era include Ching Cheong 程翔 (BSocSc 1973), now working for *Strait Times* (Singapore) in Hong Kong; Andrew Chow On-kiu 周安橋 (BSocSc 1973), now the Vice-Chairman of Next Media Group Management Ltd; Antony Leung Kam-chung; Choy So-yuk; Timpson Chung Shui-ming; and Tsang Shu-ki, now Professor in Economics at Baptist University.

The “national” group sustained their solidarity after graduation by forming the University Graduates Association in 1973. Members of the “social” group, incidentally, often tend to affiliate with the “Democrats”.

The history of student movements in Hong Kong would be incomplete without mention of the *Undergrad* which was founded in 1952 as a student newspaper in HKU. It was first in English and its Chinese edition appeared in 1959. *Undergrad* gained its editorial independence from the HKUSU in 1968. Starting from 1971, *Undergrad* had been put on public sale. It was an independent voice and power in the student movements and has nurtured a whole generation of academics and media professionals with social conscience. Editors of *Undergrad* include Chan Yuen-ying 陳婉瑩 (BSocSc 1970), now the founding Director of the Centre of Journalism and Media Studies at HKU; Sung Yun-wing 宋恩榮 (BSocSc 1970), now Professor of Economics at CUHK; Lau Nai-keung, the founding Chairman of Meeting Point; Wong Siu-lun, now Professor and Director of HKU’s Centre of Asian Studies; Chu Pui-hing 朱培慶 (BSc 1971), now Director of Broadcasting in the HKSAR; Joseph Cheng Yu-shek; Arthur Shek Kang-chuen 石鏡泉 (BA 1972, DipEd 1973), now Associate Publisher and Head of Research, *Hong Kong Economic Times*; and Chan Man-hung 陳文鴻 (BSocSc 1973), now Professor and Director of the China Business Centre at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

Since the 1990s, student activities have never resumed its energy and wide participation. Few of them could be regarded as a student movement in its proper sense. There were nonetheless continuous students protests in the 1990s. In all these, the number of students involved was small, but they succeeded in commanding media attention and caused debates in society. Key figures during this period include Cheung Yui-fai 張銳輝 (BSocSc 1992, PCEd 1995), Rosa Mok Pui-han 莫佩嫻 (BSW 1997) and Gloria Chang Wan-ki 張韻琪 (BSocSc 2001) as Union presidents; and Monica Wong Ching-man 黃靜雯 (BA 1993) as Vice-Chairman of Hong Kong Federation of Students. Chang called for the resignation of the HKU Vice-Chancellor in connection with the Poll Incident (2000).

## HKUSU Presidents from the mid-1960s to 2001

1963-1964	Chan Charn-sing 陳燦升 (MBBS 1966)
1964	Stephen Louie Wai-ying 雷惠英 (MBBS 1966)
1965	Lim Heng-poh 林興波 (MBBS 1968)
1966	Yung Yue-hung 翁裕雄 (MBBS 1969)
1967	Dominic Tsim Tak-lung 詹德隆 (BA 1968)
1968	Yeoh Eng-kiong 楊永強 (MBBS 1971), David William Faure 科大衛 (BA 1969)
1969	John Lau Shek-yau 劉石佑 (BSocSc 1971), John Tsui Pui-lun 徐佩倫 (BA 1970)
1970	John Ng Tung-wah 伍董華 (BSocSc 1971), Sidney Chow Chi-keung 周志強 (BSocSc 1971)
1971	Lawrence Fung Siu-por 馮紹波 (BSocSc 1972)
1972	Joseph Luk Man-keung 陸文強 (BSocSc 1973)
1973	David Chan Yuk-cheung 陳毓祥 (BSocSc 1975, CertEd 1976)
1974	Linda Tsui Yee-wan 崔綺雲 (BA 1975, CertEd 1977)
1975	Mak Hoi-wah 麥海華 (BA 1976, MSW 1978)
1976	Chung Chi-wai 鍾子維 (BSc(Eng) 1977, MPhil 1982)
1977	Henry Lo Hon-yiu 盧漢耀 (BA 1979, PCLL 1988)
1978	Yeung Wai-ling 楊威寧 (BSocSc 1979)
1979	Alan Man Hoi-leung 文海亮 (BSc(Eng) 1980, MSc 1985)
1980	Victor Fung Yip-hing 馮業興 (BSc(Eng) 1981, MSc 1993)
1981	Chow Kar-po 仇家寶 (BSc(Eng) 1982)
1982	Chang Ka-mun 張家敏 (BSocSc 1983, MSocSc 1987)
1983	Liu Chun-wah 廖振華 (BSc(Eng) 1985)
1984	Fung Wai-kwong 馮煒光 (BSocSc 1985)
1985	Li Siu-kei 李紹基 (BA 1987)
1986	Yuen Yiu-ching 袁耀清 (BA 1989)
1987	Mak Tung-wing 麥東榮 (BA 1988)
1988	Nil
1989	Chow Wing-hang 周永恆 (BSocSc 1990)
1990	Yau Chun-ming 邱振明 (BSc 1989)
1991	Cheung Yui-fai 張銳輝 (BSocSc 1992, PCEd 1995)
1992	Fong Tak-ho 方德豪 (BA 1993)
1993	Nil
1994	Tang King-loy 鄧敬來 (BSc 1996, MPhil 2000)
1995	Rosa Mok Pui-han 莫佩嫻 (BSW 1997)
1996	Nil
1997	Wong Chun-sing 王振聲 (BEng 1998)
1998	Tang Chui-chung 鄧徐中 (BSW 1999)
1999	Chan King-chi 陳敬慈 (BBA 2000)
2000	Gloria Chang Wan-ki 張韻琪 (BSocSc 2001)
2001-2002	Bibi Ngai Wing-yin 魏詠賢 (student at 2002)



*Mak Hoi-wah (middle, front) and the 1975 Executive Committee*



*The 1979 Executive Committee: Alan Man Hoi-leung (middle, back) and Lee Wing-tat (third left, back)*



*A press conference in anticipation of a new Vice-Chancellor; mid-1980s*



*Cheung Yui-fai*



*HKUSU Building*

Student Life in "The Fiery Red Era"



Student protest, 1975



Anti-Japanese rally, 1970s



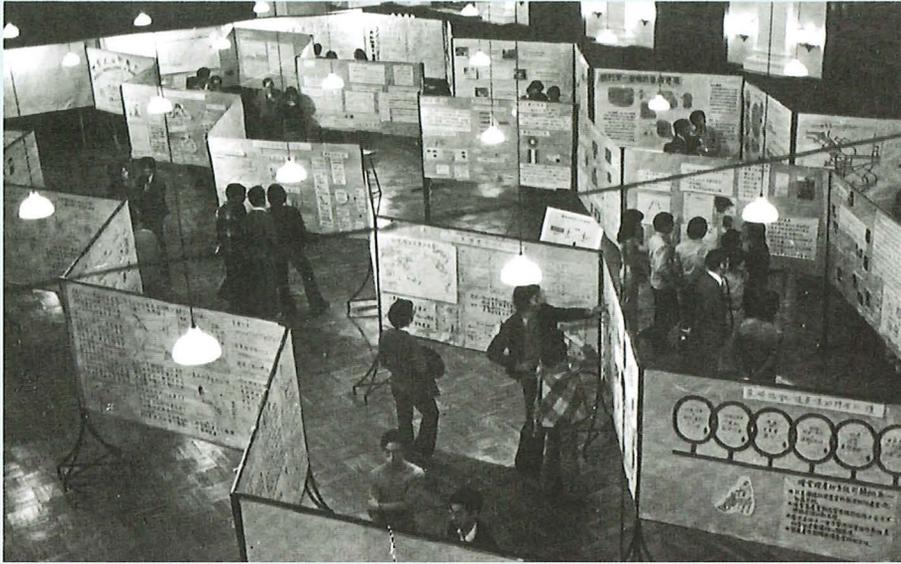
Defend Diaoyutai Movement, early 1970s



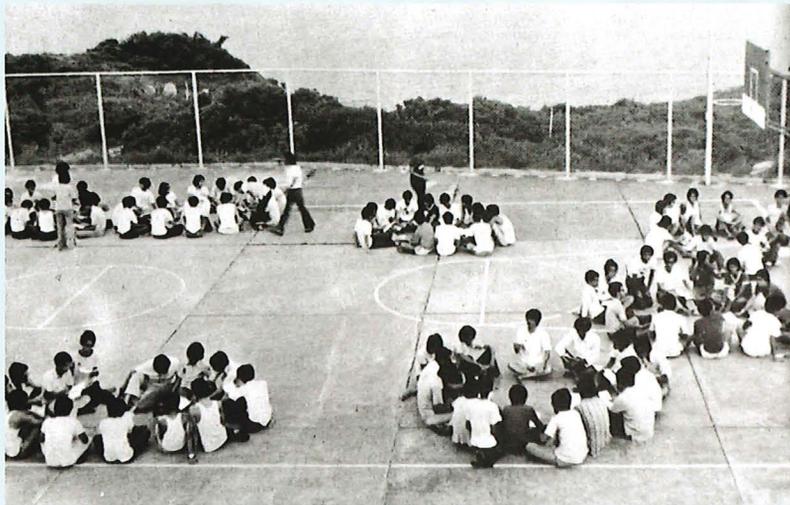
Council meeting was a debating marathon in the 1970s



A gathering of students, staff and visitors, 1970s



An exhibition of the Science Fortnight



Orientation camp for freshmen, 1970s



(Above and below) Big character posters were popular means of communication in the 1970s.



Graduation photo, 1975



Executive committee members of different generations bidding farewell to "Uncle Fat" 呂君發, a long service staff of HKUSU for several decades, mid-1980s