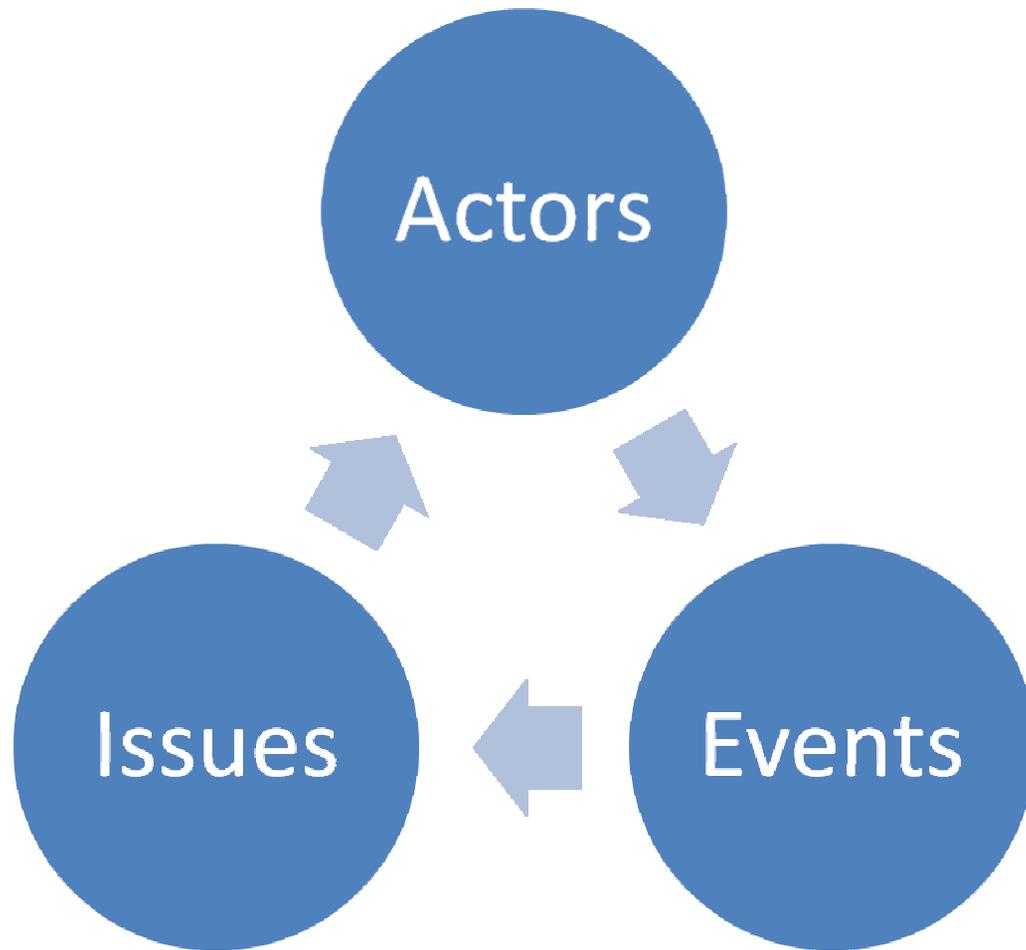


# The HK Umbrella Movement: Actors, Issues, & Its Significance

Au Loong Yu



# 1. CCP's policy towards HK

- 1997-8: The hand-picked Provisional Legislative Council over turned the Collective Bargaining law;
- 2003: Govt withdraw the National Security Bill, after it sparked off a 500,000 protests.
- 2010: Struck a deal with some pan democrat parties to enlarge the seats of direct election in the Legislative Council.

# ...and the Writings on the Wall

- March 2008, Xi Jinping was elected Vice President of the state;
- Oct 2010, Xi was elected Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission;
- Nov 2012, Xi was elected General Secretary.
- March 2012, C Y Leung was elected Chief Executive of HK.
- August 31, 2014: the Standing Committee of the People's Congress made the decision on defining the political reform package in HK.

# Dark Forces.....



# The number of persons immigrate to HK is determined by Central govt— Article 22 /Basic Law



# What is the CCP?

- The HK's perspective of political spectrum: Binary opposition of for or against the absolutist state;
- Or describing the current CCP as “leftists”
- A rupture occurred in 1989. The CCP regime as far right authoritarian capitalist state.
- The ruling bureaucracy also act as capitalists: the combination of coercive power and the power of capital.

- Tainted milk; 2008 Wenchuan Earth quark scandal; Gutter oil; Murder of Li Wangyang ....
- Rafael Hui, former Chief Secretary, was charged with corruption in HK last years and sentenced to 7.5 years in prison. He revealed in the court that he received 1.41 million US\$ of gift, probably from the former head of the Beijing's HK and Macau Affair office.

## 2. The HK SAR Govt -- how autonomous it is?

Undisguised Dictatorship by the Bourgeoisie

- C.Y. Leung, the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong government, in explaining why Hong Kong people cannot have genuine universal suffrage said that this “would allow the city government to follow more business-friendly policies... if it’s entirely a numbers game and numeric representation, then obviously you would be talking to half of the people in Hong Kong who earn less than \$1,800 a month. Then you would end up with that kind of politics and policies.”

# Leung's Govt & the Umbrella Movement (9.26 occupation of the Civic Square)



# 9.28 the Birth of the Umbrella Movement





有線新聞



# 3 Oct / HK Mafia Attack on the Occupiers in Mongkok



### 3. The “HK” Bourgeoisie

- Undisguised Dictatorship by *the ruling clique* of the Bourgeoisie
- Components of bourgeoisie & their representatives: Foreign capital, local tycoons, Liberal party, Mainland Chinese tycoons, DAB, Liaison Office of Central Govt, .....

# Henry Tang



- 25 July, five main chambers of commerce released a statement condemned the plan of occupation.
- 21 Sept, a delegates of local tycoons including Li Ka Shing were invited to visit Beijing and received by Xi, and lectured by the latter that the Central govt oppose any “illegal” actions in HK.

# 4. Economic Actors

- 1% and 99%



# Economic integration between Mainland & HK and its political impact

- Individual visitors / parallel traders / property buyers (total no. of visitors to HK in 2013: 54.3million; Mainlanders: 40.75 million / 75%)
- New Immigrants
- Chinese companies accounts for 60% of stock market value. It is common that their management make their employees to vote for the pro-Beijing parties

# 5. The New Generation & New HK Identity

(The HKFS banner reads “Self Determination” )



# The Political Evolution of HKFS

- 1970 the language right movement
- 1971 the Defend Diaoyu Island movement
- 1973 the China Week
- 1983 Supported the return of sovereignty of HK to China
- 1989 Broke with the CCP regime
- 2014 Umbrella movement: “Destiny of HK be decided by HK people”
- 14/2/15, HKU students voted in favour of quitting the HKFS.

# The youth and social campaigns prior the Umbrella Movement

- 2005 the anti WTO action week
- 2006 Conservation campaign for the Queen Pier
- 2010 Anti high speed train campaign
- 2012 Protest Against Curriculum for National Education
- 2013-4 The Occupying Central project: the prequel of the Umbrella Movement

# 2012 HKCU survey on HK people Identity ( % )

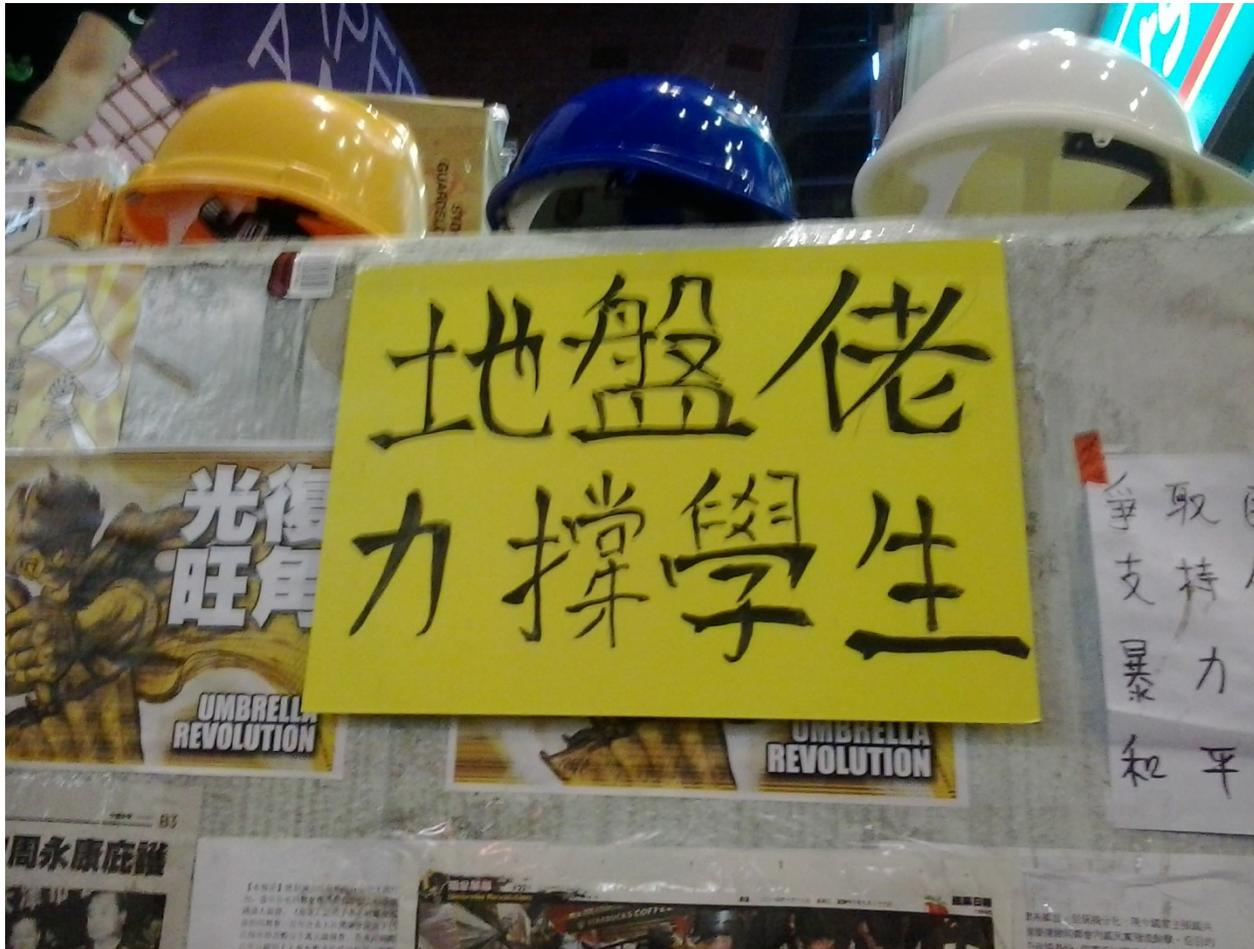
	HKnese	HKnese & Chinese	Chinese & HKnese	Chinese	Others
1996	25.2	32.9	14.7	25.7	1.5
2012	23.4	41.8	22.1	12.6	0.2

# 2011 Survey on youth concerning their identity (%)

HKnese	42.9
Chinese	13.0
Chinese HKnese	30.7
HKnese Chinese	7.2
Don't know	6.2

- The Department of Sociology and Social Policy of Lingnan University, commissioned by the Home Affairs Bureau. P. 122

# 6. Labor, young and old



# Strikes in Hong Kong

Year	Number of Strikes	Days lost	Year	Number of Strikes	Days lost
1973	54	10708	1999	3	299
1979	46	39743	2000	5	934
1980	37	21069	2001	1	780
1981	49	15319	2002	0	0
1982	34	17960	2003	1	150
1983	11	2530	2004	2	351
1984	11	3121	2005	1	100
1985	3	1160	2006	3	54
1986	9	4907	2007	3	8027
1987	14	2773	2008	4	1408
1988	8	2345	2009	7	1080
1992	11	3296	2010	3	328
1997	7	790	2011	2	590
1998	8	1411			

# 7. The Pan-Democrats

- **Achievement: promotion of democratic awareness**
- **Never question the Basic Law:**
- Article 45 &6: Gradual and orderly implementation of universal suffrage; An unspecified nomination committee to elect the CE
- Article 107: balanced budget a must
- Article 108: low tax policy a must
- Article 112: No foreign exchange control
- Article 114: No Tariff
- Article 5 : The previous capitalist system shall remain unchanged for 50 years

- Believe CCP will respect the Basic Law and all its promises
- Law abiding and no civil disobedience
- Universal suffrage as single issue campaign
- Authoritarianism within the movement
- Have 27 seats among 70 in the Legislature, split into 9-10 parties

# Jimmy Lai



# 8. The Right and the Far Right in the Movement

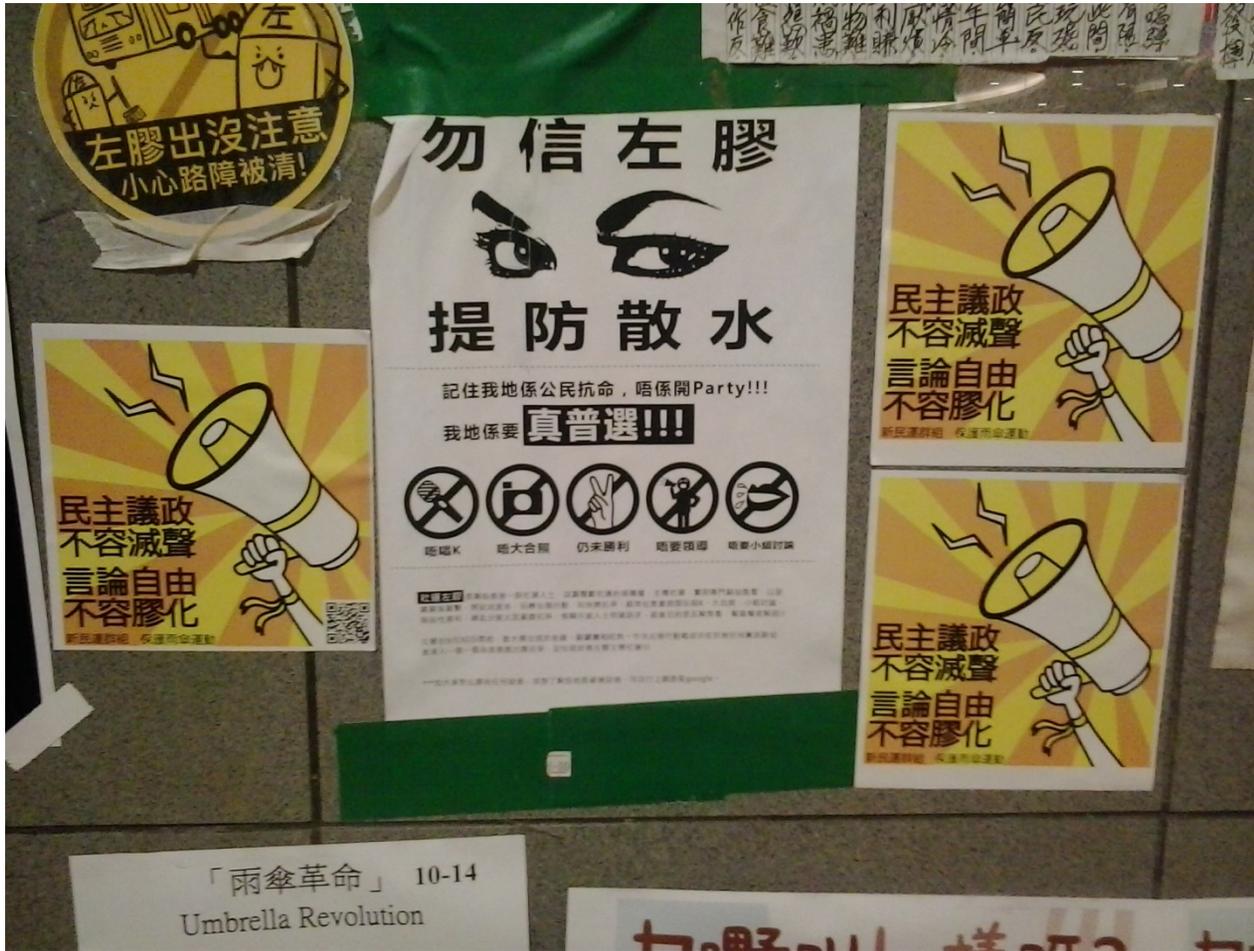
## Organisations

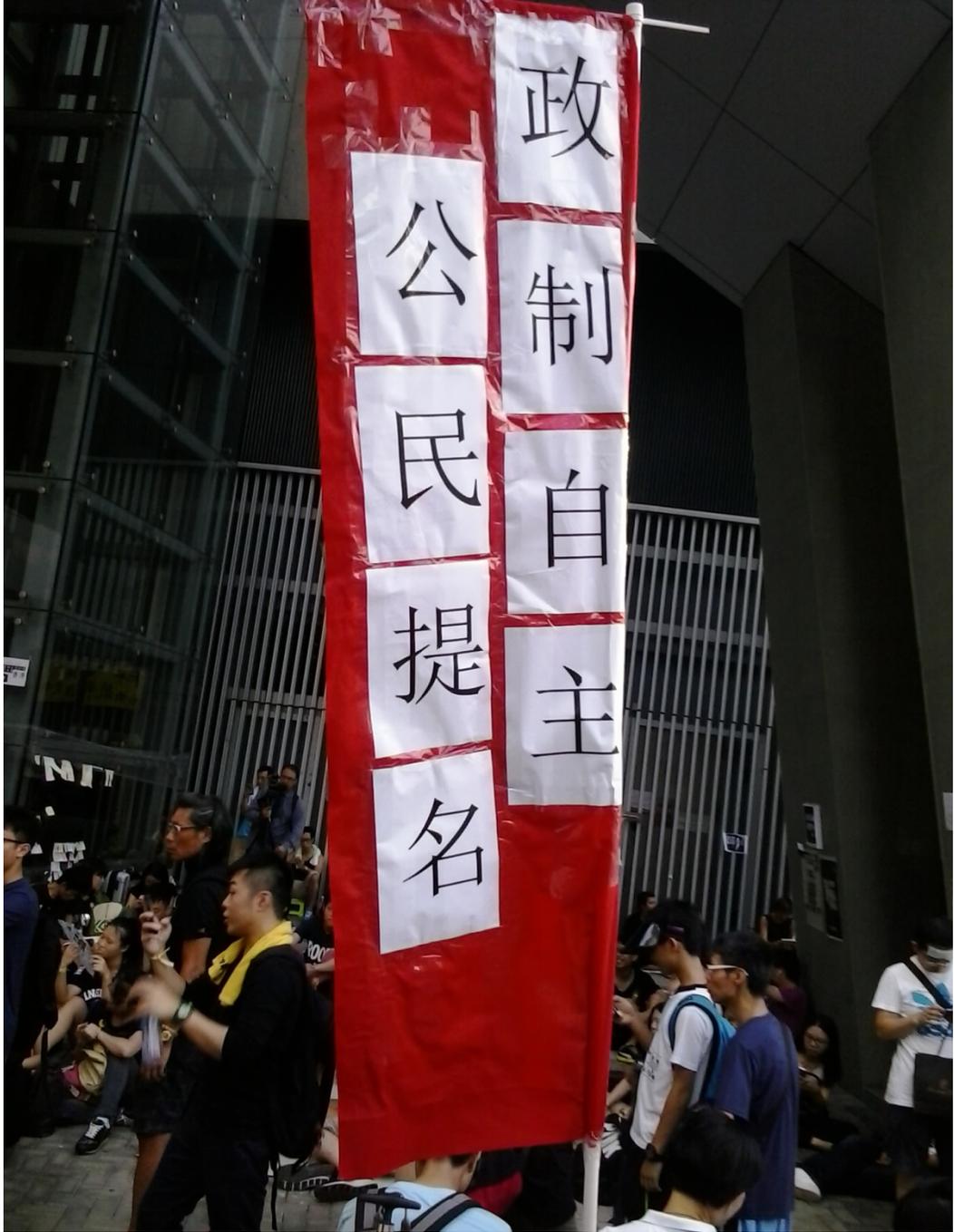
- People's Power
- Civic Passion
- Anarcho Capitalists ?
- Dark Forces?

## Issues

- Trade unions as enemy
- Down with public forum!
- Down with flag hoisting!
- Down with the Stage!
- Disband the stewards!
- Get rid of the “fxxking leftists”
- Those who disagree to break into the CE office were cowards

# The “Fxxking Leftists”





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# Blaming the victims

- Attacks on Mainland Visitors / “Locusts”
- Mainland Chinese all support party dictatorship
- Accuse new Mainland immigrants as enjoying too much welfare
- Accuse the “fxxking Leftists” the main backers of the “locusts”
- Call for Independent
- 14/2/15, HKU students voted in favour of quitting the HKFS.

# Why the Change of CCP's Policy towards HK?

- HK's declining economic role in China
- HK's rising political role in China
- The inner Party's fight
- The bottle neck of economic growth
- The rise of unrest

# The peaceful ending of the movement

- Why?
- What's next?