

**FOR A UNITED FRONT: HONG KONG
DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S
CONGRESS AND CHINESE PEOPLE'S
POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE**

YEW Chiew Ping

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Executive Summary

1. In 1998 and for the very first time, Hong Kong deputies joined the 9th National People's Congress (NPC) as delegates of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. There are 36 Hong Kong deputies to the NPC per five-year term.
2. Besides the NPC incumbents, there are altogether more than 200 Hong Kong delegates in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC), constituting around 10% of the total CPPCC membership at the national level.
3. Hong Kong's membership in the NPC and CPPCC serves to integrate the two political systems. Through the co-optation of the city's pro-establishment elite, Beijing has created a tightly knit network of loyalists bound to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) by common interests.
4. In Hong Kong, a seat in the NPC or CPPCC seems to be "some kind of consolation prize for a senior HKSAR government official who the Mainland considered patriotic."
5. Recently, three former chiefs of Hong Kong's foremost law enforcement departments have also been "elected" or appointed to the 12th NPC and CPPCC. This sparked concerns that deferred incentives may tamper with the independence of Hong Kong's law enforcement.
6. The business sector has always been heavily represented in the CPPCC. As early as in the 1990s, many Hong Kong businessmen have bought political insurance by joining the CPPCC delegation at various levels.
7. Tycoons and their scions often joined the local CPPCC in localities where they have investments or where their ancestry lies, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Guangdong among others.

8. Appointing businessmen to the CPPCC, whose attractiveness lies in its tacit benefits, is a win-win arrangement for both local governments and businesses. The distribution of CPPCC seats is also a political decision.
9. Members of the Executive Council, the Hong Kong Chief Executive's de facto cabinet, are represented in the CPPCC and the NPC. Hong Kong legislators and district councilors also hold seats in the two organs.
10. The Liaison Office in Hong Kong exerts considerable influence over the electoral outcome, preventing pan-democrats from being elected and ensuring that others are successfully elected. Pan-democrats had taken part in the election of Hong Kong NPC deputies but failed to make any headway.
11. The apparent success of the NPC and CPPCC as "united front" organizations in post-handover Hong Kong inevitably affects the city's autonomy and its democratization.