

HONG KONG  
*Culture and Society*

*Changing Church and State Relations  
in Hong Kong, 1950-2000*

Beatrice Leung and Shun-hing Chan

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

# Contents

Series Foreword	vii
Foreword: Faith, Citizenship and Colonialism in Hong Kong Leo F. Goodstadt	ix
Acknowledgements	xvii
1. Introduction	1
2. Church-State Relations Models	11
3. Traditional Relations Between the Hong Kong Government and Christian Churches	23
4. Hong Kong Christian Churches Defend Religious Freedom and Choose Representation on the Selection Committee During the Transitional Period (1984–1997)	47
5. Non-traditional Relations Between the Hong Kong Government and Christian Churches	73

6. The Hong Kong SAR Government and the Catholic Church	107
7. The Hong Kong SAR Government and Protestant Churches	125
8. Summary and Conclusions	145
Appendixes	157
Notes	179
Bibliography	197
Glossary	213
Index	221

## CHAPTER ONE

# Introduction

The impact of Church-State relations on the history of Europe and the United States has been enormous and remains an important issue of debate today. For centuries, Christianity has influenced the cultural and political development of Europe. As a result, it is closely associated with the West. In general terms, Christianity, and the churches in particular, has played a double role in the Western political system. At times, the churches have thrown their support behind a government, and thereby strengthened its political legitimacy. On other occasions, the churches have condemned and criticized a government in order to challenge its rule or promote political reform. Church-State relations are complex, with many factors influencing how the two interrelate.

The relationship between Church and State has never been static. Relations have been affected by constant changes in the wider social environment of people and politics. Secondly, the Christian church is not a unified organization, but is instead made up of different denominations and groups — a divided clan. The three major Christian groups that make up the clan — Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodoxy — have their own political ideologies. Furthermore, within the Protestant group there are many different sub-groups, each with its own political viewpoint and set of beliefs. Thirdly, as a whole, the Christian churches have a common set of faith-prescribed values and morals, which should, in theory, guide the churches in their relationship with

the State. However, many factors, especially self-interest and desire for power in the political environment, have always affected how the churches have related to the State and at times Christian values and morals have come second. Hence, the study of Church-State relations should go beyond the official documents of a government and beautiful religious discourse. It should investigate whether power and interest have played a part in that relationship.

Hong Kong has its own unique socio-political culture and system which is not identical to that found in the West. Catholic and Protestant missionaries were invited by the Hong Kong government to serve the army and local people soon after the British occupied the colony in 1841. Before World War II, the churches assisted the Hong Kong British colonial administration by offering educational, social and medical services to the poor and destitute. In return, the government granted land and financial subsidies to the Christian churches for their social service work, thus laying the foundations of a 'contractual relationship' between the government and Christian churches. This unique form of Church-State relations flourished after World War II when the British government feared the infiltration of Communism into Hong Kong. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the Christian churches were encouraged by the government to provide educational, social and medical services to the wider community. During the 1980s, however, Church-State relations began to change as both the Catholic and Protestant churches began to play a more prominent role in the socio-political arena. In the lead-up to the handover of Hong Kong to China (July 1997), the churches became increasingly involved in politics and social action. They demanded assurances from Britain and the Chinese government that religious freedom and political reform would be protected after the handover. These changes led to the development of an 'untraditional' form of Church-State relations. As the handover neared and the Chinese government entered Hong Kong's political arena, the bilateral relationship between the colonial government and Christian churches expanded into a triangular relationship now including China. Close scrutiny of the changing Church-State relations in the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China will be essential in the years to come.

Researchers from various disciplines have analysed aspects of Church-State relations in Hong Kong from their own specialist perspectives. Based on the British-US model formulated by Francois Houtart, Li Ng Suk-kay (1978) in her political science thesis examined the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Hong Kong government. She reached the conclusion that the colonial government in Hong Kong made use of the Catholic Church to further its own aims. Looking at Church-State relations from a historical perspective,

Lee Chee-kong (1987) sought to explore the relationship between the Protestant churches and Hong Kong society during the pre-Second World War period. He argued that the Protestant churches played the role of a 'servant' in the colony. Lee showed that by staging campaigns, such as the 'anti-keeping handmaid campaign' in 1938, the churches successfully pressured the government into initiating social reform. In an academic article, sociologist Shun-hing Chan (1995) analysed Church-State relations using the theory of 'institutional channelling' as promoted by researchers of social movements. He argued that as a result of the Protestant churches becoming faithful partners of the government they were forced to sacrifice their voice as a 'prophet'. When acting as 'prophet' the churches comment on social, moral and political issues in the context of Christian faith and criticize or monitor the behaviour of a government. Wong Chi-wai (1995) in his political science thesis examined the relationship between the Protestant churches and the Hong Kong government in the 1980s. He focused on the changing relationship between the churches and the State, and the future development of such relations. Ko Tinming (2000) in his sociology thesis examined the political involvement of Hong Kong Protestant church leaders from the 1980s to the 1990s, concluding that a number of Protestant ministers had participated in Hong Kong's political affairs to varying degrees.

## **Concepts and Theoretical Framework**

This book investigates Church-State relations in Hong Kong from the perspective of the relationship between the state and society at large. In particular, the research focuses on the content, formation and development of Church-State relations between 1950 and 2000. At times, however, historical events prior to 1950 have been referred to in order to elaborate certain points or provide background. Patterns of interaction between the State and Church have been examined along with how that relationship has impacted Hong Kong's political development. The 'government' referred to in this book is the Hong Kong colonial government before 1997 and the Hong Kong SAR government after 1997. The mainland Chinese government is occasionally referred to in some of the chapters in this book because its religious policies have, at times, affected Hong Kong. However, Beijing's religious policies are not a focal point of discussion. The 'church' refers to the Catholic and Protestant churches. While the Catholic and Protestant churches in Hong Kong are independent organizations, they share a common cultural heritage and face the

same Hong Kong political environment and government. However, they respond differently to political change due to their differences in organizational structure and culture.

The approach of this research starts from the social theory of state-society relations, and this is taken as a theoretical framework from which Church-State relations in Hong Kong are examined. The study of Church-State relations has a long history in the West, with much conducted within the field of theological studies. Christian scholars who have assessed Church-State relations from the perspective of Christian philosophy and political theory have done considerable work (Barth 1960; Stone 1983; Feige 1990; Jungel 1992). Within the field of sociology, Church-State relations have been discussed largely in the area of sociology of religion, particularly using social theories on religion and society formulated by Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber.<sup>1</sup>

While acknowledging the contributions of this work, it must be said that it has some limitations. As Christian scholars do not generally engage in empirical study, their writings are not particularly useful in understanding the pattern of Church-State relations in a particular historical context. The classical theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber provide profound insights and their theories point to particular dimensions of Church-State relations. However, the local political environment is often extremely complex and the theories of the classical sociologists of religion can often provide only guidance, not a theoretical framework.

In this research, Church-State relations are studied from the perspective of State-society relations, and the Church is viewed as one of many social organizations. The researchers looked at the interaction between the Church and government from an organizational perspective. Simply put, the unit of analysis in this research is the organization, that is, patterns of interaction between the government and churches at an organizational level.

The study of Church-State relations in Hong Kong has both theoretical and practical significance. On the theoretical level, traditional theories of Church-State relations come mostly from the West, notably Europe and the United States. As such it is assumed that the Christian faith and churches are part of the mainstream culture. The government and the churches share certain values and ideological views (Smith 1972; Curry 1986; Bradley 1987; McBrien 1987; Robbins and Robertson 1987). Outside Europe and the United States, another paradigm of Church-State relations is derived from countries with socialist/communist governments. This paradigm makes the assumption that communist/socialist governments automatically seek to oppress and control the Christian churches (P. Ramet 1987, 1990; S. P. Ramet 1998).



Over the past thirty years, researchers have also studied the impact of Christianity and the churches on the dynamics and political development of many Latin America and African countries.<sup>2</sup> In the process of their work, however, some have found that models of Church-State theory developed in European, North American and a number of socialist/communist countries are highly problematic when applied to Latin America and Africa. They are now making efforts to develop a new model of Church-State theory more suitable for these countries (Levine 1992; Pattnayak 1995; Swatos, Jr. 1995). The authors of this book share that same vision, and seek to develop a theoretical model that can better explain Church-State relations in Hong Kong, in the hope that such a model might prove useful in other Asian countries (Leung 1996b).

In addition, the study of Church-State relations is closely related to the study of the development of democratization and civil society. One of the reasons why researchers find Church-State relations in Latin America and Africa so interesting is that they have witnessed how Christianity and the churches have been a positive force in the process of democratization and a major source of strength in promoting civil society. In Asia, Christianity in the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan has been a powerful force behind political development (Parker 1938; Hanson 1980; Carino 1981; Wong 1992; Yang 1997). The study of Church-State relations in Hong Kong can help untangle the complex relationship between Christian faith and political development, and provide new insights into the development of democratization and civil society in the territory.

On a practical level, Church-State relations have been an inseparable part of Hong Kong's history, though researchers have largely neglected this aspect. This study of Church-State relations should help fill some blanks in Hong Kong's history. For example, it suggests that the churches played the role of 'contractor' or 'deputy' to the government. This resulted in an uneven relationship of power between the churches and government and limited the churches' capacity to adopt the role of 'prophet', mentioned above. The study of Hong Kong's Church-State relations reveals how the government was able to absorb certain forces in society that had the potential to turn against it, and how it was able to manipulate those same forces into becoming faithful partners.

This research also shows how, as the years passed, Church-State relations changed as some Christian groups began to adopt the role of prophet by monitoring and criticizing the government. This helped to facilitate social and political reform and reveals how the churches advanced the process of democratization and the building of a civil society in Hong Kong.

## Data and Methodology

According to data covering the years 1951 to 2000 in *Hong Kong*, a Government Information Service Department publication, the percentage of Christians in the Hong Kong population has been approximately between 8 to 10 per cent since 1950. For example, the Hong Kong population in 1970 and 1975 was 4,127,800 and 4,379,900 respectively and the Christian population (Catholics and Protestants) was 400,000 in 1970 and 440,000 in 1975, which was 10 per cent of the Hong Kong population. From the 1980s the Christian population decreased slightly. The Hong Kong population in 1980 and 1985 was 5,147,900 and 5,466,900 respectively. The Christian population fell to 9 per cent of the Hong Kong population with 456,800 in 1980 and 500,000 in 1985. The Hong Kong population in 1995 and 2000 was 6,307,900 and 6,865,600 respectively, while the Christian population was 514,140 in 1995 and 529,700 in 2000, a drop to 8 per cent of the Hong Kong population (Table 1).

The Christian population makes up approximately 12 to 13 per cent of all religious believers in Hong Kong (Table 2). According to two surveys conducted in 1988 and 1995, the followers of folk religion form the largest population of believers, at 23 per cent and 15.3 per cent respectively. The Protestants and the Buddhists rank second, with Protestants forming 7.2 per cent in 1988 and Buddhists 11.6 per cent in 1995. However, if Catholics and Protestants are taken together as Christian, then the number of Christians totaled 12.1 per cent in 1988 and 12.9 per cent in 1995, a percentage slightly higher than the number of Buddhists.

'Church' is defined here as an organization that professes a belief in some transcendental being and codifies behavioural norms that presumably are in accordance with this belief. 'State' is defined as a set of organizations vested with the authority to make binding decisions for people and organizations juridically located in a particular territory and to implement these decisions using, if necessary, force.<sup>3</sup> As the scope of this study covers fifty years from 1950 to 2000, it was necessary to conduct both historical and field research in order to understand how Church-State relations varied in different periods of time.

The two authors of this book have themselves dual roles, being both academics and active church members. Beatrice Leung Kit-fun is a Catholic nun and member of the Sisters of the Precious Blood congregation. She is also an associate professor in political science. Shun-hing Chan is an assistant professor in religion and philosophy and a Protestant who has received theological training. Hence, the two authors were able to consider the topic from the viewpoint of insiders and outsiders.

**Table 1** Hong Kong Population, Numbers of Catholics and Protestants, 1950–2000

<i>Year</i>	<i>Hong Kong Population</i>	<i>Number of Catholics</i>	<i>Number of Protestants</i>	<i>Total (Catholics and Protestants)</i>	<i>Ratio of Total Number of Catholics and Protestants to Hong Kong Population (%)</i>
1950		(33,848)			
1951	2,000,000	40,000	20,000	60,000	3%
1955	2,400,000	73,499 (60,000)			
1960	3,190,000	158,419 (146,464)			
1965		(220,280)			
1966	3,716,400	234,500			
1970	4,127,800	247,953 (241,813)	152,047	400,000	10%
1975	4,379,900	265,000 (265,806)	175,000	440,000	10%
1980	5,147,900	266,800 (266,843)	190,000	456,800	9%
1985	5,466,900	269,000 (267,429)	231,000	500,000	9%
1990	5,859,100	258,200 (253,362)	285,000	543,200	9%
1995	6,307,900	254,140 (257,457)	260,000	414,140	8%
2000	65,600	229,700 (229,723)	300,000	529,700	8%

Source: Data from each year of *Hong Kong* published by the Government Information Services Department, Hong Kong. The numbers in parentheses are provided by the Archive Office of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese.

**Table 2** Distribution of Religious Groups in Hong Kong in 1988 and 1995 (%)

<i>Religious groups</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1995</i>
No religion	58.3	60.2
Folk religion	23.0	15.3
Buddhist	6.6	11.6
Protestant	7.2	8.4
Catholic	4.9	4.5
(N)	(1,644)	(2,275)

Source: Data from May M. Cheng and Wong Siu-lun, 'Religious Convictions and Sentiments.' In Lau Siu-kai et al., eds, *Indicators of Social Development: Hong Kong 1995*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997, 301.

The material and data were drawn from three sources. For the 1950 to 1980 period, the main sources were the Hong Kong Public Records Office, government publications, such as White Papers and reports, and files and documents collected by the churches. Various studies on Hong Kong's history, such as on British and American foreign policy on China, and missionary correspondence also proved useful. For the post-1980 period, the material pertained mainly to the activities of the churches or Christian social groups in response to social and political change, as well as church-related controversies. It included statements, proposals and comments issued by the churches or Christian social groups. Other useful material was found in church leaflets, booklets, newsletters, extras, collected essays, position papers, books, newspaper reports and commentary articles. As active members of their churches Leung and Chan took part in, or were able to observe many of the major incidents outlined in their book. Personal and insider contacts also provided the two authors with valuable information about certain Church-State controversies. Although not conducted as formal interviews with structured questions and recordings, the authors' discussions with church insiders were also useful.

### **The Structure of the Book**

The 'contractual relationship' model is employed here as the conceptual framework for analysing Church-State relations in Hong Kong. The first chapter provides some historical background and describes the socio-political context of this study. It also contains a general review of Church-State relations in Hong Kong, introducing the themes of 'contractual relationship', traditional relationship and untraditional relationship. This paves the way to a full discussion of these themes in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 considers some theories on Church-State relations and how they apply to Western nations, socialist/communist States and Asian countries. Some of the inadequacies and difficulties experienced in applying such theories to Hong Kong are pointed out. Here the concept of a 'contractual relationship', which is derived from John McCarthy and his colleagues' theory about governmental 'institutional channelling', is presented as offering a better framework from which to study Church-State relations in Hong Kong (McCarthy, Britt and Wolfson 1991).

Chapter 3 explores the partnership between Church and State during the colonial period and how, through the Churches' provision of social, educational

and medical services, they cooperated closely with the government. It also includes an in-depth discussion of the causes and affects of this partnership and the various stages of development of Catholic and Protestant educational, social and medical services. Chapter 4 examines the changing political environment from the 1980s to 1997, and the response of the Catholic and the Protestant churches. The events surrounding the Xin Weisi controversy and the Selection Committee are analysed in detail.

Chapter 5 investigates the emergence of a new socio-political role of the churches as advocated by progressive church leaders and lay Christians in the 1980s. The next two chapters examine changes in the political culture of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the 1990s as the handover of Hong Kong to China approached. A change of attitude within the Catholic Church towards the new Hong Kong SAR government, and the new form of Church-State relations between Protestant church leaders is reviewed. Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings of the study and discusses their theoretical and practical implications.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# Summary and Conclusions

Church-State relations in Hong Kong, compared to those in some Western and socialist countries, are unique in terms of complexity and variety. The territory's colonial history and political structure have significantly helped to shape the form and development of Church-State relations. This study has sought to show how the Catholic and Protestant churches were influenced by the wider socio-political or 'macro' environment and to what extent this environment helped define the relationship between the churches and government. The churches' adoption, although unintentionally, of the role of 'contractor' or 'deputy' to the government after the 1950s, and their outspokenness in the 1980s, strongly illustrate how the socio-political environment affected Church-State relations in Hong Kong. However, differences in the organizational structure between the Catholic and Protestant churches also helped determine how they independently approached Church-State relations and how they each responded to change. The varying approaches adopted by the various Christian churches became apparent during the 1990s as Hong Kong prepared for the 1997 handover to mainland China. Moreover, in the years following Hong Kong's establishment as a Special Administrative Region of China, differences in attitude among the churches towards the new administration and its policies also emerged. Hence, this study started with empirical research within the local context. To simply borrow the 'Church-State separation' model found in the

United States, or the 'state domination of the church' model found in many socialist/Communist countries, and apply it to Hong Kong would be inappropriate and ineffectual.

Over the past fifty years, three types of Church-State relations have predominated in Hong Kong. The first emerged during the 1950s, when the churches accepted the invitation of the Hong Kong government to take part in social development. This resulted in a mutually beneficial partnership, or what is termed here a 'contractual' or 'deputy' relationship. The second emerged during the 1980s in the lead-up to the transition of Hong Kong's sovereignty in 1997. During this period, some progressive church leaders urged the colonial government to introduce political reform and promote democratization before 1997. Increasingly, church leaders and lay members began to participate in Hong Kong's socio-political affairs. These church activists openly criticized the leadership of the churches who, they said, had become part of the political establishment. To use a term borrowed from Christian theology, the progressive church activists assumed the role of the outspoken prophet. The third form of Church-State relations emerged during the 1990s and spanned the handover. During this period the churches sought to find ways to relate to the new HKSAR government and exhibited an increasing tendency towards 'criticism in participation'.

The above types of Church-State relations were largely determined by Hong Kong's unique and ever-changing social environment. The first type of Church-State relations arose during the political turbulence of the 1950s. The Hong Kong government at that time was deeply concerned about protecting its authority and colonial rule in the face of political challenges from pro-nationalist and pro-Communist forces in Hong Kong. It was also confronted by overwhelming social problems caused by the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Mainland. As a result of this precarious situation the churches, as social organizations, came to enjoy a privileged position. Moreover, in comparison to the Chinese religious organizations, they had a closer cultural affinity with the colonial regime. Another factor at play behind the privileged status was the churches access to abundant resources and funds from overseas Christian communities. For the government, the churches were social organizations that did not threaten the colonial regime and also had the potential to become important partners in social development. The education and social services provided by the churches helped the government solve many social problems. At the same time, by being allowed to become active in education and social services, the churches were given the chance to both serve the people and preach the gospel, two fundamental missions of the Christian faith.

## **The Catholic Church**

In Britain the strong Christian cultural heritage ensures a close relationship between Church and State — the Anglican Church is considered Britain's 'national church'. Although relations between the British Government and Catholic Church were strained for centuries, today the relationship is far less antagonistic. By contrast, in China, all religions are irreconcilable with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. It would be anathema, therefore, for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to endorse any religious belief. As patriots and nationalists, the CCP leaders from the early days of the establishment of Communist China could not be seen to support Christianity, which was labelled a 'foreign religion'. The Chinese government's relationship with the Catholic Church was further aggravated by the Vatican's claiming the sole right to exercise authority over all Catholic clergy, both in terms of organization and theology. The Vatican's sovereign status in international law was another factor affecting smooth relations between the Catholic Church and Chinese government (B. Leung 1998).

Shortly after the arrival of the British in Hong Kong in 1841, Catholic missionaries were invited to serve the spiritual needs of the British army. As soon as they arrived they began to establish, with financial assistance from the colonial government, Catholic schools and a variety of social services including reformatory work (Ticozzi 1997, 77). The government was quick to realize that the churches could run a number of high quality social services and educational institutes at a lower cost than the government. The efforts and contributions of many devout Catholics in Hong Kong, and funds from overseas Catholic communities, allowed the churches to expand their services, enhance their ability to evangelize and generally strengthen their position to influence colonial Hong Kong society.

This working relationship between the churches and Hong Kong government is defined here as an 'unintended contractual relationship' which evolved without a governmental agenda. However, it cannot be referred to as a 'partnership' because over the whole colonial era, the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches had no say over the formulation of government policy on education and social services. Instead, the churches became effective and efficient contractors used to implement and execute government policies.

After World War II, the contractual relationship between the churches and government expanded greatly. Determined to block Communist infiltration into the colony, the government encouraged the Christian churches to provide services to the thousands of Chinese refugees fleeing the Mainland. They were



seen as reliable allies in the government's efforts to block the spread of Communism, and were encouraged to help oust atheistic Communist influence in education. This became very evident following the colonial government's crackdown on the Communist underground network following the 1967 riots. In the 1970s, traditional Chinese associations such as the Po Leung Kuk and Tung Wah Hospital Group were embraced and began to act likewise as government 'contractors'. As time passed, the special privileges granted mainly to the Christian churches gradually began to diminish.

The Catholic Church, however, had to pay a high price to secure its position as a 'government contractor'. Firstly, its long desire to establish its own tertiary education institute was sacrificed. Secondly, on institutional level, it was not able to adopt the more socially active role with respect to justice and peace issues that Vatican II advocated, although individual clerics were involved in pressure groups. It was not until the 1980s that the Church was able to become more outspoken on socio-political issues and this was in part made possible by the growing leniency of the colonial government and increasing social unease as the handover neared. The Catholic Church's willingness to sacrifice its tertiary education ambitions and socio-political involvement indicates the extent to which it valued its contractual relationship with the government, with the purpose to serve the people. In the 1980s, it became more involved in socio-political issues and adopted the role of outspoken prophet largely due to the 'China factor' — the CCP's atheist views and its harsh treatment of the Catholic Church on the Mainland. The Church's increasing socio-political involvement eventually led to the development of a new form of Church-State relations.

During the colonial era there was little contact between the Hong Kong Catholic Church and Beijing officials. This belied a mutual lack of trust and would later complicate the building of Church-State relations between the Catholic Church and the HKSAR government after the handover. Many Hong Kong Catholics' sense of distrust and fear towards the Mainland stemmed from Beijing's long and well recorded harsh treatment of religious believers. General Catholic support for the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong also reflected anti-Communism leanings. This naturally attracted the attention of CCP leaders in Beijing. Thus the position of the Hong Kong Catholic Church was to further complicate the already tense Sino-Vatican relations (B. Leung 1992b). Moreover, Beijing generally interpreted Hong Kong Catholic assistance to Mainland Catholics as interference in China's internal affairs and at odds with CCP interests.

In the lead-up to the handover, Beijing expressed concern about Christian

activities in Hong Kong by allowing the contractual relationship between the government and churches in the field of education and social services to continue in the HKSAR, but asking for the elimination, or at least reduction of certain kinds of Hong Kong Christian 'assistance' to Mainland Christians, and calling for the end of church participation in Hong Kong's socio-political affairs.

Shortly before the handover, on various occasions the Hong Kong Catholic Church's leadership was caught in a dilemma vis-à-vis China's expectations of Christian churches. The leaders of the Catholic Diocese were prepared to make some concessions in an effort to ensure good Church-State relations with the HKSAR government. This included the elimination of Catholic involvement in the pro-democratic movement, and downscaling the promotion of the 1995 Legislative Council Elections as had been done in 1992. However, these same leaders were not prepared to reduce the Church's assistance to Mainland Catholics despite Beijing's warnings.

Soon after the handover, efforts by the new HKSAR government to introduce reforms in the education and social service sectors unsettled the Catholic Church, which interpreted them as a threat to the previously accepted 'contractual' terms. Coadjutor Bishop Joseph Zen Ze-kiun, consecrated in December 1996, was to take the lead in the gradual redrawing of Church-State relations in the days leading up to the handover and the years immediately following it.

The Catholic Church was involved in a series of controversies following the handover: it supported Mainland applicants in the 'Right of Abode' row; the diocese decided to participate passively in the Legislative Council Elections in 2000; the semi-dormant parish social concern movement was reactivated and it strongly supported the canonization of the 120 China Martyrs; and it voiced its concern about religious freedom in the HKSAR apropos the Falun Gong movement. The Church joined political dissent to oppose the implementation of Article 23 of the Basic Law. All of these reflected the church's increasing political activism. As the church began more and more to play the role of prophet by becoming a vocal conscience of society and intensifying its promotion of social justice, Church-State relations began to worsen.

The downgrading of the Christian churches in the government's Precedence List (from fifth to ninth position), the decreasing representation of Catholics in government educational and social reform committees, and the indirect government refusal to allow a papal visit to the HKSAR, reminded the Catholic Church not to be naïve about preserving close Church-State relations. The less than smooth relations actually forced the Church to stop sitting on the fence.

Bishop Joseph Zen, the successor of Cardinal Wu, was forced to make more clear-cut decisions regarding the Catholic position on various socio-political issues and to become more outspoken as a social 'prophet'.

The sharp change in relations between the Catholic Church and government was for the most part the result of major shifts in Hong Kong's socio-political environment due to the change of sovereignty. Within the Catholic Church there are different opinions concerning Church-State relations. The Catholic tradition allows internal discussions and arguments through its own mass media.<sup>1</sup> However, no open disputes were heard due to the teaching authority and culture of obedience within the Church. In 1999, the Catholic leadership decided to organize a synod in an effort to chart a new future path for the Church. Due to the rough socio-political environment and fundamental incompatibility of atheism with religious beliefs, the Church needed to consider policy adjustments.

### **The Protestant Church**

Over a period of 50 years, the Hong Kong Government and Protestant churches were able to build a firm and close relationship. Even today, the contractual relationship between the government and churches continues to benefit both parties. This particular type of Church-State relationship is referred to here as a 'channelled partnership'. The support of the colonial government, however, disappeared when Hong Kong became a Chinese SAR in 1997 and a new form of Church-State relations began to emerge. One challenge came from the increasingly close relationship between the new HKSAR government and Chinese religious organizations.

The second type of Church-State relations emerged during the era of rapid social change in the 1980s. The 'problem of 1997' made many people in Hong Kong long for democratic political reform. It was in this social environment that a group of reformed Protestant church leaders and lay Christian activists became more active in socio-political issues and began urging the colonial government to implement democratic reforms. From the early 1980s to mid-1990s, these church activists openly expressed their concerns to the Chinese government regarding the future of religious freedom in Hong Kong. They also sought to secure the continuation of the churches' involvement in education and social services after the handover and demanded that the colonial Government speed up the pace of democratic reform before 1 July 1997.

The above demands were made in three statements issued by the Protestant

churches in 1983; the 'Proposed Statement of Faith for Hong Kong Christians in the Face of Social and Political Change'; the 'Statement on Religious Freedom by the Protestant Churches of Hong Kong'; and 'Opinions of the Hong Kong Protestant Delegation to Beijing on the Future of Hong Kong'. Reverend Kwok Nai-wang of the Hong Kong Christian Council supported the position that in 1988 the Legislative Council choose the members on the basis of fully democratic and direct elections. Another well-known Protestant figure, Reverend Fung Chi-wood, led a movement protesting against the building of the Daya Bay nuclear plant in 1986.

In December 1986, a pro-Beijing 'social critic', Xin Weisi, warned the reformed church leaders that their involvement in political issues was tantamount to recreating a western middle ages-type of Church-State relations. His comments triggered an intense debate that continued for many months and greatly hampered the development of the Protestant socio-political movement. In 1986 and 1987, the conservative church leaders who held the reins of power in the Hong Kong Christian Council attempted to silence the voice of the reformed church leaders. Furthermore, they sought to remove any clergy who supported democratic reform in the Hong Kong Christian Council. In 1987, the Anglican Church demanded that Reverend Fung Chi-wood stop expressing his 'secular' views in public and asked him to travel overseas to study for two years. In 1988, Reverend Kwok Nai-wang left the Hong Kong Christian Council and founded the Hong Kong Christian Institute where he continued his battle for democratic reform with limited resources. This form of Church-State relations is here referred to as one of 'critical opposition'.

In the 1990s, as Hong Kong entered the final stages of the power transition, the opportunities for the churches to become involved in socio-political issues declined, and the struggle for democratic reform became more difficult. It is likely that the churches' new position of 'critical opposition' will prove effective only after substantial political reform in the Mainland. This will in turn affect the political attitude of the Hong Kong SAR government.

The third type of Church-State relations emerged in the mid-1990s. A group of church leaders sought ways to deal with the future Mainland-dominated, pro-Communist HKSAR government. Their efforts to mobilize the collective action of the Protestant community triggered intense debate among the Christian churches. An attempt was made to encourage churchgoers to participate in the debate surrounding the choosing of Selection Committee members, the National Day Celebration Service and Christian participation in the Election Committee. The group of church leaders held similar ideas and a common political position. They shared a strong sense of national consciousness

and identity, sought to influence the political structure of Hong Kong in the face of the future rule of a Beijing appointed government, attempted to mobilize the Protestant community to respond to the ‘problem of 1997’ and an array of social and political problems. They also advocated an attitude towards politics that emphasized both criticism and participation.

These church leaders sought to find a balance between the struggle for reform and a willingness to compromise for the greater good — this position has been described here as one of ‘criticism in participation’. This new approach falls somewhere between the churches previous relationship of ‘channelled partnership’ with the government and their increasing move towards one of ‘critical opposition’. Research conducted by the authors suggests that the leaders of the Protestant churches granted legitimacy to the new HKSAR government by encouraging Protestant participation in the Selection Committee and Election Committee. Although these same church leaders argued that by taking part in the two undemocratic bodies they would be able to ensure some fairness and be a voice of criticism, their influence proved to be severely limited and largely ineffectual. The authors also point out that the arguments put forth by the church leaders in favour of participating in the political arrangements behind the setting up of the post-colonial government was untenable. The resulting form of Church-State relations is referred to here as one of ‘organized dependence’, which describes a kind of political relationship in which the Church is willing to stand behind and mobilize the Protestant community to support the government in order to win a friendly attitude in return. Moreover, it is expected that this relationship of organized dependence is likely to continue in the near future. The HKSAR government, it appears, welcomes the support of the churches and knows well the considerable influence the church leaders exert over the general Protestant community. However, we anticipate that compromise would outweigh the struggle to reform in the future interaction between these church leaders and the Hong Kong SAR government.

### **Implications to Democratization and the Building of Civil Society in Hong Kong**

The three types of Church-State relations that have emerged over the past half-century have seriously impacted the political development of Hong Kong and will continue to do so in the future. In the West, the Christian churches are often seen to be very active in social affairs and at times pressuring governments to implement political reform. In Hong Kong, the churches’

position as a government 'contractor' fundamentally determined Church-State relations and the churches' exercise of power. While both Church and State benefited from this contractual relationship, the churches' hands were tied and they were forced to sacrifice their role as critical prophet when dealing with the government. The government secured a faithful, and dependent partner and reduced the risk of the churches challenging its social policies. Indirectly, the government was able to use the churches to exert control over potentially critical segments of society. Further study is needed to determine the extent to which the government was able to channel its policies through the churches and, apart from the churches, to discover what other social organizations were drawn into the government's net. Particular attention should be given to the growing influence of certain Chinese religious organizations and their relationship with the new HKSAR government.

In addition to the 'institutional channelling strategy' employed by the government, Church-State relations can shed light on the development of civil society and the process of democratization in Hong Kong. Contemporary sociologists argue that democratization is a key factor behind the building of civil society. Craig Calhoun has suggested that civil society is a political community organized by citizens that stands outside the State (Calhoun 1993). Civilian members of society hold rational-critical discourse on political issues in the public sphere, and the criteria for such discourse is 'good' argument through which they reach consensus, build identity and become an organized social movement. This process of rational-critical discourse can expand its 'democratic inclusiveness', and recognize and accept members with different identities in a civil society. One question that arises when applying the theory of civil society to the study of Hong Kong Church-State relations is whether the Christian community has a part, or can play one, in the development of a civil society in Hong Kong. This study reveals that the second type of Church-State relations in Hong Kong — referred to here as 'critical opposition', where certain reformed church leaders and lay Christians struggled for social justice and political democratization — reflects an attempt by the churches to help build civil society. The controversy surrounding the churches' involvement in the Selection Committee, National Day Celebration Service and Election Committee exposed serious divisions within the Christian community and saw the emergence of a group of clergy and lay Christians who were prepared to stand up for their political ideals and principles and openly criticize the government. By taking part in debates on socio-political issues the churches have the potential to develop a Christian social movement and as such help build a civil society in Hong Kong.

## **Theoretical Reflections**

From the study of Church-State relations in Hong Kong, it is possible to examine further the contributions and limits of the theory of institutional channelling. As shown in the previous analysis, studying the relationship between State and society is an effective starting point on which to build a theoretical framework of Church-State relations. Moreover, institutional channelling is also a heuristic concept that can help expose the pattern of interaction between the government and churches on an organizational level. John McCarthy and his colleagues point out that the State or government is a rational social actor that uses the mechanisms of taxation, the law and various policies to control and influence social movement organizations (McCarthy, Britt and Wolfson 1991). This study shows that the Hong Kong government was able to manipulate effectively the churches into becoming part of the government establishment. John McCarthy and his colleagues also point out that grassroot social movement organizations can escape the net of institutional channelling because tax laws and government policies affect them less. This study shows that those Christian social groups operating outside the formal church establishment were able to preserve their prophetic character and critical voice because they did not rely on government resources.

The theory of institutional channelling is analysed here and suggestions are made for possible revision. John McCarthy and his colleagues discovered from their research in the United States that state tax laws and policies can function as a net through which the government can exert control over social movement organizations. The research behind this book found that the Hong Kong government used its allocation of funds and resources in the fields of education and social services to exert control over the churches and other civil organizations. The implication is that a government can use a variety of means to exert control over potentially threatening civil organizations.

Secondly, the theory of institutional channelling suggests that the government is an active social actor whereas most social movement organizations are passive agents controlled, or at least influenced, by the former. Those social movement organizations that operate within the net of government influence are largely forced to comply with its policies while those movements outside the net are able to escape the State's controlling mechanisms. It is possible to argue that McCarthy and his colleagues' analysis neglected the fact that social movement organizations can be rational social actors rather than merely passive agents. This study shows that churches can respond to the government's attempts to control them in two ways.

The first can be called 'tacit compliance'. In chapter 5 it is argued that some Protestant church leaders developed a kind of patron-client relationship with the Hong Kong colonial government. When confronted, however, with the reality of a major change in Church-State relations following Hong Kong's handover to the Mainland, the church leaders had to consider new ways to relate to the new pro-Communist, Beijing-appointed HKSAR government. This reveals the churches' ability to become rational social actors — the church leaders assessed change in the external environment and responded by altering the way they interacted with the new government.

The second can be called 'strategic action' — opposing the State's channelling mechanism. McCarthy and his colleagues noted that local grassroots organizations can escape the net of the government. This study found that such organizations were able to do so not simply because of their location but as a matter of choice and conscious decision. For example, the establishment of the Hong Kong Christian Institute, as described in chapter 5, was due to Reverend Kwok Nai-wang's controversial departure from the Hong Kong Christian Council. Under pressure from the Mainland government, the Council attempted to restrict his involvement in socio-political affairs. In 1988 he founded the grassroots Hong Kong Christian Institute and continued his social and political participation outside the established church. This shows that some social movement organizations are not simply passive agents. On the contrary, they are active and rational social actors, like Bishop Joseph Zen of the Catholic Church, who battle against the government in order to secure social and political reform on humanitarian grounds.



## Notes

### Foreword Faith, Citizenship and Colonialism in Hong Kong

1. See, for example, the scriptural citations in A Plé, 'Les textes de l'écriture sur la charité fraternelle', in A Plé (ed.), *L'Amour du Prochain*, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1954.
2. Wong Man-fong *China's Resumption of Sovereignty over Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University, n.d., 40–3.
3. See Commentator, *Renmin Ribao*, 15 and 25 May, 2, 10 and 13 June 1967.
4. Benjamin K. P. Leung, 'The Student Movement in Hong Kong: Transition to a Democratizing Society', in Stephen Wing-kai Chiu and Tai-lok Lui (eds), *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2000, 214–6.
5. On Sir Alexander Grantham's views, see Steve Tsang (ed.), *A Documentary History of Hong Kong: Government and Politics*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995, 291–2.
6. Until 1977, Hong Kong judges were not selected from among barristers in private practice, as they would have been in the United Kingdom, but from the Colonial Legal Service.
7. Patrick Yu Shuk-siu, *Tales from No. 9 Ice House Street*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002, 12–3, 57. His account has been supplemented with information from Jesuit archives.

8. See James 2. 15–6.
9. Peter Hodge, 'The Politics of Welfare', in John F. Jones (ed.), *The Common Welfare: Hong Kong's Social Services*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981, 17–9.
10. See, for example, the role of Protestant and Catholic clerics in the educational field during the 1950s in Anthony Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post-War Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1993), chapter 5. Christian professionals were active, amongst other fields, in the development of medical care for children and those suffering from tuberculosis, as well as in the creation of youth and community services.
11. *Codex Iuris Canonici Pii X Pontificis Maximi*, Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1965, canons 1372–4; and *Codex Iuris Canonici Auctoritate Ioannis Pauli Pp. II Promulgatus*, Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983, canon 226.
12. Catherine Jones, *Promoting Prosperity: The Hong Kong Way of Social Policy*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990, 222–5.
13. David Baird, 'Hongkong: Christians in Revolt', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21 May 1970.
14. David Baird, 'Thy Will Be Done', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 29 January 1970.
15. Denny Ho Kwok-leung, *Polite Politics: A Sociological Analysis of an Urban Protest in Hong Kong*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, 67–8.
16. Bernard H. K. Luk, 'Custom and Religion', in Richard Y. C. Wong & Joseph Y. S. Cheng (eds), *The Other Hong Kong Report 1990*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990, 575–6.
17. Alvin Y. So, *Hong Kong's Embattled Democracy: A Societal Analysis*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999, 107–9.
18. Tai-lok Lui and Stephen Wing-kai Chiu, 'Introduction — Changing Political Opportunities and the Shaping of Collective Action: Social Movements in Hong Kong', in Chiu and Lui, *The Dynamics of Social Movements in Hong Kong*, 12.
19. E.g., Romans 13. 1–8; 1 Peter 1. 13.
20. 'De ecclesia in mundo hujus temporis', *Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum Secundum*, Taipei: Catholic Central Bureau, 1966, 196–200.
21. John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, London: Catholic Truth Society, 1988, 83; and *Centesimus Annus*, Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991, 44. For an example of the very different approach to social relations in the 1950s, see Edwardus E. Bezzina, *De Valore Sociali Caritatis secundum principia S Thomae Aquinātis*, Naples: M. D'Auria, 1952.
22. *New China News Agency*, 17 June 2002.
23. Though not an overwhelming or unambiguous majority. See the thoughtful analysis in Joseph Man et al., *Education and Principle-based Opinion: A Study of the Right of Abode Controversy in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 2000, 15–9.
24. *South China Morning Post*, 6 February 2001 and 16 January 2002.

- 25 *Renmin Ribao*, 23 July 1999.
- 26 Legco Panel on Home Affairs, *Minutes of special meeting: 20 February 2001*, LC Paper No. CB(2)1673/00–01.
- 27 *Renmin Ribao*, 20 February 2001.
- 28 *New China News Agency*, 2 October 2000.
- 29 Lam Wun-kwong, Secretary for Home Affairs, avoided expressing any view on either the canonization or the Liaison Office's intervention when questioned in the legislature. *Government Information Services*, 18 October 2000.
- 30 The Chief Executive's official tribute was only two sentences long, however. *Government Information Services*, 23 September 2002.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

1. See Robertson (1987) for a general discussion on study of Church-State relations. On Marxist tradition, see Marx and Engels (1957), Hamilton (1998, 166–220). On Durkheimian tradition, see Pickering (1984), Alexander (1988), Chan (1999a) and Nielsen (1999). On Weberian tradition, see Schlucher (1989), Lemmen (1990), and S.-h. Chan (1999b).
2. On Latin America, see Levine (1981), Fleet (1985), Fleet and Smith (1997), and S.-h. Chan (2000b). On Africa, see Villa-Vicencio (1990, 1996), Walshe (1995).
3. We borrow these concepts from Anthony Gill (1998, 9–10).

## Chapter 2 Church-State Relations Models

1. Based on experiences of the European Communism, Pedro Ramet developed a theory of Church-State interaction. In his theory, Ramet outlines seven areas, which he calls 'clusters', which should be investigated in the study of Church-State relations. They are 'religion and modernization', 'religion and nationalism', 'geneticism-monism', 'religious culture and political culture', 'factionalism in Church-State interaction', 'organization theory' and 'institutional needs of religious organizations'. See Pedro Ramet (1987, 184–95).

## Chapter 3 Rendering Education and Social Services While Assisting the Government in Defending Hong Kong from Communism

1. *Dates and Events Connected with the History of Education in Hong Kong, 1877*, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, 22–3.
2. Hong Kong was officially classified as a Prefecture in the Catholic hierarchical

- structure by Propaganda Fide, Rome. See Ryan (1959, 2) and Ticozzi (1983, 1–4).
3. Hong Kong Record Series, 147 2/1, Hong Kong Public Records Office.
  4. Information Service Department, ed. 1997. *Hong Kong 1997*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government, 409.
  5. For discussion of the expulsion of missionaries for political reasons, see B. Leung (1992a, 73–103).
  6. *South China Morning Post*, 15 December 1949, 5; 19 December 1949, 3; 10 April 1950, editorial.
  7. On 10 October 1956, in what later became known as the ‘Kowloon Riot’, the Nationalists attacked Communist affiliated schools, trade unions, factories and shops, resulting in casualties of over 300 people. In April 1966, a 5-cent fare increase by the Hong Kong Star Ferry triggered large-scale protests. In 6 May 1967 a workers’ protest at a plastic flowers factory in San Po Kong led to a confrontation between the Hong Kong Government and the Communist Workers’ Union. The Hong Kong Government took actions to suppress dissident activities and announced a curfew order. See Hong Kong Government, *Report on the Kowloon and Tsuen Wan Riots: 10–12 October, 1956* (Hong Kong: Cheng Ya, 1956) and Hong Kong Government, Commission of Inquiry, *Kowloon Disturbance, 1966* (Hong Kong: Government Printers, 1967).
  8. An elderly resident in Sai Kung who joined the guerrilla warfare described the Chinese Communists to this writer and how the British worked secretly during WWII to combat the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong and southern China. The guerrilla leader Zeng Sheng recorded this conflict in his memoirs. Zeng (1992, 378–513).
  9. Sir Alexander Grantham to Secretary of State for the Colonies, British Government, 1103 top secret, 30 November 1948, quoted by Sweeting (1993, 199).
  10. *South China Morning Post*, 16 December 1948, 7.
  11. ‘Grantham to SofS, 311 secret, 1 April 1949’. In CO537/4824, Hong Kong Public Record Office.
  12. ‘Grantham to SofS, 384 secret, 30 April 1949’. In FO371/5839, Hong Kong Public Record Office.
  13. See ‘The Letter of Bishop R.O. Hall, Bishop of Hong Kong and South China to the Secretary of the Board of Education. 16 September 1950’, Hong Kong Record Series, 147 2/2 (1), 119, Hong Kong Public Records Office.
  14. See ‘Letter of Secretary of Board of Education to the Rt. Rev. R.O. Hall, the Bishop of Hong Kong, Ref. E.D. 3/2106/45’. Hong Kong Record Series, 147 2/2 (1), 120, Hong Kong Public Records Office.
  15. This was due to the influence of successive British Education Acts in 1870, 1902 and 1944. See McClelland (1988).
  16. Hong Kong Record Series, 147 2/2 (2), Hong Kong Public Records Office.
  17. See ‘The Report on Registration of Children Without Schooling’. Hong Kong

- Record Series, 147 2/2 (1), 119, Hong Kong Public Records Office.
18. The crackdown was not known about by many. It was discussed by the former head of the Xinhua News Agency, Xu Jiatur in 1995. See Xu (1995, 75).
  19. Major J. L. Hillard, Commissioner, Essential Services Corps, 'Survey of Strikes — June 1967', ESC 90/67, 15 September 1967, mimeo, 64, 74.
  20. *Shenzhen Tequ Bao (Shenzhen Daily)*, 12 December 1996; and Wang (1997, 31).
  21. For the social and educational services provided to girls by the French Sisters, see 'Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres File' of Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives. For the education services provided to boys see: 'Father Teruzzi File' and 'Father Mangieri File' of Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, *Dates and Events Connected with the History of Education in Hong Kong 1877*, by the St. Louis Institute of Rehabilitation, a Catholic missionary institute, which provides details of the education services offered on behalf of the Government by the Christian churches during the period 1857–1877. See Ticozzi (1983, 108–12).
  22. See also Maryknoll Archive, no. MPBA, Hong Kong 9/8.
  23. Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, HK-DA S.6–01, F/03.
  24. Stephen Law, 'Social Commitments of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong Education', manuscript, 23. This was confirmed by Father Mencarini who was Vicar General during the 1950s and '60s with responsibility for the building of churches and schools to cope with the expansion of the Catholic population. He was interviewed by Beatrice Leung on 6 May 1997.
  25. Information given by Father Mencarini during an interview by Beatrice Leung on 6 May 1997.
  26. 'Statistics of the Diocese of Hong Kong'. In *Hong Kong Catholic Directory: 1997*, Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 1997, 553.
  27. In a survey taken in September 1999, 48 of the 57 government's directors and vice directors indicated they had gone to church schools before taking university degrees.
  28. Recalled by Father Mencarini, the Bishop's assistant in educational affairs (1950s–1980s) when he was interviewed by Beatrice Leung in April 1997. Bishop Francis Hsu, in private correspondence also mentioned the abortive plan to set up a Catholic tertiary educational institute in Hong Kong. See Fang (1977, 37–8) and Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, HK-DA, S.6–02, F/01.
  29. For the social and education services provided to girls by the French Sisters, see 'Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres File', Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives. For the education services provided to boys, see 'Father Teruzzi File', and 'Father Mangieri File', Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives.
  30. *Almost as Old as Hong Kong*, 3, quoted in Stephen Law, 'Social Commitments of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong: Social Service', manuscript, 5.
  31. Stephen Law, 'Social Commitments of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong: Social Service', manuscript, 5.
  32. 'Brief History'. In *Caritas-Hong Kong: Annual Report 1984–85*, 6–7.

33. *Caritas-Annual Report 1968–1969*, quoted in Stephen Law, 'Social Commitments of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong: Social Service', manuscript, 7.
34. Stephen Law, 'Social Commitments of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong: Social Service', manuscript, 1–2.
35. Recalled by a key participant of that controversial group.
36. Appeared in the first draft of the document entitled 'Jiaohui zhi shehui guang' [教會之社會觀, The Social Outlook of the Church], 9–10.
37. Reviewed by an informant who was close to the British Hong Kong Government.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Hong Kong Diocesan Convention, *Social Dimension of the Church* (Hong Kong: Diocesan Convention, n.d.). See also Ticozzi (1997, 186–90).
40. In an interview in the 1990s, an anonymous Catholic refugee recalled how in the 1950s the immigration official at the US Consulate questioned him about the situation in his home Chinese village. He said that this official even took out a detailed map to double-check the authenticity of the information given.
41. Businessmen and government officials had different views on the provision of education to children. Businessmen believed that education should be aimed at making better workers, while the government wanted education to cultivate law-abiding citizens, so it could reduce the funding allocation to the police force. See Sweeting (1993, 197–8).
42. Ng Shui-lai, Director of Hong Kong Christian Service, remarked: 'Under such circumstances, the Church can no longer provide both the financial and human resources in social welfare as it did in the past. So what will become of the duty of the Church? Or if the Church will not be able to do anything significant except remaining purely as the deputy of the government, what role will she have?' See Ng (1990, 23).

#### **Chapter 4 Hong Kong Christian Churches Defend Religious Freedom and Choose Representation on the Selection Committee During the Transition Period (1984–1997)**

1. The official interpretation of religious freedom is recorded in Document 19 (1982) issued by the Party Central of the CCP. See MacInnis (1989, 1–26).
2. Jane Chui gives a detailed description of how liberal church leaders and lay Christians responded to the Basic Law. See Chui (1992, 37–9, 42–7).
3. Each version of the Chinese constitution has pledged 'religious freedom', yet for non-religious reasons, religious believers have been arrested. The Chinese leaders have their own interpretation of 'religious freedom' and religious activities are circumscribed by regulations issued by the CCP. See Document 19 (1982) in Documentation Centre of Party Central and Policy Section of Religious Affairs Bureau (1995, 53–73).

4. *Green Paper: The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong* (1984).
5. For more about the NCNA, see the memoirs of its former director Xu Jiatus. See Xu (1995).
6. See annex 3, appendix 7 in *Report of the Survey Office, Public Responses to Green Paper: The 1987 Review of Developments in Representative Government*, Part II (1987).
7. Following the United Front principle, since 1980 the Communists in Hong Kong have been assigning one or two contact persons to meet various Catholic Church leaders to convey Beijing's view to them in an informal manner. The open criticism of Xin Weisi had more weight than these private meetings.
8. See Beatrice Leung (2000) and China Catholic Communication, *Guide to the Catholic Church in China 2000*, Singapore, 2000, 14.
9. Established by the Chinese government, the function of HKSAR Preparatory Committee was to help set up the first HKSAR government. Out of the 150 members in the Preparatory Committee, 94 were Hong Kong delegates appointed by the Chinese government. On 26 January 1996, a total of 148 members of the Preparatory Committee went to Beijing to receive a certificate of appointment presented by the Chinese government.
10. *Ming Pao*, 18 May 1996.
11. The nine Christian social groups are: the Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, Christians for Hong Kong Society, Social Concern Group of the Breakthrough Youth Centre, Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, Hong Kong Catholic Labour Committee and the Catholic Youth Council.
12. See *Extra* (8 May 1996, 2), jointly published by the Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, Christians for Hong Kong Society, and the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese.
13. *Ibid.*, 4.
14. The eight Christian social groups were: the Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, Christians for Hong Kong Society, Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, Social Concern Fellowship of Shum Oi Church of the Church of Christ in China, and the Catholic Youth Council.
15. The seven Christian social groups were: the Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, Christians for Hong Kong Society, Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, and the Catholic Youth Council.
16. *Ming Pao*, 17 May 1996.

17. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 17 May 1996.
18. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 18 May 1996.
19. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 17 May 1996.
20. *Christian Times Weekly* 472, 15 September 1996.
21. The 14 candidates who intended to compete for the seats on the Selection Committee were: Peter Kwong (Archbishop, Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, Anglican Church), Simon Sit Poon-ki (Chairperson, Hong Kong Christian Council), Louis Tsui (Bishop of East Kowloon and East New Territories, Anglican Church), Thomas Soo (Bishop of West Kowloon and West New Territories, Anglican Church), Tsang Kwok-wai (Diocesan Archdeacon, Anglican Church), Andrew Chan (Diocesan General Secretary, Anglican Church), Lam Chun-wai (Diocesan Deputy General Secretary, Anglican Church), Moses Cheng Mo-chi (Chairperson, Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education), Pang Cheung-wai (Supervisor, *Sheng Kung Hui* Kei Lok Primary School), Mok Yiu-kwong (Chairperson, Diocesan Welfare Council, Anglican Church), Yau Chung-wan (Supervisor, Emmanuel Lutheran College), Alice Yuk Tak-fun (General Secretary, the Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association), Choi Chi-kan (Director of Education, Assemblies of God) and Tony Lau Yat-chiu (Business Manager, the Lutheran Church, Hong Kong Synod).
22. The candidates who were recommended by Bishop Peter Kwong and Shi Jiao-guang included: Peter Kwong, Simon Sit Poon-ki, Louis Tsui, Thomas Soo, Tsang Kwok-wai, Andrew Chan, Pang Cheung-wai and Yau Chung-wan. See Peter Kwong and Shi Jiao-guang, 'Reference to elect members of religious sector in the Selection Committee of the Hong Kong SAR, China' [中華人民共和國香港特別行政區第一屆推選委員會宗教界推委參考文件] 4 October 1996. Bishop Peter Kwong emphasized that clergy should only take part in political activities on an individual basis, and yet he included a group of Anglican clergy in a list of names recommended for seats on the Selection Committee. This raises the question: Did these clergy take part in the Selection Committee on an individual basis, or did they take part as representatives of the Anglican Church?
23. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 9 October 1996.
24. Pang Cheung-wai, one of the candidates and a Protestant affiliated to the Anglican Church, was also a member of the pro-China political party the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong. See Chan Ka-wai (1996).
25. See A Group of Christian University Students and Graduates, 'An open letter to Bishop Peter Kwong, Elder Simon Sit Poon-ki, Ms Alice Yuk Tak-fun and other Christian members of the Selection Committee' [致鄺廣傑主教、薛磐基長老、郁德芬女士及推委會內基督徒委員的公開信], *Ming Pao*, 11 December 1996.
26. *Christian Times Weekly* 487, 29 December 1996.
27. Reverend Lo Lung-Kwong, a member of the Hong Kong Christian Council suggested that if the Protestant representatives on the Selection Committee violated the principles stipulated by the Hong Kong Christian Council, the nomination



- committee could issue an open statement to condemn him/her. However, the nomination committee was dissolved at a later period and moreover, the Protestant representatives were not chosen by the committee. If anyone violated the agreed principles there was no procedure or legitimate grounds to condemn them.
28. In every version of the Chinese constitution 'religious freedom' has been included, yet for non-religious reasons, religious believers continue to be arrested. Chinese leaders have their own interpretation of 'religious freedom' and religious activities are circumscribed by regulations issued by the CCP. See Document 19 (1982) in Documentation Centre of Party Central and Policy Section of Religious Affairs Bureau (1995, 53–73).
  29. The official of Xinhua News Agency in Hong Kong Branch echoed Beijing's view to the author, soon after the news of the creation of Cardinal Wu was announced.
  30. See *The Tablet* (London), 19 May 1984, 471.
  31. *Kung Kao Po*, 23 December 1983.
  32. Revealed in an interview by Beatrice Leung with a priest in the Hong Kong Catholic diocese in 1990.
  33. *Hong Kong Catholic Directory 2000*, Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society, 2000, p. 62.
  34. On the row between China and the Vatican over the controversy of Archbishop Deng Yiming, see Leung (1992a: 189–256).
  35. Bishop Jin presented this argument to Beatrice Leung when he visited Hong Kong in 1989.
  36. *Sunday Examiner*, 25 October 1996; *Kung Kao Po*, 25 October 1996.
  37. Bishop Joseph Zen gave details of the ordination when Beatrice Leung interviewed him in January 2002.
  38. Explained to one of the authors by NCNA cadres after the consecration.
  39. Bishop Jin, Catholic bishop of Shanghai, dissuaded Beatrice Leung and some other Hong Kong Catholics when he visited Hong Kong in 1994.
  40. The Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong was requested to nominate candidates to represent the Catholic Church to the Selection Committee in the religious subgroup within the grassroots sector.
  41. *Kung Kao Po*, 19 April 1996; 26 April 1996; *Ming Pao*, 17 May 1996; 31 August 1996.
  42. *Ming Pao*, 17 May 1996.
  43. Pope John Paul II, in his speech to the Chinese in Manila, expressed that a good Christian should be a good citizen. See *Sunday Examiner*, 1 February 1981.
  44. Report was issued from the Chancellery Office, and appeared in the Catholic official paper. See *Kung Kao Po*, 23 August 1996.
  45. *Ibid.*
  46. *Ming Pao*, 17 May 1996.
  47. Interview with Mary Yuen Mei-yin, Executive Secretary of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, by Beatrice Leung in May 1998.

## Chapter 5 Non-traditional Relations Between the Hong Kong Government and Christian Churches

1. Council Fathers are those key theologians upon whose theological views Vatican II's orientation was built.
2. *Kung Kao Po*, 12 June 1981, 3.
3. 'Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese', promotional pamphlet published by the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese.
4. The Catholic diocese encouraged the social participation of the Church only in the 1980s, at the time when Hong Kong society was anxious about the Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong.
5. *Kung Kao Po*, 7 December 1990.
6. Minutes of the Annual General Meetings of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese between 1981 and 1989.
7. Noted in the *Committee Report of the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, 1981–82*. Hong Kong: Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese.
8. Some of these women literally lived on boats that were afloat in the waters between Hong Kong and China.
9. UCAN News, *Asia Focus*, 22 December 1995.
10. Bishop Deng Yiming has a chapter on this event in his memoirs. See Tang (1991: 126–30). Cardinal Casaroli went to Hong Kong to greet Bishop Deng Yiming who was released in 1981 after 22 years of imprisonment in China, as the first overture from the Vatican.
11. 'Draft Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and North Ireland and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Future of Hong Kong', 26 September 1984.
12. *Sunday Examiner*, 5 July 1996; *Yi: China Message* (issue 166) XV–XVII, 6 (August 1996): 12–3.
13. Explained by Bishop Joseph Zen who was responsible for Catholic education at the Diocese, on May 2000.
14. Letter from the Chancellor, Catholic Diocese to Catholic leaders on participation in elections, 25 July 1988.
15. *Kung Kao Po*, 9 March 1991. The Prelate's pastoral letter was reprinted in the parishes.
16. A Chinese religious congregation of the Hong Kong diocese re-scheduled the congregation's feast day in order that the Chinese nuns of that congregation could join the rally.
17. Acknowledged by the former head of *Xinhua*, Hong Kong Branch. Xu Jiatus explained that all the events in the rallies in supporting the pro-democratic movement in China were taped and all of these tapes were sent to Beijing. See Xu (1995, 363–98).

18. *Kung Kao Po*, 8 September 1995.
19. Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese. *Dao Jai Zenggang Zhong* (The Word in the Political Platform: A Social Analysis and Suggestions for Improvement), Hong Kong: Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, July 1995. An abridged version of this book together with the original text was distributed to Catholics in all the parishes of the diocese to help Catholics choose candidates according to their merits and performance. Another booklet provided was *Xuanju yu Ni* (The election and you). Hong Kong: Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese, July 1995.
20. This was revealed by Msgr. Claudio Celli, Director of China Desk, State Council, Vatican, when he was interviewed in March 1986.
21. Beatrice Leung, 'The Catholic Bridging Effort with China', *Religion, State and Society* (UK) 28 (June 2000): 185–95.
22. Circular on 'Stepping Up Control Over the Catholic Church to Meet the New Situation', Central Office Document, 1989, no. 3 (produced by the Central Office of the CCP with the State Council and transmitted to the Central Government's United Front and Religious Affairs Bureau of the State Council). See Beatrice Leung (1992, 376–83).
23. *Sunday Examiner*, 5 July 1996; *Yi: China Message* (issue 166) XV–XVII, 6 (August 1996): 12–3.
24. *Asian Focus* 13, 18 (9 May 1997).
25. *Ta Kung Pao*, 1 September 1984.
26. *Ta Kung Pao*, 17 April 1984.
27. *Ta Kung Pao*, 1 September 1984.
28. There were initially four delegates of Protestant leaders on the trip to Beijing. One of the delegates, Reverend Philip Teng (滕近輝) who represented the evangelical churches, was absent on the trip.
29. *Ta Kung Pao*, 8 September 1984.
30. On 25 October 1998, the Hong Kong *Sheng Kung Hui* was established as the 38th Province of the Anglican Communion, and Peter Kwong was installed as the Archbishop of the Hong Kong *Sheng Kung Hui* at the Grand Hall of the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre.
31. *South China Morning Post*, 7 January 1986.
32. *South China Morning Post*, 24 July 1997.
33. *Ecumenical News International Bulletin* 14, 23 July 1997, 34.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *South China Morning Post*, 24 July 1997.
36. *South China Morning Post*, 5 January 1981.
37. *Wen Wei Po*, 9 December 1981.
38. See open letter of the Joint Committee for Monitoring Public Facilities.
39. *Christian Weekly* 861, 22 February 1981, 2.

40. The speeches made at the forum were later compiled into a book. See Commission on Public Policy, Hong Kong Christian Council (1982).
41. *Wahkiu Yatbo*, 26 February 1984.
42. In the Hong Kong Christian Council 1987 newsletter, there were articles discussing the problems of immigration in the Church. See 'Face the Problems of Immigration' [正視移民], *Message*, October 1987.
43. See Christian Sentinels for Hong Kong (1988). Christian Sentinels was also a member of the Joint Committee for the Promotion of Democratic Government (JCPDG).
44. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 22 January 1986; *South China Morning Post*, 28 January 1986.
45. *Wahkiu Yatbo*, 11–13 February 1986.
46. Those who issued the statement included: the Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, the Social Concern Group in the Society of Religion of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, West Kowloon Community Church, Fellowship of Theological Graduates, Christian Social Concern Fellowship of Tsuen Wan and Kwai Chung, Social Concern Fellowship of Shum Oi Church, Church Workers Association, Society of Chung Chi Theology Division Students, and the Community Church of Kwun Tong. See Chui (1992, 34).
47. In *The Draft of the Basic Law*, it was stated that religious organizations in China and Hong Kong should comply with the three principles of mutual non-subordination, mutual non-interference and mutual respect.
48. See also *Ming Pao*, 5 August 1988; *Kwai Bao*, 5 August 1988; *South China Morning Post*, 5 August 1988.
49. See *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 5 October 1987; *Hong Kong Standard*, 28 December 1987; *South China Morning Post*, 31 August 1988; *Hong Kong Economic Times*, 2 September 1988; *Oriental Daily*, 12 September 1988; *Christian Times Weekly* 58, 9 October 1988.
50. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 5 October 1987.
51. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 1 May 1988.
52. *Hong Kong Standard*, 3 December 1987; *South China Morning Post*, 12 December 1987; *South China Morning Post*, 15 December 1987.

## Chapter 6 The Hong Kong SAR Government and the Catholic Church

1. Of 114 schools, 100 were requested by the Government to teach in English while 14 were granted this privilege after an appeal.
2. The policy however proved unsuccessful when in November 2000, the government allowed ten Chinese-medium schools to have one out of ten courses taught in English. The Hong Kong educated Nobel Prize winner, Professor Cui Qi, suggested bilingual education was best for Hong Kong. See *Ming Pao*, 7 December 2000.

3. A number of mission school principals and supervisors of religious congregations who run prestigious mission schools did not agree with the change to mother tongue teaching as the means to resolve the language problem among Hong Kong students.
4. Archbishop Adam Exner of Vancouver, Canada also attended this synod because ethnic Asians constitute two thirds of his region.
5. 'Excerpts from Pope John Paul II's Homily at the Asian Synod's Opening Mass', *Tripod* 105, May-June 1998, 26–8.
6. *Sunday Examiner*, 3 May 1998; *Kung Kao Po*, 3 May 1998; 'Intervention of Coadjutor Bishop of Hong Kong, Joseph Zen', *Tripod* 105, May-June 1998, 38–40.
7. *Ibid.*
8. 'Intervention of John Tong, Auxiliary Bishop of Hong Kong', *Tripod* 105, May-June 1998, 41–4.
9. Bishop Zen said that he was politely but firmly told not to visit seminaries in China. The interview was held in February 1998.
10. For details of the bridging effort see Beatrice Leung, 'Inter-Church Relations Within the Universal Church: A Study of Bridging Efforts with China'. Paper presented at the Third European Catholic China Conference 'The Catholic Church in China — Message, Response and Commitment', 15–19 September 1999, Krynica Morska, Poland.
11. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 7 June 1999.
12. Callers on radio phone-in programs were very vocal.
13. *Kung Kao Po*, 13 June 1999.
14. *Kung Kao Po*, 16 May 1999; 30 May 1999; 13 June 1999; and 20 June 1999.
15. *Ming Pao*, 17 June 1999.
16. *Ming Pao*, 26 June 1999.
17. *Sunday Examiner*, 4 July 1999.
18. *Sunday Examiner*, 8 August 1999.
19. *Ibid.*
20. See chapter 4 of this book for a detailed discussion of this question.
21. *Kung Kao Po*, 25 July 1999.
22. *Kung Kao Po*, 18 July 1999.
23. 'An Interview Report on Bishop Joseph Zen', *Kung Kao Po*, 8 July 1999.
24. The years between 1984, the year of the signing of the Sino-British Agreement on the Future of Hong Kong to 1 July 1997 were called the transitional period.
25. See chapter 4 of this book for a detailed discussion of this question.
26. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 10 August 1999; *Ming Pao*, 10 August 1999.
27. *South China Morning Post*, 10 August 1999.
28. In their August issues, *Economist*, *Asiaweek* and *Times* all commented on this event.
29. Lin is regarded as a leading Chinese critic in Hong Kong on socio-political as well as economic affairs (translation by the author).
30. *Kung Kao Po* and *Sunday Examiner*, 18 July 1999.

31. *South China Morning Post*, 10 August 1999.
32. Falun Gong is a combination of breathing exercises, Buddhism and Taoism. The CCP from April to September 1999 tried hard to eliminate it due to its defiant nature. See Beatrice Leung, 'China and Falun Gong: Party and Society Relations in the Modern Era'. *Journal of Contemporary China* 11, 33 (2002:761–84). See Shaw (1999, 17). The struggle between the CCP and Falun Gong received wide coverage in international media publications, for example, *Time*, *The Economist*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *New York Times*, *Asian Week*, and others.
33. *Renmin Ribao*, 1 October 2000.
34. *Xinhua*, 2 October 2000.
35. The story was featured on *TVB News Hong Kong*, 1 October 2000. Unless the Chinese clerics and religious sisters were commanded by the government to attend the early morning (6:00 am) National Day (1 October 2000) Flag Raising Ceremony, they would not go there voluntarily by themselves because it is their general practice to be engaged in morning prayers and/or morning mass between 6:00–8:00 am before breakfast and before they start their daily work.
36. *Xinhua*, 26 September, 2 October 2000. Reported in 'News in Brief'. *Religions in China* 24, 5 (October 2000): 33–6.
37. Several international mass media organizations asked Beatrice Leung to comment on whether they are saints or criminals, and on who was correct — the Vatican or Beijing authorities?
38. Some Hong Kong Catholics gave these opinions when interviewed in October 2000.
39. *Sunday Examiner*, 15 October 2000. The original article, written in Chinese, was published by *Ming Pao*, 4 October. *Sunday Examiner* published the English translation.
40. Two days later, both *Kung Kao Po* and *Sunday Examiner*, 6 October 2000 issues both published Bishop Zen's article.
41. *Sunday Examiner*, 15 October 2000.
42. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 6 October 2000.
43. Robert Chung publicly revealed that he had been asked by the Hong Kong University President to stop releasing the results of opinion polls on the public image of the Chief Executive. A public hearing was held at the University of Hong Kong in March 2000 and the process was made public. The President of the University resigned when the public accused him of not only failing to protect academic freedom, but of bending to pressure from a private assistant of the Chief Executive. The academic community at the University of Hong Kong demanded his resignation. The case was widely covered by international and local news media.
44. *Hong Kong Economic Journal* and *Ming Pao*, 9 November 2000.
45. On the struggle between the Party-Catholic in organizational control see: Beatrice Leung, 'Sino-Vatican Interplay of Institution Control: in Preparing Church Leaders', manuscript.

46. Revealed by a Chinese bishop when interviewed in July 2000.
47. Beatrice Leung, 'China and Falun Gong: Party and Society Relations in the Modern Era', *Journal of Contemporary China* 11, 33 (2002:761–84).
48. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 10 February 2001.
49. *Kung Kao Po*, 17 June 2001, editorial.
50. S. Lee (2001). Major Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong covered the clash between Bishop Zen and the SAR Government. See also *Apple Daily*, *Oriental Daily*, and *Ming Pao*, 8 December 2001.
51. Much is written about Bishop Zen's desire to employ 'civil disobedience' as means to fight for the schooling of these children. See *Apple Daily*, *Oriental Daily*, *Ming Pao*, 19 December 2001.
52. Nearly all newspapers in Hong Kong covered the news and gave analysis. *Apple Daily* (24 September 2002, editorial) was pro-bishop and the church; *Wen Wei Po* (24 September 2002) was pro-China. *Sing Tao Daily* (25 September 2002) struck the middle ground. *Sunday Examiner* collected views of church-related persons on Zen's stance (27 October 2002, 3).
53. *South China Morning Post*, 21 September 2002.
54. Liang Yin-cheng, 'C. H. Tung's Prejudice on Religion', *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 12 October 2002, 22.
55. *Kung Kao Po*, 3 October 2002, 1.
56. *Kung Kao Po*, 27 October 2002, 1, 23–4.
57. Security Bureau, *Proposal to Implement Article 23 of the Basic Law: Summary of Consultation Document*. Hong Kong: Security Bureau, Hong Kong SAR Government. September 2002.
58. Ambrose Leung, 'Date is Set for Draft Bill on Article 23', *South China Morning Post*, 12 December 2002.
59. Explained by a Hong Kong priest who is close to Catholic top leaders.
60. Bishop Joseph Zen expressed this opinion to one of the authors when he was interviewed in October 2000.
61. On 5 March 2001, Bishop Zen was invited to give a lecture to the General Education Program at Hong Kong University. That month he was also guest speaker at a luncheon organized by the Hong Kong Democratic Foundation.
62. Pro-China priests such as Fr. Luke Tsui, openly disagreed with the political stance of Zen. See Ambrose Leung, 'Discordant Voice in the Church Choir', *South China Morning Post*, 8 January 2002.
63. *Kung Kao Po*, 23 May 1999.
64. *Kung Kao Po* and *Sunday Examiner*, 25 July 1999.

## Chapter 7 The Hong Kong SAR Government and Protestant Churches

1. Raymond Fung, who called on Gideon Yung, Lo Lung-kwong and Kwok Nai-wang

- to discuss the matter, proposed the idea of the National Day Celebration. See Yu (1997).
2. According to Raymond Fung, the Christian National Day celebration was based on a 'priesthood theology'. He explained, 'The Church should fulfill its priestly duties and petition God on behalf of the nation. A priest raises the cup of thanksgiving to God, not to the political regime. He offers repentance, intercession and joyous thanksgiving on behalf of the nation rather than singing the praises of the regime in power.' See R. Fung (1996a).
  3. *Ming Pao*, 8 May 1996, A1.
  4. *Christian Times Weekly* 457, 2 June 1996, 1–2.
  5. *Ibid.*
  6. *Ming Pao*, 1 June 1996.
  7. The seven Christian groups were: the Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, Christians for Hong Kong Society, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, Catholic Youth Council and the Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese.
  8. *Ming Pao*, 15 June 1996; *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 15 June 1996.
  9. *Ibid.*
  10. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 1 July 1996.
  11. *Ibid.*
  12. *Christian Times Weekly* 462, 7 July 1996.
  13. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 1 July 1996.
  14. *Ming Pao*, 1 July 1996.
  15. *Christian Times Weekly* 462, 7 July 1996.
  16. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 1 July 1996.
  17. *Christian Times Weekly* 475, 6 October 1996, 1.
  18. *Christian Times Weekly* 528, 12 October 1997, 2.
  19. *Christian Times Weekly* 528, 12 October 1997, 2. The Christian groups who issued the statement were: the Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Christians for Hong Kong Society, and the Hong Kong Student Christian Movement. *Christian Times Weekly* 538, 21 December 1997, 2.
  20. See 'Representing Christianity, What Do They Represent?' *Ming Pao*, 12 January 1998. The undersigned of the article include: Hong Kong Christian Institute, Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, Christians for Hong Kong Society, Hong Kong Student Christian Movement, Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee, and the Church Workers' Association.
  21. See the open letter on Christian General Election, 1.
  22. The speaker is Reverend Luk Fai of the Church of Christ in China. See *Christian Times Weekly* 545, 8 February 1998, 2.
  23. Raymond Fung wrote an article to clarify the position of the church leaders who supported the Christian General Election with the name 'Fung Yuen' in *Ming Pao*,



- See Fung Yuen (1998).
24. *Christian Times Weekly* 551, 22 March 1998, 1.
  25. *Christian Times Weekly* 560, 24 May 1998, 1.
  26. See the special issue: 'A Small Election of A Very Select Circle' [非常圈子小選舉]. *Ming Pao Weekly* 1534, 4 April 1998.
  27. *Ming Pao*, 25 December 1999, A03.
  28. *Ming Pao*, 25 December 2001, A02.
  29. *Ming Pao*, 8 May 1999.
  30. *Apple Daily*, 7 June 1999, A14.
  31. *Christian Times Weekly* 616, 20 June 1999, 1.
  32. *Ming Pao*, 9 February 2001, A07.
  33. *Ming Pao*, 11 February 2001, A04.
  34. *Ming Pao*, 7 May 2001, A13.
  35. See various issues of *Zhu Guang Wan Luo* [燭光網絡], newsletter of the Society for Truth and Light.
  36. See *Ming Pao*, 17 May 2002, A23 and 31 May 2002, A33. The Evangelical Free Church of China, which is considered among some Protestant circles to be 'fundamentalist', also spoke openly on the issues. *Ming Pao*, 21 May 2002, B14.
  37. Sociological literature shows that the social movement organized by the evangelical churches have always been associated with right-wing Protestantism, otherwise known as the Christian Right. The Christian Right has tended to be in conflict with the social movements organized by the mainstream Protestant churches, or left wing Protestantism. See Wilcox (1992) and Herman (1997). The relation between the Christian Right and democracy in the United States context, see Jeffrey Isaac, Matthew Filner and Jason Bivins (1999).

## Chapter 8 Summary and Conclusions

1. In the February and March issues of *Kung Kao Po*, Bishop Zen debated with a priest columnist on the issue of Sino-Vatican relations. Later a lay Catholic joined the debate.

# Index

- Aberdeen Technical Institute 32  
accountability, political 86, 98  
Anglicanism and Anglican Church of  
Hong Kong (*Sheng Kung Hui*) 20,  
30, 40–1, 44, 52, 55, 60, 91, 93, 112,  
147, 151  
Anti-dust and Blasting Campaign 42  
Anti-handmaid keeping campaign (1938)  
3  
‘Anti-rise in Bus Fares Movement’  
94  
arbiter, role of church 136–7  
Asian Synod, Special (1998) 109–10,  
115, 124  
atheism 17, 26, 27, 47, 48, 74  
  
Baker, Bishop J. Gilbert H. 42  
Baptist Convention of Hong Kong 140  
‘Basic Law and Religious Freedom’  
(article) 49  
Basic Law Consultative Committee 48,  
52, 55, 66, 90–3, 99  
  
Basic Law Drafting Committee 48, 66,  
72, 75, 90, 91, 100  
Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR 47–  
9, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 61, 66, 71, 75,  
77, 87, 94, 97–8, 110, 123, 124, 138,  
149, 171  
‘Beijing Delegation Statement’ 87  
Bichani, Bishop Lawrence 31  
Bill of Rights, US 11, 12  
Birthright Society 38  
Bishops College of the People’s Republic  
of China 117  
Blind Workers’ Strike 42  
boat-people, Vietnamese 38, 75  
‘bridging work’ 75, 77, 78, 82–4, 123,  
124  
Brit. David 18  
British and colony 2, 8, 20, 24, 25, 27,  
40, 49, 147  
British Christian Council 42  
Buddhists and Buddhism 6, 16, 17, 119,  
131

- Calhoun, Craig 153
- campaigns, social 3, 42, 48, 50, 51, 62, 71, 77, 101, 147, 151
- Canonization of Chinese Saints 116–8, 124, 149
- Canossian Daughters of Charity 33
- Canossian St Mary's College 32
- Caritas-Hong Kong 31, 32, 35, 38, 40, 68, 79, 82, 83
- Catholics and Catholicism 1, 3, 9, 20, 21, 23, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61–4, 69, 131
- population of c. 6, 7, 31, 52
- c. schools 30–40
- Catholic Church in China 64, 67, 71, 72, 76, 79, 82
- Catholic Church in Hong Kong 2, 35, 36, 39, 51, 62, 64, 66, 74, 76, 78, 81, 121, 147–50
- social mission of c. 2, 6, 9, 21, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39
- also see* church, social mission
- Catholic Diocese *see* Hong Kong Catholic Diocese
- 'Catholic Groups Supporting the Democratic Movement in China' 65, 77
- Catholic Institute for Religion and Society (CIRS) 69, 75, 78
- Catholic Marriage Advisory Council 38
- Catholic Mass Communication Centre 50
- Catholic Patriotic Association 117
- Catholic Relief Service 30, 31, 40
- Catholic Social Welfare Conference 35
- also see* Caritas-Hong Kong
- Central Council of Catholic Laity 81–2
- Chaicharoen, Bishop Michael 68
- Chan, Anson 32
- Chan, Rev. Canon Alan 44
- Chan Cho-wai, Joseph 97
- Chan Shun-hing 3, 6, 136
- Chan Sze-chi 134
- Chang Yik, Bishop John 68
- channelled partnership *see* partnership, church-state
- channelling mechanisms, state *see* institutional channelling
- Chao, Rev. Jonathan 85, 94, 96
- Chen Yun 83, 84
- Cheng Yuk-tin 134
- Cheung Man-kwong 120
- Chief Executive 56, 60, 61, 70, 99, 100, 121
- also see* Tung Chee-Hwa
- Chin Pak-tau 85
- China, People's Republic of (PRC) 21, 24, 25, 109, 110
- 'China and the Church' open lecture 94
- Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association 76
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 37, 46, 48, 52, 53, 61, 62, 83, 96, 109, 110, 147
- also see* government, mainland Chinese
- Choi Yuen-wan, Philemon 88
- 'Christendom' 53
- Christian and Missionary Alliance 140
- Christian Sentinels for Hong Kong 53, 54, 97, 102, 135
- Christian Welfare and Relief Council 41
- Christianity 20, 23, 27
- also see* Catholics and Catholicism *and* Protestants and Protestant church
- in Asia 5, 16–8
- Christians for Hong Kong Society 134
- Chu Yiu-ming, Rev. 58, 59, 65, 97, 128

- Chung, Father Peter 66
- church
- definition of the C. 6, 14
  - c. denominations *see* Catholics and Catholicism and Protestants and Protestant church
  - political influence of the C. 1, 5, 51, 54, 59
    - also see* political participation of the Church
  - social mission of the C. 2, 4, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 44, 45, 46
    - also see* Catholic Church in Hong Kong, social mission of
  - socio-political role of the C. 4, 9, 17, 51, 64, 146, 148, 150
  - state domination of the C. 14–6
- Church of Christ in China (CCC) 41, 42, 55, 63
- Church World Services 41
- Church-State relations
- also see* individual listing: contractual relationship, prophetic duty of church
  - C. in Africa 5
  - C. in Asia 5, 16–8
  - C. in communism/socialist countries 4, 5, 11, 14–6, 17
  - C. in Europe 1, 4, 5
  - C. in Latin America 5
  - C. in United States 1, 4, 11–4
  - C. models 11–21
  - C. statements *see* statements
- Church-State separation 11–4, 15, 20, 43, 44–5, 49, 51, 54, 56, 59, 60, 72, 77–8, 121, 134, 141, 142
- ‘Church-State Separation: Misunderstanding and Clarification’ 53
- ‘Civil Liberties and Social Order Consultation Document’ 84
- civil society 5, 153
- Cold War 25
- colonialism *see* British and colony
- Commission on Public Policy (CPP) 94, 97, 98, 99, 101
- ‘Committee for Promoting the Cardinal’s Pastoral Exhortation’ 64
- Committee of the Hong Kong Christians Concerned for the Basic Law 97, 99–100, 105
- communism 2, 17, 21, 36, 37, 39, 40, 53
  - also see* Church-State relations, communism/socialist countries
  - role of church in preventing c. infiltration 2, 24–8, 39, 40, 46, 53, 74, 147, 148
- Confucianism 16, 131
- Constitutional Affairs Bureau 113–4
- ‘Consultation on the Mission of the Churches in the 1980s’ 93
- contractual relationship, Church-State 2, 5, 8, 20, 30, 31, 35, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 48, 62, 71, 78, 80, 93, 103, 105, 122, 124, 145, 146, 149, 153
- co-optation 16, 38
- Court of Final Appeal, Hong Kong 100, 110, 111, 138, 139
- critical opposition 151, 152, 153
- criticism in participation 125, 131, 135, 141–3, 146, 152
- Cultural Revolution 36, 76
- Danbury Baptist Association 12
- Daya Bay nuclear plant protest 50, 51, 71, 77, 101, 151
- Demerath III, N. J. 13
- democracy 12, 17, 48, 57, 58, 69, 70, 74, 80, 81, 100, 103, 104, 107, 122, 128, 133, 142, 143, 148, 161, 169
- Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB) Party 80

- Democratic Party (DP) 32, 69, 80, 82, 118
- democratization and democratic reforms, role of church in d. 5, 79, 86, 100, 105, 133, 134, 135, 140, 142, 153, 163, 164
- Deng Xiaoping 52, 76, 82, 83, 118
- Deng Yiming, Bishop Dominic 76
- deputy relationship *see* contractual relationship
- Diocesan Centre 81
- Diocesan Convention 35
- Diocesan Liturgical Committee 80
- direct manipulation, as form of channelling mechanics 18
- dissident role of church *see* prophetic duty of church
- Drona, Bishop Leo 68
- Duan Yinmin, Bishop Mathias 109
- Durkheim, Emile 4
- education, tertiary 32, 39, 46, 75, 148
- Education Advancement Society 41
- educational policies and systems 25, 26, 28, 33, 79, 97, 107–9, 120, 122, 124, 139, 147, 148, 172
- educational reforms 139, 150, 172, 173
- educational services 2, 8, 9, 20, 22, 23–42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 65, 71, 74, 78, 88, 89, 90, 103, 104, 106, 146, 149, 150, 154, 159, 164, 165, 173  
*also see* schools, Christian
- elections  
direct 50, 51, 56, 61, 75, 79–80, 82, 91, 97, 99, 104, 113–4, 132–3, 135, 160–1  
shadow 135–6
- Election Committee 131–6, 141, 142, 151, 152, 153
- English, teaching medium 107–9
- evangelization 21, 27, 42, 45, 86, 114, 137, 167
- Falun Gong Movement 116, 119, 149
- Family Life Education Service 38
- federal tax laws, as form of channelling mechanics 18
- Ferguson, G. P. 27
- 'Five Year Plan for Social Welfare Development in Hong Kong: 1973–1978' 42
- Foreign Missionary Society 30, 40
- foreignism, anti- 48, 62, 147
- Fu Tieshan, Bishop Michael 117
- fundraising, as form of channelling mechanics 18
- Fung, Raymond 61, 128, 135
- Fung Chi-wood, Rev. 91, 101–2, 105, 151
- government  
colonial administration 3, 20, 23, 24, 30, 36, 45, 47, 49, 74, 75, 93, 108, 122, 147, 148, 150  
Hong Kong SAR 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 54, 60, 67, 73, 85, 88, 89, 91, 93, 97, 98, 104, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 131, 133, 138, 139, 140, 141, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152  
mainland Chinese 2, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 60, 63, 69, 76, 77, 83, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 104, 106, 110, 115, 116, 117, 125, 127, 147, 150  
*also see* Chinese Communist Party
- Government Information Service Department 6
- Gratham, Sir Alexander 25
- Green Paper: Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong 49

- Ha, Father Louis 6, 50, 81, 124  
 Hall, Bishop Ronald O. 26  
 handover (of Hong Kong to China, 1997)  
   2, 9, 48, 58, 59, 61, 62, 72, 79, 87, 93,  
   96, 100, 104, 122, 129, 145, 148, 158,  
   170  
 Hinduism 16, 17, 20  
 Ho Hei-wah 120, 138  
 Ho Sau-lan 120  
 Holy Carpenter Community Centre 41  
 Holy Spirit Study Centre 67  
 Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the  
   Democratic and Patriotic Movements  
   of China 75, 81  
 Hong Kong Auxiliary of the Leprosy  
   Mission 42  
 Hong Kong Buddhist Association 60  
 Hong Kong Catholic Church 67, 72,  
   110, 114, 122  
 Hong Kong Catholic Commission for  
   Labour Affairs 113  
 Hong Kong Catholic Diocese 34, 37,  
   50, 64, 67, 68, 70, 79, 113, 124, 156  
 Hong Kong Catholic Social  
   Communications Office 50  
 Hong Kong Chinese Christian Church  
   Union (HKCCU) 55  
 Hong Kong Chinese University 64  
 Hong Kong Christian Council (HKCC)  
   29, 50, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 72, 87, 93–  
   103, 105, 132, 133, 151  
 Hong Kong Christian Industrial  
   Committee (HKCIC) 29, 50, 61  
 Hong Kong Christian Institute 101,  
   103, 134, 151, 155  
 Hong Kong Christian Sentinels *see*  
   Christian Sentinels for Hong Kong  
 Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal *see*  
   Court of Final Appeal  
 Hong Kong Democratic Foundation  
   123  
 Hong Kong Education Department 108  
 Hong Kong Lutheran Church 60, 90–3  
 Hong Kong Policy Research Institute  
   111  
 Hong Kong Public Records Office 8  
 Hong Kong SAR Basic Law *see* Basic  
   Law of the Hong Kong SAR  
 Hong Kong SAR Preparatory Committee  
   54, 55, 60, 68, 141  
 Hong Kong University 42  
 'Hong Kong's Future and Hong Kong  
   Society' forum 94  
 Houtart, Francois 2  
 Howe, Sir Geoffrey 63  
 Hsu Cheng-pin, Bishop Francis 32, 35,  
   36, 37, 38  
 Hsu Tao-leung, Rev. 88  
 Hsueh, Theodore 95, 96  
 human rights and violation of 86, 87,  
   92, 94, 97, 98, 100, 105, 114, 120,  
   164, 166, 169  
 immigration 40, 97, 120, 138  
   *also see* refugee crisis  
 independent-opponentist 16  
 indirect manipulation, as form of  
   channelling mechanics 18  
 institutional channelling 3, 8, 11, 18–  
   21, 153, 154  
 Irish Jesuits 27, 32, 37  
 Islam 16, 20, 131  
 Janhonen, Anneli 93  
 Japanese occupation 23, 24  
 Ji Pengfei 90  
 Jiang Zemin 83  
 'Joint Committee for Monitoring of  
   Public Utilities' 94  
 'Joint Committee for Monitoring of the  
   Two Electricity Companies' 94  
 'Joint Committee of Christians  
   Concerned for the Review of  
   Representative Government' 99

- 'Joint Meeting of the Catholics Bodies Concerned for the Development of the Hong Kong Government System' 50
- 'Joint Statement of Christians Opposing the Churches' Participation in the Selection Committee' 71
- Judaism 20
- justice, social 73-4
- Justice and Peace Commission of the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese (DCJP) 69, 70, 71, 73-4, 81, 82, 84, 104, 113, 114, 124
- Kaifong Association 27, 28
- Ko Shan mass rally 50, 51, 99, 105
- Ko Tinming 3
- Kowloon Riot Report 42
- Kuan, Hsin-chi 64
- Kuomintang (KMT) 24, 46
- Kwok Nai-wang, Rev. 42, 44, 87, 88, 93, 99, 101, 102, 105, 132, 135, 141, 142, 151, 155
- Kwong, Archbishop Peter 52, 60, 66, 87, 88, 90-2, 100, 102, 105, 112, 135, 137-8, 139, 141, 142
- La Salle College 32
- laity 75, 78, 79, 83, 123
- Lam, Bishop Domingos 66, 68, 72
- Lam Chun-wai, Rev. 55
- Lam Tak-ho, Rev. 93
- Lam Wun-kwong 118
- Lau Siu-hong, Rev. Timothy 85
- Lau Suk-yee, Regina 138
- Lee, Lawrence 116
- Lee, Martin 32, 69, 81, 118
- Lee Chee-kong, Rev. 3
- Lee Cheuk-yan 138
- Lee Ching-chee, Rev. 65
- Legislative Council (Legco) 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 97, 99, 102, 111, 123  
elections 131-6, 149, 151, 160-1
- Lei Cheng Uk Friendly Centre of American Friends 41
- Leong Kah-kit, Alan 121
- Leung Kit-fun, Beatrice 6
- Leung Lam-hoi, Rev. Lincoln 87, 88, 97
- Leung Oi-sie, Elsie 84, 138
- Leung Wing-tai, Anthony 85
- Li Ng Suk-kay 2
- Li Ruihuan 118
- Liu Bainian 76
- Liu Chi-kan, Rev. Stephen 55
- Lo Kong-kai 109
- Lo Lung-kwong, Rev. 55, 56, 59, 88, 126, 132, 135
- Lok, Father Ferdinand 65
- Lu Ping 97
- Lutheran Assembly, World (1997) 92, 93, 105
- Lutheran Church of Hong Kong 60, 90-3
- Lutheran World Federation's Department of World Service 41
- MacDonald, Malcolm 26
- Major Superior Religious Men and Women Association of Hong Kong 74
- Mao Zedong Thought 71
- 'March Into the Bright Decade' 64, 77, 78-9, 104, 108
- Marshall Plan (1948-1952) 40
- Marxism-Leninism 4, 17, 48, 62, 71, 147
- Maryknoll Fathers 30, 40
- Maryknoll Sisters School 32
- Mass Centre 79, 80
- Mau Chi-wang 127
- McCarthy, John 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 154, 155
- medical services, role of church in 2, 21, 46
- Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief 41

- 'Ministerial Responsibility System' 121  
 missionaries 2, 23, 24, 30, 35, 40, 147  
 mother tongue teaching policy 107-9,  
 122, 124
- 'mutual non-subordination, mutual non-  
 interference and mutual respect', three  
 principles of 52, 84, 110
- National Day Celebration Service 125-  
 31, 136, 141, 142, 151, 153  
 nationalism 15, 48  
 nationalist defiant 16
- Neighborhood Advice-Action Council  
 42
- New China News Agency (NCNA) 49  
 Newman, Cardinal John Henry 33  
 Ng Chun-chi, Rev. Paul 55  
 Ng Ngoi-yee, Margaret 120  
 non-nationalist dependent 16  
 non-subordination, non-interference  
 and mutual respect *see* mutual  
 non-subordination, mutual non-  
 interference and mutual respect
- 'Objectives and Policies of Social Service  
 Work in Hong Kong' 42
- 'one country two systems' 48, 52, 61,  
 71, 74, 107, 112, 115, 119, 139, 170,  
 176
- open-door policy (1979) 52, 76, 82
- 'Opinions of the Hong Kong Protestant  
 Delegation to Beijing on the Future of  
 Hong Kong' 85, 104, 151, 170-4
- organized dependence 22, 29, 152
- partnership, Church-State 3, 8, 9, 27,  
 28, 44, 46, 47, 146, 150, 152  
*also see* Church-State separation
- patron-client relationship 44-5, 93, 155
- Patten, Chris 68, 69  
 peace, world 73, 74  
 Philippines, the 5, 16, 21
- 'Plans for the Future Development of  
 Hong Kong's Social Welfare' 42
- Po Leung Kuk Association 28, 148
- 'political absorption of religion' model  
 48, 62, 71, 80, 122
- political participation of the Church 1,  
 2, 5, 21, 48-72, 77, 99, 102, 105, 114,  
 123-4  
 of Catholic Church 9, 50, 51, 74, 122  
 of Protestant Church 9, 52-61, 102,  
 133, 142
- Pong Kin-son, Rev. 92
- Pontifical Commission of Justice and  
 Peace 73
- Pope John Paul II 82, 115-6
- Pope Paul VI 73, 116
- population demographics 6, 7, 24, 32  
 Catholic 31, 52  
 Christian 6, 7, 32, 89, 173
- 'Position Paper of Church Workers on the  
 Draft of the Basic Law' 105
- Pozzoni, Bishop Dominico 32
- Preliminary Proposal on Future  
 Development of Representative  
 Government in Hong Kong 98-9
- Presbyterian Mandarin Casework Centre  
 41
- pro-China sentiments 28, 29, 36, 63, 69,  
 71, 76, 80, 91, 122, 137
- Program for Social Development in  
 Tsuen Wan, Tai Wo Hou and Kwai  
 Chung 28
- prophetic duty of church 3, 5, 20, 21,  
 43, 44, 45, 57, 79, 86, 92, 102, 105,  
 114, 122, 141, 142, 146, 164
- 'Proposed Statement of Faith for Hong  
 Kong Christians in the Face of Social  
 and Political Change' 85, 104, 151,  
 162-5
- Protestants and Protestant church 48,  
 51, 52, 55-61  
 population 6, 7



- relationship with state 1, 2, 3, 9, 17, 20, 21, 23, 85–105
- P. schools, social role of church 30, 40–2
- Provisional Legislature 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 72
- Ramet, Sabrina P. 14
- refugee crisis
  - mainland China 21, 23, 24, 30, 33, 35, 41, 46, 146, 147, 176
  - Vietnam 'boat-people' 38, 75, 84
- Religious Affairs Bureau, PRC 52, 78, 83, 90, 110, 170
- religious freedom 2, 12, 13, 20, 47–9, 61, 62, 63, 71, 74, 76, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 118, 119, 158, 159, 166, 172
- 'r. policy' of China 71
- reunification *see* handover
- reversion to Chinese rule *see* handover
- right of abode 110–3, 120, 122, 123, 124, 138, 149, 176
- riots, political 24, 28, 43
- 'Road to Reunification: the Decision of the Church' forum 126, 127, 129
- Robbins, Thomas 13
- Sacred Heart School 32
- Salvation Army 41–2
- Schleck, Archbishop Charles 68
- schools
  - Chinese associations 28
  - Christian 2, 8, 20, 21, 23, 26–8, 30, 31–42, 89, 109, 147, 168
  - schooling for abode-seeking children 120, 122, 123–4
- Second Vatican Council *see* Vatican II
- secularist agenda 14
- Selection Committee (SC) 9, 54–64, 69, 70, 72, 152
  - controversy within Protestant church 55–61, 72, 141, 142, 151, 153
- separatist agenda 14
- servant role of church 79
- Shan Kuo-hsi, Cardinal Paul 67
- Sheng kung hui see* Anglican Church of Hong Kong
- Shi Jiao-guang 60, 141
- Shirayanagi, Cardinal Peter Seiichi 68
- Shum Oi Church 42
- 'simple co-optive nationalist' church-state relations 16
- Sino-British Joint Declaration (1984) 38, 47, 48, 49, 58, 61, 63, 66, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 98, 104, 158
- Sisters of St Paul de Chartres 30, 32, 33
- Sisters of the Precious Blood 33, 34
- Sit Pun-kei, Elder Simon 55, 56, 60, 61, 132
- soccer betting 140
- social concerns of church 3, 4, 28, 42, 75, 94, 114, 120, 121, 122, 137–8, 140, 171
- Social Mission of the Church 36
- social movement organizations (SMO) 18, 19, 21
- 'Social Outlook of the Church' (Social Mission of the Church) 36
- social services, role of church in 2, 4, 8, 20, 21, 23–46, 75, 89, 146, 147, 168
- Society for Truth and Light 137, 140
- South Korea 16, 21
- Special Asian Synod *see* Asian Synod, Special
- St James Settlement 41
- St Joseph's College 32
- St Paul's Convent School 32
- St Vincent de Paul Society 33
- State, definition of 6
- State channelling mechanisms *see* institutional channelling

- State domination of Church *see* Church-State relations, communism
- State neutrality conflicts 13
- statements, Church-State relations 62–3, 71, 76, 85–7, 88, 89–90, 97, 104, 133, 134, 150–1, 156–77, 162–5, 166–9, 172
- ‘Statement of Faith’ 85–6, 87
- ‘Statement of the Catholic Church and the Future of Hong Kong’ 76
- Statement on Religious Freedom After 1997 62–3, 156–9
- ‘Statement on Religious Freedom by the Protestant Churches of Hong Kong’ 85, 86, 87, 88, 89–90, 104, 151, 166–9, 172
- statist agenda 14
- subsidies, State 2, 16, 20, 21, 23, 39, 46, 74, 89, 104, 122, 146, 173
- Szeto Wah 81
- Taiwan 5, 216
- Tam Yiu-chung 122
- Taoism 119, 131
- tax exempt status, as form of channelling mechanics 19
- tertiary education institute 32, 39, 46, 75, 148
- ‘Three Selves and Prospects of the Church in Hong Kong’ seminar 94–5
- Three-Self Movement, the 94–5, 96, 100
- Tiananmen Square incident 64, 81, 114, 128
- Tong, Bishop John 67, 68, 69, 109–10, 121
- trade union movement 29
- traditional church-state relationship 8, 23–46, 48, 124
- Trench, Sir David 36, 37
- Tsang, Donald 32
- Tsang, Father J. B. 50, 68
- Tsang Yin-ling, Iris 97
- Tse, Rev. John 100
- Tso Shui-wan, Rev. Josephine 92
- Tsui, Father Luke 69
- Tung Chee-Hwa 30, 84, 107, 109
- Tung Wah Hospital Group 28, 148
- Union of Hong Kong Catholic Organizations in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic Movement in China 75, 81, 104
- United Front Policy 49
- University of Hong Kong 32, 123
- untraditional Church-State relationship 2, 8, 73–105
- Vatican II 35, 36, 73, 104, 122, 148, 160
- ‘Views on the Hong Kong Church’ 87
- Vorrath, Bishop Franz 68
- Wah Yan College 32
- Walder, Andrew G. 44
- ‘wall of separation’ 12
- Wang Dan 128
- Wang Fengqiao 118
- Wang Xizhe 128
- Weber, Max 4
- Wei Jingsheng 128
- Williams, Rhys H. 13
- witness *see* evangelization
- Wolfson, Mark 18
- Wong Chi-wai 3
- World Council of Churches (WCC) 28, 41, 42
- World Lutheran Assembly *see* Lutheran Assembly, World (1997)
- World War II 2, 3, 13, 23, 27, 30, 32, 45, 46
- Wu Cheng-chung, Cardinal John Baptist 62–4, 66, 67, 76, 77, 80, 104, 108, 111–2, 120, 138, 139, 150, 156–9

- Xin Weisi article, the 9, 49–54, 64, 71,  
100, 101, 102, 151
- Xu Zhixuan, Bishop 109
- Yang Memorial Service Centre 42
- Yau Ma Tei Typhoon Boat Squatters  
42
- Ye Xiaowen 52, 78, 84, 110
- Yip, Regina 111, 113, 124
- Yu Kam-yin 127
- Yu Tat-sum, Rev. Carver 85, 126, 127,  
128–9
- Yuk Tak-fun, Alice 60
- Yung, Gideon 128, 129
- Yung, Kok-kwong, Rev. 100
- Zen Ze-kiun, Bishop Joseph 67, 68, 69,  
109–10, 114, 116, 117, 120–1, 122,  
123, 124, 138, 149, 150, 155
- Zhao Ziyang 87
- Zoroastrianism 20