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**Hong Kong-ul (A)Politic? Depolitizare și Suprapolitizare Selectivă
în Hong Kong după Legea de Securitate Națională**

Rezumat

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Abstract

Această teză își propune să analizeze dezvoltarea politică a Hong Kong-ului după implementarea Legii de Securitate Națională (LSN) din 2020 prin filtrul proceselor de depolitizare și suprapolitizare. Urmărește (sub)dezvoltarea politică a Hong Kong-ului cronologic, de la constrângerile dezvoltării politice din perioada colonială, cele două decenii de după Retrocedare, marcate de eforturi intense pentru democratizare și pluralism, și perioada care a urmat introducerii LSN-ului, în care autoritățile locale și centrale limitează dezvoltarea politică și pluralismul prin procese instituționale, juridice și discursive de securitzare. Procesul de restructurare a sferei politice în Hong Kong-ul post-2020 este atotcuprinzător, de la desființarea forțată a taberei pro-democratice și a instituțiilor sale politice, reprimarea societății civile, introducerea a două legi de securitate națională, până la reformele electorale. Drept urmare, rolul ideologiei și al factorului politic s-a mutat de la contestarea publică, dialog și pluralism la un fir ideologic unic, în conformitate cu modelul Chinei continentale, care nu permite contestarea, incriminează disidența și promite reprezentarea politică prin prisma patriotismului.

Capitolul teoretic propune cinci întrebări de cercetare privind procesele de depolitizare și suprapolitizare, așa cum sunt observate în literatura existentă, cu accent pe cazul particular al Hong Kong-ului, unde acestea se dezvoltă în contextul autocratizării și securitzării. Prima întrebare de cercetare abordează depolitizarea și suprapolitizarea în studii de caz în afara regimurilor democratice. Înainte de LSN, Hong Kong-ul fusese clasificat ca un regim între democrații și autoritarism deplin, numit semi-democrație, regim hibrid, sau semi-autoritarism. Cu toate acestea, după implementarea LSN și, mai ales, a Articolului 23, cercetătorii evaluează din ce în ce mai mult regimul din Hong Kong ca fiind autoritar, context în care depolitizarea și suprapolitizarea par semnificativ diferite de cele din scenariile democratice. Având în vedere restructurarea societăților politice și civice post-2020, depolitizarea și, respectiv, suprapolitizarea iau diverse forme electorale, instituționale, discursive și socio-culturale prin crearea de apatie publică din cauza represiunii. Prin urmare, această cercetare oferă mai multe forme de dovezi empirice care susțin teza conform căreia depolitizarea și suprapolitizarea sunt cele două logici principale ale guvernării autoritare în Hong Kong-ul post-2020.

Al doilea capitol al tezei abordează formarea Hong Kong-ului colonial, împreună cu procesul de creare a unei identități distinctive hongkongheze. Având în vedere constrângerile și subdezvoltările instituționale, educaționale, discursive și electorale coloniale, identitatea

hongkongheză a fost adesea văzută ca fiind apolitică. Depolitizarea în perioada colonială este creație intenționată a administrației coloniale, care a avut ca scop descurajarea populației locale, deja marginalizate și discriminate, de la acțiuni politice. Acest lucru este deosebit de relevant din cauza fricii de răspândire ideologică din partea Chinei continentale și poate fi observat în reprimarea brutală a revoltelor de la începutul până la mijlocul secolului al XX-lea și în legislația care viza rezistența împotriva imperiului - unele dintre aceste legi arhaice vor fi reutilizate de autoritățile locale în secolul al XXI-lea pentru a suprima disidența. În schimb, imperiul, similar Chinei continentale mai târziu, și-a bazat legitimitatea pe performanța economică. În plus, spre sfârșitul perioadei coloniale, administrația a acordat locuitorilor din Hong Kong libertăți civile dezvoltate și a început procesul de democratizare prin reforme electorale limitate. Cadrul juridic lăsat de Imperiul Britanic prin Declarația Comună Sino-Britanică și Legea Fundamentală servește drept una dintre principalele surse de paradoxuri și dileme care vor împiedica ulterior dezvoltarea democratizării în Hong Kong.

Principiul “O țară, două sisteme” introduce mai multe obstacole în procesul de dezvoltare politică a Hong Kong-ului după 1997, care sunt discutate în capitolul al treilea. „Gradul ridicat de autonomie” promis pentru Regiunea Administrativă Specială (RAS) a fost, în realitate, restricționat de autoritățile continentale prin interpretări judiciare ale legislației locale, încercări nereușite de a adopta o lege a securității naționale în 2003 și introducerea educației patriotice la începutul anilor 2010, precum și restricții asupra tentativelor de reforme electorale care vizau creșterea reprezentării politice. Ca atare, RAS s-a confruntat cu promisiunea autonomiei, dar fără democratizare. Nemulțumirea publicului față de aceste constrângeri a dus la o animozitate crescândă față de China ca organizație politică, pe de o parte, și față de chinezi, pe de altă parte, pe măsură ce identitatea locală a crescut și a dus la forme de exprimare locală a identității. Eforturile de mobilizare în masă, cum ar fi protestele din 2014, ilustrează conștiința politică crescândă a poporului din Hong Kong, care se bucură de sprijin public pentru a obține sufragiul universal. Ritmul lent al democratizării, parțial datorat subdezvoltării societății politice din Hong Kong, a dus la “oboseala de tranziție” și s-a manifestat prin apatie, neputință, sau disperare în ceea ce privește viitorul politic al regiunii, toate acestea jucând un rol crucial în ultimul efort de democratizare la scară largă din 2019.

Presupunerea că locuitorii din Hong Kong sunt „animale economice” apolitice s-a dovedit în mod clar falsă. Presiunea publică sporită pentru democratizare a culminat cu o mișcare de masă în 2019 și 2020, așa cum s-a discutat în capitolul patru, când nemulțumirea față de o lege a extrădării în China a catalizat milioane de locuitori din Hong Kong. Nemulțumirea

s-a îndreptat către problemele guvernării anterioare, iar eforturile populare s-au concentrat în jurul celor cinci revendicări, în prim-planul cărora se afla dorința de vot universal. Mobilizarea fără precedent a fost defăimată de autorități, oferind autorităților centrale oportunitatea de a impune o lege draconică a securității naționale, care a marcat începutul proiectului de securitizare. Prevederile LSN, inclusiv noile infracțiuni și incriminarea acestora, sunt analizate prin cadrul securitizării, așa cum a fost conceptualizată de Școala de la Copenhaga, iar starea de urgență pe care a impus-o a fost folosită ca motiv pentru a descalifica, în esență, toți legislatorii democratici. LSN creează instituții de represiune suplimentare și conferă puteri suplimentare forțelor de poliție. Unda de șoc care a urmat după LSN a marcat primul val major de depolitizare, caracterizat prin descalificarea mai multor politicieni anti-sistem, demisiile celorlalți, sfârșitul protestelor ca expresie a interesului public și instaurarea regimului fricii în mai multe domenii, de la presă, rețele sociale, educație și în mediile cotidiene. Dacă LSN este un instrument de depolitizare forțată, rezultatele imediate sunt apatia, frica de exprimare, dezangajarea de pe arena politică și creșterea imigrației.

Suprimarea opoziției este abordată în continuare în capitolul cinci din două perspective: cea a politicianilor și activiștilor individuali, pe de o parte, și cea a opoziției instituționalizate prin intermediul partidelor politice și al organizațiilor societății civile. În primul rând, teza explorează represiunea politicianilor individuali din Hong Kong, precum și a celor care au fugit în străinătate, și evidențiază tactici precum denunțarea și umilirea, intimidarea, arestările, detenția administrativă, precum și represiunea transnațională prin revocarea pașapoartelor, plasarea de recompense pentru disidenții diasporici și arestarea membrilor familiilor acestora, pe care unii cercetători le numesc exemple de pedepse colective. Mai mult, capitolul analizează cazul colectiv al arestării celor 47 de pan-democrați pentru organizare a unor alegeri primare presupus ilegale. În ambele cazuri, procesul judiciar pentru cazurile de securitate națională contravine tradiției dreptului comun al RAS și încorporează elemente judiciare din China continentală pentru a suprima opoziția, cum ar fi introducerea de pedepse dure, eliminarea proceselor cu jurați, numirea executivă a judecătorilor de securitate națională și refuzul eliberării pe cauțiune. În al doilea rând, capitolul evidențiază modul în care atacurile menționate anterior asupra pan-democraților au dus la dezmembrarea opoziției instituționale sub forma partidelor politice și a organizațiilor societății civile. Hong Kong-ul a suferit deja de o subdezvoltare politică instituțională, care a fost exacerbată doar după 2020, deoarece arestările și hărțuirea din partea autorităților au dus la închiderea tuturor partidelor pro-democratice, a multor sindicate și a altor organizații angajate politic. Per total, acest capitol a susținut că, în

cazul Hong Kong-ului de după 2020, depolitizarea se realizează prin diverse mecanisme de represiune statală, de la arestări individuale la dezmembrarea instituțională a opoziției, ceea ce duce la subreprezentare politică, o formă de sărăcie politică. Mișcările rapide și mecanismele legale generale utilizate în acest proces au dus la o undă de șoc și au insuflat teamă față de o posibilă disidență viitoare.

Înlăturarea forțată a politicienilor și candidaților pandemocrați prin descalificări și arestări a fost primul pas în restructurarea sistemului politic post-NSL. Al doilea pas, care a permis puterea necontestată taberei pro-establishment, a fost realizat prin reformele electorale discutate în capitolul șase. Reformele din 2021 și 2023 schimbă fundamental procesele electorale din Hong Kong în diverse moduri: în primul rând, acestea reorganizează structura organelor de conducere atât pentru Consiliul Legislativ, cât și pentru consiliile locale, ceea ce limitează reprezentarea politică, precum și modifică mecanismele de selecție pentru Șeful Executivului prin intermediul Consiliului Elector; în al doilea rând, introduc mecanisme de filtrare pentru „candidații patrioți” fără un set clar definit de criterii de calificare, eliminând astfel orice candidat non-pro-establishment. Rezultatul reformelor se reflectă în prezența electorală dezastruoasă de după 2021, precum și în dezangajarea publică crescută în procesul electoral, deoarece intervievații au remarcat că reforma din 2021 a fost impusă la nivel local fără consultare publică, precum și că lipsa varietății ideologice face ca participarea electorală să fie inutilă, un indicator clar al depolitizării.

Capitolul șapte se concentrează pe consolidarea legislației privind securitatea națională prin adoptarea art. 23 din Legea Fundamentală. În timp ce unele dintre prevederile LSN se suprapun cu cele ale art. 23, acesta din urmă propune un cadru mai cuprinzător pentru incriminarea disidenței sau a intenției de disidență. Necesitatea art. 23 a fost subliniată în mod repetat de oficialii centrali ca măsură împotriva „revoluției de culoare”, iar legislația a fost adoptată la nivel local într-o perioadă fără precedent de scurtă. Capitolul analizează infracțiunile din art. 23, unele introduse recent, în timp ce altele se suprapun cu infracțiuni anterioare, dar primind pedepse mai aspre - în special, legea incriminează acte care anterior nu erau infracțiuni sau erau infracțiuni arhaice ale perioadei coloniale, actualizate cu pedepse sporite, ceea ce acționează ca un mecanism de politizare a cotidianului. Aici se află paradoxul de-/supra-politizării duale și concomitente: în timp ce pluralismul ideologic este suprimat în sfera politică, actele din afara arenei politice devin politizate prin prevederile LSN și, mai târziu, prin art. 23. Mai mult, art. 23 oferă autorităților, în special poliției, puteri extinse de urmărire penală și are un efect extrateritorial, vizând intimidarea și reprimarea disidenței diasporice.

Rezultatele sondajului realizat privind efectul articolului 23 indică în mod clar că legea a dus la o puternică descurajare a libertății de exprimare, limitează autonomia Hong Kong-ului față de China continentală, afectează negativ statutul RAS ca centru financiar global și creează un regim de frică pentru cetățeni atunci când interacționează cu autoritățile.

În cele din urmă, capitolul opt oferă dovezi empirice suplimentare pentru dualitatea proceselor de depolitizare și suprapolitizare, aducând exemple din presă, reformele educaționale pentru implementarea programelor de învățământ patriotic și alte exemple de crize de guvernare în care criticile la adresa autorităților sunt suprapolitizate și etichetate drept amenințări la adresa securității naționale. Presa a fost una dintre primele ținte ale campaniei de securizare, care a dus la închiderea mai multor publicații pro-democratice, arestarea și condamnarea membrilor acestora, iar materialele de presă interzise ca fiind materiale subversive. În acest sens, cazul de amploare al lui Jimmy Lai a primit cea mai lungă condamnare în cazurile de securitate națională, 20 de ani, depășind chiar și cazurile de urmărire penală din China continentală. Erodarea libertății presei este intrinsec legată de libertatea de exprimare și de libertatea mediului academic, unde expresiile de implicare civică au fost incriminate și suprapolitizate, în timp ce, concomitent, actele de aderare la identitatea culturală și politică a Chinei continentale au devenit un element de bază al programelor de învățământ patriotic. În acest context, unde ideologia este evitată selectiv în sfera politică prin reprimarea pluralismului ideologic, aceasta este transferată în alte domenii, cum ar fi educația, divertismentul și politicile non-ideologice.

Per total, teza concluzionează că Hong Kong-ul de după 2020 a fost depolitizat în mod forțat. Rezultatele indică faptul că, sub pretextul securizării, guvernarea Hong Kong-ului a căpătat o natură autoritară prin schimbări legislative, restructurare instituțională și control discursiv. În acest context, depolitizarea nu ar trebui văzută ca dispariția completă a ideologiei în Hong Kong. Dimpotrivă, ea reflectă o formă de schimbare a arenei, în care politizarea excesivă a disidenței duce la depolitizare prin represiune intenționată, despre care se poate argumenta că a erodat fundamental sistemul politic autonom al Hong Kong-ului. La nivel globală, Hong Kong-ul este un caz particular - depolitizarea sa nu provine din apatia sau dezinteresul politic, ci din intervenția externă forțată a stăpânului său autocratic.

Una dintre provocările scrierii despre dezvoltarea politică din prezent este că schimbările au loc chiar în acest moment și, având în vedere viteza mare de restructurare a societății politice din Hong Kong, cercetările viitoare ar trebui să se concentreze asupra efectelor pe termen lung ale proiectului de securizare. Un alt subiect de interes rămas pentru cercetări

viitoare constă în metodele de rezistență împotriva represiunii. Deși rezistența încă există, formele sale au trebuit să găsească o expresie mai puțin evidentă: de la “soft resistance”, susținerea economiei “galbene”, continuarea identității politice din Hong Kong din spațiile diasporice sau prin amintire. O a treia direcție posibilă de cercetare se bazează pe rolul diasporei în promovarea unei anumite identități politice din Hong Kong și în continuarea moștenirii mișcării de democratizare. Această teză s-a concentrat pe schimbările politice interne din cadrul RAS, lăsând cercetărilor viitoare să investigheze rolul internalizării dezvoltării, în special în urma rolului pe care actori precum SUA sau Marea Britanie îl au asupra dezvoltării politice a regiunii. Având în vedere dezvoltarea economică lentă a RAS după 2020, o problemă cu care se confruntă și China continentală, nu putem să nu ne întrebăm în ce scop guvernarea selectiv „apolitică” bazată pe performanță va oferi legitimitate populară în viitor. Și, dacă aceasta eșuează, ceea ce o va înlocui va ajuta la procesul de democratizare a RAS?

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