

Jean Oi [00:00:37] Good afternoon everyone. I'm Jean Oi, Professor of Political Science but also the Director of the Stanford China Program and the Stanford Center at Peking University. And on behalf of the Freeman Spogli Institute, the Asia-Pacific Pacific Research Center and the China Program of the Asia-Pacific Research Center as well as the Center for East Asian Studies, I want to welcome all of you to this very special event on Hong Kong.

[00:01:08] Now before I go any further I just need to announce the house rules for today's event. The event is closed to the media. There are no cameras, video or audio recordings, please. This conference however is being live streamed. But the camera in the streaming is only going to be of the speakers here on the panel not of the audience.

[00:01:48] So essentially right now I think all of us are really living through history. Yesterday, October 1st was the 70th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. There was the largest parade I think in Chinese history presided over by President Xi Jinping. There were festivities, there was apparently a 70 gun salute. 15,000 soldiers marching down *Changan Jie*, Changan Avenue, something like 100,000 performers, students, people from all different walks of life. And this was, as well as jets flying overhead and a display of very impressive display of the latest military technology and hardware. And so, it was a really massive, joyous celebration. But on the other side of the border in Hong Kong by contrast there was widespread unrest. Unfortunately, the unrest has really become violent, bloody and for the first time you have the police firing live rounds and actually shooting a teenager. And so, on the one hand you have in Beijing the celebration of 70 years of the PRC. On the other hand, you have in celebrating the national rejuvenation.

[00:03:35] But in Hong Kong you have protesters actually engaging what they called a march of national grief. So, this is obviously very stark contrast. Now let me just turn a moment and take you back to the catalyst that started all of this and this was the summer in June when you had nearly 2 million people, about a quarter of Hong Kong's population, turning out for a peaceful protest, to a protest of the SAR, the Hong Kong government's proposed attempts to introduce an extradition law that opened the door for the PRC taking citizens out of Hong Kong to China. And since that time in June, the demonstrations have only grown in size and they, some are larger, but then there are some small ones but then they sort of grow again. And the authorities thought that with the beginning of the new school year for sure the demonstrations would subside. But that has not turned out to be the case. And as a matter of fact, interestingly there's now been the emergence of these smaller guerrilla tactics where they're called wildcat protests where the demonstrators move quickly and spontaneously and apparently based on Bruce Lee, for those of you who know about martial arts as Bruce Lee's idea of water so you don't know where it's going to come from, they're everywhere. And so that in the midst of all of this clearly, as I indicated, the violence has escalated on both sides. The police have fired over 1,800 canisters of tear gas, rubber bullets beanbag rounds, batons and you know this has been going on and the police have been accused of using excessive force and the shooting yesterday only has taken this to a new level. But at the same time, we also watch young protesters in Hong Kong vandalizing

buildings, setting MTR stations on fire, storming the Legislative Council, and they come dressed in black wearing hardhats, goggles and surgical masks. And we have video of policemen being attacked so that what we have then is scenes of a grand national day parade in Beijing and escalating violence in Hong Kong. For those of you who saw today's *New York Times*, they did a wonderful sort of juxtaposition of the two contexts.

[00:06:43] So what we have is that we have the rhetoric, media reports and even analysis coming out of both sides that can leave even this type of community, us, intelligent, astute readers of international geopolitics, unclear what's going on. And so, the questions you know that have to be asked are so what are the real facts and you know where does spin begin. And so, can reasonable intelligent people come to some common understanding of what is going on, what is right and what is true.

[00:07:25] And so let me just pause here and just say that this conversation, any conversation about Hong Kong has now turned into what are called, what could be called a difficult conversation. And here I just want to pause a moment and actually quote from our Stanford President Marc Tessier-Lavigne and the Provost who recently sent out an email about you know the value of having difficult conversations. And the point here was pointing out the importance of diversity. And he said. And they said, we have an extraordinary opportunity to hear, to learn from each other to have our thinking challenged, to sharpen our arguments and develop better ideas from thoughtful debate.

[00:08:14] And they wrote, a thriving academic community depends upon free exchange of ideas from across the diversity of the community within a culture of inclusion and mutual respect. And so mindful of the university's mandate, even encouragement of difficult conversations, and being explicitly aware that there are differences of opinion about what is going on in Hong Kong and knowing that there are thoughtful people on both sides of the debate and that we should really engage each other, we have decided to organize this special event.

[00:08:58] Now I want to be very clear that no, to our program, is able to cover all sides nor all perspectives, but because what has happened in Hong Kong I don't know about the rest of you but for many of us who thought we knew Hong Kong what has occurred, what has been happening in Hong Kong is really surprising. But this is not the Hong Kong that many of us knew or thought we knew. You know Hong Kong is known for its political pragmatism, even passivity, and that Hong Kong was always thought of as shying away from political suasion and focuses essentially on commerce. And you know that is no longer seems to be the case. And because what has happened in Hong Kong has been so surprising we have decided to focus on the dynamics at work in Hong Kong itself. And so, as a result we have convened a very distinguished panel to help us explore the following questions such as, What are the root causes of Hong Kong's largest mass movement in history. Why has this extradition bill generated such intense and widespread reaction from the public? And what are the spectrum of grievances that protesters have expressed. And many have commented upon the gaping trust deficit that the Hong Kong government now faces and the extraordinary governments governance challenges faced by the Chief Executive Carrie Lam. How did the situation

deteriorate to this point and if continued what will be the future of Hong Kong? And, finally is there a viable future for this system that has been between China and Hong Kong, this idea of one country and two systems. And so, this is what we're doing. And so, we want to begin our program with a keynote address by the former Chief Secretary of Hong Kong, the Honorable Mrs. Anson Chan, who has witnessed the historic turning point in Hong Kong-Beijing relations. She had a very distinct viewpoint having served as the number two officer, Chief Secretary, in both the Hong Kong government under British sovereignty as well as the Hong Kong special administration government under Chinese sovereignty, so she's seen both, she's been in the lead position in both. So, she is in a unique position to speak about the expectations, the challenges at the time of the handover and the hopes and fears about those close to the handover of what that they held in 1997 and also a very important insights about what is happening today. I will give the honor of introducing Mrs. Chan to Professor Thomas Fingar, who himself is a scholar official. Tom left Stanford in the 1980s to join the State Department and eventually became the first Deputy Director of National Intelligence and concurrently Chairman of the National Intelligence Council. So, Tom.

Tom Fingar [00:12:44] Thank you all for coming. Thank you, Jean, for the introduction but more to the point thank you for the honor and the privilege of introducing our keynote speaker and for the opportunity earlier today to meet Anson Chan. Our careers never intercepted during our decades in government but she is a legendary figure. As a distinguished public servant, as an exceptionally capable administrator, and for a long time and certainly now, as the conscience of Hong Kong. She is a civil servant. Having been in that position, we know that it's the behind the scenes seldom recognized civil servants in any system that play a key role in making this system effective. But she is one of the relatively few in any system who rose to positions, political positions by virtue of ability and personality and capability.

[00:14:11] The list of firsts and other significant developments is long. Let me note just a few. She's the first woman to rise to the top of the Hong Kong civil service. She was the first ethnic Chinese to rise to positions in British administered Hong Kong that previously had been reserved for citizens of the UK. She played an extremely important role as both symbol and manifestation of continuity and stability during the transition from British rule to Beijing's resumption of sovereignty. And more recently for her vigorous defense of Hong Kong values and the importance of observing the provisions of Hong Kong's Basic Law. You want to hear from her, not from me. But I'll close this introduction by noting a few of the honors that she has received.

[00:15:29] From the British government, from Queen Elizabeth, from the President of France, from institutions in the United States including Tufts University and including an award the O'Connor Justice Award named for Stanford alum Sandra Day O'Connor. She has done so much that I have sometimes wondered if she didn't enlist her twin sister to enable her to be two places at the same time because it's just not fair that any one individual could do as much as she had. So, I welcome you to Stanford. We are delighted to have you here and looking forward very much to what you have to tell us.