

Jean Oi [01:03:43] Thank you Harry. And now we turn to Professor Ming Sing. Yes, and the PPT?

Ming Sing [01:04:13] Sorry, how can I, OK already here. Thank you. Now first of all thank you for Stanford to give me such a golden chance to share my observations on these protests which have occupied the last seven months of my time, a big distraction but this is so important. I tried to address the questions raised by Professor Jean Oi which I am not going to read otherwise I won't have enough time. And then I find that there is a model raised by two scholars Charles Tilly and Jack Goldstone quite stimulating, that is they argue that if you try to explain protest or movements you cannot just look at the opportunities but also look at the threats to the core values to the identities of people. So, threats can trigger movements, participants' mobilization. In the case of Hong Kong obviously we have the people saw the threats to their freedom and rule of law and which therefore triggers what I call a showdown protest. It's a showdown and then these two scholars also mentioned different avenues, possible avenues. The first ever is repression triggered greater protest and then they were dampened, they were dampened down by much greater repression. The second avenue is that repression lead to greater protest and then further repression or concessions will lead to still greater protests and it kicks off a classic spiral of revolutionary conflict. And then the final avenue is a spiral of protest repression expanding protest but then ending in massive concessions. And they raise examples like the US South during the civil rights movement of the 1960s and in South Africa and anti-apartheid in the 1980s.

[01:06:07] They also offer a kind of mathematical model but I find it difficult to apply because it's really difficult to quantify a lot of crucial variables and therefore use it to predict. So, but I still find this model rather stimulating. So, the contexts. In the last I would say since 2003, since the PRC has failed to impose Article 23 the national security legislation onto Hong Kong, China has begun to tighten his rule over Hong Kong, so it has done a lot of political escalating control which I am not going to repeat because they have been mentioned pretty well by Anson, much better than me.

[01:06:52] And then what I want to mention is the not only political control but also economic control. China tries to escalate Hong Kong's economic dependence on Hong Kong. For instance, the last few years Hong Kong government seemingly was forced to spend a huge amount of money on some underused infrastructures that deepened the China Hong Kong economic integration. As a result, we do not have enough money to spend on public housing, the unemployment issue, the old age retirement and the hospital beds OK that have caused a lot of public grievances. And then China also induce over the last 20 years I would say at least 20 years, the deepening of trading as well as just in the last few years try to impose a top down economic integration of Hong Kong into Southern China for all kind of seamless planning. And they and they seldom really consult the local public opinions. And then we also need to buy their expensive water from mainland, this is just one example. And then the last one that come to my mind is the China and Hong Kong government seems also to encourage influx of a lot of mainland tourists. And in what we call the parallel traders to Hong Kong to the extent that every year and the last few years we have more than 50 million per year coming to

Hong Kong. That is about over six times of Hong Kong's population. Just imagine six times of tourism and parallel traders flow to the United States every year. Not to say that Hong Kong's population density, our area our size is much smaller than the United States. So, it has created a lot of these grievances and yet the government has turned a blind ear for a long time.

[01:08:48] So, and then socially, the Hong Kong government also encourages immigration of mainlanders and the Chinese government through multiple channels. Since the handover, to the best of my memory at least over 1.2 million and then Hong Kong government could not vet a major source of immigrants from China. Chinese government was the only one that could vet. And also, Hong Kong government encouraged schools to teach Chinese in Mandarin rather than their mother tongue that is Cantonese in our schools. And then very I would say ridiculously Hong Kong government repeated that they encourage Hong Kong people to work and live outside Hong Kong to live in the Greater Bay Area. And this kind of calling have fuel this suspicion that the Hong Kong government would like more mainlanders to come to Hong Kong and they and these have incensed a lot of the younger generation. Because if they move to the Greater Bay Area, if they just cross the border. The first thing they will they will find is that they can't use Google, they can't use Instagram and Facebook. There are a lot of political controls that they dislike. So, I think because of those escalating political, economic and social control. Actually, the trouble did not start even in 2014, that is the Umbrella Movement, it started much earlier.

[01:10:12] These bar chart shows the escalating protest. Some of them are peaceful some of them are less peaceful demonstrations of different kinds since 1997 there is escalation. So, concerning the current anti-government protests I would say that there are three phases and the first phase is the more peaceful mobilization of public opinions. It also highlights the explosion of the civil society. The resistance against the government's extradition bill that is it happened between March and June 9. When our government tries to sell this package its stressed that I still remember our secretary responsible for this matter, he argued that China's legal system is among the best in the world, within the top one third, the best in the world, which could not of course earn the public trust. He cited the very dubious survey that should not have that much credibility and also the Chief Executive insisted that instead of following the norm of consulting Hong Kong people for such important policies for three months, she insisted that just 20 days. And then Carrie Lam and related government officers also slammed the critics including those from their legal community as having nonsense say nonsense when they raised doubts about this bill. So, all those comments have raised the doubts and the criticism among the citizens. So, this table is too, I don't have time to go through it. To me it's hard, if you look at the second row we have 70 local and international NGOs including those human rights that were highly critical of the bill. Not to say many others, professional journalists, lawyers and so on so forth.

[01:12:17] And then this is also interesting. In May alone, we have over 300 secondary schools. They organize petition campaigns, signature campaigns with were joined by 130,000 high school students and local universities also did the same. This was a kind

of a phase of mobilization. And those who sign the group that has signed most is those between age 18 and 25. So that was the first phase. And then second phase, very sadly as mentioned by Anson, that despite the rally of 1 million on June 9th, just within two hours that the organizers of the huge rally announced a number that it was about 10 p.m. in the evening. Carrie Lam our Chief Executive said she will carry on with the passage of the bill. That is within one to two hours. So that infuriated the Hong Kong citizens, that also gave a lot of Hong Kong citizens an impression that peaceful rallies were useless. Even though their freedoms and rule of law, the pillar stone of Hong Kong success were a big risk. We are talking about 14 percent of the local population.

[01:13:49] So, on June 12th 40,000 people, particularly the youngsters they surrounded the legislature about just 1 percent of them. Most of them were peaceful protesters just about 1 percent of them they tried to storm the legislature at 3 p.m. They used very few weapons, threw according to a TV record, they threw a few poles as well as some bricks. And then the police reacted by shooting 150 tear gas canisters. Several rounds of rubber bullets and 20 bean bag shots and they hit the people incessantly with batons. And a lot of police of policemen they did not carry any ID badges or numbers. Which could have enabled them to abuse their power. So subsequently the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights and the Amnesty International condemn the excessive use of force on the part of the Hong Kong police. Okay. And then on June on June 15 we saw the first political martyr. One Hong Kong citizen fell to the ground and died. Actually, we now have at least six. We call them political martyrs, they die because they supported this movement and they were very disappointed they were disdainful of the government's intransigence. And when he died he wrote something on a banner right next to him and he raised four demands. That is the full withdrawal of the bill. And then he also asked the government to remove the label, the label was imposed on those 40 plus thousand protesters on June 12th on that evening. Carrie Lam said they were rioters. They have committed the crime of riots. Now if this crime was convicted you are liable to a maximum penalty of 10 years in imprisonment so it is very severe. So, he also said remove that label and then release the student and he asks Carrie Lam to resign.

[01:16:04] So this incident together with the public frustration have led to the 2 million walk out as mentioned by Anson on June 16th. However, the government did not back down. Just say it suspend on June 15th and the people feel angry because suspension means what it means that the government has the full authority to renew the bill, renew the passage of the bill after only informing decisions within 21 days. So, this has led to a violent the escalation of so-called political violence. I would stress the term political. That is, it led to a violent storming into the legislature on July the 1st. And political vandalism and the protestors wrote "no rioter only tyranny." And you teach me non-violent means are useless. And it is worth noticing that before I flew here, I haven't seen, to the best of my memory, I haven't seen any single mask person that have vandalize property that are not related to the government. Vandalism at the MTR was a political vandalism because the MTR has done a lot of controversial acts supporting the government including in the so-called Yuen Long saga, the MTR opened the doors allowing hundreds of gangsters to swarm into the train to hit the innocent people and

some protesters. OK so a lot of those vandalism are politically driven not driven by self-motive or materialistic motive.

[01:17:58] And then I would like to say that if we look back it seems that Beijing masterminded the repression and sidelined Carrie Lam which would trigger the pervasive and prolonged resistance we are now seeing. Number one by May 2019 two of the seven members of the of China's politburo standing committee they unprecedentedly expressed their support for an internal for Hong Kong legislation which according to a New York Times has never happened after the handover. And then China also signals to US on June 14 after the storming of the legislature that it will keep Hong Kong based troops in barracks. So, China was concerned about the huge protest would create a backlash and create pressure on United States and no other G-20 members who would discuss with China, particularly US, in Osaka in the G-20 meeting. And then what was important was that the CCP according to Reuters report, that Carrie Lam never denied its validity. CCP rejected Carrie Lam's two suggested concessions about those five public demands between June 16 and August 7. So, it seems that Carrie Lam has been sidelined. What were those two concessions raised by Carrie Lam? The first one was to set up an independent commission which was at the core among the public. And the other one was a full withdrawal of the bill which did not materialize until after three months, after a lot of people have died. So that's the situation. And then we ended the third phrase escalating violence on both sides, larger repression rose and resistance also escalated.

[01:20:00] I would just read a few like the first aid, journalists, legislators, social workers they were also hit and arrested and then China described Hong Kong protests having color revolution traits and acts of terrorism. And then the police horizontally shot some outdated poisonous tear gas and plastic bullets at short distance and into some enclosed areas. And then they also of course they shoot the real bullets just two days ago. And this is also worth mentioning that is the Yuen Long saga. About 600 to 800 gangsters they assault residents, journalists and protestors, indiscriminately on July the 21st in Yuen Long railway station. And then the police took no immediate action to arrest them within the first month after it is happening, the police were actually informed of this potential attack 24 hours before it happened and again took no action. A scholar at Oxford who investigated the so called potential collusion between the government and the Mafia, he said that it was similar. This pattern was observed in 2014 already. The government, the police seemed to have organically sought the help of some gangsters trying to strike out the Umbrella Movement. So, these events have pushed down dramatically the public trust in the police and it has provoked much greater public resistance.

[01:21:39] So if you look at the survey done by four scholars in Hong Kong. They have done a lot of on-site surveys. They try to interview those who join the rallies, in the rallies we have both militant front line militants and also peaceful non-violent protestors. And we found that they were extremely young. Those that were age 29 took up about 60 percent. And then over 77 percent of them have got tertiary education. A lot of them have got university education. And their demand mostly towards the early August, they

mainly demand investigation into police brutality, they also demand the investigation of set up an investigating committee. And then these bunch of scholars they continue to survey and then towards last month mid-August, support for democracy became one of the most important goals as well. So, it has become a very important goal.

[01:22:56] I also look at another survey done by a former Hong Kong scholar. This survey was different. It used telephone Hong Kong based on representative sample. The previous surveys on-site surveys, they were not representative. You could not do representative sample surveys. And this showed that a lot of people would cite the three conditions as why. That's why they think that these factors have contributed to the present predicament. The first one was a lack of universal suffrage. The second is central government intervention and then the third was the so-called institutional violence, that is the central government's and Hong Kong government's disqualifying of certain pro-democracy people from running our legislative election.

[01:23:48] And interestingly we look at the breakdown figures, the younger generation particularly attributed central government intervention as the most important one. So that shows that distance between the youngsters towards a central government. I picked this twice. Now simply based on this data I've run some actual regression analysis because of time I don't have time to show it. Basically, we find that the people demonstrate a big resistance of transition to a right wing partial democracy to a right wing of retiring one. And then we find a well-educated elite and younger generation that were most active in joining in. And what about the other concerns like are housing or social mobility. We have got some proxy variables to measure but they were not relevant to explaining it, they were not relevant. That's why we were very and the government tried to shift the blame to housing and so on. They are not addressing the root cause. And I have also interviewed seven mostly hardline militants. And I find that a lot of them were extremely determined. They agree on most of these statements like "this is our last battle before 2047," "we can't afford to lose this battle," and so on and so forth. We cannot retreat and if we burn, you burn with us, what we call the scorched earth policy. So that shows their determination. And this student and I interviewed who was in a professional high school and who could earn a good salary and high status. He also showed his sympathy for those protesters and he later became the frontline militant. And he put he explained why he has become like that. Basically, the reason he quoted was in line with what I just told you. I better skip some slides.

[01:26:02] Now implications. I think Hong Kong is at the front at the very forefront against a global authoritarian if not a totalitarian juggernaut. That hurts both Hong Kong and United States. First of all, China has renege on promises or whittle away our rule of law. And it has done unabated intervention as well with Hong Kong. Whereas United States, like Henry Paulson mentioned a few months ago, China's market was still not as open to US as promised after entry into the WTO for 18 years. And like your FBI Director who said this just two months ago, China is engaging in a sweeping effort to steal its way to economic dominance with more than 1000 investigations underway on intellectual property threat, almost all leading back to China. And President Obama also said the Chinese Communist Party reneges on this promise of non-militarization of

South China Sea. And then secondly undermines Hong Kong freedom to renege on promise of allowing Hong Kong to enjoy full democracy. Whereas in U.S., China according to some government officials have and I pointed to your Vice President, have seemingly interfered with US elections and used some fake news to manipulate US public opinions and setup a Confucius Institute of course. And then and then another one was what. The use of the, and then use of the brute force of the police. Sorry. Wow it's jumping. The setup of the use of the police and military to crack down. I mean for many places in Hong Kong it's usually the police. In the US I've also heard that many students from China they've been monitored for their behaviors, so a kind of harassment. I don't know why they jump like this. Maybe I end this and I will go back to them later.