



UCBMUN XXI



May Days: The Hong Kong Riots of 1967

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Letter from the Chair

Dear Delegates,

I am extremely humbled and excited to welcome you all to the 21st edition of UC Berkeley's Model United Nations Conference. My name is Ishaan Madan and I shall be your head chair for this highly intense and contagious crisis committee.

Join us in our journey back to 1967, as we attempt to recreate the events that took in place in Hong Kong and neighboring China. As volatility remains at its peak, it would be the responsibility of all of you to ameliorate the situation by reducing and preventing the bloodshed. It is extremely crucial that you exercise sound judgment and make collective, yet decisive actions in order to maintain peace and stability

A little bit about myself: I am an international student in UC Berkeley and a sophomore studying Economics and Computer Science. I attended my high school in Delhi, India and have stayed in India since my birth. My one true passion in life is Economics. I love reading Economic articles and following Economic news. This passion is also propelling me to do a PHD after graduation. Besides this, I love eating food and following international affairs. I enjoy doing and watching debates on various vital issues. Therefore, I would be looking forward to seeing something of this sort in this committee.

I have been a member of UC Berkeley's Model United Nations team since the second semester of my freshman year. In this one year, I have had the opportunity to meet a lot of new people, who have become one of my closest friends in UC Berkeley. I am looking forward to making this committee and conference a memorable experience for you.

Please feel free to email me with any questions you may have! I look forward to seeing you all in March.

Regards,
Ishaan Madan

Letter From the Crisis Director

Dear Delegates,

It is my pleasure to welcome you all to another exciting year of UCBMUN! My name is William Chu and I will be your crisis director for this foray into history.

I'm a junior here at Cal and I am majoring in political science with a minor in public policy. This will be my second year with UCBMUN, but I've been involved with MUN for most of my high school career as well. Before coming to Berkeley, I attended UCSD for one year, where I had the honor of taking part in MUN there. I love running crisis committees, and I hope that you will all enjoy the experience.

As for some personal information about myself: I was born in Hong Kong, but raised here in the Bay Area. One of my dreams is to become a polyglot, and overcome as many language barriers as possible! I still have a long way to go, but I'm enjoying every step along the way. Some of my other hobbies include playing video games, watching cartoons, and soccer!

This is a topic that has always been close to my heart. As we venture back to the year 1967, this committee will have to juggle a complex array of social, political, and economic issues in order to restore order to the Pearl of the Orient. It will almost certainly be impossible to hold down the Hong Kong with force alone, and I hope to see this committee come up with creative solutions to overcome all the obstacles which arise.

If you have any questions at all about anything remotely related to this committee, feel free to email me!

Best wishes,
William Chu

Introduction



Poised on a small peninsula at the southern edge of the vast Chinese mainland lies the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong. Ceded to the United Kingdom after the Opium Wars in 1842, Hong Kong became known as “The Pearl of the Orient” and was transformed from a small fishing village into a bustling port city. Hong Kong has since remained under British rule continuously, with the exception of the years 1941-1945, during which the colony was occupied by the Empire of Japan. Following WW2, Hong Kong became the home to millions of refugees fleeing the Communist victory in Mainland China and gained the distinction of being one of the last remaining non-communist Chinese territories, alongside

the exiled forces of the Republic of China in Taiwan and Portuguese Macau. For decades afterwards the British government maintained non-confrontational relations with the People’s Republic of China in order to hold on to Hong Kong.

While this survival tactic was effective for a time, in 1967 the situation changed greatly. Under Chairman Mao, the Cultural Revolution was initiated in China, plunging the nation into the chaos of a radical communist power struggle. Under encouragement from their revolutionary compatriots on the mainland, leftist groups in Hong Kong embarked on an endeavour to overthrow the colonial government. This campaign was aided by widespread discontent with labor conditions amongst

most of the city's poor working class. What began as the sacking of 650 workers at the Hong Kong Artificial Flower Works in April of 1967 turned into a six month long saga of rioting, bombings, assassinations, and political intrigue, born from a perfect storm of unfavorable conditions. By the end of the unrest, dubbed "the Confrontation" by British colonial officials, 51 people would be killed and hundreds more injured, the bloodiest incident of civil unrest in the city's history. Furthermore, the colony also narrowly avoided an all out invasion from the People's Republic of China, which would have spelled certain doom for British Hong Kong.

Hong Kong in 1967 faced a wide variety of social and economic issues which were responsible for inciting the riots, and any resolution of the riots will require this committee to address these root causes. Throughout the 1960s, Hong Kong underwent rapid industrialization, and the Hong Kong economy came to rely very heavily upon the textile industry. Despite this economic boom however, laws for the protection of labor were almost entirely nonexistent. Millions worked in extremely poor conditions, and the city became a symbol to the communists for everything that was wrong with capitalism. Furthermore, the city was split between

various competing political loyalties. Pro-Communist groups found ready supporters amongst many of Hong Kong's beleaguered working class, while many others were fervent anti-communists who had fled to Hong Kong with the specific intention of fleeing from the Communists. To make matters worse, the British colonial government was largely made up of British officials who lorded over their Chinese subjects, further aiding nationalist Chinese appeals to end British rule. Yet despite this unstable social situation, Hong Kong remains one of the premier financial centers in East Asia. For all the troubles which governing the city may present, losing Hong Kong would have very serious financial repercussions across the world. Furthermore, the city continues to represent a vital bastion of freedom and anti-communist resistance in a largely communist Asia.

This committee will be tasked with taking on the role of the Executive Council of Hong Kong, known as ExCo for short, alongside additional members from the Legislative Council of Hong Kong and other key officials in the colonial government. These two councils serve as the official advisory body to the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir David Trench, and function as the central decision-making body of the colony.

Members of the Executive Council include the colonial cabinet ministers responsible for the day to day administration of Hong Kong, the commander of the British military garrison, as well as a number of influential private citizens in Hong Kong, including representatives from the major banks and trading houses. Together they have been empowered by the Crown to handle Hong

Kong affairs with a great deal of autonomy. It will be up to this committee to juggle the demands of their superiors in London whilst managing the practical realities of dealing with a widespread urban insurgency in one of the Empire's last colonies. Good luck councilors!

The Founding of Modern Hong Kong



Hong Kong (香港), which means “Fragrant Harbor” in Chinese, is an island off the southern coast of China at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta. For most of its history, Hong Kong existed as a Chinese territory. Contrary to the original European descriptions of Hong Kong as a “barren rock,” Hong Kong in the 19th century was already home to a well established Chinese

community prior to the arrival of the British. According to Chinese historical texts, Kowloon, the peninsula across the harbor from Hong Kong Island, was where the emperor of the Southern Song Dynasty chose to take refuge after the fall of China to the Mongols in the 13th century.¹ Western merchants first began trading along the southern coast of China in the

¹ Carroll, 10

16th century. The Portuguese were the first to obtain a foothold in China, with the small enclave of Macau, which lies across the Pearl River Delta from Hong Kong, granted by the Ming Dynasty in 1557. As the centuries passed, the demand for more Chinese goods continued to grow alongside the volume of trade conducted. Yet through this entire period, European trade in China was limited and hampered by Chinese restrictions on European merchant activity as a consequence of the Imperial Court's largely isolationist policy. Yet by the 19th century the United Kingdom, which had by then become the dominant global maritime power, sought to change the status quo and obtain greater trade concessions from the Chinese.²

² Ibid. 11



In 1839, the first of the Opium Wars began, and the British secured a crushing victory which allowed them to impose the Treaty of Nanking, the first of the “unequal treaties” which other Western nations would soon impose upon the Qing Dynasty. One of the primary motivations of the war was to secure an outpost from which the British could base their military and commercial operations from. As it happened, Hong Kong was the ideal candidate, offering a very deep harbor nestled in a strategic location at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta.³

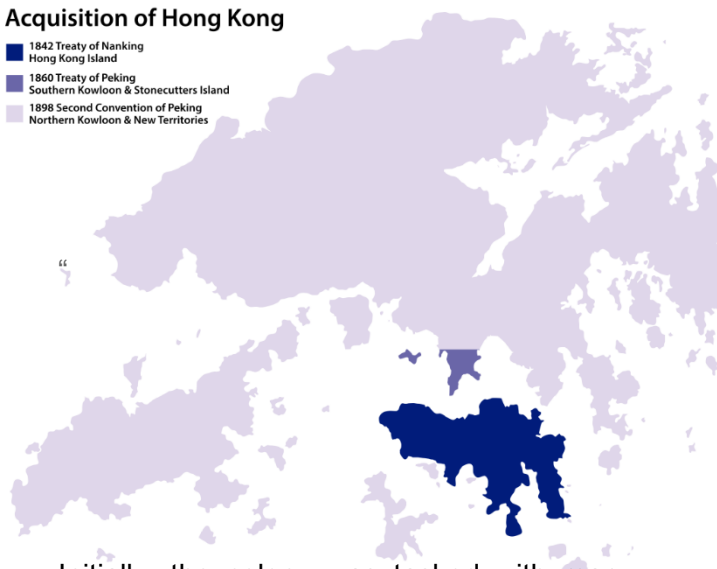
Hong Kong Island was ceded to the British Empire by the Chinese Qing dynasty after the First Opium War. This colonization

increased lucrative trade opportunities for the British and prompted more trade between Hong Kong and the Western world. Yet in the years to come, the colony of Hong Kong would see several more major expansions. The Kowloon Peninsula, located on the mainland across from Hong Kong island, together with Stonecutters Island was secured in 1860, whilst a larger area of the mainland called the New Territories was leased from the Qing Dynasty for a period of ninety-nine years in 1898.

³ Ibid. 13

Acquisition of Hong Kong

- 1842 Treaty of Nanking
Hong Kong Island
- 1860 Treaty of Peking
Southern Kowloon & Stonecutters Island
- 1898 Second Convention of Peking
Northern Kowloon & New Territories



Initially, the colony was tasked with many obstacles to overcome. While Hong Kong's major trading houses, including Jardine, Matheson and Swire, prospered from their trade with China, the colony hardly thrived in its first few decades. Fever, bubonic plague and typhoons threatened life and property, and at first the colony attracted a fair number of criminals and vice merchants. Opium dens, gambling clubs and brothels proliferated; just a year after Britain took possession, an estimated 450 prostitutes worked out of two dozen brothels. Gradually, however, Hong Kong began to shape itself into a more substantial community. Encouragement was given to merchants to build their trading houses and residences; roads were laid down, markets and hospitals built, churches provided and schools established. Utility services were developed such as the HK & China Gas Company in 1861, the Peak Tram in 1885,

the HK Electric Company in 1889, China Light & Power in 1903, the Tramways in 1904 and the Kowloon-Canton Railway in 1910. Trade flourished and Hong Kong was set to become one of the world's greatest ports.

Hong Kong in the 20th Century

Despite the early problems, the colony's population continued to grow in the early 20th century thanks to Hong Kong's relative stability compared with an increasingly unstable foreign environment. At the turn of the century, many overseas Chinese returned from America, Australia, and Canada and chose to settle in Hong Kong as a result of the Chinese Exclusion Act and other anti-Chinese measures enacted in the British dominions. These new settlers helped to develop a strong Chinese middle class in Hong Kong which soon came to dominate the industrial sector and control the Chinese international trade which flowed through the city.⁴ In 1911, revolution ousted the centuries old rule of the Qing Dynasty. The stable environment of the colony, coupled with its political and civic freedoms, made it a key location from which Chinese revolutionaries were exposed to Western ideals about democratic government.⁵

⁴ Ibid. 74

⁵ Ibid 78

Furthermore, status as a free port made Hong Kong a valuable base from which revolutionaries could plot their uprisings and import supplies from supporters abroad. For several decades after the revolution, China became a fragmented state dominated by warlords. Under these circumstances, Hong Kong continued to receive immigrants from the mainland hoping for a better life. This allowed Hong Kong access to a steady supply of labor which was crucial in sustaining the colony's growth in the 20th century.

Yet Hong Kong could not escape from the Second World War as it had done from so many other Asian conflicts. After Japan launched its invasion of China in 1937, Hong Kong quickly became a vital lifeline for the Chinese war effort. Hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the Japanese army entered Hong Kong. After the blockage of major Chinese ports by the Japanese navy in 1938, Hong Kong became host to nearly half of all foreign trade into China, handling more than fifty tons of munitions and supplies per month intended to support the Chinese war effort. Furthermore, Chinese banks, newspapers, and war relief organizations moved their headquarters into Hong Kong, from which they could continue their operations in relative safety from Japan. Entrepreneurs

moved entire factories into Hong Kong, and many factories in Hong Kong continued to produce military equipment in support of the Chinese war effort. This inflow of capital and labor would later help transform Hong Kong into a major industrial and economic power. Throughout this entire period, the British had done their best to remain neutral, but this was not a conflict from which Hong Kong could escape. The day after Japan attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, its military machine swept down from Guangzhou and into Hong Kong. Although the British had been quietly preparing for a conflict with Japan, Hong Kong was indefensible in the face of the better trained, equipped, and more numerous Japanese forces. Hong Kong's defenders, a small garrison of British, Canadian, and local volunteers, held onto the colony for seventeen days of brutal fighting. On Christmas day, Governor Mark Young unconditionally surrendered Hong Kong to the Japanese Empire.⁶

⁶ Ibid. 119



Conditions under Japanese rule were far harsher than British colonial rule ever was, and Chinese civilians were often indiscriminately killed or brutalized by the occupying troops. The majority of the Western populace was incarcerated at Stanley Prison on Hong Kong Island, including many of the colony's former European elite and Governor Mark Young. Conditions at Stanley Prison were harsh, and both military and civilian prisoners were often executed, while many others still died of starvation or disease.⁷ Many Hong Kong Chinese fled into Macau, administered by neutral Portugal. Japan instituted a brutal economic regime on those who remained in

⁷ Ibid. 122

an attempt to extract anything of value from Hong Kong. But as the war turned against Japan, Hong Kong's economy began to collapse and the lack of food imports drove the city to starvation. Unburied corpses became a common sight on the streets, and many of the remaining residents survived only by eating rats. By war's end, Hong Kong's population had dropped to roughly 600,000 people from its pre-war height of more than 1.5 million. At least 10,000 Chinese civilians were executed during the course of the occupation and many more were tortured or raped.⁸ Yet despite this darkness, after Japan's surrender in August 1945 and the subsequent return of the

⁸ Ibid. 123

British, the colony looked set to emerge from its hibernation.

Postwar reconstruction was a difficult time, but thanks to the efforts of Hong Kong's enterprising populace, and the city's well placed geopolitical position, recovery occurred quickly and rapidly. By 1947 the population once again exceeded one million and the government recorded a budgetary surplus.⁹ Yet with the changing postwar reality, new questions now arose which would dictate the direction of Hong Kong society, economics, and politics for the decades to come.

The Hong Kong Economy

Hong Kong traditionally has had a liberal, market-based and pluralistic society and economy. After the Chinese cessation to the British under the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, Hong Kong quickly became a regional center for financial and commercial services based particularly around the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank and merchant companies such as Jardine Matheson. In 1841, the Chinese inhabitants of Hong Kong numbered only 7,500 with a handful of foreigners. But by 1859, the Chinese population grew to over 85,000 people alongside about 1,600 foreigners. The economy was closely linked to commercial

activity, dominated by shipping, banking and merchant companies. Gradually, the economy diversified to include services and retail outlets in order to meet the needs of the local population, and also to shipbuilding and maintenance as a result of the presence of the British naval and merchant shipping. Additionally, there was some industrial expansion in the nineteenth century as well: notably sugar refining, cement and ice factories among the foreign sector, alongside smaller-scale local workshop manufactures.

⁹ Ibid. 131



After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the mainland began a process of withdrawal from the international economy. This occurred partly for ideological reasons and partly because of Cold War embargoes on trade imposed first by the United States in 1949 and then by the United Nations in 1951 as a consequence of the PRC's intervention in the Korean War. Thus, Hong Kong remained a vital international economic link which the PRC needed in order to support its campaign of industrialization. Even during its period of self-sufficiency in the 1960s, Hong Kong's

imports of food and water from the PRC remained a vital source of foreign exchange revenue that ensured Hong Kong's usefulness to the mainland. In turn, cheap food helped to restrain increases in the cost of living in Hong Kong, thus helping to keep wages low during the period of labor-intensive industrialization. Additionally, remittances from overseas Chinese could still make their way back to the Chinese economy via Hong Kong. A large degree of Hong Kong's economic stability depends upon China, as the colony's geographical proximity to the mainland makes it vulnerable to political and economic

influence from China. As Hong Kong faces a paucity of natural resources and a limited internal water supply, the import of food and water from China remain necessary to the continued functioning of Hong Kong's society and economy. Yet for all these limitations, if everything goes well, Hong Kong will be well on its way to becoming one of the five great newly industrializing "Asian Tigers," with a yearly growth rate of nearly 10% of its GDP, one of the highest in the world.

The banking system of Hong Kong highlights several facets of the Hong Kong

financial system. Lack of regulation in the 1950s led to unconstrained expansion of banking services. There were also arguments that the financial system in Hong Kong is "overbanked." This resulted in increasing instability and banks' reducing market shares. Profits plummeted and some of the banks even filed for bankruptcy. Although the banks pleaded for greater regulation, the Financial Secretary resisted intervening in the market. As a result, the weak regulatory framework and plethora of small banks led to the banking crises in 1961 and 1965.



In spite of all this, by 1967 Hong Kong had already established itself as an important international financial center. Its importance

was also manifested in the fact that Hong Kong was the second largest holder of overseas sterling in the world. As a colony,

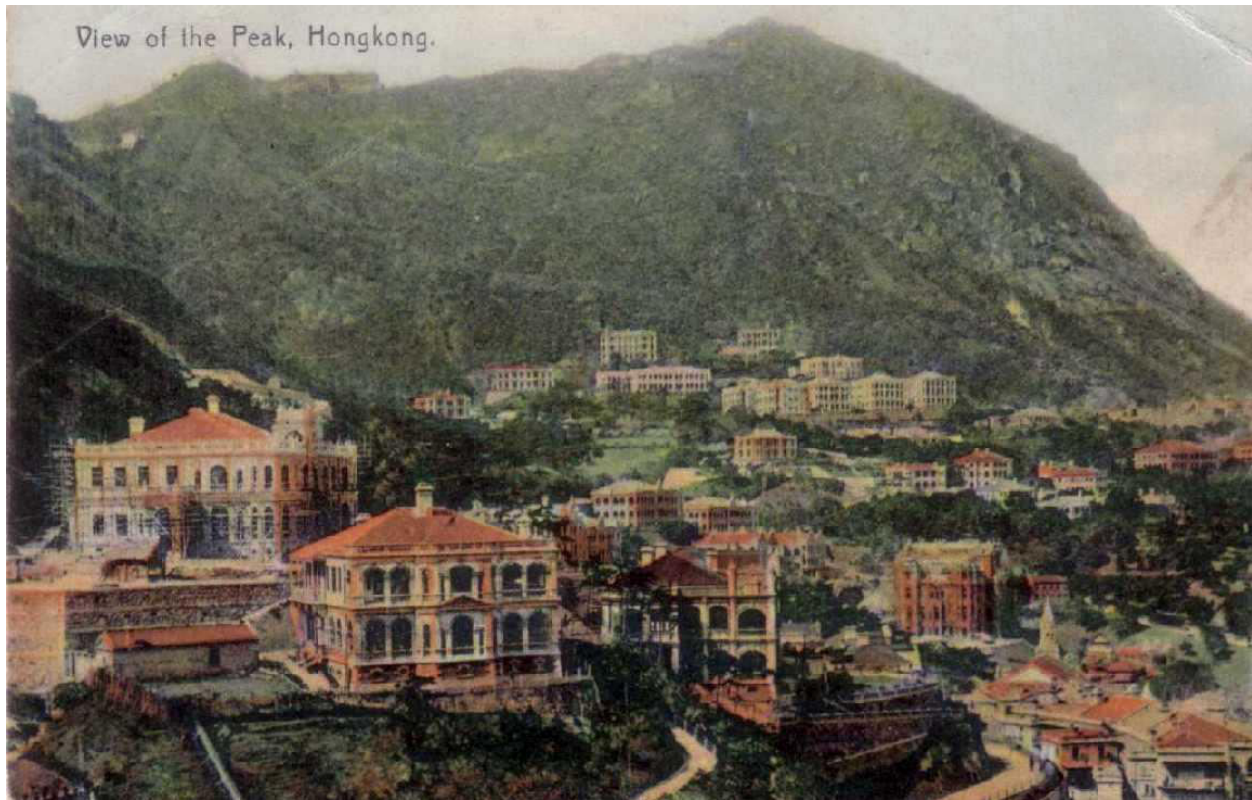
it served as the backbone of the British Empire by financing and providing it with necessary resources and wealth. However, the ongoing unrest has the potential to not only damage the economy of Hong Kong, but also to affect the stability of the British economy. It would be pivotal for the council to take the economy into account before making any decision. As any decision can plummet the economy and thereby attract a more violent response from the British. It would be of utmost importance to ensure the stability and proper functioning of the economy.

Hong Kong State and Society

For much of Hong Kong's development, the British largely kept themselves away from intervention into the affairs of its Chinese inhabitants. In the New Territories, where the British had obtained a 99 year lease from the Qing Dynasty, Chinese laws were essentially left frozen in the past as British administrators were reluctant to intervene in the day to day affairs of the villagers who inhabited the area. Yet the fact that Hong Kong was out of reach politically for Chinese government meant that new Chinese laws couldn't govern the affairs of Hong Kong Chinese either, leaving Hong Kong a peculiar place of historic oddities.

As a result of British neglect, a dual society emerged, where Chinese elites in Hong Kong formed their own powerful network of businesses and community associations parallel to the official British structures of power which excluded the native Chinese population. The British in Hong Kong created for themselves an extensive social life which revolved around clubs, music, parties, formal dinners, and the annual St. George's and St. Andrew's balls.¹⁰ European men who worked for the British firms were expected to partake in mandatory sporting clubs for the purposes of meeting their European colleagues who worked in other firms. Chinese and Eurasians were not allowed to join in these activities. As a result of this mix of informal and formal restrictions, no Chinese can be found amongst the upper echelons of any British firm in Hong Kong, something which remains a source of continual resentment in the colony.

¹⁰ Carroll, 105



The Chinese in turn built for themselves a highly developed social sphere as well. Chinese banks like the Bank of East Asia were founded to service the needs of Chinese businesses, while a multitude of interconnected community organizations provided the means for Chinese people to partake in civic activity. One notable Chinese voluntary association was the Man Mo Temple, which ostensibly provided religious services for Chinese folk religion, but actually evolved into a Chinese social center with its own elected committee for resolving disputes amongst the Chinese population. Another was the District Watch Force, which was established by the

Chinese community to combat crime in 1866 and operated until 1941. Additionally, there was the Nam Pak Hong Association, which was a mutual assistance organization for Chinese import-export firms and grew to become the largest commercial and occupational group in Hong Kong. Finally, the most important of the Chinese voluntary associations was the Tung Wah Hospital, which was the first hospital in Hong Kong to offer services to the Chinese population. While it began as a medical organization, the hospital's role grew tremendously as its work touched upon so many aspects of society. Besides its medical role, the hospital's community services transformed

the Tung Wah Hospital into the social and cultural center for Hong Kong Chinese. Often, instead of getting involved in British courts which they knew little about, Hong Kong Chinese would turn to the Hospital Committee to resolve their conflicts. While some of the roles played by these voluntary associations would later be superseded by modern government agencies, by 1967 many of these associations remain a significant force in Hong Kong society, particularly the Tung Wah Hospital Group, which is also one of Hong Kong's largest charitable organizations.¹¹

Hong Kong's society is said by historian John Carroll to be one which had from the beginning been based upon "the political importance of the Europeans and the economic importance of the Chinese."¹² This was true in Hong Kong's early years, and continues to be true in 1967. Although the most important political figures in Hong Kong are all Europeans, this political elite must also depend upon the Chinese economic elite in order to maintain control over the colony.

Even by the 1950s, the Hong Kong colonial government had little interaction with the majority of the Chinese population. If an average Chinese resident of Hong Kong

needed medical aid, their best bet was not to rely on the Hong Kong government, whose services were mainly tailored for the European expatriates, but on their own philanthropic organizations like the Tung Wah Hospital. The only time the Hong Kong government's presence could be felt was when it imposed new controls over the customs and livelihood of the people.¹³ The government justified their policy by arguing that it was part of its larger commitment to be laissez-faire and have the continued operation of Hong Kong as a free port. In the view of some historians, however, this was only an excuse for the Colonial government to maintain its distance from the Hong Kong Chinese, who were still viewed as a potentially unruly menace whose loyalties did not truly lie with the British.

In the aftermath of the war, many Chinese had fled to Hong Kong in order to escape the civil war which raged between the Communists and the Nationalists. Although Hong Kong had always experienced immigration from China when things were tough, the postwar changes which had come to Hong Kong were the most significant yet. It became impossible for the government to maintain its stance on laissez-faire when thousands of refugees

¹¹ Ibid. 40

¹² Ibid. 36

¹³ Bickers, 149-150

were squatting upon land badly needed for development. Thus out of necessity if not compassion, the government embarked on a major program of public housing resettlement. By 1963, almost half a million Hong Kong Chinese reside in cheap, high density, multistory housing estates provided by the government. Although it was expected that this would create gratitude and civic consciousness amongst the Hong Kong Chinese, riots which erupted on public housing projects in 1956 demonstrated that there was still much public discontent regarding the standards of living in Hong Kong. For their part, most Chinese refugees in Hong Kong had little expectations of aid from the Hong Kong government, and most continued to rely on kinship or community networks for support.¹⁴

The Hong Kong government now also found themselves sandwiched between the great powers of the Cold War. Although the civil war on the mainland had ended in a victory for the Chinese Communist Party, the KMT (or Guomindang - National Party) continued their resistance in Taiwan and had the support of many anti-communist refugees who now resided in Hong Kong. In order to avoid turning Hong Kong into the next Cold War flashpoint, the Hong Kong government pursued a policy of suppressing the political

activity of both the CCP and the KMT in Hong Kong. This was in truth another one of the contradictions of Hong Kong, a nominally “free” city which was now engaged in political repression for the sake of survival.¹⁵ Yet the degree of political repression was still relatively light and insufficient in reining in the political polarization of the colony; by 1967, leftist groups now hold a considerable amount of influence within the city. Many newspapers in Hong Kong with significant readerships are known to have leftist leanings, dozens of schools openly teach pro-communist curriculums, and leftist labor unions command the loyalties of thousands of workers throughout the colony.

British Colonial History

In order to understand the unrest of 1967, it is necessary to also understand the greater forces which were unfolding beyond Hong Kong. Although the colonial government is afforded a great deal of autonomy in its decision making, at the end of the day it is still chained to the policy considerations of the United Kingdom, which did not always coincide with the best interests of the colony.

The Second World War, like the Great War before it, had catastrophic consequences

¹⁴ Ibid. 152

¹⁵ Ibid. 150

for not only the defeated nations, but also for the victors. Britain survived the conflict and recovered the territory it had lost during the war, but its prestige and authority, not to mention its wealth, were irreversibly diminished. The catastrophic British defeats in Europe and Asia between 1940 and 1942 destroyed Britain's financial and economic independence which had previously served as the foundation of the imperial system. It became excruciatingly challenging to maintain the forces necessary to police such a sprawling empire, especially amidst a period of growing unrest as nationalist independence movements began to gain more momentum. Compounding this was the collapse of the British trade relationship with its colonies. Whereas the British had once been able to run very favorable trade balances with its colonies, the United States now dictated that the United Kingdom and its empire adhere to the principles of free trade, dismantling the mercantilism which helped to sustain the British imperial system. Under such a mixture of rapidly shifting conditions, keeping the colonies became an untenable task, which set into motion the process of decolonization.

An early example of this process was the British withdrawal from India in 1947. More than 200 years of struggle for independence led by the Indian National Congress played

a pivotal role in this development. Within months of the end of the Second World War, it was glaringly obvious that Britain lacked the means to defeat a renewed mass campaign by the Congress. Its officials were exhausted and its military strength was insufficient. By the 1950s, the British government and the general public accepted the need to grant increasing self governance and eventually independence to some of their most valuable and important colonies.

It was also becoming increasingly difficult to counter the colossal amount of nationalist movements in the colonies. To avoid being trapped in a costly struggle with local nationalist movements, Britain backed out of most of the remaining colonies rapidly after the war. By late 1959, it had proposed self-government for Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Malaysia among others. All became independent by 1962. Meanwhile, the British economy reeled from crisis to crisis and without the support of the United States it could do little to act in many of its colonies.

Furthermore, the British were hindered in their ability to hold onto their empire because the United Kingdom simply no longer had the economic independence to act as they wished. British intervention to prevent the nationalization of the Suez

Canal in the crisis of 1956 was brought to a screeching halt by American threats to devalue the British pound sterling. Afterwards, British foreign policy would have no choice but to align closely with the United States.

As of 1967, the British Empire is not yet dead, and colonies such as Hong Kong still remain. Yet the forces responsible for decolonization have yet to take its full course on the British Empire. Although the British still maintains a large military presence east of the Suez Canal, the repeatedly humbled United Kingdom of 1967 is no stranger to losing its colonies, and there is a wide public consensus that further economic or political pressures could easily cause the British Empire to further shed its colonies.

The Cold War

The start of the Cold War greatly influenced Britain's colonial policy. The rapid onset of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States alongside the development of international institutions like the United Nations all coincided with the decline of the once great European colonial empires. Decolonization in this period was often affected by superpower competition, and in turn had an impact on the evolution of the Cold War. In a more general sense,

decolonization would also alter the global balance of power in international relations.

Although the United States in this period supported the idea of self-determination and freedom for European colonies around the world, it did not commit to outright support for colonies that were fighting for independence from the brutal rule of the colonial powers. This is because the United States frequently came to the conclusion that the support of its European allies was more important than the rights of the colonized. The Cold War only served to complicate the American position, as US support for decolonization was offset by the concern over communist expansion and Soviet strategic ambitions in Europe. Many NATO allies asserted that their colonial possessions provided them with economic and military strength. Many colonies were strategically located, which raised concerns for the US as it aimed to prevent them from getting under Soviet influence. Notwithstanding the US's hesitance in support of decolonization, the process did take place, although in highly variegated ways. In some areas, it was peaceful and orderly. In many others, independence was achieved only after a protracted revolution. A few newly independent countries acquired stable governments almost immediately; others were ruled by dictators or military

juntas for decades or endured long civil wars. Some European governments welcomed a new relationship with their former colonies while others contested decolonization militarily. In some instances, the United States provided technical assistance to encourage newly independent nations to align with the West. The Soviet Union used similar tactics in order to capitalize on the instability in these colonies and expand its area of influence to counter the growing US power.

The American Dilemma

The Cold War's effects on Hong Kong were very real, if less than obvious upon initial analysis. The United States and the United Kingdom had very different reactions to the initial victory of the Communists in China. While the United States would go on to cut ties with the People's Republic of China after the Korean War, the United Kingdom continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Beijing. Although the US maintained a policy of opposing communist advancement, it would not explicitly commit to defending Hong Kong. The US government had already decided that "defending Hong Kong would require the establishment of a military position well inland and would involve a movement of large scale forces into China, which would

risk global war . . . It did not expect to retain by force any foothold in continental China in the event of a world war."¹⁶ Thus, although the British had at times publicly expressed confidence that the United States would come to Hong Kong's aid should it come under attack, they were always aware privately that there would be no American undertaking to rescue Hong Kong if worst came to worst. Yet despite this American policy, Hong Kong remains an important link in the supply chain that supports US troops in Vietnam. Furthermore, it is an open secret that the United States maintains a significant intelligence network in Hong Kong which regularly conducts covert actions throughout Asia.¹⁷

Hong Kong's relationship with the United Kingdom

The British and Hong Kong governments were of unanimous opinion when it came to standing firm against the outbreak of riots. They both agreed that with the backing of Beijing, it would be impossible to stop the leftist riots without use of effective force. However, there were subtle differences in the approach that these two entities wanted to employ to handle the situation. The differences in their interpretation of the

¹⁶ Bickers, 27

¹⁷ Ibid. 26

situation caused some rifts between the Commonwealth Office and the Hong Kong government. While Governor David Trench favors an aggressive and provocative stance towards local leftists, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London is much more cautious than the governor in their assessment of the situation in the colony and the handling of the disturbances. It is the priority of the Foreign and Commonwealth office to maintain British dignity and avoid jeopardizing broader British interests in China. For the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, provoking China during a period of communist radicalism is seen as a suicidal policy.¹⁸ Thus, the Hong Kong government must take care to not only focus on quelling the riots, but also to ensure that it can make a case to London that its actions are in the best interests of the Commonwealth as a whole, lest they lose the support of Her Majesty's Government.

Behind closed doors, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has frequently expressed their doubts on the strategic value of Hong Kong, and in 1966, the Defence Review shifted the majority of the costs for maintaining the British military in Hong Kong to the colonial government. The colonial government would pay 1.5 million

pound sterling per year to London, while a further 6 million pound sterling would be spent on defence works to provide for the garrison over six years beginning in 1966. As a reference, the total British defense expenditure for Hong Kong in 1966 was estimated to be 11 million pound sterling. Yet the Ministry of Defence has continued to insist that Hong Kong increase its annual contribution to 5.5 million pound sterling per annum. This has been a major point of contention amongst the Hong Kong government, who see this demand as Britain shirking its imperial obligations to its colonies, especially when Hong Kong itself still only possessed a low income per capita and was in the middle of a massive public housing resettlement campaign.¹⁹ While Hong Kong depends on assistance from London, colonial officials must sort out these continued unresolved differences if they are to be able to coordinate an effective defense of Hong Kong.

The Cultural Revolution

In August of 1966, Chairman Mao Zedong of the People's Republic of China published an article in the state news criticizing "leading cadres" in the central government for attempting to impose "bourgeois dictatorship" upon the nation. In order to

¹⁸ Ibid. 2

¹⁹ Ibid. 106

oppose the forces which would turn China back from the path to communism, a second revolution was necessary, argued Mao. While the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had begun earlier in the year, Mao's call for the youth to rise up as Red Guards marked the beginning of the Cultural Revolution's most turbulent years.

The Cultural Revolution called upon young communists at the grassroots levels to attack established authority and take it upon themselves to destroy all that was old in the name of combating revisionism. The radical fervor of the Red Guards soon took over the entire country, and communist elites began to utilize the various mass organizations which had sprung up in order to wage proxy wars against each other. By 1967, revolutionary committees established by fragmented Red Guard factions actively supplant regular government ministries and departments.²⁰

In January, months before the riots break out in Hong Kong, the radical faction successfully seized power in the State Council's Foreign Affairs Office and established a revolution leading group of the Foreign Affairs Office. The Communist Party's Hong Kong and Macau Office was then ordered to report to that body in the future. From that point onward the work of

the Communist Party in Hong Kong was considered a part of the greater Cultural Revolution. Under such conditions, leftist groups have become increasingly agitated in the months leading up to the May confrontation, with Chinese state media openly encouraging unrest in Hong Kong.²¹

The main challenge confronting the British now is that no one truly knows who is in charge in China. While Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai was trusted to act rationally, it is now no longer clear who makes the decisions in China at any one moment. As such, it will be extraordinarily difficult for the British to communicate effectively with the Chinese in the event of a crisis.

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²⁰ Dreyer, 107-109

²¹ Cheung, 21

Current Situation in Hong Kong



The situation in the May of 1967 is a tense one. Although Hong Kong is currently in the midst of a massive industrial boom, labor relations in the colony are at an all time low, and the government's neglect of social welfare has led to the rise of serious undercurrents of resentment against the colonial regime. All of which means that the colony is more susceptible than ever to leftist action inspired by the Cultural Revolution.

In early May, workers at the Hong Kong Artificial Flower Works in San Po Kong, Kowloon, went on strike to protest poor working conditions. On May 6th, the dispute turned into a violent riot during which 21 workers were arrested. In response, the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions, a communist dominated organization,

intervened on behalf of the workers. On May 15th, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a statement in support of the workers strike. The next day, on May 16th, leftists in Hong Kong announced the formation of the All Circles Anti-Persecution Struggle Committee, or the Anti-British Struggle Committee, in order to coordinate the broader resistance efforts against the Hong Kong Government.

It is in response to this alarming development that the governor has assembled his advisors to prepare against the coming confrontation. Beginning on May 16th, 1967 the Hong Kong Executive and Legislative Councils shall regularly meet until the end of the crisis. In the lead up to this event, there are two incidents in Hong Kong's immediate history that all

government officials should be aware of: the 1966 Star Ferry Riots, and the 12-3 Incident in Macau.



1966 Star Ferry Riots

In April of 1966, a raise in the first class fare of the Star Ferry, which is one of the only modes of transportation from Hong Kong Island to Kowloon and services hundreds of thousands of passengers, sparked protests which soon broke out into a full scale riot over most of Hong Kong. More than 4,000 protesters shut down the Mong Kok district, destroyed property, and set fire to the main branch of HSBC during the confrontation. The governor was forced to declare a curfew and troops from the British garrison

were called in to contain the unrest.²² A subsequent government commission concluded that the Star Ferry riots were spontaneous and not politically motivated. Yet the chaotic events of that April exposed the turbulent social unrest brewing in Hong Kong and foreshadowed the events of the 1967 riots. If something as minor as the raising of the price of utilities could provoke such a heated reaction from the Hong Kong people, then there was a very real reason to be afraid of what domestic unrest could do to undermine colonial rule in Hong Kong.

²² Cheung, 10

12-3 Macao Incident

On December 3rd of 1966, following a series of protests against the Portuguese colonial government's handling of the construction of a communist sponsored school in Macao, which lies only 60km away from Hong Kong across the Pearl River Delta, protesters stormed the Government House. In response, Portuguese troops attempted to restore order with force and fired on the crowds, leading to eight deaths. Unable to further contain the riots, the Macanese government acceded to all of the demands of the protesters under the pressure of the Chinese government, which chose to cut the supply of food and water to Macau in an effort to bring them to the bargaining table.²³

On January 29th, the governor of Macao, Nobre de Carvalho came to an agreement with the leftist protesters which saw Portuguese control of Macao eliminated in all but name. Portugal sacked its top police and military officials in the colony, renounced its right to use force, and agreed to compensate those who had been killed along with an official apology. From then on, the actual affairs of Macao were run by the local communist labor union, and Portugal no longer exercised any meaningful ability to govern or police the colony. All KMT

activity was banned and seven KMT agents were handed over to the Chinese government.²⁴

In the eyes of the Hong Kong government and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Portugal had effectively surrendered Macao and was humiliated on the world stage. Most British officials now fear that the same thing could repeat itself in Hong Kong. For most British officials, the 12-3 Incident is the template by which leftists in Hong Kong may seek to defeat the colonial government.

The Hong Kong Government



Coat of Arms of Hong Kong

The Hong Kong Colonial Government operates as a centralized authority where all power ultimately comes from the British Governor in charge of the colony. It has two

²³ Ibid. 16

²⁴ Bickers, 56-57

primary policy making organs, the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. The members of both councils are all appointed by the Governor of Hong Kong, which means that legally speaking the governor possesses considerable say in deciding how the colony is ultimately governed. Both the Executive Council and the Legislative Council have the freedom to propose bills which can be written into law. When the Governor of Hong Kong makes any official decision, it is always signed "Governor in Council" following a longstanding tradition which holds that the governor should in theory never act on his own without the approval of his advisors. Thus practically speaking, the members of the Legislative and Executive Councils still exercise a good degree of influence over the actions of the governor as well.

Thanks to the colony's undemocratic imperial system, legal restrictions should not be considered a major obstacle to this committee's agenda. Yet what must be taken into account is how the people may react, as an overtly harsh response could create more hostility to the Hong Kong government. Pressures in London and pressures from below therefore dictate how the government ought to behave, even in the absence of more formal restrictions. In the popular international view, Hong Kong

has developed a reputation for respecting free trade and the right to free speech. Should political agitation escalate however, Hong Kong is well within its legal boundaries to crack down harshly on free speech and begin political repression.

The government's chief tools of coercion lie with the Hong Kong Police Force and the British garrison. The Hong Kong Police is staffed by a mixture of local Chinese officers, officers recruited from elsewhere in the former British Empire, such as Pakistan and India, and expatriates from Britain itself. While the police force has historically suffered from issues of corruption and low morale, they are the first line of defence against internal security threats within the colony. Furthermore, the Hong Kong Police's Special Branch effectively constitutes the secret police and intelligence service of the colony, responsible for rooting out the numerous international spies that have taken root in Hong Kong and for conducting covert operations in Hong Kong against threats to the colonial administration. In the event of larger problems, the Hong Kong government can depend on the British military garrison to support its police forces.

In the economic sphere, the Hong Kong government has less direct control, and must instead work with the city's well

developed and sophisticated business and banking class. The Hong Kong government depends on locally approved banks like the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation to print Hong Kong Dollars, which is pegged to the Crown Sterling. There is currently no existing central government monetary authority or central bank to oversee the good financial health of the colony. Thus it is necessary that the government work closely with the heads of the largest banks.

Questions to Consider

In order to resolve the crisis, the Hong Kong government must consider the issues which they face on a number of fronts:

1. How can the government confront the immediate security threat caused by the rioters in Hong Kong itself? What strategies can be employed to defeat the leftist campaign against the Hong Kong government? How might these approaches be limited by political considerations?
2. To what degree are the leftists in Hong Kong influenced by the government of the People's Republic of China? As a result of the ongoing Cultural Revolution, it is clear that unrest in Hong Kong is indirectly

being driven by support from China. What stance should Hong Kong take towards the mainland government?

3. What are the deeper underlying causes behind public unrest within Hong Kong? How can the colonial government implement reforms to win back the support of the Hong Kong people? How might the Hong Kong government be able to ensure that its burgeoning financial sector and economic boom not be jeopardized by the unrest?
4. How can the colonial government ensure that it will be able to convince the Foreign and Colonial Office in London that it has the best plan in mind for British interests in China? How can differences in policy be resolved to ensure that the government receives full support from London?
5. In the context of the ongoing Cold War, how might international relations play into an escalating crisis in Hong Kong? What are the potential interests of regional and global powers such as the United States, Taiwan (Republic of China), and even the Soviet Union?

Character Descriptions

Note: the abbreviations following the names of some characters are titles bestowed by different British orders of chivalry or represent other honors. Please refer to [this](#) helpful guide to get a better understanding on what the various titles mean.

Regarding naming conventions: at this point in time there was no strictly standardized system of romanization for Chinese names in Hong Kong. While the pinyin system was in use in Mainland China at the time, many of the Chinese names in Hong Kong were romanized on the basis of pronunciation in Cantonese, the predominant dialect in Hong Kong which is mutually unintelligible from Mandarin.

Many of the Chinese members of the Executive and Legislative Councils have chosen to present their name with given name first, followed by the surname, while others retain the traditional naming order. Then there are others still who also have an English name, and use it in conjunction with their Chinese name. Even in official records there is little standardization. A common practice however, is to condense the names such that the initials of their Chinese first name are followed by their surname, such as C.Y Kwan for Mr. Choi-yiu Kwan. Another is to use the format of ENGLISH GIVEN NAME - SURNAME - CHINESE

GIVEN NAME such as Kenneth Pung Ping-fan. There may be some difficulty in getting accustomed to this, but we simply ask that everyone do their best.

Sir David Clive Crosbie Trench, KCMG, MC - Governor of Hong Kong

Sir David Trench is the 24th and current governor of Hong Kong. Born in British India in 1915, Trench is a lifelong colonial administrator. He began his career as a public servant by joining the Colonial Service in 1938, where he was first posted to the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Trench received a military commission in 1942 with the outbreak of WWII and was soon appointed commander of the Solomon Islands Defense Force, where he served with distinction until 1946. Trench continued to serve in the Solomon Islands until 1949, when he was first posted to Hong Kong. He successfully served in various positions within the colonial government and finally ascended to the position of Deputy Colonial Secretary for Hong Kong in 1959. In 1961 Trench was appointed the Governor of the Solomon Islands and spent three years there before returning to receive his appointment as Governor of Hong Kong in 1964. During his tenure as Governor in the Solomon Islands, Trench gained a moderate reformist reputation by promoting

constitutional development and overseeing the election of locals to the Legislative Council.

As Governor of Hong Kong, Trench wields considerable power over the affairs of the colony and also enjoys a considerable degree of autonomy in his administration from the British Government in London. He also has the power to freely appoint the members of the Executive Council, his personal advisory body, as well as the Legislative Council, which is responsible for drafting the colony's laws. As the crisis begins to engulf Hong Kong, Sir David Trench will seek to exercise firm rule whilst continuing to pursue limited reforms where possible. Thanks to his long years of service in Hong Kong, the governor is also known to be a fluent speaker of Cantonese, the main language of most Chinese residing in Hong Kong.

Mr. Jack Cater, MBE - Special Assistant to the Governor, Deputy Colonial Secretary

Jack Cater is the Deputy Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong, and has been appointed by the Governor to be his special assistant on the mission to restore law and order in Hong Kong. Born in London in 1922, Cater served with the Royal Air Force during WWII and volunteered to do

administrative work in the colonies after the end of the war. Cater was directed to Hong Kong, where he was responsible for managing the revival of Hong Kong's fishing fleets in the aftermath of the war. From 1946 to 1966, Cater served in various economic and agricultural postings within the government, including a period of time serving as Deputy Economic Secretary.

Jack Cater has just returned to Hong Kong after spending a year at the Imperial Defense College in London to prepare him for a role in more sensitive government positions. In his role as Special Assistant to the Governor, he has been tasked with the responsibility of developing a policy which will be able to restore law and order to Hong Kong's streets. Like the Governor, Cater has spent much of his adult life in Hong Kong, and is known to have empathy and respect for the Chinese people of Hong Kong, developed during his time working with local fishermen in the Hong Kong Fisheries Department.

Mr. Michael David Irving Gass, CMG - Colonial Secretary

Michael Gass is the current Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong. Born in 1916, Gass joined the army in WWII and served with the British Gold Coast Regiment of the Royal West African Frontier Force from

1939-1945 which saw deployment in East Africa and Burma. He had entered the Colonial Administrative Service in 1939, but it wasn't until 1945 that he returned to the service and oversaw various postings in West Africa. From 1958 to 1965, Gass was the Chief Secretary to the Western Pacific High Commission. In 1965, Gass was appointed the Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong.

As the Colonial Secretary, Gass is the second highest ranked member of the colonial government and the colony's chief civil servant. He is responsible for formulating and implementing the policies crucial to the day to day administration of Hong Kong. Some of the responsibilities of his office includes the management of relations between the executive branch and legislature, the provision of policy advice to the governor, and oversight of other government ministers in the Hong Kong government. In the event that the governor is absent, the Colonial Secretary becomes the acting governor. While in theory the Colonial Secretary is essentially the chief minister the government, it is not customary for him to intervene in the portfolios of other powerful ministers, such as the Financial Secretary, who rivals the Colonial Secretary in influence. Despite this, the Colonial Secretary enjoys the freedom to actively

involve himself in almost every other policy area, including public safety, transportation, and education.

Lieutenant General Sir John Francis Worsley, KBE, CB - Commander of British Forces in Hong Kong

Lieutenant General Sir John Worsley is the Commander of British Forces in Hong Kong, which has the responsibility of defending the colony from both domestic and internal threats in the event of conflict. Sir John Worsley is a veteran of WWII, and first received his commission as an 1934, where he first served with an Indian regiment. After the war, he served in various postings with the British Army until he received his appointment as Commander of British Forces in Hong Kong.

The governor of Hong Kong, a civilian official, is the Commander in Chief of the troops stationed in the colony, but as the top military official in Hong Kong, General Worsley bears the responsibility of providing military advice to the governor. In practical terms, he may exercise a great deal of power in controlling the specifics of the Hong Kong Garrison's deployment, training, and administration. Although internal security in Hong Kong is the responsibility of the police, the British Garrison may yet play a critical role in ensuring the colony's

stability from both internal and foreign threats. While the garrison is small, one important duty that the British Garrison still performs is the monitoring of the border between Hong Kong and Mainland China.

**Mr. Ronald Homes, CBE, MC, ED -
Secretary for Chinese Affairs**

Ronald Homes is the current Secretary for Chinese Affairs. He was born in England in 1913 but joined the Hong Kong Government in 1938, when he became an Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs. During WWII, Ronald Homes escaped capture when Hong Kong capitulated to Japanese forces. He served with the British Special Operations Executive (SOE), a military organization dedicated to espionage and sabotage, in China. Homes utilized his fluent knowledge of Cantonese to assist escaped British prisoners of war, conducted espionage, and coordinated guerilla efforts against Japan. Mr. Homes served alongside then Colonel Douglas Clague in China during this period. After his exemplary war service, Homes returned to the Hong Kong government, where he has served up until the present point of 1967. During this period, he oversaw several major achievements. As Deputy Colonial Secretary, Homes was responsible for the creation of large scale public housing for the population, and as

District Commissioner of the New Territories he resolved a major political disagreement with its indigenous inhabitants.

In 1965, Homes was appointed the Secretary for Chinese Affairs. He is responsible for the management of internal affairs as they pertain to the native Chinese population of Hong Kong. One of the most important functions of the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs is the oversight and maintenance of good government relations with the Chinese community. This includes the management of government district offices responsible for taking feedback and gathering intelligence from local residents, as well as liaising with Chinese community leaders in Hong Kong. The portfolio of responsibilities is quite wide, and furthermore includes areas such as culture, sports, art, religion, and youth policy. Ronald Homes and his ministry will be one of the government's primary avenues for interacting with the many key members of Chinese society in Hong Kong.

**Mr. John James Cowperthwaite, OBE,
CMG - Financial Secretary**

John Cowperthwaite is the current Financial Secretary of Hong Kong. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1915, he joined the Colonial Administrative Service in 1938 and was first posted in Hong Kong in 1941. Before the

outbreak of war however, he left on a different posting to Sierra Leone, where he remained until after the war. In 1945 he returned to Hong Kong and was tasked to work on rebuilding the colony's economy after the ravages of WWII. In 1961 Cowperthwaite was appointed the Financial Secretary of Hong Kong, and he began to implement his own economic vision for Hong Kong. Cowperthwaite was a staunch advocate of laissez-faire, and believed that only the invisible hand of the free market could bring about economic prosperity in Hong Kong. Under his administration, Hong Kong is currently in the midst of an economic boom.

As Financial Secretary, Cowperthwaite has responsibility over all matters pertaining to the economy and finance, including the creation of the government's budget. The following elements are described as the pillars of Hong Kong's economic policy under Cowperthwaite: "Low taxes, lax employment laws, absence of government debt, and free trade." As the crisis unfolds, Cowperthwaite will have to juggle the demands of the business elite alongside increasing pressures for the Hong Kong government to change its economic program in favor of more social spending.

Mr. Denys Roberts, OBE, QC - Attorney General

Denys Roberts was born in London in 1923. He studied law at Oxford University in 1942 before he halted to join the British Army as an officer in the Royal Artillery where he served in the European theater of war. Afterwards, he returned to his studies and received a degree in law. In 1950 he began his career as a London barrister but left in 1953 to join the Colonial Administration Service as a Crown Counsel in Malawi. From 1960-1962 Roberts served as the Attorney General of Gibraltar before he was transferred to Hong Kong to serve as Solicitor General. In 1966 Roberts was appointed the Attorney General of Hong Kong by Governor Trench.

As Attorney General, Roberts is the chief legal advisor to the Hong Kong government, the chief law enforcement officer of the colony, and the head of the colony's justice system. Roberts will have to ensure that the Hong Kong government remains on firm legal ground as it pursues the quelling of the riots and continue to carry out the execution of justice even as political pressures grow.

Dr. Alberto Maria Rodrigues - Senior Unofficial Member of the Executive Council

Dr. Alberto Rodrigues is a Senior Unofficial Member of the Executive Council, a medical doctor, and an academic. He was born in Hong Kong in 1911, and was raised by his uncle after the death of both his mother and father at a young age. He received his medical degree in 1934 and went on to specialize in paediatrics, obstetrics and gynaecology before opening his own private practice. During WWII, Dr. Rodrigues served with the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, and was held as a prisoner of war by Japan after the fall of Hong Kong. In addition to resuming his medical practice, Dr. Rodriguez also became an enthusiastic participant in Hong Kong civil society. He was elected to the Urban Council in the 1940s, appointed to the Legislative Council in the 1950s, and most recently he has been appointed an unofficial member of the Executive Council. Dr. Rodrigues also one of the founders of the Federation of Medical Societies in Hong Kong, an organization dedicated to developing the city's medical professions. Last but not least, he is also well known among the Portuguese community of Hong Kong for his voluntary services.

As the Senior Unofficial Member of ExCo, the advice of Dr. Rodrigues is important to Governor Trench because he, like other unofficial members of the Executive Council, represents the elite of Hong Kong society. As a well respected community leader and medical professional, the counsel of Dr. Rodrigues will be critical to ensuring that the government retains the support of the colony's upper class. While he does not have any official government powers, he will be able to speak, vote, and influence the decisions of the council in the same manner as any other member of ExCo. As Senior Member, he will be expected to guide the opinions of the other unofficial members and provide leadership for the other appointed representatives of Hong Kong society, although that position does not grant any formal advantages over other unofficial members.

Sir Donald Hopson, KCMG, DSO, MC, TD - British chargé d'affaires in Beijing

Sir Donald is the current British chargé d'affaires in Beijing. Like many other officials of his age, he can lay claim to a very distinguished service record during WWII. Prior to this posting, he served as the ambassador to Laos from 1962 to 1965. As a result of the United Kingdom's poor relations with the People's Republic of

China, there has not been a proper British Ambassador to China since 1949. Despite this fact however, Britain has worked hard to maintain good relations with the PRC in order to maintain a British presence in East Asia. Hong Kong is merely a small part of that larger plan.

While the rest of the committee is concerned merely with the survival of British interests in Hong Kong, Sir Donald must fight to ensure that the view of the larger picture is not lost. Should the Hong Kong government take overly rash action and provoke the Chinese government, then it will be Sir Donald's colleagues at the British consulate in Beijing who will pay the price. British dignity and honor must be maintained, and the work of Governor Trench should be carefully monitored so that it does not conflict with the bigger picture in Sino-British relations.

Mr. Choi-yiu Kwan (C.Y. Kwan), CBE, JP - Senior Chinese Unofficial Member of the Executive Council

Mr. Choi-yiu Kwan is the Senior Chinese Unofficial Member of ExCo and a lawyer by profession. Kwan was born in Kaiping, Guangdong Province, China, in 1907 but received his primary education at Diocesan Boys School in Hong Kong, one of the most prestigious Catholic schools in

the colony. He studied in London to for his law degree and upon graduation returned to found his own firm in Hong Kong, CY Kwan & Co, in 1931. During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, he was appointed as an official in charge of distributing staple grain supplies to the population. After the war, he involved himself more heavily in public affairs and was placed on many different public committees and advisory boards. He was appointed to the committee on Chinese Law and Custom in Hong Kong in 1948, made director of the Hong Kong Council of Social Service in 1950, and was active in many other committees. Some more examples include membership in the Public Service Commission, Chinese Temples Committee, the General Chinese Charities Fund, and the Advisory Committee on Gambling Policy to name a few. In the educational sphere, Mr. Kwan was chairman of the preparatory board which established the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1963.

Choi-yiu Kwan is a well respected and prominent figure in the Chinese community of Hong Kong. He has involved himself very deeply in Hong Kong society, and as such represents an important asset to the Hong Kong government. As the Senior Chinese Unofficial Member, Kwan has the opportunity to represent the interests of

Hong Kong Chinese. Like others of his class, Kwan has a vested interest in ensuring that the flourishing status quo of Hong Kong does not come to an end, but is limited in upwards mobility by the colonial nature of the Hong Kong government.

Mr. Douglas Clague, CBE, MC - Unofficial Member of the Executive Council

Douglas Clague is a unofficial member of the Executive Council and the Chairman of Hutchison International, one of the major Hong Kong trading companies. Clague was born in Rhodesia in 1917, and first came to Hong Kong during his service with the British Army in 1940. During this time period, Clague escaped from a Japanese prisoner of war camp and served in the British Army Aid Group (BAAG), which was dedicated to the rescue of Allied prisoners of war in Southern China. Notably, one of his subordinates in the BAAG was Ronald Homes, who would later go on to become the Secretary for Chinese Affairs.

After the war, Clague rose quickly to become the chairman of Hutchison International, a hugely prominent trading conglomerate based in Hong Kong. Through his efforts, Hutchison International has successfully acquired many other companies and expanded the company's portfolio considerably, gaining control over

A.S. Watson Company and *Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock* among others. Besides this role, Clague is also concurrently an unofficial member of both the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, as well as one of the Commandants of the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force, a volunteer force which supplements the regular Hong Kong Police in times of emergency. Given his large stake in the current status quo, Clague will seek to continue to improve upon his own personal fortunes while supporting the ruling British elite in maintaining their control over Hong Kong.

Mr. Kenneth Fung Ping-fan (Kenneth Fung), CBE - Unofficial Member of the Executive Council

Kenneth Fung Ping-Fan was born in 1911 to Fung Ping-shan, one of the original founders of the Bank of East Asia. A graduate of the University of Hong Kong, Fung inherited his father's holdings in the Bank of East Asia in 1931 after his father's passing and now serves as one of the bank's directors. Like many others of the prominent business elite in Hong Kong, Fung has also been very actively engaged in civic affairs. He is known to be a major sponsor of the arts and is also a member of court at the University of Hong Kong, which means he is one of those consulted over

major leadership decisions regarding the university by its Chancellor and others.

The Bank of East Asia is one of the oldest and largest of the Chinese owned banks. Founded in 1918 through the combined resources of four families in Hong Kong, the bank has since expanded to include offices in Shanghai, Singapore, and Saigon. After the Communist Revolution in 1949, all foreign banks were forced to leave China. The Bank of East Asia, however, as a Chinese owned bank, was one of the few allowed to remain. As a result of this, the bank has been able to maintain connections with a number Chinese officials with the mainland. Although its Shanghai branch operates only in a limited capacity, the Bank of East Asia continues to operate as one of the Mainland's few links to the outside world. Although he is very influential in the bank's affairs, he must still work closely with the other co-owners of the bank as no one person maintains a controlling share. As another prominent member of the Hong Kong Chinese elite, Kenneth Fung Ping-fan must balance any ideas for social advancement with the necessity of protecting the lucrative status quo.

Mr. Sidney Gordon, CBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Executive Council

Sidney Gordon was born in Scotland in 1917 and was one of the few who was exempted from military service in WW2 as a result of his long childhood history of ill health. As an alternative to military service, Gordon worked in a British armaments factory as an accountant. It was during this time that he was offered a position with Lowe, Bingham and Matthews Hong Kong. He accepted the offer and made the move to Hong Kong in 1947. By 1956, Gordon had become a senior partner with the firm.

As a senior partner at Lowe, Bingham and Matthews Hong Kong, Gordon has become the primary accountant of the Sir Elly Kadoorie and Sons Corporation, the flagship corporation of the Kadoorie family, one of the oldest and richest families in Asia. As a senior partner in one of the largest accounting firms in Hong Kong, Gordon has represented the profession as an unofficial member of the Executive Council since 1956. Much like the other unofficial members on the council, his voice will be incredibly important in ensuring that the actions of the government remain consistent with the priorities of the professional class in Hong Kong.

**Mr. Kan Yuet-keung (Y.K. Kan), OBE -
Unofficial Member of the Executive
Council, Unofficial Member of Legislative
Council**

Kan Yuet-keung was born in 1913 to the wealthy Kan family in Hong Kong. His father, Kan Tong-po, was one of the founders of the Bank of East Asia and a well respected member of the Chinese Hong Kong community. Kan Yuet-keung received his education at the University of Hong Kong, and later also studied law at the London School of Economics. In 1938 Kan returned to Hong Kong and began to practice law as a solicitor. After quietly surviving the Japanese occupation, Kan Yuet-keung went on to have a very successful career in law, business, and banking. He served as the chairman of the Hong Kong Law Society and was also the Director of the Hong Kong Land and Harbour Centre Development Limited, major real estate development companies.

One of Mr. Kan's most important roles was his position as one of the directors, and for a time, chairman, of the Bank of East Asia. He inherited his holdings from his father and has a great deal of sway over how the bank ought to function. The Bank of East Asia, as mentioned in Kenneth Fung's profile, was a Chinese bank founded in Hong Kong by four major Chinese business families for the

purpose of providing for the Chinese community. Kan Yuet Keung does not possess sole command of the bank however, and must take into account the other descendants of the original founding families, Kenneth Fung and Li Fook-shu, who are also members of the Executive Council. Given their relative parity in influence over the bank, and their long common family histories, they are expected to work in tight cooperation as their fathers did. While one or the other may be the nominal chairman of the Bank at any one time, in reality the balance of power lies behind whatever agreement these men come to amongst themselves.

Mr. Kan has also had a very major role in the public affairs of Hong Kong. He was first a member of the Hong Kong Urban Council, and was made an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council in 1961. During his chairmanship of the Transport Advisory Committee while on the Legislative Council, the Committee approved a price hike on the 1st class tickets of the Hong Kong Star Ferry, which caused a public uproar and led directly to the Star Ferry Riots of 1966. That same year, Kan was appointed an Unofficial Member of the Executive Council by Governor Trench. As both a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, he is one of the most trusted members of the

Chinese elite appointed by the Colonial Administration.

Mr. Li Fook-shu (F.S. Li), OBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Executive Council, Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

Mr. Li Fook-shu is one of the leaders of the Bank of East Asia and a prominent public figure in Hong Kong. He was born in Hong Kong in 1912, the son of Li Koon-chun, one of the cofounders of the Bank of East Asia. He received his education in the United Kingdom and became a qualified accountant. After the death of his father in 1966, Li Fook-shu inherited his holdings in the Bank of East Asia. In addition to his leadership position in the bank, Li also sits on the board of directors on a number of other major Hong Kong companies. Besides his corporate exploits, Li Fook-shu is also one of the council members for the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In 1962 he was appointed an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council, and also received an additional appointment to the Executive Council several years afterwards.

Mr. Li shares the chairmanship of the Bank of East Asia with Kan Yuet-keung, but must also contend with the influence of Kenneth Fung, who are all also Unofficial ExCom members. Regardless of what the nominal

positions of power are in the bank, these men, as the descendants of the original founders, all hold considerable influence over the direction of the bank and it is likely that little occurs without the agreement of the three men. While they may have reason to struggle for power, their families have cooperated in running the bank since its founding, and have rarely ever feuded publicly. In his personal life, Mr. Li is the brother in law of fellow Legislative Councilor Woo Pak-chuen through his marriage to Mr. Woo's sister, Daisy Woo Tze-ha.

Mr. John Saunders, CBE, DSO, MC - Chairman and Chief Manager of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), Unofficial Member of the Executive Council

John Saunders was born in England in 1917, the son of a banker. He first joined the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank (HSBC) in 1937, where he was first posted in France in preparation for a tour in Asia. The outbreak of WWII delayed those plans, and instead Saunders joined the British Army, where he received his commission as an officer and earned an incredibly distinguished service record. After the war Saunders joined HSBC once again and quickly rose through its ranks. By 1964, Saunders had become the Chairman and

Chief Manager of HSBC and earned himself an appointment to Hong Kong's Executive Council. In addition to these roles however, Saunders is also a major figure in the city's civic life. He was heavily involved with the founding of the University of Hong Kong and is currently the chairman of the stewards of the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club, which functions as a key social forum for the city's European elites.

Saunders holds a key position in the private sector with strong links to the continued functioning of the colony. HSBC is the largest and most influential bank in Hong Kong, operating with branches all over the globe with a focus on East Asia. It also enjoys the distinction of being one of only several banks which have been granted the authority to print Hong Kong Dollar notes by the Hong Kong Monetary Authority, as Hong Kong's government does not have the capability of printing its own money. As the head of this flagship financial institution, Saunders can expect to face a large variety of demands and pressures from the Hong Kong government in its efforts to ride out the crisis to come.

Mr. Edward Caston (Ted) Eates - Hong Kong Commissioner of Police

Ted Eates was born in England in 1916, and like many of his peers, served as an

officer in the British Army during WWII. After the war, Eates joined the Colonial Police Service, where he added onto his substantial military experience by accruing an extensive policing record. In his first posting in Nigeria, Eates was notably tasked with managing Yoruba tribal relations while maintaining law and order in a province of 8,000 square miles with only 100 officers under his command. After Nigeria, Eates was sent to Sierra Leone and Gambia, where he was awarded the Colonial Police Medal for his efforts in putting down union riots and combating diamond theft. Ted Eates joined the Hong Kong Police Force in 1963 and has only just received his promotion to Commissioner in direct response to the riots which are beginning to break out in Hong Kong.

As Commissioner of the Hong Kong Police Force, Ted Eates commands 11,000 uniformed staff comprised of British, Indian, and Chinese officers. Unfortunately, the force prior to this incident has not enjoyed a great deal of popularity with the public and suffers from serious corruption issues in its lower levels of command. Furthermore, given the political situation, it is not entirely clear how much loyalty the British leadership of the police force commands over the rank and file Chinese officers. Despite this, they are the first line of

defense against civil unrest in Hong Kong, and also must bear the responsibility of combating political subterfuge via the Hong Kong Police's Special Branch. As such Ted Eates must manage not only the regular police force, but also the colony's de-facto counter-intelligence force.

Mr. George Walden - Assistant Political Advisor to the Governor

George Walden is a young British diplomat from the UK Foreign Office who has been assigned the temporary duty of acting as an Assistant Political Advisor to Governor Sir David Trench. Walden was born in England in 1939 and received his education at Cambridge University before joining the Foreign Office in 1962. He has been posted in Hong Kong since 1965 for the purpose of studying Chinese in preparation for his imminent posting to the British Chargé d'Affaires to China, which acts as the embassy in the absence of full fledged normalized diplomatic relations.

As an advisor from the Foreign Office, Walden must answer not to Governor Trench, but rather to his superiors in the Foreign Office, whose views on the situation unfolding in Hong Kong may differ greatly from the Hong Kong Colonial Administration's consensus. A large part of this will require him to work with his

immediate superior, Sir Donald Hopson who is also currently sitting in on the proceedings of the colonial government. For the Foreign Office, Hong Kong itself is of little importance in comparison with the greater task of maintaining good UK-China relations, preserving the dignity of the United Kingdom's image abroad, and maintaining the proper balance of power in East Asia as a means of preserving British influence.

Mr. Dhun Jehangir Ruttonjee, CBE - Senior Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

Dhun Ruttonjee was born in Hong Kong in 1903 to one of the most famous Parsee families in Hong Kong. The Ruttonjees first arrived in Hong Kong in the 1880s, where they quickly made a fortune in wine and real estate. Dhun Ruttonjee has been heavily involved in the Colony's civic life throughout the last several decades. During WWII, both Dhun Ruttonjee and his father were jailed by the Japanese for taking part in anti-Japanese activities. Afterwards, Ruttonjee took part in his family's philanthropic activities, and began to take part in Hong Kong politics. He was appointed a member of the Urban Council from 1950 to 1957, and was made a member of the Legislative Council in 1953. At this point in time, he is

currently the longest serving member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Ruttonjee is well known for his strong interests in improving education, public housing, and medical care in Hong Kong.

Mr. Fong Hon-chu (H.C. Fong), OBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

馮漢柱 Fung Hon-Chu is a Chinese businessman and industrialist who heads Li & Fung Limited, his own family owned operation. As the director of Li & Fung in 1945, he successfully took advantage of WWII to manufacture goods in high demand. After the war against the Japanese, Li & Fung Ltd. diversified to include more popular items of the time period (i.e. garments, toys, electronic products, plastic flowers) and expanded with the HK economy to become an established, high-quality HK firm. In addition, Fung also currently serves as the president of the HK Cotton Merchants Association and is a member of the Federation of HK Industries. Furthermore, he holds leadership positions in the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals and has ties to the HK Football Association and the South China Athletic Association. Mr. Fung is also a huge benefactor for his hometown of Heshan, where he has donated large sums

of money to develop the city's water infrastructure and to construct new buildings for existing schools in Heshan. Mr. Fung is an excellent example of the sort of border-straddling Chinese industrialists who have effectively taken advantage of the political status quo to help drive Hong Kong's industrial development over the last decades.

Mr. Tang Ping-yuan (P.Y. Tang), CBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

唐炳源 Tang Ping-Yuan was a HK entrepreneur and politician who founded the South Sea Textiles (a leading manufacturing company with a legacy even today) and was known as the "textile king." He also sat on prominent company boards such as the HK Telephone Co. and Television Broadcasts Ltd. He was originally from Jiangsu Province, but moved to HK in 1947 because of the volatile situation on the mainland. Towards the end of the 60s, as the US and UK begin to consider textile trade quotas and revocation of preferential tax arrangements, Mr. Tang was also an advocate on behalf of the textile industry against trade protectionism. On the Executive Council he was known for his open-mindedness towards improving industrial relations and working conditions.

He has also been commended for efforts in improving HK-Japan relations (by the Japanese Consul General in HK). He was also a huge donor to various educational institutes in HK, as well as to MIT. Notably, Mr. Tang's wife, Wang Jinmei, is the eldest daughter of Wen Bingzhong, who served at one time as the Foreign Minister for the Republic of China.

Mr. Tse Yu-chuen (Y.C. Tse), OBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

謝雨川 Tse Yu-Chuen was a businessman, most notably known for operating Guanghua Matheson and Dexiang Petrol. He was also heavily involved in the politically charged atmosphere of the time period. He served in leading positions in the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce and was for a while the government officer in charge of rationing rice, becoming known as the "rice king." Mr. Tse also had ties to the South China Athletic Association, HK Chinese Swimming Assoc., Sugar Merchants Association of HK and Rotary Club of HK Island West. In 1952, he ran against and was defeated by the pro-Communist Ko Chuk-Hung. During the 50s, he was also a Member of the Education Appeals Committee and a member of the Social Relief Fund Trust Committee.

Mr. Kenneth Albert Watson, OBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

Kenneth Watson is a British businessman who currently serves on the Legislative Council. During WWII, Watson served with the Hong Kong Naval Volunteer Force until the fall of Hong Kong. After the war, Watson became a businessman and is best known as one of the directors of the Hong Kong Telephone Company alongside fellow Legislative Council members Kan Yuet-Keung and Kwan Choi-yiu. In one notable incident, he provoked public outcry in 1964 when he claimed to the public that Hong Kong had one of the cheapest telephone services in the world and urged a further raising of the fees. Watson represents the expatriate British business class which still has a strong hold over Hong Kong.

Dr. Woo Pak-chuen (P.C. Woo), CBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

胡百全 Mr. Woo Pak-chuen is a prominent Hong Kong politician and lawyer. Born in Hong Kong in 1910, Woo Pak-chuen is a distant relative of the influential Hong Kong Li family, which includes Li Fook-shu. Woo graduated from Joseph's College in Hong Kong and went on to pursue a Ph.D. in law from the University of London. For a time he was notable for being the only practicing

Hong Kong Lawyer with a Ph.D. in law from the UK. Mr. Woo is a successful businessman in addition to his law practice, and was heavily involved with the founding of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, helping to draft its founding ordinance. As one of the few Western educated Chinese elites in Hong Kong, it will be expected of him to help bridge the gaps between the British expatriates and the local Chinese members. In the past, he has taken a critical stance against leftists in Hong Kong, favoring instead the current capitalist status quo.

Mr. Szeto Wai, CBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

司徒惠 Mr. Szeto Wai is a prominent Hong Kong businessman, architect, and engineer. He was born in Kwantung, China, in 1913, an area which describes the present day Liaodong Peninsula. His father, Szeto Yuen, was the founder of the Sang Lee Construction company, which was quite well known in Hong Kong for undertaking major projects such as land reclamation. In his youth, Wai studied in Hong Kong and Shanghai before going abroad to the United Kingdom to further his postgraduate studies. During WWII Wai was forced to remain in the United Kingdom, where he worked in Scotland as an engineer. When he returned

to Hong Kong, Wai took part in the reconstruction effort and became a structural engineering consultant for the Hong Kong Colonial Government. He is well known in Hong Kong for designing many prominent buildings throughout the city, including the campus of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, which began construction in 1963. For his efforts, Mr. Szeto was invited to become the head of the Hong Kong Society of Architects in 1960.

In 1964 Wai was recognized by the Hong Kong government as an important public figure and was appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council. During the beginnings of the riots, he was known for speaking out in favor of firm action to protect Hong Kong from civil disturbances, which could naturally damage the works he has spent most of his life building.

(Note: Szeto is the surname, and Wai is the given name. It is one of the few compound surnames in Chinese).

Mr. Wilfred Wong Sien-bing (Wilfred Wong), OBE, JP - Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council

Mr. Wilfred Wong was born in Shanghai in 1910 to a wealthy merchant family. His father, who passed away when Wong was still very young, was the director

of overseas Chinese students in the United States. He would have close ties with the United States throughout his life. Mr. Wong received his education in Shanghai, but went abroad to Canada where he studied in Toronto. After graduation he joined General Motors in Detroit and eventually rose to become the executive director of General Motors in China. During WWII, Wilfred Wong remained in Shanghai, where he was kidnapped for ransom and detained several times during the reign of terror under the Japanese occupation and the Chinese puppet regime of Wang Jingwei.

After the war Wilfred Wong set on a move to Hong Kong, where he has also found considerable business success. As he had during his time in Shanghai, Mr. Wong has become an active community member, participating in the Hong Kong Legislative Council and in many local charities. He has developed a reputation for being amongst the most outspoken of the Chinese unofficial members. In 1966, he was the only member who opposed tax raises by the colonial government during the Star Ferry Riots, and he has also remained very outspoken against chaos in the streets of Hong Kong, a lesson taught to him by experiences in wartime Shanghai.

**Mrs. Ellen Li Shu-pui, OBE, LLD, JP -
Unofficial Member of the Legislative
Council**

Mrs. Ellen Li Shu-Pui is an outspoken advocate for women in Hong Kong, and holds the distinction of being the first woman to be appointed to the Legislative Council of Hong Kong. Born in 1908 in Xiamen, Fujian Province, Mrs. Ellen Li received her childhood education in Hong Kong and attended graduated from Shanghai University with a degree in business. She briefly worked for the Republic of China's Maritime Customs Department before returning to Hong Kong. After the outbreak of war in China, Mrs. Li founded the Hong Kong Chinese Women's Club to support the war effort.

As a resident of Hong Kong, Mrs. Ellen Li has grown to become a prominent and respected public figure. She has served on many different community organizations. Most notably she is the current head of the Hong Kong Family Planning Association and the Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association in addition to her role on public committees for education. Thus far in her public career, Mrs. Li has gained a reputation for being outspoken in fighting the class divide in Hong Kong, creating equal pay for equal work, and fighting for the equal rights of women. As one example

of her beliefs, Mrs. Li attempted to eliminate the concept of class at a Hong Kong women's college by introducing a singular standard blue gown uniform for all students. While she is still undoubtedly a member of

the conservative Hong Kong Chinese elite, she is known to be sympathetic to the cause of improving labor conditions for Hong Kong's workers.

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