

HH4029 History of Modern China and Colonial Hong Kong, 1945-97

Module Convenor: Dr. Florence Mok

Time: Every Monday, 12:30-16:20

Venue: LHS-TR+55

Course Description:

This module explores the ‘three-legged-stool’ relationship between China, Hong Kong and Britain. It documents the diplomatic, political, social and economic history of modern China and British Hong Kong. It examines how changing politics and events in China influenced Sino-British relations and the British colony during the period from 1945 to 1997, and vice versa.

Hong Kong was important geo-politically. Due to geographical proximity, developments in China and Hong Kong always affected each other. The 1967 riots were a classic example. Historically, the legitimacy of British rule was never recognised by the Chinese governments. Tensions always existed between Britain and China over Hong Kong’s future constitutional settlement. Politically, the Chinese Communists and the western governments both treated Hong Kong as a strategic base during the Cold War, advocating competing ideologies. Economically, it served as an economic gateway for the Communist regime to trade with foreign powers and earn foreign exchange. Hong Kong was also unique. Scholars promoted the concept that Hong Kong was a peculiar colony. The colonial government exercised a policy of indirect rule, combining economic laissez-faire with some interventions in for example the provision of social housing. The society underwent rapid urbanisation but remained relatively stable. Western and Chinese culture blended. Hong Kong Chinese increasingly differentiated themselves from Mainland Chinese. This module examines the connections between China and British Hong Kong via six inter-locking themes: 1) imperial diplomacy, 2) diplomatic end game, 3) social order and colonial state-building, 4) identity (including immigration and education), 5) political system and culture, and 6) the Cold War. Through exploring the modern history of China and British Hong Kong, useful insights in China’s development, international relations and British colonialism can be acquired.

Module Learning Outcomes:

- An in depth understanding of a specific historical topic using primary and secondary materials
- Ability to analyse original sources and relate primary and secondary materials to one another
- Familiarity with key debates and evolving historiography

Module Organization:

The Module divides into four elements, which map onto the assessment:

We pool knowledge and debate the dominant themes of Hong Kong's post-war history, and how to divide up the Hong Kong past temporally. These slots will be organised informally, as workshops, and lay down foundation knowledge for all four modes of assessment: class

attendance and participation; the annotated bibliography; the quiz (gobbets) and the assessed essay of 4,000-word.

1. Attendance, Presentation and Class Participation (10%)

Students should attend the seminars promptly. Each student should at least present once throughout the semester. **Inability to deliver the presentation in the arranged slot would result in mark penalty. Attendance and class participation will also count towards the final grade.**

2. Annotated Bibliography (20%)

An annotated bibliography is a list of citations to books, articles, and documents. Each citation is followed by a brief (usually about 150 words) descriptive and evaluative paragraph, the annotation. The purpose of the annotation is to inform the reader of the relevance, accuracy, and quality of the sources cited. Due in Week 6 (**17 February 2025**).

Creating an annotated bibliography calls for the application of a variety of intellectual skills: concise exposition, succinct analysis, and informed library research. The creation of an annotated bibliography is to build towards the assessed essay, which is due after Easter. It should include: Full bibliographic citation, Author's Background, Scope of the work, Main argument, Methodology, Sources, Strengths and Weaknesses, Your Voice / Personal Conclusion.

3. Quiz: Gobbet Analysis (30%)

Practices of gobbet analysis run from weeks 2 to 10 on each topic. In week 12 (**7 April 2025**) there will be a gobbet paper quiz, which is consisted of 6 questions. You need to choose 3 out of 6 to answer.

4. Assessed essay work (40%)

This element runs through the whole year, and involves independent learning. You must choose a topic of Hong Kong history to be researched during the year. This 4000-word essay is due after Easter. Under my guidance (there will be seminar space and tutorial times to converse about your focus and findings) you will craft an assessed essay question and deploy published sources to answer it. (**Due 30 April, 2025**)

Teaching Programme:

| Week | Discussion Group | Learning Focus |
|-------------|-------------------------|---|
| 1 | Briefing | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Allocate tasks and presentations• Understand the structure of the course and assessments. |
| 2 | Introduction | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Set up the module• Introduce students to the course structure• Assign presentations and tasks• Get to know Hong Kong and begin to examine how the place changed across time. |

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|---|--|--|
| 3 | Hong Kong as A Case Study: Diplomacy and Imperial Retreat, 1942-1965 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore the evolution of international politics in East Asia and how they affected constitutional status of Hong Kong. • Investigate the developments of the governments of Mainland China, Britain and the United States, and how they affected the security of Hong Kong. |
| 4 | Diplomatic End Game, 1966-1997 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyse the events leading up to the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. |
| 5 | Political System | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine the political system in Hong Kong in the pre-war period. • Analyse considerations and reasons behind political reforms in post-war period. (Absence of channels of political communications, 1967 riots etc.) • Look at how the reformist colonial state solicited public opinion without introducing a democratic electorate system. |
| 6 | Political Culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compare political culture in Hong Kong and China. • Discuss if political culture of Hong Kong Chinese had changed over time. • Investigate the case study, Chinese as the Official Language Movement in 1974.. |
| 7 | Internal Development and Social Order in China and Hong Kong | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine origins of the Cultural Revolution. • Analyse the relationship between the Cultural Revolution in China and the 1967 riots in Hong Kong. |
| 8 | Social Order in Hong Kong | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-evaluate the colonial state's social policy based on existing literature and link it to the 'absence' of mass rebellions in Hong Kong. • Examine the relationship between China's Cultural Revolution and Hong Kong's 1967 riots. • Discuss the impact of the 1967 riots. |
| 9 | Immigration and Identity formation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigate the changing immigration policies in Hong Kong. • Explore how the influx of Chinese immigrants from China affected the identity formation process in Hong Kong. • Examine other means the colonial government used to instil a sense of belonging among Hong Kong Chinese (education, community building projects, e.g. Clean Hong Kong Campaign, Hong Kong Festival.) |

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 10 | Transnational Hong Kong History: the Cold War | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine Hong Kong's role as a Cold War pivot in East Asia. • Look at how the Nationalists and Chinese Communists, and the US expanded their influences in Hong Kong through intelligence agencies and cultural activities. |
| 11 | Public Holiday | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No Class |
| 12 | Quiz | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gobbet Quiz. |
| 13 | Tutor Meeting | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set up essay questions (due in summer term, a 4,000-word essay based on student's chosen theme with a title agreed by the instructor. |

Assessment:

- Attendance, presentation and class participation (10%)
- An annotated bibliography (20%)
- A gobbet quiz in Week 7 (30%)
- A 4,000-word essay (40%)

Policy on AI and plagiarism:

Research and assignments should be original work completed by students. Detection of AI and plagiarism in student assignments is available, and current NTU policy provides such tools for the determination of plagiarism cases. It is the department's policy that students who plagiarise will receive serious penalty.

Policy on late submission:

Students should submit their work on time. If students submit their work more than one week after the original deadline without legitimate reasons, the instructor has the right not to mark the assignment.

KEY TEXT READ BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF SEMESTER:

John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2007)

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004)

Week 2: Introduction

The aim of this three-hour seminar is to get to know our place, Hong Kong, and to begin to think about how it changed across time.

Readings:

R. H. Hughes, 'An Urban Study', *The Geography Journal*, 117:1 (1962), pp. 1-23 (available in Jstor.)

R. H. Hughes, 'Hong Kong: Far Eastern Meeting Point', *Geographical Journal*, 129:4 (1963), pp. 450-465.

William Harold Ingrams, *Hong Kong* (London, 1952), Chapter 8, 'Squatters'.

A. Grantham, *Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1965), Chapter 6, 'Return to Port, 1947-57'.

1) Lecture

2) Documentary

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kk6gfAtwZ7Q>

3) Activities:

Capturing the Essence of Hong Kong at moments in time.

Group task 1: (Done before attending the seminar)

Do background research online and read the key texts. Learn about Hong Kong's historical background (the Opium Wars and treaties.) Write a one-page basic travel guide extract for Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s on one of the following themes:

- Physical Geography (Climate, built environment etc)
- Politics (Political system, institutional changes and role of Governor etc)
- Economy (Level of development etc)
- Society (Role of the family and level of 'social stability' etc)
- International relations (Sino-British relations etc)

Group task 2: (To be completed at the seminar)

Group discussions. To write a revised version for the 1970s and 1980s.

Individual task 1: (To be completed at the seminar)

Describe using 150-200 words the experience of living in Hong Kong in c. 1984 for: 1) a working class man or woman; 2) a businessman; 3) the new middle class.

(To prepare for this task, you can also survey some of the oral history resources available listed in the bibliography for the assessed essay, under the left hand menu item, general history assessment.)

Critically analysing our literature

2. Plenary level debate around some general questions

What is significant about the history of Hong Kong?

Why does studying Hong Kong matter? (Also think about ongoing development in Hong Kong, China and Britain)

What might have influenced how the history of Hong Kong has been written?

Week 3: Hong Kong as A Case Study: Diplomacy and Imperial Retreat, 1942-1965

The aim of the seminar is to explore using a well-established but still expanding international history literature dating back to the early 1970s the evolution of international politics in East Asia and how they affected the constitutional status of Hong Kong as a British colony at a time when Britain was retreating (or being kicked out) of colonies and informal spheres of influence (as in Shanghai) across the world.

Readings:

Robert Bickers, 'Loose Ties that Bound: British Empire, Colonial Autonomy and Hong Kong', in Ray Yep (ed.), *Negotiating Autonomy in Greater China: Hong Kong and its Sovereignty Before and After 1997* (Copenhagen, 2013), pp. 29-54.

E. Stuart Kirby, 'Hong Kong and the British Position in China', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 277 (1951), pp. 193-202.

G. B. Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong, 1841-1962, A Constitutional History* (Hong Kong, 1964), Chapter 14, 'Government By Discussion-How the Constitution Works'.

Edward Hambro, 'Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong', *The Phylon Quarterly*, 18:1 (1957), pp. 69-81.

Steve Tsang, *A Documentary History of Hong Kong: Government and Politics* (Hong Kong, 1995), Chapter 2, 'Representation and Democratization', pp. 81-92.

This literature typically underplays the agency of Chinese people in Hong Kong but, at least to begin with, we will examine developments via three major players: the governments of Mainland China, Britain and the United States, and how they sought to affect the security of Hong Kong. We also have two minor players to consider: the government of Japan (a major player, 1937-42); and the government of today's Taiwan (at the time, Formosa), the residue of the Republic of China, home to the Kuomintang, which had ruled China (or rather parts of it, from 1928-1949).

This is a complex story and so to simplify, at least initially, we have a core question:

To what extent and why did imperial ties between Britain and Hong Kong loosen? Did links between Hong Kong and China, on the other hand, strengthened?

The seminar divides into the following parts:

1) Lecture

2) Presentations and Discussions

Group 1 presents on our core question using the introductory and essential literature for this week (and some of the introductory and essential readings from previous weeks).

Group 2 also presents on our core question using the introductory and essential literature for this week (and some of the introductory and essential readings from previous weeks).

This is a standard scientific technique (yes History is a science not an art!): get two groups working independently to present findings and to compare results. The groups will have 20 minutes each to present (using no more than 7 power point slides, including the title page), and will be required to answer questions on their results.

We use the presentations and questions to adjust our answer to our core question, discussing refinements. We may split into groups at this stage to facilitate participation.

There will be discussions about the essential reading. We will split into groups to check comprehension and report back on issues that require clarification.

3) Gobbet Analysis

What is a gobbet?

We will apply our knowledge to a new question on the international history of Hong Kong, 1950-64. Two gobbet abstracts will be provided on the day, not in advance. We will work through and discuss the gobbets together at class.

Week 4: Diplomatic End Game, 1966-1997

The seminar extends the analysis of last week by examining the decades leading up to the signing of the Sino-British Agreement in 1984, the constitutional settlement that returned Hong Kong to China, the culmination of a process by which the "unfair" international treaties of the mid-19th century granting Western powers and their subject preferential rights within China, and ceding parts of the China to outside control, were abrogated.

Readings:

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004), Chapters 15 and 16.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'Lack of Means or Loss of Will? The United Kingdom and the Decolonization of Hong Kong, 1957-1967', *The International History Review*, 31:1, pp. 45-71.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'To "Educate" Deng Xiaoping in Capitalism: Thatcher's Visit to China and the Future of Hong Kong in 1982', *Cold War History*, 17:2 (2017), pp. 161-180.

Chan Ming K. and John D. Young, *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain, 1842-1992* (Armonk, 1994), Chapter, 'The MacLehose-Youde Years: Balancing the 'Three-Legged Stool', 1971-1986'.

This international history literature is far less well developed than for the period 1942-1965 due to a paucity of documentary source (this diplomacy of recapture/retreat is highly contentious still particular in China) but there have been extremely valuable contributions. Once again most of these take a top down approach, looking at the positioning of diplomats. The typical way to explore this period as international history is to look for turning points, crucial events that created an impetus towards a settlement: this was never a done deal: it had to be carefully negotiated and there were always alternative paths that could be taken.

We ask a simple question to begin with:

How did Sino-British relations evolve in ways that improved the prospect of a peaceful end to British rule in Hong Kong?

The seminar splits in the following parts.

1) Presentation

Answer this question using a 20-minute presentation. To be followed by questions. We each individually draft a response to this question, and debate any problems at a plenary level.

2) Discussion and Videos Screening

We use small group analysis to check comprehension of our essential texts and raise issues at a plenary level. We examine using workshops the implications of the Sino-British negotiations/agreement on everyday lives in Hong Kong, past and present (a link to forthcoming essay and gobbet analysis).

Videos:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhpZ7vY8Lrg&t=38s>

(Margret Thatcher interview in 1997 on post-1997 Hong Kong)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOVzrDmWHRo>

(Chris Patten interview in 1997)

3) Gobbet

We will apply our knowledge to a new question on the international history of Hong Kong, 1966-97. Two gobbet abstracts will be provided on the day, not in advance. We will work through and discuss the gobbets together at class.

Week 5: Political System

This seminar aims at comparing the political systems in Hong Kong in pre-war and post-war period. We are going to examine how Hong Kong was governed before the Second World War and the late 1960s (before the Star Ferry riots in 1966 and the leftist-inspired riots in 1967). We will analyze considerations and reasons behind political reforms in post-war period, for example, the absence of channels of political communications and political instability etc. The seminar will look at how the reformist colonial state solicited public opinion without introducing a democratic electorate system.

Readings:

Ambrose Y. King, 'Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the

Grass Roots Level', *Asian Survey*, 15:5 (1975), pp. 422-39.

P. B. Harris, 'Representative Politics in a British Dependency: Some Reflections on Problems of Representations in Hong Kong', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 28 (1975), pp. 180-198.

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004), Chapter 2, 'The Foundation of a Crown Colony'.

Ian Scott, 'Bridging the Gap: Hong Kong Senior Civil Servants and the 1966 Riots', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45:1 (2017), pp. 131-48.

Florence Mok, 'Public Opinion Polls and Covert Colonialism in British Hong Kong', *China Information*, 33:1 (2019), pp. 66-87.

or

Florence Mok, *Covert Colonialism: Governance, Surveillance and Political Culture in British Hong Kong, 1966-97* (Manchester, 2003), chapter 1.

The key questions are:

How did the political system in Hong Kong evolve and why?

Did the public engage increasingly in the policy making process?

The seminar splits in the following parts.

1) Lecture and Presentations

Presentation. Answer the questions stated above in a 20-minute presentation.

2) Discussion

We use small group analysis to check comprehension of our essential texts and raise issues at a plenary level. We examine using workshops the origins and implications of these political reforms in Hong Kong.

3) Gobbets

Two gobbet abstracts will be provided on the day, not in advance. We will work through and discuss the gobbets together at class.

Week 6: Political Culture

There is a persistent truism about the ordinary people of Hong Kong: that during the colonial period, they were politically 'apathetic'. They did not challenge the colonial state, demanding decolonization - a return to China, or independence; and participation rates in elections was low. A niche literature emerged from the 1970s to explain this 'apathy', and it deployed culturally essentialist notions: that Chinese people did not do politics in the same way as people in the West; there had been partial or delayed modernization—economic growth and state building had not led to democracy. This literature made the obvious point that the colonial political system was unreformed. There has been discussion of introducing direct elections to a Municipal Council in the 1940s (which we examine closely next term) but there

had only been piecemeal reforms in the aftermath of the 1967 riots to improve consultation between the non-elected rulers and ordinary people. There was already strong (but partial) consultation between bureaucrats and business and professional elites, which steadily became entrenched; we also explore this topic next term by looking closely at how policies were made.

At this stage we address the idea of 'apathy', focusing on the ideas of Lau, and King in particular, and how this notion of an ossified political culture has been challenged by sociologists: Lam; Lui and Chiu.

Our seminar questions are:

How do we define political culture?

To what extent and why did Hong Kong political culture change?

Readings:

Ronald Formisano, 'The Concept of Political Culture', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 31:3 (2001), pp. 393-426.

J. S. Hoadley, 'Hong Kong is the Life Boat: Notes on Political Culture and Socialization', *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 7 (1970), pp. 206-218.

J. S. Hoadley, 'Political Participation of Hong Kong Chinese: Patterns and Trends', *Asian Survey*, 13:6 (1973), pp. 604-616.

Lau Siu-kai, 'Chinese Familism in an Urban-Industrial Setting: The Case of Hong Kong', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43:4 (1981), pp. 977-992.

Lam Wai-man, *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization* (Armonk, 2004), Chapter, 'A Critique of the Claims of Political Indifference'.

The seminar splits in the following parts:

1) Lecture and Presentations

Presentations. First group has to answer: According to Hoadley, how was the political culture in Hong Kong? Explain.(20 mins) Questions on the scholarship and approach/ Feedback/ Open to the floor (10-15 mins). The second group then has to do a presentation on the question: Compare and evaluate Lau and Lam's views on Hong Kong's political culture. (20 mins) Questions on the scholarship and approach/ Feedback/ Open to the floor (10-15 mins).

2) Discussion

Group discussion:

Q.1 'The Chinese Language Movement was the most important social movement in the 1970s'. Discuss. (10 mins group discussion, 10 mins report back and 15 mins discussion)

3) Primary and Secondary Sources Analysis

Analysis of extracts from secondary sources. 2 abstracts (secondary sources) will be provided

for each group (from secondary literatures: Lam, and King: see above), followed by a primary source. You will be asked to comment on these sources to re-evaluate the validity of the secondary literature. 15 mins group discussion, 15 mins report back and 15 mins general discussion.

4)Annotated Bibliography

Discuss the Annotated Bibliography assignment and explain how to compile one.

Week 7: Internal Development and Social Order in China and Hong Kong (Submit Annotated Bibliography)

This seminar aims to examine internal development and social order in China, laying the foundation for our next seminar on social order in colonial Hong Kong. It will examine the relationship between the Cultural Revolution in China and the 1967 riots in Hong Kong. It will also investigate the origins of the Cultural Revolution. We will then analyse its relationship with the 1967 riots and impact on Sino-British-Hong Kong relations.

The key questions are:

What was the Cultural Revolution?

How did the internal development in China affect Hong Kong?

Readings:

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, 2006), Introduction, pp. 1-13.

Ray Yep, "Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong": Emergency Powers, Administration of Justice and the Turbulent Years of 1967', *Modern Asian Studies*, 46:4 (2012), pp. 1007-1032.

Gary Ka-wai Cheung, 'Introduction: The 1967 Riots: A Watershed in the Postwar History of Hong Kong', in *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* (Hong Kong, 2009), pp. 1-8; Chapter 9, 'Finale to the Hong Kong-style Cultural Revolution', pp. 121-130; Chapter 10, 'Impact of the 1967 Riots', pp. 131-42.

Luofu Ye, 'Propaganda as Leftist Culture: Hong Kong's Involvement in the Cultural Revolution', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 52:1 (2015), pp. 80-96.

1)Short Lecture and Presentations

A 20-minute presentation on the origins and impacts of the 1967 riots. To be followed by questions. We each individually draft a response to this question, and debate any problems at a plenary level.

2) Documentary

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iVP6r5MIPvc>

Week 8: Social Order in Hong Kong

In comparative terms, Hong Kong was a remarkably ordered placed. Unlike other societies experiencing rapid demographic change, industrialization, globalization, decolonization and the Cold War, it did not experience mass rebellions, high crime rates and regime change. The social history of post-war Hong Kong is undeveloped; perhaps because it presents no crises to be accounted for. The literature on social change is disparate and often discreet: it covers issues such as crime and punishment and housing. Our task for this seminar is to integrate this literature and link it to our puzzle regarding social order, the lack of significant disorder with the possible exception of the riots in 1966, and 1967. Much of this literature is focused on the state, and re-evaluates social policy making. The Hong Kong colonial state was classically perceived as 'laissez faire', an ideology which we examine closely next term. A revisionist examines the provision of public goods, such as public health, law and order, and reinvestigates the legendary turning point of the 1970s, when welfare expenditure rose. The major intervention by the colonial state was in housing: this corrected a universal 'market failure', the under-supply of decent cheap housing to the poor.

Our central question is:

To what extent and by what means did the Hong Kong colonial state solve problems of social disagreed and squalor?

Readings:

Jon Vagg and Harold Traver, *Crime and Justice in Hong Kong* (Oxford, 1991), Chapter: Crime Trends.

Carol Jones, 'Law, Patriarchies and State Formation in England and Post-Colonial Hong Kong', *Journal of Law and Society*, 28 (2001), pp. 265-289.

Ray Yep, "'Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong': Emergency Powers, Administration of Justice and the Turbulent Years of 1967", *Modern Asian Studies*, 46:4 (2012), pp. 1007-1032.

Ray Yep and Tai-Lok Lui, 'Revisiting the Golden Era of MacLehose and the Dynamics of Social Reforms', *China Information*, 24:3 (2010), pp. 249-272.

Stephen Chiu and Kent K. W. Lee, 'The Crime Wave in Hong Kong, 1960s-1970s: Unintended Consequence of Colonial Governance Reform', *Social Transformations in Chinese Societies*, 9:1 (2013), pp. 79-117.

The seminar splits in the following parts.

1) Presentations

Group A to answer the sub-question regarding the timing of changes to social policies: **how did events (such as riots) affect the evolution of state's social policies towards (e.g. housing and criminality)?**

Group B to answer the sub-question: **how did the personalities of governors affect the evolution of state's social policies?**

2) Discussion

We will answer (using small groups reporting back to the whole seminar) a new question about the history of social policy making in Hong Kong.

3) Gobbet Analysis

Gobbet session.

Week 9: Immigration and Identity Formation

This seminar aims to investigate the changing immigration policies in Hong Kong. It will explore how the influx of Chinese immigrants from China affected the identity formation process in Hong Kong. It will also examine other means the colonial government used to instill a sense of belonging among Hong Kong Chinese (education, community building projects, e.g. Clean Hong Kong Campaign, Hong Kong Festival.)

Key questions are:

Did Hong Kong identity emerge in the 1970s? If yes, why?

What did the state do to instill a sense of belonging among Hong Kong Chinese?

Explain the identity formation process. Was it a top-down or bottom-up process?

Readings:

John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2007), Chapter 7, 'Becoming Hong Kongese', pp. 167-189.

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004), Chapter 13, 'The Rise of the Hong Kongers', pp. 180-196.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'The "Problem of People": British Colonials, Cold War Powers, and the Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong, 1949-62', *Modern Asian Studies*, 41:6 (2007), pp. 1145-1181.

Ray Yep and Tai-Lok Lui, 'Revisiting the Golden Era of MacLehose and the Dynamics of Social Reforms', *China Information*, 24:3 (2010), pp. 249-272.

Florence Mok, 'Chinese Illicit Immigration into Colonial Hong Kong, c. 1970-1980', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 49:2 (2021), pp. 339-267.

1) Lecture and Presentations

Group A to answer the sub-question regarding the relationship between immigration policies and identities: **how did shifting immigration policy affect the identity formation process in Hong Kong? And did popular discourse also influence immigration policy?**

Group B to answer the sub-question: **what were the other means the colonial regime use to instill a sense of belonging among Hong Kong Chinese?**

2) Discussion

We will answer (using small groups reporting back to the whole seminar) a new question about identity in Hong Kong.

3) Gobbet Analysis

Gobbet session.

Week 10: Transnational Hong Kong History: the Cold War

Ever since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Hong Kong, a British colony, was a battleground for competing ideologies: communism and capitalism. Hong Kong was relatively liberal as a colony. Economically, the principle of 'laissez-faire' was adopted by the colonial regime. Politically, despite the absence of democracy, the colonial government expanded the franchise of the Urban Council and introduced the City District Officer Scheme to solicit public opinion. Socially, the state propagated the idea of freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion. As an alien administration that ruled over two million Chinese residents in the post-war period, the colonial government constantly faced a problem of legitimacy and was susceptible to Communist infiltration. The Chinese Communist Party participated in Hong Kong life and used its base in the territory to encourage the uptake of radical ideas throughout Asia. In addition, the United States Information Services and the Nationalists disseminated propaganda to overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia using its representative and secret operatives in Hong Kong. In theory, under British liberal legal traditions, the administration sought to create a permissive environment for social movements to propagate ideas that were critical of colonialism and capitalism. In practice, the colonial state monitored radicalism closely and repressed it using all possible means. This seminar provides an introduction to the Cold War using Hong Kong as a focus.

Readings:

Johannes R. Lombardo, 'A Mission of Espionage, Intelligence and Psychological Operations: The American Consulate in Hong Kong, 1949-64', in Richard J. Aldrich, Ming-Yeh Rawnsley (eds.), *The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-65: Western Intelligence, Propaganda and Special Operations* (2013), pp. 64-81.

Mark, Chi-kwan, *Hong Kong and the Cold War: Anglo-American Relations 1949-1957* (Oxford, 2004)

Florence Mok, 'Disseminating and Containing Communist Propaganda through Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia through Hong Kong, the Cold War Pivot, 1949-1960', *The Historical Journal* (2021), pp. 1-25.

Michael Ng, Florence Mok, John Wong and Wallace Wu, 'Hearts and Minds in Hong Kong's New Territories: Agriculture and Vegetable Marketing in a Cold War Borderland, circa 1946-1967', *Modern Asian Studies*, 57:6 (2023), pp. 1931-58.

Priscilla Roberts, 'Cold War Hong Kong: The Foundation' (introduction) and 'Cold War Hong Kong: Juggling Opposing Forces and Identities' (chapter 1), in Priscilla Roberts and John Carroll (eds.), *Hong Kong in the Cold War* (Hong Kong, 2016), pp. 15-25, 26-59.

The key questions are:

What strategies did the Chinese Communists use to penetrate in Hong Kong's cultural domain?

How did right-wing activists and the United States Information Service propagate

nationalism and capitalism in the colony?

The seminar splits in the following parts:

1) Lecture on Cold War Context

2) Presentations and Discussions

Group A: **Why was Hong Kong strategically important in the Cold War?**

Group B: **Did the colonial government adhere to the rule of law concept when tackling these ‘subversive’ activities?**

3) Gobbet Analysis

Gobbet session.

Week 12 Gobbet Quiz

A 2-hour Gobbet Quiz. Choose 3 out of 6 questions to answer. The gobbet questions will be based on the six inter-locking themes taught in this course: 1) imperial diplomacy, 2) diplomatic end game, 3) social order and colonial state-building, 4) identity (including immigration and education), 5) political system and culture, and 6) the Cold War.

Week 13: Tutor Meeting

A 10-minute individual meeting will be set up between students and seminar tutor. Seminar tutor will return the gobbet quiz and provide feedback to students during the meeting. In addition, students have to prepare the formulated question for their summative essays due after Easter. Students can raise any questions regarding essay question, primary sources and secondary materials, and methodologies.

Other Relevant Texts:

Robert Bickers and Jonathan J. Howlett (eds), *Britain and China, 1840-1970: Empire, Finance and War* (London, 2015); Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson (eds), *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power* (London, 2016); John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2007); Chan Ming K. (ed), *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong Between China and Britain, 1841-1992* (Armonk, New York, 1994); David Clayton, ‘From Laissez-faire to ‘Positive Non-interventionism’’: The Colonial State in Hong Kong Studies’, *Social Transformations in Chinese Societies*, 9:1 (2013), pp. 1-20; David Faure, *Colonialism and the Hong Kong Mentality* (Hong Kong, 2003); Ambrose Y. King, ‘Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong: Emphasis on the Grass Roots Level’, *Asian Survey*, 15:5 (1975), pp. 422-39; Lam Wai-man, *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization* (New York, 2004); Lau Siu-kai, ‘Chinese Familism in an Urban-Industrial Setting: The Case of Hong Kong’, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 43:4 (1981), pp. 977-92; Law Wing Sang, *Collaborative Colonial Power: The Making of the Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong, 2009); Lui Tai-lok and Stephen W. K. Chiu, *The Dynamics of Social Movements in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2010); Ma Ngok, *Political Development in Hong Kong: State, Political Society and Civil Society* (Hong Kong, 2007); Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution* (Cambridge, 2006); Chi-kwan Mark, *China and the World Since 1945: An International History* (London, 2012); Chi-kwan Mark, *The Everyday Cold War: Britain and China, 1950-1972* (London, 2017); Florence Mok, ‘Public Opinion Polls and Covert Colonialism in British Hong Kong’, *China*

Information, 33:1 (2019), pp. 66-87; Ngo Tak-wing (ed.), *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule* (London, 1999); Jurgen Osterhammel, 'Semi-Colonialism and Informal Empire in Twentieth Century China: Towards a Framework of Analysis', pp. 290-314, in Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jurgen Osterhammel, *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities* (London, 1986); James T. H. Tang, 'From Empire Defence to Imperial Retreat: Britain's postwar China Policy and the Decolonization of Hong Kong', *Modern Asian Studies*, 28:2 (1994), pp. 317-37; Ray Yep (ed.), *Negotiating Autonomy in Greater China: Hong Kong and Its Sovereignty Before and After 1997* (Copenhagen, 2013); Yiching Wu, *The Cultural Revolution at the Margins: Chinese Socialism in Crisis* (Cambridge MA and London, 2014).

Essay Resources

1) Imperial Diplomacy

Steve Tsang, *Hong Kong: Appointment with China* (London, 1997)

Philip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation* (New Haven, 2003), Chapters 'A Frail Restoration' and 'The World Turned Upside Down'.

Felicia Yap, 'A "New Angle of Vision": British Imperial Reappraisal of Hong Kong during the Second World War', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42:1 (2014), pp. 86-113.

James Tang, 'From Empire Defence to Imperial Retreat: Britain's Post-War China Policy and the Decolonization of Hong Kong', *Modern Asian Studies*, 28:2 (1994), pp. 317-337.

Steve Tsang, 'The Cold War and Hong Kong's Policy towards Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Activities in the 1950s', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25:2 (1997), pp. 294-317.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'The Problem of People: British Colonials, Cold War Powers and the Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong, 1949-62', *Modern Asian Studies*, 41:6, pp. 1145-1181.

Glen Peterson, 'To Be Or Not To Be A Refugee: The International Politics of the Hong Kong Refugee Crisis, 1949-55', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36:2 (2008), pp. 171-195.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'A Reward for Good Behavior in the Cold War: Bargaining over the Defence of Hong Kong, 1949-1957', *International History Review*, 22:4 (2000), pp. 837-861.

Chi-kwan Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War: Anglo-American Relations 1949-1957* (Oxford, 2004)

2) Diplomatic End Game

Steve Tsang, *Hong Kong: Appointment with China* (London, 1997), Chapter 'Towards the Joint Declaration: Negotiations'.

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004), Chapter 15.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'Lack of Means of Loss of Will? The United Kingdom and the Decolonization of Hong Kong, 1957-1967', *The International History Review*, 31:1 (2009), pp. 45-71.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'To "Educate" Deng Xiaoping in Capitalism: Thatcher's Visit to China and the Future of Hong Kong in 1982', *Cold War History*, 17:2 (2017), pp. 161-180.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'Vietnam War Tourists: US Naval Visits to Hong Kong, and British-American-Chinese Relations, 1965-1968', *Cold War History*, 10 (2010), pp. 1-28.

Chan Ming Ki and John D. Young, *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain, 1842-1992* (Armonk, 1994), Chapter, 'The MacLehose-Youde Years: Balancing the 'Three-Legged Stool', 1971-1986'.

3) Social Order and Colonial State-building

Jon Vagg and Harold Traver, *Crime and Justice in Hong Kong* (Oxford, 1991), Chapter: Crime Trends.

Carol Jones, 'Law, Patriarchies and State Formation in England and Post-Colonial Hong Kong', *Journal of Law and Society*, 28 (2001), pp. 265-289.

Ray Yep, "'Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong": Emergency Powers, Administration of Justice and the Turbulent Years of 1967', *Modern Asian Studies*, 46:4 (2012), pp. 1007-1032.

Ray Yep and Tai-Lok Lui, 'Revisiting the Golden Era of MacLehose and the Dynamics of Social Reforms', *China Information*, 24:3 (2010), pp. 249-272.

Stephen Chiu and Kent K. W. Lee, 'The Crime Wave in Hong Kong, 1960s-1970s: Unintended Consequence of Colonial Governance Reform', *Social Transformations in Chinese Societies*, 9:1 (2013), pp. 79-117.

Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* (Hong Kong, 2019), Chapter 3.

Alan Smart, *The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatters, Fires and Colonial Rule in Hong Kong, 1950-1963* (Hong Kong, 2006)

Gavin Ure, *Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office: Public Policy in Hong Kong, 1918-58* (Hong Kong, 2012)

D. W. Drakakis-Smith, *High Society: Housing Provision in Metropolitan Hong Kong, 1954 to 1979, A Jubilee Critique* (Hong Kong, 1979)

Leo F. Goodstadt, 'Urban Housing in Hong Kong, 1945-63' in I. C. Javis and Joseph Agassi

(eds), *Hong Kong: A Society in Transition: Contributions to the Study of Hong Kong Society* (London, 1969), pp. 257-298.

Ngo Tak-wing, *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule* (Hong Kong, 2002)

Ma Ngok, *Political Development in Hong Kong: State, Political Society and Civil Society* (Hong Kong, 2007)

4) Identity (Immigration and Education)

John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2007), Chapter 7, 'Becoming Hong Kongese', pp. 167-189.

Grace Ai-Ling Chou, *Confucianism, Colonialism, and the Cold War: Chinese Cultural Education at Hong Kong's New Asia College, 1949-63* (Leiden, 2012), chapters 2 and 3.

Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004), Chapter 13, 'The Rise of the Hong Kongers', pp. 180-196.

Chi-kwan Mark, 'The "Problem of People": British Colonials, Cold War Powers, and the Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong, 1949-62', *Modern Asian Studies*, 41:6 (2007), pp. 1145-1181.

Ray Yep and Tai-Lok Lui, 'Revisiting the Golden Era of MacLehose and the Dynamics of Social Reforms', *China Information*, 24:3 (2010), pp. 249-272.

Laura Madokoro, 'Borders Transformed: Sovereign Concerns, Population Movements and the Making of Territorial Frontiers in Hong Kong, 1949-1967', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25:3 (2012), pp. 407-427.

Eric Kit-wai Ma, *Culture, Politics and Television in Hong Kong* (London, 1999)

Gordon Matthews and Lui Tai-lok, *Consuming Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2001), Chapter 'Cultural Identity and Consumption in Post-colonial Hong Kong'.

Florence Mok, 'Chinese Illicit Immigration into Colonial Hong Kong, c. 1970-1980', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 49:2 (2021), pp. 339-267.

Paul Morris and Edward Vickers, 'Schooling, Politics and the Construction of Identity in Hong Kong: the 2012 'Moral and National Education' Crisis in Historical Context', *Comparative Education*, 51:3 (2015), pp. 305-326.

Paul Morris, Gerry McClelland and Wong Ping Man, 'Explaining Curriculum Change: Social Studies in Hong Kong', *Comparative Education Review*, 41:1 (1997), pp. 27-43.

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Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001: Visions and Revisions* (Hong Kong, 2004), part three commentary, pp. 237-50.

Edward Vickers, *In Search of an Identity: The Politics of History as a School Subject in Hong Kong, 1960s-2002* (New York, 2003), chapter 6.

5) Political System and Culture

John Carroll and Chi-kwan Mark, *Critical Readings on the History of Hong Kong* (Leiden, 2014), Chapter 'The Culture of Depoliticization and Political Activism'.

Stephen Chiu and Tai-lok Lui (eds), *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2000)

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6) The Cold War

Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* (Hong Kong, 2009)

Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume I: Origins; Volume II: Crisis and Détente; Volume III: Endings* (New York, 2010)

B. K. L. Leung, 'Political Process and Industrial Strikes and the Labour Movement in Hong Kong, 1946-1989', *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 29:2 (1991), pp. 172-206.

David A. Levin and Stephen W. K. Chiu, 'Trade Unions Growth Waves in Hong Kong', *Labour History*, no. 75 (1998), pp. 40-56.

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Luofu Ye, 'Propaganda as Leftist Culture: Hong Kong's Involvement in the Cultural Revolution', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 52:1 (2015), pp. 80-96.

Ray Yep, "'Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong': Emergency Powers, Administration of Justice and the Turbulent Years of 1967", *Modern Asian Studies*, 46:4 (2012), pp. 1007-1032.

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