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CHINA'S SECURITIZATION OF HONG KONG, HONGKONGERS AND "ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS": ENEMY IMAGES, MORAL PANIC AND POLITICAL WARFARE

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CHINA'S SsecuritIZATION OF HONG KONG, HONGKONGERS AND "ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS": ENEMY IMAGES, MORAL PANIC AND POLITICAL WARFARE

中國安全化下的香港、香港 人和一國兩制：敵對形像、道德恐慌與政治戰爭

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on the Copenhagen School's securitization theory and the concepts of enemy images, moral panic and political warfare, this thesis examines China's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) through an integrated framework of enemification, moral panic and political war introduced here as OCTS Securitization. Probing the power politics of OCTS manifested through ubiquitous threat discourses, images and narratives articulated between 2010 and 2016, it qualitatively unpacks the wicked problem of China-Hong Kong relations and OCTS. It does so by investigating hegemonic constructions of radical Hongkonger democrats, localists and separatists as mortal enemies of the state and their discursive linkage to the gravest of China's national security threats (the *Three Evils* and *Three Major Dangers*) by demonizing ultra-hardline securitizing actors who have internalized China's new totalizing national security lens, binary logic, and rhetoric of existential threats and the true friends and enemies of Socialist China. In short, this thesis situates dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers, OCTS and Chinese-Hongkonger conflicts in the new, post-2012, threat-laden holistic national and geopolitical frameworks of National Security with Chinese Characteristics. In doing so, it brings forward the centrality of the central authorities' perception of the actual situation in Hong Kong for persisting with OCTS and the cacophonous dissonance between the Political Security of the hegemonic Chinese Communist Party and the Societal Security of subaltern Hongkongers, i.e. the security dilemma of OCTS, at the core of the OCTS Hongkongers versus Mainlanders sectarian conflict.

It is contended that Chinese and HKSAR authorities have attempted to use OCTS Securitization processes to construct state enemies from political competitors – like radical democrats, localists and separatists – and to *remove* contentious politicized OCTS issues – such as mainlandization, national education and identity, patriotism, mainland tourism and universal suffrage from public debate – where the authorities have little legitimacy or likelihood of obtaining a consensus through *normal* politics. By claiming *extraordinary* existential national security threats to the HKSAR, OCTS, and Socialist China – namely claims of color revolution, Hong Kong independence, peaceful evolution or subversion – and the right to decide the *exception* in Hong Kong politics, authorities have evoked the *national security card* in an attempt to force through authoritarian reforms, annihilate radical opposition, obliterate dissent from transgressive Hongkongers, and reverse sovereignty concessions granted to Hongkongers when OCTS was codified and first implemented. Post-2014, OCTS Securitization has become the dominant hegemonic strategy to de-colonize, re-enlighten and re-Sinicize dissident Hong Kong and to *remake* OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law under the rubric of Chinese national security. Under this totalitarian security logic, hardline hegemonic actors have reasoned that only *after* Hongkongers have been de-Westernized and re-Sinicized can Hong Kong ever be truly considered returned, OCTS successfully implemented, China's new political order

governing the HKSAR realized, and the nation safeguarded from the Hongkonger Threat. In the on-going political war on Hong Kong's radical democrats, localists and separatists no quarter is to be given: they are to be prevented at all costs – including the end of OCTS – from gaining, or retaining substantive political power in the HKSAR.

Beyond seeking to compel – through political warfare – dissident Hongkongers to accede to Chinese communist domination and regressive, more authoritarian imaginings of OCTS, OCTS Securitization has been used for authoritarian populist agenda setting, deterring local and foreign adversaries, *post facto* legitimation of extraordinary security moves, divisive mass line patriotic political mobilizations, and the coercion of subaltern movements and uprisings like Occupy Central with Love and Peace, the Umbrella Revolution, Hongkonger localism, and the Hong Kong independence and self-determination movements. As is elucidated in this thesis, post-2012 the dominate prisms through which Chinese and HKSAR authorities perceive and understand dissident Hong Kong, insurgent Hongkongers and OCTS are national security and political struggle lens – not democratization or modernization. In short, dissident Hong Kong, democracy aspiring Westernized Hongkongers, and an insurgent "hijacked" OCTS are seen as arch enemies and critical national security threats to Socialist China and the Chinese Communist Party that must now (post-Occupy/Umbrella) be rectified. In such a Manichean milieu, there is no such thing as genuine universal suffrage, democratization or indigenous Hong Kong democracy: only the *Rule of Patriots* as a new model of absolute Chinese Communist Party rule of Hong Kong under OCTS in the name of national security.

Constructionist perspectives and qualitative approaches are used to understand the post-2012 securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS and their implications. It investigates the mediated discursive textual and visual construction of enemy images, moral panic and political warfare between January 2010 and June 2016 – a critical period in the deterioration of China-Hong Kong relations and OCTS. Can OCTS survive under a totalizing national security state that perceives cultural, ideological and political enemies everywhere and anywhere? In what ways has China's rise and the change in its domestic and geopolitical position affected the securitization of OCTS? How does National Security with Chinese Characteristics and the new forms of cultural, ideological and political war China most fears affect the content and meaning of OCTS? In light of the geopolitical 'new situation' can OCTS be retained? What does it mean for OCTS for the HKSAR to be the frontline in Socialist China's soft war with, or against, the West? What are the OCTS implications of China's democratization of national security obligations to every citizen (or Chinese), everywhere? Of its new claims of extraterritorially and unrestrained national security reach? Does more Chinese security actually mean more Chinese insecurity under OCTS? Have the hegemonic enemy images, moral panics and political warfare campaigns targeting dissident subalterns become self-fulfilling national security dramas creating the very mortal enemies and existential national security threats they imagined? Is hegemonic rule by Hong Kong via OCTS Securitization radicalizing and mobilizing an

already deeply divided, polarized and traumatized society towards an intractable and sectarian conflict? What role, if any, has OCTS Securitization played in the emergence and mainstreaming of Hong Kong independence and self-determination movements? Could the de-securitization of Hongkongers' national identity, patriotism, sense of belonging and Westernization deescalate China-Hong Kong tensions and save China and Hong Kong and OCTS from future crises, clashes or default?

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Thirty years after first announced, and nearly twenty after first implemented, Socialist China's "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) policy finds itself existentially challenged as Chinese authorities move to securitize (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, 1998; Wæver, 1995) radically dissident Hong Kong and Hongkongers as state enemies and national security threats. Despite Chinese leaders' assertions to the contrary in the State Council's June 2014 white paper, *The Practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2014), China's OCTS theory has become a fundamentally contested, metamorphosing and endangered concept. Rather than a straightforward policy mechanism realizing sovereignty over the then British Crown Colony of Hong Kong as hegemonically and popularly constructed, it is contended here that the OCTS ideology was, and remains, a Chinese security framework, practice and policy intended to protect the Socialist System from Hong Kong, Hongkongers and the Western World – and their competing ideologies, ways of life, and universal values. Over time, as dissident Hongkongers added to, challenged and defended the subaltern content and meaning of OCTS – as it came to be perceived by them due to decades of hegemonic inattention, neglect and strategic ambiguity – it too became an object that the Chinese Communists felt compelled to securitize from, and weaponize against, perceived existential Hongkonger and other challenges as OCTS became an increasingly important and core component of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and national myths. Though not framed explicitly as such, OCTS was innately a temporary Chinese communist political compromise with the West (and implicitly with Hongkongers) that took account of China's realities at the time – primarily its economic, military and technological weaknesses – and the Party's overriding national security requirement for a peaceful international environment to revive China's Cultural Revolution-devastated economy, rejuvenate the nation to its former imperial glory, and to realize socialist modernization and unification. In other words, rather than just a nationalistic patriotic sovereignty drama rectifying historical indignations or primarily supporting Socialist Modernization and national rejuvenation, as dominantly represented in the literature and media, OCTS was a strategic security concept, superstructure and ideology supporting China's Second Revolution, Opening Up and Reform, while safeguarding and strengthening the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) dictatorship and vanguard position. Then, as now, OCTS was about the communist regime's political and ideological security; referent objects seen today, through the new lens of National Security with Chinese Characteristics, as the core of China's national security.

From its inception, OCTS's narrow grant of a high degree of autonomy to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) fundamentally represented a limited concession of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong and Hongkongers so as to secure the long-term survival of the CCP first and foremost – not to protect the Hong Kong System, or Way of Life *per se*. Retention of capitalism, elements of the Hong Kong system and Way of Life for 50 years were not primary goals of OCTS despite their iconic status among the SAR's pro-democracy subalterns; Instead, they were instrumental sovereignty (the absolute right to decide and govern within a territory) concessions, compromises and security moves by China to avoid existential instability in the colony during the transition period and to facilitate post-recovery socialist exploitation of the city and its capitalist resources. Put plainly, OCTS was intended (in part) to prevent the implosion of the Hong Kong economy and forestall economic and intellectual capital flight and mass panic over the coming communist takeover. In this sense, OCTS functioned as a confidence building security mechanism (CBM) for Chinese communists, capitalist Hongkongers, and the non-communist Western world to avoid, and minimize, opposition and resistance to the communist takeover.[1] As such, OCTS can be seen as a Chinese communist security response to the then perceived political and ideological national security threats of assimilating an antagonistic, fearful and potentially hostile, colonial Hong Kong and Westernized Hongkongers, and the dangers of absorbing and harnessing an enemy economic, cultural and political system while avoiding domestic unrest, international conflict, and internal subversion and destabilization.

As a security construct, OCTS was fundamentally a Chinese communist attempt to answer the *Hong Kong Problem* (not *Question*) by removing it from domestic and international political agendas and transforming it into a walled-off national security issue that would allow Socialist China to avoid potentially disastrous conflicts with the West, Taiwanese and Hongkongers. War and the hope of avoiding war with the West and active hostilities with the nationalist forces in Taiwan were dominant security concerns and themes interwoven in many Deng Xiaoping speeches and statements on OCTS. Several of these security arguments were published in *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Deng, 1994) and *Deng Xiaoping on "One Country, Two Systems"*. (Deng, 2004) The wider global security implications and aspirations of OCTS and the Chinese communists were also articulated in these securitizing texts. For example, in the paramount leader's June 1984 talks with Hong Kong businessmen, industrialists and other prominent figures, included in both compendiums of his speeches and talks, Deng juxtaposed OCTS with China's policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan as a possible model for the world to emulate in resolving international conflicts: Taiwan – "If the problem cannot be solved by peaceful means, then it must be solved by force."; and, internationally –

[1] China's, now revealed, decades long strategic deception regarding the ultimate aim of its HKSAR Basic Law to provide for the selection and formation of its chief executive (CE) and Legislature Council (LegCo) by Hongkongers through universal suffrage is perhaps one of the most contested CBM components of the communist security project to recover and subdue dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS.

"The world faces the choice between peaceful and non-peaceful means of solving disputes." (Deng, 2004, p.15)

Similarly, it is evident that as early as the 1980s China perceived the *Hong Kong Problem* also as a possible *Hong Kong Threat* that might needed to be handled resolutely (i.e., coercively.) For instance, in the context of the CCP securing the mainland and OCTS from the threat of internal anticommunist adversaries and Westernized Hongkongers and defending against existential perils from peaceful evolution and external and foreign forces, the threat of disturbances in Hong Kong before and after the Chinese communist retrocession were safeguarded (i.e., secured) by Deng[2] in repeated ominous warnings of resolute Chinese Communist suppression of "major" or "serious" disturbances in the territory, or even the total abandonment of the OCTS policy – if necessary (presumably due to insurgent Hongkonger action or policy inadequacies.) *See APPENDIX 1.* A close reading of Deng's remarks reveals that he repeatedly hedged on security assurances that OCTS would not be abandoned, or changed, but was adamant that no matter what the Socialist System on the mainland would prevail and be retained – as would its socialist identity. Linked to Hongkongers' fears over Chinese communist interventions in the future HKSAR and concerns over possible changes to the Hong Kong system and way of life to ostensibly be protected by OCTS, Deng elaborated in many speeches what, post-2012, has seemingly become a tur of Chinese communist insecurities, security interventions and processes for securitizing Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS and for the *de facto* introduction of a Socialist System with Hong Kong Characteristics via a process of enemy images, moral panic and political warfare seen collectively here as a process of OCTS Securitization. This was a framework where SAR-based hegemonic securitization actors in the locally governing regime and "patriot class" would take the leading role in pacifying[3] and securing dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS; mainland interventions by the central authorities or their representatives in the HKSAR were supposed to be the exception, rather than the rule that they have become since 2012 in the form of

[2] Prior to the June 4th incident, China's OCTS security emphasis focused on the transition period; little was said of the possibility of disturbances following the retrocession other than the Chinese army could quell them. Following Tiananmen, the NPC's addition of national security legislation (Article 23) for the HKSAR was the single most substantive hegemonic securitizing move since the announcement of the OCTS solution. This represented a Chinese securitization performance responding to Hongkongers' support of Tiananmen protesters before and after the crackdown. Despite the security move, Chinese authorities failed to explicitly codified a national security, or patriotism obligation in the Basic Law – let alone a definition rather than a slogan (an empty signifier) for what constituted patriotism – for individual Hongkongers in the Basic Law. This was a strategic mistake that has been repeatedly compounded by the NPCSC since the Handover until it was partially rectified in China's new National Security Law in 2015 which may, or may not, be applicable to the HKSAR from a legal perspective – albeit, politically, it is clear the Chinese authorities consider the national security obligation does apply. Another approach of dubious legality and fiercely contested has been hegemonic efforts to claim that other articles of the PRC Constitution (or the whole Constitution) apply to Hongkongers despite their explicit absence in the Basic Law; Nominally this includes Articles 54 and 55 of the PRC Constitution. These securitization discourses (and moves) can be understood as dimensions of Chinese political war on dissident Hongkongers, namely part of its *Three Warfares* (media, legal, and psychological) campaigns.

[3] Securitization may be used a form of domestic counter-insurgency, lawfare (an element of political warfare) and pacification of dissident elements. (Blank, 2013; Gordon, 2014; Lupovici, 2013)

repeated mass line mobilizations of the public to attack and suppress dissident radical democrat, localist and separatist forces and voices. Revealingly, even today's dominant Chinese communist enemy images, moral panic and political warfare discourses, narratives and threat images invoking chaos, civil war, color revolution, and the containment and sabotage of China threats from Hong Kong and the West can be traced to Deng's early securitizations of OCTS, and his post-Tiananmen securitization of China and post-facto legitimation (through security arguments) of the mainland security crackdown. (Vuori, 2003) As Deng Xiaoping elaborated in September 1989 in the talk, *We are confident that we can handle China's Affairs Well (Deng, 1989)*:

> The West really wants unrest in China. It wants turmoil not only in China but also in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. **The United States and some other Western countries are trying to bring about a peaceful evolution towards capitalism in socialist countries. The United States has coined an expression: waging a world war without gunsmoke.** We should be on guard against this. **Capitalists want to defeat socialists in the long run. In the past they used weapons, atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, but they were opposed by the peoples of the world. So now they are trying peaceful evolution.** The affairs of other countries are not our business, but we have to look after our own. China will get nowhere if it does not build and uphold socialism. Without leadership by the Communist Party, without socialism and without the policies of reform and opening to the outside world, the country would be doomed. Without them, how could China have gotten where it is today?[4] (emphasis added)

Albeit for the near totality of the transition period (1984-1997) and majority of the post-Handover era (1997-), China's securitization discourses regarding dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS invoked Chinese sovereignty as a security argument and claim, sovereignty and national security concepts were often interchangeably and imprecisely used by the hegemonic forces. (Tok, 2013) This arguably had the effect of masquerading the totalizing national security nature of many early OCTS

[4] This talk was included in *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Deng, 1994). Additional security claims by Deng in other talks where a new American/Western "world war" against China and socialist countries using the gunsmoke cum color revolution securitization frame were invoked include the November 1989 talk, *We Must Adhere to Socialism and Prevent Peaceful Evolution Towards Capitalism*: "The United States and the Soviet Union have held talks that showed an encouraging tendency towards disarmament. We are happy to see this. I looked forward to the end of the Cold War, but now I feel disappointed. It seems that one Cold War has come to an end but that two others have already begun: one is being waged against all the countries of the South and the Third World, and the other against socialism. **The Western countries are staging a third world war without gunsmoke. By that I mean they want to bring about the peaceful evolution of socialist countries towards capitalism.**" (emphasis added) Also see Maochun (Maochun Yu, 2015) *Marxist Ideology, Revolutionary Legacy and Their Impact on China's Security Policy*, who compelling situates Deng's remarks and contemporary China's "enemy politics" under Xi Jinping's Maoist legacy adherence. Ong (2007) argues that peaceful evolution is still a national security fear of the Chinese communist regime in the 21st century: "From a wider perspective, peaceful evolution is still relevant today to Chinese security thinkers because China and the US have different social systems, values, levels of development and historical traditions. Hence, it is inevitable that both countries will adopt different approaches to human rights, a key component of the peaceful evolution strategy." (p.28) At the same time, the "historical meaning of peaceful evolution has changed slightly. In that sense, one might argue that peaceful evolution is now more a case of the authoritarian political system in China being changed rather than Communist values being undermined." (p.29) Moreover, Chinese threat perceptions see overlaps between peaceful evolution with and U.S. regime change trends with the former transpiring over a longer period and being characterized by non-military measures, and the latter being military-oriented and of shorter duration. (p.30-31)

conflicts. Nonetheless, China's securitization approach, and the national security essence, function, and implications of OCTS – whether in its articulations in the early-1980s or in its post-2010 transmogrification from CBM to totalitarian[5] security apparatus with Hong Kong characteristics – have been scantly acknowledged[6], holistically apprehended or fully appreciated in mainstream subaltern OCTS or Hong Kong discourses, reportage or scholarly literature. Rather, they have been frequently disconnected from implicit security discourses regarding Hongkongers' poor national identity, patriotism and sense of belonging to the country discourses that are important subtexts to Chinese securitization attempts regarding OCTS. Analysis of these discourses have also been largely sequestered from parallel (or, rather, precipitating) developments on the mainland and in China's international security environment.

As such, subaltern Hong Kong and OCTS discourses and literature (in and out of Hong Kong) have primarily focused on civil rights, democratization, functional constituencies, nationalism, patriotism, political polarization, rule of law, protests, and the health/status of the Hong Kong system. Arguably, the subaltern focus on universal suffrage and democratization has obscured the hegemonic emphasis on developing OCTS theory to better militarize against its so-called "hijacking" by radical dissidents. In fact, the hegemonic forces have substantially invested in institutional securitization and political warfare resources to create so-called "establishment" discourses, narratives and scholarship as well as organizing and mobilizing (counter-)demonstrations, marches and rallies to better defend OCTS and attack dissidents as will be discussed in a latter chapter. Often, when the national security issue has been discussed, it has been, debatably, mired in overly legalistic, hypothetical and theoretical understandings of China's national security as opposed to a political understanding of national

[5] For the purposes of this study, totalitarian refers to the comprehensive and holistic security logic of China's new National Security with Chinese Characteristics concept. An example of this would be the unilateral extension of national security duties and obligations to safeguard (Socialist) China to every Chinese *person* in the world regardless of citizenship or nationality; Another would be the extension of the same obligations to Hongkongers despite their absence in the HKSAR Basic Law. Use of totalitarian here does not indict directly the political system of either China, or the HKSAR which are operationalized here as authoritarian and competitive authoritarian systems respectively. That said, there is recent salient scholarship discussing China's political developments in that warn over a shift back towards Mao-era totalitarianism. (Ringen, 2016; Shambaugh, 2016) Moreover, as observed by Maochun Yu (2015), China's national security approach still embraces a totalizing Maoist "'enemy politics,' which embodies the constant vigilance against omnipresent international enemies, real or imagined." (p.44)

[6] Lau Siu-kai, a key hegemonic securitization actor discussed in this thesis, is a salient exception. (S.-k Lau, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2007) Noting that China's Hong Kong policy between 1949 and 1997 had been "an integral part of its foreign policy," he highlights: "The primary goals of the Hong Kong policy were to secure a less threatening external political environment for China and to make calculated use of Hong Kong for China's economic development." (2000, p.77) Lau also cites a former senior Chinese official, Li Hou, Vice-Director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office who described Chinese concerns over a conflict with not just the United Kingdom, but with the United States if Beijing sought to forcibly retake Hong Kong. The mainland's weak international position, potential to exploit the Americans and British camps over the issue of the colony, and the then economic embargo on the Chinese communists were further national security factors informing China's early Hong Kong policy. Similarly, China's new policies of opening and reform in 1978 that relied in a large degree on Hong Kong and the OCTS were also prefigured on "central considerations" of ensuring "peace and security." (p.78)

security. These have been perceptions and misperceptions predominantly rooted in Cold War-era, traditional security notions of national security as military security and a (very) narrow (liberal-centered) reading of the defense exceptions and security powers provided for Communist China in the HKSAR Basic Law: conceptions that no longer hold true in a *new* Cold War-era of National Security with Chinese Characteristics, and OCTS Securitization. More importantly, they have neglected the totalizing essence of Chinese sovereignty, political and national security claims: the sole right (and power) to decide the exception in any case irrespective of any legal constraint. (Jiang, 2010; S. Zhang, 2014) Hegemonic Chinese securitizing assertions of an unwritten constitution, HKSAR Basic Law, hidden legal (and political) powers and principles, and the transcendent status of the Region's chief executive fall within this category of exceptional and extraordinary security claims.

Inspired by *militant democracy*[7] trends elsewhere, and Maoist-Schmittian concepts of the political, the Chinese communists' extensive efforts in recent years to develop and weaponize OCTS Theory and the HKSAR Basic Law as a basis to fortify and militarize its authoritarian control and (increasing totalitarian) national security reach to discursively contest subaltern constructions of OCTS has been similarly neglected by the pro-democracy forces and Hong Kong observers even as the subaltern narrative losses against the Chinese authorities over "international standards" regarding universal suffrage and regime maligning of Hong Kong's nonviolent civil disobedience Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) movement have spectacularly illustrated. More recently and saliently since 2010 as China-Hong Kong conflicts intensified dramatically (Garrett, 2013, 2014d, 2015, 2016; Garrett & Ho, 2014), however, subaltern discourses have begun to expand into the protection and assertion of the Hongkonger identity and combative identity politics, i.e., Hongkongers' societal security, albeit not in a securitization context. Though still neglecting the national security locus, these subaltern identity security arguments are, in fact, much closer to the crux of the contemporary China-Hong Kong conflict that ultimately juxtaposes China's national security (cultural, ideological and political security) against Hong Kong's societal security (identity) in a life-or-death struggle over

[7] Militant democracy can be understood as "the legal restriction of democratic freedoms for the purpose of insulating democratic regimes from the threat of being overthrown by legal means." (Accetti & Zuckerman, 2016, p.1) Militant democracy targets perceived extremist and radical elements in society for exclusion from political participation under the pretext of protecting the political system. Chinese and the HKSAR government extraordinary efforts to exclude Hong Kong dissidents, especially radical democrats, localists and separatists, from political participation in Hong Kong's chief executive and legislative elections resemble such un-democratic security moves to "protect" OCTS, the CCP, the Socialist System, and Socialist China. In this sense, they are attempting to construct and legitimate (through security arguments, claims and threat discourses) a militant form of OCTS (OCTS Securitization) and HKSAR Basic Law targeting radicals, localists and Hong Kong independence sentiments and movements. The subaltern dissidents become political deviants and enemies under the hegemonic version of OCTS symbolic moral universe. Though outside the timeframe examined in this thesis, the late-2016 Oath Gate crisis following the September Legislative Council elections where the Chinese and HKSAR governments unprecedently removed two dully elected pro-independence localist lawmakers, and sought the removal of nearly a dozen more radical pro-democracy, localist and Hong Kong independence leaning legislators under the pretext of protecting OCTS, represents an exemplar securitizing case of a militant form of OCTS constructed through political warfare.

Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. Indeed, hegemonic efforts to co-opt, malign and obliterate these dissident subaltern counter-security claims manifested in transgressive identity articulations of the *Hongkonger, Not Chinese* constructed ethnicity and the *Hong Kong Nation*, and Hong Kong independence/self-determination/City State counter-securitization discourses have now brought OCTS to its most serious hegemonic crisis of its nearly two decades of implementation in the HKSAR. The choice of Hongkonger villains, however, were no accidents of fate but purposeful hegemonic securitization moves to wage political war on radical democrats, localists and separatists as will be argued later in this dissertation.

OCTS THIRTY YEARS LATER

True to Deng Xiaoping's threats and words regarding disturbances and mainland interventions in Hong Kong, provoked or not, mainland China has made repeated interventions[8] in the HKSAR system in attempts to control, rectify and safeguard OCTS from perceived dissident hijacking, subaltern sabotage, and foreign manipulation. Yet, these interventions have not had the intended effect of pacifying the post-2010 Hongkonger uprising. By the middle of 2016 post-Handover Hong Kong and OCTS were in unprecedented hegemonic crisis, authoritarian regression and existential duress. This has been exemplified over the past five years (2012-2016) with the surging Hong Kong independence and self-determination movements, the dramatic rise of localism and nativist forces and Hong Kong City State and Nation Building movements and sentiments, and the emergence of the Umbrella Revolution and launch of OCLP movements. Moreover, from the perspective of Chinese and HKSAR ultra-hardliners seeking to defend OCTS, in just the last decade or so China has already experienced the subaltern "toppling" of a central authorities-appointed chief executive (2005), the collapse or near collapse of the HKSAR executive-led governance[9] and *Patriots Ruling Hong Kong*

[8] Chinese security discourses have framed these interventions as legitimate exercises of China's sovereignty and dissident Hongkongers' criticisms of the interventions as efforts to: 1) push the mainland out of Hong Kong; 2) deny Chinese sovereignty over Hongkongers; 3) seize control of, and change, Hong Kong's executive-led governance into a legislative-led system controlled by the dissident; 4) hijack the OCTS policy; 5) and, to turn Hong Kong into an independent political entity. Albeit the 1 July 2003 anti-national security legislation 500,000-person march is typically cited as the watershed moment for the advent of mainland interventions in post-Handover Hong Kong, this mainstream narrative elides and marginalizes earlier hegemonic interventions, e.g., against the Falun Gong, albeit they are beyond the scope of this study. That said, it is notable that the post-2012 mainland interventions were also earmarked by securitization assaults on these religious dissidents; some of which have crossed-over to target radical pro-democracy activists and political parties. Arguably, at certain points and certain locations these mainland interventions were the most tangible and visible signs of a new national security environment in the HKSAR.

[9] Frequent hegemonic claims against radical subalterns include their use of filibustering, judicial reviews and non-cooperation movements in the Legislative Council to block, contest and defeat controversial legislation, funding of government initiatives, or operations. These subaltern resistance actions are various framed as political and economic security threats to the implementation of OCTS, damaging the HKSAR-China relationship, endangering Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, destroying its civil political culture, undermining its rule of law, and destroying Hong Kong's social harmony. Hegemonic security moves to mobilize the public to "vote them out" – them being the radicals and pan-democrats – have become an endemic

principles, two attempted color revolutions (2003 and 2014), three major occupation actions confronting major Chinese and HKSAR government policies (2010, 2012 and 2014), and, a growing and widening assortment of steadily more aggressive, strident and transgressive Hongkonger challenges and challengers successfully thwarting China's sovereignty, development, and security interests. Most recently, the Mong Kok Riot aka the Fishball Revolution could be added to the list of subaltern denigrations of Chinese sovereignty over the city – the first riot in almost fifty years and the most insurgent militant subaltern response to increasingly authoritarian, oppressive and violently repressive Chinese and HKSAR rule in the city under a more authoritarian and totalitarian imagining of OCTS.

Saliently, these episodes of subaltern resistance and hegemonic crisis, oppression and repression have been backdropped by the 2010 dramatic political awakening of Hong Kong's radicals and youth, the vivid rise of anticommunist and anti-Chinese parallel trade and anti-China tourism sentiments, and, mounting Hongkonger resistance to paternalistic Chinese authoritarian rule, breakneck integration and relentless mainlandization of the territory. These were developments which incited the emergence of the Hong Kong City State movement in 2011 (Garrett, 2016) following the earlier, 2010 radical-led, *de facto* universal suffrage referendum labeled by regime securitizing actors as an independence plot and attempted revolution. (N.-k. Lau, 2010b; P. Xiao, 2010) By 2012, a former senior Chinese official responsible for Hong Kong affairs, Chen Zuoer, warned hysterically that a "pro-independence force" was "spreading like a virus" through the SAR (T. Chan, 2012b) and a *China Daily* commentator agitated that "a sinister undercurrent threatening Hong Kong in the form of 'mainland-phobia' and isolationist thinking" had infected the city. (Yang, 2012b) Situating the Hong Kong and Hongkonger problems geopolitically, the commentator explicated that Hong Kong "has always been a playground for anti-Communist and China-phobic forces, which enjoy under-handed support from Western powers whenever an opportunity rises." (Yang, 2012b) Referring to the so-called 'poster boys' of Hong Kong's 'opposition camp,' a reference to the HKSAR's radical pro-democracy parties, the writer asserted they were in fact *de facto* compatriots of China's "separatist elements."

More shrilly, a National Peoples' Congress Standing Committee HKSAR Basic Law Committee member, Lau Nai-keung, warned in September 2012 following the Legislative Council (LegCo) elections that the Chinese and HKSAR government's willful ignorance of the ideological dimension of rising radicalism and separatism locally would "lead Hong Kong into disaster." (N.-k. Lau, 2012k) Citing Hongkongers' anticommunist sentiments, the public rejection of patriotic education, and the waving of colonial flags by a handful young localists during a small protest against mainland smugglers, the close advisor to the then newly appointed chief executive Leung Chun-ying (CY) warned the patriotic camp in a *China Daily* securitization performance that, "Hong Kong's bonding

securitization performance ubiquitously observable and enacted in quotidian discourses involving the power politics of OCTS.

with the mainland" had "become increasingly fragile and questionable." This, Lau Nai-keung asserted, jeopardized the (hegemonic) "idea of Hong Kong" and what it meant to be a Hongkonger. He claimed that radicalism had become "normalized" in the city, and that it was "the new mainstream for dissident politics." This demanded an urgent, full out, "head-on" ideological confrontation (a "grand debate") with the dissidents over the Hong Kong City State Theory so as to affirm the Chineseness of the HKSAR. Put another way, Lau Nai-keung was simultaneously evoking existential hegemonic national (political) security and societal (identity) security claims against dissident Hongkongers' own societal security demands (to save *their* Hong Kong) in his securitization articulation of the Hong Kong Threat[10]. Another ultra-conservative hegemonic securitizing actor, Richard Wong Yue-chim, made similar calls in a series of opinion pieces surrounding the Umbrella Revolution for a pro-establishment narrative to combat the populist "bottom-up" narrative of the Hong Kong dissidents. (R. Wong, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c)[11] He later framed these subalterns and the localist narrative in anti-China, neo-fascist, hate group, Nazi, and xenophobic categories.

Notably, the business of expounding the Hongkonger Threat has become a growth industry in China and the HKSAR since 2010. Similar to how "Latter-day Paul Reveres rode through the land, warning of an immediate danger to American security from an ever-expanding Soviet Union and proclaiming that unless the response was quick, thorough, and vigilant, the United States would find itself at the mercy of its implacable antagonist" (Wolfe, 1983, p.1), ultra-hardline Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors like Lau Nai-Keung have galloped through the halls of Zhongnanhai and Tamar warning of imminent dangers to the CCP, Socialist China and OCTS from ever-militant radical Hongkonger democrats, extremist localists, and terroristic separatists bearing Arab Spring, color revolution and peaceful evolution ideological and political arms. For instance, in 2010 Lau Nai-Keung

[10] For the purposes of this investigation, the **Hong Kong Threat** constitutes a hegemonic discourse of exceptionally negative constructions, misperceptions and perceptions – enemy images in their extreme case – of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and their understandings of OCTS. It takes them as an existential national security threat to Socialist China, the Socialist System and the CCP. Briefly, the category and discourse identifies anticommunism, multiparty democracy aspirations and Western affinities, liberal orientations and universal values as adverse attributes. Enemy Hongkongers are constructed as not simply opposing Red China but in actively working for, and collaborating with the West, for China's containment and the overthrowing of the CCP. They are an active, not passive, force working for the downfall of the CCP. The Hong Kong Threat category, like the Hongkonger Enemy category discussed next, has been constructed through the corpuses of hegemonic Chinese and HKSAR moralizing and securitizing actors' discursive criticisms – a Hong Kong Threat literature – of dissident Hongkongers' resistance to Communist Chinese domination, mainlandization, annihilation and cultural obliteration. The **Hongkonger Enemy** refers to the arch-enemies of the hegemonic forces. Though the content of the category Hongkonger Enemy can, and does change, for the purposes of this dissertation and the researched period (January 2010 to June 2016), it represents radical democrats, localists and separatists who are also anticommunist. Anticommunism is a key attribute of the "real" localist camp and the genesis for demands of Hong Kong independence or self-determination.

[11] Richard Wong's arguments, however, where he had situated the "bottom-up" and "establishment" narratives as a war between the two, were not strictly anti-populist. Rather they opposed popular populism articulated by the dissidents but explicitly supported a pro-hegemonic, anti-democratic authoritarian populist agenda.

compared a peaceful but rowdy occupation surrounding the Legislative Council by 10,000 youths to the violent 1967 Riots. (N.-k. Lau, 2010d) In 2011, he declared that Hong Kong dissidents' non-cooperation movement against the HKSAR government was tantamount to a revolution and attempt regime change. (N.-k. Lau, 2011c) And, in 2014, Lau Nai-Keung repeated regime change, riot and revolution claims following the launch of a 79-day occupation of three areas in the city arising from unprecedented HKSAR regime violence against nonviolent protesters. (N.-k. Lau, 2014e) As Alan Wolfe (1983) wrote of the United States at the apex of the Cold War between the United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1983, one might argue today in 2016 that the Chinese communists' contemporary "Peddlers of Crisis" of the *Hong Kong Threat* in security and threat discourses on the mainland and in the HKSAR are pushing Chinese national security dramas of existential threat, dissident Hongkonger insurgents, and an imperiled OCTS, socialist system and dictatorship of the proletariat. Then, as is now, it is a politics of containment of mortal enemies promoted by "crackpot realists" peddling OCTS crisis, or, in more nakedly: the power politics of OCTS and the securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS.

Certainly, insofar as ultra-hardliners among the central authorities and their representatives in the HKSAR's "patriotic forces" are concerned, an epic life-or-death struggle for the hearts-and-minds of Hongkongers and control of the SAR and OCTS is underway between Socialist China and dissident Hong Kong. Under the banner of One Country Absolutism, an intensifying political war has been being waged on the city to compel dissident Hongkongers to submit fully to Beijing's rule. First waged with post-1 July 2003 charm offenses and selective denunciation campaigns singling out exemplar subalterns like the pro-democracy movement's Martin Lee Chu-ming, Beijing's cultural, ideological and political campaigns in Hong Kong have now become a full-blown political war, which since 2012, have been characterized by waves of aggressive mass line united front mobilizations, growing regime-connected political violence, and an enemy-friend division of Hong Kong society. Security, and specifically national security, has become the watchword of hegemonic Chinese Communist politics in administering OCTS and the justification for pacifying insubordinate subaltern and transgressive Hongkongers so as to legitimate the rolling back OCTS's more liberal implementation and rationalize the remaking of Hong Kong and Hongkongers as loyal Chinese subjects. Notably, from a visual securitization perspective, the hegemonic war on dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS has dramatically manifested itself in the unprecedented fortifications of the HKSAR government headquarters' forecourt – Civic Square – and the city's core business districts during Chinese leaders' state visits and in the HKSAR government's militarization of the political policing of the city's civil and non-violent protest culture. There could probably be no more visible quotidian securitization sign of besieged and threatened hegemonic forces then these hegemonic OCTS militarized encampments and performances.

AN UNRAVELING OF "ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS"?

As the twentieth anniversary Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty and the implementation of OCTS in the HKSAR approaches, OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law have become fiercely disputed precarious concepts and governing mechanisms in a deeply divided and politically traumatized society evidencing a spiral towards sectarian and intractable conflict mirroring China's Tibetan and Xinjiang Problems. Hong Kong has never fully recovered from the communist-nationalist struggle in the 1950s, the leftist violence of the late-1960s, the tragedy of 1989, or even the highly contentious OCTS transition period. Though politically incorrect to observe in the post-Handover period, especially since 2012, the political (and now security) problem of an unpopular, oligarchic, pro-CCP ruling minority hubristically lording over a Westernized pro-democracy majority had already polarized the society a decade-and-half ago before the emergence of a Hong Kong independence movement, let alone the rise of localism and so-called anti-mainland sentiment. Y.-C. Wong (2001), for example, explains how four-years after the Handover, "Society [had] split into two camps. On the one hand, there are those what I would call 'pro-one country' camp which comprises leftist politicians, members of China's official establishment such as NPC and CPPCC, some pro-China businessmen; on the other hand the "pro-two systems' faction which consists of mostly democrats, academics and journalists." (p.3)

Six years later, a key HKSAR securitizing actor and patriotic figure divided Hong Kong society into anti- and pro-New Political Order forces and was already calling for a OCTS do over (S.-k. Lau, 2007) – something a decade later the actor, Lau Siu-kai, remained actively involved in attempting to achieve albeit in a more influential position and with a bevy of anti-Hongkonger OCTS ultra-hardliner crisis peddlers. Post-OCLP/Umbrella, the same individual has called for securitizing Law-and-Order crackdowns on, and harsh punishments for, radical democrats, localists and separatists. He also threatened recently in 2016 that Beijing might dismantle OCTS if anti-mainland and pro-Hong Kong independence sentiments grew and Hongkongers didn't take resolute action against them. A former HKSAR chief executive, Tung Chee-Hwa, even asserted that dissident Hongkongers had destroyed OCTS as recently as the end of 2015. Others claimed universal suffrage had to be abandoned, OCTS remade and Hongkongers decolonized, re-enlightened, de-Westernized and re-Sinicized in the face of the Hongkonger Threat. Extraordinary security moves and Maoist-Schmittian binary worldviews like those held by Zhang Dejiang, Zhang Xiaoming, Chen Zuoer, Lau Siu-kai, Lau Nai-keung, Zhou Bajun, Regina Ip and others in the ultra-hardline anti-Hong Kong camp are emblematic of the ultra-hardline security and threat perspectives seemingly dominating the Chinese and HKSAR OCTS Securitization approaches towards the city and its dissidents since 2012. The hegemonic view of dissident Hongkongers as enemies of the state and threats to OCTS marks a discursive shift in OCTS power politics from the earlier situation of competing political visions of Hong Kong, China and

OCTS (S. H. Lo, 2010) to a more authoritarian and totalitarian national security imagining of OCTS and its foes.

The End Days of OCTS?

As is contended in this thesis, China and Hong Kong are locked in an existential political war; one that has waxed and waned since the transition era (1984 to 1997), but has now entered a new, unprecedented, escalating crescendo of authoritarian angst represented in the move to (violently?) securitize Hong Kong and OCTS and remove political issues like universal suffrage from public debate and place it within the national security black box. The move to a securitization of Hong Kong and OCTS is essentially a move to de-politicize both as the CCP will not tolerate a political challenger or power sharing in any form; It is intended to turn Hong Kong back into an economic, not political city – a mission increasingly critical for the central authorities as the final years of China's period of strategic opportunity in the 21st century slip away and the international environment becomes more hostile and threatening. Hence, the mainland's desperate interventions in Hong Kong now are no longer like the large scale united front "charm offensive" campaigns following the 1 July 2003 half-million march against the national security legislation. There are no picturesque singing and dance troops of the People's Liberation Army. No Chinese astronauts or athletes. No swarms of cultural exhibitions and exchanges showcasing Socialist China. No crying premiers showing their authoritarian soft side.

Instead, there are repeated Maoist mass line mobilizations to stop Occupy/Umbrella, to stop the radical pro-democracy parties and politicians; to stop the anti-parallel trade protesters, and to stop Hong Kong's Westernized students and youth. It is the Hong Kong Army Cadets Association. It is unprecedented live-fire People's Liberation Army demonstrations. It is new national security, state secrets, and counter-terror laws invoking Hong Kong and activities that dissident Hongkongers are, still ostensibly, free to practice but, apparently, liable for prosecution on the mainland if they do. It is the perpetual, day-in-and-day-out securitization of Hong Kong and OCTS carried out one securitizing enemy image making, moral panic stoking, political warfare narrative embodying op-ed at a time as well as one government action, appointment, or statement upon another eventually constituting a regime of hegemonic truth regarding the insecurity of the city and OCTS. It is the Rule of Patriots. The Strongman, not the Crying Man.

Yet, under growing and relentless "One Country" cultural, economic, social and political domination and intensifying anti-Hongkonger identity rhetoric by Beijing and Tamar since 2010, Mainland-Hong Kong contestations have blown up as China accelerated its programs of national assimilation and

integration of the Region. Refusing to accept that "The City is Dying, You Know"[12], a generation of young and supposedly ‘radical’ Hongkongers are resisting Beijing. Not knowing the colonial system or the deprivations of the post-war period, raised under the myth of a politically free and autonomous Hong Kong and increasingly frustrated over the lack of genuine universal suffrage, growing economic inequality, disappearing life opportunities, creeping mainlandization, and Chinese and HKSAR bio-politics embracing Hongkonger disposability and patriotic predations, these new generations of Hongkongers are now beginning to strongly resist hegemonic notions of One Country Absolutism and Domination. This specifically includes China's domineering national security/sovereignty and exceptionalism claims over Hong Kong and the seemingly endless demands for Mainland-styled patriotism, national identity, democratic centralism, and dedication to socialist modernization and rejuvenation – all coming at the cost of what Hongkongers were promised, and consented to – more than thirty years ago; Rather than embracing the pacifist civil disobedience of the mainstream pro-democracy movement, they exemplify transgressive political disobedience (Harcourt, 2012) refusing to be governed this way by Communist China. Conversely, the seemingly self-fulfilling hegemonic enemification and national security panic extravaganzas over radical democrats, localists and separatists promoted by OCTS peddlers of crisis appear to be coming home to roost as more dissidents adopt a (counter)revolutionary aesthetic and militant posture to resist One Country Absolutism and Domination and save Hong Kong – even in the face of intensifying violent regime coercion and broadening securitization of radical democrats, localists and separatists, the HKSAR Basic Law and OCTS itself.

Aims & Objectives

The purpose of this study is to better understand the role of hegemonic forces in the intensifying China-Hong Kong conflict, its implications and possible escalation into a militant insurgency. This dissertation aims to:

- To systematically identify, investigate, and understand hegemonic use of enemy images, moral panic discourses and political warfare narratives in opinion journalism and other threat discourses and narratives to securitize Hong Kong and OCTS as a new form of securitization conceptualized here as OCTS Securitization.

- To systematically identify, investigate, and understand the situating of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS in China’s new national security discourses and concept of National Security with Chinese Characteristics.

[12] The phrase, "The City is Dying, you Know", is a quote from a popular 2011 Hong Kong television drama, *When Heaven Burns*, aired by TVB. The show was banned by the mainland in December 2011 shortly before the series finished over allusions to the Tiananmen square crackdown and the banned Falun Gong group. (F. Lin, 2011) Among many dissident Hongkongers, especially the youth, it became a "hit phrase for young people disillusioned with Hong Kong society." (J. Ng, Li, & Nip, 2011) The slogan has also been observed in protest literature such as banners, placards, stickers placed in public spaces in the City, and Hong Kong universities 'democracy walls.'

- To systematically identify, investigate, and understand key Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors and audiences operating in the OCTS Securitization framework.

Organization of the Study

Chapter One introduces the research topic, *China's Securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and "One Country, Two Systems": Enemy Images, Moral Panics and Political Warfare* and situated it within the intensifying China-Hong Kong conflict.

Chapter Two presents a theoretical framework innovating on the Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory, called here OCTS Securitization. Scant introductions of related concepts such as enemy images (and enemification), moral panic and political warfare are provided as are relevant literature.

Chapter Three discusses qualitative methodological approaches and empirical data sources informing this study. Constructionist and interpretive frameworks were applied in understanding and explaining cultural, social and political realities and consequences arising from enemification and securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS through deployment of enemy images, moral panic and political warfare. Emphasis is on securitization and moral panic frameworks.

Chapter Four, the first data chapter, situates China's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS as mortal enemies of the state and national security threats under the new notion of National Security with Chinese Characteristics. It examines the discursive construction of the Hong Kong Threat since 2010 within hegemonic securitization frames of color revolution, hybrid and soft war arguments and claims, and in China's *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers* threat packages. It contends that the first OCTS crisis – the 1 July 2003 national security protests and the following district and legislative council elections – was *perceived by hegemonic authorities* as a color revolution, much how the 2013-2014 OCLP and Umbrella Revolution movements have been.[13] Hegemonic threat discourses conceptualizing the China-Hong Kong conflict as an existential political war between the Chinese OCTS hegemon and insurgent subaltern Hong Kong, hence leading to China's use of national security lens as the predominant paradigm to view dissident Hong Kong, are put forward.

Chapter Five, the second data chapter, examines the hegemonic construction of radical democrats, localists and separatists as arch enemies of OCTS, Socialist China and the CCP. It probes the power politics of OCTS taking the case of the so-called Hong Kong Independence movement as the iconic

[13] Though a "color revolution" securitization frame may not have been explicitly (or widely) articulated publicly in 2003, there is evidence to suggest that it may have been perceived by Chinese authorities as such as discussed in Chapter Four. Nonetheless, it is clear from analysis of post-2014 securitization discourses and threat narratives informing this thesis, that ultra-hardline hegemonic forces have retroactively categorized the 1 July 2003 to December 2004 pro-democracy surge as an attempted color revolution in spirit if not name.

Hong Kong Threat as how it has come to be produced since 2012. It unpacks how marginal oppositional Hongkonger subalterns have been discursively constructed and transformed in hegemonic security and threat discourses from dissidents to revolutionaries and terrorists in what has become a *de facto* War on Hong Kong Independence. The enemification and securitization of the dissidents through the production of enemy images, moral panics and political warfare narratives, in turn, have been used to legitimate the remaking, reordering and militarization of OCTS and Hong Kong society in the name of totalizing Chinese national security.

Chapter Six provides a discussion of the research observations and implications of China's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS through enemy images, moral panic and political warfare. Study limitations and areas for further investigation are posed.

CHAPTER TWO: A OCTS SECURITIZATION FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

My academic interest and familiarity with China and Hong Kong and China date to the 1980s and 1990s respectively. I began pursuing studies in U.S. diplomatic history in East Asia and Japanese studies while living in Japan between 1985 and 1991 as a member of the United States Air Force. In 1989, I watched the Tiananmen incident, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 from Northern Japan. During this period, my academic focus was mostly rooted on Japan but the images and tragedy of Tiananmen broadened it towards China. In 1997, during my graduate studies on the juncture and relationship of images and words in traditional and new media, and following televisual observation of the Handover ceremonies as represented through spectacles of American and global media coverage, Hong Kong as an academic object was primed.

Later, while working in industry, the opportunity to visit Hong Kong and China for the first time arose in 2000 and 2001. Subsequently, many personal and commercial visits to the city continued. By providence, I was in Hong Kong on 1 July 2003 – the beginning of the first OCTS crisis – albeit on the day of the historic event, I was not immediately cognizant of what was transpiring as I attempted to get on the city's subway. The following day I learned a half-a-million Hongkongers took to the streets and public transportation to get to Victoria Park and march against the HKSAR government's proposed national security legislation. As is the pro-democracy protest tradition in Hong Kong, most of these residents were dressed in black and constituted a sea of ebony. As events and their historic significance became clearer, Hong Kong and OCTS entered my political and sociological imagination.

Following the watershed of July 2003, I began comprehensively and exhaustively follow reportage on Hong Kong and China-Hong Kong politics. I later returned to U.S. government national security service as a civilian analyst in 2006 due to a serious illness and the need for more comprehensive health benefits. Visiting Hong Kong again in December 2006, I observed the last vestiges of the Star Ferry protests to save the icon of the Hongkonger identity and, what would later be characterized by some observers, the beginning of Hong Kong's localism movement. Then, in December 2007, once again by providence, I was in the territory for Christmas holiday when the National People's Congress decision on universal suffrage in 2017 and 2020 was unexpectedly announced. While taking photographs of the Christmas decorations in Statue Square next to the then Legislative Council, I suddenly observed, and photographed out of personal interest, my first Hong Kong pro-democracy

protest over Chinese leaders' decision to defer universal suffrage in the SAR for at least another decade.

Later, in 2008, after having researched, written and presented several papers on Hong Kong and OCTS to various conferences as a research fellow with the Office of the Director for National Intelligence, I decided to formally pursue PhD studies and began submitting applications for study. In 2011, coinciding with satisfying government retirement service requirements, and after having no medical relapses for two years, I retired and began my PhD studies. Though not initially part of my PhD focus or research methodology, observing and documenting Hong Kong's protest culture and collecting physical and virtual visual protest artifacts were pursued out of personal interest; later these and other data samples, experiences and observations were systematically incorporated into earlier versions of this study and other related scholarship as referenced elsewhere in this dissertation.

Throughout the period before and following commencement of PhD studies, I was struck by the stark and vivid gap between the pervasive dire hegemonic social constructions and articulations and narratives of, what are conceptualized in this study, the *Hong Kong Threat and Hongkonger Enemy* in media and official discourses, and my observations on the street and everyday life in the HKSAR. This sentiment was solidified and reinforced during the research period. The contradiction between official Chinese and HKSAR discourses constructing the *actual situation* of Hong Kong of OCTS, and the author's own lived experienced and perceived realities in the SAR eventually led him to moral panic, enemification, political warfare and securitization theoretical approaches in attempt to make sense of the China-Hong Kong conflict and wicked problem of OCTS. In large part, it was this puzzle of ubiquitous China-Hong Kong/OCTS media and official discourses articulating what seemed to be disproportionate, exaggerated and overstated fears and threats sensationally grounded in apocalyptic and Manichean discourses of the end of Hong Kong, OCTS and Socialist China that provoked my enquiry.

SECURITIZATION

Beginning with the understanding securitization is "a method of understanding the social construction of threats and security politics" (Charrett, 2009, p.3), it has been contended in this thesis that Chinese and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) authorities have attempted to use a process of "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) Securitization to construct state enemies from political foes – like radical democrats, localists and separatists – and to remove contentious politicized OCTS issues – such as mainlandization, national identity, patriotism, political system, and universal suffrage – where the hegemonic forces have little to no legitimacy or likelihood of obtaining a consensus through normal politics from the field of ordinary politics by claiming existential threats to Hong Kong, OCTS, and Socialist China thereby evoking the *national security card* to annihilate opposition

and obliterate dissent from dissident Hongkongers. Post-2012, OCTS Securitization has become a major strategy of hegemonic Chinese and HKSAR forces to de-colonize, de-Westernize, re-enlighten and re-Sinicize dissident subaltern Hong Kong and to remake and safeguard OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law.

This process of OCTS Securitization is performed through an integrated framework of enemy images, moral panic, and political warfare intended to compel dissident Hongkongers to accede to Chinese communist domination and to legitimate the remaking and rolling back of OCTS towards a more authoritarian and totalitarian imagining. Aside from making calls for extraordinary measures, OCTS Securitization has been used for authoritarian populist agenda setting, deterring local and foreign adversaries, legitimation of extraordinary policies, and coercive warnings. This section introduces the main concepts and literature informing this investigation. It introduces the concepts of Securitization Theory, Enemy Images, Moral Panic and Political Warfare. Subsequently, a scant situating of OCTS in the China-Hong Kong conflict as a state of antagonistic conflict, existential struggle and adversarial negotiation between Chinese authorities and Hongkongers since OCTS is posed.

Put plainly, securitization describes the process of a *securitizing actor*[14] making a security claim to an audience[15] regarding an alleged existential threat to a valued referent object ostensibly necessitating emergency, extraordinary and/or urgent powers and responses to defend against. (Buzan et al., 1998; Wæver, 1995) *See Figure 1.* For the *securitization move*[16] – a claim of an existential threat – to be considered successful, it generally has to be accepted, or deferred to, by an audience or audiences. Aside from taking extraordinary measures to counter, defend or extinguish threats, securitization utterances also function to: place issues on a security agenda; to warn/deter other actors; to legitimate past security measures or categorizations of an issue as a security problems; and, to exert control over an issue or putative threat. (Vuori, 2008) Ultimately, securitization is about the social construction of a threat, security politics and the power politics of some concept. (Buzan et al., 1998, p.32) Or, in the case of this study, the power politics of OCTS and the China-Hong Kong conflict.

[14] "A *securitizing actor* is someone, or a group, who performs the security speech act." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.40)
[15] A securitization audience is the individual(s), group(s), institution(s), or organization(s) that a securitizing actor attempts to persuade to "accept exceptional procedures because of the specific security nature of some issue." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.41)
[16] "A discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization – this is a *securitizing move*, but the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.25)

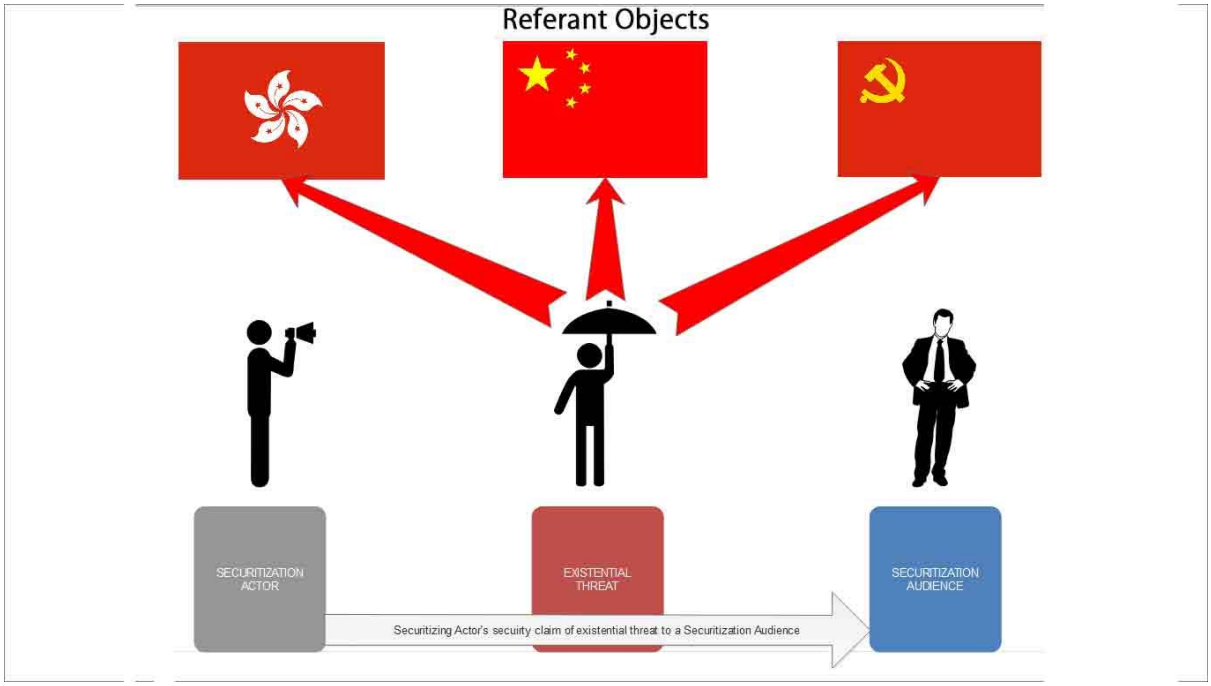

Figure 1. Example of Basic Securitization Process & Components

Wæver (1995) defines security "as a *speech act*" where "security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real; the utterance *itself* is the act. By saying it, something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). By uttering 'security,' a state representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it." (p.55)[17] *See Figures 2. and 3.* However, "It is important to note that the security speech act is not defined by uttering the word *security*. What is essential is the designation of an existential threat requiring emergency action or special measures and the acceptance of that designation by a significant audience. There will be instances in which the word *security* appears without this logic and other cases that operate according to that logic with only a metaphorical security reference." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.27) The survival of collectivities and important principles are considered the "defining core of security studies." (*Ibid.)* Securitization was traditionally focused "on the speech of dominant actors, usually political leaders" (McDonald, 2008, p.564) but has expanded beyond elite discourse to many other actors, especially in cases of societal security claims.

[17] Securitization theory draws on speech act theory by Austin (1975; 1962) who argued that some statements are performatives in that they do something rather than describe reality or make truth attestations. Vuori (2014), citing Austin, explains, "Such acts have three types or aspects: locutionary (an **act of** saying something), illocutionary (an **act in** saying something), and perlocutionary (an **act by** saying something)." (p.29) (emphasis added)

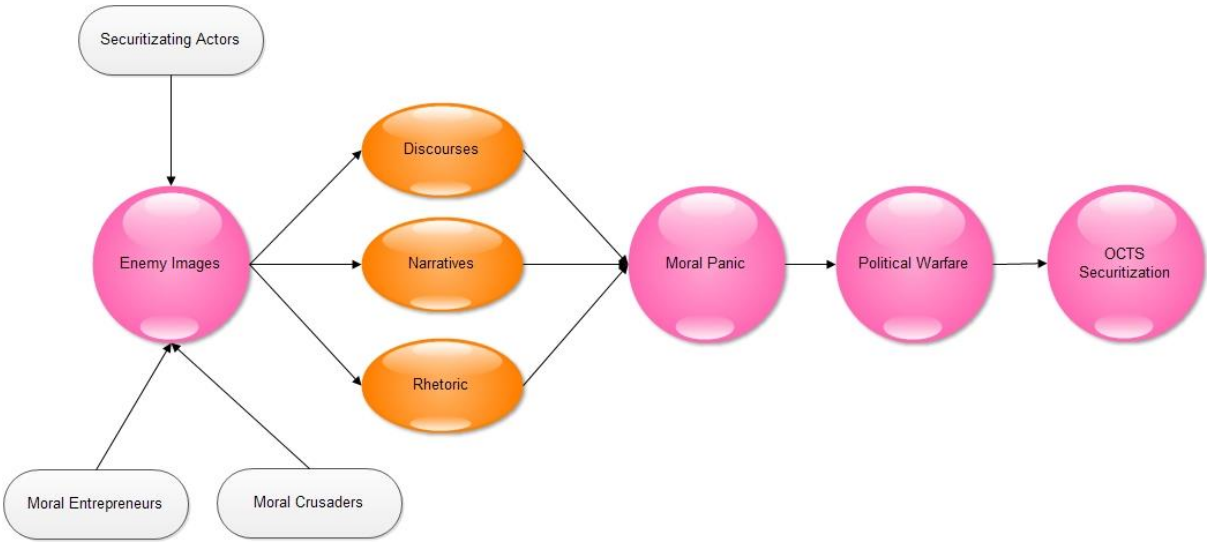

Figure 2. OCTS Securitization Framework

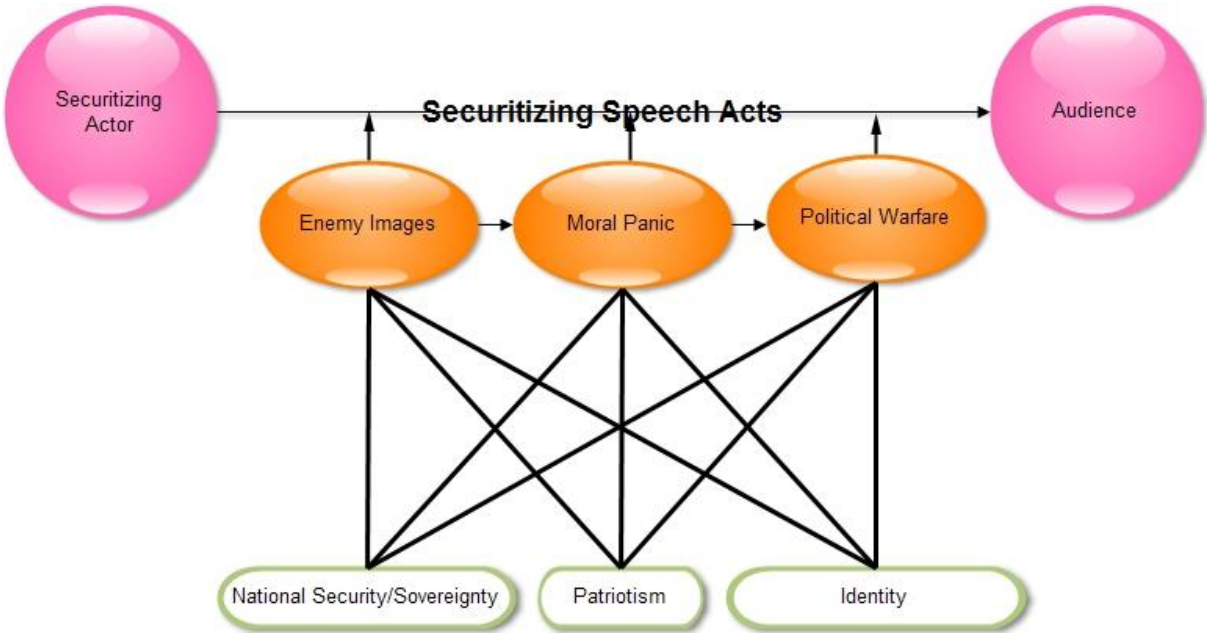

Figure 3. OCTS Securitization Speech Acts

As language or verbal utterances are but one form of communication, "A range of authors … have suggested the need to take account of the role of images as potential forms of securitization." (McDonald, 2008, p.568) Hansen (2011b, p.51), for example, has developed a "framework for the study of visual securitization, that is, when images constitute something or someone as threatened and in need of immediate defense or when securitizing actors argue that images 'speak security'." Contentious performances (Tilly, 2008), i.e., protests, are another source of securitizations. Wilkinson (2011) used an interpretative application of securitization for the "eye-witnessing" of a series of Kyrgyz mass protests to provide a thick distal and proximate emic account of securitization and counter-securitizations by state and non-state securitizing actors. Williams (2003), observing post-

911, “the dynamics of security in a world where political communication is an essential element of communicative action” (p.524) having global reach and impact brought new challenges for securitization studies, “the speech-act of securitization is not reducible to a purely verbal act or linguistic rhetoric: it is a broader performative act which draws upon a variety of contextual, institutional, and symbolic resources for its effectiveness.” (p.525) Relatedly, Hansen (2011b, p.52) aptly notes, “images appear to have had a decisive impact on the adoption and abandonment of foreign policies have also boosted the interest in visual representation. Such events include the intervention into and withdrawal from Somalia in 1993, the real-time coverage of the falling towers and jumping people on September 11, the snapshots from Abu Ghraib, and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis.”

Security is no longer simply a military endeavor, or even primarily. Securitization theory emerged during the broadening and deepening of the security agenda in the 1980s and 1990s to beyond traditional military and sovereignty claims. In order to make the security problem more manageable, sectors of security were frequently used informally. The Copenhagen School formalized this approach creating a sector-based framework and the notion of regional security complexes. Security sectors are seen as a way of “identifying specific types of interaction. In this view, the military sector is about relationships of forceful coercion; the political sector is about relationships of authority, governing status, and recognition; the economic sector is about relationships of trade, production, and finance; the societal sector is about relationships of collective identity; and the environmental sector is about relationships between human activity and the planetary biosphere.” (Buzan et al., 1998. P.7) Within securitization theory, the emphasis on studying security arguments and the social construction of existential threats is applied to all five of the sectors of security conceptualized by the Copenhagen School (economic, environmental, military, political, and societal.) (Buzan, 1991a; Buzan et al., 1998) Saliently, sectors may overlap and some sectors, like political security, constitute important elements of the other sectors. Political security and societal security are the two sectors investigated in this dissertation as, it is contended, they are the core of the China-Hong Kong conflict and OCTS Securitization security dilemma. The following brief descriptions of the political and societal security sectors are relevant groundings for understanding hegemonic China’s national security cum political security securitization of OCTS and dissident subaltern Hong Kong’s societal security counter-securitization.

According to Buzan et al. (1998, p.141-142), “Political security is about the organizational stability of social order(s). The heart of the political sector is made up of threats to state sovereignty. … the political sector constitutes that subgroup of political threats that do not use massive military, identificational, economic, or environmental means.” However, existential threats to the political security are not limited to “the constituting principle – sovereignty, but sometimes also ideology – of the state. Sovereignty can be existentially threatened by anything that questions recognition,

legitimacy, or governing authority." (p.22) This includes the "giving or denying [of] recognition, support, or legitimacy …" to a regime; In this context, "words matter." (p.142) In *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Buzan (1991b) describes political threats to state security as including political acts: "… pressuring the government on a particular policy, through overthrowing the government, to fomenting secessionism, and disrupting the political fabric of the state so as to weaken it prior to military attack. The idea of the state, particularly its national identity and organizing ideology, and the institutions which express it are the normal target of political threats. Since the state is an essentially political entity, political threats may be as much feared as military ones. This is particularly so if the target is a weak state." (p.118)

You (2016) writes China's concept of securitization embedded in its new concept of National Security with Chinese Characteristics interprets political security as "really about CCP security as the ruling party. It combines two Western concepts of *state security*, which is defined as securing smooth governance based on conditions where the state' institutions, process and structures encounter no serious threats of collapse and opposition, despite a change of government; and *regime security* that refers more to weak and failing states where incumbent rulers are removed from office, often in the form of government collapse." (p.179) The survival of the Chinese Communist Party is paramount: "Regime survival is the core of the notion of political security. To Party officials, state security equates to the CCP's smooth functioning in governing (institutions and structures). Even a minor disruption in public administration due to unexpected accidents may lead to a 'color revolution' and threaten state security." (*ibid.*) Under President Xi Jinping, You (2016) explains that:

> Prospective repetition of another 4 June 1989 Tiananmen Square protest, as a result of uncontrollable social events, cannot be dismissed. CCP control has dwindled, as the public awe to it has evaporated progressively. In Beijing's security statecraft the effort to eliminate a societal threat from its burgeoning stage parallels Xi's 'bottom-line' mentality and explains an almost paranoid worry about emergencies that have now become routine in the CCP's NS [national security] concerns. Consequently, securitizing everything becomes a norm in leadership anticipation of an event's potential upward spiral in severity. This security paranoia echoes the concept of insecurity dilemma that highlights the state's internal challenges. (p.179-180)

This has led to the CCP internalizing national security as a core value. This core value is manifested in the following forms according to You (2016, p.180): "security discourses creates identity categories, which are exclusionary by nature"; securitization discourses have become part of China's "strategic culture that identifies patriotism, loyalty and belonging" driven by a "security-insecurity complex" undergirded by the century of humiliation narrative; and, securitization discourses have

outpaced conceptual developments on national security thereby leading to "concrete" security moves to "protect the CCP's ideational goals." Indicative of the Chinese communists' siege mentality, You (2016) iterates that: "In Xi's values and world outlook regime survival is more than the CCP monopoly of power in its physical form. A large section of Chinese elites support the PRC not just because they receive concrete benefits as conformists. They have invested a huge amount of collective sentiment and personal attachment to CCP government, as revealed by Xi's lament that 'few of 20 million Soviet party members were 'men,' standing up to protect the Party in 1991.'" (p.181) As discussed later, under Xi Jinping and National Security with Chinese Characteristics, China's new Central National Security Commission has consolidated enormous power. You speaks about the totalizing nature of China's contemporary national security fetish, warning that: "Zhongnanhai's expansion of the definition of security may allow the NSC to wield power in an unlimited way. Such state penetration into the daily life of population may jeopardize the functioning of civil society and individual freedom." (p.195)

Conversely, threats to societal security are rooted in dangers to identity: "Societal insecurity exists when communities of whatever kind define a development or potentiality as a threat to their survival as a community." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.119) In short, "Societal security is about collectives and their identity." (p.120) Buzan et al. (1998) highlight the constructive nature of identities and "imagined communities." (Anderson, 1983) Moreover, they discuss common issues affecting the China-Hong Kong conflict such as migration, horizontal and vertical competition, and depopulation. Though they do not discuss the unique problem of the acquisition and assimilation of a liberalized capitalist society by a conservative communist leviathan they do highlight the problems such as the Sinification of Tibet and "Integration projects, whether democratic or imperial, that seek to shape a common culture to match the state may attempt to control some or all of the machineries of cultural reproduction (e.g., schools, churches, language rights)." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.122) Though widely dismissed and disparaged by the Chinese and HKSAR hegemonic forces, the notions of the *Hong Kong City-State, Hong Kong Nation,* and a *Hongkonger, Not Chinese* constructed ethnicity as groundings for societal security claims do appear supported in securitization theory: "The referent objects in the societal sector are whatever larger groups carry the loyalties and devotion of subjects in a form and to a degree that can create a socially powerful argument that this 'we' is threatened. Since we are talking about the societal sector, this 'we' has to be threatened *as to its identity*. Historically, referent objects have been rather narrow. For most people, they have been local or family based: the village, a clan, **a region (in the local rather than international sense), or a city-state**. …" (p.123) (emphasis added.) Though situations where nation and state do not line up and resulting nationalisms and self-determination trends are scantly discussed, situations like Hong Kong and China where the state and ruling regime have a spoiled identity and the peculiar and unprecedented nature of OCTS have not been considered.

OCTS SECURITIZATION ACTORS

For the purposes of the OCTS Securitization process offered here, 'patriots,' the 'patriot class,' and the so-called Patriot Principle are constituted as securitization actor(s), securitization audience(s) and moves when situated in the context of discourses, security moves and speech acts articulating existential threats, mortal enemies and national security scares. Among perceived national security threats at the time, the persistence and prevalence of anticommunist sentiment in pre-Handover Hong Kong was a formative factor in the creation of OCTS and its subsidiary policies, a High Degree of Autonomy, and Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong (S.-k. Lau, 2000) as well as for the design of the SAR's political structure and legislative voting system. (S.-k. Lau, 1999) In fact, insofar as the central authorities were concerned, the principles – as was OCTS – were contingent on Hong Kong being administered by patriots.

More pointedly, the patriot camp – aside from symbolizing one party rule over the HKSAR (Jiang, 2010) – were to serve both as key securitizing actors (those who make security claims) *and* securitization audiences (those who consent to extraordinary security demands) for the CCP's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. The united front co-opted elites in the patriot class were not *just* targets of the Chinese Communist Party's united front campaigns in colonial Hong Kong, or the post-Handover HKSAR; The patriots were to be the Chinese communists' *magic weapon* in Hong Kong who were supposed to be the *true friends* of Socialist China who would obliterate the *true enemies* of OCTS and win the *hearts and minds* of Hongkongers.

In other words, the patriot camp was never supposed to be *just* a ruling coalition of CCP *friends*, but an actively coercive instrument of Leninist social control and political war complementing (and even policing) the SAR's institutional guardians, the HKSAR government. Conceptualizing the patriot class as a securitization actor does not dismiss or exclude their other functions under China's united front but emphasizes the security ends of pushing Socialist China's agenda while making friends, moderating opposition, and eliminating enemies. Though the political security of China is considered primarily in this study, the patriots were critical in advancing and safeguarding other sectors of national security such as the economic security, and even military security.[18]

Originally, the central authorities' securitization focus was on precluding an anticommunist, hostile or otherwise untenable chief executive from being popularly elected by Hongkongers thereby 'forcing' them to refuse to appoint the chief executive-elect and appearing to deny residents' preferences. The

[18] In the 1990s, a Hong Kong-based mainland tycoon, Xu Zengping, was involved in a covert People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) to acquire an incomplete Soviet aircraft carrier, the Varyag, from Ukraine for use by China that later became the People's Republic first operational aircraft carrier, the Liaoning. (M. Chan, 2015) More recently, Hong Kong-based mainland firms and tycoons have made efforts to acquire other Western aircraft carriers for PLAN use. (Burkitt, 2011)

furor over the controversial August 31, 2014 National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC) decision fortified this security move as did the earlier State Council white paper on OCTS. However, the OCTS Securitization process of excluding real political opposition in the HKSAR via the Patriot Principle was expanded in 2016 in the HKSAR and Chinese governments' security moves to: first selectively deny registration of legislative council candidates and political parties; secondly, ban their participation in the election through the use of loyalty tests; third, purge dully elected localist and pro-Hong Kong independence lawmakers from the legislature over oathtaking matters involving political speech; and, lastly, to expand the purging of real opposition from the LegCo by targeting other radical democrats and localists long designated for removal from the legislature by the hegemonic authorities.

In the hegemonic securitization discourses accompanying these Chinese and HKSAR securitization performances it was evident that the Patriot Principle had been extended from simply excluding opposition members from the seeking the chief executive position to the legislature. Interestingly, though not on the same scale or context (at a micro-level), China's purging of the Legislative Council in 2016 ahead of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the HKSAR over identity, loyalty and national security transgressions recalls the communists' dismissal of Hong Kong's directly elected pre-Handover legislature on 1 July 1997 when they took over.

As theorized here, the chief executive, principle officials and elite of the patriot camp constitute the top tiers of the ruling patriot class. Ordinary patriots would belong to that social tier but at a lower social ordering. As discussed by Garrett (2012, 2015) the elite patriots enjoy special access and privileges denied non-patriot class Hongkongers such as participating in the administration and ruling of the HKSAR, and even, in some cases, mainland China. Hence, they might be considered "first-class citizens." Ordinary Hongkongers – Hongkongers with no affiliation with the pro-Beijing or pro-democracy camps and who were not anticommunist in orientation – would essentially be considered as OCTS subjects, that is second-class citizens, as they lack the social and political capital of the patriots.

The designation of ordinary here does not denote or suggest any less sense of national belonging, Chinese identity or patriotism to China or even Socialist China. Rather, it indicates they are not part of the cohort privileged directly by the Chinese authorities. Though considered here as a class, the patriots are not a monolithic bloc or uniformly trusted by the Beijing authorities.

Ordinary dissident Hongkongers, e.g., moderate pan-democratic opposition, would fall into yet another category of OCTS subjects, basically third-class "citizens" – use of subject as distinct from citizen is intentional; It denotes those prohibited from materially participating in the ruling class (the mainstay of administrators) but not seen as antagonistic or confrontational of the Chinese or HKSAR authorities. Much how the Chinese Communist Party has used the united front's eight democratic

non-communist parties on the mainland as pretexts of democracy and pluralism, Hongkongers from this OCTS category may even be appointed to the ruling HKSAR administration by the central authorities if they are considered sufficiently nonconfrontational and trustworthy.

Other dissidents, however, such as the radical democrats, localists and separatists are, as argued in this study, seen as enemies. It is not suggested that these categories in this scant OCTS Securitization ordering of the HKSAR community are clearly demarcated, fixed, inherent or untransmutable; Rather, as witnessed by various events during the research period, movement between is quite possible contingent on Party requirements. Moreover, depending on the context and situation, a patriot may even find themselves unexpectedly designated as an enemy themselves as factional Chinese communist and other politics play out in the SAR as occurred during the 2012 chief executive election.

Securitization Actor: The Patriot Class

NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law Committee (BLC) members, Hong Kong Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) delegates and NPC deputies, and HKSAR Basic Law and OCTS scholars affiliated with official and semi-official mainland think tanks such as the Research Institute of the Hong Kong and Macao Office (HKMAO) under the State Council and the Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies (The Chinese Association hereafter) are taken here as securitization actors. The dominant opinion discourses, frames, images and narratives constructed by these hegemonic authorities, individuals, interest and pressure groups, and officials in the course of their functioning as moral crusaders and entrepreneurs constitute, in part, the securitizing media inventory of enemification of radical democrats, localists and separatists and moral panic in Hong Kong through their role as primary and secondary definers. (Cohen, 2011; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Thompson, 2005) As observed by Critcher (2003) and Cohen (2011), it is impossible to have a modern moral panic without the media or without a folk devil and Hong Kong has both aplenty in the competing moral panic wars between Beijing and Hong Kong. The media situation in Hong Kong, however, is different from Western or democratic systems in important ways as suggested earlier, and the hegemonic panics and securitizing threat narratives play out differently than the subaltern scares do; namely in the socialist one party and competitive authoritarian systems practiced in China and in Hong Kong respectively, primary and secondary definers may often reside in the same individual who is simultaneously both a journalist *and* a propagandist on behalf of the hegemonic forces.

As such, special analytic attention was warranted to the commentaries and expressed opinions and statements of HKSAR principal officials, Executive Council (ExCo) members, Hong Kong CPPCC delegates and NPCSC deputies, and arguably most importantly, those of NPCSC HKSAR BLC

members. For example, Lau Nai-keung, who served(s) simultaneously as a CPPCC National Committee member and Non-official member of the HKSAR Central Policy Unit (CPU), advised the Chinese and local governments on constitutional development, Hong Kong-Mainland integration, moral and national education schemes, patriotism promotion and creating a sense of belonging among Hong Kong youth. He was also selected in 2013 to advise the newly established quasi-official think tank, The Chinese Association, which was established – an intervention – to handle the deteriorating situation of China-Hong Kong relations and has become one of the leading Chinese actors attempting to securitize radical democrats, localists and separatists. During this time and ostensibly in a private capacity, Lau Nai-keung authored a book[19], several hundreds of published columns, commentaries and opinion pieces since becoming a NPCSC BLC member and thousands since joining the National Committee of the CPPCC. These opinion discourses were published in leading local pro-Beijing and 'mainstream' Chinese and English-language papers. Many of these opinion pieces represented securitizing hegemonic moral panic frames, symbolic moral universe, and enemy/folk devil images, constructing and constituting democratic and Westernized Hongkongers as national security, patriotism, and identity problems and threat. Other major securitizing actors heavily engaged in similar media securitization endeavors includes Ho Lok-Sang, a co-founder of the anti-Occupy Central group involved in united front work in the HKSAR, the Silent Majority for Hong Kong. Ho Lok-sang, like Lau Nai-keung is a prolific commentator having authored hundreds of commentaries in the *China Daily*; many touching upon the topics investigated in this thesis. Many of the securitizing actors considered here are also frequently cited as sources in hegemonic and mainstream media accounts where they articulate security discourses, enemification images and threat narratives.

Securitization Actor: NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law Committee

Significantly, HKSAR BLC members advise the central authorities, primarily the NPCSC but also the HKMAO and others, on the 'actual situation' in the territory. Assertions about the 'actual situation' in

[19] Published in 2012, Lau's *China's Comeback: How the Original Superpower is Regaining Its Preeminence* (N.-k. Lau, 2012c) essentially presents a chauvinistic account of China's development model and its economic rise tapping key Party themes while simultaneously arguing that the West was incapable of understanding the Middle Kingdom. Worse yet, besides claims of Orientalism he attributes malicious and nefarious motivations to some Westerner efforts to comprehend "modern China" likening them to having a "skewed Western version of China." (p.ix) Conversely, Lau argues, that China has fewer obstacles to understanding the West thereby leading to a so-called "information asymmetry – which makes China's reemergence seem all the more intimidating to the West." (p.ix-x) Lau Nai-keung is just one of several high-profile influential Chinese and HKSAR securitizing actors whom have published books on Hong Kong and OCTS. Chen Zuoer, the Chairman of the Chinese Association and a former HKMAO deputy director is another. Likewise, Chinese Association vice-president Lau Siu-kai has also written a book on democracy. Chinese constitutional and basic law expert, Associate Dean of the School of Law at Peking University and a former Central Government Liaison Office researcher in Hong Kong, Jiang Shigong, who is considered to be a *neo-Maoist* and part of China's *New Left*, claimed in his book on the city, *China's Hong Kong: Cultural and Political Perspectives*, that OCTS as originally conceived by Deng Xiaoping could never transform Hongkongers into Chinese patriots; hence, the territory's return could not be achieved until this dilemma had been rectified. (Hung, 2014)

the HKSAR – an unescapably subjective, not scientific assessment – have significant material and symbolic consequences for Hong Kong including: political reform towards universal suffrage; the degree of mainland interventions in the City; maintenance of Hong Kong's 'high degree of autonomy'; and, the mainland's assessment of the health and state of the implementation of OCTS and the relationship between the HKSAR and central authorities. Like many of the principles and important notions of OCTS, the concept of the *actual situation* is ambiguous and undefined assumptions about the degree of national identification with mainland China and sense of patriotism and belonging to the communist nation are components of that rubric. (Constitutional Development Task Force, 2004)

More recently, these assumptions and assertions factor into Beijing's new security calculus regarding the national security threat(s) posed by Hong Kong, Hongkongers, and universal suffrage. For instance, the BLC's determination of the "actual situation" would need to take into account China's "national security, sovereignty and development interests." Indeed, under China's new concept of National Security with Chinese Characteristics the BLC members, including its Hong Kong cohort, have both the duty and obligation of safeguarding the Party's political security, i.e., Socialist China's national security. The fact or content of those consultations, however, are not public knowledge or disputable and the members of the BLC are selected by the Chinese authorities. Half of the Committee are Hong Kong members and the other half mainland academics, experts and officials. Moreover, as will be detailed in a elsewhere, other mainland-based, constitutional and Basic Law scholars play an important and outsized role in the construction of Hongkongers and universal suffrage as enemies of socialist China and the CCP and its developmental and national unification projects. These 'academics' also play multiple roles in hegemonic knowledge construction (academic, legal and popular), public opinion shaping and guiding, and policy advocacy and support for the communist regime. The Hong Kong members of the BLC are frequently involved in security articulations regarding the Basic Law and OCTS, and even on national identity and patriotism topics. Lau Nai-keung, as discussed extensively in this study, actively and ubiquitously promotes hegemonic securitization positions in his commentaries. Several other BLC members are frequently quoted in Hong Kong media speaking on security as well. Prominent mainland members of the BLC are likewise significantly engaged in shaping and guiding public opinion on OCTS Securitization issues such as safeguarding the Basic Law.

While most of these individuals don't appear to participate in the public construction of enemy images and moral panic discourses, several do. All, however, are involved in the public promotion to Hongkongers of the symbolic moral universes, moral accounting system, and values associated with the socialist system, OCTS and related social and moral ordering of the Hong Kong society under the One Country perspective. These cohorts, however, are not monolithic entities. Factional political affects the patriotic camp in Hong Kong every bit as much as it does the larger CCP apparatus of

social and political control. In addition to the NPCSC HKSAR BLC, the NPCSC's Legislative Affairs Commission (LAC) also advises the Chinese and HKSAR authorities on salient factors related to Hong Kong, the Basic Law and OCTS and, at times, performs in a securitizing capacity. Chairmen and vice-chairman of the NPCSC LAC, such as Li Fei and Zhong Rongshun often interact with, or visit, the HKSAR to speak to officials and legal experts and associations (e.g., the Hong Kong Bar Association and Law Society) and are frequently quoted by local media. For instance, in December 2014 averred that Hongkongers need to be "re-enlighten" regarding the purpose and nature of OCTS. (Wan, 2014)

Securitization Actor: The Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies

As a securitization actor, The Chinese Association plays a new and unprecedented role in the mainland's management of Hong Kong and OCTS, including national security-related issues. Hong Kong affairs fall directly under the jurisdiction of the central authorities. Ostensibly, mainland entities cannot intervene or interfere in SAR affairs without the permission of those authorities. Likewise, participation of government, intelligence, military or party officials in an organization like a think tank such as *The Chinese Association* dealing with either Hong Kong or OCTS would require permission and vetting by the central authorities; as would the many seminars and symposiums on the HKSAR Basic Law, Hong Kong politics, and OCTS organized by The Chinese Association – no few of which were hosted in Beijing or Shenzhen. The founding of The Chinese Association by a former deputy director of the State Council's HKMAO, Chen Zuoer, let alone the funding for it and its many events, would similarly seem to require more than a modicum of state-complicity. This seems all the more the case when considering that The Chinese Association essentially competes, or supplants in large part, the public opinion space formerly held the State Council's own in house think tank on Hong Kong matters, the Research Institute of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs created in 2003, and the central authorities Liaison Office in the SAR. Hence, widespread framing of The Chinese Association as semi-official or quasi-official are misnomers, but more importantly, so is the characterization of The Chinese Association as a *think tank* as its actions and activities appear to go beyond research and policy advocacy and venture into united front activities, or more accurately in the context of this study, OCTS Securitization processes intended to shape and guide the public debate rather than simply analyze and report on it. The high-level membership and connections of members with influential united front work type organizations and associations also suggest a broader mandate for The Association than simply organizing Hong Kong and OCTS analysts; for example, Chinese Association vice-president Guo Wanda is also the executive vice-president of the State Council affiliated China Development Institute; and, Dr. Patrick Ho Chi-ping, a former HKSAR Secretary for Home Affairs (an entity considered to the Hong Kong equivalent of the mainland United Front Work Department) is a deputy chairman and secretary general of the China Energy Fund Committee

(CEFC). Several members also hold important positions at important mainland research centers or law schools opining on OCTS and Hong Kong.

Significantly, the establishment of the Chinese Association represented the creation of a significant securitization and political warfare resource for Beijing to guide and shape academic and legal scholarship, news reporting, and opinion journalism and security discourses regarding Hong Kong, the China-HKSAR relationship and OCTS. The *Hong Kong and Macao Journal* established by The Association in late-2013 had, as of mid-2016, published over 100 academic articles related to salient and topical OCTS issues. Many of the authors are heavyweight Basic Law/OCTS securitizing actors and/or former senior Chinese or HKSAR officials such as: Ho Lok-Sang, Huang Ping, Lau Siu-Kai, Lu Ping, Mo Jihong, Patrick Ho Chi-Ping, Qi Pengfei, Rao Geping, Song Sio-Chong, Wang Zhenmin, Xu Chongde, Zhang Dinghuai, and Zou Pingxue. *See APPENDIX 2.* Forty-eight of the articles, nearly half, were written by key securitization actors Lau Siu-Kai, Lu Ping, Wang Zhenmin, and others tracked in this study. Of those 48 journal articles, 14 dealt with very hot button political security issues such as universal suffrage (6), Occupy Central with Love and Peace (5), and Hong Kong independence (3). *See APPENDIX 3.* Overlaying the titles of many of these articles with the various hegemonic securitization arguments and threat claims against Occupy/Umbrella, universal suffrage and Hong Kong independence and/or commonalities emerge.

Elsewhere, the timing of the establishment of security-focused "study" group, the *Professional Committee on Safeguarding National Security*, in January 2015 followed closely the Chinese and HKSAR governments' securitization performance launching its multi-year securitizing moral panic and political warfare campaign on "Hong Kong Independence" related to the HKU Undergrad publication. The securitization performance of the chief executive's policy address used to attack HKU students and the subsequent media frenzy surrounding it represented a distillation of the OCTS Securitization processes examined in this dissertation. Enemy image making and moral panic discourses took shape and formed over a multi-year political warfare campaign to attack dissident Hongkongers and to mobilize consent for extraordinary measures. This included security moves such as calling for the enactment of Article 23 National Security legislation, a mainland Anti-Secession law, and imposing other mainland security laws on the HKSAR and excluding pro-independence politicians from running for election in legislative elections. This was an extended securitization performance started with the chief executive's January 2015 policy address and then seemingly reached an apex in February 2016 following the Mong Kok Riot with a leading localist group designated by the regime and regime-friendly media (such as the *South China Morning Post* (*SCMP*)) as the arch enemy folk devil and icon of the Hong Kong independence movement. Zhang Dejiang's securitization performance in May 2016 in crowning localism, independence and radicalism as a trinity of evils threatening OCTS and their subsequent exclusion from the 2016 Legislative Council elections rolls rounded out what was in effect a year-and-a-half long OCTS Securitization spectacle in

the name of safeguarding OCTS from radical democrats, localists and separatists. Since then, the securitization drama has extended to: the unprecedented denial of political rights to stand for election in the 2016 Legislative Council elections; warnings to the public that growing Hongkonger antimainland sentiment might motivate the Chinese authorities to abandon OCTS; threats to terminate Hong Kong school teachers and civil servants who support Hong Kong independence and investigations of family backgrounds of young independence advocates; and calls for the removal of Basic Law permitted foreign judges from the SAR's judicial system.

The Chinese Association, as a hegemonic security discourse resource, can easily be leveraged to dominate the local, national and international debate. (S. Lau, 2015) Since its launch the chairman, vice-president and various affiliated members have been quoted in Hong Kong and foreign media hundreds of times since late-2013 when it was founded. Members of the think tank have advised on and spoken repeatedly in public as definitive sources for national security, identity, patriotism and even the issue of Hongkongers joining the PLA. (Anadolu Agency, 2015; Mok & Lee, 2015) Particularly problematic for the issue of OCTS is that, based on the comments of Chinese Association vice-president Lau Siu-kai, the group is an advocacy group rather than a passive academic entity as frequently mistakenly portrayed in local media discourses. Rather, as suggested earlier, The Chinese Association is both a political and securitizing actor in Hong Kong and OCTS power politics. Seen as such The Chinese Association's *Professional Committee on Safeguarding National security* should be seen as a OCTS national security political warfare actor — not a study group. This contention may be supported in a *SCMP* report that quoted Lau Siu-kai seeming to suggest that Beijing had directed the national security group's creation: "Beijing sees the need to study how to tackle the interference of external forces in Hong Kong." (S. Lau, 2015) The think tank has held many seminars in Hong Kong and on the mainland with significant participation of academics, such as the 140 scholars that reportedly attended a December 2014 seminar in Shenzhen where the need to 're-enlighten' Hongkongers and to 'evolve' OCTS was pushed. (South China Morning Post, 2014)

In another broadly influential securitization move, in in November 2014 during the Umbrella Revolution, the *SCMP* reported that a vice-president, one of some twenty vice presidents, Huang Ping, and another mainland legal scholar, Chen Xinxin with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences asserted in a paper to be publish by the association that they had coined the term and concept of "Hong Kong security" which was claimed to be "a crucial determinant of national security." (G. Cheung, 2014) The two mainland scholars said that Occupy Central had elements of a color revolution and had threatened both Hong Kong and China's national security. They further asserted that the HKSAR Basic Law implicitly contained this concept in Article 18 of the law in the context of the NPCSC's authority to declare a state of emergency or war: "It shows the drafters of the Basic Law expected the chief executive to put Hong Kong security as the most important consideration in discharging his or her duty. The chief executive and Hong Kong police must take into account this

concept when they tackle unlawful occupation activities." In other words, they attempted to claim the exclusive absolute power to securitize not just the Occupy/Umbrella occupation but ostensibly any social movement or protest the chief executive unilaterally chose to designate as a national security threat.

Table 1. **Select OCTS Institutional Securitization Actors**

CHINA	**HKSAR**	**PATRIOT CAMP**
CCP General Secretary/PRC President	Chief Executive	Underground CCP Members
Central National Security Commission	HKSAR Principle Officials Executive Council (ExCo)	Standing/National Committee Members of the NPC and CPPCC
PRC Vice President Central Leading Groups on Hong Kong	HKSAR Government	Ordinary HKSAR NPC and CPPCC Deputies and Delegates
State Council's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office	Pro-Beijing Political Parties (BPA, DAB, FTU, Liberal Party, NPP)	Provincial and Municipal HK CPPCC members
State Council's Development Research Center's Institute of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs	Central Policy Unit	Patriotic Tycoons and Other elites Ordinary Patriots
NPCSC/NPC NPCSC LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION NPCSC HKSAR BASIC LAW COMMITTEE		
CPPCCC CPPCC National Committee CPPCC Committee for Liaison with Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and Overseas Chinese		
Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the HKSAR (CGLO)		

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">PLA/PLA Hong Kong Garrison</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Commissioner’s Office of China’s Foreign Affairs Ministry in the HKSAR</td></tr>
<tr><td>United Front Work Department</td><td>HKSAR Home Affairs</td><td>Our Hong Kong Foundation
One Country, Two Systems Research Institute
Bauhinia Foundation

Alliance for Peace and Democracy
Caring Hong Kong Power
Justice Alliance
Defend Hong Kong Campaign
Hong Kong Youth Care Association
The Silent Majority for Hong Kong
Voice of Loving Hong Kong</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mainland/HKSAR Basic Law and Legal Experts/OCTS Research Centers</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mainland State Media:
e.g., China Daily, CCTV, Global Times, People’s Daily, Xinhua</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Mainland-HKSAR State Media:
e.g., Oriental Daily, (South China Morning Post), The Standard, Ta Kung Pao, Wen Wei Po</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1. Select Institutional OCTS Securitization Actors

Table 2. **Select Mainland OCTS Securitization Actors***

Institution	Actor
Institute of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs, **Development Research Centre, State Council**	Rao Geping Dong Likun
NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law Committee	Li Fei Zhang Rongshun Elise Leung Oi-Sie Rao Geping Maria Tam Wai-Chu Lau Nai-Keung Albert Chen Hung-Yee
Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies	Chen Zuoer Lau Siu-Kai Qi Pengfei (Dir., Research Centre on Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, Renmin University) Jiang Shigong (Dir., Center for Hong Kong and Macao Studies, Peking University) Rao Geping (Dep. Dir., Institute of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs, Development Research Centre, State Council) Mo Jihong (Dep. Dir., Chinese Academy of Social Science Law Institute) Zou Pingxue (Center for Basic Laws of Hong Kong and Macao SAR) Lau Nai-keung (NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law Committee) Song Sio-chong (Research Center for Hong Kong and Macao Basic Law, Shenzhen University)
Research Center for Basic Laws of Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions Studies, **Shenzhen University**	Dong Likun, Head Zhang Dinghuai (Deputy Head) Song Sio-chong
Hong Kong and Macao Research Center, **Peking University**	Jiang Shigong aka Qiang Shigong (Director) Rao Geping (former Director, NPCSC HKSAR BLC, Institute of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs, Development Research Centre, State Council)
Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Research Center, **Renmin University**	Qi Pengfei (also on NPCSC HKSAR BLC) Zhu Shihai (Central Institute of Socialism)

Research Center for Hong Kong and Macao aka Center for Hong Kong and Macau Studies, **Tsinghua University**	Wang Zhenmin (Dean, Tsinghua University Law School; Director of Law Department, CGLO; former NPCSC HKSAR BLC; Vice Chairman, Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macao Studies) Lin Laifan (Secretary General, Hong Kong & Macao Basic Law Society)
Central Institute of Socialism, **United Front Work Department**	Huang Yiyu (Executive Deputy Director) Zhu Shihai (Professor in Hong Kong studies)
Law Institute, **Chinese Academy of Social Science**	Mo Jihong (Deputy Director)
One Country Two Systems Research Centre, **Macao Polytechnic Institute****	Leng Tiexun (Director) Ieong Wan Chong

*Some securitization actors have overlapping memberships. **Though located in a SAR and not on the mainland, the Macau SAR version of OCTS is less liberal than the model implemented in the HKSAR (as well as proposed for a future Taiwan SAR). Macau's implementation of OCTS has also been repeatedly singled out by senior Chinese leaders as a model of OCTS for Hong Kong to emulate. Moreover, many key mainland securitization actors publish OCTS Securitization relevant articles in the Centre's English and Chinese-language OCTS-focused journals. As such, for the purposes of this study, when invoking enemification, security claims and threat discourses, the One Country Two Systems Research Centre is considered a mainland OCTS securitization actor.

Table 2. Select Mainland OCTS Securitization Actors

Securitization literature

Albeit securitization theory has been criticized for Western-centricity, application of the framework to Chinese and non-Western states and organizations in Asia has grown in recent years. Juha Vuori's work on Chinese securitization practices in the domestic political sphere is the most comprehensive and definitive account. His monograph, *Critical Security and Chinese Politics: The Anti-Falungong Campaign* (Vuori, 2014), using securitization theory, among other analytical and methodological paradigms, provide an outstanding account of how pluralistic approaches and perspectives empirically accounted for the political and social processes involved in the Chinese securitization campaign. Though not directly or entirely generalizable to the securitization of OCTS and the Hong Kong Threat, parallels were evident; indeed, given hegemonic Chinese anti-Falungong campaigns have been dramatically and visibly extended into the HKSAR since 2012 – and have overlapped with Chinese and HKSAR securitization actions targeting radicals, localists and separatists in some cases – Vuori's work provided salient backgrounding and situating of tactical-level securitization operations.

Vuori's growing corpus on Chinese securitization studies contained other scholarship informative to this dissertation's research endeavor such as: *Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitisation – Applying the Theory of Securitisation to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders* (Vuori, 2008); *How Cheap is Identity Talk? A Framework of Identity Frames and Security Discourse for the Analysis of Repression and Legitimization of Social Movements in Mainland China* (Paltemaa & Vuori, 2006); *Security as Justification: An Analysis of Deng Xiaoping's Speech to the Martial Law Troops in Beijing on the Ninth of June 1989* (Vuori, 2003); and, *How to do security with words - A Grammer of Securitisation in the People's Republic of China* (Vuori, 2011a).

Other, China-related, securitization literature includes: *Securitization of the 'China Threat' Discourse: A Postructuralist Account* (W. Song, 2015); *China's National Security Commission: Theory, Evolution and Operations* (You, 2016); *China's Media Policy on the Egyptian Revolution: A Case for Securitization* (Joobani & Helmy, 2016); *'Red Storm Ahead': Securitisation of Energy in US-China Relations* (Nyman, 2014); *Governing Security at the 2008 Beijing Olympics* (Y. Yu, Klauser, & Chan, 2009); *UNCLOS and Maritime Security: The "Securitisation" of the South China Sea Disputes* (Odeyemi, 2015); *In search of the 'Other' in Asia: Russia–China Relations Revisited* (Wishnick, 2016); *The Securitisation of Chinese Migration to the Russian Far East: Rhetoric and Reality* (Wishnick, 2008); and, *The Non-Securitisation of Immigration in China? EU-China Security Cooperation: Performance and Prospects* (Chou & van Dongen, 2014).

Securitization literature relevant to new forms of warfare and the political warfare concepts (media/public opinion war, lawfare, and psychological warfare) examined in this thesis includes: *Securitizing Russia: The Domestic Politics of Russia* (Bacon, Renz, & Cooper, 2006); *Human Rights as a Security Threat: Lawfare and the Campaign against Human Rights NGOs* (Gordon, 2014); *Bill Clinton's 'Democratic Enlargement' and the Securitisation of Democracy Promotion* (Søndergaard, 2015); *Parasecurity and Paratime in Serbia: Neocortical Defence and National Consciousness* (Petrovic-Šteger, 2013); *Resisting Entropy, Discarding Human Rights: Romantic Realism and Securitization of Identity in Russia* (Morozov, 2002); and, *Russian Information Warfare as Domestic Counterinsurgency*. (Blank, 2013) Relatedly, under the scope of confict and peace studies examining the politicization of democracy and human rights in conflicts: *Civil Society, Ethnic Conflicts and the Politicization of Human Rights* (Marchetti & Tocci, 2011b); *Human Rights and the (De)securitization of Conflict* (Bonacker, Diez, Gromes, Groth & Pia, 2011); *Conflict Society and Human Rights: An Analytical Framework* (Marchetti & Tocci, 2011a); Human Rights, Civil Society and Conflict in Israel/Palestine (Fourest, 2011); and, *Human Rights, Civil Society and Conflict in Turkey's Kurdish Question* (Tocci & Kaliber 2011) bear relevance to the OCTS Securitization process light of competing hegemonic and subaltern securitization and counter-securitization discourses regarding democracy/universal suffrage and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Notably, Hong Kong and OCTS remain absent in the securitization literature, hence representing a significant gap – especially in the case of securitization in non-democratic and non-Western political systems and societies.[20] Given the significant domestic and international implications of China's securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS for understanding emerging local, regional and global conflicts, the study of the China-Hong Kong conflict under the new situation of National Security with Chinese Characteristics may provide valuable insights into China's future trajectories.

ENEMY IMAGES

Enemies are those who wish, or do, harm to one. Enemy images are strong, exceptionally negative beliefs and images of *Others* – arguably, "the paragon of negative stereotyping" – held by individuals or groups who perceive their core values, fundamental existence and future survival are threatened by those actors. (Vuorinen, 2012b, p.5) Images are "pictures in our head" (Lippmann, 1922) and perceived enemy-others are those images seen as representing threats of violence and/or destruction (real or imagined) to individuals or their in-groups. (Luostarinen, 1989, p.125) Vuorinen (2012b) explains that: "The image of an enemy is essentially an image of threat. It represents an imminence of unwanted acts towards the Self, and motivates a subsequent need to remain vigilant, to plan, defence or even to actively engage in a pre-emptive attack." (p.3) Of centrality here is that enemies and friends are at the center of politics and the political according to Schmitt (1976) who writes: "The specific political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy." (p.26) Similarly, Mao Zedong constructed the primary challenge of the Chinese revolution as: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? He who does not know how to distinguish his enemies from his friends cannot be a revolutionary …" (1965, p.13 cited in Van Slyke (1967, p.1))

Vuorinen (2012b, p.2) observers that, "Every enemy is an other, but all others are not enemies." The process of "establishing an enemy-image" follows a "conceptual sequence": first, the perception of difference between Us and Them; next, a process of Othering which leads to categories of Self and Other; lastly, "If the other is perceived as threatening, at a certain historical moment, it can easily be

[20] This gap remains even when the issue of national security and Hong Kong's freedoms under OCTS are front and center in the literature such as with the edited volume, *National Security and Fundamental Freedoms: Hong Kong's Article 23 Under Scrutiny*. (Fu, Petersen, & Young, 2005) Though claiming to have examined the Article 23 issue from political and legal perspectives, inexplicably neither securitization theory or Chinese political warfare (specifically lawfare) are considered. Despite these deficiencies, the chapters on China's evolving national security laws and manipulation of Chinese laws for political effect – such as the legal and prosecutorial framing of counterrevolutionary crimes into national security or ordinary criminal offences; discussions of secession, sedition, subversion, and treason notions; and, governmental proscription of transgressive political organizations, are useful contextual and historical situatings for understanding the current China-Hong Kong conflict and OCTS Securitization process. This is all the more case in light of recent the ultra-conservative turn by Chinese and HKSAR authorities to implement a more authoritarian imagining of OCTS to pursue constructed, imagined, or real mortal enemies and existential threats such as Hong Kong Independence.

formed to represent an Enemy. A long-established enemy-image may be developed into an Arch-enemy, a standing threat that seems to be always present." (*Ibid.)* "The main difference between Other and Enemy lies specifically in their respective activeness – an enemy is perceived, or imagined, to be actually menacing, while the other is deemed unthreatening." (p.3) Not only are they perceived to be menacing and untrustworthy, they are "approaching: drawing nearer and eventually closing in, presumably in order to conquer, kill, enslave, destroy, damage, and/or steal." (*Ibid.*) "[T]he portrayal of out-groups as enemies – usually a permanent label" is a process known as **enemification** (Matusitz, 2015, p.140) – it "functions to identify a 'legitimate' target at which rockets should be launched." (*Ibid.)*

Not all enemies are created equal, equally threatening, or equally dreaded or despised. Zur (1991) claims that since the Stone Age seven types of enemies have featured in wars by mankind: 1) "Symbolic enemy of primitive-ritualistic warfare"; 2) "Withholding enemy of the greedy-colonial warfare"; 3) "The worthy enemy, a fighter of heroic wars"; 4) "The enemy of God in a holy war"; 5) "The threatening enemy in defensive wars"; 6) "The oppressive enemy in the liberation or revolutionary wars"; and, 7) "The invisible enemy-within in the terrorist or guerilla warfare." Keen (1986) averred that humans were "*Homo hostilis*, the hostile species, the enemy-making animal" (p.10) and created a "phenomenology of the hostile imagination" that examined archetypes of recurring images of the enemy drawn from propaganda materials produced around the world: "The enemy as stranger"; "The enemy as aggressor"; "The faceless enemy"; "The enemy as enemy of God"; "The enemy as barbarian"; "The greedy enemy"; "The enemy as torturer"; "The enemy as rapist"; "The enemy as beast, reptile, insect, germ"; "The enemy as death"; "The enemy as worthy opponent"; and, "The enemy as abstraction."

Two other categories of an enemy, relevant to the concepts of moral panic and political war and the hegemonic threat images and securitization frames invoking color revolution and Hong Kong independence threats, are the *intimate enemy* and the *enemy within*. These are considered especially despicable types of enemies, e.g., collaborators, betrayers of the revolution, race traitors, turncoats, quislings, etc. Vuorinen (2012b) explains that, intimate enemies are "those who live within the same society but outside the defining Self, e.g., 'the nation', a particular class, or some other ideologically self-conscious in-group. This type is easily discerned and therefore relatively easy to deal with. The most sinister case is the *enemy within*: an invisible threat hiding inside the in-group community, so far unidentified and therefore very dangerous as a potential source of aggression right in the midst of Us." (p.3) The notion, enemy image and threat narrative of intimate enemies is salient in this study as signifies issues of threat, loyalty, identity, and national security. Case in point, much of the hegemonic enemification of the Hongkonger Enemy and securitizing rhetoric associated with the Hong Kong Threat discourse is infused with framings of internal enemies, so-called fifth column – and now, sixth

column[21] – forces operating within Hong Kong society taking advantage of OCTS to effect regime change on the mainland. These do not appear to be isolated security narratives but are endemic threat perceptions among the hegemonic forces; enemy images often given life in the security discourses of key securitization actors embedded in academic research, official statements and opinion journalism. These enemy images are also visually articulated on the street and in the fiercely contested virtual spaces of the OCTS conflict. The intimate Hongkonger enemy and its resistance actions towards the Chinese communists in its Arch Enemy form is often depicted by regime securitization actors as comparable to, or synonymous with, especially vivid historical enemies and atrocities involving the Party, Chinese nation and state such as Japanese war criminals and the Rape of Nanjing.

Vuorinen (2012b) warns that, "Discourses of enmity are created, maintained, negotiated and modified within the community. Enemy images can appear spontaneously whenever there is a crisis involving separate groups. However, the most powerful, clear-cut images of enmity usually come into the world as conscious creations of propaganda machinery, and are aggressively spread though available media. If they are internalized by the community, they may become a permanent feature of popular thought, continuously renewing themselves within a culture. …" (p.5) Ominously, some of the extreme hegemonic enemification rhetoric and securitization discourses of enemy Hongkongers is arguably similar in spirt to the "assortment of perceived enemies: imagined counter-forces threatening to curb the success of the German nation" (Vuorinen, 2012b, p.9) that was invoked by the Nazis. Vuorinen's caution hints at the long-term implications of persistent, pervasive, and ubiquitous enemification of the Hongkonger Enemies by influential hegemonic securitizing actors in the media; all the more so for the centrality of the media for creating, circulating and reproducing not just enemy images but also moral panics and securitization.

The problem of determining contemporary China's enemies and friends is no revolutionary artefact; noted Chinese international relations scholar Yan Xuetong, for instance, argued in 2014 that China must, once again, weigh its geopolitical relations in terms of friends and foes. (Yan, 2014) Likewise, Juha Vuori has expertly documented the centrality of enemy images and enemification in the continuing application of Maoist politics in contemporary China to securitize religious dissidents such as the Falun Gong (Vuori, 2011a, 2014): "Even though there was no military operation against Falun Gong, as there was against the protest movement of 1989, sentencing people to labour re-education camps or mental institutions on local administrative decision without trial are a continuation of the Mao-era methods of disposing of or re-educating class enemies. The portrayal of Falun Gong as a threat may also be used in legitimating the continued use of these old methods." (Vuori, 2007, p.30)

[21] Sixth column forces refer to members of the ruling forces bureaucracy who have internalized Western values and who secretly identify with, or are sympathetic towards the Hong Kong Enemy. For example, ultra-hardliner securitization actors like Lau Nai-Keung have repeatedly called out members of the HKSAR government and patriot camp for being disloyal, insufficiently patriotic, or closet opposition members.

Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party has a long and well established tradition regarding the political use of language to construct and persecute class and other forms of enemies for nation building and legitimation of mass violence (C.-C. Wang, 1999); even to the point of adopting demonological paradigms during the Cultural Revolution. (Haar, 2002) In light of contemporary claims of a new Cultural Revolution, or a Cultural Revolution 2.0, roiling Chinese politics and spilling over into Hong Kong and the administration of OCTS, the seeming return of Red Guard enemification and security politics in Hong Kong has become a prominent element of subaltern counter-securitization and (in)security discourses. Moreover, in the context of the securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS by the hegemonic forces, the existential issue of internal and external enemies and threats are at the core of China's new National Security with Chinese Characteristics concept which also ensconces the HKSAR and OCTS. As securitization is tied to threat perceptions and enemies are a special type of intense threat, especially so-called mortal enemies, the enemification of radical democrats, localists and separatists takes on new salience.

POLITICAL WARFARE

For the purposes of this thesis, "Political war is the use of political means to compel an opponent to do one's will, political being understood to describe purposeful intercourse between peoples and governments affecting national survival and relative advantage. Political war may be combined with violence, economic pressure, subversion, and diplomacy, but its chief aspect is the use of words, images, and ideas, commonly known, according to context, as propaganda and psychological warfare." (Smith, 1989, p.3) Political warfare can use subtle or overt means, even commercial advertising strategies and tactics, to "influence the political will of an adversary." (J. A. Baldwin, 1989, p.xi) China has a variety of organizations and means to wage political war in general, and in Hong Kong in particular. It is outside the scope of this dissertation to attempt to provide a holistic, let alone, comprehensive accounting of China's political warfare activities which benefit from and exploit the OCTS arrangement. Much of it, like the Three Warfares political war concept discussed later in this section, is interlocking and mutually reinforcing. However, this section will discuss salient aspects applicable to the research focus of this securitization study. In short, a broad and incomplete brushing of China's political warfare apparatuses, operations and implications are presented here. United front work, taken broadly and selected for its relevance to the opinion journalism of the hegemonic securitization actors examined in this study, is introduced. Next, the Three Warfares is discussed.

United Front Work

The Chinese Communist Party has nearly a century's worth of experience in political warfare constructing and battling enemies, real and imagined, having fought against Northern Warlords, the Nationalist Party, the Japanese, and the Taiwan independence forces in varied united fronts.[22] Indeed, following Mao's dictum about friends and enemies of the revolution, "The fundamental principle of united front work" has been "to rally as many allies as possible in order to achieve a common cause, usually to defeat a common enemy." (Groot, 2004, p.1) The Chinese communist united front was first used in the 1920s and 1930s, eventually graduating to become a "defining characteristic of … 'socialism with Chinese characteristics.'" (Groot, 2004, p.1) During Mao's time, political education indoctrinated the nation with symbolic enemies; Decades later under President Xi Jinping, enemies of the state are once again on the political education agenda as evidenced in the new concept of National Security with Chinese Characteristics and securitized political education spectacles like 2016's National Security Education Day. Though often described as a form of state corporatism – including its presence in colonial and post-Handover Hong Kong, much as Deng Xiaoping admonished those who worried Red China was abandoning socialism for "capitalist weeds," make no mistake, united front work is the Chinese communist essence of the political binary of friends and enemies. Originally considered a "magic weapon" and one of the CCP's "most important" "essential hand-in-glove tools to win the 'hearts and minds' of the Hong Kong community" (Loh, 2010, p.27) it has demonstrably lost its mojo as the deeply divide society veers from a protracted conflict to sectarian violence and a democratic insurgency.

This has especially been the case post-2012 with the accession of Xi Jinping and HKSAR chief executive CY Leung where mass line mobilizations against the Hongkonger enemy have been repeatedly mobilized. China's new holistic national security approaches have also likely added to this shift in united front work in the SAR where "the united front work in the post-handover Hong Kong" had reportedly exemplified "a more inclusionary version of state corporatism through five types of measures, namely, integration, cooptation, collaboration, containment, and denunciation." (W.-m. Lam & Lam, 2013, p.301) Divisive united front work, which operationalizes and antagonizes the Us versus Them binary as the Friend-Enemy distinction, despite the use of "soft and hard tactics used in parallel in Hong Kong" had already, by 2013, years before the Occupy Central, Umbrella Revolution or Hong Kong independence movements emerged, "resulted in further politicization and polarization of the civil society, and transformed the tension between the state and the local groups into clashes between different local groups" (W.-m. Lam & Lam, 2013, p.1) as had occurred in secessionist areas

[22] Loh (2010) describes five "major united front episodes," many dealing with OCTS and the recovery of Hong Kong. To these could be added the Communist-Nationalist United Front against Taiwan independence which included lawfare episodes such as the 2005 Anti-Secessionist Law. (Ong, 2007)

like Tibet and Xinjiang. Moreover, mainland united front interventions in the city that had begun as early as 1997 have already "gone beyond consensus and harmony [missions] to also include patriotism and reinterpretation of other political ideas, including universal suffrage, conducive to cultivating obedience." (*Ibid.*) Political warfare in other words. Containment and denunciation of enemies, W.-m. Lam and Lam (2013) describe, were two united front political warfare strategies used to target oppositional forces in the HKSAR:

> Containment characterizes particularly the Communist agent's policy on the democratic forces in Hong Kong. Through nourishing supporters' networks and creating strategic alliances with Beijing sympathizers, this measure aims to check the expansion or influence of democrats. It also involves the fragmentation of the opposition camp in order to neutralize its influence.
>
> Denunciation is the most exclusive form or measure used by the Chinese authorities to defeat its enemies, particularly the democrats, and control the Hong Kong society. It is characterized by public condemnation and accusation, outright rejection, verbal threats, and refusal to communicate. It aims to charge someone on their misdeeds, and halt their influence immediately and permanently, especially in situations when the authorities perceive their sovereignty is at stake. (p.307)

These clinical definitions of united front strategies in Hong Kong, however, elide and obfuscate many of the enemification and political warfare processes and strategies that come under labels like "containment" and "denunciation." For instance, delegitimization – the "categorization of groups into extreme negative social categories which are excluded from human groups that are considered as acting within the limits of acceptable norms and/or values. Delegitimization may be viewed as a denial of categorized group's humanity." (Bar-Tal, 1989, p.170) Under the scope of delegitimization, other tactics Bar-Tal (1989) identifies are: **Dehumanization**, "categorizing a group as inhuman either by using categories of subhuman creatures such as an inferior race and animals, or by using categories of negatively evaluated superhuman creatures such as demons, monsters, and satans" (P.172); **Outcasting**, "the categorization into groups that are considered as violators of pivotal social norms. It includes such categories as murders, thieves, psychopaths, or maniacs. These violators are usually excluded from society and often segregated in total institutions" (*Ibid.*); **Traits Characterization**, involving "the attribution of personality traits that are evaluated as extremely negative and unacceptable to a given society" (p.173); **Political Labels**, use of "categorizations into political groups which are considered totally unaccepted by the members of the delegitimizing society. The labels are mainly drawn from the repertoire of political goals, ideology, or values. Nazis, fascists, imperialists, colonialists, capitalists, and communists are examples of this type of delegitimization" (*Ibid.*); and, **Group Comparisons**, a type of categorization where "the label of the delegitimized group symbolizes the most undesirable group that serves as an example of evil in a given society. Use of such categories as vandals or Huns is an example of this type of legitimization" (*Ibid.*) **Demonization**, "a narrative-based and psychological dimension of conflict", is considered "a speech

act used to create an image of the enemy as evil of in league with the Devil. 'Demonization,' 'demonized,' and 'demonizing' are recognizable catchwords in contemporary politics. Politicians, journalists, and academics are familiar with the terms and employ them in their analyses of conflicts." (Normand, 2016, p.2) Related to demonization is **evilfication**, "the practice of satanizing or demonizing other groups and systematically pigeonholing them as outcasts." (Matusitz, 2015, p.140)

Nevertheless, the Chinese Communist Party's united front operations in Hong Kong "all seek to ultimately consolidate China's hegemony in local society" (W.-m. Lam & Lam, 2013, p.306) by eliminating enemies and compelling other Hongkongers to submit (i.e., political warfare.) The Party's soft (integration, cooperation and collaboration) and hard (containment and denunciation) strategies are targeted at Hong Kong's unaffiliated majority and hegemonic supporters (integration and cooptation), its "moderate middle" (collaboration), and enemies (containment and denunciation.) (p.307) It is the united front's emphasis on isolating and attacking the enemy – enabled and supported by the Party's alliances of convenience with friendly and neutral elements in society – that highlights the political struggle and warfare nature of Beijing's 'magic weapon.' (Van Slyke, 1967) For instance, in similar securitization rheotric invoking united front national identity and national security obligation claims as heard today during hegemonic authorities' attacks on radical democrats, localists and separatists and new calls for Article 23, hegemonic forces' use of united front mobilization, neutralization and enemification tactics during the 2003 crisis over national security legislation to frame passage of the legislation as a 'patriotic duty' for Hongkongers "as Chinese citizens" had been compared to Cultural Revolution-era struggle sessions; Opponents were attacked by Chinese and HKSAR officials as alarmist, constituting a minority, spreading disinformation, having "devils in their hearts," being race traitors, unfit to be Chinese, and unpatriotic among other dehumanizing and demonizing securitization discourses. (Loh & Lai, 2007, p.60-61)

Not unlike the Cultural Revolution, Hongkongers opposing or perceived to be opposing Communist China's policies for Hong Kong or wholesale integration into Socliast China and its socialist modernization project – such as those challenging mainlandization or Sinicization of Hong Kong prior to 2047, espousing localism or advocating independence or self-determination – are seen as OCTS counterrevolutionaries by some ultra-hardline securization actors: "'Hong Kong independence' is very reactionary, and we cannot allow them to cross this red line." (CCTV, 2016) In the neo-Maoist political milieu of hegemonic OCTS Securitization, Mao's observation that "class struggle in socialist society is concentrated on one point, that is the struggle between the proletariat which wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which want to overthrow it" (Mao, 1967) seems to have gain greater relevance and salincy for understanding China-Hong Kong conflicts under OCTS. The HKSAR Patriot Class are essentially percieved by Beijing as Hong Kong's patriotic proletariat supporting the CCP dictatorship on the mainland – *and,* in the HKSAR (through the Rule of Patriots) – by attacking, opposing and neutralizing the OCTS reactionaries in order to safeguard

China, Hong Kong and OCTS. As the former director of the HKMAO, Lu Ping, famous for communist "megaphone diplomacy" and "divide and rule" united front politics in dealing with the British, colonial authorities and the newly emerged Hong Kong democrats (Chu, 2010), threatened Hongkongers in 1991: "If the future SAR [turns] confrontational against the central government, it has absolutely no future." (Kohut, 1991) Lu's adversarial and confrontational united front dogma of enemy politics were embraced at the time by the newly formed pro-Beijing political parties (Chu, 2010, p.105) that constituted part of the CCP's OCTS Securitization allies in the future SAR. This confrontational approach continues today as a key mode of Chinese Leninist and Maoist political control over dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS to maintain the Party's vanguard position. (Loh, 2010) This may be no coincidence as Lu Ping and his then deputy at the HKMAO, Chen Zuoer, have featured prominently the hegemonic construction and response of the so-called Hong Kong Independence threat since 2012.

Three Warfares

Over a decade ago, China's Central Military Commission (CMC) approved the Three Warfares (*san zhong zhanfa*) concept of operations for political warfare in 2003. (Stokes & Hsiao, 2013) The Three Warfares consist of interlocking, reinforcing capabilities, operations and strategies to compel the enemy to its will: media warfare aka public opinion warfare; legal warfare (lawfare); and, psychological warfare (psywar). According to D. Cheng (2012b, p.3), the Three Warfares are intended to "influence the public's understanding of a conflict by retaining support form one's own population, degrading it in an opponent, and influencing third parties." Drawing on Chinese defense sources, D. Cheng (2012b, p.3) defines the individual, but interrelated and mutually reinforcing components of the Three Warfares as follows:

> Public opinion/media warfare is the struggle to gain dominance over the venue for implementing psychological and legal warfare. It is seen as a form of warfare independent of armed confrontation or actual hostilities. Indeed, it is perhaps understood most accurately as a constant, ongoing activity aimed at long-term influence of perceptions and attitudes. One of the main tools of public opinion/media warfare is the news media, including both domestic and foreign entities. The focus of public opinion/media warfare is not limited to the press, however; it involves all of the instruments that inform and influence public opinion (e.g., movies, television programs, books).
>
> Psychological warfare seeks to disrupt an opponent's decision-making capacity by creating doubts, fomenting anti-leadership sentiments, and generally sapping an opponent's will.
>
> Legal warfare seeks to justify a nation's own actions legally while portraying an opponent's activities as illegal, thereby creating doubts, both among adversary and neutral military and civilian authorities and in the broader population, about the wisdom and justification of an opponent's actions.

D. Cheng (2012b) elaborates that public opinion warfare is the carrier that psywar and lawfare use to achieve its maximum effects. Relatedly, public opinion warfare and lawfare are reliant on psywar

insights and guidance for targeting and methods. Lawfare, in turn, is what is required to make public opinion war and psywar to be most effective. Public opinion warfare, which this dissertation is most focused on, is a top-down model that consists of defensive and offensive components. Offensively, it "seeks to undermine the enemy's will and weaken any external support while garnering friends and allies." (p.4) Defensively, it seeks to "counter enemy public opinion warfare" and, using education and the media, ensures that the public are not exposed to enemy messages or capable of taking "root." (p.5)

The Three Warfares are executed under the operational responsibility of the People's Liberation Army's General Political Department Liaison Department (GPD/LD), an organization frequently considered as involved in Chinese influence operations and activities. Raska (2015) reports the GPD/LD is further connected to Chinese human intelligence, the 2nd Department of the PLA General Staff. "Traditionally, the primary target for China's information and political warfare campaigns has been Taiwan, with the GPD-LD activities and operations attempting to exploit political, cultural, and social frictions inside Taiwan, undermining trust between varying political-military authorities, delegitimizing Taiwan's international position, and gradually subverting Taiwan's public perceptions to 'reunite' Taiwan on Beijing's terms." (Raska, 2015, p.2)

Because Hong Kong was the "test-bed" for OCTS it had reportedly been "a key theater for CCP political warfare." (Stokes & Hsiao, 2013, p.11) An elite-oriented entity, the GPD/LD was well connected to key figures involved in administering OCTS, especially for outreach to, and influence of, foreign elites such as through the establishment and/or cooperation with high-level Chinese think tanks, some based in the HKSAR like the CEFC. Notably, former HKSAR Secretary for Home Affairs, Patrick Ho Chi-ping, who is the deputy chairman and Secretary General of CEFC, is also a director for The Chinese Association, a key hegemonic OCTS securitizing actor researched in this study that appears to be extensively involve in OCTS political warfare activities supporting the securitization of radical democrats, localists and separatists. Of interest is that in June 2014 as hegemonic pressure against the OCLP movement was massing, a former United Nations General Assembly president, Vuk Jeremic, attending a CEFC seminar in Hong Kong, disputed in local media subaltern democrats' claims of an international standard for democracy and cautioned against plans for civil disobedience. (J. Lam & Ng, 2014) As with most hegemonic securitizing actors examined in this study, Ho Chi-Ping has frequently penned opinion articles in the *China Daily* promoting China's official line. At other times, he has been cited or interviewed as an authoritative source. For example, in October 2014, a *China Daily* article, *Silent HK majority urged to speak out*, quoted Ho Chi-Ping at China-US media forum organized by CEFC making his own rebuttals regarding international standards for universal suffrage. The article also carried his securitization performance warning ordinary Hongkongers to take action against Occupy before it was too late: "Sooner or later, they will have to speak up. Because if they don't speak up, that will be the end of Hong Kong as we know it.";

“What we really should do is to wait it out and to exercise constraint, and also urge the silent majority to come out formulate a stand, a position against Occupy.” (W. Chen, 2014)

MORAL PANIC AS A FORM OF SECURITIZATION

Over the last two decades, post-Handover Hong Kong has experienced significant political, economic, and cultural conflicts involving phenomena known as moral panics. The basis of many of these panics, historical fears over chaos (*luan*), decline, external and foreign powers, turmoil, and subversion, have profoundly haunted and shaped China-Hong Kong relations. Moral panics (Cohen, 1972), as will be discussed more in-depth later, are primarily conceptualized here following Hall et al. (1978) as discourses engineered to exploit constructed, exaggerated, imaginary, or real fears, and are typified by disproportionate state/public responses to individuals/groups, incidents and/or threats that involve the moral/social order, threats to society, or crisis. They are frequently used by dominant social forces to secure hegemony and to manufacture/manipulate consent over subordinate groups. A critical element of moral panic formulations is the construction and/or transformation of particular issues, individuals, or groups into deviants, aka 'folk devils', whose actions, behavior, choices, values, etc., are positioned at the crux of the panic. These devils "serve as the heart of moral fears" (Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Cohen, 2011) and become the targets of public scorn, vilification, and outrage. (Young, 2009) For the purposes of this thesis, extreme cases of folk devils that are purposeful existential threats to some valued referent object are conceptualized as enemies when threats to a substantial object such as the state, society or ideologies are invoked. It should be noted that not all folk devils are enemies, but all enemies are folk devils.

Moral panics rooted in hegemonic OCTS sovereignty/national security, patriotism and identity frames are conceptualized here as processes of constructing and (re)producing/(re)presenting state enemies and mortal threats to make security arguments and claims supporting political warfare campaigns to compel dissident and ordinary Hongkongers to consent to Chinese communist hegemony over Hong Kong and OCTS. Rather than normal politics, they are taken as a form of securitization vis-à-vis political warfare to destroy or compel adversaries to acquiesce. Radical democrats, localists and separatists and the dissident pro-democracy camp in general are ubiquitously constructed in hegemonic opinion journalism threat discourses as creating chaos and turmoil in the HKSAR and attempting to export it China. In the next section, the background of moral panic theory is presented prior to discussing this dissertation’s conceptualization and situating of moral panic as part of the OCTS Securitization framework.

Moral Panic

Moral panics as a sociological construct are forty-years old and find their original nexus in the study of crime, deviance, social control, and youth subcultures. "The concept broadly refers to the creation of a situation in which exaggerated fear is manufactured about topics that are seen (or claimed) to have a moral component" (Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.1); claims-making, labeling, societal overreactions, and stigmatizing representations of deviants (folk devils) by moral entrepreneurs are key dimensions of the notion. The origin of moral panic studies is based in the seminal works of Jock Young (1971) and Stanley Cohen (1972). Young first used the term in his examination of British society's reaction to drug abuse in 1960s Britain, *The Drugtakers: The Social Meaning of Drug Use*. But, it was Cohen in *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* who was credited with 'systematically introducing the concept' (Thompson, 2005, p.7) in his investigation of societal representations of, and responses to, conflicts between British youth (the Mods and Rockers) during the 1960s. Stuart Hall et al.'s (1978) study of a mugging panic in 1970s Britain, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*, also significantly contributed to the understanding of moral panics and elaborated how, as reproduced by the media in collusion with the dominate forces in society, moral panics involve the use of fear to facilitate and manipulate social control over the public so as to aid the establishment and reproduction of hegemony.

Moral panics tap the moral dimensions of societies embroiled in significant economic, social, or political change and/or crisis by exploiting anxieties, concerns, and fears. Thompson (2005, p.7) explicates that, "Implicit in the use of the two words 'moral panic' is the suggestion that the threat is to something held sacred by or fundamental to the society. The reason for calling it a moral panic is precisely to indicate that the perceive threat is not something mundane – such as economic output or educational standards – but a threat to the social order itself or an idealized ('ideological') conception of some part of it." Similarly, in Securitization Theory, "The issue has to be a threat of a dramatic nature, portrayable as threatening the breakdown or ruin of some principle or some other irreparable effect whereby one can then legitimate extreme steps." (Buzan et al., 1998, p.148) In other words, a moral panic claims an existential threat to a valued referent object – the essence of securitization. Implicit in the panic is the demarcation of 'proper' society and the vilification of those – the folk devils - endangering it. Ben-Yehuda (2009, p.3) observes that, "Moral panics help draw the moral boundaries between different symbolic-moral universes…" which touch "on some of the deepest questions of human and social experience." They affirm how societies should be organized and reproduced. The moral entrepreneurs deploying the panics identify 'suitable enemies' who then become the "ideological embodiment of the moral panic" and receive the brunt of society's moral indignation. (Hier, Lett, Walby, & Smith, 2011, p.261; Thompson, 2005, LOC 479)

Beyond mapping out the contours of the social, moral panics create and communicate specific constructions of reality and expected behaviors and norms, i.e., a moral universe. Cohen is cited by Ben-Yehuda in explicating that "moral panics are about representations, images and coercion: about which sector of a society has the power to represent and impose its images, world views and interest onto others as being both legitimate and valid. In other words, moral panics are about struggles for moral hegemony over interpretations of the legitimacy (or not) of prevailing social arrangements and material interests." (2009, p.3) Young (2009, p.13) further elucidates the social and moral order aspects of moral panics, situating moral panics as:

> … a moral disturbance centering on claims that direct interests have been violated – an act of othering sometimes expressed in terms of demonization, sometimes with humanitarian undertones that are grossly disproportionate to the event or the activities of the individuals concerned. It is presented in stereotypical terms. In the modern period, this involves the focusing of the mass media, buttressed by scientific experts and other moral entrepreneurs, and the mobilization of the police and the courts and other agencies of social control. Such a process of mass stigmatization involves a widely circulated narrative on the genesis, proclivity and nemesis of a particular deviant group that tends to amplify in intensity over time (particularly in terms of the number of supposed incidents) and then finally extinguishes.

Without this 'Othering', the creation of a folk devil as an appropriate enemy and commensurate 'suitable victims', there would be no moral panic. (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009) Cohen cogently specifies that creation of a 'suitable' enemies and victims – an evil doer who is "easily denounced, with little power and preferably without even access to the battlefields of cultural politics" and "someone with whom you can identify, someone who could have been and one day could be anybody" – are necessary to the creation of a successful moral panic; a third element – "a consensus that the beliefs or action being denounced were not isolated entities … but integral parts of the society or else could … be unless 'something was done'" is equally required.(Cohen, 2002, LOC 161-177) In this sense, moral panics have a natural alignment with securitization processes in regard to the construction of enemies, power politics, strategic contests, and threats. Situated in this research topic, radical democrats, localists and separatists have been deemed as “suitable enemies” in the moral panic over, and political warfare involving, Hong Kong Independence. They are suitable because the radicals, localists and separatists – many of them grassroots and youth – are largely marginal and unsympathetic protagonists as compared to the “beautiful people” of the mainstream pro-democracy movement who have substantial local and foreign support and/or visibility.

Moral panics & power

Moral panics ultimately involve the creation, contestation and reproduction of political power, social control, and the orchestration of consent and hegemony. They are intimately connected to moralizing definitions and power struggles between different symbolic-moral universes such as those held by liberals and conservatives, or communists and democrats. They can also be complicit in “micro and

macro power struggles involving various asymmetrical interests." (Hier, 2011, p.7) In societies where moral panics are present, the panic typically acts "on behalf of the dominant social order" by "actively intervening in the space of public opinion and social consciousness through the use of highly emotive and rhetorical language which has the effect of requiring that 'something be done about it." (McRobbie & Thornton, 1995, p.562) During the panic itself, "the battle lines are redrawn, moral universes are reaffirmed, deviants are paraded before upright citizens and denounced, and society's boundaries are solidified." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.248) Those launching the panic generally do so to maintain the status quo; but in the case of those positioning for social change, moral panics can also be used to it initiate the process. Thus, counter-hegemonic panics, such as those deployed by interest groups or the grassroots, are also feasible. Moral panics are not simply a tool of the powerful – folk devils can and do fight back (Mcrobbie, 1994) - though asymmetries in power between the dominant and subordinate forces of society make it more difficult for subordinate panics to succeed. Counter-securitizing subaltern panics may also, as argued in this thesis, be the self-fulfilling consequences of hegemonic panics such China's claims of national security threats posed by a Westernized Hong Kong and Hongkongers and incipient independence/separatist movements.

As explained by Ben-Yehuda (1990, p.55), symbolic-moral universes created or reproduced in moral panics represent the social meanings and order that allow "its inhabitants to better understand their reality, to make sense out of what might otherwise seem senseless. A symbolic-moral universe … provides its inhabitants with the necessary motivational accounting systems (based on particular vocabularies of motives) that are utilized by the inhabitants to explain and justify their past and future behavior." When incompatible, contradictory, or unsynchronized universes encounter one another, such as competing hegemonic and subaltern OCTS symbolic moral universes, deviance and deviantization emerge as central phenomenon in the struggle for domination, moral primacy, and survival. This leads to situations where each seeks to establish and reproduce hegemonic control through the use of "moral, power, and stigma contests" launched at its nemeses. "The ability of different symbolic-moral universes to generate and use power, as well as their ability to legitimate their claims, will eventually determine who will deviantize whom, where, and when." (Ben-Yehuda, 1990, p.55) Outcomes are not assured, and moral panics can equally result in social change as much, if not more, than in preserving incumbents or the status quo. (Ben-Yehuda, 1990, p.99; Hier et al., 2011, p.260; Jenkins, 1992, p.7) Amplification of deviance and tendencies towards self-fulfilling prophecies are additional, unintentional and possible pitfalls of launching moral panics.

Akin to security arguments in securitization discourses, claims-making, labeling, stigmatizing, and stereotyping are major characteristics of moral panics. Analysis of claims-making and counter-claims-making is critical for confirming the existence of a moral panic and understanding latent power and order structures as, "All modern moral panics encompass claims and counterclaims by competing sectors of society, each of which attempts to establish dominance over the others, to mark off

boundaries, in their own terms, as to where the respectable mainstream leaves off and the margins – the 'outsiders' – begin. "Them" represents the folk devils and their minions and dupes, and 'us' represents those who are threatened by the parties named in the moral panic." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.30) According to Cohen, once society labels and places rule-breakers into a deviant group, i.e., type casted, the rule-breaker's acts are subsequently interpreted in through the visage of that new deviant identity. (Cohen, 1972, LOC 759-775) Thompson (2005, LOC 542) deftly explains the logic and critically of the claims-making role of moral panics:

> Moral panics are about how a moral threat or supposed threat is represented or expressed by the contending parties in a moral dispute. Moral panics are exhibited or manifested in claims-making, with contending parties in a dispute attempting to establish their own version of what the threats, and who the folk devils and deserving victims are. And contending parties attempt to valorize their views among their followers, and to the broader society, to vilify their enemies' claims. According to Cohen (2002), this is what the moral panic is all about: cultural politics.

Moral Panic Types as Securitization Modes

Despite the broad and deep array of moral panic scholarship no consensus on moral panic theory and methodologies to study them have been reached albeit there are general frameworks with agreed upon actors, elements, clusters of activity, models and types of analysis. Application of the two models, processual and attributional "are equivalent only descriptively." (Critcher, 2003, p.29) *See Figure 4.* Nonetheless, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) do offer a stratified Millsian-like model of moral panics constituting of elite (top-down), interest group, and grassroot (bottom-up) panics. "The elite-engineered model argues that the ruling elite causes, creates, engineers, or 'orchestrates' moral panics, that the richest and most powerful member of the society consciously undertake campaigns to generate and sustain concern, fear, and panic on the part of the public over an issue that is not generally regarded as terribly harmful to the society as a whole. Typically, this campaign is intended to divert attention away from real problems in the society, whose solution would threaten or undermine the interests of the elite." (P.62) The hegemonic forces' domination of the media, legislative bodies, security services, and other influential institutions and resources allow them to guide and shape public opinion. Though criticized for acceding too much power to ruling elites in liberal or democratic societies, such criticisms may be inapplicable, or less applicable, in authoritarian or competitive authoritarian societies like the PRC and Hong Kong albeit the hegemonic forces are neither monolithic, omniscient or omnipotent – especially in the HKSAR case as innumerable hegemonic actors have lamented endlessly since 1997. Interest-group panics, however, argue Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) are the most common manifestations of moral panic: "In the interest-group perspective, professional associations, police departments, portions of the media, religious groups, educational organizations, and so on, may have an independent stake in bringing an issue to the fore, focusing attention on it or transforming the slant of news stories covering it, alerting legislators,

demanding stricter law enforcement, instituting new education curricula, and so on. The interests of these enterprises are often contradictory or irrelevant to elite interests. By saying that interest groups have an independent role in generating and sustaining moral panics, we are saying that they are, themselves, active movers and shakers, that elites do not necessarily dictate or determine the content, direction, or timing of panics." (p.67) With respect to bottom-up panics, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) write: "These modes of expression coalesce around a particular theme or agent at a particular time in part because activists who feel strongly about the nature of that threat are working to bring it to widespread public attention and are activating a variety of avenues to do so." (p.70) However, they feel grassroot panics are problematic in that they provide an incomplete explanation of the panic and are, rather, "a *precondition*" for interest-group panics.

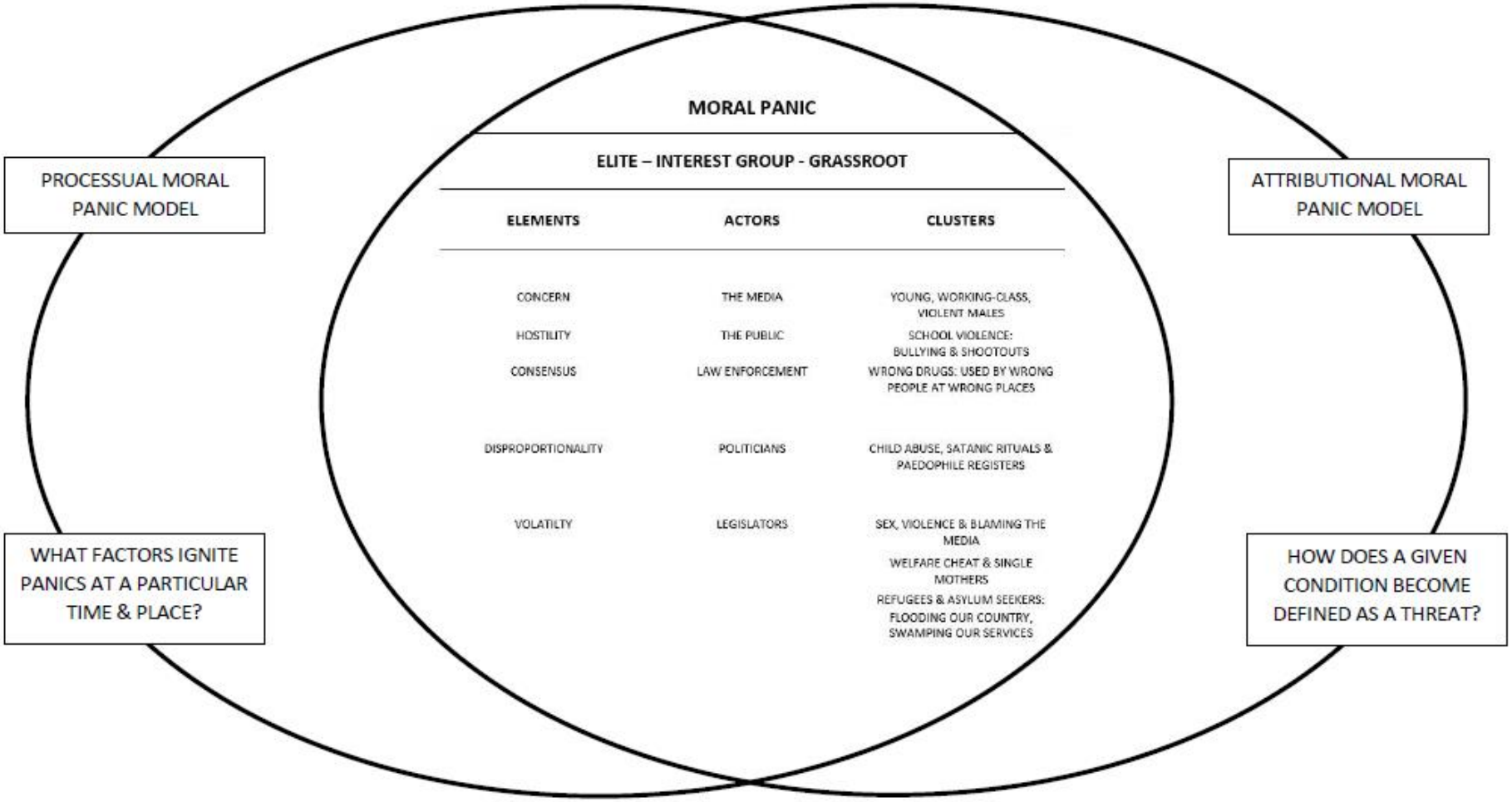

Figure 4. Moral Panic Models, Types, Elements, Actors and Clusters

Moral Panic's Crucial Elements as Securitization Indicators

According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009), moral panics are typified by "five crucial" elements: concern; hostility; consensus; disproportion; and, volatility. Garland (2008) has lobbied for two addition elements – 'a moral dimension' and 'symptomatic qualities' – which "point to the true nature of the underlying disturbances." While we agree with this postulate, they will not be examined here in further detail outside of the understanding the both the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic actors have conceptualized the securitization of OCTS in moral rhetoric and terms of Manichean life-or-death struggle. In general, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009), Thompson (2005), and Cohen (2011) are followed regarding identification and analysis of these elements. These elements are scantly discussed below. Subsequently, the next section will examine how moral panic frameworks have been applied in a China and Hong Kong setting.

Concern

With regards to *concern*, moral panic claims must contain "a heightened level of concern over the behavior of a certain group or category and the consequences that that behavior presumably causes for one or more sectors of the society." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.37) This concern, which is not synonymous with fear, but which is equally perceived by the affected as being "a reasonable response to what is regarded as a very real and palpable threat, should be concrete or measurable in some fashion. For instance, the pervasive, seeming ubiquity, of Chinese and HKSAR state-media and official security discourses, images and narratives invoking existential Hong Kong independence threats to OCTS in recent years are constitutive of hegemonic concern, irrespective of whether they are constructed, imagined or real threats (or fears.)

Hostility

There should be a demonstrable increased level of hostility towards the folk devils at the crux of the panic: "Members of this category are collectively designated as the enemy, or an enemy, of respectable society; their behavior is seen as harmful or threatening to the values, the interests, possibly the very existence, of the society, or at least a sizeable segment of that society." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.38) A Maginot line of enmity "between 'us' – good, decent, respectable folk – and 'them' or the 'Other' – the deviants, bad guys, undesirables, outsiders, criminals, the underworld, disreputable folk" responsible for the threat is starkly and dramatically articulated. Demonization, profiling, and/or stereotyping of the "enemy" are intrinsic in this element. Dramaturgically, a parade of "villains and folk heroes" are offered in a "morality play of evil versus good" (*ibid.*), of right and wrong. As applied in here, in the concept of OCTS Securitization, the hostility has to be of an extreme or totalizing type, such as occurs in the enemification process. As examined in this study, this panic

process has arguably been most vividly manifested in the hegemonic enemification discourses and stereotypes regarding radical democrats, localists and separatists as well as Westernized dissident Hongkongers spotlighted in color revolution scares. These hegemonic security formations and stereotypes not only categorize, label and make claims, but intrinsically express hostility towards the folk devils and enemies.

Consensus

Who must agree with, or consent to, moral panic, or securitization, claims is contested, contingent and variable. In the context of having a "substantial or widespread *agreement* or *consensus*" of a real, serious threat resulting from the behavior of the folk devils, a consensus can be society-wide or just contained to "designated segments" of the community – such as the patriot class as argued elsewhere in this dissertation. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009, p.38) note, and reject, notions such as those held by Hall et al. (1978) that "public concern is little more than an expression of elite interests." Instead, they argue, the world complex and nuanced and point to various panics engineered by interest groups as evidence. In this sense, the type of moral panic – elite, interest-group, or grassroots-engineered – and the intended audience for the panic may be better, and more relevant, factors to consider when attempting to ascertain the range and depth of consensus necessary to deploy, or sustain, a moral panic, or to have a successful speech act or securitization process.

Disproportionality

“Disproportionality seems to be a sticking point for some critics: concern in comparison with threat.” (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.86) Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) claim that: “Disproportion, we emphasize, addresses the central issue of our age – indeed, of history, itself: a struggle for cultural power.” (p.29) Thompson claims that the disproportionality criterion is "the most contentious" issue of moral panic theory, stating that critics' main points are that the term itself is "ideologically loaded or value-laden, so that to dub something a moral panic is to insinuate that the concern is irrational or not genuine." (2005, p.9) While acknowledging critics' assertion of the impossibility of objectively measuring or determining disproportion and thus precluding an attribution of 'panic,' Goode and Ben-Yehuda confidently assert that some features of claims can be measured. Just the same, they do promote caution, modesty and measured statements by analysts regarding "what is real and true about events in the social world." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.41) In this regard, they implore that empirical examination of the nature of the putative threat is necessary if the degree of disproportion is to be arrived at because, "If we cannot determine disproportion, we cannot conclude that a given episode of fear or concern represents a case of a moral panic." (*ibid.*) Resorting to acknowledging that only 'degrees of confidence' are possible – an accurate assessment – they nonetheless fail to raise

other pertinent factors such variances between different moral panics, or between the different types of moral panics.

In his classical moral panic study, Cohen notes that it was the seeming "over-reporting" of the fracas and its actors that caught his attention. He observed the phenomenon was "characteristic not just of crime reporting as a whole but mass media inventories of such events as political protests, racial disturbances and so on." (p.27) His media inventory approach for dealing with disproportionality examined claims for evidence of exaggeration and distortion, prediction, and symbolization. Describing exaggeration and distortion surrounding the Mods and Rockers he writes:

> The major type of distortion in the inventory lay in exaggerating grossly the seriousness of the events, in terms of criteria such as the number taking part, the number involved in violence and the amount and effects of any damage or violence. Such distortions took place primarily in terms of the mode and style of presentation characteristic of most crime reporting: the sensational headlines, the melodramatic vocabulary and the deliberate heightening of those elements in the story considered as news. The regular use of phrases such as 'riot', 'orgy of destruction', 'battle', 'attack', 'siege', 'beat up the town' and 'screaming mob' left an image of a besieged town from which innocent holidaymakers were fleeing to escape a marauding mob. (p.25)

Prediction involved claims and reporting where there was "an implicit assumption, present in virtually every report, that what had happened was inevitably going to happen again." (p.34) Related was the pervasive reporting of "non-event stories and other distortions springing from the prediction theme, are part of the broader tendency … whereby discrepancies between expectations and reality are resolved by emphasizing those new elements which confirm expectations and playing down those which are contradictory." (p.35) Symbolization invoked "the symbolic power of words and images. Neutral words such as place-names can be made to symbolize complex ideas and emotions; for example, Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, Dallas and Aberfan." (p.36) 'Mong Kok,' 'Admiralty,' or 'Sai Wan' are obvious examples from the Hong Kong case. Furthermore, after sufficient use: "Symbols and labels eventually acquire their own descriptive and explanatory potential. Thus … the label 'Teddy Boy' became a general term of abuse …" (p.37) This too can be seen as in the use of the ambiguous, yet implicitly negative as used hegemonically, label "umbrella soldier."

In the introduction to the third edition of *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, Cohen directly acknowledges and responds the problematization of disproportionality. Responding to critics' claims over the lack of quantitative, objective criteria or a "universal moral criteria" with which to evaluate assertions of moral panic he argues: "This objection makes sense if there is nothing beyond a compendium of individual moral judgments. … Empirically, though, there are surely many panics where the judgment of proportionality can and should be made – even when the object of evaluation is vocabulary and rhetorical style alone." (Cohen, 2011, p.xxxv) The issue of ascertaining disproportionality is not

simply one of quantification, i.e. counting 'things', but with how it is socially constructed. Exclaiming, Cohen writes:

> The problem is that the nature of the condition – 'what actually happened' – is not a matter of just how many Mods wrecked how many deck-chairs with what cost, nor how many 14-year old girls became ill after taking which number of ecstasy tablets in what night club. Questions of symbolism, emotion and representation cannot be translated into comparable sets of statistics. Qualitative terms like 'appropriateness' convey the nuances of moral judgment more accurately than the (implied) quantitative measure of 'disproportionate' – but the more they do so, the more obviously they are socially constructed. (Cohen, 2011, p.xxxv)

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009, p.44-45) suggest five indicators of disproportionality could be used to address the concerns over element: exaggerated figures; fabricated figures; "rumors of harm, invented and believed; 'other harmful conditions'; and, "changes over time." Klocke and Muschert (2009, p.6,) claimed this was "one of the most important advances" in applying moral panic analyses because it provides a method to transform the concept into a testable model. The exaggerations emphasized here in moral panic analyses are gross exaggerations. These are perceived as intentional and specifically constructed to deceive and manipulate. Fabricated evidence is mentioned, but willful and witting use of shoddy statistics and/or studies could also be conceptually considered – especially in cases where there is a reasonable argument that the fraudulent or slipshod statistics should have been apparent to the moral entrepreneurs, or because of the gravity of the claims, should have been examined more closely prior to use. This leads into the issue of purely fabricated evidence which they take the strong position that: "… if the concrete threat that is feared is, by all available evidence, nonexistent, we may say that the criterion of disproportion has been met." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.44) Fourthly, they posit that, "if the attention that is paid to a specific condition is vastly greater than that paid to another condition, and the concrete threat or damage caused by the first is no greater than, or is less than, the second, we can say that the criterion of disproportion has been met. (*ibid.*) Likewise, the fifth indicator claims that, "if the attention paid to a given condition at one point in time is vastly greater than that paid to it during a previous or later time, without any corresponding increase in objective seriousness, then, once again the criterion of disproportion may be said to have been met.' (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.46)

Volatility

The last, and nearly as equally controversial element of Goode and Ben-Yehuda's schematic as the issue of disproportionality, is *volatility*: "they [moral panics] erupt fairly suddenly (although they may lie dormant or latent for long periods of time, and may reappear from time to time) and, nearly as suddenly, subside." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.41) The two claim that though moral panics tend to be short-lived and volatile that does not mean that they may not persist over a length of time, or that the social conditions which gave birth to them dissipated – or did not exist prior to its eruption. They situate one long running moral panic – witchcraft – that ostensibly spanned 300 years as being

"almost certainly a conceptual grouping of a series of more or less discrete, more or less localized, more or less short-term panics." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.42) Systematic fears in a society which are "more or less constant" and are an "abiding element in a society" are excluded as being suitable for meeting the moral panic criterion as they lack volatility. However, they note that, "The fact that certain concerns are long-lasting does not mean that they are not panics, … since the intensity of these concerns, both locally and society-wide, waxes and wanes over time." (*ibid.*)

Responding to different critiques, Cohen argues that even if moral panics are rapidly succeeding each other as claimed by others (Thompson, 2005), it "does not deny their volatility." The increasing pervasiveness of moral panics are simply "a defining feature of the [moral panic] concept." (Cohen, 2011, p.xxxvii) He urges that moral panics' element of volatility should be studied from the perspectives of why "full-blown panics ever end" and failed moral panics. (*ibid.*) In addition, in agreeing with calls for updating the concept in light of "today's more sophisticated, self-aware and fragmented media" he writes: "Moral panic theory indeed must be updated to fit the refractions of multi-mediated social worlds." (Cohen, 2011, p.xxxviii) Yet, he rejects claims that moral panics are constructed daily by the media as argued by McRobbie and Thorton: "They are a standard response, a familiar, sometimes weary, even ridiculous rhetoric rather than an exceptional emergency intervention. Used by politicians to orchestrate consent, by business to promote sales … and by the media to make home and social affairs newsworthy, moral panics are constructed on a daily basis." McRobbie and Thorton's (1995, p.560) Rather, he declares, "moral panics have their own internal trajectory – a microphysics of outrage – which, however, is initiated and sustained by wider social and political forces." (Cohen, 2011, p.xxxviii)

Moral Panic Literature Related to China and Hong Kong

Scholarly research on the occurrence of moral panics in China and Hong Kong is scant. Agnes Ku's (2001) *Hegemonic construction, negotiation and displacement: The struggle over right of abode in Hong Kong*, is a potent exception albeit Ku focuses on the social dimensions of the panic as co-constructed by the state and media rather than its moral framework (which, from a national security perspective, i.e., cultural, political and ideological security, does exist.) Nevertheless, she aptly writes that, "in times of unusual tensions or conflicts, the construction of moral or social panic is a powerful means by which the state may intervene in society through hegemonic persuasion." (p.262) Ku, however, neither addresses enemification, national security or political warfare dimensions of this panic episode albeit she does identify and describes conflicts and processes that clearly fall within these conceptual frameworks. Other works by Ku, such as *Constructing and Contesting the 'Order' Imagery in Media Discourse: Implications for Civil Society in Hong Kong* (2007), *The 'Public' up against the State: Narrative Cracks and Credibility Crisis in Postcolonial Hong Kong* (2001) were

insightful in situating conflictual discursive practices underpinning hegemonic-subaltern conflict under OCTS.

Aside from Ku, Hong Kong literature referencing moral panic typically did so only marginally; hence, was of little direct value. Said literature largely fell within the footprint of sociological disciplines and topics typically observed in moral panic analyses such as addiction, crime, drugs, or the youth. Beyond local literature, no academic research explicitly situating OCTS or Hong Kong's relationship with the Mainland (or Hong Kong individually) was apparent within the securitization, enemification, moral panic, or political warfare literature. Unrelated scholarship on Hong Kong, and OCTS less so, does, however, sometimes provide excellent backgrounding – especially in the context of China-Hong Kong conflicts, cultural, identity, and some local media studies. Select examples of China/Hong Kong-situated moral panic relevant literature are scantly discussed below.

More closely on the moral panic target, were the issues of national identity and sovereignty embedded in Alvin So's (2003) paper, *Cross-Border Families in Hong Kong: The Role of Social Class and Politics*. In this work, he refers to two instances of others' attribution of moral panic responses in Hong Kong related to the issues of second-wives, and the right of abode in the Region. This excellent paper, though once again, not focused on moral panics *per se*, backgrounds several important social issues between Hongkongers and mainlanders relevant to this thesis, such as the right of abode for mainland spouses, cross-boundary perceptions, newly arrived immigration difficulties in assimilating into Hong Kong society, local perceptions of fellow Hongkongers seeking spouses in China, etc.

Though most of the illustrations are set in the 1990s, many of the problems remain as do prejudices and stereotypes between both locals and Mainlanders. As with Agnes Ku's work on right-of-abode mentioned earlier, So also delves into this topic productively and briefly describes actors and episodes highly salient in the China-Hong Kong conflicts investigated in this dissertation involving moralizing and securitizing mainland Basic Law scholars – so-called Guardians of the Basic Law – accusations that Hong Kong's judicial defiance over the abode issue "would have transformed the HKSAR into an independent entity beyond Beijing's purview." (So, 2003, p.529)

Two related books on HKSAR security forces by the same author but four years apart, *Policing in Hong Kong*, K. C. Wong (2011) and *Policing in Hong Kong: Research and Practice* (K. C. Wong, 2015), are marginally relevant with the latter reflecting the hegemonic securitization of radical democrats, localists and separatists and the authoritarian disposition of the police and OCTS power politics that has, as contended in this dissertation and related research, provoked the Hongkonger uprisings since 2012.

Lastly, in the author's own contributions, Garrett & Ho (2014) discussed the "rise of a new social movement through which [subaltern] actors lay an explicit emphasis on the preservation of the identity of 'Hongkonger'" (P.348) and detailed many vivid identity politics-laden street-level and

online conflicts between Hongkongers and Mainlanders. These were encounters encompassing many cultural and economic clashes subsumed by the societal (Hong Kong) versus national security (China) dilemma discussed in this thesis. This research built on earlier work by Garrett (2013) explicating volatile, albeit nonviolent, 2012 emergence of economic, cultural and social tensions in Hong Kong over China's *accelerated* and *relentless* integration of the territory (cultural, economic, ideological, physical, and social); This was a situation antagonized by large numbers of mainland tourists, drivers and mothers visiting the city who were perceived as exploiting and overwhelming its limited resources; Some assertive mainlanders' displays of their Chinese communist identity in university elections and strident mainland criticisms of Hongkongers' identity and patriotism were also involved in the conflicts. Similarly, "contemporary constructions of Hong Kong as a space and identity distinction from socialist China," and Hongkongers' boiling anticommunist sentiments – as mediated through dissident radical and youth actors consumption of Asian and Western popular culture icons, namely the superhero and supervillian genres – were examined by Garrett (2014, p.113) in *Superheroes in Hong Kong's Political Resistance: Icons, Images, and Opposition*: "The expanding conflicts between residents and the ruling regime(s) … indicate significant cultural, economic, and political problems in the society that increasingly threaten to derail the unprecedented project." (*ibid.*)

Though not detailed here due to space considerations, this dissident societal securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS through a subaltern form of *visual* OCTS counter-Securitization was implicit as suggested by the nativists' "iconic constructions of mainlanders, China and the CCP as enemies of the 'Hong Kong people.'" (p.113) Hegemonic moral panic responses to a literal handful of anti-mainlander smuggler and tourism protests in early-2014 *before* the Occupy and Umbrella Movements, and in early-2015 *following* it were elaborated by Garrett. (2014c, 2016) These were prescient hegemonic and subaltern securitizations and counter-securitizations that later peaked in 2016 during the Oath Gate affair following the September 2014 Legislative Council election and the unprecedented intervention of the National People's Congress to protect OCTS from an alleged Hong Kong Independence threat, developments which fall outside the research window of this study but which are congruent with the proposed OCTS Securitization model.

THE SYMBOLIC MORAL UNIVERSE OF "ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS"

For the purposes of this thesis, China's OCTS framework and its related policies for the HKSAR implemented in the territory since 1 July 1997 are conceptualized here as constituting a distinct symbolic-moral universe. This hegemonic 'moral universe' constructs explicit and implicit moral and social boundaries for subaltern Hongkongers and denotes an expected social order, norms, and

relationship between the SAR and the Mainland.[23] Likewise, the previous 'Hong Kong Way of Life', which is said to continue unchanged for at least fifty years under the OCTS rubric, is also broadly conceptualized here as a discrete socially constructed subaltern symbolic-moral universe. These two universes are, and have been, under a constant state of antagonistic conflict, existential struggle and adversarial negotiation by Hongkongers and Chinese authorities since OCTS was first announced in the early 1980s. Peaceful co-existence between the two systems with neither 'swallowing' the other was a core notion of the OCTS ideology whose essence was the safeguarding to the socialist system from Hong Kong's capitalist and Western-influenced system.[24] Yet, hegemonic competition for primacy has steadily intensified since China's resumption of sovereignty on 1 July 1997, becoming increasingly antagonistic and hostile towards its subalterns since 2012 as the "One Country" dimension of the dominant moral universe became oppressively assertive and "Two Systems" adherents resisted more vigorously – and overtly. This has led to dual competing securitizations of Hong Kong and OCTS through parallel constructions of mutual enemy images and use of moral panics by hegemonic and counter-hegemonic (subaltern) securitizing actors alike to compel the other to accede to its will, i.e., political warfare. Ideological and political security is at the core of the hegemonic securitizations, moral panics and political warfare and the societal security of subaltern Hongkonger is the root of their cultural and political resistance. Inevitably, the HKSAR OCTS symbolic moral universe – tightly connected to the CCP – has been, and remains, seen by many dissident Hongkongers – especially among radical democrats, localists and separatists – an alien interloper.

In the symbolic-moral universe represented by the hegemonic OCTS ideology[25], a specific moral order and relationship between the central authorizes, the HKSAR government, and the ordinary residents of Hong Kong is prescribed. This includes dimensions such as the primacy of 'One Country' over 'Two Systems'; the preservation of the socialist system on the mainland and the continuing vanguard leadership of the CCP; national interests over local interests; 'well water not intruding on river water'; an executive-led Hong Kong political system; a legislature submissive to Beijing's appointed chief executive; 'patriots making up the mainstay' of those ruling Hong Kong (i.e., Hong

[23] Though not elaborated here, the OCTS symbolic moral universe is a key component of China's "Special Administrative Region System" (SAR System) used by the CCP to govern its SARs. As such OCTS is *also* a subordinate element of the larger symbolic moral universe known as Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.
[24] In a conversation with the President of Myanmar in October 1984, Deng Xiaoping remarked that OCTS was "an embodiment of peaceful coexistence" and elaborated in the context of Taiwan that the 1950s-era Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence could "provide a good solution not only to international uses, but to domestic problems as well." (Deng, 2004, p.48)
[25] Hegemonic OCTS ideology refers to the official Chinese and HKSAR constructions and understandings of OCTS. Other constructions and understandings of OCTS, especially the dissident and ordinary Hongkongers' construction of OCTS differ in subtle but significant ways from the Chinese communist orthodox constructions. Similarly, Western (state-centric) constructions and understandings of OCTS also differ from the hegemonic constructions and subaltern constructions and at important junctures may align more closely with hegemonic or subaltern constructions and understandings. OCTS was and remains an empty/floating signifier whose meaning and substance remains contested – and shifting as demonstrated in this dissertation.

Kong people administering Hong Kong/Patriots Ruling Hong Kong), etc. Under this paradigm, unconditionally accepting, respecting, and protecting China's sovereignty over the SAR, being patriotic, possessing a national identity as a Chinese first and foremost, and (post-2013) safeguarding China's sovereignty, security and development interests make up part of the motivational accounting system of the OCTS ideology. Elements of the hegemonic order in Hong Kong - moral entrepreneurs and securitizing actors such as various Mainland and local pro-regime Hong Kong Basic Law scholars and experts - play an essential role in attempting to establish, negotiate, and reproduce the substance and boundaries of OCTS and ensure China's national security is safeguarded. They also play an active role in establishing what is threatening deviance and in the enemy image making deviantization (Schur, 1980) and labeling of dissidents as political enemies/folk devils and existential threats to not just the local moral order, but the larger national symbolic-moral order and the OCTS regional security complex. Similarly, these securitizing and moralizing actors and entrepreneurs in Hong Kong and in China, hold the power to anoint who is patriotic and who is not - not a trivial matter is the OCTS ideology proscribes that only 'patriots' can rule make up the mainstay of Hongkongers administering Hong Kong. "In effect, this select group of Hongkongers constitute a 'patriotic class' of Hongkongers set above all others." (Garrett, 2012; 2015, p.12) As imagined by the CCP, under hegemonic understandings of OCTS only patriots possess substantive political power in the HKSAR. For the purposes of this dissertation, moral panic theory's moral entrepreneurs are conceptualized here as securitization actors when they claim existential threats, or perform security or other securitization functions and roles.

Under the OCTS symbolic-moral universe and ideology, those opposing the ruling order as expressed in the One Country ideology are considered (and conceptualized here) as political deviants and, in extreme cases, enemies. This deviant and/or enemy status has been constructed in the various discursive constructions of the notions of National Security/Sovereignty, Patriotism, and Identity privileged by the Central Authorities, Hong Kong SAR Government, and various securitizing moral entrepreneurs in the local and national media – especially in editorials, commentaries and opinion pieces – as well as in academic scholarship, press releases, public statements and official documents. Notably, enemification and securitization discourses and security moves are not limited to verbal or textual speech acts but also include visual and performative security moves. The multimodal and intertextual labeling and stigmatizing of pro-democracy political opposition – and especially radical democrats, localists and separatists – in Hong Kong is seen here as part of the enemy image and moral panic processes of orchestrating consent and establishing hegemony over Hong Kong by China. Recent measures by Chinese authorities actively securitizing the *Hong Kong Threat* – partially signified in the establishment of new control institutions, law and order rhetoric and maneuvers, repetitive articulations of hegemonic anxieties regarding the "Hong Kong independence" threat and the "sovereignty, security and development interests of the country," and the explicit and repeated

invocation of internal and external and foreign enemies – constitute what can be called a case of "governing through moral panic." (Schinkel, 2013) Simultaneously, it is also often an example of hegemonic folk devil/enemy image creation processes targeting political deviants and enemies under OCTS.

As investigated in this thesis, the dominant, elite-engineered securitizing moral panics over National Security/Sovereignty, Patriotism, national Identity, color revolutions, soft war and Hong Kong independence are ultimately about the creation and reproduction of political power, social control, regimes of truth and hegemony. In other words, the Power Politics of OCTS. They are intimately connected to securitizing moralizing definitions and power contestations between different symbolic-moral universes such as those held by liberals and conservatives, or communists and democrats. The subaltern counter-hegemonic panics are conceptualized as attempts by the dominated classes to preserve the Hong Kong Way of Life symbolic-moral universe in the wake of the arrival of OCTS and its transition to "One Country" domination. These counter-securitizing counter-panics can also be seen as vivid examples of "folk devils fighting back" – especially given their use astute and transgressive use of multi-mediated social worlds (Mcrobbie, 1994; McRobbie & Thornton, 1995) like Facebook and other social networking platforms, which, borrowing from (Fraser, 1990), can be said to constitute Hongkonger "subaltern counterpublics." (Garrett & Ho, 2014) As contended in this dissertation, the securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS involves a political war between China's national security (ideological and political security) versus Hongkongers' societal security. Seen today, OCTS is becoming/has become a sectarian conflict embedded in a deeply divided society spiraling towards an intractable conflict. Whereas the hegemonic forces continue to hold sway in the pro-establishment and mainstream media public spheres and discursive spaces, the subaltern insurgents hold sway – albeit an increasingly a contested position – in these online subaltern counterpublics where the vivacity of the sectarian conflict is dramatically observable.

Mutual Enemy Images/Competing Moral Panics/Dueling Securitizations

Complex modern societies, like Hong Kong where there competing binary notions of moral order exist, experience "a larger number of moral panics, some in conflict, some potentiating each other…" (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.195) Likewise, virulently competing and contradictory social constructions of Hong Kong and OCTS are representative of the nature of "[a]ll modern moral panics" which attempt "to establish dominance over the others" by marking "off boundaries, in their own terms, as to where the respectable mainstream leaves off and the margins – the 'outsider' – begin." (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009, p.30) Recurrent hegemonic calls for the introduction of Hong Kong's national security legislation in response to variegated democratic folks devils contentious performances, especially by youths and radicals before, during, and after the Occupy and Umbrella movements, is emblematic of use of moral panics as "one of the principal forms of ideological

consciousness by means of which a ‘silent majority’ is won over to the support of increasingly coercive measures on the part of the state, and lends its legitimacy to a ‘more than usual’ exercise of control.” (Hall et al., 1978, p.221) For the purposes of this thesis, the multitude of moral panics observed in the post-Handover period are organized here as top-down (hegemonic) or bottom-up (counter-hegemonic) panics. As will be discussed earlier, Stuart Hall et al. (1978) is generally followed regarding elite sponsored panics, and Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) for the counter-hegemonic panics which are conflated here to include grassroots and interest-group panics. Within each grouping of panics (hegemonic and counter-hegemonic), individual panics may be nestled, sometimes overlapping. *See Figure 5.*

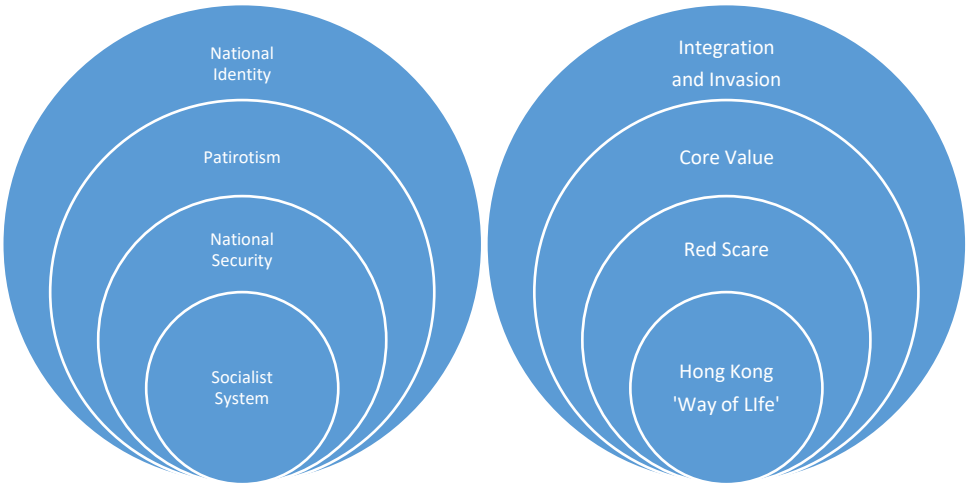

Figure 5. Nestling of observed competing hegemonic (left) and counter-hegemonic (right) moral panics in post-Handover Hong Kong surrounding the 'Two Systems' of the OCTS ideology

As elucidated in the next section, dominant hegemonic panics in Hong Kong are rooted in a Sovereignty (national security) panic over the CCP's right and (in)ability to dominate the SAR. It finds its origins in communist China's broader existential fears over subversion of the socialist system by 'peaceful evolution' in general (W. Sun, 2012; S. Tsang, 1997, p.44; Zhai, 2009), and in Hong Kong whom it fears may become/has become a base of subversion or opposition. The related minor hegemonic panics over Hongkongers' Patriotism and National Identity are associated with underlying Chinese assumptions such as: If Hongkongers *identified* as PRC Chinese (i.e., the communist state) they would be *patriotic*. If they were *patriotic*, then they would not *challenge*, *oppose*, *subvert*, or *attempt to overthrow* PRC/CCP or its rule (*sovereignty*) over Hong Kong (or China.) Likewise, in the context of universal suffrage, the assumption is that if Hongkongers were *patriotic* they would not elect *unpatriotic* pan-democratic candidates and political parties whom, according to the ruling forces, threaten China's *sovereignty* and CCP one-party rule.

The central counter-securitizing counter-hegemonic subaltern panic in Hong Kong is situated in Hongkongers' fears of communism, communist infiltration, oppression, and subversion of the Hong

Kong Way of Life by the socialist system and Chinese communists, i.e., a traditional anticommunist 'Red Scare' (RS) panic such as occurred in the United States in the 1950s. Related minor counter-hegemonic panics over Mainland Invasion and Integration (I2) by/with communist Chinese 'Others', and threats to Hong Kong's Core Values (CV), embody the following assumptions: If Hong Kong is overwhelmed by mainlanders, defers to the central authorities too much, or integrates too closely with the Mainland, ideological assimilation will occur through the infiltration and adoption of socialist values by Hong Kong society. The loss of Hong Kong's CV would also lead to the cessation of the Hongkonger identity which is predicated on, and tightly bound to, the residents' notion of their value system; a value system which inherently rejects communism and its related value system. *See Figure 6.*

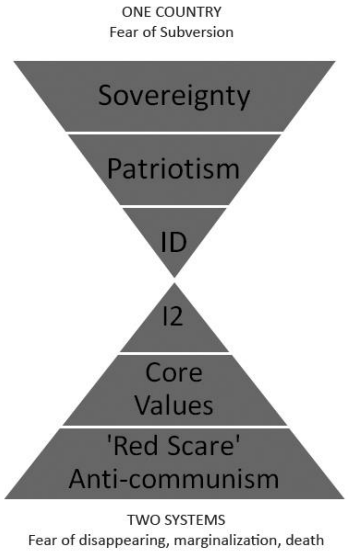

Figure 6. Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic panics situated with confounding factors (China's Subversion Panic and Hong Kong's Declinist Panic.)

Thus, the subversion of Hongkongers' values through: cultural assimilation with the Mainland; judicial and police Hong Kong-Mainland exchanges; institution of (mainland-derived) national (patriotic) education; academic and press self-censorship; the *de facto* occupation of Hong Kong by huge influxes of mainlanders (and property investors); and, the seamless amalgamation of the territory's infrastructure with the mainland, are feared and perceived as back-door attempts to introduce the socialist system in Hong Kong. One example of this sentiment, arguably, are the words attributed to anti-MNE activist and long-time democracy crusader James Hon on the eve of the election of CY in 2012: "Hong Kong is dying' and we know it. If the wolf [C.Y. Leung] gets elected tomorrow, Hong Kong is not dying, Hong Kong is dead." (Free Radicals, 2012) China, conversely, sees these regime-strengthening MNE values as necessary to inculcate a sense of nation, upholding of the socialist system, and lowering resistance to Chinese rule over Hong Kong. It is notable that the 2012 anti-MNE movement and its success in blocking a Socialist Chinese-friendly version of MNE is

contemporarily perceived by ultra-hardline hegemonic securitization actors as one of the three main OCTS crises of post-1997 Hong Kong. (Ip, 2016b)

OCTS SECURITIZATION

For the purposes of this investigation, the proposed framework of OCTS Securitization conceptualizes moral panics – particularly top-down panics – as extreme forms of security arguments and securitization moves designed to persuade, coerce or otherwise compel an audience to accept, defer or not actively oppose the securitizing actor's calls for extraordinary action, measures or powers. In this sense, moral panics are also seen here as a performing a type securitizing political warfare to compel an audience(s)' acquiesce to demands for extraordinary measures and powers or to perform other securitization functions such as agenda setting, deterrence, legitimation, and social control.

At the heart of these security panics and threat discourses, images and narratives are especially exaggerated or distorted forms of folk devils situated in a national security frame; namely, internal and/or external subaltern and/or foreign enemies, who allegedly pose an existential danger requiring urgent and unequivocal responses to with extreme prejudice. They are also understood here as security discourses constructing and deploying enemy images of actors who are framed as existential threats. Put simply, moral panic is a form of securitization discourse that uses enemy images (folk devils) and moral panic rhetoric to compel an audience to accede to a demand (political warfare) to safeguard a valued referent. This is not entirely a new, or isolated, security phenomenon. Bacon et al. (2006), for instance, describe how a political constellation under Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin have used the "power of the key signifier 'security'" to securitize it's the country's democratization to exert hegemony and exclude political competitors. (p.16) Similarly, Blank (2013) writes, not too dissimilarly from what appears to be occurred under OCTS, that, "the [Russian] regime aims to securitize ever more aspects of politics, subject them to centralized and unlimited regulation based on their connection to officially defined canons of Russian security, remove them from active public debate, subordinate them to discourses and actions rationalized by security considerations, and/or take control of them by figures and institutions associated with the preservation of security, usually hard or military-police security." (p.40)

Following Buzan's 1983 and 1991 models where national security is situated in a three-layered analytical model consisting of the international system, state and individual, this dissertation argues a similar conceptualization of a three-layer model for understanding China's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS has productive purchase. This triple decker OCTS Securitization perspective – China, the HKSAR, and Hong Kong – does not attempt to supplant the broader situating of Chinese national security within the international order or regional security complexes but, instead, adds another *separate* dimension to the China's state security puzzle.

However, the separateness and uniqueness of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Threat and Hongkonger Enemy has been inadvertently subsumed by China's new holistic approach to national security which seemingly collapses all enemies and threats, leaving no distinction between internal and external enemies and threats. Moreover, the decision to prematurely integrate Hong Kong into the mainland and socialist system and rectify OCTS to prematurely transform Hong Kong into a Chinese City by accelerating and disappearing its transition from colony city to SAR to Chinese City has, in effect, perforated the Chinese Communist security firewall between the socialist and capitalist systems, i.e., OCTS. *See Figure 7.* In other words, by dissembling and rectifying dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS China has introduced more threats and enemies into the socialist system than originally anticipated under the principles of peaceful coexistence and neither side swallowing the other. No longer a CBM but an existential political struggle, the premature attempted ingestion of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS has provoked the crises of hegemony (authority, consent, legitimacy) contended in this dissertation.

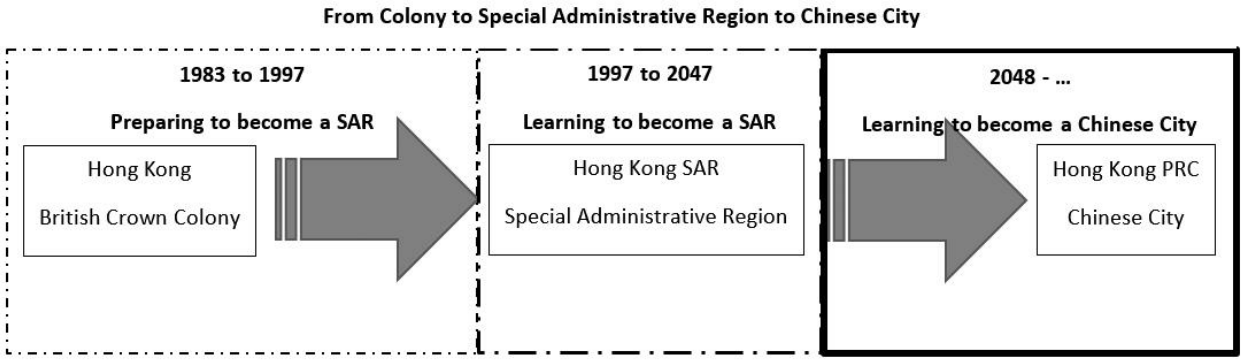

Figure 7. From Colony to Special Administrative Region to Chinese City

SUMMARY

This chapter introduced the research topic, *China's Securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and "One Country, Two Systems": Enemy Images, Moral Panic and Political Warfare*. It proffered a new conceptual framework of *OCTS Securitization* and concepts such as the *Hong Kong Threat* drawing on and innovating from enemification, moral panic and political warfare literature and the Copenhagen Schools' *Securitization Theory* model to make sense of the intensifying China-Hong Kong conflict. The next chapter, Chapter Three, discusses the data and methodologies utilized in this investigation.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD THROUGH THE SECURITY MADNESS

INTRODUCTION

Studying the discourse of security threats and connected political constellations is at the heart of securitization studies: "When does an argument with this particular rhetorical and semiotic structure achieve sufficient effect to make an audience tolerate violations of rules that would otherwise have to be obeyed?" (Buzan et al., 1998, p.25) Yet, for the securitizing actor to successfully persuade an audience to accede to the priority and urgency of existential threat claims and demand for extraordinary powers, a so called "clear and present danger" and a "do or die moment" must be convincingly made to an audience to enable escaping society's norms, procedures and rules; Increasingly, it is through the media – a pivotal vehicle and powerful force for the construction, framing and naming of enemies and mortal threats (Hansen, 2011b; Vultee, 2011; Williams, 2003) that this is accomplished. This is equally true for the integrated enmification, moral panic and political warfare processes of the "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) Securitization framework posited in this study. Just as Taiwan's democracy movement has been securitized by China as an anti-China "independence plot" (Friedman, 2006) through a broad coalition of national and international media, legal warfare and psychological operators and operations intended to demoralize and break the people's will to resist unification (M. Chen & Taiwan Security Research Group, 2006), so too has dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS been subjected to an intensifying psychological war over insurgent demands for "true" universal suffrage, strident and transgressive defiance of Beijing's sovereignty and will, assertions of *Hongkonger, not Chinese* ethnicities, nostalgia for colonial times and rulers, virulent anticommunist sentiment, rejection of Communist Chinese notions of national identity and patriotism, and other forms of cultural and political resistance.

More pointedly, as will be illustrated in subsequent chapters, some hegemonic securitization actors in the OCTS Securitization process targeting the "City of Protests" neatly epitomize the Chinese political warfare approach towards the Hongkonger Threat and Enemy. This has been accomplished by vesting media/public opinion warfare (media war), legal warfare (lawfare) and psychological warfare (psywar) capabilities, powers and roles in special categories of OCTS securitizing actors – mainland and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) Basic Law commentators, experts, officials, and scholars – who uniquely sit at the juncture of law, media and public persuasion. As securitization is best studied by examining the threat discourses and actors involved in igniting and fanning the flames of security politics according to Buzan et al. (1998), the following chapter takes securitizing hegemonic opinion journalism in and by the *China Daily* and *Global Times* as part of the gladiatorial arena of OCTS power politics involving hegemonic China and dissident Hong Kong. It

conceptualizes Hong Kong's mediascape as a 21st Century ideational and informational battlefield for the future of Hong Kong and OCTS with implications far beyond both. Since 2010, Hong Kong and OCTS have become a theater of Chinese communist politics of fear, security spectacle and threat theatre. It is an emergent civilizational, ideological and political front where ferocious fusillades of information weapons – securitizing values, words, images, identities, and ideas – are lobbed ceaselessly day-in-and-day-out at recalcitrant Hongkonger antagonists; all in a desperate attempt to annihilate insurgent radical democrat, localist and separatist resistance, and to obliterate competing dissident notions of OCTS in an attempt to successfully nullify and impose China's political will on the so-called Hong Kong Threat and Hongkonger Enemy.

The core purpose in this research was to make sense of the escalating Mainlander versus Hongkonger conflict over OCTS: a seriously deteriorating cultural, social and political situation whose manifestation has arguably most vividly, if not mostly materially manifested, in daily hegemonic discursive political war missives in media and official discourses rather than in quotidian Hong Kong life. This seemingly paradoxical situation of alleged existential crisis and threat of Hongkonger resistance to Chinese national security and sovereignty, and the alleged looming death of Hong Kong, OCTS and Socialist China on one hand, and the banal reality that through all three major episodes of Hong Kong's hegemonic crises since the Handover (July 2003, September 2012 and September to December 2014) and three major occupation actions since 2010 (January 2010, September 2012 and September to December 2014), life went on relatively unhindered and as always barely a block away from any of the sites of these episodes of so-called social upheaval and turmoil. Even the Mong Kok Riot of 2016 was contained to just a few city blocks with riotous violence directed nearly entirely at regime security forces who, over the preceding two years had been in a serious of altercations with the subalterns involving violent hegemonic coercion. For all the sound and fury in the hegemonic media regarding the subaltern siren songs of Hong Kong independence and enemification of radical democrats, localists and separatists, on any given day the icons, signs and symbols of insurgent revolution are rarely, if ever, to be found outside the narrative night markets of the OCTS "Peddlers of Crisis." (Sanders, 1983) That said, the investigation of the mutual securitizing and counter-securitizing hegemonic and subaltern enemy image, moral panic and political warfare processes contemporarily afflicting Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS and the China-Hong Kong relationship – of which only part is presented in this study – does suggest to the author that the society remains a deeply divided, polarized and traumatized community lurching towards sectarian and intractable conflict. In other words, it is a problem that can only be solved by de-securitization, not securitization. That means only by removing dissident Hongkongers' transgressive intransigence against Beijing from an enemification and national security paradigm can the China-Hong Kong conflict ever hope to be drawn back from the brink.

Broadly, general inductive, qualitative methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches are utilized pluralistically in this study in attempting to unpack the 'wicked problem' (Bateman, 2011) of contemporary Hong Kong-China relations under OCTS. Securitization-wise, the pioneering frameworks by Buzan et al. (1998) and Wæver (1995) were drawn upon, supplemented with theoretical revisions by Balzacq (2011). Innovations building on securitization concepts of audience (Léonard & Kaunert, 2011), media frames (Vultee, 2011), modalities of speech acts (Wilkinson, 2011), and non-verbal dimensions of security and threat construction were also summoned. (Hansen, 2007, 2011a, 2011b; Williams, 2003). Moral panic-wise, blended analysis borrowing from: Stanley Cohen (1972) in his classic treatise *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*; Stuart Hall et al. (1978) masterstroke on hegemonic panics, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State and Law and Order*; Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) typography of elite, interest group and grassroots panics; Critcher (2003) moral panic and media processes as heuristic devices; and, Klocke and Muschert (2013) hybrid moral panic model were all broadly consulted. On the case of enemification, *Enemy Images in War Propaganda* (Vuorinen, 2012a), *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination* (Keen, 1986), *Some Sociobiological and Psychological Aspects of 'Images of the Enemy'* (Spillmann & Spillmann, 1997), *Delegitimization: The Extreme Case of Stereotyping and Prejudice* (Bar-Tal, 1989), and other Cold War enemy image and peace scholarship informs this dissertation. Lastly, *On Political War* (Smith, 1989), *China: The Three Warfares* (Halper, 2014), *The People's Liberation Army General Political Department: Political Warfare with Chinese Characteristics* (Stokes & Hsiao, 2013); and, *The Violent Image: Insurgent Propaganda and the New Revolutionaries* (Bolt, 2012) provided methodological inspiration and insights. These choices reflect the observation that the challenge in securitization studies is to identify the threat, and make sense of it according to Balzacq (2011) who also argues for a methodological pluralism that aims to produce "a much richer version of securitization processes." (p.52)

These methodological approaches were supplemented and triangulated by the authors' ethnographic and visual studies of Hong Kong's protest culture and visual securitizations. This included street- and online-participant observations of Hong Kong's political and protest cultures encompassing five-years of collection researcher and subject-generated securitization texts (verbal and visual) and performances. In addition to the visual securitization texts referenced above, visual discourse analysis (Perlmutter, 2007; Popp, 2010), visual ethnography (Pink, 2013), visual grounded theory (Konecki, 2011; Suchar, 1997), visual sociology (Becker, 1995; Harper, 2012), the author's own visual observational framework (Garrett, 2015) and others (Corrigall-Brown, 2012; Khatib, 2013; Liao, 2010; Nathansohn & Zuev, 2013; Philipps, 2012; Zuev, 2010, 2013) were drawn upon. Included were direct observation of more than 400 demonstrations, processions, rallies and street stations as well as the 79-day Umbrella Revolution occupation; the 2011-2012 Occupy Central movement; year-long 2012 anti-Moral and National Education movement and occupation; and, pro-establishment counter-

protests and rallies. Two legislative (2012 and 2016) and district council (2011 and 2016) and a chief executive campaign (2012) election were observed. Informal discussions and interviews with many subjects transpired during these activities. Many public conferences, forums, and seminars on China-Hong Kong relations and OCTS in Hong Kong were also attended where questions relevant to this research topic were asked and debated in sidebar and follow-on discussions. Similarly, numerous discussions conducted during participant observation of off- and online contentious politics and performances, and derived from quotidian experiences and conversations between 2011 and 2016 with Hongkongers and Mainlanders while living in the local community invariably supplemented and shaped the research direction and analyses.

METHOD

This dissertation investigates enemy images, security discourses and threat narratives articulated by *hegemonic securitization actors* in Hong Kong and OCTS-rooted opinion journalism – an important genre of news media – in English-language Chinese state media, namely the *China Daily* and *Global Times*, between January 2010 and June 2016. This was a period of escalating hegemonic crisis where dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS were unprecedentedly enemified and securitized by hegemonic mainland, HKSAR and patriot camp forces as existential threats to Hong Kong, OCTS, Socialist China and the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP), not to mention the China Dream, Model and Story. In addition to the editorials and commentaries published by the *China Daily* and *Global Times*, key securitization actors' opinion journalism, threat discourses and securitization moves in those, and other Hong Kong-rooted publications elsewhere, are examined.

The *China Daily* claims to be "A voice of China on the Global Stage" and "One of the most-frequently quoted Chinese media" sources in the world. (China Daily, n.d.-a) It reports that it has a global circulation of 900,000 copies and 45 million print and "web readers worldwide." Reportedly, two-thirds of its nearly one million circulation copies are outside of China. Readership includes "diplomats, representatives of international organizations and transnational corporations, international media reporters and editors, as well as foreign tourists."; Foreign "governments, embassies and consulates, think tanks, universities, financial institutions, transnational corporations, international organizations, hotels and high-income readers" in Africa, Asia, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Canada, Europe, Latin America and the United States are targeted consumers for its print editions. (China Daily, n.d.-c) Chinese primary and middle school and university students are similarly focused on as part of by the *China Daily's* affiliate, 21st Century English Education. Called the "English-language sister paper" of the CCP's mouthpiece the *People's Daily* (L. Chen, 2012, p.309), as of April 2016, the *China Daily*'s website had over 52 million web page views daily, 22 million *Sina Weibo* followers, a million-plus *WeChat* readers, and 6 and 5 million mobile application

and Facebook follower respectively. (China Daily, n.d.-b) The Hong Kong print edition published by *China Daily* Hong Kong, founded in 1997, is circulated in the Hong Kong and Macao SARs, Southeast-Asia and Taiwan. Though somewhat commercialized, the *China Daily* remains subject to substantial state control; Reportedly, "Foreign editors of the newspaper have also been told that editorial policy is to support the policies of the Communist Party …" (China Detail, n.d., cited in Chen (2004))

A subsidiary of the *People's Daily* – the paramount CPP media mouthpiece – the English-language version[26] of the *Global Times* founded in April 2009 claims it is "essential reading for every China-watcher," and cites a Mexican Ambassador to China, *The Economist* magazine, and *The Wall Street Journal* as characterizing it as: a "must read for anyone wanting to understand China"; "a 'remarkable innovation'"; and, as publishing "insightful stories." (Global Times, n.d.) The *Global Times* also publishes, since February 2013, Chinese and English-language editions in the United States. In a 2016 interview, the editor-in-chief of the *Global Times*, Hu Xijin, he claimed Chinese diplomatic, military and security officials shared "the same sentiments and values" as the paper but that it was politically incorrect for them to state those views publicly. The same interview quoted Hu as saying the Chinese and English-language versions had a circulation of more than a million and 100,000 readers respectively with 15 million online visitors daily to *Global Times's* website. (Huang, 2016) The paper's editorials were considered to represent "more hawkish elements within the party" but may not represent the official line. Cai (2016, n.p.) opines that, the "Global Times' editorials don't carry the same weight as those of the People's Daily or Xinhua. However, it does enjoy a special degree of sanction from the country's powerful censors to publish incendiary editorials on foreign policy issues. It is a gauge for public opinions at home and abroad."

Inductive, recursive and systematic qualitative approaches were used to analyze the samples. Primary emphasis was on identifying key hegemonic securitization actors and thematically identifying, analyzing and categorizing enemification, security and threat discourses, images, and narratives deployed by securitization actors. However, not all of the relevant securitization actors or securitization moves observed during the research period were resident in *China Daily* and *Global Times* securitization discourses on Hong Kong and OCTS. Some key authoritative or quasi-authoritative figures in the hegemonic forces were also observed constructing security discourses and threat images in other, sometimes multiple, Hong Kong-centered English-language media as well as in official HKSAR discourse, materials and publications. For instance, prime securitization actors, like those associated with the Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies, the National People's Congress Standing Committee's (NPCSC) HKSAR Basic Law Committee, and heads of and key researchers at mainland HKSAR Basic Law research centers, were often interviewed and/or cited

[26] Its Chinese-version, the *Huanqiu Shibao*, was founded in 1993.

by local, national and global media. Others, yet, were engaged in academic scholarship or popular writing.

Because the unit of analysis was hegemonic enemification, security claims and threat discourses, the locus of its articulation, while salient, was not taken as relevant as the *content* of the articulation, i.e., the uttered security claim, enemy image or threat narrative. In other words, the securitization analysis here was not a *China Daily* or *Global Times* discourse analysis per se, or an analysis of a particular individual or group of Chinese/HKSAR/patriot figures; it was a macro-analysis of hegemonic Mainland and HKSAR construction of enemy categories, securitization discourses and threat images of dissident subaltern Hong Kong and Hongkongers, i.e., the Hong Kong Threat and the Hongkonger Enemy. Some of these other sources included establishment, pro-establishment and mainstream local media such as the *Economic Journal Insight* (*EJI*), *Radio Television Hong Kong* (*RTHK*), *South China Morning Post*, and *The Standard*. To a lesser degree, *Harbour Times*, the *Voice of Hong Kong*, *Coconuts Hong Kong* and, marginally, English-language opinion journalism from the *Ming Pao*, *Ta Kung Pao* (TKP) and *Wen Wei Po* (WWP) were incorporated. This provided a valuable indicator to the importance and influence of the securitizing actor (and their securitizing institution in some cases). It also allowed comparison of hegemonic security discourses and threat narratives by the same security actor in multiple settings that ostensibly served different securitization audiences.

Notably, the *TKP*, *WWP* the *Oriental Daily*, and other pro-Beijing media's opinion journalism are frequently excerpted in the *China Daily*. In addition, these other, non-*China Daily* and *Global Times* samples, aided in triangulating salient emerging themes and securitizing actors observed in these two state-media and understanding the diffusion of hegemonic threat narratives in the Hong Kong-setting. In addition to scrutiny of opinion and news discourses, official Chinese and HKSAR government documentary sources, for example, press releases, government pamphlets, policy documents, and government reports such as the State Council's white paper on Hong Kong and the practice of OCTS, and relevant Chinese and HKSAR officials and moral crusaders' speeches and public statements are examined. Archival and documentary texts, however, were used mainly as culturally, historically and politically contextualizing supporting resources rather than primary objects of analysis.

Keyword Search Strategies

Drawing on two decades as a former career national security analyst involved in analysis and research of large repositories of primary and secondary structured and unstructured data, a large variety of evolving, iterative, and recursive keyword searches were used until data saturation was achieved; newly identified or suspected OCTS Securitization actors and themes were added to a list of research subjects whose security-related claims, discourses and narratives were examined and monitored to determine saliency. This included daily and historical tracking of key securitization actors and

securitization discourses and themes. Though the January 2010 to June 2016 timeframe is the scope of this dissertation, the entire timeframe of the post-Handover period was reviewed as necessitated.

For example, to situate the onset of hegemonic constructions of a Hong Kong independence and color revolution threat discourses it was necessary to determine when articulations of the Hong Kong Independence threat began to diffuse and intensify. The predilection and ideological practice of the Chinese Communist Party, and their securitization agents in China and the HSKAR, to use stereotypical formalized political language formulations – perennially articulated in official discourses, propaganda texts and opinion journalism – served as early guideposts to identify, collect and analyze hegemonic security speech acts; Notably, searches for instances of these formulaic ideological securitization articulations frequently revealed securitization actors. Indicators of enemification, moral panic, political warfare and securitization discussed earlier were used to assess relevancy of collected texts.

Units of opinion journalism and other sources of securitization articulation were collected and inductively analyzed through iterative and recursive processes. After close, recursive reading of samples, they were thematically categorized and sorted, marked and entered in Microsoft Word and Excel databases (full text and metadata respectively) depending on subject matter, source and securitizing actor. Thematic categories emerged from inductive analysis of the complete data corpus. For the purposes of this dissertation, the most salient thematic categories were Enemification, Hong Kong Independence, Localism and Radicalism, Color Revolution/Hybrid War/Peaceful Evolution/Soft War, and a New Chinese World Order. Security arguments that served mass mobilizations, including *prima fascia* incitement to patriotic vigilantism were categorized under the theme of Extraordinary Actions. Individual opinion journalism samples often tapped multiple themes and were categorized appropriately, i.e., placed in each category. The primary collection mode was electronic daily through online news sites or retrospectively via electronic databases, namely FACTIVA.[27] Specialized online search strategies using Google and website search engines were deployed to discover additionally relevant data samples. Print versions, or digital copies (PDF) of print editions, of some media sources were also utilized or consulted.

Broadly, full text and meta-data-driven strategies were utilized consistent with various respective data repositories searched, e.g., FACTIVA, Google, media search archives. Advanced Google search techniques (Dornfest, Bausch, & Calishain, 2005; Spencer, 2011) were employed to discover other relevant texts. Similar search strategies were used for identifying and researching secondary literature.

[27] FACTIVA is an online repository containing leading news and business sources from nearly 160 countries, 350 geographical regions and more than 20 languages. It has same-day and archival collections of more than 2,100 influential international and local newspapers. With respect to Hong Kong coverage, English-language mainland papers such as the *China Daily*, *Global Times*, *People's Daily*, *Xinhua*, and Hong Kong-based papers like *EJI*, *SCMP*, and *The Standard*, were extensively exploited.

For example, using Boolean operators, manipulation of logical relationships and proximity operators among search terms, truncation and wildcard operators, and keyword and phrase searches in fielded, full text, and selected text fields in various combinations, databases and archival sources the following search terms were utilized:

> Actual Situation; Article 23/Art23; Article 23 AND Identity or Patriotism; Basic Law Committee AND Hong Kong/HK; By-election AND Hong Kong/HK; Black Hand AND Hong Kong/HK; Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies; Cold War AND Hong Kong/HK; Color Revolution; External/Foreign Forces AND Hong Kong/HK; Cultural Revolution AND Hong Kong/HK; Enemy/enemies AND China/Hong Kong/HK; Evil AND Hong Kong/HK; Filibuster and Hong Kong/HK; Hearts and Minds AND Hong Kong/HK; Hong Kong/HK Independence; Hong Kong AND Patriots/Patriotism; Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong; Hooligans AND Hong Kong/HK; Independence/Secession/Separatism/t AND Hong Kong/HK; Jiang Shigong/Qiang Shigong AND Hong Kong/National Security; Judicial Review and Hong Kong/HK; Lau Nai-keung AND China; Lau Nai-keung AND BY (author byline); Lau Nai-Keung SITE:chinadaily.com.cn/scmp.com; Localism/t AND Hong Kong/HK; National/Patriotic Education AND Hong Kong/HK; National Interest and China/Hong Kong/HK; National Security AND China/Hong Kong/HK; Nativist/m AND Hong Kong/HK; National People's Congress/NPC AND Hong Kong/HK; NPC/NPCSC and National Security; "National Security, Sovereignty and Development Interests"; Occupy Central/OCLP/Occupy AND China/Hong Kong/HK; One Country Two Systems; One Country Two Systems AND National Security/Interest; Peaceful Evolution AND China/Hong Kong/HK; Opposition/Radical in Headline Fields; Protest AND Hong Kong/HK; Opposition/Radicals AND Hong Kong/HK; Referendum AND Hong Kong/HK; Safeguard AND China/Hong Kong/HK/Basic Law/One Country Two Systems; Secession Law AND Hong Kong; Secession AND HK; Silent Contest AND China/Hong Kong/HK; Sinister AND Hong Kong/HK; Street Politics AND China/Hong Kong/HK; Three Evils AND China/Hong Kong/HK; Umbrella Movement/Revolution; White Terror and Hong Kong/HK; Zhang Xiaoming AND Patriotism; and, Zhou Bajun AND BY (author byline).

Supplemental collection and discovery of relevant sources and material also occurred during online participant observation, primarily through Facebook and Twitter. Though beyond the immediate scope of this study, each media source and sample types (digital or print) had advantages and disadvantages A distinct disadvantage of online databases such as Factiva was the removal of alienation of opinion/news items from their print or online situating within the whole media product; this inhibited holistic analysis of the framing of individual and collective media items. It also tended to thwart some media framing approaches reliant separating out items like the headline formatting/styles, sub-head, captions, images, etc. Macro- and micro-framing of the radical

democrats, localists and separatists within news accounts bears significant scrutiny – even in the so-called mainstream media like the *SCMP*. Hallberg (2014, n.p.), for example, conducted a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the *SCMP's* representation Hong Kong's Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) pro-democracy movement, concluding they had misrepresented opposition forces "in favour of more moderate political ideologies and that the challengers of the dominant hegemony in Hong Kong have been systematically misrepresented in the newspaper."

Selecting Actors and Samples

In brief, the following approach was used to identify OCTS Securitization actors. *First*, the claim had to be entirely, or mostly, Hong Kong or OCTS-focused. *Second*, actors had to have made claims of an existential threat(s) or mortal enemy(ies) endangering a significant referent object such as Hong Kong, OCTS, China/Chinese civilization/nation, Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, national rejuvenation/unification, national security, socialist modernization, sovereignty, the Chinese Communist Party, China-Hong Kong relationship, the China Dream or the China Model. *Third*, a moral or normative component had to be explicitly or implicitly involved either as an individual unit of discourse or part of a broader related OCTS Securitization discourse/narrative. *Fourth*, actors had to possess sufficient hegemonic/patriotic social and political capital to ostensibly be considered authoritative or credible by hegemonic and possibly neutral or hostile audiences in making the claim – even if not viewed as having the authority to realize the security move/demand. Even where questions of representativeness of a securitization move may be at hand, the security actors' articulations (standalone texts or quotes in a larger work) where considered valuable data for potentially unpacking OCTS Securitization logics and hegemonic political constellations, debates and ruptures. *Fifth*, claims had to be articulated or diffused on a platform with a sufficient audience reach and influence. This was not simply a question of circulation but also perceived influence. *Sixth*, while one-off securitization acts or texts were considered (such as a single commentary or editorial) – especially in times of crisis – actors involved in recurrent securitization claims over a long period were privileged. Notably, the context and timing of security moves was highly relevant. New or ad hoc securitization actors frequently emerged during periods of tension or crisis. The creation of the Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies and the return of CPPCC vice-chairman Tung Chee-hwa to Hong Kong and OCTS power politics in 2013 are two prime examples. See *Tables 1.* and *2.* in *Chapter Two* for examples of institutional and mainland OCTS Securitization actors that were identified during this study using the above framework.

Within the above, a hierarchy of media sources was constructed with those closer to state media mouthpieces such as the *China Daily* and *Global Times* considered credible, reliable and valid representations of hegemonic security logics and securitization moves. Similarly, a hierarchy of securitization actors were formed with national over local and official over unofficial agents

privileged; actors with former state affiliations were also contemplated within this typology. For instance, Chen Zuoer as head of the Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies was a former deputy director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office. He also served on the CPPCC Standing Committee and was the Vice Chairman of the CPPCC's Committee for Liaison with Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and Overseas Chinese. Similarly, Tung Chee-hwa, the former HKSAR chief executive who resigned in 2005 is now a Vice Chairman of the CPPCC (hence considered a state leader) as well leading several "think tanks" (the Our Hong Kong Foundation and the China-United States Exchange Foundation) which operate in CCP united front securitization spaces under OCTS and in Sino-U.S. relations. Though the above approach describes a typology for identifying securitization articulations of existential threat and/or mortal enemies, similar considerations were applied in identifying securitization actors involved in enemification, moral panic and political warfare (United Front/Three Warfares) processes subsumed in this thesis as part of the OCTS Securitization model. In those cases, attention was paid to articulations of conflict, enmity, labeling, and warlike or militant claims, discourses and rhetoric.

Once a hegemonic securitization actor was identified through their security and threat-related *speech acts*, their opinion journalism or other media-based security articulations were systematically collected and analyzed for enemification, moral panic, securitization and political warfare indicators. Construction of a corpus of texts by the actor allowed subsequent determination of their influence and saliency in the OCTS Securitization process. Elements of this determination included the persistence and ubiquity of enemification articulations and security claims over a longitudinal period. Though the focus of data collection and analysis was not to ascertain and monitor changes in securitization discourses *per se* but rather the presence and content of enemification, panic, securitization and political warfare claims and security moves as part of a OCTS Securitization process, the comprehensive and systematic inductive grounded theory-inspired methodology employed herein arguably captured any significant change in securitization discourses and targets.

In the samples discussed in this thesis the identification of an agent as a hegemonic securitization actor through the above typology may be clear in many if not most cases, but possibly less so in others. While the grammar and rhetoric of securitization may be present in enemification, panic, threat or warfare discourses, the individuals' relationship with the hegemonic power may not – especially when it is not clearly elaborated in opinion journalism, hard news, official documents, etc. In the Chinese and HKSAR political systems, it becomes further complicated as members of the ruling forces may simultaneously operate in several affiliations, capacities and roles contingent on context. These functions and roles may overlap or operate in parallel. During this study, it was often the case that opinion makers writing in, or cited by, not just state-owned media, but even in so-called mainstream Hong Kong media, had affiliations with the Chinese or HKSAR governments, political parties or united front or united front-like organs that were not immediately apparent. Often, a

commentator may just be attributed as a "veteran current affairs commentator" or some similar ambiguous designation. Other times, attributions to a named entity is explicit but its nature and affiliations are not obvious. Some actors may be framed as objective when they represent a specific political line.

For instance, the Our Hong Kong Foundation, is an elite think tank recently founded by current Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference vice chairman and former HKSAR chief executive Tung Chee-hwa at a critical juncture in the crises over Occupy Central/Umbrella Revolution/localism. Background research on this organization, its mission, and genesis place it in a united front-like function and involved in united front-like activities primarily intended to unite allies and isolate foes. Hence, following a snowball sampling like approach, individuals identified explicitly in media attribution, or that through other research have been determined to be affiliated with this organization, may also meet the framework's social and political capital requirements if they are involved in OCTS Securitization processes (enemification, moral panic, and political warfare.) This is not to suggest that everyone associated with the Our Hong Kong Foundation would function as a securitization actor, only that the organization would potentially serve as an authoritative or credible platform from which to make security moves as opposed to an individual conservative or pro-Beijing member of society. Part of this evaluation would include the importance and nature of the relationship; other factors like other members in the organization might also salient if they are also securitization actors or members of a perceived securitization audience, e.g., the patriot class. Nonetheless, in the final analysis it is the security speech of the actor and the putative hegemonic perch that individual articulates it from that is operational not just a simple demonstrable pro-Beijing affiliation.

Once an organization was identified as being involved in securitization activities other individuals associated with that entity may similarly come under review for relevant threat articulations, discourses and narratives. This might consist of keyword searches for "Out Hong Kong Foundation" and "national security," or "color revolution," or "radical," or "Hong Kong independence" as an example. It is also possible that an individual act as a securitization actor occurs in some situations, or at certain junctures but not others. Nonetheless, identification of the possible securitization actor as a bona fide actor was dependent on satisfaction of the other key OCTS Securitization indicators (e.g., evidence of concern, existential threat, hostility, calls for urgency) and the typology as introduced earlier. This may be in a single utterance (as an authoritative source in a news or government report) or in a chorus or corpus of texts (such as an accumulation of opinion journalism articles.)

For instance, the determination of Richard Wong Yue-chim as a (sometimes) securitization actor was related to his OCTS Securitization articulations of indicators of enemification, moral panic or political warfare rhetoric (e.g., concern and hostility) and implicit existential threat claims as well as his

affiliation to the Our Hong Kong Foundation where he is both a member and leads its Research Council under Tung Chee-hwa. Other members on the council are members of the HKSAR Executive Council and the National People's Congress. Discursively, Wong's enemification and moral panic contributions to the demonization of radical democrats, localists and separatists, populism, Western-style democracy and political warfare strategizing to produce an establishment narrative to counter the subaltern "bottom-up" narrative as discussed in *Chapter One*. Though observed securitization claims were quantitatively less than other primary securitization actors such as Chen Zuoer, Lau Siu-kai or Zhou Bajun, Wong's securitization performances were arguably salient on the issues (the characteristics and traits of Hong Kong democracy and localism) he intervened on and semantic linkages to other key securitization discourses such as the call by Lau Nai-keung for the hegemonic forces to create a narrative and "grand debate," a political struggle, over the issue of Hong Kong independence.

Unfortunately, space and time considerations precluded providing more substantive securitization-relevant biographical summaries of the various actors cited in this study such as Tony Kwok Man-wai, Regina Ip Suk-yee, or the many mainland legal academics and scholars. In brief, however, in addition to being prolific commentator in the *China Daily* and elsewhere frequently speaking on security topics and contributing to the enemification of radical democrats, localists and separatists, Kwok's past internal security role as a member of the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), his affiliation with the Our Hong Kong Foundation as an advisor, and articulated extraordinary security moves calling for the monitoring of lenient judges (which he later recanted/clarified), claims of subaltern use of the ICAC to attack pro-establishment lawmakers and officials, and his calls for law and order crackdowns on localists and national security legislation were operative. In the case of Regina Ip, her past role as Secretary for Security (for which she was vetted and appointed by the central authorities as a principle officer) and involvement in the Article 23 debacle provided an initial authoritative base. Similarly, her past and current access to elite securitization actors such as the chairman of the National People's Congress and mainland security authorities were relevant as were her position on the Executive Council and the chairman of the New People's Party. Lastly, her copious OCTS Securitization articulations in the *China Daily* and in other influential media was salient.

WHY OPINION DISCOURSES/JOURNALISM?

Analysis of persuasive opinion-based media discourses is particularly appropriate and productive in understanding securitizing moral panic and enemy/folk devil image practices in Hong Kong and in general. The lower thresholds for professional journalistic news values such as balance and objectivity present in opinion journalism are not confounding factors in attempting to ascertain the exaggeration,

distortion, or hostility aspects of moral panic and enemy images. Opinion texts are persuasive texts: purposefully intended by their authors to be subjective, not objectives. Often, they are works with the explicit purpose of arousing and mobilizing action. As securitization analysis is concerned with articulated security arguments and threat narratives of security actors and not the reality or truth of those claims, use of opinion journalism as opposed to hard news reporting is not detrimental to analysis. In fact, the opinion journalism genre in particular, or in conjunction with, may more openly reflect hegemonic identities, antagonistic ideologies, enemy images, moral panic narratives, and political war perspectives as the journalistic paradigms of balance and objectivity are loosened – even if presented in ostensibly private capacities or consistent with implicit or professed professional media ideologies and practices.

Moreover, the study of editorials and other forms of opinion journalism, including that of the *China Daily* and *People's Daily* as primary sources have been established for decades. In 1994, for instance, G. Wu (1994, p.195) studied the politics of editorial formulations at the *People's Daily*, observing that: "Editorials and commentaries in the *People's Daily* represent the viewpoints of the Chinese leadership. Thus, the *People's Daily* is central to understanding the Chinese propaganda state, as well as elite politics." Before that, S. Qian (1987) compared the *People's Daily* and *China Daily*. A popular line of analysis is the comparison of English-language Chinese opinion journalism, especially the *China Daily*, with other leading national papers. (Almaskati, 2012; Kounalakis, 2016) As China's media global media power has expanded, investigations of Chinese editorial practices have been an object of interest itself. (L. Liu, 2009) Other scholarship involving use of editorials and commentaries – China-focused and not – scantly include: China's rise (Golan & Lukito, 2015); China's reflected in *People's Daily* editorials and commentaries surrounding the 2008 Beijing Olympics (W. Zhang, 2012); ideological analysis of newspapers (van Dijk, 1998); studies on elite American newspapers editorials regarding the Iranian nuclear issue (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007); China's veto of United Nations resolution on Syria (Kounalakis, 2016); Taiwan's Lien Chan visit to China (Honglei Wang, 2009); the concept of Europe in French editorials (Le, 2003); socio-cultural identities (Le, 2010) and collective memories and identity (Le, 2006); self-censorship in Hong Kong (F. L. F. Lee & Lin, 2006) and the politics of reversion and OCTS. (Flowerdew, 1997, 2011)

WHY THE MASS MEDIA?

In 1922, Walter Lippmann (1922), writing about public opinion and how societies learn indirectly about the world through mediatization and others' representations of it, aptly define the notion of images as "pictures in our head" and the concept of "pseudo-environments" – as a world we *perceive* as opposed to a world as it actually *is*. Beginning with the 1914 example of a remote, sparsely populated island of English, French and German nationals disconnected from the rest of the world,

Lippmann narrates how for six weeks following the outbreak of the First World War they "had acted [and lived] as if they were friends when in fact they were enemies." (p.3) He connects this experience with the tragic five days following the formal declaration of the end of war where thousands more still died before news of the armistice was known to them. According to Ronald Steel (1997), Lippmann who had served as an American propagandist during the war and is frequently referred to as the "Father of Modern Journalism" has explored this and other examples in the classic *Public Opinion* (Lippmann, 1922), leading him to conclude that: "We live partly in a real world and partly in a fabricated world one that we construct from what others tell us: from stories, pictures, newspaper accounts, and the like." (p.xiii); In other words, a pseudo-environment of shadows from Plato's cave.

Similarly, Murray Edelman (1988), writing in *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, observes that in the late-Twentieth century: "The pervasiveness of literacy, television, and radio in the industrialized world makes frequent reports of political news available to most of the population, a marked change from the situation that prevailed until approximately the Second World War." (p.1) Much of this reporting, claimed Edelman, constituted a political spectacle where "news reporting continuously constructs and reconstructs social problems, crises, enemies, and leaders and so creates a succession of threats and reassurances." (p.1) "These constructed problems and personalities", he wrote, "furnish the content of political journalism and the data for historical and analytic political studies. They also play a central role in winning support and opposition for political causes and policies." (p.1) Edelman's observation evokes the lay notion that journalists write the "first draft of history." This is salient as Edelman (1985) observed earlier in *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* that: "For most men most of the time politics is a series of pictures in the mind, placed there by television news, newspapers, magazines, and discussions." (p.5) These images, Edelman tells us, "create a moving panorama taking place in a world the mass public never quite touches, yet one its members come to fear or cheer, often with passion and sometimes with action." (p.5)

Thus, Edelman tell us, "Politics is for most of us a passing parade of abstract symbols, yet a parade which our experiences teaches us to be benevolent or malevolent force that can be close to omnipotent. Because politics does visibly confer wealth, take life, imprison and free people, and represent a history with strong emotional and ideological associations, its processes become easy objects upon which to displace private emotions, especially strong anxieties and hopes." (Edelman, 1985, p.5). Later Edelman (2001) warns in *The Politics of Misinformation* that images constructed by these political spectacles have come to "dominate our language, writing, and thinking" and therefore, have become "a major influence on social change." (p.11) This is partly because of the, often uncritical or insufficiently critical, role that the media has in interpreting the symbolic political language and rhetoric of politicians and governments into agendas and worldviews for the public. (Edelman, 1988) Moral panics over weapons of mass destruction in Iraq (Bonn, 2010), Islam and Muslims (Morgan & Poynting, 2011), and Argentina's "Dirty War" (Oplinger, Talbot, & Aktay,

2013) over internal enemies (putative communist subversives)[28] are contemporary examples of how mediated political spectacles construct and set the agenda for moral panics.

Not entirely benign, these reductive images of the world and its actors invariably categorize and define others and situations via cultural, ideological, and personally-held stereotypes. They create over simplifications of reality (and 'Others') which deny complexity and nuance. Instead of signifying 'meticulous descriptions" of life, images become instances of "ritualistic language" which construct and constitute "hierarchies of assumptions'" that then shape and guide individual and social cognition. Some images, notes Edelman (2001), "shape thought, and especially thought about politics" while others "displace or override a large number of potential [competing] images that never have a chance to influence ideas and actions …" (p.13) "In that sense images are a fundamental element in determining the political strength or weakness of the various groups in society. Images of the competent and resourceful corporation executive, the knowledgeable doctor, the lazy welfare recipient, and so on constitute the bedrock on which power in society is constructed." (*Ibid.)* Because the "mass media play a central role in the construction of political meaning" for society through image-making they are a site of political struggle and symbolic contests "among competing sponsors of meaning." (Gamson & Stuart, 1992, p.55)

Indeed, Jinquan Li, Chan, Pan, and So (2002) recount the "global media spectacle" and East-West "news war over Hong Kong" in their exhaustive account of international media coverage of the Handover of the British colony to communist China observing that the 8,000+ journalists and nearly 800 media organizations had constructed "a site and moment for opposing *national* media communities to express, and thus reinforce, their enduring values and dominant ideologies." (p.1) One example salient to this thesis, the return of Hong Kong was a nationalistic and patriotic spectacle for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in its own right with the entrance of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Hong Kong Garrison into the SAR on 1 July. As a nationalistic performance of patriotic education, it was a highly choreographed and symbolic occasion that senior Chinese leaders had directed state media to cover extensively for domestic consumption. As the most visible sign of China's sovereignty over Hong Kong, the PLA's staged entrance was the 'crowning coordination' of the mainland's patriotic education campaign and an iconic performance no less important for the mainland regime than the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. (Garrett, 2010) At the same time, the image of the return of capitalist Hong Kong to communist China and the 'invasion' of the Red Army – still stained with the blood of Tiananmen – was an iconic spectacle of a different sort for many others. Just the same, British and Chinese officials accounts attempted to frame both positively, or at least un-

[28] Saliently, Oplinger et al. (2013) description of "What was presented to the Argentine public … was a valiant and titanic struggle with the 'Antichrist' of communism for the 'salvation' of Western civilization" is analogous with the "One Country" extremists' claims to be defending Chinese socialist system and state from the Manichean specters of Western democracy and universal values. Threats whose most prominent manifestations are in the Hong Kong SAR as represented by the Westernized pro-democracy, anticommunist folk devils.

problematically, even if nostalgia and propaganda interests shaped the mediated discourses. However, contrary to the many print and televised images broadcasted by state (Chinese and British) media of cheering Hongkongers waving the 'liberating' Red Army's arrival, many ordinary Hongkongers welcomed the retrocession and the following year much less enthusiastically and more anxiously: rather than euphoria, "a state of anxiety – a kind of political psychology that was neither resistant nor compliant." (Lui, 1999, p.90) This dramatic securitization of the China and Hong Kong stories by the hegemonic forces of Socialist China is, as contended and elaborated upon in this thesis, similar to the mythography surrounding the Chinese and HKSAR governments' constructed Hong Kong Independence Threat image and the color revolution and Western subversion frames and narratives that the hegemonic forces have deployed since 2012 to remake, rollback, and safeguard OCTS.

Rather than purely objective sources of knowledge and entertainment, mass media function as sites of symbolic contests where enemy images and "discourses of fear"[29] are constituted through metaphors, "catch phrases, and other symbolic devices that mutually support an interpretive *package* for making sense of an ongoing stream of events as they relate to a particular issue." (Gamson & Stuart, 1992, p.59) Relying on a 'problem frame' the media discursively uses narrative structures invoking universal moral meanings to frame a discourse rooted in disorder that will culturally resonate with the public in a format that "begins with a general conclusion that something is wrong, and the media know what it is." (Altheide, 2002, p.49) Describing the 'problem frame' as a "secular alternative to a morality play", Altheide and Michalowski (1999) report that: "Its characteristics include narrative structure, universal moral meanings, specific time and place, an unambiguous focus on disorder that is culturally resonant." (p.479)

As mentioned in the last chapter the mass media are the central locus where state and non-state actors conduct Information Warfare – the "contest of ideas, messages and images conducted inter-state, and intra-state between state and state challengers in the global mediaspace." (Bolt, 2012, p.xv) It is where the insurgent marketers like Hong Kong's radical democrats, localists and separatists "contest the sovereignty and legitimacy of governments" through a "cacophony of ideas, images and messages." (Bolt, 2012, p.xxiv) The remarks of hegemonic securitizing actors Lau Nai-keung and Richard Wong Yue-chim, discussed in the introduction to this study, to have a "grand debate" and construct a "pro-establishment" narrative to confront and beat back the radical democrats, localists and separatists regarding the Hong Kong City-State epitomize this new type of information warfare. Likewise, hegemonic Chinese and SAR actor's attacks on local and foreign media reporters and reporting – and

[29] Altheide (2002) defines discourses of fear as "the pervasive communication, symbolic awareness, and expectation that danger and risk are central features of the effective environment or the physical and symbolic environment as people define and experience it in everyday life." (p.2)

alleged support – of the Occupy Central and Umbrella Revolution movements are similar discursive conflicts.

Security arguments and Securitization Discourses: Creating and conveying panic

Securitization as a media frame, writes Vultee (2011), channels the way publics perceive and think about an issue and, security as a political organizing principle constructed and represented in media accounts can be used inflame or subdue security issues as well as to construct them. Put simply, securitization is both "an effect *in* media" and "an effect *of* media" that can use a "recursive interaction among political actors, the media, and the public." (p.78) By securitizing an issue, a securitizing actor takes an issue and places it on the "agenda of panic politics" (Buzan et al., 1998, p.34) to convince an audience of the urgent need "to break free of procedures or rules" to handle an issue of survival or urgency. (p.25) Vuori (2014) places the media as a key functional actor in the securitization process, especially in China where the usefulness and importance of the media were demonstrated in their securitizing and counter-securitizing roles as mouthpieces of the communist Party-state and in the existential political struggle between the CCP and mainland religious dissidents which was waged, in substantial part, through media warfare aka public opinion warfare – one of the trinity of information weapons under China's Three Warfares information warfare/securitization strategies. Indeed, as Vuori (2011b) convincingly argued in his applications of securitization to the Chinese case of mainland religious dissidents' persecution and Chinese legitimation of the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown, securitization under Chinese politics can be intended to control, deter and warn its targets through genres such as "editorials, party circulars, and speeches, and open letters." (p.188)

Moral panic-wise, the mass media are described by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009, p.ix) as the "most effective spark for the creation of moral panics, as well as an engine for their conveyance." Cohen and others likewise identify the media, in conjunction with moral crusaders and entrepreneurs, as central actors in the construction of moral panics and folk devils. (Cohen, 1972, 2011; Critcher, 2003,2006; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, 2009; Hall et al., 1978; Jenkins, 1992) Cohen (2011) elaborates comparably with Lippmann and Edelman that the news has become "a main source of information about the normative contours of society. It informs us about right and wrong, about the boundaries beyond which one should not venture and about the shapes that the devil can assume." (p.11) He also describes the media as providing the public a "gallery of folk types – heroes and saints, as well as fools, villains and devils" (P.11) and states that "much of this study" of the moral panic surrounding the Mods and Rockers was 'devoted to the understanding the role of the mass media in creating moral panics and folk devils." (ibid.)

According to Cohen, "the mass media are the primary source of the public's knowledge about deviance and social problems." (LOC 453) They are prominently involved in agenda setting, the transmission of associated moral panic and folk devil images, and claims making. The media plays an even more prominent role today in moral panics construction given their larger role in claims making themselves. Subsequently, "[T]he nature of the information that is received about" deviance and deviants in society is a crucial dimension for understanding the reaction to deviance both by the public as a whole and by agents of social control." (p.9) Cohen and others, like Murray Edelman and Robert Entman for instance, observe that for most people in complex industrialized societies, the images of deviance and deviants are built through secondhand knowledge obtained primarily via frames presented by the media. (Cohen, 1980, 2002, 2011; Entman, 1993, 2004) In particular, they use "problem frames" to make news more interesting to consumers which, in turn, reflects how media entertainment interests are used to construct and promote discourses of fear regarding criminal and political deviance and deviants. In a society like Hong Kong which has a low official crime rate and is considered one of Asia's safest cities, it may be the case for local media that political deviants and deviancy have subsumed the traditional role of ordinary criminal folk devils. Adding foreign intrigues, such as China's claims of 'peaceful evolution' and 'color revolution' threats, Hongkonger Western-agents, or external and foreign powers interfering in Hong Kong, might be seen as just another trope to make the news more exciting and interesting albeit it is *also* one that coincides closely with the regimes' (Beijing and Tamar) social control and securitization goals and missions.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) identify the media as "a central and foundational feature of the moral panic" and argue that the media is a "principal active agent or 'actor' in the moral panic." (Loc 50) They point out that "The media 'visualize' deviance, concentrate and *publicize* public outrage about wrongdoing, and offer a perspective on social control." (LOC 1415) Going further, they explain how "the media are an *expression* of panics as well as their *spark* or *cause*." (LOC 1429) More dramatically, they write that: "The beating heart of most moral panics can be found in the media." By "[s]ingling out threats [to society], generating alarm, and directing attention to folk devils," the media fulfills their "*most important* functions." (LOC 1436) Moreover, they claim that the media's actual expression of fear and concern about real or perceived threats is, in fact, an indicator of panic: "even if the media do not generate or stir up fear, concern, or hostility I the public, the media's expression of that fear, concern or hostility is *itself* a moral panic – a media panic, but a moral panic nonetheless." (LOC 1450) Subsequently, they dedicated a chapter examining media's role in igniting and embodying moral panics. They argue that that the mass media have "an institutionalized 'need' for moral panics' because they thrive and are the primary beneficiaries of the moralizing and sensational claims: "In short, the media are an *expression* of panics as well as their *spark* or *cause*. They set agendas, focus attention on issues, and turn up the heat of concern in all sectors of the society – the

public at large, politicians and legislators, social movement activists, and law enforcement." (LOC 1436)

Frames, narratives and stories

In examining OCTS Securitization processes (enemy images, moral panic and political warfare), framing theory – the purposeful selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality" to "make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" Entman (1993, p.52) – Entman is borrowed from. In mediated discourses, the framing of political news "plays a major role in the exertion of political power" with "the frame in a news text" functioning as "the imprint of power – it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text." (Entman, 1993, p.55) According to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), frames constructed by the media represent the "central organizing idea of story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue." (p.376) In other words, framing tells a story, a narrative. In a moral panic context. this typically involves claims and narratives of chaos, calamity, disorder, fear, and existential threat (including to the moral or social order such as claims of threats to Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, China's sovereignty, security and development interests, or the unity of the nation.) Culturally resonant images and words embedded within the frames are used to win political support or build opposition.[30] (Entman, 2004)

Narratives, i.e. stories, are important because they "enter into the [public's] consciousness and shape the societal reaction at later stages" of the moral panic process. (Cohen, 2011, p.28) Cohen (2011) notes that the "mass media are the primary source of the public's knowledge about deviance and social problems" at the heart of moral panics. (LOC 449) The media's role in "moral panic dramas" are threefold: "(i) *Setting the agenda* – selecting those deviant or socially problematic events deemed as newsworthy, then using finer filters to select which of these events are candidates for moral panic; (ii) *Transmitting the images* – transmitting the claims of claims-makers, by sharpening up or dumbing down the rhetoric of moral panics; or (iii) *Breaking the silence, making the claims.*" (LOC 449, emphasis in original) Cohen also argues that a coherent narrative claiming an array of connected incidents and broader dire implications for society is one of three elements required for a successful moral panic; the other two being a suitable enemy and a suitable victim. (LOC177) As understood in

[30] According to Entman (2004) these images and words have power because they are "highly salient in the culture, which is to say *noticeable, understandable, memorable,* and emotionally charged." (p.6) Prominence and repetition of these symbolic devices also play a role. Greater prominence and repetition increases power albeit Entman notes that "some highly resonant words or images may not need much repetition" in reference the images associated with the September 11th terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. In a China-Hong Kong context, these more powerful symbolic resources would likely include: "Cultural Revolution", "June 4th," "Red Guard," and "White Terror."

this dissertation, the corpus of individual and collective securitizing opinion journalism pieces constitutes a hegemonic enemification and securitization narrative when viewed holistically. The opinion pieces of key securitizing actors are not stand-alone ideological and security products (or information weapons) when considering that many readers "follow" certain editorialists, commentators, and columnists' daily or weekly; rather, they form a sort of serialized opinion journalism narrative which tells the patriotic faithful who they are, who is the enemy, and what is to be done about them. (Van Dijk, 1988)

Narratives and stories and the identities and social realities they construct and reproduce through mediated representations (Hall, 1997) are also key in winning strategic contests for 'hearts and minds' between competing actors both at the local and national level as illustrated in the identity-saturated political narratives of the *Hong Kong Story* and the *China Dream*. Recognizing the saliency of narratives in international relations, President Xi Jinping, for example, remarked in January 2014 that: "The stories of China should be well told, voices of China well spread, and characteristics of China well explained." (Xinhua, 2014b) Yet, as observed elsewhere in this thesis, there is no single accepted political narrative or story of Hong Kong or OCTS, let alone one present in the competing hegemonic and counter-hegemonic moral panic discourses over patriotism, national identity and security/sovereignty. More importantly, the ritualistic "choral chanting" of the Hong Kong Threat and Hongkonger Enemy discourses, images and narratives examined in this study – especially as evidenced in the hegemonic mainstreaming of the catchphrase *Hong Kong Independence* and other securitizing phrases in public and official discourses discussed in Chapters Four and Five – have essentially served to create "a heightened generalized sense of danger" in the community that is intended to facilitate hegemonic securitization (Oren & Solomon, 2015, p.316) and compel intransigent Hongkongers to Beijing's will.

Cultural and Discursive Contests

This highlights the fact that discourses, including moral panic and enemy/folk devil image discourses, are "sites of cultural contest" which are "saturated with power and history and therefore diversified, dynamic, and competing." (Shi, 2007b, p.3-4) Shi (2007b) notes that "discourse is saturated with culture and cultural contestation in particular" (p.10) and has argued in *Discourse as Cultural Struggle* (Shi, 2007a) and *A Cultural Approach to Discourse* (Shi, 2005) for "a non-Western, non-White and Third-World discourse as a legitimate, necessary and normal part of discourse research." (p.3) He also invokes Wittgenstein (1965) 'language games' theory to explain that Eastern and Western discourses "are not a matter of center and periphery, but different ways of constructing an acting upon the world." (p.7) Writing in *Discourse as Cultural Struggle* (Shi, 2007a), Robert Maier (2007) is more explicit: "Discourse is not only a representation of reality and of oneself; it is also a weapon and an action for influencing other players. Therefore, discourse is intimately related to

power and identity. All the actors, be they nations, regions, international organizations, or cultural groups, use discourse to present themselves, to defend their interests, and to advance plans of action with or against other actors." (p.17) Thompson (2005) connects Michel Foucault's writings on discourse, discursive formations, discursive practices, and regimes of truths to moral panic as a method of "viewing [mediated] controversies … as signs of struggle over rival discourses and regulatory practices." (p.25) He goes on to conclude that Foucault's observations on discourse should "help us to view moral panics as symptoms or signs of struggle over rival discourses and regulatory practices …" (p.30)

Discourse and ideology

More pointedly, analysis of mediated discourses in China-Hong Kong relations opinion narratives can reveal underlying dominant group and individual hegemonic ideologies that may be the basis for constructing moral panics and enemy/folk devil images. As observed by Van Dijk (1995), "ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication" (p.17). Ideologies, he describes, provide the "basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of social groups, organizations or institutions." (p.18) These social cognitions – "system[s] of mental representations and processes of group members" (p.18) – represent "the sociocultural knowledge shared by the members of a specific group, society or culture." (p.18) In other words, frames.

Through media discourses, explains Van Dijk, group and/or individual opinions, social attitudes and beliefs are made available to the public through various discursive processes such as socialization and contestation. The language of these moral panic and enemy/folk devil images, frames, and narrative stories are the "tools" of anxiety, enmity, fear and hostility-inducing discourses: "Language uses symbols. Language is a tool, an instrument …" (Lakoff, 2008, p.16) The 'power' of moral panic and enemy constructing language derives from its ability to tap preexisting "frames, prototypes, metaphors, narratives, images and emotions" resident in the public's mind, its "cognitive unconsciousness," according to George (Lakoff, 2008, p.16). The "political mind," argues (Lakoff, 2008, p.3), "plays an enormous role in how" countries are governed. In *The Political Mind: Why You Can't Understand 21st-Century Politics with an 18th-Centruy Brain* (2008), he argues that "[t]he brain is not neutral" (p.13), that "[m]orality and politics are embodied ideas" (p.10), and that a "deep rationality" taking "account of, and advantage of, a mind that is largely unconscious, embodied, emotional, empathetic, metaphorical, and only party universal" (p.13) is necessary to understand the underlying causes of "political strife." (p.13) The brain, Lakoff (2008) compelling argues, "contributes to and maintains political ideologies." (p.19-20)

"Ideologies, according to Van Dijk (1995), "mentally represent the basic social characteristics of a group, such as their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, position and resources." (P.18) Ideologies, he states, are self-serving and frequently represent conflict in society and societal relationships in *Us versus Them* frames. Specifically, these mental models posit an in-group's "identity, goals, values, positions and resources" as "'threatened' by the Others" (p.18), the out-group. In the framework of China-Hong Kong relations and hegemonic moral panic narratives examined here, these mediated opinion discourses can be understood as sociocultural representations of the discrete OCTS symbolic moral universe and preferred hegemonic social ordering of the China-Hong Kong relationship. In other words, they constitute the ruling forces' ideologies and social knowledge about Hong Kong, Hongkongers, and OCTS, i.e., regimes of truth. This is clearly suggested in the repeated high-level claims and explanations offered for Hongkonger resistance to "One Country" presented by Chinese officials and local securitizing moral crusaders and entrepreneurs: That subaltern Hongkongers don't understand the HKSAR Basic Law or OCTS and who is, or is not, a patriot, or what is national security.

SUMMARY

This chapter introduced and justified the methodological and data collection choices employed in this study. It sought to explain the theoretical underpinnings for exploitation of mass media and documentary texts as sites manifesting the framework of OCTS Securitization, enemification, moral panic, and political warfare security discourses and threat images. The next chapter begins the empirical situating of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS as mortal enemies of, and threats to, the state under China's new notion of National Security with Chinese Characteristics.

CHAPTER FOUR: SITUATING HONG KONG, HONGKONGERS AND "ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS" IN CHINA'S NEW NATIONAL SECURITY THREAT DISCOURSES

"Just as the primary fundamental law in China's constitution is the leadership of the party, the primary fundamental law in the Basic Law is the rule of patriots in Hong Kong. … The leadership of the party is effected in Hong Kong by means of 'patriots ruling Hong Kong."
Jiang Shigong, 2010[31]

"In the central government's eyes, political reform is not only about promoting democracy in Hong Kong, but also about who holds the power in Hong Kong. It is about national security."
Lau Siu-Kai, 2015[32]

"If our dissidents are allowed to obtain political rights in Hong Kong to the extent that they bring greater risks to the country, then we would be better off not having universal suffrage."
Lau Nai-keung, 2015[33]

INTRODUCTION

Mao Tse-tung's 1926 observations regarding the friends and enemies of the Chinese revolution have a deep resonance and salience in today's Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) problematizations and securitizations (Buzan et al., 1998) of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) pro-democracy and Anti-Mainlandization Defend Hong Kong[34] movements nearly a century later as the Chinese authorities move to consolidate, re-conceptualize and securitize its "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) ideology through a process of enemy images, moral panics and political warfare called here OCTS Securitization: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? He who does not know how to distinguish his enemies from his friends cannot be a revolutionary, yet at the same time it is no easy task to distinguish them. If the Chinese revolution … has shown such meager results, it is not the goal but the tactics which have been wrong. The tactical error committed is precisely the inability to rally one's true friends to strike at one's true enemies." (1965, p.13 cited in Van Slyke (1967, p.1)) By many indicators, as will be argued in this chapter, the central authorities have conceptualized the relationship between China and the HKSAR under OCTS as an existential power struggle – or rather, a political war between friends and enemies of Socialist China as essentialized in Maoist politics (Vuori, 2014)[35] and by Schmitt (1976) in his conception of the political – over a new

[31] (Jiang, 2010)
[32] (S. Li, 2015)
[33] (N.-k. Lau, 2015a)
[34] As used in this dissertation, the Anti-Mainlandization Defend Hong Kong movement is conceptualized as those subaltern forces arguing, mobilizing and positioning for the defense of the Hongkonger identity and liberal, pro-democracy core values. The term should not be confused with the Defend Hong Kong Campaign, a pro-establishment 'uncivil' society (Kopecký & Mudde, 2003) united front organization created to confront pro-democracy and pro-Hong Kong forces. (Garrett & Ho, 2014; W.-m. Lam & Lam, 2013)
[35] Vuori (2014, p.125) observes: "Mass-campaigns that came in frequent sequences were a cardinal element of Maoist politics." Moreover, he argues that, "The political logic of enemy definition that Schmitt describes …" –

constitutional/political order and the future of Hong Kong under OCTS. (Jiang, 2013b)[36] Relatedly, Beijing has constructed dissident Hong Kong and prodemocracy and Westernized Hongkongers and 'radicalized' localist youth as potential and real enemies posing existential threats to the socialist system and have maneuvered via enemy making moral panics and political warfare discourses, images and narratives to rhetorically construct them as mortal threats to the Socialist System while simultaneously using them to legitimate fortifying and weaponizing the OCTS concept and reorienting its content, meaning and implementation. Put simply, the Chinese Communist Party has increasingly claimed insurgent subaltern Hongkongers' cultural and political resistance to, and blatant defiance of, Beijing are not normal politics. Rather, they are extraordinary threats to its political authority, legitimacy, leadership and sovereignty over the Region – and the nation. In other words, they are threats to the Party's political security – the core of Chinese national security. Thus, emergency and exceptional securitizing measures violating the essence of OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law are necessitated to respond sufficiently to the perceived mounting material and moral hazards presented to China's political security by enemy Hongkonger and foreign folk devils manipulating the city and OCTS. In short, China wants to remake Hong Kong and OCTS through a process of securitization, OCTS Securitization, believing that subaltern Hong Kong has passed a point of no return regarding the threats it poses to China's national security, its Second Revolution (Opening Up and Reform) and, more specifically, to the CCP's political security.

Significantly, these Chinese securitizing moves and security developments are taking place against the backdrop of China's development of a new national security concept and strategy, new counter-terrorism and national security[37] laws, and contemporaneous perspective of a rapidly changing

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the quote referenced in the opening to this chapter – was explicitly present in the *Selected Works of Mao* Zedong's opening sentence (p.125) thus characterizing the political culture at the time. Vuori goes on to cite application of Schmittian friend-enemy political logic in Chinese policing by Dutton (2005) who, notably, frames it as the "The Bookends of a Revolution." (p.3) Yet, Vuori (2014) observed that "In post-Mao China, such mass-campaigns are no longer the norm whereby the 'political' no longer operates in Schmitt's sense." (P.125) However, as noted by many observers, mass campaigns and neo-Maoist politics have in fact returned to China (and the HKSAR) since 2012. It is also contended in this dissertation that the revolution did not end in 1978 with Opening Up and Reform but continued albeit in a different form. Along these lines, OCTS – an important, if not the most important, element of Deng's new policy at the time – can be understood as part of the ongoing Chinese Communist revolution. Its prominent role in Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and other ideological and political uses by the Party at home and abroad also point to its revolutionary capacity and role.

[36] Zheng (2015), in her study of Mao and Schmittian political philosophies in China, observes: "On the basis of the judgement that Mao's political philosophy is totalitarian in essence and of the further judgement that there is an uncomfortable similarity between Mao's and Schmitt's political philosophies, critics in China have enormous anxiety towards Schmitt's friend/enemy distinction and his theory of the state of exception and democracy. For them, Schmitt's theory is a new version of Mao's political philosophy." (p.15)

[37] China's new National Security Law took effect on 1 July 2015. Per Article 2: "National security refers to the relative absence of international or domestic threats to the state's power to govern, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, the welfare of the people, sustainable economic and social development, and other major national interests, and the ability to ensure a continued state of security." (China Law Translate, 2015) Per Article 3: "National security efforts shall adhere to a comprehensive understanding of national security, make the security of the People their goal, political security their basis and economic security their foundation; make military, cultural and social security their safeguard and advance international security to protect national

international and domestic security situation; all developed and announced in the last few years. (J. Sun, 2015) Significantly, the core of China's new national security conception – National Security with Chinese Characteristics – is political security within which OCTS and the China-Hong Kong relationship are important components. (J. Liu, 2014) Under this approach new concepts of security for OCTS, such as *Hong Kong Security*[38] have been conceptualized and articulated by regime securitization actors as future and post-facto legitimations of repressive security policies rectifying the implementation of OCTS and identifying and isolating new counter-revolutionary class enemies of the OCTS revolution.[39] Hence, the aggressive securitizing moves in Hong Kong parallel broader discursive and material changes in China's regional and international national security posture embracing greater assertiveness abroad since 2010, and the corresponding intensification of securitization and suppression of domestic dissent on the mainland (and in Hong Kong) since at least 2012 (Garrett, 2015; Garrett & Ho, 2014); indeed, arguably these transformations of China's internal and external security environments, revitalized enemy making mechanisms and threat perceptions of Manichean conflict on the mainland and internationally are directly, or indirectly, related to the processes of securitization that are occurring in Hong Kong and in the China-Hong Kong relationship with regards to OCTS.

The Way Ahead

This chapter seeks to empirically situate dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS in China's new, post-2010 national security enemy image, threat package and securitization discourses. Chinese and HKSAR securitization frames constructing and depicting color revolution, Hong Kong

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security in all areas, build a national security system and follow a path of national security with Chinese characteristics." (*ibid.)*

[38] In late-2014, two academics with the quasi-official Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies articulated a concept of the "security of the Hong Kong special administrative region," or "Hong Kong security" for short. They argued that "Hong Kong security," whose primary purpose is protection of Chinese national security, was the "most important consideration" for the chief executive when leading the HKSAR and handling "unlawful occupation activities" such as the Occupy and Umbrella movements. (G. Cheung, 2014)

[39] OCTS is an integral part of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics which is central in China's Opening Up and Reform initiative started by Deng Xiaoping. Deng, in 1985, referred to his "Socialist Market Economy" reforms as China's "Second Revolution." (Deng, 1994; Harding, 1987) Opposition to OCTS has been framed by various hegemonic securitization actors as opposing China's reform, and more lately, the China Dream (Socialist Modernization.) Hence, Hongkonger antagonism and hostility towards premature cultural, economic, and political integration (mainlandization) supporting China's new development model, not to mention desires and efforts to change China's political system, have been postulated by some hegemonic securitization actors as anti-China, or more accurately, as counter-revolutionary as they want to derail or reverse China's rise. Class enemies in the OCTS context refers to the Chinese Communist Party's creation of a "Patriot Class" in the HKSAR to administer the territory ostensibly as "Hongkongers" and Hongkongers' resistance or refusal to accept them as overlords. Hence, obstructing China from fulfilling the OCTS principle of Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong which is, in reality, *Patriots Ruling Hong Kong*. Yet, as described by Chinese Constitutional and Basic Law expert Jiang Shigong, the intent of the subsidiary policy is to effect Chinese Communist Party-rule in Hong Kong. (Jiang, 2010) These patriots are set aside from ordinary or oppositional Hongkongers who do not have the same rights and privileges as the patriots who, alone, can constitute the mainstay of "Hongkongers" administering the HKSAR.

independence and democratic radicalism problems as existential national security threats to OCTS, Socialist China, and the CCP that must be urgently addressed through exceptional measures are examined. After pithily introducing the creation of a new top-level Chinese national security apparatus and perceptions of OCTS as a threat-laden and endangered concept and social reality, a discussion of the rhetorical construction of the Hongkonger Enemy and panics over the Hong Kong Threat is presented. Hegemonic enemification discourses underpinning the securitization of dissent in the HKSAR and propagation of securitization narratives claiming the enemies of, and threats to, OCTS are legion scantly follows.

Next, Socialist China and CCP's new concept of *National Security with Chinese Characteristics* is examined at length in the context of China's securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. This involves the situating of Hong Kong's radical democrats, localists and separatists in the mainland security and threat discourses of the *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers* and as viewed through the security lenses of the Chinese military and other hegemonic securitization actors. Hegemonic security imagining of Hong Kong and OCTS as a field of political struggle and warfare with the United States evidenced by the Chinese securitization text *Silent Contest*/*Silent Struggle*, claims of color revolution, and calls for the weaponization of OCTS as a geopolitical securitizing move against the West are raised. This sets the argument that Hong Kong's 1 July 2003 anti-national security legislation crisis was hegemonically perceived as an attempted color revolution – called here the Ebony Revolution – thus representing the first of two failed color revolutions since the Handover. This is salient because internal enemies and threats – such as Fifth Column forces and color revolutions – have now become hallmark national security threats for the Chinese authorities.

Subsequently, China's conceptualization of color revolutions and their threat to China's national security cum the CCP's political security are put forward. Concomitantly, parallel (if not coordinated) constructions of the Hongkonger color revolution and the OCLP/Umbrella Revolution threats, and the deleterious influence of the world's other leading authoritarian nation, the Russian Federation, on China's perceptions of the *actual situation* in Hong Kong and Beijing's OCTS securitization of radical democrats, localists and separatists is contended. The chapter closes with a brief discussion of hegemonic perceptions of the HKSAR and OCTS and the China-Hong Kong conflict as an ideological battlefield and political war.

CHINA'S NEW CENTRAL NATIONAL SECURITY COMMISSION & CHINESE OCTS THREAT PERCEPTIONS

Socialist China's fresh national security logics and securitization approaches have been, and continue to be, systematically rooted in new Chinese national security laws, institutions, and strategies. These hold significant implications for Hongkongers, Hong Kong and OCTS and include securitization

moves and security legislation such as: the 2014 State Council white paper[40] on the practice of OCTS (June) and Counter-Espionage Law of the People's Republic of China (November); the 2015 National Security (July) and Counter-Terrorism (CT) (December) laws; and, the forthcoming Cybersecurity Law and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) legislations expected in 2016. Notably, Hong Kong – and its responsibilities to protect Chinese national security – were explicitly and unprecedentedly elucidated in the new National Security Law (NSL) enacted on the 18th Anniversary of the establishment of the HKSAR. And, in what has been characterized as "the widest interpretation of threats to the Communist party and the state since the Mao era" (E. Wong, 2016), China's newly updated national security authorities, institutions, powers and strategies have been centralized under President Xi Jinping as head of the newly created (2013) Central National Security Commission (CNSC).[41] Notably, two of the top three members of the CNSC – President Xi Jinping and National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC) Chairman Zhang Dejiang – are/have been substantively responsible for the administration of the HKSAR and OCTS. Though still "a work in progress," the CNSC (and General Secretary Xi at its head) is reportedly "where the buck stops on foreign and security policy making." (Lampton, 2015, p.773) As a 2015 Chinese military Blue Book on national defense described it: the CNSC "is the supreme decision-making, deliberation and coordination body on national security; and it has the highest authority." (Meng & Wang, 2015, p.373)

When the CNSC was announced at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Communist Party of China Central Committee in November 2012, President Xi described the need for the new institution as 'urgent,' stating: "China is facing two pressures: internationally, the country needs to safeguard its sovereignty, security, and development interests; domestically, political security and social stability should be ensured. The variety of predictable and unpredictable risks has been increasing remarkably, and the system has not yet met the needs of safeguarding state security. A powerful platform which can coordinate security works is need." (Xinhua, 2013c) The goals of the CNSC and China's new national security approach(s) are reported to be threefold: 1) ensure the success of economic, political and social reforms; 2) create a unified national security infrastructure; and, 3) "to support the leadership and policy objectives of the Communist Party, …" (K. Zhao, 2015) Concomitantly, the CNSC has three "main tasks": to advise the Politburo; conduct strategic coordination throughout the Chinese security apparatus ensuring unity of action, purpose and vision among the party, military, and society; and, handle external and internal security crises and threats. (K. Zhao, 2015) W. W.-L. Lam (2015) writes that a leading objective of the CNSC is to prevent color revolutions and peaceful

[40] The State Council's white paper, *The Practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2014), was published in seven languages and was the first ever issued white paper on OCTS. The securitizing move attempted to defend controversial hegemonic constructions of OCTS from competing Hongkonger and international interpretations and formally identified the problem of Hongkonger enemies and threats to the OCTS.
[41] See Hu (2016, p.163) for a discussion of the naming and translation of the CNSC.

evolution by hostile forces employing destabilization agents within China (p.121), such as those in Hong Kong repeatedly alluded to as existential national security threats by numerous Chinese and HKSAR officials and hegemonic securitizing actors.

Significantly, the push to "safeguard" China's national security with the CNSC at its pinnacle is a not *just* a whole of government-level endeavor but a *whole of society* effort whereby national security responsibilities are integrated "in national defense, diplomacy, intelligence, public security, economy, social development, science and technology as well as public opinion to actively turn its [Socialist China] development advantages into strategic edges, effectively consolidating the strategic foundation of China as a great power in the international community." (K. Zhao, 2013) Under this National Security with Chinese Characteristics umbrella: "Local authorities, such as the HKSAR, are expected to fit their own development plans into the general security and development strategies of the country." (K. Zhao, 2013) This requires the transformation of Chinese (including Hong Kong) society into informal security actors, an informer and security actor nation of sorts: "we must transform the traditional unilateral view that it is the government that should be responsible for ensuring national security, and strive to offer a new platform for official-civil interaction. We can foster a multi-dimensional security architecture with the leadership of the Party, the dominance of the government and the participation of the whole society." (K. Zhao, 2013)

China's whole of society approach to national security earnestly began its formal transformation in early-2016. First was the inclusion of a draft chapter on building China's new national security system in its draft 13th Five-Year Plan. In the draft *Building a National Security System*, Chinese authorities for the first-time publicly expanded on the "Concept of General National Security" in which "subduing 'subversion' and 'sabotage' attempts by so-called hostile forces" were elevated in priority over "cracking down on violent terrorist activities, separatist forces, and religious extremism." (D. Ding, 2016) Having prioritized internal over external threats in its new national security concept (Joshi, 2016), the CNSC through its new notion of National Security with Chinese Characteristics is said to have "seized all decision-making power regarding security issues" thereby acceding the CCP "a hand in all important national security areas," effectively creating itself as "an important and far-reaching 'mini-government'" that has taken power from "the Politburo and the State Council in order to strengthen one-man rule" (D. Ding, 2016) in the person of General Secretary Xi Jinping.

Second, was China's observance of its first National Security Education Day (NSED) which evoked past images of the CCP's effort to mobilize the totality of Chinese society in mass campaigns reminiscent of the Cultural Revolution. Connected to the establishment of the NSL last year, the 2016 NSED observance was accompanied by the distribution of "Pamphlets, posters and animations … distributed in government organizations, schools, businesses and housing complexes …" (Xinhua, 2016a) According to a *Xinhua* commentary, "the paramount importance of national security … came

into focus in the country" as President Xi Jinping issued an instruction directing that "the whole society should be mobilized to safeguard national security, consolidate the basis for national security, and prevent and defuse security risks." (Xinhua, 2016d) A poster-campaign featuring a comics-based visual securitization of China's national security called *Dangerous Love* soon became an icon of an apparent Chinese national security state running amok as it warned Chinese female civil servants of handsome overseas spies duplicitously posing as foreign boyfriends in order to steal state secrets.[42]

These new Chinese national security emphases, in part, account for some of the new national security logics and rhetoric currently evidenced in hegemonic patriotic discourses in and regarding the HKSAR and OCTS. Yet, the securitization of OCTS (and Hong Kong and Hongkongers) is, and has been, much more complicated, intricate and opaque – especially with regards to hegemonic enemification and securitizing of dissident Hongkongers and contribution to the creation of deeply divided society and protracted conflict – than commonly understood, or perceived. As this dissertation seeks to elaborate, since 2010 Beijing's intensifying security fears over Hongkongers, the HKSAR and OCTS have now become systematically embedded within new and broadening internal and external Chinese security, threat and securitization debates, discourses, images and narratives involving not just Hong Kong and OCTS, but all of China and its place (and future) in the international order. Hong Kong is no longer seen simply a Western listening or watching post on Communist China's doorstep but, in the resurrected new Cold War between Communism and Democracy, as a field of political struggle in the new Cold War between East (China) and West (primarily the United States and, less so, the United Kingdom.) As one Chinese general puts it in a *Global Times* report titled, *Nation must strip peaceful evolution away from socialism*, the West has already "plotted to showcase another [color revolution] model to Chinese mainlander." (Global Times, 2014b) It was, he said: "The Occupy Central movement in Hong Kong, a [new] type of color revolution, [that] targets not only the region but the Chinese mainland in the end. It intends to target the administrative power of the region at the beginning, then provoke a chain effect in the mainland and finally seize the power of the central government." (Global Times, 2014b)

'One Country, Two Systems': Many Threats

Though currently experiencing a "crisis of hegemony" (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978) unexperienced in China-Hong Kong relations and surpassing OCTS' first real test in 2003 by

[42] Though not discussed in the media discourses surrounding the Chinese visual securitization text *Dangerous Love*, it is possible that it was inspired, in part, by the United States' cinematic visual securitization of Chinese intelligence recruitment of American university students studying on the mainland, *Games of Pawns*. (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2014) Implicitly *Dangerous Love*, like *Game of Pawns*, evoked the intelligence/counterintelligence trope of the honeypot – the use of a sexual partner "to seduce and suborn a target with access to secret information." (Waterman, 2013) Also see, *Cold War 2.0 Visual Conflicts: American Visual Constructions of the Chinese 'Cyber Threat'* (Garrett, 2014a)

half-a-million Hongkongers as characterized by Qi Pengfei, a prominent mainland Basic Law expert, United Front theorist[43], and past member of the NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law Committee (BLC) (Mudie, 2014), the central authorities appear (at the moment) to continue to perceive the OCTS policy as ideologically expedient, politically valuable, and structurally viable. Yet sensing a critical rupture in OCTS they have concomitantly sought to aggressively eliminate perceived internal enemies' (radical democrats, localists and separatists) political power (in the legislature and the media and on the streets and the Internet) and to rectify the "tactical errors" in OCTS' implementation and (re)presentation over the last two decades. According to hegemonic securitizing actors, the 1 July 2003 episode represented a "significant turn [by the central authorities in] both in the practice and understanding" of OCTS; likewise, the Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) and the Umbrella Revolution movements represented another watershed of "no lesser importance" where a "decisive battle" for the "ideological dominance of the SAR" had begun. (Zhou, 2014d) Specifically, hawkish local and mainland legal scholars and other Chinese and HKSAR moral and security entrepreneurs advising the central authorities, seen here as *OCTS Hawks*, have claimed post-OCLP/Umbrella Hong Kong and OCTS have reached yet another a "historic turning point" (Zhou, 2014f) where the central authorities have begun exercising their power over the SAR more coercively and "comprehensively." (Jiang, 2014) It is a time when the CCP uses political crises in Hong Kong – organic and manufactured – such as color revolution, localism or Hong Kong independence to "consolidate" the SAR as an inalienable part of (Socialist) China to shore up national security. (Zhou, 2014a) It is an era for the "Rule of Patriots" (Jiang, 2010) where the "dormant powers" (Z. Wang, 2015) of the CCP hidden within the HKSAR Basic Law and OCTS are to be unleashed to better exert its absolute and total authority over Hong Kong and Hongkongers and safeguard OCTS – and not in a gentle, moderate or tolerant manner any longer. (J. Lam & Cheung, 2014b)

Not satisfied with simply exerting its authority, ultra-hardline Chinese and HKSAR authorities are also ostensibly moving to punish, "put in their place," "teach a lesson" and "make an example" of "enemy Hongkongers" (K. Chan, 2014b) through aggressive covert and overt measures. Increasingly morally indignant over Hongkongers' bold cultural, political, and symbolic resistance to One Country domination, continuing sense of superiority over their mainland brethren and system, perceived growing and flagrant defiance of and disrespect towards Beijing's authority, and believing that Hong Kong has become, or is becoming, a base of subversion (Central News Agency, 2014; Yin & Chen, 2014; S. Zhao, 2014) Chinese leaders have interpreted the 'errors' in the implementation of OCTS in the Region – which their ultra-hardline HKSAR and hawkish Basic Law advisors claim have been

[43] Qi Pengfei is the director of the Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao Research Center at Renmin University. According to Qi's biographic profile at the School of Marxism, he serves, or has served, on the Communist Party of China (CPC) Party Committee United Front Work Department at Renmin and in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), another united front entity. Moreover, Qi belonged to the United Front Theory and Practice Research Association of Beijing Universities. ("Qi Pengfei," n.d.)

caused by insufficient hegemonic interventions in the Hong Kong system – as ultimately having led to OCTS's "hijacking" by anticommunists, localists and radical/youth prodemocracy Hong Kong dissidents aided by, or under the witting or unwitting control of, external and foreign forces and powers. Having 'compromised' with Hong Kong twice before (in 2003 and 2012 over the withdrawals of proposed Article 23 national security legislation and a moral and national (MNE) education framework respectively), China's newly formed CNSC led by Xi Jinping reportedly have refused to make further concessions, partly out of fear of a mainland domino effect – especially in the Tibetan and Xinjiang regions. (Lim & Blanchard, 2014; Reuters, 2014) Put plainly, despite China's OCTS security dilemma of emphasizing One Country *over* Two Systems and threat of destroying public confidence in the policy, the Chinese authorities perceive more, not less, intervention and coercive cultural, ideological and political control over Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS as necessary to secure and maintain hegemony and defend its political security within the Region and at home on the Mainland. More importantly, these contradictions in China's OCTS Hong Kong policy are now interpreted, post China's new national security outlook and policies, not as normal contradictions between Socialist and Capitalist systems but as representing significant extraordinary and growing national security threats to the nation and Party, or more portentously, new forms of political warfare such as hybrid or soft war. It is not just the politicization of Hong Kong but also civilization and revolutionary conflict between the communist and anticommunist forces in the SAR and without. (N.-k. Lau, 2012b; Zhou, 2014d) As such, the HKSAR and OCTS have become part of a new regional security complex (Buzan & Wæver, 2003) under a new notional Chinese national security state (Yuhua Wang & Minzner, 2015) of "One Country, Two Systems, Many Threats" where new security-laden conceptualizations of OCTS have been necessitated to address cultural, economic, ideological and political threats to Socialist China and the CCP "under the new situation."[44] Put succinctly: a new OCTS was needed to accommodate the new realities of the domestic and international environments and threats China faced. One that comprehensively ensured China's new national security logics in the new OCTS situation[45] under National Security with Chinese

[44] "Under the new situation" (*Zai xin xingshi xia*) refers to the post-2008 strategic domestic and global situation China finds itself in after Great Financial Crisis of 2008. Bradley (2014) writes that "new situation" presents "challenges and opportunities never before seen since China's reform and opening up" defined as "complex changes such as multi-polarization, globalization of the world economy, rapid technological advances and increased comprehensive national power competition." (p.6)

[45] *Under the new OCTS situation*, as used here, refers to the post-2010 state of successive OCTS crises the Chinese and HKSAR hegemonic forces find themselves. However, outside the timeframe of this dissertation, it encompasses the period since at least 2004. It was then, following the Fourth Plenary of the Sixteenth Party Central Committee in September 2004 that the "new situation" was used by Chinese authorities to describe the central government's responsibility to "maintain the long term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macau" according to the then head of the Research Department for China's Liaison Office in the HKSAR, Cao Erbao. According to Cao (2008), "this was listed as an important mission to increase the Party's capability to govern. This clearly shows that, under the conditions of 'one country, two systems', **a major change has occurred in the historical position in the Hong Kong work of our Party as China's governing party**: to handle well the Hong Kong issue under the 'one country, two systems' policy, has become **an important field of governance for our Party in governing the nation, and also an important aspect in which we should**

Characteristics. Hence, China-Hong Kong conflicts have become a new strategic contest between Chinese ideological and political security concerns packaged by the Party as China's national security, and Hongkongers' societal security under the umbrella of OCTS.[46]

To this end, myriad autocratic securitizing officials and Socialist law-and-order enabling Basic Law constitutional law legal crusaders, entrepreneurs, and scholars – the primary and secondary definers and securitizing actors of China's national security moral panics and political warfare campaigns over Hong Kong – have contemplated how OCTS and the Basic Law can be 'evolved' and 'rethought' (South China Morning Post, 2014) to better (re)affirm, broaden, and strengthen the central authorities' political authority, legitimacy, sovereignty, and national security claims over the "SAR system" in Hong Kong. (Jiang, 2013b; Leong, 2010; Yu Wang, 2013; Zhuang, 2010) Within Hong Kong, hegemonic ideological and legal sleight of hand (i.e., legal warfare (lawfare) – "use of the law as a weapon of war" (Dunlap, 2001)[47] – a key component of Chinese political warfare strategy (Halper, 2014; Jackson, 2015)) appear (thus far) to be the predominate and preferred institutional approaches in re-imagining OCTS, the Basic Law, and the HKSAR while leaving the literal letter of the HKSAR Basic Law untouched – thereby making it politically plausible for Beijing to deny changing longstanding policies on Hong Kong or OCTS. Concomitantly, discursive hegemonic claims of widespread subaltern distortion, misunderstanding, and/or subversion of Beijing's original intentions behind OCTS, the Basic Law and subsidiary principles like a High Degree of Autonomy, Hongkongers Ruling Hong Kong and No Change for 50 years and their alleged complicity and culpability in supporting color revolutions and supporting Hong Kong independence and/or self-determination have become dominant securitization frames and political warfare strategies deployed by the regime to legitimate and justify the rectification of Hong Kong and Hongkongers under the new OCTS scheme – all the while maintaining there are no changes to the policy. Conflicts between Hong Kong and Chinese authorities involving OCTS, the HKSAR Basic Law and the People's Republic of China's (PRC) Constitution tap new (and old) Chinese national security (and sovereignty) concerns regarding governance over the territory (the SAR System) and, ultimately, are perceived as jeopardizing China's efforts develop a Socialist Rule of Law, a Chinese form of national and party governance, and national security model.[48] Yet, at its core the fight between the CCP and its unruly

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build up the governing capability of our Party; this is now written into the Party's official documents, and made known to the world." (emphasis added)

[46] "Societal security concerns the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats" (Wæver, Buzan, Kelstrup, & Lemaitre, 1993, p.23)

[47] He later develops lawfare to mean: "the strategy of using – or misusing – law as a substitute for traditional military means to achieve an operational objective." (Dunlap, 2008, p.145)

[48] China's model of governance, called Governance with Chinese Characteristics, is in the process of being formulated but according to the Director of the China Center for Comparative Politics & Economics, Yu Keping, it is a: "unique governance model that is different from both traditional socialist models and Western capitalistic models" that draws upon "30 years of exploration and learning since the opening up polices began." (K. Yu, 2011) The new model draws on the experiences and lessons of OCTS, including the *SAR System* which

Hong Kong subjects is not over the law per se (the law is merely a tool, a political weapon) but over power and politics: who holds governing power over the HKSAR and Hongkongers. OCTS Securitization, by de-politicizing issues like universal suffrage, patriotism, national identity or the meaning and interpretation of OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law, removes it from public debate under the claim of national security which it then claims the sovereign prerogative to define and protect. Today, in light of new mainland national security logics and existential threat perceptions, normal issues between Hong Kong and Chinese systems are no longer problems or contradictions between competing/incompatible systems, they are seen as existential national security threats manifesting the power politics of OCTS as manipulated by internal and external foes.

Yet, even in authoritarian (China) and competitive authoritarian (Hong Kong) settings the ruling regimes still need to manufacture consent in Hong Kong (and abroad) to new neo-authoritarian ideologies and measures transgressing OCTS as understood by the Hong Kong public (and international community) – even when relying on the subtly of legal warfare, patriotic and nationalistic rhetoric, and not so subtle polarizing political warfare politics. The Westernization of Hongkongers and their resistance to economic integration with Socialist China over fears of the loss of local identity and way of life (Societal Security), however, have presented Beijing cultural, ideological and political insecurity challenges as part of the "global political game between some Western countries and China" thereby leading to Chinese and HKSAR authorities' use of vicious identity politics (e.g., identity and security discourses of patriots and traitors) in the SAR as political warfare strategy to shift Hong Kong's Chinese residents' identity, sense of belonging and world views from the West to the East, specifically to Socialist Chinese, loyalties, perspectives and dispositions. (Zhou, 2014b, 2014e, 2014h, 2015d)[49] Therefore, more coercive and totalizing securitizing national security moral panic, and its related identity and patriotism panics, as a mode of OCTS populist authoritarian governmentality have been required and pursued to remake Hong Kong society. Authoritarian populism with HKSAR Characteristics – a Chinese Communist form of Thatcherism described in Stuart Hall's (1979) *The Great Moving Right Show* – is seen here as complimentary processes intended to legitimate and effect the securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers, and OCTS through its reimagining as a locus of mortal enemies and threats. The goal is to (re)secure the central authorities' absolute authority, control and sovereignty (aka One Country Absolutism) and

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was authorized in the Chinese Constitution under Article 31. One description of the SAR System it is: "the settlement to the problem left over by history and constitutes a crucial part of our constitution." (Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences, n.d.) According to Y. Zhou (2013), OCTS theory "provides an important path to improving [the] governance structure of China…" (p.21) He frames the SAR System as an" institutional expression" giving "form" to the social systems expressed in OCTS and can be situated legally and politically. (p.21) The former has "evolved into a basic political system of China" with the latter constituting "a constitutional system of China." (p.22)

[49] This is vividly seen in NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Lau Nai-keung's calls to Hongkongers to use its separate system to subvert the West and aid China in its geopolitical struggle against the West. (N.-k. Lau, 2013b)

Hongkongers' (Socialist) "Chineseness" amidst a deteriorating China-Hong Kong relationship, worsening situation of sectarian polarization, growing regime-related political violence, and emergent subaltern insurrection and possible militant insurgency by changing Hongkongers' identities, sense of belongings, and loyalties.[50] In other words, it is an intervention to shore up and protect the CCP's political and ideological security's weakest links in the Chinese national security state: the Hongkongers and OCTS. It can also be seen, as will be explained, as a mechanism to "update" OCTS to accommodate and defend against enemies, perils and threats Socialist China faces in the 21st century.

Ironically, however, China's coercive efforts to depoliticize OCTS via OCTS Securitization have led, instead, to the intensification of politics and existential political conflict in China-Hong Kong relations as China's One Country security clashed with Hongkongers societal security thereby creating a OCTS security dilemma. In short, the more the Chinese and HKSAR OCTS Securitization hawks demand "One Country" servitude and claim the West and Western values are enemies and existential national security threats (a political security stance), the more they have provoked dissident Hongkongers to respond with "Two Systems" and the Hongkonger identity and way of life claims (i.e., referent objects of Hongkongers' societal security posture) thereby inevitably leading to security spirals and political and societal security dilemmas (Wæver et al., 1993).[51] Whereas the pre-Handover generations of Hongkongers might submit more readily to Communist rule, the present postmodern generations of Hongkongers will not. Hence, the importance of recognizing the implicit and explicit

[50] Though not fully comprehending or articulating the complexity of the Hong Kong Problem and the potential of Hongkonger militant resistance for the Chinese Communist Party other China scholars, such as David Shambaugh (2016), are now (finally) post-Occupy/Umbrella beginning to include Hong Kong as part of the PRC's "volatile periphery" along with Xinjiang, Tibet and Taiwan that is "on the brink" "of exploding into full-scale civil disobedience and anti-regime activities." (p.68) Moreover, Garrett and Ho (2014b) among others had already observed that Hong Kong was "at the brink" of an uprising prior the September-December 2014 occupation. Rather than *civil disobedience*, however, this dissertation contends Hongkongers resistance to Red China is better understood as *political disobedience* (Harcourt, 2012) albeit civil disobedience is one element the Hongkonger resistance repertoire. Political vice civil disobedience, according to Harcourt (2012), "resists the very way in which we are governed. It rejects the idea of honoring or expressing the 'highest respect for law.' It refuses to willingly accept the sanctions meted out by the legal and political system. It challenges the conventional way that political governance takes place, that laws are enforced. It turns its back on the political institutions and actors who govern us all. It resists the structure of partisan politics, the traditional demand for policy reforms, the call for party identification, and, beyond that, the very ideologies that have dominated the postwar period." (p.34)

[51] At a broad level, a societal security dilemma is an inherent dimension of OCTS that juxtaposes the identity of Communist China as a socialist country against that of the Hongkonger identity and way of life (Two Systems) whose identity is, if not anticommunist, then noncommunist. The recent emergence of a *Hongkonger, not Chinese* constructed ethnicity that is frequently associated with Hongkonger localism, independence and nativism sentiments is another dimension of this. Albeit this newly constructed ethnicity might also be more accurately (or comprehensively) conceptualized as *Hongkonger, not Chinese Communist*. Too often analysts and observers focus on the ethnicity claims rather than the explicit and implicit anticommunist discourses and contexts they are often embedded. For an example of how subaltern Hongkongers have securitized their identity against the societal security threat of Red China see *Superheroes in Hong Kong's Political Resistance: Icons, Images and Opposition* (Garrett, 2014d) by the author and *Hong Kong at the Brink: Emerging forms of Political Participation in the New Social Movement* by (Garrett & Ho, 2014) from an identity politics perspective.

dimensions of the CCP's friend/enemy binary as a fundamental concept and mode of politics at the heart of OCTS from its inception under Deng Xiaoping and through its contemporary implementation, intensification and securitization by President Xi Jinping and Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying. Today's OCTS is not the same as envisioned in the 1980s or implemented in the late-1990s and 2000s. The conflict in China-Hong Kong relations is no longer one of *hearts and minds* or *confidence and promises*, but of good versus evil Manichean warfare and survival. Though resembling and borrowing from the modern antidemocratic authoritarian toolkit adopted by "illiberal regimes to project their influence into the democratic space in a variety of ways" and to "muffle" democratic voices (Walker, 2016, p.51), the China-Hong Kong conflict is more political warfare and power politics than simple Chinese communist authoritarian hostility to democracy. Democracy, or more accurately, universal suffrage, is simply the narrative plot in which the existential struggle has most frequently been situated by pro-democracy and Western activists, observers and scholars.

Aside from serving as a type of nation (re)building project within the HKSAR, OCTS Securitization China's use of coercive media, legal and psychological warfare in Hong Kong (part of Party's "The Three Warfares" (*san zhong zhanfa*) strategy (See Halper, 2014; Stokes & Hsiao, 2013)) targeting dissident Hongkongers can also be understood as a variant of HKSAR/OCTS stability maintenance (*weiwen*); a form of Chinese Communist creative political destruction to recreate Hong Kong via authoritarian populism mechanisms encompassing mass line united front containment and denunciation campaigns (such as the anti-OCLP Silent Majority for Hong Kong movement (Silent Majority hereafter), the Defend Hong Kong Campaign, and Voice of Loving Hong Kong), and (increasingly) real and symbolic regime-connected political violence against dissidents. Arguably these forms of cultural, identity and political war and growing real and symbolic political violence increasingly resembling a China-Hong Kong sectarian conflict where Chinese variants of Vladimir Putin's hybrid warfare (Baker, 2015; Raska, 2015), Beijing's Three Warfares, counter-color revolution/counter-soft war (McDermott, 2016a, 2016b; Russia Today, 2015a, 2015c), or what is called elsewhere, measures Short of War (Connable, Campbell, & Madden, 2016) – all strategies are used to domesticate and pacify regime critics and opponents at home or abroad – are deployed so as to insulate authoritarian regimes like China (and the HKSAR government) from Western democratic contagions such as Arab springs, color revolutions, peaceful evolution, and soft war.

Indeed, as will be discussed, there are substantive parallels in Chinese and Russian approaches in coercively managing illiberal political systems such as the HKSAR's were elections are competitive but not free or fair (Levitsky & Way, 2010) in order to inoculate authoritarian regimes against US-led peaceful evolution cum color revolution forays. Compared to Beijing's 2003-2004 united front interventions in the HKSAR which were arguably seen by Chinese authorities as a security response to Hong Kong's first (failed) color revolution, since the end of 2014 China has abandoned the charm offensive and deployed selective denunciation campaigns targeting elite and radical subalterns for a

more authoritarian shock collar approach backed up by *Us* or *Them* mass line offensives. It is a revitalization of Maoist class war, of HKSAR patriots versus Hong Kong non-patriots; thus, the hegemonic-counter-hegemonic approach adopted in this study.[52] Rather than a win-win reunification project or national security strategy, under President Xi Jinping and Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying (CY Leung hereafter), OCTS Securitization has become a zero-sum Chinese communist counter-insurgency-like (COIN) political campaign against Westernized democracy and universal values contagions and insurgent radical subaltern Hongkongers under the banner of Chinese national security and OCTS Securitization. In other words, an OCTS rectification campaign (to protect Chinese political security) against the contemporary HKSAR OCTS class enemies of the revolution; a war mostly vividly deployed by China today in Hong Kong against the counterrevolutionary "hostile forces" of the radical democrats, localists and youths espousing independence and self-determination rhetoric and *Hongkonger, Not Chinese* (Communist) ethnicities (Hongkongers' societal security). In this political struggle, there is no middle ground for Hongkongers: you're either with the Chinese communists, or against them.[53]

Totalizing hegemonic securitization of OCTS via Maoist and Schmittian friend-enemy binaries is engaged through the discursive obliteration of middle-ground politics in the HKSAR and in the complete annihilation of the Hongkonger enemies as best demonstrated by the campaigns against OCLP, the Umbrella Revolution, radical democrats, localists and separatists. For example, a prominent State Council State-Owned-Enterprise (SOE)-affiliated *China Daily* commentator in Hong Kong, Zhou Bajun, averred in January 2014 – deploying George W. Bush-like totalizing *US or Them* rhetoric – that: "The so-called middle path between 'One Country' and 'Two Systems' is merely wishful thinking." (Zhou, 2014i) Rather, there is "a decisive political battle for the control of the city" where one either stands on the 'right side of Hong Kong history," or not. (Zhou, 2014g) China's society-wide mobilizations of Hong Kong against the Occupy Central movement in 2013 and 2014 and against so-called localists and independence advocates in 2015 and 2016, have become emblematic of the scorched earth policy of Xi Jinping and CY Leung's "*No Prisoners Taken*: *US* or *Them*" approach to governing the HKSAR and safeguarding OCTS and Socialist China.

For example, dehumanizing, labeling and stereotyping the Hongkonger enemy as a blight on the SAR that need to be exterminated, a Hong Kong CPPCC delegate and chairman of the Hong Kong Chinese

[52] This continues my approach introduced in pages 12 to 14 in *Counter-hegemonic Resistance in China's Hong Kong: Visualizing Protest in the City*. (Garrett, 2015)

[53] This can also be seen in China's hegemonic line that if Hongkongers continue to resist mainlandization and oppose the Chinese Communist Party by not contributing to socialist modernization, as in the case of resisting supporting China's new "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) strategic project, they'll be left behind as the world shift from West to East. Zhou Bajun, a leading hegemonic securitizing actor writing in the China Daily has profusely articulated this threat – as have others, most notably, former chief executive Tung Chee-hwa. Though not delved into here, China's OBOR is an important element in China's new national security strategy to preclude American/Western economic, military and political containment and to transform the international order to a state of multipolarity.

Importers and Exporters Association, Cheung Hok-sa, urged, "…the pro-establishment camp should take the initiative in rallying popular support to **rid the city of this political scourge**." (H.-s. Cheung, 2015) (emphasis added) Another ultra-hardliner hawk, a former deputy commissioner with the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), Tony Kwok, incited patriotic extermination of enemy localists: "Potentially, the 'pro-Hong Kong independence' gangs could metamorphose into a terrorist group. They are our No 1 enemy. All sectors should make a concerted effort to eliminate them – to **nip them in the bud** before it is too late!" (Kwok, 2015) (emphasis added) Elsewhere Kwok dehumanized independence-minded Hongkongers as a "cancer" that "authorities must **act fast to cut it out** before terrorist attacks become commonplace [in Hong Kong], as in Paris or Brussels." (Kwok, 2016) (emphasis added) Such internal securitizing moves, as discussed below, namely the enemification of dissident Hongkongers and securitization of radicals, localists and separatists as extremists and terrorists, are bracketed by broader Chinese national securitizing moves, logics and rhetoric unequivocally situating dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS simultaneously as core interests (referent objects) and existential security threats to the Socialist System and CCP.

The Rhetorical Construction of Hongkonger Enemies

The rhetorical construction and use of enemies – "identifiable persons or stereotypes of persons to whom evil traits, intentions, or actions can be attributed" (Edelman, 1988, p.8) Cited in Jasinski (2001, p.201-205)) – has been long recognized as having constitutive power for forming and mobilizing collectivities. For instance, the formation of national identity, solidarity or unity to pursue national goals such as war (a continuation of politics (Clausewitz, Howard, & Paret, 1976)) or even for Socialist China's national rejuvenation. Mao Zedong reportedly justified not reclaiming Taiwan so as the *problem* of Taiwan independence could distract mainland Chinese from the social and political problems under the Chinese communists. (Maochun Yu, 2015) Mao similarly allowed colonial exploitation of Hong Kong to continue for decades as it was politically expedient (domestically and internationally) as well as lucrative for the communist regime.

In this sense, images of enemy Hongkongers, democracy as color revolutionary-enabled regime change, a devious United States seducing the SAR's youth to derail China's rise, and enemification of democracy seeking Hongkongers and construction of the Hong Kong Threat as a national security crisis – especially the Hong Kong independence issue and conflicts in the China-Hong Kong relationship – may arguably be viewed by the Chinese authorities as similarly opportune enemies and nationalistic security threats useful for unifying the mainland Chinese nation at a time of great economic and social change and political instability. A Hong Kong appearing to be in chaos, locked in the throes of attempted color revolutions, manipulated by the West, and threatening China's rise and dream – as constructed by mainland and HKSAR securitization actors – provides a rallying point for patriotic mainland and overseas Chinese to align not only against ungrateful and unpatriotic

Hongkongers – so called *hanjian*, but also against Western-style democracy and universal rights such as freedom of speech and countries that are "messing up" the HKSAR and OCTS and posing threats to China's rise and rejuvenation. Such scenarios are not too different from the Maoist-era where, "For the sake of facilitating large-scale mobilization of the Chinese people for socialist reconstruction, Mao even deliberately fostered a high degree of tension between China and the West so as to create a siege mentality among the people and whip up nationalist fervor. As a result, the role of ideology in China's foreign policy was further fortified." (S.-k. Lau, 2004, p.91)[54]

Today, however, it is contended, China is deliberately stoking tension between Hong Kong and the mainland as part of a similar ideological campaign. The intent is to "whip up nationalist fervor" and fear against radical democrats, localists and separatists, and democracy, the United States and the West, as part of a domestic counterinsurgency program. The goal is to securitize and rectify dissident Hong Kong and Hongkongers and the OCTS policy so as to safeguard the dictatorship of CCP, Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and Socialist China while also seeking to mobilize socialist reconstruction at home – and in the HKSAR – and deter domestic demands for democracy and Western-style political reforms. Furthermore, it is much easier and less risky for the Chinese communists to "look and act tough" towards the U.S. in the Hong Kong SAR than it is elsewhere, like the East and South China Seas where confrontations carry higher real political (and military) security costs. In many ways, China's securitization moves on the mainland and in the Hong Kong resemble aspects of how the Russian Federation's domestic opposition politics have been generally securitized since 2000 (Bacon et al., 2006), and specifically against color revolution threats. (Mijnssen, 2014) Similarly, China's "defeat" of alleged American-sponsored color revolutions in Hong Kong have become part of the Chinese national security narrative of a strong and resurgent Socialist China's ability to stand up to the United States' evil machinations to derail China's rise in a Manichean geopolitical conflict between East and West. It has also, according to Chinese and HKSAR securitizing actors, become iconic of the global transformation of the world order from West to East – something Hongkongers have been repeatedly threatened to recognize and get on board with China

[54] S.-k. Lau (2004) claims that China's Hong Kong policy between 1949 and 1997 was one where "ideology [was] insignificant" and displayed a "high degree of rationality and pragmatism." (p.91) Though not the focus of this dissertation, the author would contest that argument and contend rather that China's 1949-1997 Hong Kong policy was, in fact, highly ideological and instrumental (as opposed to pragmatic) but was prioritized differently and strategically higher than other Chinese communist foreign policy, ideological, or other national security needs such as sovereignty. This became clearer in the late-1970s and 1980s as Hong Kong and OCTS became drivers of China's Second Revolution, Opening Up and Reform. Communist China's intention to exploit a post-colonial Hong Kong for socialist modernization and reconstruction was already evident before the end of the 1970s with the creation of a State Council-level office to manage the Hong Kong question and problem as well as the Chinese securitization moves to add Article 31 – allowing the creation of Special Administrative Regions and implementation of non-socialist systems in those recovered areas – in the 1982 version of the People's Republic of China Constitution.

and stop messing up Hong Kong and China-Hong Kong relations, or else. The future of OCTS is even now held hostage to Hongkongers' attitude towards the mainland. (RTHK, 2016e)

Creating Chaos and Messing Up Hong Kong

In June 2015, following the failure of the Chinese and HKSAR government's political reform package, a *Global Times* editorial warned Hongkongers that if pro-democracy opposition forces didn't stop with "drastic street demonstrations" they would "push Hong Kong to a dead end and mean a life and death struggle with the Basic Law" leading the city to a mess: "We are concerned that a Pandora box is being opened in Hong Kong and various devils are released to ruin the region's future. People who love Hong Kong should work to keep the box tightly closed so that Hong Kong won't degenerate form the capital of finance and fashion to a total mess." (Global Times, 2015b) Another *Global Times* earlier described Hong Kong's opposition camp as having "eroded the tradition of rationality and the rule of law, permeating radicalism and populism into Hong Kong's ideology." (Global Times, 2014a) A securitizing mainland academic claimed in the *Global Times* that the Occupy and Umbrella movements aimed not just for regime change of the HKSAR government but to create "chaos in the whole of Chinese society, deteriorating China's political environment." (Z. Liu, 2014) Another, Hong Kong-based, *Global Times* securitization agent claimed that opposition legislators were pursuing a "chaos-to-win' at any cost strategy demanding more political rights then promised by the Basic Law, embracing "extremist ideas and actions," using violent protests, and bombs to achieve Hong Kong's independence. (E. Yuen, 2015)

Aside from mirroring Chinese (and Russian) color revolution claims of American/Western efforts to create chaos on China's periphery to destabilize the Chinese heartland (Korybko, 2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b; M. Lau, 2015; W.-W. Zhang, 2012), these chaos and declinist securitization frames are consistent with many other securitization discourses of numerous regime securitizing actors who articulate an urgent need for the HKSAR government – and the patriotic camp – to *disrupt* and *subdue* the radical democrats, localists and separatists. Concomitantly, the chaos and calamity frames are intended to dissuade most ordinary Hongkongers from supporting these *hostile forces*, and to see them, more properly, as the enemies of Hong Kong and China rather than defenders of the Hong Kong way of life and the Two Systems of OCTS, or even as rational political actors (the alleged irrationality of Hong Kong opposition being another ubiquitous hegemonic securitization frame.) These types of security arguments, claims and discourses regarding chaos, calamity and patriotic disruption have been the subtext behind many of the Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors' warnings to Hongkongers to cherish Hong Kong's prosperity and stability and OCTS – or else. As Zhou Bajun wrote in an end-of-year *China Daily* Op-Ed titled, *HK must maintain stability*, he invoked the images of "a year of political turmoil and … economic uncertainty ahead …" to mobilize the public against those "messing Hong Kong up" (Zhou, 2015b):

> As 2015 draws to a close, Hong Kong residents can only mourn the loss of the opportunity to elect the Chief Executive by universal suffrage in 2017, which was **taken away by the opposition camp**. Following the **death of the constitutional reform** process, **politicization of everything** only became even **more extrem**e and the SAR government found it even more difficult to do its job according to the Basic Law. **The year also witnessed the rise of 'localism' and 'de-sinofication' sentiments, which were used by a very small number of people to promote 'Hong Kong independence' at the expense of the healthy relationship between Hong Kong and the mainland.**
>
> …
>
> As a small but unique, highly open economy, Hong Kong is in no position to avoid the negative impacts from the worsening economic environment worldwide. Therefore, like a ship being tossed around in raging waters, it must find an 'anchor' strong enough to keep it from being swept under. That 'anchor' is without a doubt the Chinese nation, of which Hong Kong is an inseparable part. The mainland economy is now the second-largest in the world and one of the primary driving forces behind the global economy today. **Hong Kong's economy has never been more dependent on the mainland economy but its healthy relations with the mainland are increasingly threatened by 'localism,' 'de-sinofication' and even 'Hong Kong independence advocacy.**
>
> …
>
> Thus the year 2015 is ending with Hong Kong residents seeking stability and direction more than anything else. **That is why maintaining stability and the right focus should be the top priority for the SAR government in 2016, beginning with preventing 'localism' and 'de-sinofication' from messing up people's minds. It is necessary to let the public know that the derailing of the constitutional reform process was motivated by the same vile idea behind the dangerous behavior of 'localism' and 'de-sinofication' advocates – that is, jeopardizing the implementation of the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy at the expense of the overall interest of Hong Kong society.**

A *China Daily* Op-Ed ahead of the 16th anniversary of the HKSAR similarly constructed the threat about the SAR's dissidents "messing Hong Kong" up in 2013:

> The 'One Country, Two Systems' principle, first expounded by Deng Xiaoping, virtually places Hong Kong as testing ground, a showcase, and the whole world is watching. **We Chinese have no alternative, but remain committed to the principle, and will try out best to make this unprecedented design work.**
>
> Having said that, solidarity is a prerequisite for its effective implementation. **In recent years, we have witnessed some politicians and parties politicize almost every livelihood issue, in an attempt to counter Beijing by messing up Hong Kong. Such evil intent may cost the city its stability and prosperity**, and their seemingly endless empty talk in the LegCo chamber may **bleed Hong Kong dry**. It is therefore **important for the public to see the truth**, and narrow the divide between citizens from different strata and sectors in our society, so we can unwaveringly devote ourselves to changing the prolonged sluggishness of our economic development. (B. Lee, 2013) (emphasis added)

In a 2012 *China Daily* opinion piece discussing a keynote speech on China's political system given at a leading CCP cadre school, the China Executive Leadership Academy, in reference to the 18th CCP Congress' report on Hong Kong affairs raised the issue of national security and the "messing up" of Hong Kong. In response to the reporter's question regarding the SAR and the significance of the

Hong Kong section the keynote speaker, Professor Jiang Haishan reportedly stated that, "the underlying goal of the principles and policies adopted by the central government concerning Hong Kong and Macao is to safeguard China's sovereignty, security and development interests, and maintain long-term prosperity and stability of the two SARs." (Yang, 2012a) The commentator then opined that:

> Judging by virtues of Chinese semantics, one can obviously sense that the nation's sovereignty, security and development come first – 'One Country' should undoubtedly precede 'Two Systems', although the two are integral.
>
> The report goes further emphasizing 'we must adhere to the one-China principle and respect the differences of the two systems, uphold the central government's authority and ensure a high degree of autonomy in the SARS… at no time should we focus only on one side to the neglect of the other.' **The accurate reading of this paragraph should be: China is a unitary state ruled and governed by a central authority. Any attempt to advocate 'de-Sinofication' or 'Hong Kong independence' is not allowed.**
>
> The CPC report also implies the central government's jurisdiction over the Hong Kong SAR may be further institutionalized and formularized. 'The central government will act in strict accordance with the Basic Law, improve work mechanisms for their reinforcement, and firmly support the chief executives and governments of the SARs.' **As many columnists have already pointed out, this sentence carries considerable significance and leaves much for imagination, but one unmistakable message is that since political forces opposed to the central government and bent on messing up Hong Kong are still very much alive, naturally more concrete measures are needed to change the situation.** (Yang, 2012a) (emphasis added)

Another *China Daily* commentator articulated how Chinese national security was implicated in the existential struggle between national identity and Hong Kong independence as part of the 2012 OCTS crisis over patriotic education: "The debate over the implementation of moral and national education (MNE) as a subject in Hong Kong has turned into a **political duel between national identity recognition and 'Hong Kong independence' activists.** The lessons from the MNE controversy **deserve much attention from those who love the country and Hong Kong**." (Keung, 2012) (emphasis added) In this instance, the construction of internal enemies of OCTS (Fifth and Sixth Columns) conspiring with foreign enemies was explicit:

> … efforts to implement national education and achieving popular acceptance of the national identity need better strategies. Why? Because after all, Hong Kong was cut off from the motherland for more than one-and-a-half centuries and has lived under a unique culture and different political system for quite a long time. As a result its social awareness is considerably different from that of the mainland. **Therefore, if the SAR government's policies and measures do not fully recognize these differences, they are very likely to be questioned and disputed by some Hong Kong residents, who may be convinced by the opposition to join its "Hong Kong independence" attempts.**
>
> Even more significant is the fact that **Hong Kong has become a beachhead for Western powers headed by the US** since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and they have **trained a bunch of native speakers to act as their functionaries** with a much larger number of followers**. As China's rise gained momentum in recent years, the US has**

> **become increasingly anxious about its dominance in this part of the world and naturally is stepping up efforts to use its native functionaries here to distract Beijing by messing up Hong Kong. That explains why the opposition camp has been so impressive in its recent political maneuvers aimed at sowing discord between Hong Kong residents and their mainland compatriots.** (Keung, 2012)

Notably, this *political dual* over MNE was later described as a loss by the hegemonic forces and the episode itself referred to by a Beijing stalwart and former president of the Legislative Council, Jasper Tsang Yok-sing, as one of three OCTS crises since the Handover. (Ip, 2016b)

This is not the first time the CCP had used Hong Kong as political pawn for nationalism and political warfare purposes as exemplified in its post-1949 Hong Kong policy towards the then British colony. The CCP's anti-Falun Gong securitization campaign on mainland – "the largest security-related propaganda campaign since 1989" – "directed against a group of qigong practitioners who were presented as a grave threat to society" is another example. (Vuori, 2014, p.i) Notably, since 2012 under new Chinese notions of national security and the leadership of Xi Jinping and CY Leung, the mainland anti-Falun Gong campaigns have again infiltrated into Hong Kong more vividly and have become incorporated into the larger political war waged on dissident Hongkongers (Garrett & Ho, 2014) in the SAR as part of the CCP's on-going eradication and suppression of state enemies and OCTS rectification campaign. Indeed, physical and rhetorical attacks by mainland and HKSAR security-apparatus connected pro-Beijing uncivil society groups in Hong Kong against Falun Gong and radical pro-democracy parties who stepped forward to defend them in August 2013 in Mong Kok nearly became a riot during a showdown over "Teacher Lam" and HKSAR police condoned political violence against the Falun Gong. (Garrett, 2015, p.184-193)

Enemification

Enemification, a form of dehumanization, where an out-group is portrayed as an enemy has been rampant in the political wars under and over OCTS and is part and parcel of communist Chinese united front political culture and Maoist politics. Importantly, it is contended here that post-2012 it has become an institutional element of the hegemonic process of OCTS Securitization and the remaking of Hong Kong, Hongkongers, and OCTS. This process of enemification is related to Othering, the "labeling and degrading of groups other than one's own" – a form of oppressive language, and Evilfication where other individuals and groups are demonized and made outcasts. (Matusitz, 2015) For instance, the former HKSAR Secretary for Security Ambrose Lee's characterization of Mong Kok Riot aka "Fishball Revolution" rioters as 'beasts' and 'not human,' or pro-establishment politician Junius Ho's statement that it would be OK for Hong Kong police to kill rioters as they weren't one of *Them*: "It would not be killing Hongkongers. It would be killing rioters." (Fung, 2016) Following up on Chinese officials' unprecedented categorization of the rioters as separatists with terroristic inclinations, a pro-establishment political columnist in the *South China*

Morning Post (*SCMP*) even labeled pro-democracy defenders of the rioters as terrorist apologists and implied they were accomplices. (A. Wu, 2016) Labeling localist rioters as separatists and terrorists and their defenders as having provided material support to "terrorists" immediately confirmed and elevated their threat image as hallmark enemies of the state, and more importantly, transformed them – *and any advocate of Hong Kong localism* – into arch enemies of Socialist China (and the HKSAR). This constructed and situated independence-minded SAR localists within China' national security matrix as the same type of existential national security threats (extremists, separatists, terrorists) considered to be one the *Three Major Dangers* to China (see comments on the triad further below.)

Simultaneously, Hong Kong radical democrats, localists and separatists have been enveloped by dehumanizing mainland counter-terrorism discourses where terrorists are constructed as little more than animals who were "the common enemy of the people" and suitable for extermination. As *Xinhua* reported the 2014 declaration of President Xi Jinping: "'(We must) make terrorists become like rats scurrying across the street, with everybody shouting 'beat them!'" (Xinhua, 2014a) By many measures, the anti-Mong Kok Riot moral panic and political warfare media campaign by the SAR government and regime-friendly English-language media resembled a real world HKSAR discursive enactment of Big Brother's infamous *Hate Session*. (Orwell, 1950) Such *sessions*, extended to other regime hated Hongkonger enemy dissident groups such as those from OCLP/Umbrella or the radical pro-democracy political parties, have also been performed by pro-regime uncivil society groups in street-level politics and online virtual enmity rituals such as "beating the devil."[55] Notably, these contentious performances and rituals have also been adopted by dissident subalterns in their own counter-securitizations of OCTS and securitizing depictions the hegemonic forces as enemies of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. Hence, illustrating the situation of mutual enemy images and threat constructions contributing to the crisis of OCTS. That said, the subaltern dissidents lack the institutional power to systematically discriminate, destroy or stereotype the hegemonic forces. Therefore, their dehumanizing enemy image making and existential threat constructions are conceived here as modes of resistance and episodes of sectarian conflict more so than acts of discrimination or oppression as they lack the institutional power of the ruling forces to discriminate, let alone oppress or eradicate them. Sectarian bigotry and discrimination are well documented

[55] 'Beating the devil" is a tradition where "devil beater" uses a shoe to strike effigies of people's enemies and to chase away bad luck. Originating as religious and rural tradition, it has entered Hong Kong's political culture. As described by the *China Daily*: "Known as 'beating the devil,' the practice tends to victimize politicians or mistresses depending on the state of the economy.'" (Ta Kung Pao, 2007) Variations on the theme have entered local political and protest culture where demonstrators use chops, shoes or other devices to beat despised political figures as suggested in a March 2015 *SCMP* headline: *Chief executive a favourite target for 'devil beaters' on White Tiger day*. (S. Zhao, 2015) Though now widely adopted by radical and youth subalterns, the hegemonic forces similarly carry out enacted forms of securitization utilizing leading opposition figures and radical democrats, localists and separatists. Striking images of pro-democracy media mogul Jimmy Lai Chee-ying and his alleged American and Hong Kong "color revolution backers" is one favorite hegemonic security practice. These enacted and performed manifestations of banal securitizations also take shape in visual securitizations depicting devil beating which are circulated and diffused online through social and new media.

phenomena in other conflicts involving deeply divided and traumatized societies such as Northern Ireland (Chirot, 2011; Scanlon, 2008) or Israel and Palestine. (Olesker, 2014; Segal, 2016) Likewise, transgression and use of transgressive language as modes of resistance and political warfare are well established. (Gournelos & Gunkel, 2012; Jenks, 2003)

Nonetheless, some pro-democracy camp critics of radical democrats, localists and separatists – seemingly mimicking the anti-Hongkonger rhetoric and phobia of the hegemonic securitizing actors such as Chen Zuoer, Lau Siu-kai, Lau Nai-keung, Regina Ip Suk-yee, Richard Wong Yue-chim, Ronnie Chan, Tony Kwok and Zhang Xiaoming (R. C. Chan, 2007; Ip, 2014b; S.-k. Lau, 2007; R. Wong, 2015a, 2015b, 2016) – have similarly framed the radicals as anti-China, fascist, Mainland/Sino-phobic, Nazis, and/or right wing xenophobes (Y.-c. Chen & Szeto, 2015; Hung, 2014; Sautman & Yan, 2015) while apparently acceding to the ruling forces' political claims that Hongkongers are ethnically and politically Chinese – a notion that has become vigorously contested and politicized under the new identity and power politics of OCTS and resistance to communist China. So-called moderate support to hegemonic forces' securitization attacks on radical democrats, localists and separatists have contributed to, and intensified, the fragmentation and polarization of the pro-democracy camp – as China's united front and OCTS securitization practices intended. Indeed, when pro-democracy moderates fail to collaborate in the collective demonization and hegemonic securitization of the enemies of OCTS over their contentious and transgressive performances and challenges to the local and central governments and the CCP, they too come under hegemonic wrath and securitization as was observed in the aftermath of the Mong Kok Riot.

Though the Mong Kok Riot was a, if not the, precipitating moment for the formal securitizing performance of hegemonic labeling of radical Hong Kong localists as extremists, separatists and terrorists as discussed in the following chapter, many hawkish regime securitizing agents have taken the opportunity to discursively frame or link Hong Kong's broader non-violent pro-democracy and dissident movements with terrorism in the past few years, especially the OCLP and Umbrella Revolution movements which were similarly repeatedly compared in hegemonic state-media and so-called mainstream establishment newspapers in Hong Kong to a bevy of authoritarian nightmares such as Arab Springs, civil wars, color revolutions, revolutionary coups, insurrectionist wars, and ethnic terrorism. The Chinese and HKSAR government's securitization moves in recent years have contained demonizing and enemifying language and rhetoric compromising dramatic, systematic, society-wide, political warfare campaigns against first OCLP, and then the Umbrella Revolution and, finally, radical democrats, localists and Hong Kong independence advocates. They have used polarizing language that categorized, labeled, stereotyped and stigmatized the movements and their supporters; Not just as enemies, but as criminals, terrorists and terrorist facilitators. Political deviants who had sought to assault, blackmail, confront, defame, extort, liable, hijack, hold hostage, threaten and otherwise menace the central and HKSAR governments.

Many hegemonic discourses targeting dissident Hongkongers during the Occupy Central (January 2013 to September 2014) and Umbrella Revolution (September 2014 to the present) periods variously framed Hong Kong's political deviants as different categories of enemies with being public enemies and enemies of China, Beijing, the Party, the People and the State being key securitization frames and enemy typologies. Relatedly, pro-democracy radicals, localists and separatists have been labeled as collaborators with enemy states and accused of maliciously demonizing the Chinese and HKSAR governments so as to ruin the relationship between China and Hong Kong. One of the most vivid hegemonic national security vilifications of Hong Kong independence supporters was *Xinhua*'s April 2016 screed: "By promoting the 'Republic of Hong Kong,' they are in breach of the Constitution and the region's Basic Law, both of which explicitly emphasize sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity. **Anyone who breaches the Constitution and the Basic Law becomes the enemy of all Chinese people, including the 7 million plus Hong Kong citizens**." (Xinhua, 2016b) (emphasis added) However, the Chinese and HKSAR regimes' efforts at enemification as forms of hegemonic nation and patriotism building projects along xenophobic anti-Western lines, created, instead, inherent security conundrums, dilemmas and, ultimately, subaltern resistance to orthodox Chinese communist notions of Chineseness, nationalism and patriotism by a city who largely held un-problematically to a hybrid identity and culture of East and West, especially among the postmodern post-HKSAR generations of Hongkongers at the center of Hong Kong's post-2010 political awakening and insurgency against Communist domination. Put simply, China's demands on Hongkongers to accept a communist/socialist identity and related attacks on Western identities, influence and values in the SAR – the mark of the devil and badges of enemy honor insofar as Chinese super nationalists were concerned – were seen by many as an attack on the Hong Kong identity and way of life and OCTS itself; or, at the very least, attacks on important components of the valued societal security referent objects. Hence, security promises like those of NPCSC chairman Zhang Dejiang to Hongkongers in May 2016 not to worry about OCTS because they will not be *mainlandized* were empty assurances in light of hegemonic security lenses that perceived the West, universal Western values, and Westernized Hongkongers as national security threats – and, disloyalty.

The Securitization of Dissent – No Challenges, No Confrontations: OCTS Democratic Centralism

The degradations of radical democrats, localists and separatists in the preceding section have been ascribed to radical political behavior that in any democratic society would be considered normal – non-securitized – contentious political discourses and rhetoric. This is salient because elements of China's new national security approaches essentially frame normal contentious language (Tarrow, 2013), politics (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007) and performances (Tilly, 2008) as forms of terrorism in some situations. China's new counter-terror law, for instance, defines "terrorism as any proposition or

activity – that, by means of violence, sabotage or threat, generates social panic, undermines public security, infringes personal and property rights, and **menaces government organs** and international organizations – with the aim to realize certain political and ideological purposes." (Xinhua, 2015) (emphasis added) Chinese authorities have even articulated new requirements for Hongkongers to be considered patriots or eligible to stand for election as chief executive namely servility and not confronting or challenging the central authorities, or their policies or statements (democratic centralism by another name.) As put by one hegemonic commentator and co-organizer of the anti-OCLP group the Silent Majority, Ho Lok-sang, put it: "The most important lesson for the protesters to learn is that treating Beijing as an enemy, instead of a friend, will only lead Beijing to treat them as enemies. And **Beijing will not allow its enemies to rule Hong Kong**." (L.-S. Ho, 2014b) (emphasis added)

More authoritatively, in March 2013 Politburo Standing Committee member Yu Zhengsheng declared that opposition and "centrifugal forces" in Hong Kong could not be allowed to obtain political power after universal suffrage was introduced in the city in 2017 or afterwards. Soon after the chairman of the NPC's Law Committee, Qiao Xiaoyang, articulated more clearly new securitizations of OCTS and the Hong Kong Problem in declaring aspirants for the position of chief executive had to be not just patriots, but also those who refrained from challenging or confronting the central authorities or their powers. As reported by the *Global Times* with the securitizing headline, *HK chief must not confront Beijing: experts*, Qiao elucidated on its ambiguous and uncodified patriot principle: "Put in a clear way, it [a patriot] is someone who does not attempt to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party of China, or a change the socialist system in the main body of the country." *(C. Li, 2013)* More pointedly, Qiao Xiaoyang reprimanded recalcitrant Hongkongers, warning that those who opposed the ruling regime, i.e. those who "insist on confronting the central government, they could never become the chief executive." A second, new precondition for Hong Kong's political development was that universal suffrage had to comply not just with the Basic Law but also with the decisions of the NPC Standing Committee – a tenuous securitization position which would ultimately come to a head in August and September 2014 as the Chinese authorities had declared their "bottom line" on Hong Kong's political development.[56] As one HKSAR united front actor wrote in the *China Daily*: "The

[56] In the NPCSC decision, *The Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on Issues Relating to the Selection of the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region by Universal Suffrage and on the Method for Forming the Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in the Year 2016*, China's national security was invoked twice to legitimate the exclusion of Hong Kong dissidents from both nomination and standing for election as chief executive of the HKSAR, in apparent contradiction of the HKSAR Basic Law which provided that all Hongkongers had equal political rights in: Article 25, "All Hong Kong residents shall be equal before the law." And, Article 26, "Permanent residents of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall have the right to vote and the right to stand for election in accordance with law." First, the NPCSC claimed, via the 831 Decision, that the implementation of universal suffrage in the HKSAR constituted "a significant change in the political structure of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Since the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and the sovereignty, security and development interests of the country are at stake, there is a need to proceed in a prudent and steady

opposition camp has maintained its confrontational posture over the universal suffrage issue after the central authorities made its bottom line crystal clear: those who oppose the central government cannot be chief executive. Their hardnosed behavior indicates they are determined to fight the central authorities without compromise." (M.-t. Lo, 2013)[57]

Shortly prior the emergence of the Umbrella Revolution China's post-facto securitization of universal suffrage in the HKSAR Basic Law was performed again for Hongkongers by the director of the Liaison Office, Zhang Xiaoming, in August 2014 as he spoke to the organizing committee for China's forthcoming 65th National Day celebrations on 1 October. Zhang Xiaoming cited the threat of foreign manipulation of Hong Kong elections as a justification for asserting a national security posture on universal suffrage. Aside from reiterating longstanding – yet never codified in the HKSAR Basic Law – claims that the chief of executive of the HKSAR could only be a patriot who loved the country and Hong Kong (as assessed by the Chinese authorities), Zhang Xiaoming reiterated that candidates for chief executives could not challenge China: "The central government has reiterated time and again that the Chief Executive returned by universal suffrage must love the country and love Hong Kong, and must not confront the central government. Anyone who looks at this from the national security

manner." (Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, 2014) However, this was a disingenuous claim as Articles 45 and 68 of the Basic Law – in the Basic Law's section on the political structure of the HKSAR – already had provided for the "ultimate aim of universal suffrage" for the (s)election of the chief executive and Legislative Council. Moreover, the Chinese and HKSAR governments had proceeded in an "orderly and gradual" manner on political reform and the introduction of universal suffrage since 1 July 1997 – much to the chagrin of democratic subalterns and hundreds, if not thousands, of protests since the Handover for its speedier introduction. Arguably, in December 2007 the NPCSC had already assessed the implications of proceeding with universal suffrage when they announced 2017 and 2020 as the earliest dates when it could be used to select the chief executive and form the Legislative Council. Rather, the 831 Decision was an apparent political walking back by the central authorities of its December 2007 decree. Secondly, the NPCSC invoked the uncodified Patriot Principle in the context of the chief executives accountability to the HKSAR and the Central People's Government, *post facto* declaring it a "basic requirement of the policy of 'one country, two systems': "It is determined by the legal status as well as important functions and duties of the Chief Executive, and is called for by the actual need to maintain long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and uphold the sovereignty, security and development interests of the country. The method for selecting the Chief Executive by universal suffrage must provide corresponding institutional safeguards for this purpose." However, the Basic Law already provided China the ultimate safeguard against the national security threat of an unpatriotic chief executive candidate by reserving the power of appointment to the central authorities thereby making the political security screening of candidates unnecessary. In addition, and most importantly, the chief executive selection system proffered by the NPCSC in its 831 Decision – where the Chinese authorities screen and select the candidates that voters may then vote for – was essentially the same as its grassroots democracy model practiced in some places on the mainland. Hence, the transplanting of a mainland political system into the HKSAR would appear to have violated Article 5 of the Basic Law prohibiting the introduction of the socialist system: "The socialist system and policies shall not be practiced in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years." However, most China-Hong Kong and COTS political discourses (legal, security or otherwise) fail to address this fundamental fact and concentrate legal technicalities – which, though they may be important in effectively realizing universal suffrage, miss the forest for the trees when coming to upholding and protecting the Basic Law and OCTS from being "swallowed" by the mainland system; use of the term "mainlandization," for example, is one way the socialist system's OCTS encroachments on the Hong Kong system have been minimized and securitized by re-framing it into cultural, economic and social vice political sectors.

[57] The individual was a CPPCC member and a vice-president of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, a "key organization of the CPC [Communist Party of China]-led united front …" (All-China Federation of Industry & Commerce, n.d.)

perspective will understand." (Joseph Li, 2014b) Continuing, Zhang Xiaoming asserted that a compliant, non-confrontational chief executive was a paramount issue of Chinese national security: "This is a supreme principle, for no central authorities, in China or overseas, ancient or contemporary, would allow heads of local authorities to confront the central authorities." (Joseph Li, 2014b) Zhang Xiaoming framed those counter-securitizing China's claims as ignorant or malicious: "If there are people who think there are big policy changes, they are either willfully distorting the white paper or worrying too much. This shows they have not grasped an accurate understanding of 'One Country, Two Systems' from the very beginning." (Joseph Li, 2014b) Nonetheless, what China demanded, the exclusion of confrontational or opposition Hongkongers – without legal basis in the Basic Law – from being nominated or standing for election as a chief executive candidate, was an expectation of, and institutionalization of, a OCTS Democratic Centralism – a component of the Socialist System with Hong Kong Characteristics. Moreover, it was an attempt to remove from political debate (once again) the issue of who or what was a patriot or patriotism, by what metric and whose judgement by transforming the issue into a national security problem. Moreover, it ignored Beijing's substantial powers and institutional protections in the Basic Law to refuse to appoint a chief executive it did not trust, or even to remove a sitting chief executive from office. Instead, so as to avoid a political crisis and avoid potentially existential challenges to its political legitimacy (security) and image, it chose to pursue the sub-securitization of universal suffrage as means to macro-securitize OCTS from other potential mortal threats to the CCP.

The Enemies of, and Threats to, OCTS are Legion

From Beijing and Tamar's perspective, the enemies of OCTS (and China) are legion. External and foreign powers, pro-democracy radicals, anticommunist and antimainland elements, misguided youth, and radicalized Hong Kong localists, nativists and separatists are the primary enemy images and folk devils purportedly at the nexus of Hongkonger OCTS political deviance and insurrection. These insurgent Folk Devils and menacing enemy agents are hegemonically constructed as posing existential challenges and threats to survival of China's OCTS and Socialism with Chinese Characteristics symbolic moral universes and prescribed social ordering of Hong Kong under 'One Country' domination.[58] The putative endgame of alleged dissident subterfuges, Basic Law guardians and socialist jurists of the dictatorship of the proletariat have metronomically conjectured, is the seizure of governing power in the HKSAR through regime change/color revolution ala universal suffrage to effect the derailing of China's rise and, ultimately, the overthrow of the socialist system

[58] As explained by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Admiral Sun Jianguo, President Xi Jinping's "overall outlook on national security" is constructed from China's "crystallization of wisdoms employed to know and analyze national security situations through the Marxist world outlook and methodology, and the latest theoretical fruit of the national security strategy with Chinese characteristics." (J. Sun, 2015)

and subsequent carving up of the country by Western powers, namely the United States of America. The crux of the security problem, as hegemonic crusaders and moral and security entrepreneurs have ritually postulated and repetitively framed in thousands of official and media discourses, is Hongkongers' persisting anticommunist sentiments, colonial mentalities, demands for democracy at the expense of national security, their Western-orientation and lack of a Sino-centric identity which, in turn, leads them to be unpatriotic and to resist, if *not* attempt to subvert, Chinese communist rule over Hong Kong (and on the mainland.)

Hongkongers' poor national identity and sense of belonging, desire for democracy and tightly held Western values as hegemonic moral panic and security threats for Socialist China are not new in Hong Kong and date back to before the Handover in 1997 (Q. Qian, 2005, p.261; C. Yeung, 1996). Likewise, neither are claims of a "Hong Kong independence movement"[59] or American-led color revolution or Western-sponsored peaceful evolution plots folk devils and panics. (J. Y. S. Cheng, 2011; B. Shen, 2012) Yet, the recent watersheds of OCLP and the Umbrella Revolution have followed seven years [2010 to 2016] of rapidly deteriorating China-Hong Kong relations and accelerating alarmist regime rhetoric invoking anxieties over color revolutions, regime change, Arab/Jasmine Springs and separatism festering in the Hong Kong SAR constitute a new phase in rising Chinese communist nationalistic hysteria and security paranoia. Moreover, from the security hardliner's perspective in just the last decade China has already experienced in the HKSAR the near collapse of executive-led governance and *Patriots Ruling Hong Kong* principles, two color revolution scares, three major occupation actions, and a growing and widening assortment of steadily bolder and aggressive Hongkonger challenges to, and thwarting of, its sovereignty, development and security interests. Most recently, the February 2016 "Mong Kok Riot could be added to this list – the first riot in Hong Kong in almost fifty years.[60] This historical trend in China-Hong Kong relations is taking

[59] For example, in August 2003, shortly after the 1 July half-million-person democracy and anti-national security legislation march, the *China Daily* accused a leading democratic of seeking to stage an independence referendum. (Ching, 2003) Then, in May 2004 the director of the Research Institute of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office (HKMAO), Zhu Yucheng, equated pan-democratic camp demands for universal suffrage in 2007 with seeking to become an independent or partially independent entity. (J. Cheung, 2004) Later In February 2005, the *China News Service* claimed that external and foreign powers were agitating online for a Hong Kong independence movement. (M. Wong, 2005) In 2012, the Deputy head of Hong Kong and Macao Basic Law Research Center of University of Shenzhen Zhang Dinghuai cited Zhu Yucheng's May 2004 remarks in a *Global Times* commentary, *'HK independence' an empty argument*. Specifically, he criticized Hongkongers' anti-mainland protests and warned that 'extreme slogans' regarding independence 'seriously violated the Basic Law of the Hong Kong SAR' and that, "No Chinese people, including Hongkongers, will tolerate those making use of Hong Kong's free environment to split the country." (D. Zhang, 2012)

[60] Due to hysteria surrounding the public disorder event and the HKSAR government's refusal to establish an independent commission to investigate its causes, the ignition point and impetus for the Mong Kok Riot and the seemingly inept HKSAR government and police response remains shrouded in mystery and speculation; as does the role and putative culpability of so-called localists and Hong Kong independence advocates in the riot. The principle named independence-minded localist group, Hong Kong Indigenous, blamed for the violent insurrection had only about 30 members. Yet, according to police accounts some 700 rioters were involved. Three months after the riot, barely a fifth of participants had been arrested (or identified), and several "rioters" had been freed for lack of police evidence. No public discussion of who the other approximately 600 or so

place in conjunction with a new international security situation characterized by top Chinese leaders as a "fast-changing era characterized by tremendous turbulence, intensive readjustment and drastic changes …" (Qi, 2015), i.e., the "new situation" discussed earlier. Hence, presenting an existential threat to China and the CCP which has led to President Xi Jinping's call for a "holistic view of national security" and a "national security system with Chinese Characteristics" encompassing 11 domains. (Meng & Wang, 2015) The national security domains are: cultural security, economic security, ecological security, homeland security, information security, military security, nuclear security, political security, resource security, science and technology security, and, social security. Political security is the core of China's national security concept (D. Shen, 2014) with ideological security as the core of political security.

The recent (post-2010/11) appearance of incipient – but growing – radical democracy, self-determination, localist/nativist, independence/separatist sentiments and loosely affiliated ephemeral groups in the SAR, arguably in response to excessive hegemonic One Country domination, mainlandization and re-Sinicization projects initiated post-2003, -2007, -2010, and -2015 have tapped visceral CCP national security anxieties and fears with their revolutionary aesthetic, symbolic displays of defiance (e.g., claiming to be Hongkongers, not Chinese, denigrating communist and Chinese communist identities and culture, waving colonial/Hongkonger flags), transgressive contentious performances and language, and strident rhetoric rejecting Socialist China's all-consuming nationalistic rhetoric and identity claims on Hong Kong and Hongkongers (e.g., burning or tearing up the Basic Law and claiming they were Hongkongers, not Chinese.) The more chauvinistic One Country entrepreneurs and securitizing actors have attempted to frame these radically transgressive subalterns as a Hong Kong version of the Taiwan independence movement and 'Taiwanization' of the Hongkonger identity[61]; indeed, they frequently accuse insurgent Hongkongers of colluding with

rioters were has occurred and the government and media have seemed content with the folk devil they have in hand: Hong Kong Indigenous. That said, the rioters' anger towards the HKSAR government street-level shock collars, the Hong Kong Police Force, following years of increasingly aggressive and violent political policing of protests (especially of localists, radicals and youth) was vividly palpable in the events of that night. Yet, questions regarding the HKSAR government and police force's poor preparations, responses, and possible involvement in the riot remain outstanding. Because the event conveniently fits within the construction of a larger trend of dubious "violent radicals" incidents since mid-2015 (and possibly earlier back to 2014 before and during the Umbrella Revolution), and the Chinese and HKSAR regimes appear to have benefited the most from the incidents, the Mong Kok Riot bears further scrutiny insofar how it fits within the hegemonic enemy image, moral panic and political warfare discourses and narratives identified in this dissertation as part of OCTS Securitization, but for time and space considerations are not delved into further here.

[61] Hegemonic accusations of the Taiwanization of Hong Kong politics go as far back as the introduction of democracy in Taiwan in the 1990s. Insofar as this study, accusations of the Taiwanization of so-called radical Hong Kong youth were leveled by the pro-establishment camp in early-2010 over the Siege of the LegCo and the Five Geographic Constituency By-Election *de facto* referendum. For example, one Hong Kong-based state-owned television commentator claimed local youth and politics had been Taiwanized and that: "Hong Kong does not have the constitutional authority to hold referendums. The opposition camp threatens to lower the quality of Hong Kong's democracy to the level of Taiwan's. It is encouraging irrational and even violent language to dominate the political scene as well as media commentary, and to hamper the SAR's democratic advancement and economic transformation." (L.-l. Ho, 2010) All these predictions of negative consequences

Taiwan and other independence forces such as those in Tibet and Xinjiang. One *Global Times* editorial headline even warned: *HK opposition at risk of becoming enemy of the state*. (Global Times, 2013) Another *Global Times* editorial feature, *Voice on the rise in support for "Hong Kong independence"*, quoted the former director of the State Council's Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office (HKMAO), Lu Ping, telling Hongkongers: "Those who do not recognize they are Chinese should look at what is written on their passports or renounce their Chinese nationality." (Global Times, 2012b)[62] This sentiment mirrors the one expressed in 2004 by Elise Leung Oi-see, current vice chair of the NPCSC HKSAR BLC and then Hong Kong Secretary for Justice that: "Before reunification, it was no surprise for a Chinese under British-colonial rule to resist, either through personal experience or one's own sub-consciousness, against the sovereignty of a country which was not his own. After the reunification, we are now a Chinese under the sovereignty of China. We should therefore adjust our mindset and be proud of our national identity. If any Chinese who still does not recognize the sovereignty of the motherland and is hostile towards the Central People's Government, he is unworthy of being a part of China." (E. Leung, 2004)

NATIONAL SECURITY WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

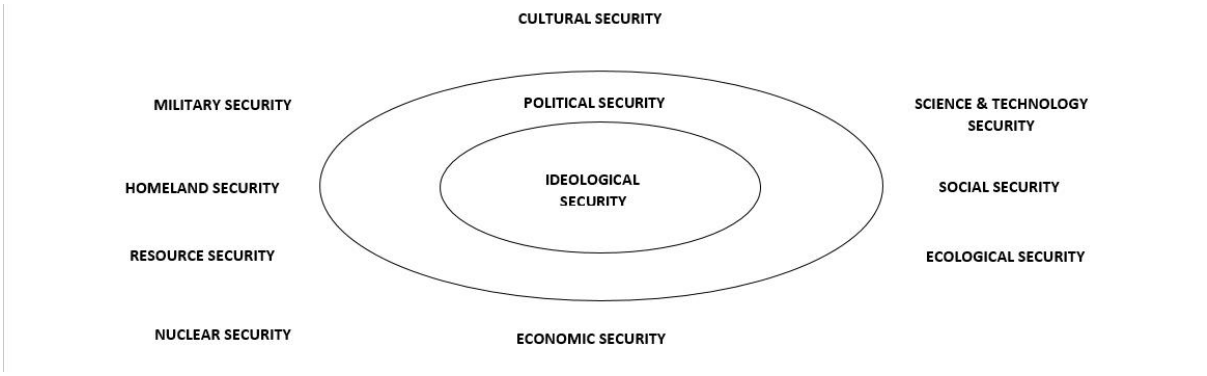

Figure 8. Security Domains of National Security with Chinese Characteristics

As introduced earlier, China has significantly broadened[63] its concept of national security and, consequently, substantially expanded the universe of possible enemies and threats to be formally detected, monitored and defended against. *See Figure 8.* It refers to this new national security outlook

and projections of negative characteristics continue to be used to attack radical pro-democracy forces six years later. Even the title of his op-ed, *Violent protest: assault on democracy*, is very topical for a pro-Beijing commentary any week of the two years at least. At the time in January 2010 the commentator asserted the society could not handle "the grave consequences' of this political transformation and warned: "Hong Kong people must think carefully: are we willing to let the political environment of the city we live 'Taiwanize?'" (L.-l. Ho, 2010)

[62] Lu Ping's remarks were also heavily covered by other English-language Hong Kong media such as the *SCMP* who headlined a story on his comments: *Love China or leave it, says Lu Ping* (G. Cheung & Lau, 2012). *The Standard* also emphasized these remarks in the context of Hong Kong independence in an article on his passing in May 2015. (Luk, 2015)

[63] Jin Canrong in a talk, *China's National Security Concepts and Threat Perceptions*, observed: "Xi Jinping expanded the definition of China's national security." (Jin, 2015)

as National Security with Chinese Characteristics. Within this framework eleven national security domains (or sectors) are identified. Most important of these are China's political and ideological security which includes maintaining the one-party dictatorship and its leadership role. As a whole, China's national security domains are more precisely delineated than the Copenhagen's School's Securitization Theory which divides the security concept into five sectors: military, political, societal, economic, and environmental. *See Figure 9*. They do, however, essentially cover much of the same terrain and suggest China's national security concerns (priorities) and division of effort in the security sectors more clearly. As with Securitization Theory's five sectors of security, the eleven domains of Socialist China's national security construct are not hard and fast demarcations and may overlap or encompass other (or all) domains/sectors; invariably the vantage point of the viewer of national security and national priorities influences how they perceive the situation and what type(s) of security problem it is (e.g., military or political, economic or societal) and the responsible organization(s) for defending against the enemy/threat.[64] In most cases it is a political decision and matter of political agenda whether an issue becomes a national security matter, or some other type of development or problem. Its placement on a list of national security priorities and the resources and social capital dedicated to defending against it are likewise political choices and decisions rather than objective reflections of reality.

China's designation of political and ideological security as the foundation of its national security are encapsulated by Securitization Theory's political sector, which also includes the concept of sovereignty. As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, China's invocation of sovereignty and national security frequently overlap, may be interchangeable, or imprecise articulations. (Tok, 2013) Aspects of China's ideological and political security, which inculcates and promotes an identity of China as a socialist nation, also touch upon the societal security sector – and, at places creates a societal security dilemma by demanding Hongkongers to accept, in effect, a spoiled identity (Goffman, 1963) (communist)[65] and reject an identity seen ideologically by China as an enemy

[64] It should be acknowledged that security threats are not objective *things*; they are subjectively perceived. Securitizing actors make a variety of choices in identifying and assessing a threat including what security sector(s) or domain(s) a problem belongs to (or if it's even a problem, or their problem in particular (i.e., it is a law enforcement not national security issue)). Likewise, security and securitization actors privilege some and discriminate against other threats dependent on their prioritization criteria and perceptions of urgency or other factors; resources are not endless and choices must be made on how to best use what one has at hand. Institutionally, security entities are biased towards tackling "solvable," or more easily bounded and defined problems, or problems for which success in defending against can be easily achieved and measured – thus allowing a security to show success or progress in its protective responsibilities thereby aiding it in securing greater power, resources and responsibilities. Internal and intramural politics may also intervene to complicate a nation's securitization efforts. As such, security decisions also reflect an array of political choices and priorities; it is not a simple matter of law-and-order or rule-of-law. Not all threats are created equal, or are equally threatening, likely, or damaging.

[65] Most literature of China-Hong Kong relations and OCTS rarely addresses the spoiled identity of Chinese communism or communists and its continuing discreditable status as an identity despite the country and CCP's post-1978 achievements. Similarly, it seldom considers or identifies a *communist* Chinese identity as a problem as such. However, it is contended here that the spoiled identity of Chinese communism and communists to be of

identification, i.e., identities which embrace Western identities and values. With no or little conceptual stretching all eleven domains of China's new national security concept can be seen as applying (in varying capacities and degrees) to, or being potentially threatened by, the HKSAR and OCTS. Though not identified as such, OCTS could possibly be understood as a 12th hidden dimension of National Security with Chinese Characteristics; at the very least, the HKSAR implementation of OCTS represents a crucible of National Security with Chinese Characteristics enemies and threats.

Comparison of Copenhagen School and National Security with Chinese Characteristics Security Sectors/Domains

Copenhagen School's Security Sectors	National Security with Chinese Characteristics' Security Domains
MILITARY	MILITARY
POLITICAL	POLITICAL
SOCIETAL	IDEOLOGICAL
ECONOMIC	ECONOMIC
ENVIRONMENTAL	ECOLOGICAL
	CULTURAL
	HOMELAND
	RESOURCE
	NUCLEAR
	SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
	SOCIAL

Figure 9. Comparison of the Copenhagen School Securitization Theory's security sectors and China's new National Security with Chinese Characteristics domains concept

significant salience – especially in the cases of radical democrats, localists and separatists. Rather, the problem of a Chinese communist identity for Hongkongers has unproductively been subsumed in discussions of cultural or ethnic and sometimes (albeit much less so) political identities (e.g., citizenship.) However, the strong anticommunist sentiment in Hong Kong, historically and contemporarily – particularly among postmodern youth and radicals – is arguably closely related to the spoiled nature of the communist identity in general, and the Chinese communist identity specifically. This is broadly and vividly manifested in most forms of political resistance and counter-securitizations of OCTS by dissident subalterns. Hegemonic responses have often mistakenly minimized this critical OCTS problem to a lack of knowledge about the mainland and firsthand knowledge of its changes and achievements and have (mistakenly, once again) perceived greater people-to-people exchanges and mainland national education exchanges would rectify the problem. In the process, they have ignored, if not elided, obfuscated and aggravated, the sectarian nature of the *identity conflict* – not an *identity crisis* – between not just Mainlanders and Hongkongers, but between Chinese Communists and Hongkongers. Equally uncontemplated has been how Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors' subjective perceptions of anticommunism in the HKSAR factor into their official assessments and perceptions of the *actual situation* in Hong Kong. The *actual situation* of Hong Kong under Chinese sovereignty being in effect a holistic security assessment by the Chinese authorities with much broader implications than just the introduction of universal suffrage, or as a function of the NPCSC HKSAR BLC to advise Beijing on Hong Kong affairs. Rather it is closely connected to the form, function, and maintenance of OCTS writ large not to mention hegemonic contemplations about its continuing health and viability. This, the determining of the actual situation of the HKSAR under OCTS and what the actual situation actually constitutes (objectively or subjectively), has been undertheorized and left (intentionally and opportunistically) ambiguous and undefined by the Chinese authorities. Yet, in the context of China's new holistic national security approach, the concept of the actual situation of the HKSAR/OCTS has come to have an all-encompassing national security context that can no longer be ignored.

According to Article 2 of China's new NSL enacted on 1 July 2015 – the 18th Anniversary of the establishment of the HKSAR: "National security refers to the relative absence of international or domestic threats to the state's power to govern, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, the welfare of the people, sustainable economic and social development, and other major national interests, and the ability to ensure a continued state of security." (China Law Translate, 2015) The stated purpose of China's new NSL given in Article 1 is "to maintain national security, to defend the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, to defend the fundamental interests of the people, to ensure the smooth implementation of the reform and opening up and establishment of socialist modernization and to realize the great revival of the Chinese nationality." (China Law Translate, 2015) China's contemporary constructions of the Hong Kong Problem find many of these purposes being degraded or denied by dissident Hongkongers' intransigence and resistance to Chinese rule, e.g., thwarting the HKSAR executive-led governance model via filibusters, quorum calls, or other obstructionist resistance tactics.

Under the notion of comprehensive national security conceptualized in the National Security Chinese Characteristics system, political and economic security are the basis and foundation of China's national security respectively. The CCP is the responsible institution for leading the nation in national security matters and establishing an authoritative, centralized and efficient national security leadership system. In what is a reference to the newly established CNSC headed by President Xi Jinping, the NSL delinates the CNSC's authorities and responsibilities in Article 5 as "the leading institution … responsible for deciding and coordinating national security efforts, for conducting research to develop and guide the implementation of strategies and relevant major policies in national security efforts; for coordinating major issues and important efforts in national security, and for promoting the **building of national security rule of law**." (China Law Translate, 2015) (emphasis added)

Of special interest to this dissertation is Article 9 which, arguably, empowers the CNSC with operational national security powers that may have been already observed being exercised in dealing with the Hong Kong Problem: "Preservation of national security shall persist in putting prevention first and **treating both symptoms and root causes**, combing sp**ecial efforts and the mass line**, fully bringing into play **special organs and other relevant department's functions in maintaining national security**, **widely mobilizing citizens and organizations to guard against and punish conduct endangering national security**." (China Law Translate, 2015) (emphasis added) Similarly, Article 11 of the NSL has special applicability to the hegemonic national security approaches and discourses aimed at mobilizing *patriotic* Hongkongers against dissidents. In part, it reads: "**Citizens of the People's Republic of China**, all state organs and armed forces, each political parties and mass organization, enterprises, public institutions and other social organizations, **all have the responsibility and obligation to preserve national security**." (China Law Translate, 2015)

(emphasis added) The remainder of Article 11, it seems, extends the mainland national security law and obligations to the HKSAR and other peripheral territories: "The sovereignty of and territorial integrity of China cannot be encroached upon or divided. **Preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity is a shared obligation of all the Chinese people, including compatriots from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.**[66]

Though the new NSL is clearly intended to apply to the HKSAR and the national security problems of radical democrats, localists and separatists in the city, the NSL has yet to be incorporated into the HKSAR Basic Law. The necessity of its incorporation in Annex III of the Basic Law which lists the mainland national laws applicable to Hong Kong has been fiercely contested as suggested in the myriad 2016 OCTS discourses debating the legality or illegality of speech advocating or discussing Hong Kong independence. The new NSL is also seen by some as a potential backdoor through which Article 23 of the HKSAR Basic Law or mainland national security interests could be applied backdoor to Hong Kong such as through interpretation of the SAR powers insinuated in Article 40 of the NSL to preserve China's national security; as A. Y. H. Cheung (2015) writes, "Even absent specific national security legislation, Article 40 may be taken by the SAR governments as *carte blanche* to undermine the rule of law and fundamental rights, in the name of 'fulfilling' their national security' responsibilities." Several, ultimately faltering and backfiring, hegemonic securitization moves in the first-half of 2016 claiming Hongkongers had mainland-styled national security obligations surrounding the ruling forces attacks on radical democrats, localists and separatist have already been observed from mainland and HKSAR officials and Basic Law scholar securitizing actors.

The Three Trends and Three Major Dangers

Placed in the context of China's new national security logic, the before mentioned hegemonic identity, patriotism and security discourses questioning the worthiness of Hongkongers to be part of the country if they reject their Chinese "national identity" (as constructed by the CCP) or communist China's "sovereignty" over Hong Kong are understood to *not be* the deranged Red Guard ravings of old-guard, fringe Mao-era ultra-leftist *One Country Absolutists and extremists* attempting to

[66] This, the potential extraterritorially, of the NSL and other national security laws, for instance the counter-terror law, has raised substantial concerns among dissident Hongkongers that they might be prosecuted for national security offenses committed in the HKSAR (where, per the Basic Law, the actions may be protected speech or behaviors.) Following the NSL and counter-terrorism legislations enactment and the missing Hong Kong Booksellers incident in late-2015 and early-2016 confidence in OCTS has dropped significantly, in part spurring Hong Kong independence and self-determination acts and discourses such as the creation of new political parties. The saying and sentiment that "Hongkongers are not safe anywhere from China, not even in Hong Kong" has also gain credence. Hence, the national security implications of a OCTS security dilemma are vividly apparent as an apparent national security act (and arguable violation of OCTS (at least with respect to its pre-NSL and pre-China CT laws understandings) on the mainland targeting dissident Hongkongers in Hong Kong and abroad has, instead, created a OCTS national security crisis as Hong Kong independence enters the mainstream of society.

subversively hijack liberal interpretations and implementations of OCTS. Rather, as suggested by China's newly articulated national security strategy and accompanying security and threat discourses and rhetoric, the ultra-hardline national security perceptions and perspectives articulated regarding dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS have become, or are becoming, dominant mainstream hegemonic security notions and threat images regarding Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. These security logics, internalized by the ruling regime and their securitization actors responsible for administering Hong Kong affairs, are entirely consistent with new threat images and perceptions elucidated by the President Xi Jinping since at least 2013. For example, as described in June 2015 by PLA General Staff Deputy Chairman, Admiral Sun Jianguo:

> After surveying recent global changes, President Xi introduced **strategic concepts** such as the **'Three Trends' and 'Three Major Dangers.'** The Three Trends are from the perspective of the external environment, the international situation is constantly changing and new opportunities and challenges are continually emerging. The international system is experiencing deep adjustments and the international order is undergoing profound changes and development, to the advantage of peace and development. **China is now close to the center of the world state, approaching the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. China is mainly facing the dangers of being invaded, toppled and separated, while its reform, development and stability face the danger of being sabotaged and the process of the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics faces the danger of being interrupted."** (J. Sun, 2015) (emphasis added.) *See Figure 10.*

China's Three Major Dangers

China faces the ...

Danger of being:	Which may lead to the sabotage of:	Thereby leading to interruption of:
Invaded	Reform	Socialism with Chinese Characteristics
Toppled	Development	China Dream
Separation	Stability	China's Rise
		China's Rejuvenation
		OCTS
		Socialist Modernization
		Twin Centennial Goals

Figure 10. China's Three Trends and Three Major Dangers

Writing in the flagship English-language journal of a think tank for China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), *China International Studies,* Admiral Sun spelled out the threat of, and to, Hong Kong as well as the opportunity of using the securitization of the HKSAR and OCTS to deter regional and foreign aggressors, Taiwan's independence movement, and Western color revolutions targeting Socialist China. Inference is also made here to the role of Taiwan independence forces in the Occupy/Umbrella movements indicative of a political struggle/war with China, and both Hong Kong and Taiwan independence movements are conflated as common/joint national security threats. *Under the heading of Firmly supporting the Hong Kong SAR government's handling of the 'Occupy Central' movement* the Admiral wrote:

> Forces hostile to the Chinese government have always harbored a desire to turn Hong Kong into a bridgehead for political subversion and infiltration into the Chinese mainland. **The 'Occupy Central' movement launched in 2014 is a kind of 'Color Revolution' deliberately plotted by some extremist groups in Hong Kong, on the pretext of universal suffrage in the election of the special administrative region's chief executive, under the instigation and support of external forces.** The central government unswervingly adhered to the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy and the Basic Law, and extended its support to the SAR government and its police, which dealt with the illegal activities in accordance with the law, effectively safeguarding Hong Kong's social order, economic development, people's livelihoods, and stability of the SAR's general situation.
>
> After 79 days, the illegal 'Occupy Central' movement was brought to an end. During this period, President Xi met Hong Kong's Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying three times, showing his appreciation and support for the enforcement of the law in Hong Kong, and demonstrating the central government's firm resolve and strong will to advance universal suffrage in the SAR according to the Basic Law. **The rivalry between the SAR government and the 'Occupy Central' movement was in essence a fight to safeguard the 'One Country, Two Systems' principal and also a stern warning to the 'Taiwan independence' separatist forces.** President Xi met with Honorary Chairman of Kuomintang Lien Chan in February 2014, and said that 'both sides of the Taiwan Straits are in one family and should jointly promote the Chinese dream'. The confidence and determination displayed by Xi to push for the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and resolutely curb the 'Taiwan independence' conspiracy has ensured the general stability.**"** (J. Sun, 2015) (emphasis added)

And under the heading of *Forcibly checking the 'Color Revolution'*:

> To plot a 'Color Revolution' is an old trick employed by some Western countries to subvert regimes in countries under the banner of democracy. **With the continuous development of China, Western countries have demonstrated more obvious intentions and more frequently organized activities aimed at infiltrating and sabotaging China and accelerated implementing an online 'cultural Cold War' and 'political transgenic engineering.' Ideological struggles have become sharper and more complicated and the increased ideological crusades launched against China posed a major threat to its political system and government.** To prevent a 'Color Revolution' is closely relevant to the Party's leadership and **make active efforts to win the ideological battle and enhance our self-confidence**, theoretical self-confidence and confidence in our system, consistently stick to the strategic thinking that development is a top priority, laying the material foundation for national economic prosperity, people's happiness and social harmony and stability. …
>
> At the same time, **we have struck against** various violations of the law and **smashed the**

> **attempts by hostile forces to stir up a 'Color Revolution' in China, wining a tough battle in the country's efforts to maintain social and political stability.** … (J. Sun, 2015) (emphasis added)

Admiral Sun's *Three Major Dangers* threat discourse of ideological struggle, infiltration, sabotage, "online 'cultural Cold War' and 'political transgenic engineering' that endanger China's ideological and political security draw on notions of a type of "new" warfare directed at authoritarian and non-Western nations like China called *soft war*. Emami, Emamzadeh, Harsij, and Masoudnia (2013) explain that, "In 1989, a new theory based on 'soft war', later referred to as 'color revolution', 'velvet revolution' or 'flower revolution' emerged as a way to produce changes in political systems which were against Western powers' policies and some autocracies. In fact, velvet or flower and color revolutions are different names for gentle overthrow; a transformation and transition of power through civil resistance." (p.257) According to Dynon (2014), this was an ideological struggle involving "a contest of soft power in which the purpose of each state is to 'protect its own national interests, image and status so as to promote a stable international environment conducive to its development." (p.9) B. P. Jackson (2006) elaborates this type of new war as "a 'soft war' over influence, alignment, and values." A 2015 special issue of the journal *Politics* dedicated to this form of combat, *The Soft Power of Hard States*, examined authoritarian use of soft power as a new mode of warfare being adopted countries like China, Iran and Russia. ("The Soft Power of Hard States," 2015)

A January 2016 edition of *The Journal of Democracy*, *Authoritarianism Goes Global*, featured the essay, *The Hijacking of "Soft Power"*, which discussed the "renewed struggle between democracy and authoritarianism" (p.60) that has emerged as "authoritarian regimes, both large and small, have turned the tables on the democracies."(Walker, 2016, p.49) Christopher Walker (2016), the executive director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy, writes that authoritarian regimes such as China, Russia and Iran have targeted "crucial democratic institutions, including elections and the media" (p.49) and "use deep economic and business ties to export corrupt practices and insinuate themselves into the politics of democracies" (p.50) and to influence global public opinion using an authoritarian version of soft power to thwart color revolutions. Notably, that article highlighted, in the context of a Russian military counter-color revolution military exercise (Slavic Brotherhood 2015), how senior Russian military officials such as the head of the Russian General Staff, General Valeriy Gerasimov, interpreted color revolutions as "a form of armed struggle that must be met by military force." (Walker, 2016, p.54) According to another source, the 2015 exercise scenario "centered upon anti-government protests in a notional country, escalating into riots in the streets followed by armed groups attempting "provocations," including mounting terrorist attacks to further destabilize the situation." (McDermott, 2015) That same year, at the prestigious Asian security summit, the Shangra-La Dialogue summit in Singapore, Russian deputy defense minister, Anatoly Antonov, invoked the Umbrella Revolution when he

warned attendees that an "epidemic of 'color revolutions'" which had "swept away like a hurricane entire states" threatened the Asia-Pacific region: "No one can feel absolutely safe, entertaining the fact that 'color revolutions' have not come to the Asia-Pacific. The thing is, it may happen at any moment once the Western elites feel unhappy about the policy of a state and make a decision on the introduction of 'democratic' values. We recall the Umbrella revolution in Hong Kong. Who is next?" (Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 2015)

Interestingly, a former deputy director of the HKMAO, Chen Zuoer, used similar language as the Iranian academics above in his characterization of Occupy/Umbrella as a color revolution: "'Jasmine Revolution' or 'Sunflower Revolution,' the nature is still the same despite the tactics used varying. It is based on what's mentioned in a booklet prepared in an intelligence authority of a single country." (Luk, 2014) In addition, the anti-color revolution script used in Slavic Brotherhood 2015 military exercise eerily resembles the more panicky and hyperbolic hegemonic Chinese and HKSAR claims of attempted color revolutions (OCLP and the Umbrella Revolution (January 2013 to December 2014)), subaltern bomb and drone "plots" (June and December 2015 and March and May 2016), and terroristic street politics (the Mong Kok Riot and NPCSC Chairman visit to Hong Kong).

The fear, similar to U.S. Cold War fears and moral panic over Soviet Communism – a Red Scare – albeit in this case, fear and panic over Western-style democracy and universal values – a Democracy Scare, is that Western values implanted in Chinese society through color revolution technologies and/or soft war will infect, change and enslave China to the United States. As put simply by Xie (2014) in describing the perceived national security threat dimension of the popular soft power concept: "Attraction could be temporary, but it could also be internalized and become one's sincere preferences. In the real world, this could mean that a foreigner has internalized democracy and freedom championed by the United States, he/she will probably support U.S. policies to spread – or even impose – these values on other countries, even if such policies may be detrimental to this person's interests (e.g., domestic instability in his or her own country.)" (p.21) The new soft war concept and related notions of "online 'cultural Cold War' and 'political transgenic engineering'" mentioned above were deployed in a controversial PLA produced film on Western ideological infiltration and threats to China, *Silent Contest*, discussed further below albeit the notion of political transgenic engineering will be just discussed briefly here. According to the film, the U.S. 'political transgenic strategy' has been covertly deployed against China and consists of five fronts: Political Infiltration; Cultural Infiltration; Public Opinion and Ideological Infiltration; Organizational Infiltration; and Political Interference and Social Infiltration. The narrator in *Silent Contest* explains the threatening political transgenic process as follows:

> The word ‘transgene’ refers to a process of modifying a species for a specific need. It involves using the scientific technique of taking a certain needed gene segment from one organism and putting it into another organism to create a new combination of genes. ‘Transgene’ appears to cause no harm to the targeted species, but just uses modern generic technology to introduce a small improvement in that species. However, this tiny generic change, no matter how small it may look, not only destroys the full features of the original species; it also places the new species under the control of the entity that introduced the change.
>
> The U.S. has added transgenic food to its national strategic resources. Its push for global adoption is in fact a means for the U.S. to realize its control over the world by controlling global food production. Then having the same goal, will the U.S. design and implement a ‘political transgenic’ strategy in the arena of an entire society? The answer is for sure, ‘Yes.’
>
> In 1945, Director of the CIA Allen Dulles told the House Foreign Affairs Committee, ‘A person’s mind and thoughts can change. If we get a person’s mind to be confused, we can then change his values and concepts unnoticeably and make him believe in these values that have been changed.’
>
> This is by far the most direct and vivid description of the U.S. political transgenic strategy. In the eyes of U.S. politicians, using the American value system as a weapon to rebuild the world and recreate the international order is the most complete and effective way to carry out transgenic transformation. (Chinascope, 2014)

The film describes the American soft war on China (and the HKSAR) in Dengist terms: “The fighting on the ideological and cultural fronts is a form of combat, but without visible gun smoke. Nevertheless, its impact is often greater than that of a real war.” (Chinascope, 2014) It cites every generation of the Chinese leadership from Mao remarking on what has been described as the “sub-rosa struggle between the U.S. and China — a battle to control the hearts and minds of the Chinese people.… as a conspiracy by U.S. advocates of ‘peaceful evolution’ to control China.” (Miles Yu, 2013) As put by President Xi Jinping: “The Western countries’ strategy to contain China’s development will never change. They will never want us, as a socialist power, to achieve a successful and peaceful development. On this issue we have to remain highly vigilant and hold no fantasies.” (Chinascope, 2014) President Xi’s remarks evoke the observations of Liu Jianfei, Director of the Chinese Foreign Affairs Division and Professor at the Institute of International Strategic Studies at the Central Party School, that China’s adoption of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics makes it a special national security case as a socialist nation with different and unique risk profiles than Western democratic countries; hence, the need for the notion of National Security with Chinese Characteristics which addresses unique security problems created by being the leading socialist country as well as the security problems created by OCTS and the SAR System, both of which represent peculiar vulnerabilities and threats to the Socialist System: “Though Hong Kong and Macao have returned to the People’s Republic of China, these territories’ capitalist systems and high degrees of autonomy could be used by Western powers to interfere in China’s domestic affairs and attempts to spread Western values.” (J. Liu, 2014)

A Chinese Socialist National Security Environment

Indeed, Liu Jianfei roots the Hong Kong and Macau SARs and OCTS at the center of China's overall national security approach when assessing the "external security environment from the perspective of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics." (J. Liu, 2014) In a November 2014 article, *An Evaluation of China's Overall National Security Environment*, published in MFA-connected think tank's – the China Institute of International Studies – *China International Studies* journal, Liu makes the point that China's external national security threat environment can only be adequately understood by taking into consideration that Socialism with Chinese Characteristics is the core *referent* of *Socialist China's* national security problem which must be protected (securitized) at all costs. Insofar as the Party's theologians were concerned, the ruling ideology of the CCP – Socialism with Chinese Characteristics – constituted a significant (soft) power resource for legitimizing the dictatorship and continuing CCP leadership of the nation. Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and OCTS – as keynote ideologies and policies – represented the learned wisdom and hegemonic knowledge of the Chinese communists and Socialist China and its developmental path. At another level, OCTS was also seen as important in the development of the ideology of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and as part of the Chinese regime's modernization of its national governance capability and systems (Secretariat to the Commission on Strategic Development, 2014) – thus touching variously on aspects of the so-called China Model and claimed superiority of the Chinese approach (efficiency, meritocracy, etc.) Though not mentioned by Liu, the historic mission of the Chinese communists managing Hong Kong under OCTS more successfully and then the British did during as a colony was another task levied by Deng Xiaoping that implicitly nestled within these broader national security-related national image and CCP legitimation and soft power problems connected to being a socialist country. After the fall of the Soviet Union – the former leading socialist/communist country – the burden of taking the Socialist Light forward in the world fell solely to the CCP.

In typical realist or neorealist international relations fashion Liu argued that because the PRC was situated in a hostile international environment populated by antagonistic anti- and non-socialist nations, "Socialist China" was unavoidably exposed to more external and internal national security dangers than "normal countries" as a result of its socialist posture – and its new position as the leading political alternative cum challenger to neoliberal Western capitalism, democracy and so-called universal values. Hence, beyond the 'obvious' internal and external security vulnerabilities Hong Kong presented to the mainland and the CCP, Chinese authorities further perceived symbolic and political threats from Hong Kong as well such as the potential impact of the perceived failure of OCTS on its superordinate ideology and national image. In other words, even as the CCP perceived the development of a *SAR System* (Leng, 2013; Leong, 2011; F. Li, 2012) as an important and unique mode of Chinese governance it simultaneously also conceived of OCTS and the SAR System as

implicit security threats (or vulnerabilities) to the larger ideological and political project of Chinese communist governance under and Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. As put by NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Albert H.Y. Chen:

> The political evolution of Hong Kong from a British colony to a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is a rare and interesting phenomenon in the history of colonialism and imperialism. From the Chinese point of view, the cessation of Hong Kong Island by the Qing emperor to the British Empire in 1842 after China's defeat in the 'Opium War' was the beginning of modern China's history of oppression and humiliation by Western powers. The return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 was thus of great symbolic and psychological importance to the Chinese nation and its people, and was part and parcel of the project of the 'great revival' (*weida fuxing …*) of Chinese civilization. (A. H. Y. Chen, 2015)

More importantly, Liu claimed the party interpreted the contemporary Western-led international order as one inherently and implicitly hostile to socialism as well as an international order where the United States actively and variously contrived to contain and repress Socialist China. This was a situation he claimed that attenuated Beijing's fears regarding foreign exposure and infiltrations of its special administrative regions. Externally, Liu explained, that the key threats to Socialist China were posed primarily in the form of ideological and political forms, not military threats. Hence, the SARs, with their separate systems and partially Westernized cultures and populaces, presented greater national security threats and vulnerabilities for a rising China than the threat of foreign military aggression. Furthermore, because the OCTS ideology was the hallmark of the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics doctrine and related significantly to Socialist China's national reunification ambitions (Taiwan), soft power and international prestige (and the China Dream) projects, it too was construed as a vulnerable strategic resource – not only as a soft power exemplar or mode of national governance but of the Chinese Model and China's contributions to the world. Consequently, the Hong Kong and Macau SARs – as part of the *SAR system* (Yu Wang, 2013) erected under OCTS and Article 31 of the PRC Constitution, and because of their unique former colonial nature, Western legacies, and persisting foreign connections – were conceptualized by domestic and international security-focused Chinese communists as unique risk vectors in Socialist China's threat matrix which posed a multitude of known and unknown unique threats (and opportunities). As Liu writes: "If Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan do not pose serious challenges to China's external environment, then they still pose clear challenges to the external environment of **Socialist China**. (J. Liu, 2014) (emphasis added)

Beijing's securitizing moves in its OCTS Hong Kong policies and broader national security outlook at least partially (if not dominantly) represent responses to these (and other) perceived and real security threats, challenges and vulnerabilities. This is not unexpected given the foreign affairs/international relations backgrounds and orientations of key figures involved in shaping and implementing China's Hong Kong policies and OCTS at the State Council level. For instance, the past and current directors of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs office - Liao Chengzhi, Ji Pengfei, Lu Ping, Liao Hui, and

Wang Guangya were intimately involved in revolutionary struggle with the West via diplomatic/foreign affairs or united front activities (CPPCC, State Council's Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs, etc.) or even military experience (PLA General staff). Substantive diplomatic experience, in fact, was common to most of the directors. Moreover, many top Chinese officials responsible for Hong Kong affairs have also simultaneously served on Central Committee Leading Small Groups on foreign affairs, ideology and propaganda, national security, etc. which, among other things, monitor a broad array of Chinese security concerns and threats and seek to formulate comprehensive and holistic policies and responses. Such organs would likely inevitably serve to situate the Hong Kong problem within the contexts of larger national (and public) security logics – especially where HKSAR issues cross jurisdictional areas and portfolios such as Sino-U.S. affairs.

This is all the more apparent with the elucidation of the Hong Kong problem as a core national interest of China, hegemonic narrative of Hong Kong as a 'wrestling ground' (L.-y. Leung, 2014b; B. Shen, 2012) for U.S.-Sino political struggle and, the People's Republic's new comprehensive national security outlook. Furthermore, as just the end of Cold War had led to a broadening of security studies that eventually led to the emergence of securitization theory (Buzan et al., 1998), the new unprecedented changes in China's domestic and international environment have led the central authorities to view security problems holistically, especially as there has been a substantial blurring – almost to the point of invisibility – in the distinction between internal and external security problems. (National Defense University, 2015) Because of Hong Kong's role as a bridge and window between the mainland and the West, this insecurity and siege worldview of the Chinese authorities holds true for other reasons even if one discounts their fears and panic over color, evolution, and spring movements, internal and external enemies and threats in Hong Kong. It is also a reminder that the original Chinese communist geopolitical and power politics motivations behind OCTS remain vividly in play as China pushes to reorder the international environment towards multipolarity and a new model of great power relations advocated by President Xi Jinping. This, arguably, is China's Third Revolution – the re-ordering of the global order – and by extension and necessity, OCTS.

The People's Liberation Army's Securitization of Hong Kong and OCTS

Though the role of the PLA in China's national security policymaking has gained more attention recently (Dittmer & Yu, 2015; Saunders & Scobell, 2015), the PLA threat discourse, images and securitization narratives on the Hongkonger Threat has been generally unacknowledged or unappreciated in the literature, yet is contended here to be of substantial and growing importance.[67] In recent years senior active duty and retired PLA officers and academics have raised the Hong Kong and OCTS Problems at critical junctures in Hong Kong-China struggles as Admiral Sun did. In

[67] In general, there remains scant English-language scholarship on the PLA in the HKSAR or its role in OCTS.

December 2014, former PLA major-general Song Fangmin also framed the Occupy and Umbrella movements as a color revolution intended to split the country and overthrow one party rule. (Gan & Lau, 2015b; Global Times, 2014b) Song, argued it was worthless to debate if a color revolution could happen in China because one was already underway (Occupy/Umbrella) and warned that: "The Occupy movement sends a warning [to patriotic Chinese] that a color revolution targeting China has come to us and it stands at a stage between preparation and launch. This is what we have to face." (Global Times, 2014b) Hong Kong (and OCTS by extension), Song gesticulated, was at the forefront of the Western neoliberal assault on the motherland, i.e. a soft war in other words. The month prior, November 2014, the retired major-general argued that Chinese government directives like Document No. 9 (ChinaFile, 2013) and Document No. 30 were "extremely important" documents to China's national security because, "They identify targets [in Chinese civil society] so we can train our eyes on the targets of struggle." (Buckley & Jacobs, 2015) In other words, they aid today's neo-Maoist Chinese revolutionaries under Xi Jinping (and CY Leung) to distinguish their "true friends" and "true enemies" in the contemporary revolutionary war (to defend China's Second Revolution and save OCTS and Socialist China.) Both Document No. 9 and Document No. 30, as key Chinese ideological security practices, implicitly accentuated the threats of OCTS and the HKSAR. In the context of the Hong Kong booksellers that were detained by Chinese authorities in 2015, for instance, Document No. 9 refers to how "Western anti-China forces and domestic 'dissidents' also incessantly carry out infiltration activities in our country's ideological area and challenge our mainstream ideology, … reactionary political publications are concocted abroad, and some people domestically organize secret compilation of reactionary publications, … as long as we persist in the leadership of the CCP and persist in Socialism with Chinese characteristics, the position of Western anti-China forces pressuring us to change will not change, and they will point the spearhead of Westernization, separation and 'colour revolutions' at us always. In response we can absolutely not relax vigilance, and certainly not lower our guard." ("Communiqué on the Current State of the Ideological Sphere (Document No. 9)," 2013) Hong Kong and mainland authors and publishers supportive of the movement and other red line issues for the mainland communists have also been blacklisted on the mainland; *Reuters* also cited a *Global Times* justified the banning on the basis of the targets' support of OCLP/Umbrella, Taiwan independence or being anticommunist and warned: "If one has positioned himself at odds to the country's mainstream political path, he shouldn't expect his influence to keep on rising without disruption." (W. Lam, 2014, p.7; Wee & Rajagopalan, 2014) According to reports regarding a leaked party document titled, "Guangdong Action Plan," mainland officials had authorized security services to take "measures to 'exterminate' banned books and magazines at their source, identifying 14 publishing houses and 21 publications in Hong Kong as targets." (Sheridan, 2016a, 2016b)[68]

[68] Though in this case, and at this time, no available information indicated Chinese military or security forces were involved in the Hong Kong booksellers case authoritarian calls for use of the military and more aggressive

In January 2015, according to various media reports, Admiral Sun declared to the U.S. Undersecretary for Intelligence – in the context of the Sino-U.S. relationship – that Hong Kong was a core national interest of China's, one that apparently was prioritized in importance to Beijing after Taiwan but prior to East and South China Sea or cybersecurity issues.[69] Retired Chinese major general Xu Guangyu, quoted in Hong Kong media, said "Sun is telling the US to calm down and not to have any illusions about using Hong Kong to stir things up." (T. Ng & P. So, 2015) A *SCMP* report framed Sun's warning to the United States in the context of the Occupy Central protests and emergent local stirrings for "Hong Kong independence." China's response to the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong – what General Sun, the deputy chief of the General Staff of the PLA, called "an orchestrated Hong Kong version of a colour revolution" – and its 'defense' of OCTS was a warning also to Taiwan independence forces according to the general. (Gan & Lau, 2015a) Sun, also used securitizing rhetoric of Hong Kong as a core interest of Socialist China threatened by internal and foreign subversion in a March 2015 interview with a pro-government magazine: "The illegal Occupy Central activities in 2014 came as minority radical groups in Hong Kong, under the instigation and support of external forces … orchestrated a Hong Kong version of a colour revolution." (Gan & Lau, 2015a) The timing of the publication of the interview, in the *Oriental Outlook* – an affiliate of *Xinhua*, roughly coincided with the twin meetings of the CPPCC and NPC and the unprecedented public denunciation of the "Hong Kong independence movement" as intolerable by the chairman of the NPC, Zhang Dejiang – who, significantly, was also one of two deputies of China's new CNSC. (G. Cheung & Cheung, 2015) Hong Kong localists inspired by the "Hong Kong City-State" and 'nation building" notions of a SAR academic, Chin Wan-kan, considered the 'spiritual father of independence-seeking localism" (A. Lo, 2015b) were reportedly targeted in Zhang's remarks, i.e., identifying him as one of the "true enemies" of OCTS.

A HKSAR Executive Council member and former SAR Security minister, Regina Ip[70], opined that Occupy movement and the earlier Edward Snowden affair involving a former U.S. National Security

security responses to color revolution threats using tactics like those suggested in alleged leak Guangdong Action Plan have been articulated as suitable, if not necessary, security responses. The involvement, however, of Cultural Revolution-era Chinese Communist Party extra-constitutional entity in the booksellers' 'abductions' and detainment has been raised following claims of one of the victims, Lam Wing-kee, that a "central special unit" was involved. (K. Cheng, 2016a; Un & Ng, 2016)

[69] This is an interesting and salient ordering of threats to China's national security but not expanded upon here due to space considerations. Suffice it to say that the ranking of the Hong Kong Problem ahead of threat areas the Chinese government extends significant resources to protect/contest (East and South China Seas, the Chinese Internet space) and which have real-world military security implications raises interesting issues regarding Chinese capabilities, threat and vulnerability perceptions as well as adversary capabilities, intent and operations.

[70] Regina Ip is also the founder of the rightwing pro-Beijing New Peoples Party (NPP). As a former SAR Security Minister Ip had routine access to mainland national security officials and appears, based on media accounts, to maintain contact with various officials. Other reputed members of the NPP reportedly involved united front work targeting radical democrats, localists and separatists in Hong Kong allegedly have mainland united front connections. They are extensively involved in organizing, mobilizing and directing various Love

Agency defense contractor who initially fled to the SAR and revealed alleged American espionage operations against China via Hong Kong before subsequently fleeing to the Russian Federation, had provoked China's elevation of the Hong Kong Problem in Sino-U.S. affairs. (T. Ng & P. So, 2015) Another high profile hawkish PLA general, retired major general Luo Yuan[71] claimed in November 2014 that Occupy Central was part of a "'unprecedented direct and indirect Western encirclement' of China."[72] (Ford, 2014) Notably, in light of the CPPCC's apparent leading role in creating enemy images, penning moral panic discourses and deploying political warfare narratives in the war on Hong Kong and OCTS under China's new securitization approach, Luo "has a strong background in 'united front' activities, especially related to Taiwan" and was a member of the CPPCC Committee for Liaison with Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and Overseas Chinese. (Chubb, 2013) Another high-level PLA intervention into Hong Kong affairs was the 2013 National Defense University (NDU) produced film *Silent Contest* depicting U.S. peaceful evolution activities, operations and strategies to overthrow China which included alleged American (and British) use of Hong Kong to infiltrate the mainland ideologically. (Chong, 2013) Moreover, in the PLA's 2015 NDU Blue Paper on China's security, *International Strategic Relations and China's National Security* (National Defense University, 2015), Hong Kong's civil society, Occupy Central, and localism movements were blamed for influencing the Taiwan independence movement which had, in part, "substantially changed the political landscape of the island"[73] (Zhu, 2015, p.246-248) Similar game changing rhetoric blaming radicals, localists and separatists was used by local OCTS securitization actors following the November 2015 HKSAR district council and January 2016 Taiwan presidential elections. (Ip, 2016a; Zhou, 2016b) In July 2015 shortly after the new National Security Law became effective the NDU announced the establishment of the PLA's first national security think tank, the China National Security Studies Centre to study "outstanding security issues" and would service the PLA and the CCP Central Committee. (A. Chen, 2015)

The PLA's establishment of a national security focused think tank came six months following a State Council-connected quasi-official OCTS-focused think tank, The Chinese Association of Hong Kong

China, Love Hong Kong groups supporting the government policies and politicians, and to attack Hong Kong's dissidents – rhetorically – and physically.

[71] Luo is currently the Executive Vice President and Secretary General of the very high-level China Strategic Culture Promotion Association (CSCPA) think tank which is involved in state-level public diplomacy, soft power and united front work. Among other activities, it produces China's annual report on the U.S. military power. Luo is believed to have Chinese intelligence connections and was formerly the deputy director of China's Academy of Military Sciences' Military Research Department. (Chubb, 2013)

[72] This was a likely reference to the United States' strategic geopolitical re-posturing, the Asia Pivot. Many Chinese and HKSAR observers characterized Occupy/Umbrella as not just a color revolution but part of the U.S.' Pivot to Asia strategy.

[73] One implication here was that dissident Hongkongers had damaged Cross-Strait relations between the mainland and Taiwan, even to the point that the pro-Chinese Communist Party Kuomintang ruling position on the island had been weakened. Thus, the Hong Kong Problem was simply containable to Hong Kong or the HKSAR-version of OCTS, but had impaired the mainland's most liberal version of the policy and "stirred up" trouble.

and Macau Studies (*The Chinese Association* hereafter) established a national security "study group" in January 2015 which included PLA representation. That same month, in what was seen as a joint mainland-HKSAR government response to youth involvement in the Occupy and Umbrella movements, the PLA and the SAR government announced – under a shroud of controversy and secrecy – the establishment of PLA-mentored Hong Kong Army Cadets Association (*Cadets* hereafter) in the city. Then, in April 2015, Senior Colonel Wang Xinjian of the PLA's Central Military Commission's Legal Affairs Bureau who is a Chinese Association member, argued in a *Global Times* interview that Chinese citizens of Hong Kong should be allowed to join the PLA so as to improve their national identity and patriotism. (Mok & Lee, 2015) Uncoincidently, Senior Colonel Wang had previously worked on the drafting of the HKSAR and Macau SAR Garrison Laws. He later opined that the Garrison laws were important "legal acts" in implementing OCTS. (X. Wang, 1997) The call to allow Hongkongers to join the PLA had followed more than a decade of rehabilitation of the PLA Hong Kong Garrison's image and soft power capital in the city following its leading role in the 1989 Tiananmen massacre. (Garrett, 2010) Notably, various hardline senior members of the HKSAR patriotic establishment had lobbied since 2004 to allow young Hongkongers to sign up. The establishment of the Cadets in January 2015 and call for allowing the SAR's Chinese citizens to join the PLA a couple of months later came at a point of heightened sensitivity regarding the PLA and OCTS following the just completed street clearances of the Umbrella occupation camps. For example, a book chapter by this author on the PLA Hong Kong Garrison as a soft power success story for China that had been accepted for publication by Tsinghua University Press was withdrawn from the press at the last minute in late-2014 by a mainland book-publisher over political sensitives regarding the Chinese military base in Hong Kong amid rising anticommunist and anti-China sentiment in the city and the Occupy/Umbrella movement occupation actions.

This was a Kafkaesque mainland securitization move as soon after the Chinese and HKSAR governments announced – to much opposition – the establishment of the PLA-mentored youth group to cultivate Hongkongers' senses of identity and patriotism and instill a national security awareness in them. Moreover, the hegemonic forces' Cadets securitization maneuver came at a time when the Chinese Army's rehabilitated image in the city had begun to fray as it assumed a higher profile locally, intervened selectively in local politics, and was the locus of growing Hongkonger anger over land use and harbor-frontage disputes. HKSAR government violence during the 79-days of Umbrella against peaceful protesters had also raised the specter of the 1989 Tiananmen incident which made Hongkongers more suspicious and critical towards the PLA Hong Kong Garrison. Recurrent hegemonic use of the threat of possible PLA military intervention in Hong Kong to coerce Hongkongers not to support or participate in Occupy/Umbrella over a year-and-a-half before the occupations had likewise likely affected the image of the Hong Kong Garrison. The inefficacy of the hegemonic PLA threat peddling during Occupy/Umbrella was probably no better illustrated than by

the fact that demonstrators waiting to "storm" the HKSAR government complex next door to the PLA's Central Barracks felt safe enough to even take naps on the ground lying in front of the main gate to the PLA Central Barracks.[74] Moreover, throughout the occupations demonstrators were camped along the northern perimeter of the barracks and on a flyover next to and overlooking the military facility without incident. PLA personnel did, however, monitor, observe and spy on the demonstrators from within their barracks with binoculars and cameras as observed by the author as well as, reportedly, sending plain clothes members to walk through and photograph occupiers according to the author's interviewees who observed the alleged activities.

The PLA and Hong Kong: A Not So Silent Contest (Struggle)

Two years before the PLA's China National Security Studies Centre was established in 2015 it was already evident they PLA had taken a more active role in shaping the Chinese government's perception of the Hong Kong Problem and OCTS and were influencing their securitization. This was demonstrated in the cinematic visual securitization text, the *Silent Contest*. The 2013 documentary was jointly produced by the PLA, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and a Chinese intelligence-affiliated think tank, the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). Australian national security Sinologist Geoff Wade summarized the film as: "Highly polemical, and set against a rousing soundtrack, the film suggests that the United States is trying to subvert China through five avenues: (1) undermining China politically, (2) engaging in cultural infiltration, (3) warfare in terms of ideas, (4) the training of fifth column agents and (5) the fostering of opposition forces within china." (Wade, 2013) Significantly, each of these framing themes are regularly and variously expressed in Beijing and SAR moralizing and securitizing actors' criticisms, enemification and political warfare narratives directed at isolating and alienating Western-influenced, democracy seeking Hongkongers.

Moreover, *Silent Contest* situated reputed American and British intrigue within in the Region as having instigated the Occupy Central movement and other destabilization intelligence operations.[75] The Occupy movement, the 2012 anti-MNE education campaign led by Scholarism, and the annual 4 June Tiananmen vigils and 1 July democracy marches were all cases proffered as exemplars of

[74] Umbrella participants had also un-problematically occupied streets and overpasses adjacent to and overlooking the southern perimeter of the barracks. Large scale-confrontations between HKSAR security forces and demonstrators also took place in the immediate vicinity of the barracks without incident.

[75] The movie references Occupy Central with Love and Peace which preceded the emergence of the Umbrella Revolution which, in large part, eclipsed and subsumed OCLP. Unfortunately, post-September 28th, Occupy Central is still often imprecisely and mistakenly referred to, and used interchangeably with, the Umbrella Revolution, or the more often used Umbrella Movement. Occupy Central and the student-led Umbrella Revolution/Movement are distinct though overlapping movements and with latter adopting a wider repertoire of contentious politics and more assertive ideology than Occupy. Nonetheless, there were varying levels of cooperation and coordination among personnel and the labels are casually and imprecisely assigned or invoked in various academic and popular discourses.

American and British subversion of Hong Kong, China, and the CCP. (Chong, 2013) One Hong Kong pro-Beijing lawmaker described *Silent Contest* as representing the central authorities' fears of a Hong Kong-United States-Taiwan axis forming against Beijing. (Ching, 2013) Chinese anxieties over the US' "return" to Asia, aka the "Asia Pivot," were also articulated in *Silent Contest* as were other Chinese hegemonic color revolutions specters. (Wade, 2013) In light of these threat claims, changes in China's new national security outlook and threat posture may have led to changes in the operational focus and role of the PLA Hong Kong Garrison. Though always stationed in the HKSAR on the premise of national security and Chinese sovereignty, the role of the Garrison had been largely soft power-oriented, hence symbolic. Alleged changes in the PLA's missions and roles in the HKSAR, such as the recent establishment of a suspected Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) intercept site (2014a), or their participation in more and different types of military drills (Badcanto, 2012), may hold greater significance both for Hongkonger dissidents and perceived enemies as the SAR becomes a more operational part of the Chinese military's defensive and offensive war plans in the South China and East China Sea regions.[76] The details and implications of China's most recent major reorganization of PLA and the Central Military Commission that began rolling out in late-2015 may hold further surprises for the HKSAR. This national security puzzle is steadily becoming more pressing as the potential of Sino-U.S. conflict over the South China Seas increases substantially as it may not just affect potential enemy-aliens (foreigners) in Hong Kong but also the enemy Hongkongers in the city as well. Though the HKSAR Garrison Law provides that the central authorities can activate them to respond to a crisis or emergency in the HKSAR or a declaration of state of war by the NPC, it and other public Chinese and HKSAR documents and laws do not address how the SAR, the PLA or even OCTS would function or handle enemy aliens (foreigners) or Hongkongers in the city in such an exceptional national security setting; something which seems increasingly more possible in light of the deteriorating Sino-U.S. relationship and South China Seas situation. In such a scenario, Chinese and HKSAR color revolution/hybrid war/soft war rhetoric and OCTS Securitization discourses and practices become highly salient in attempting to fathom regime threat images, perceptions and potential responses.

Relatedly, China's massive new military reorganization of its fighting forces in late-2015 and passage of counter-terror and national security laws providing for a global counter-terrorism gambit may also hold significance for how PLA forces are utilized within Hong Kong; especially as the Chinese

[76] Indeed, besides discussing the national security and geopolitical implications of *Silent Contest* Wade (2013) examines another "PLA-inspired" "hyper-nationalist" text, *Six Wars China Must Fight in the Coming 50 Years*, that though unmentioned, holds significant implications for the role of the PLA's Hong Kong Garrison. To date, the Garrison's role in Hong Kong has been of a largely symbolic and soft power function. (Garrett, 2010) However, of six war scenarios described in a pro-Beijing Hong Kong paper (Midnight Express 2046, 2013) half involve theatres of operation that would likely involve Garrison forces or resources operationally engaged in the conflict and securing the HKSAR: namely conflicts involving the *Diaoyutai* and *Ryukyus* islands, the South China Seas, and Taiwan.

regime moves to formally designate Hong Kong independence groups as national separatist and terrorist organizations (S. Lau & Cheung, 2016) as it recently did following the Mong Kok Riot and NPC Chairman Zhang Dejiang's visit. Such security moves would have implications – not just concerns – for the members of Hong Kong localist groups designated as extremists, separatists or terrorist entities, but also for those supporting or sympathizing them or just espousing Hong Kong independence rhetoric and sentiments. Under China's ambiguous definition of terrorism and language in its new counter-terrorism law, for instance, it could conceivably be used to ensnare Hongkongers donating money to localist/independence/self-determination related organizations or political parties/politicians, classifying them along the grounds of having provided material support to a separatist/terrorist organization. As we have seen with the U.S. Global War on Terror post-9/11, the mundaneness and evidentiary thresholds for arrest or conviction on terrorism-related national security offenses is astounding trite in some cases; HKSAR government political policing and prosecution of Hong Kong radicals, localists and separatists have, in some cases, already arguably approached these extreme national security logics with arrests and prosecutions under the Dishonest Use of Computers ordinance. Inescapably, Chinese and HKSAR securitization performances of kidnapping or otherwise detaining Hong Kong booksellers in the city and abroad, arresting or investigating radical democrats, localists or radicals, and mainland spectacles of catching and releasing suspects or televised confessions – all in the name of national security can satisfy security functions other than simply securing acquiesce to exceptional measures such as deterring and warning subalterns (Vuori, 2014, p.84-85)[77] – the proverbial killing of chickens to scare monkeys. Such securitization moves may be especially effective in particularly compliant societies well-conditioned by law-and-order rhetorics and fear of chaos such as the Hong Kong SAR. Pro-HKSAR establishment securitizing actors even promoted and contextualized information contained with Silent Contest for the public through special information sessions and talks offered to patriots. For instance, in July 2014 the Council of Hong Kong Professionals Association organized a talk on Silent Contest for members with guest speakers giving the following presentations: *Chaos in the East China Sea and South China Sea: Sino-American New Cold War?*; and, "*Silent Contest" – The China's Thought on Foreign Affairs and National Defence* [sic]. (Council of Hong Kong Professionals Association, n.d.)

Though *Silent Contest* (or *Silent Struggle* (Maochun Yu, 2015)) had been disputed by many as more fringe than representative of China's official perspective of the United States, or of what was occurring in Hong Kong vis-à-vis color revolution and America, noted Sinologist Michael Pillsbury saliently observed that the film's host was one of several PLA generals Xi Jinping met with in August 2014 to discuss how Chinese could achieve military parity with the U.S. (Pillsbury, 2014) That, and

[77] Vuori (2014) observes that not all "securitization arguments" in the PRC are "about legitimating a break from the rules that bine regular politics" (p.85) but also serve various political functions in "real political terms." (p.84)

other security developments and statements since 2013 and since the Umbrella Revolution have emerged that argue the storylines in *Silent Contest* regarding Chinese leaders' perceptions of Western-influenced and led-color revolution in Hong Kong may be closer to the reality than not – at least among the ultra-hardliners in Beijing and Tamar. Moreover, as will be elaborated below, *Silent Contest* as a political warfare cum soft war visual securitization film has motivated at least one prominent NPCSC HKSAR BLC member, Lau Nai-keung, to strategize how Hong Kong's financial system and positioning within the international order under OCTS could be used to subvert the Western-led order to advance an alternative Chinese model. In other words, Lau contemplated the weaponization of Hong Kong and OCTS in the geopolitical strategic contest between East (Socialist China) and the West (primarily the United States.) It is salient to remember here that one of the primarily duties of NPCSC HKSAR BLC members is to provide the central authorities *their* assessment of the *actual situation* in the HKSAR and to advise on NPCSC decisions and interpretations affecting the SAR and how the Basic Law and OCTS might be better and more comprehensively implemented. Suggestive of Lau Nai-keung's substantial standing with senior Chinese officials responsible for Hong Kong affairs is the fact that during his inspection tour round-up speech NPCSC Chairman Zhang Dejiang called for applause for Lau's service to the country in front of an audience of about 200 principal HKSAR officials, senior government figures and VIPs among the Hong Kong SAR patriotic community when the former had to leave due to illness. (Un, 2016b)

Weaponizing OCTS

In December 2013, Lau Nai-keung made an open call in the *China Da*ily for Hong Kong's 'capitalist system' to be used to subvert the U.S.-led Western-capitalist system in favor of Beijing's 'capitalism with Chinese characteristics." In his weaponized OCTS manifesto, *Hong Kong and Silent Contest*, Lau sought to situated the SAR with its huge cadre of Chinese state-owned enterprises, 'new Hongkongers,' and superior access to Western markets and technologies to be the CCP's fifth column in the strategic contest – the *silent struggle* – between East and West. (N.-k. Lau, 2013b; Luk, 2013) Lau Nai-keung's proposal directly threatened the United States as well as Hong Kong. There were, for instance, approximately 1,400 U.S. companies active in Hong Kong. (Hart, 2013) The city's role as one of the world's international financial center and its centrality in China's internationalization of the Yuan as a reserve currency (competing with the U.S. dollar) were also concretized in Lau's new cold war agitation for weaponizing OCTS to support the PRC in an emerging new Sino-US geopolitical conflict. Though Lau Nai-keung acknowledged that the film *Silent Contest* could be criticized "as 'anti-American conspiracy theory,'" and the movie did contain "terminology from a bygone era that is now categorized as ultra-leftist, and … is [ultimately] a Marxist-Leninist throwback with less Chinese characteristics…", he demurred that the problem was not the film's message, but simply prejudice against China. (N.-k. Lau, 2013b) Expressing similar iconoclastic anti-Western-order sentiments and

thematic frames voiced by other *China Daily*, *Global Times* and *People's Daily* commentators and editorialists, Lau explicates opposition to *Silent Contest* was an outcome of China's soft power deficit with the United States: "Right now, US-style democracy has higher brand equity, but China's governance model is catching up." (N.-k. Lau, 2013b) However, Lau's soft power as race analogy was disingenuous as soft power is a contested resource in general and an element of color revolution/hybrid war/soft war conflicts; hence, a struggle or war analogy would have been a more accurate representation – something Lau Nai-keung would have known from his CPPCC and united front work, especially given soft power's relationship to national identities. (Hughes, 2003; N.-k. Lau, 2001)

More revealing than his geopolitical "OCTS/Hong Kong as Socialist Chinese Fifth Column" appeal, however, were his earlier broad depictions of the perceived failures of American global leadership as having served as "a major setback for capitalism" and that "US-style democracy is no longer perceived as fail-safe." These "new situation" themes were part of a larger state narrative of not just irreversible U.S. and Western-decline and irrepressible China's rise, but also one of the frame of democratic Hongkongers being useful idiots in adhering to a crumbling Western notion of democracy that the West no longer even believed in. Lau's revolutionary aesthetic" (N.-k. Lau, 2014b) polemic were best understood within the larger Chinese state-led iconoclastic deconstruction of the myths of an American-led world order, Western-styled democracy and universal values narratives like that expressed in a *Xinhua* commentary calling for a "de-Americanized world" (Xinhua, 2013a) written just months prior to Lau's rousing for HKSAR-led subversion of the international order. In this sense, Lau's united front OCTS Securitization discourses were congruent with strategic messaging campaigns by mainland and SAR ultra-nationalists attempting to affect the ideological deprogramming and reorientation of Hongkongers from the West towards the CCP and its socialist values and worldviews; A political transgenic engineering with Chinese Characteristics securitizing move towards the HKSAR. Without ridding the "Western rot in Hong Kong," they reason, Hongkongers' "hearts and minds" could never be won. Lau and his patriotic cohorts' anti-democratic and anti-Western securitizing rhetorical attacks on dissident Hongkongers' irrepressible demands for true universal suffrage and autonomy were evocative of the anti-democratic authoritarian toolkit mentioned earlier, but in this context, were more honestly and accurately articulated and strategically posited in grand political and civilizational struggle with the West terms. The so-called authoritarian toolkit of countries like China, Iran, and Russia are rather war chests for authoritarian survival and warfare, not simple democracy shunning. Authoritarian conservatives' emphasis on color revolution, hybrid war and soft war as new forms of warfare make this exceedingly clear: countering liberal Western democracy promotion and universal values is war, not ordinary politics.

A Missing Color Revolution: Hong Kong's 2003 Ebony Revolution

It is important to note that OCLP and the Umbrella Revolution were not the first times Chinese and HKSAR officials and securitizing actors had conceptualized Hong Kong and Hongkongers as locked in the throes of color revolution. For example, the 1 July 2003 Article 23 anti-National Security legislation protest of half-a-million Hongkongers and perceived momentum of the democracy movement in the HKSAR following the district council elections that year led enemification, moral panic and political warfare campaigns by the 'patriotic forces' against the enemy Hongkongers pursing a 'color revolution' and 'inviting' foreign powers to interfere in China's internal affairs (the SAR and OCTS.) Problematically, however, the events between mid-2003 and the 2004 legislative elections have been monopolistically viewed in the literature through constitutional, democratization, modernization, and political participation lens rather than a security or securitization prism. Ironically this has been the case despite security discourses and the national security legislation nexus putatively (originally) at the center of the conflict not to speak of the rhetorical construction of existential threats and enemification of Hongkonger dissidents. Even in the literature on 'color revolutions,' 'hybrid regimes,' and 'competitive authoritarianism, the topic of Hong Kong and the Chinese regime's increasingly sophisticated and effective ability to manage its limited democracy has been largely overlooked and the HKSAR as a site of attempted color revolution(s) absent – potentially because Hong Kong has been long perceived by local and international academics as partially democratic rather than a competitive authoritarian hybrid political system. Instead, Russia and the host of former Soviet states have received the bulk of academic attention regarding these topics - though with the Arab spring, Middle Eastern and North African 'revolutions' began getting a lion's share of academic and popular attention. Even a recent book, *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy* (Diamond, Plattner, & Walker, 2016), essentially neglects the case of Hong Kong and the Umbrella Revolution and minimizes Beijing's opposition to democratic reforms in Hong Kong as concerns over whether they were colonial "poison pills" (Nathan, 2016, p.32) and grossly misrepresents Hongkonger resistance to authoritarian Chinese communist rule as simply "inconvenient sentiments critical of Beijing" (p.32) and the central authorities repression and oppression of the democratic dimensions of Two Systems as "incidental" damage. (p.39) Though Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan are scantly discussed in the context of China's efforts to roll-back democratic institutions and contain the "democracy contagion" no treatment of OCTS or democracy in the new Chinese national security context was made.

And while there has been some very good research and analysis regarding the CCP's perception of, and response to the color revolution threats on the mainland (T. C. Chen, 2010), inexplicably, as of 2016, the missing (failed) color revolution of the HKSAR – called an Ebony Revolution here due to the black attire of the protesters – is missing. Likewise, it has not been adequately addressed in the

literature how the Party, from a hegemonic perspective, has perceived, constructed and reacted to the electoral challenges to its authority in Hong Kong through a color revolution national security lens; let alone the possibility that the second largest mass democracy movement in Hong Kong (OCLP/Umbrella now being the largest) - which occurred at the (Western-perceived) front-end of the color revolution wave - might have also been perceived as a color revolution and what were its implications for the central authorities' security perceptions and threat images of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. It is contended here that rather than Hong Kong serving as a model for democratization on the mainland – as has been one of the most common themes among democratic transition advocates and scholars – Hong Kong's 'democracy,' rather, has been an impetus for increasingly sophisticated Chinese authoritarian repression in the SAR from a national security and political struggle perspective that has at least partially been manifested tactically through a Three Warfares approach (psychological war, lawfare and public opinion war.) Yet here too, in the literature Taiwan (Stokes & Hsiao, 2013) is generally the focus of scholarship on Chinese political warfare albeit more recently Political Warfare/Three Warfares conflicts with the United States appear to be gaining attention. Though the focus of this chapter and dissertation is not the 2003-2004 national security/universal suffrage crisis, there is contemporary value in understanding the security perceptions surrounding the Ebony Revolution and the subsequent shaping of security and securitization discourses as articulated by Chinese and HKSAR authorities and patriotic camp non-state security actors. Arguably, this helps in contextualizing and situating the hegemonic enemification, moral panic and political warfare discourses (OCTS Securitization) that came over a decade later before, during and after the OCLP/Umbrella movements, and the rise of Hong Kong localism and independence movements.

Briefly, the arguments for why the Chinese and HKSAR authorities likely perceived the 2003-2004 Article 23/Universal Suffrage episode as an attempted color revolution are as follows. First, Hong Kong affairs were directly under the control of the central leadership who also assessed China's international situation and engagement and, as such, would have been cognizant of color revolutions threats facing authoritarian and communist regimes. This is all the more likely given the extensive studies China's top leadership directed on investigating the cause of the collapse of the Soviet Union (Page, 2013; T. C. Chen, 2010) – an analytic security endeavor that has continued and evolved since the late-1990s and early-2000s. Second, Chinese leadership fears over a color revolution threat to the PRC were in evidence as early as 2000. Reportedly, in January that year Chinese President Jiang Zemin was said to have stated in a politburo meeting that: "In a recent move, external and internal antagonistic forces collaborated to state intrigues and conspiracies to form a legitimate political party … The real intention is to plant an opposition party … in an attempt to overthrow the leadership and socialist system under the CCP." (C. Chan, 2006) Speaking in the context of Hong Kong and negotiations by the British with China in the 1990s to increase the size directly elected legislators in

the LegCo, Jiang felt that, "Public aspirations for democracy, he said, were being hijacked by some Western countries to justify their own political agendas and stir up trouble."(C. Chan, 2006) Though the highly visible conflicts between Beijing and London over the introduction of elections in Hong Kong are well known and preceded the advent of the color revolutions, Jiang's comments suggest further motivators for China's concerns then simply perceived British subterfuge, or sabotage of Hong Kong's return.[78]

Third, given the Chinese leadership's predisposition in general to view developments in Hong Kong in a conspiratorial light it is unlikely that events as significant as the SAR's 2003 march and the flowering of color revolutions on China's peripheries were perceived as mutually exclusive; if for no other reasons than the parallels in scale of street politics and rhetoric calling for regime change. Though not discussed here, it is salient that the history, ideology and political culture of the CCP – even aside from the case of Hong Kong and OCTS – has tended to produce an inherently conspiratorial world view rife with perceptions and misperceptions of political deceptions, mortal enemies and existential intrigues. This is in addition to and beyond so-called inferiority, siege, and victim complexes that have been used to describe China's security mindset and world view – a particularly ironic situation given its narratives demanding mutual trust. But this is also an element of the Copenhagen School's claim that the survival nature of security sets it aside from normal politics. Fourth, though Hong Kong's massive protest came three years after the 2000 Bulldozer revolution, it was shortly followed by the November 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia (roughly coinciding with the pro-democracy forces district council sweeping wins) and the 2004-05 Orange Revolution in Ukraine (Hong Kong's legislative council election season and poll.) This period encompassed the first OCTS crisis between July 2003 and December 2004. Fifth, mainland national security academics and bureaucrats had begun researching color revolution-*antidotes* to protect the regime as earlier as 2004 (T. C. Chen, 2010) – the same time the Hong Kong national security drama and united front charm and denunciation campaigns were playing out. By 2006, the CPPCC was being proposed as a magic weapon to deflect color revolutions. (Xinhua, 2006)

[78] It is also significant that as early as 2000 Beijing's threat perception of the Hong Kong democracy movement through a color revolution lens was already forming – at least partly – even before the 1 July 2003 anti-national security legislation watershed – hence, weakening hegemonic claims China's security crackdown and interventions in the HKSAR were solely a security response to upstart democrats. This was also well before contemporary accounts of the 2003 event marking the beginning of Beijing's intervention in the HKSAR and abandoning of its "hands-off" phase in implementing OCTS. As early as 2000, the HKSAR government was already beginning research to draft its Article 23 legislation and had begun consulting with Beijing; then professor Lau Siu-kai opined that the purpose of Article was to be more of a deterrent than operational legislation. (C. Yeung, 2000) During this period the HKSAR government also added the provision in the Public Order Ordinance that assemblies and processions could be denied on national security grounds (a change from the pre-Handover (1995) version of the law.) The HKSAR government and patriotic camp under the leadership of Tung Chee-hwa were also already mobilizing at the time to attempt to outlaw (securitize) the mainland religious dissident group the Falun Gong from operating within Hong Kong.

Sixth, by mid-2004, "Beijing's fear of losing control [of Hong Kong] came to a head after some 600,000 SAR residents hit the streets last July 1 to protest against the misrule of CCP-appointed Chief Executive ... President Hu Jintao … noted while meeting Tung in the Chinese capital not long after the protests that Beijing must raise its guard against "anti-China forces" stirring up trouble in the SAR." (W. Lam, 2004) Then Guangdong Party Secretary Zhang Dejiang claimed in 2006 that "hostile forces" towards China were already operating in the SAR. (He, 2013, p.42) Other analysts also observed that the central authorities were very concerned over the weaken state of the pro-Beijing political parties after the 1 July march and the momentum the pan-democrats had acquired. (J. Y. S. Cheng, 2005, p.150; Ma, 2005, p.2) Seventh, senior officials in the HKMAO, as early as 2005, believed that dissident Hongkongers were collaborating with foreign forces and endangering China's national security.

Also, significant in this early 21st century national security discourse, in comparison to today's panics and political warfare over the Umbrella Revolution and civil nomination or genuine universal suffrage, are Beijing's perceptions of what color revolutions were and how they were made/emerge. The definition of color revolutions and their applicability to a variety of popular protests and revolutions has been a contested, evolving and widening field (just like Securitization Theory[79]). Also, Western liberal discourses tend to differ from conservative authoritarian understandings by states like the PRC or the Russian Federation who have formed a strategic partnership to prevent and oppose American/Western use of color revolutions as regime change ala democracy promotion. Chinese and Russian alignment on color revolutions is such that they've incorporated anti-color revolution defenses and strategies into regional security complexes like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). In part, SCO member states oppose the use of color revolutions and 'color revolution technologies' to interfere in or overthrow foreign governments. In April 2014, for example, then Chinese Minister of Public Security Guo Shengkun warned SCO member states to control the Internet

[79] Leonid (Savin, 2016), chief editorial of the Journal of Eurasian Affairs and Geopolitica.ru and a frequent author published by a Russian-leadership connected think tank, Katehon, categorizes the June 4th Tiananmen Incident as an early version of an attempted Western color revolution targeting China. He cites the Chinese military crackdown as an effective approach to quashing color revolution threats which validates the use of armed force to suppress soft wars as it is "security agencies" "at the supreme moment" who become "the executive branch of the sovereign state" in a Schmittian-sense of the "sovereign [being] someone who makes decisions in critical situations." (n.p.) Albeit, he doesn't not address that it is the Chinese Communist Party that controls the gun in the Socialist China context, nonetheless he does invoke China's post-1989 economic success as evidence of the correctness of such a securitization approach to color revolution threats. In the context of anti-color revolution antidotes, Savin summons the Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory to deal with the problem and threat of color revolutions noting: "Security issues cannot be separated from political activity and attempts from external interference." (n.p.) Describing, "[t]he main task of the actors' securitization position (a country) is to define existential threats," he brings in Securitization Theory's broader notion of threats in the various security sectors to argue and legitimate the use of lethal force "to settle domestic issues" against *all threats*: "… the reference to the military sector is not only the object of another country, like it was in the modern era, but also such 'enemies' like the Fifth column, ethnic groups, separatists, rebels, mafia, and other subjects. Typical military activities for many advanced democracies, like peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions, cannot guarantee defense from existential threats." (n.p.)

strictly to prevent “a new wave of color revolutions” provoked by external forces. According to Western media reporting, the security minister claimed: “This is a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of countries in the region and is a shared concern of the S.C.O. member states” as “external forces are using the social-economic contradictions and problems’ to try ‘to overthrow the authorities.’” (E. Wong, 2014)

A Color Revolution, You Say?

From Beijing or Moscow’s perspectives, definitions of color revolutions (and the Arab spring movements) are broader and more encompassing than Western definitions focused on ‘stolen elections.’ According to T. C. Chen (2010, p.6): "China's authoritarian intellectuals and incumbents" perceived color revolutions "as a series of contagious and illegitimate political changes, instigated by three major factors: raging domestic grievances, electoral politics exploited by the opposition, and Western powers' (the United States in particular) intervention for geo-strategic interests." Joseph Cheng also notes in a discussion of democracy in China that color revolutions were a 'focus' of the Chinese leadership's concern for the CCP's survival. (J. Y. S. Cheng, 2009) And David Shambaugh writes that China had "evince[d] a great deal of alarm, fear, even paranoia" (Shambaugh, 2008) over color revolutions and had taken concrete actions to prevent their infiltration by investigating NGOs and restricting foreign investment into domestic media. Shambaugh further reports that during meeting of the SCO in 2005, Russian President Vladimir Putin warned President Hu Jintao about foreign NGOs in China reportedly saying: "If you don't get a grip on them [NGOs], you too will have a color revolution!" (Shambaugh, 2008, p.91) Citing “reliable Chinese sources,” Shambaugh (2016) reported that Putin’s exhortation to Hu had been accentuated by Putin’s “grabbing Hu by the lapel”; Hu subsequently initiated a crackdown, explained Shambaugh, which was “intensified greatly” following Xi Jinping’s ascent to power in 2012. (p.70)

Jeanne L. Wilson has saliently compared Chinese and Russian reactions to the color revolutions between 2003 and 2005. She observed that in the 2000s China and Russia came to a "certain coincidence of views … regarding the relationship of the state to society as a domestic concern as well as a shared perspective regarding interactions with the Western powers, most notably the United States." (Wilson, 2009, p.1) She explained that two governments subsequently devised "a domestic policy that would maintain their commitment to market transition - and an accompanying autonomous public sphere - without subjecting the state to the penetration of potentially destabilizing influences from abroad."(Wilson, 2009, p.1) Wilson wrote that Beijing and Moscow had concluded that the color revolutions sweeping the former Soviet states and Central Asia represented new, post-Cold War tactics:

> Instead of the traditional focus on military might as a method of conquest and subordination, the Color Revolution approach was non-violent, relying on the instruments of soft power. This was imperialism in an updated format, cloaked in the rhetoric of 'democracy promotion.' The revised tactics included efforts to infiltrate both from outside and within the designated state, making use of such means as foreign aid, special Western government programs to provide support to democratizing regimes, the Western media (especially the Internet), the instigation of what the Chinese referred to as 'street politics' (*jiedao zhengzhi*), and the mobilization of youth. NGOs were further identified as a chief catalyst for inciting domestic subversion. As one Chinese assessment put it: 'NGOs are an instrument that the Western states like to use. They are a 'Trojan horse' planted by Western intelligence agencies.' (Wilson, 2009, p.2)

Chen writes that China's perception of the color revolutions catalysts led:

> … to a collective sense of external threat and prompted the Chinese regime to strengthen its coercive capacity. The result was the communist party's increased control over liberal and critical media, political activism, civil rights advocacy, and Sino-Western civil exchanges. The Chinese state's adaptations to the Color Revolutions attested to its long-term model of authoritarian developmentalism. (T. C. Chen, 2010, p.1-2)

Though China's responses to democratic and other political security challenges in its Hong Kong and OCTS policies, or its broader responses to democratic threats to the socialist system originating from the SAR, were not discussed by these analysts, there is substantive and growing evidence that Beijing shares common perceptions and fears with Russian leadership regarding revolutions, social movements and street politics as suggested earlier in this chapter. Regarding the then on-going Arab Spring, Pavel K. Baev has stated that while the spring movement had features and dynamics unlike the "popular revolutions in post-Soviet states" it was still "useful to look for interplays between the so-called color revolutions and the Arab Spring." (Baev, 2011, p.1) He observed that the two countries, China and Russia, had very 'close attitudes' regarding the "arc of revolutions from Morocco to Syria."(Baev, 2011, p.1)

Indeed, the Kremlin's perception that they (the 'revolutions') were "a conspiracy set in motion by Western agents, including Google's top managers" (Baev, 2011, p.1) resonated with those expressed by Beijing in its high-profile dispute with Google in January 2010 that led to the Western multinational's withdraw and positioning in the HKSAR. Baev has characterized the Russian perspective as ideologically *Putinism* (Baev, 2011, p.1) and concludes that the meeting of minds between Beijing and Russia regarding color revolutions and the Arab Spring constitutes a "counter-revolutionary proto-alliance." (Baev, 2011, p.4) Since the accession of President Xi Jinping several observers have remarked on alleged mutual admiration between him and President Putin for putting forward a strongman political aesthetic for dealing with security threats such as color revolutions, democracy promotion and peaceful evolution at home and abroad. This synergy, as will be discussed next, was also present during the Chinese and HKSAR OCTS Securitization responses to the national security threats posed by Occupy Central and the Umbrella Revolution.

Beijing and Moscow Against the Umbrella: Counter-Color Revolution Proto-Alliance

It is contended here that one of the major differences between Beijing's political crises over Hong Kong and OCTS in 2014 as opposed to 2003 was the overt external influence and intervention of Russian leaders, disinformation outlets, and state and non-state affiliated actors. Both China and Russia were said to "increasingly share a brand of anti-Western nationalism" that had shaded Chinese President Xi Jinping's perception of Hong Kong's OCLP/Umbrella movements; Russian state-controlled television outlets and media promote a U.S.-led color revolution in Hong Kong narrative. (AFP, 2014; Denyer, 2014; Page, 2014) The creation of China's National Security Committee was also said, contrary to many early academic and media assertions, to more closely resemble Russia's Security Council than that of the United States' National Security Council. (Chong, 2014) China's vice-Premier Wang Yang had even denounced the Umbrella Movement as a color revolution while he was visiting Russia – a joint security performance that presented an aligned image of a Sino-Russo rhetorical securitization alliance against the Hong Kong demonstrations and occupations. Blaming "Western countries" for their support of the opposition camp in Hong Kong Wang said, "Their purpose is clear – they want to organize the so-called colour revolution." (TASS, 2014)

Since 2010, as the Sino-Russo relationship has steadily grown closer and especially since the ascent of President Xi, cooperation and exchanges between the HKSAR and Russia governments have increased albeit not without hiccups. NPCSC HKSAR BLC vice-chairwoman and former HKSAR Secretary of Justice Elise Leung and then non-official HKSAR Executive Council member, Barry Cheung Chun-Yuen, for example, were appointed as independent non-executive directors on the board of one of Russia's leading conglomerates that was also the world's largest aluminum producer, RUSAL. (ACN Newswire, 2009) The firm was later the first Russian company listed on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange in January 2010 albeit its stock dropped dramatically soon after under concern over corruption and financial concerns and HKSAR limits on its initial public offering. Then Russian President Dmitry Medvedev and then Chief Executive Donald Tsang met in Moscow in August 2010 to discuss bilateral development and geopolitical and regional developments; President Medvedev reciprocated Tsang's visit with the first-ever visit by a Russian leader to the HKSAR in April 2011. However, the following year, in November 2011, a strongly promoted friendly Hong Kong-Russia football match much touted by then Chief Executive Donald Tsang ended in a sensational match fixing scandal. In 2016, the Russian-led Eurasia Economic Union (EEU)[80] was seeking to sign a free

[80] The EEU was established in 2015 and its members consist of the Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and the Russian Federation. According to Russian state-media, "Western sanctions have encouraged Russia to work more actively with Asian partners." (Russia Today, 2016) Reportedly, Russian President Putin wanted to link the EEU with SCO members, China, Hong Kong and members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an economic bloc countering the U.S.-led Trans-Pacific Partnership initiative. (Russia Today, 2015b)

trade zone with the HKSAR and possible cooperation between the EEU and China's "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) initiative.[81]

Though beyond the scope of this essay, it is important to note briefly the salient intertextuality in the Chinese and Russian securitization discourses regarding foreign powers interference in the Hong Kong SAR and the Occupy and Umbrella movements as well as rhetoric about Manichean East versus West geopolitical struggle and the sinister nature of Western influences and Westernized Fifth Column forces. Case in point, rather than providing their 'own' proof of foreign subterfuge, China's State Council, mainland media mouthpieces (*China Daily*, *Global Times*, *People's Daily Online, Xinhua*), SAR leaders and super patriots, and pro-Beijing Hong Kong media (*Wen Wei Po, Ta Kung Pao*) have instead often relied on allegations and conspiracy theories voiced by Russian-affiliated authors, publications and media outlets such as state-affiliated *Russia Today* (now *RT*) and the *New Eastern Outlook*, an online journal associated with the Russian Academy of Sciences; an institute which had a Soviet-era relationship with Russian domestic and foreign intelligence services.

Two writers whose commentaries and 'investigative journalism' have been repeatedly featured on Russian 'media' sites and/or referenced by Chinese-state media and SAR officials and local pro-Beijing news organizations were Tony Cartalucci and Niles Bowie. Each are ostensibly independent journalists live in Southeast Asia[82] and frequently write for Russian-affiliated publications as well as publishing on various activist blogs such as the *Centre for Research on Globalization*. Notably, the State Council Information Office portal and *People's Daily Online* have sourced U.S. color revolution claims, *Entire 'Occupy Central' Protest Scripted in Washin*gton (Cartalucci, 2014c), to Cartalucci's blog (Xinhua, 2014c) and carried Bowie's criticisms of Umbrella and Western media anti-China biased reporting on the movement. (Bowie, 2014a, 2014b) Executive councilor and New People's Party founder and lawmaker Regina Ip also referenced Cartalucci's claims of foreign interference in calling for a legislative investigation of the Umbrella Movement. (Legislative Council Secretariat,

[81] OBOR is also seen by securitization actors as a Chinese response to the American TPP initiative. Notably, like the weaponization of Hong Kong's status as a global financial center under OCTS advocated by Lau Nai-keung, some Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors have lobbied that Hong Kong should aid China's strategic contest with the United States by joining the TPP to advance China's national interests. Anti-Hongkonger Chinese securitization actors like Zhou Bajun, however, have dismissed Hong Kong's joining the TPP and have those aspirations to attack dissident Hongkongers. Categorizing those who wanted Hong Kong to join the TPP, Zhou classifies them as "politically naïve," opportunistic, or traitorous. Regarding the latter: "And the third type is those who willing advocate TPP membership because they want to turn Hong Kong into an instrument to be used by countries hostile to China." (Zhou, 2015e) Rather, Zhou argues, "… Hong Kong must reposition itself in the global economic, financial and political landscape as the latter undergoes a profound 'ground shift'. Its future depends on how well it keeps its economic development in sync with the nation's development strategy." (Zhou, 2015e) OBOR's role as a hegemonic Chinese securitization move to reposition Hongkongers perceived Western/Western-influenced identities, loyalties and values from the West to Socialist China is evident in many Hong Kong-centered editorial and opinion pieces observed by Chinese and HKSAR securitizing actors who essentially posit Hong Kong's supporting OBOR as a loyalty test and act of patriotism and belief on socialist reconstruction, modernization and the China Dream. (K.-n. P. Lam, 2016; D. Zhang, 2016; B. Zhou, 2013; Zhou, 2014b, 2014c, 2014h, 2015a, 2015c)

[82] Some critics have speculated the two may be the same person or are pseudonyms for another entity/author(s).

2014) NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Lau Nai-keung, in *China Daily* opinion piece titled *New Report Confirm US Role in HK Politics*, effused about Cartalucci's article and marveled, referring to another Cartalucci media item (Cartalucci, 2014a), that: "Cartalucci once wrote: 'China's People's Daily says 'Occupy Central' is a US-backed color revolution … because it is a US-backed color revolution.' What a refreshing statement!" (N.-k. Lau, 2014d)[83]

Lau also credited Cartalucci for directing him to the *People's Daily's* front page exposition, *Why is the US so Keen on 'Color Revolutions'? (Hua, 2014)* That commentary appeared to have been possibly inspired by earlier Cartalucci essays referenced by pro-Beijing media in Hong Kong. For instance, *Wen Wei Po* (K. Chan, 2014a) discussion of Cartalucci's 30 September *Land Destroyer Blog* article, *US Openly Approves Hong Kong Chaos it Created* (Cartalucci, 2014d) and 1 October *New Eastern Outlook* piece, *Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' is US-backed Sedition*. (Cartalucci, 2014b) Some of China's international united front campaigns tapping "foreign friends" and overseas Chinese have also referenced Cartalucci's articles as evidence of American and Western complicity in the putative Hong Kong revolt. (Hsiung, 2014)

In an interview with Russia's former *RIA Novosti* (now subsumed by the Kremlin-controlled *Sputnik News* (Bennetts, 2014), Cartalucci expressed many anti-Western themes xenophobic that Beijing and SAR One Country Absolutists and exceptionalists have mouthed effusively regarding "foreign powers" messing with Hong Kong as well as imitating anti-Hongkonger rhetoric. Speaking of the Western-media perverted notions of democracy prevalent in Hong Kong Cartalucci said, "The sort of people join protests like this are those who have committed entirely to the West's paradigm of 'democracy', big government, and bigger businesses. They read *Time* magazine, watch *CNN* and the *BBC*. Really there is no hope for them to understand what they have become a part of." (Hirst, 2014) Citing "a deep and insidious network of foreign financial, political, and media support" behind the Occupy/Umbrella movements, Cartalucci opined that American involvement, allegedly the U.S. State Department and the National Endowment for Democracy, "could backfire" on the United States after Hongkongers recognized they had been used as "proxies" for "special interests" instead of pursing "real" democracy. (Hirst, 2014)

Similar contentions, albeit Chinese views, from Hong Kong-based Tianda Institute researcher Wu Junfei[84] in a *SCMP* commentary also claimed that American values internalized by the Umbrella Movement's "discontented students" had been responsible for the students "challenging Beijing's

[83] The *SCMP* also ran a story on the *People's Daily* report, *People's Daily accuses US of 'colour revolution' bid with Occupy Central*. (T. Ng, 2014)

[84] Wu particularly invokes the ideological struggle between the United States and China/Russia and of U.S. strategic decline in his discussion of why Washington should not meddle in Hong Kong. According to the Tianda Institute's website, other scholarly work by Wu has focused on the construction of a "new set of universal values" so as to "relieve Western liberal democracy of all its weaknesses and contribute to the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics." (J. Wu, 2012)

authority, and paralyzing Hong Kong's central business and government district." (J. Wu, 2014) Wu asserted that this might mistakenly boost perceptions of American soft power because it showed "to the world that the Americans rule Hong Kong through their ideas, and some students here are willing to be the vanguards of Washington's rebalancing strategy in Asia." (J. Wu, 2014) "Yet, in reality," he warned, "the movement may bring damage, if not disaster, to American's China policy. The idea of universal suffrage has been sold to the public on the premise that the Communist Party would not suppress the movement by force, and that the party's restraint would enable the democrats to assume power in Hong Kong." (J. Wu, 2014) Fantastically claiming that U.S. support of the Umbrella Movement would undermine Chinese President Xi Jinping's reformist policies and corruption crackdown on the mainland leading to hardliners in the Party and PLA seizing an upper hand thereby setting up a scenario where the Chinese army would "take on the US military in the Asia-Pacific region," he concluded with an oblique threat to the United States and its bilateral relationship with China: "China does not have to be an enemy of the US, so, please, keep out of Hong Kong affairs." (J. Wu, 2014)

Another "political analyst," "journalist" and author, Andrew Korybko, writing for the *Sputnik News* and the Russia-based journal, *The Oriental Review* (*Oriental Review* hereafter), also cited Cartalucci claims on the Umbrella Revolution and American-led color revolution and has written his own series of articles on the Umbrella cum Color Revolution cum U.S. regime change theme. Moreover, Korybko also published a 2015 book on color revolutions as a new form of American/Western warfare targeting Russia, China and Iran, *Hybrid Wars: The Indirect Adaptive Approach to Regime Change* (*Hybrid Wars* hereafter) (Korybko, 2015a) that resonates closely with the color revolution and strategic narratives and security rhetoric of East-West conflict and Fifth Column forces extorted by Cartalucci and Bowes. Notably, *Hybrid Wars* was a project of the Institute for Strategic Studies and Predictions (ISSP), People's Friendship University of Russia (PFUR), the third rank university in Russia which has among its alumni a number of leading Russian intelligence officials and operatives (such as the famed Anna Chapman discovered as a Russian sleeper agent in the United States several years ago.) Elsewhere Korybko is described as studying at the Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO) which is connected to Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. More than twenty of Korybko's articles have been published by a Russian think tank (Katehon, 2016) championing a new world order of multipolarity (like China's vision), Katehon. Significantly, Katehon "supervisory board" includes a very controversial and very influential advisor to Russian President Putin, Alexander Dugin. Dugin, who has advanced a new ideology, Eurasianism or neo-Eurasianism, has also seemingly posited a similar grand threat narrative of Western color revolutions, liberalism as existential dangers, and liberal Westernized Fifth Column forces threatening the Russian

Federation as well as China.[85] Dugin's form of millennial Manichean geopolitical color revolution world view has influenced Korybko's own color revolution/hybrid war/soft war theorizations, as well as that of other authors writing on the color revolution threat to authoritarian nations like China, Iran and Russia.

Coinciding with the first month of the Umbrella occupation action, in a two-piece October 2014 *Oriental Review* article, *The Umbrella Revolution and Secessionist Political Contagion in China I* (*Political Contagion I* and *II* hereafter), Korybko explained that the Umbrella Revolution was "not an entirely domestic protest movement, as investigative reporter and political analyst Tony Cartalucci has meticulously documented. His viral article proves the connection between the US State Department, its proxy National Endowment for Democracy, and the so-called 'Umbrella Revolution.'" (Korybko, 2014a) The referenced Cartalucci (2014b) article was, *Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' is US-backed Sedition*. Korybko opens his article, *Political Contagion I*, framing Occupy/Umbrella in familiar Chinese and HKSAR national security images, narratives and rhetoric of national dismemberment and splittism that has become dominant in Beijing and Tamar's securitization discourses discussing radical democrats, localists and separatists:

> China is in the throes of a Color Revolution just as, if not more, menacing than the anti-establishment threat it faced in 1989 in Tiananmen Square. At that time, just as now, well-intentioned individuals (mostly youth) were caught up in the revolutionary romanticism of the day. Before it was the impending fall of communism throughout Eastern Europe, whereas nowadays it's Color Revolutions, the 'Arab Spring' events (a theater-wide Color Revolution), and the Occupy Movement. Last time, however, the scene of activity was the capital, and the (unrealistic) goal was to bring about a quick and speedy end to Communist rule in China via a manipulated 'people's protest'. What is happening now, however, is more sinister in intent. **The far-reaching strategic aim is to initiate a long-term spate of copycat protests not only in the other major urban areas of coastal China, but to serve as an inspiration for far more violent demonstrations in the distant and restive regions of Tibet and Xinjiang.** Altogether, this has the disturbing and realistic possibility of descending into high-impact and crude 'protester'-provoked violence and even all-out separatism in the periphery, running the risk of posing an existential threat to the very concept of 'One China.'" (Korybko, 2014a) (emphasis in the original)

In *Political Contagion II* Korybko framed the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong – a Chinese coastal city on the periphery of a great country – as a "Chaos Contagion" intended to sow chaos, split Socialist China, and unseat the CCP:

> The primary domestic objectives of the 'Umbrella Revolution' is to unleash a contagion of chaos to sweep through coastal China and severely undermine and weaken, if not overthrow the Communist Party's leadership. The idea is to create a 'battering ram' to break centralized control and initiate a chaotic chain reaction that spreads into all of China's megalopolises via copycat movements (whether activated Color Revolution sleeper cells or not) and divides the rest of society, even if it only theoretically 10% of a city's population in favor of revolution

[85] White (2015) writes that, "Due to his apparent proximity to the political elite, Dugin has been seen as one of the most influential thinkers since the collapse of the Soviet Union." (P.2)

> and 90% against it. This strategic societal splitting leads to domestic chaos and clash of two Chinas – 'Chinese China' and 'Western China', with the former supporting the Chinese method of democracy and managing affairs while the latter want to brazenly copy the West in all regards (like Russia's 'Westernizer' leadership in the early 1990s, to similar success). (Korybko, 2014b)

Korybko has written other similarly themed articles securitizing Hong Kong as an urgent existential threat to China's national security as Cartalucci and Bowes (and some others) have done so. This includes a Global Research Centre published October 2014 article, *The US Grand Strategy for Eurasia: Hong Kong's 'Umbrella Revolution' and Secessionist Politics in China (Korybko, 2014c),* and a March 2015 *Oriental Review* piece, *The US is juggling chaos and coordination in order to contain China*. (Korybko, 2015b) Notably, the latter article situated the Umbrella Revolution as part of the American Pivot to Asia framed as a Chinese Containment Coalition strategy designed to "create a destabilized 'rimland' capable of infecting China's vulnerable peripheral provinces with contagious chaos." (Korybko, 2015b) This too was part of the hegemonic Chinese and HKSAR narrative espoused by elite securitizing actors oppressing dissident Hong Kong and Hongkongers. *See APPENDIX 4* for a sample of related Chinese and Russian and affiliated sites' OLCP/Umbrella Revolution and Hong Kong color revolution securitization discourses.

HONG KONG AS BATTLEFIELD

These hegemonic narratives and others yet to be discussed, as argued in this dissertation, materially and symbolically discursively transform Hong Kong's dissident subalterns into constructed enemies of the state and existential national security threats to the socialist system and the CCP. They have also been used to postulate Hong Kong as Socialist China's weakest link and greatest vulnerability in its larger life-and-death ideological and political struggles with the West, predominantly the United States (U.S.). As put by mainland and SAR Basic Law scholars and other state/party-affiliated hegemonic chauvinists, Hong Kong's return has not been completed or realized; Hong Kong and Hongkongers need to be *de-colonized*, *re-enlightened*, and then *re-Sinicized* before they the retrocession of Hong Kong can be concluded and before Hongkongers can *really* become Chinese thereby enabling socialist China and the CCP to be secured from the near and present oblivions of color revolutions, democratic regime changes, peaceful evolution, and Hongkonger independence movements. Similarly, the mechanism of universal suffrage for selecting Hong Kong's chief executive as proffered in the HKSAR's Basic Law has now been securitized and ritualistically inscribed in moral panic and political warfare securitizing discourses as one of the newest and direst national security specters stalking Chinese socialist sovereignty, security and developmental interests. Consequently, Hong Kong at the juncture of East and West as an international financial center and the so-called bridge and window to China is implicitly and intimately situated in China's national security fears articulated in both the *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers*.

The situation of hegemonic crisis in Beijing over Hong Kong and OCTS has been made all the more perilous for the Chinese communists following the collapse of Deng Xiaoping's decades-old principle (and slogan) of "Love China, Love Hong Kong" as a nationalistic panacea and policy for legitimating and securing hegemonic control over, and consent from, ordinary and dissident Hongkongers. Significantly, the failure in the regimes' ability to organize acquiesce to the *Patriots Ruling Hong Kong* principal and the *One Country over Two Systems* dogma has been in spite of increasingly coercive hegemonic articulations of material and moral hazards regarding Hong Kong's future prosperity and stability and its material efforts to remake the local society and its citizens; Put simply, it has been an increasingly harsh narrative of 'cherish' Hong Kong, *or else* as insinuated threat as well as a securitizing move. Take, the 2014 National Day *People's Daily* editorial, *Cherish positive growth: Defend Hong Kong's prosperity and stability*, published three days after the start of the Umbrella Revolution, for example. The editorial simultaneously warned Hongkongers over the threat of Occupy as well as menacing what would happen if they did not put it (Umbrella) down: "In the early hours of September 28, residents of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region came together as part of an illegal gathering – so-called 'Occupy Central' – disrupting social order and harming Hong Kong's economic livelihood. 'Occupy Central' will have negative consequences for Hong Kong and all its people. If it continues, these consequences will be unimaginable." (People's Daily, 2014)

Instead of compliance, however, growing subaltern resistance, not submission, has been the by-product of One Country chauvinism and relentless cultural, economic, political and social assimilation cum integration (domination) pressures. Consequently, since 2010 with the turn in Hongkonger resistance to more confrontational, radical and transgressive forms defiance and transgression (Jenks, 2003) indicative of New Social Movements' (NSM) form of contentious politics, performances and repertories (Garrett, 2015; Garrett & Ho, 2014; Tilly, 2008; Tilly & Tarrow, 2007), some regime crusaders have moved that Hong Kong and Hongkongers ought to be taught a lesson to better learn their place under OCTS. These narratives of chauvinistic belligerency and disciplinary law-and-order retribution have subsequently become dominant OCTS securitizing narratives among ultra-hardliners dominating the post-Occupy/Umbrella period.

Others, even more extremist One Country fundamentalists, espousing neo-Confucian exceptionalism and visions of a new Chinese empire and having internalized Mao's (and now Xi Jinping's) united front life-or-death political struggle and binary enemy/friend logic, position for not just the isolation of the enemy (Hong Kong anticommunists, radical pan-democrats, and youth separatists) in traditional united front parlance, but for their *eradication* from Hong Kong's political scene. For example, implicitly evoking specters of Maoist-led political purges or pre-emptive genocide of emergent ethnic identities, one pro-regime commentator in the *China Daily*, Leung Kwok-leung, speaking of alleged separatist sentiments expressed in a local university's student magazine,

dehumanized and pathologized – key processes in the enemification of the Hongkonger folk devils – the students when he incited in December 2014 that: "Their subversive ideas are so obvious no responsible government can ignore them. If such dangerous ideas spread then Hong Kong's security, rule of law, prosperity and stability will be jeopardized. 'Hong Kong independence' warrants the kind of preventive measures we have come to expect against deadly epidemics like bird flu. **No effort should be spared to eradicate it**." (K.-l. Leung, 2014a) (emphasis added) The same month a former leading Chinese official responsible for Hong Kong affairs, Chen Zuoer, stated: "Hong Kong people should be prepared for a possibly long-term struggle with the force that brings calamity to Hong Kong … in aspects such as the law court, Legco, mass media, universities or even secondary schools." (T. Cheung & Fung, 2014; China Daily, 2014b) This has already been seen in the hegemonic securitizing moves to reign in lawyers, ostracize radicals, localists and separatists, deter judicial reviews, target religious organizations' participation in protests and democracy movements, politicized students, and academic freedom in Hong Kong's universities. (T.-l. Chan, 2016; G. Cheung & Lau, 2015a; Fan, 2016; N.-k. Lau, 2013a; L.-y. Leung, 2014a; A. Lin, 2015, 2016) Others, like NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Maria Tam Wai-chu, have also hinted at the end of OCTS as Hongkongers, especially young Hongkongers, have come to know it. (RTHK, 2015) Indeed, under the umbrella of purported internal and external existential threats an invigorated hegemonic effort at remaking (and subduing) Hong Kong and Hongkongers is underway.

The late-2014 threats and warnings by Chen Zuoer and others presaged the commencement of the Chinese and HKSAR governments' war on Hong Kong independence, localists and radical democrats that, though briefly elucidated here, will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter. For example, hegemonic use of the catchphrase "Hong Kong independence" and discursive construction of an "independence movement" threat image in English-language Chinese state-mouthpiece like the *China Daily* and *Global Times* have become a prominent signs and themes in regime narratives in 2015 – far surpassing their use at any time before during the earlier 18 years of socialist Chinese control over Hong Kong. Scores of opinion pieces invoking the catchphrase of *Hong Kong Independence* were published in state mouthpieces and establishment media in Hong Kong during the first-half of 2015 alone following the January 2015 securitizing claims of the chief executive of a separatist movement in Hong Kong. Notably, however, hegemonic security claims of Hong Kong independence and separatism movements and sentiments have been steadily increasing since 2010 and began accelerating in 2012 as public displays and performances of anticommunist and antimainland sentiment and marginally organized resistance to mainland tourism inflows and integration blossomed in the Region *as* Mainland-Hong Kong relations deteriorated precipitously under the Xi Jinping, CY Leung and others hardline rectification and remaking of OCTS.

Thus, at the beginning of 2016, it – the regimes' mounting and near ubiquitous enemy images, moral panic discourses and political warfare articulations of threats and perceptions of existential crisis and

mortal enemies and securitizing demands for exceptional measures and responses – was not business as usual, and neither have been its reactions (actual, planned, and proposed) to the contain and neutralize these putative threats. Moreover, securitizing moves in Hong Kong have taken place in the connected context of larger securitization actions on the mainland perpetuated by the CCP which have intentionally singled out the Hong Kong SAR. The new mainland National Security Law enacted on the 18th anniversary of the establishment of the HKSAR was one example. Though variously contested in Hong Kong media and the patriotic camp regarding the significance of the mainland NSL's surprised promulgation by the Standing Committee of the NPC, Peking University legal scholar and Basic Law 'expert' Wang Lei attested in a *China Central Television* interview that the selection of the date was a 'message' to the HKSAR to enact its own legislation (Article 23) "as soon as possible." (CCTV, 2015)

Likewise, the meaning of a high-profile, unprecedented PLA live fire military exercise targeting a notional separatist insurgents by the PLA Hong Kong Garrison was debated within Hong Kong with many perceiving the exceptional event as another symbolic coercive display for Beijing's subalterns in the Region[86] (A. Lo, 2015a; Siu, 2015); all the more so as it shortly followed the putative (and very dubious) 'discovery' of an incipient armed separatist group in Hong Kong (see discussion in the following chapter.) Significantly, PLA live fire and other military exercises following the election of an independence-leading Taiwanese president in January 2016 present obvious parallels in the coercive hegemonic security displays of force intended to dissuade and intimidate independence forces and sentiments in both places. As such, by mid-2016 Mao's observations regarding the importance of identifying and distinguishing enemies and friends and rectifying the tactical errors in the Chinese revolution (which simply continues today in a different form (economic) post-Opening Up and Reform) seemed all the more immutable in a contemporary Hong Kong struggling to maintain its freedoms, identity, and way of life under increasingly oppressive socialist Chinese domination claiming to be safeguarding OCTS and Socialist China.

A Critical Juncture in OCTS

This has especially been the case at a juncture in the city's political development towards an indeterminate form of universal suffrage with Chinese socialist characteristics; a political development set against the milieu of a mainland neo-Maoist, Cultural Revolution-like anti-Western xenophobic revivals sweeping China and the sending down of belligerent super patriots to the city following the ascendance of Xi Jinping and Leung Chun-ying as president of the PRC and chief

[86] Seen in the context of other PLA live fire exercises surrounding sensitive political anniversaries or events, it should be noted that Chinese state television broadcasted footage of PLA live fire and other military exercises shortly following the election of a Taiwan independence-friendly candidate, Tsai Ing-wen in January 2016. This was accompanied by several state media editorials and opinion pieces castigating and warning against Taiwan independence sentiments.

executive of the HKSAR respectively in 2012. The poignancy of the contemporary hegemonic security, patriotism, and identity morality plays and the diminishing social control over Hong Kong and OCTS predicament reverberates with dire mediated images and narratives of an ungovernable post-Occupy/Umbrella Hong Kong. Specters which are hegemonically imagined in apocalyptic verbal and visual narratives and enemy images and moral panic rhetorics of anticommunist revolts and separatist Hongkonger uprisings destroying the Region's prosperity and stability, and the OCTS policy itself.

Significantly, these images have been luridly, repetitively, and relentlessly conjured in popular deviantizing, securitizing and moral panic discourses through official statements and opinion journalism of local and mainland leaders and crusaders' clarion calls over independence and separatist movements erupting in Hong Kong and antimainlander sentiments spreading through the Region like wildfire. Beyond simple fustian tirades, these metronomical verbal utterances and visual tapestries of socialist catastrophes can be said to have constituted a form of securitization actualized through "ritualized incantation," "collective chanting," and performative threat constructions and visualizations articulated by securitizing actors and reflected by their audiences through the repetitive and ritualistic use of securitizing phrases and speech acts (Oren & Solomon, 2015). In traditional Chinese socialist united front fashion, they have served to isolate "the enemy by winning the vast majority to the side of the revolution," and then, "through struggle" destroy an "isolated and now vulnerable enemy." (Van Slyke, 1967, p.3)

For instance, in an unprecedented utilization of the chief executive's annual policy address as an enemy image making political degradation ceremony – "a communicative work … whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types" (Garfinkel, 1956, p.420) – and a moral panic securitization punditry platform, in January 2015 Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying singled out, labeled, denigrated, and demonized dissident youth voices in the SAR as national security threats advocating Hong Kong independence and exhorted Hongkongers to "stay alert" to emergent independence and separatist elements and sentiments in the Region. Specifically, the chief executive castigated insurgent youth over a February 2014 cover story, *Hong Kong People deciding their own fate*, published in the University of Hong Kong's student magazine *Undergrad*, and for a 2013 book, *Hong Kong Nationalism*, also published by the magazine that had reportedly advocated "a way to self-reliance and self-determination." Claiming that the magazine, OCLP supporters, and the student movement and its leaders had "misstated some facts" and put forward fallacies about the Basic Law and OCTS which, in turn, had led others to similarly challenge, disrespect and question the infallible authority and legitimacy of Chinese communist rule over Hong Kong.

Consequently, the chief executive pressed the public and moderate pro-democracy academics and political leaders close to the students to persuade them to stop 'misleading' the public with rebellious rhetoric and make them rectify their understandings of the Basic Law and OCTS. Though not possessing the geopolitical drama of U.S. President George W. Bush's 2002 State of the Union address declaring Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as an "Axis of Evil," or his administration's later repetitive use of the phrase "Weapons of Mass Destruction" to justify the Iraq War (Oren & Solomon, 2015), Leung's anti-separatist oration in his annual policy address implicitly and explicitly labeled students, radicals, youth and elements of the democracy movement as militants and secessionists threatening Hong Kong, OCTS, and China constituted a similar securitizing extravaganza. This "Hong Kong Independence" doomsday securitization recital set in motion a litany of related choral security performances and utterances by an assemblage of securitizing actors. Predictably, it ultimately converged five months later with the very dubious regime 'discovery' of an alleged radical Hong Kong separatist cell purportedly contemplating the bombing of legislative and government facilities prior to the 2017 political reform debate and vote in June 2015. This was soon followed by the NPCSC's surprise passage – with immediate effect – of China's new NSL on July 1st, the 18th anniversary of the establishment of the HKSAR (as mentioned earlier.) Yet, even before the *Homeland*[87]-like masterstroke of a securitization performance took place literally days ahead of the vote – a sort of ruling party 'October surprise' with Chinese characteristics – the preparatory work for a season of securitizing moral panic and political warfare securitization performances in the post-Occupy/Umbrella period had already begun with more 'drama' to come.

This was no less alluded to then by the Vice-President of China, Li Yuanchao, who told hundreds of patriotic overseas Chinese returnees in January 2015 that "'Occupy' was not over and 'more drama was yet to come'" (K.-l. Leung, 2015): indeed, he said "the really interesting part of the show is yet to come." (M. Chan, Lau, & Li, 2015) Vice-President Li then reportedly called on the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese (Returned Overseas Chinese hereafter) delegates to support and strategize more approaches for the China's "anti-Occupy Central struggle." This was significant because the Returned Overseas Chinese group belonged to the CPPCC which – as part of the Party's united front operations – has become one of the leading institutional securitization actors waging political war on radical democrats, localists and separatists using securitizing enemy images and moral panic narratives in the name of safeguarding the HKSAR's prosperity and stability, the OCTS policy, and China's national security – especially in regards to the putative threats of Hong Kong independence and color revolutions. Rather than a benign political advisory entity embodying China's version of deliberative democracy, national, overseas and HKSAR-based CPPCC actors have –along

[87] *Homeland* is a popular American television series involving putative Islamic extremist infiltration of the U.S. government to carry out acts of assassination, sabotage and terrorism through bombings and other violent measures targeting American national security and political elites. *(IMDb, 2015)*

with Chinese and HKSAR Basic Law and legal commentators, experts and scholars and The Chinese Association – become key security actors and performers in the OCTS Securitization drama of Manichean Maoist and Schmittian power politics.[88]

SUMMARY

This chapter investigated and situated China's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS in the PRC's post-2012 new National Security with Chinese Characteristics framework and related enemy images, securitization discourses and threat image constructions rooted in frames of existential threats to OCTS, Socialist China and the CCP. Hegemonic Chinese and HKSAR securitization discourses and securitization actors' discursive construction of Hongkonger enemy and Hongkonger Threats to OCTS since 2010 were identified in the context of radical democrats, localists and separatists situated in hegemonic of color revolution, hybrid war and soft war claims and China's *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers* threat packages. The role of the Chinese military in articulating and constructing the Hongkonger threat was elaborated and salience of related visual securitization texts such as *Silent Contest*/*Silent Struggle* discussed. The case for hegemonic perception of the 1 July 2003 anti-national security demonstration and subsequent developments as an attempted color revolution were made. This was situated in China's broader perceptions of color revolution threats. Relatedly, the influence and the role of various Russian Federation-affiliated securitization actors' contributions to, and parallel security discourses and narratives casting the OCLP/Umbrella Revolution, radical democrats, localists and independence advocates as color revolution national security threats were deliberated. The chapter concluded with a scant discussion of the OCTS Securitization of the HKSAR and the China-Hong Kong relationship under OCTS as battlefield and political war that has reached its most critical juncture since 1997.

[88] Arguably this development, the use and role of CPPCC figures as political security agents, actors and operatives, may have a nexus in China's 2006 introspection on how to avoid experiencing a color revolution. Per a Mach 2006 *Xinhua* report, a member of the CPPCC national committee and deputy of the Party School of the Communist Party of China, Li Junru, said during a plenary meeting of the national committee at that year's Twin Meeting that China's political consultative system might help inoculate the country from a democratic revolution. (Xinhua, 2006)

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ENEMIES OF OCTS – RADICAL DEMOCRATS, LOCALISTS AND HONG KONG INDEPENDENCE

"We strongly condemn those radical separatists whose behaviors got more and more violent and even showed terror tendencies."
Zhang Xiaoming[89]

"What has turned them from young people with aspirations into beasts? We should think about this."
Ambrose Lee[90]

"It would not be killing Hongkongers. It would be killing rioters."
Junius Ho[91]

INTRODUCTION

At the mid-point of 2016 post-Handover Hong Kong and the 'One Country, Two Systems' (OCTS) principle stood in a state of unprecedented hegemonic crisis, authoritarian regression and existential duress. This was best exemplified by the surging Hong Kong independence and self-determination movements and Mong Kok Riot of 2016; the dramatic rise of localism and nativist forces in 2015; the 2014 emergence of the Umbrella Revolution and launch of Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) in 2013; and, in the ruling socialist regime's on-going post-2012 extraordinary interventions into the Hong Kong system, introduction of a Socialist System with Hong Kong Characteristics, and ongoing constriction and redefining of China's basic policies for governing the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). These episodes of hegemonic crisis, oppression and repression were backdropped by the 2010 dramatic political awakening of Hong Kong's radicals and youth, the vivid rise of anticommunist and anti-Chinese parallel trade (smuggling) and anti-China tourism sentiments, and mounting Hongkonger resistance to paternalistic Chinese authoritarian rule, breakneck integration and relentless mainlandization of the territory. Concomitantly, Hong Kong's deleterious cultural, political and social developments since the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century have been paralleled by Maoist authoritarian regression on the mainland, rising Chinese hubris and regional aggression, increasing political instability, returning anti-Western xenophobia, and the arrival of new Chinese national security discourses, logics, and rhetorics embodying the politics of enmity, fear, and existential threat regarding Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS.

These enemification, security and threat discourses underpin growing hegemonic Chinese securitization narratives and politics of fear constructing and depicting subaltern Hongkongers, the

[89] (Xinhua, 2016e)
[90] (T. Cheung, 2016b)
[91] (Fung, 2016)

HKSAR and OCTS as existential security problems for China. Perceived as rife with mortal enemies and threats, ultra-hardline hegemonic actors have constituted and situated dissident Hong Kong and transgressive Hongkongers as hostile adversaries to the People's Republic posing moral hazards not just to the practice (and image) of OCTS but to the security of Socialist China, the Socialist System, and the Chinese Communist Party. From a securitization perspective – securitization being "a special kind of politics" and "more extreme version of politicization" involving claims of enemies, insecurity and threats to the survival of a valued referent object thereby legitimating extraordinary actions, measures and/or powers outside of established legal, political and/or social norms to defend against it (Buzan et al., 1998, p.23) – 2015 in Hong Kong effectively ended the same way it began: With hegemonic securitizing actors in Beijing and Tamar making sensational claims of enemy Hongkongers, violent insurrection and urgent existential national security crises involving localism, Hong Kong independence and political radicalism. These were *Chinese national security* framed dramas of imminent national and regional economic, political and societal collapse and decay perpetuated by internal and external foes conspiring against the survival of the Hong Kong SAR and OCTS and, more broadly, the nation.

Recent geopolitical developments and precarious changes in Socialist China's domestic, regional and international environments contributed to these existential anxieties, fear-laden threat perceptions, new mainland national security logics, and the move to a securitization footing for OCTS (and China) by Chinese authorities. The security fears are embedded in the new Chinese national security and securitization discourses involving not just Hong Kong and OCTS, but all of China and the international order. This has been observed in repetitious and increasingly frequent hegemonic security discourses and securitization dramas imagining imminent and looming calamities such as China's collapse, foreign invasions, national dismemberment, and revolutionary chaos in the homeland and on its peripheries to the South and West. Significantly, Hong Kong and OCTS have become prominent referent objects in many of these new security and existential threat discourses envisioning national security catastrophes thereby leading to changes in the central authorities' security-laden threat perceptions of the *actual situation* in the HKSAR trailing escalating deleterious political developments between January 2010 and mid-2016. Most recently this includes moral panic and political war over the putative threat of a Hong Kong independence movement posed by radical democrats, localists and separatists in the SAR: in short, the arch enemies of OCTS insofar as hegemonic securitizing actors in Beijing and Tamar are concerned. As securitized by a senior Chinese leader visiting the SAR in 2016 speaking on the subject of Hong Kong Independence and radical localism – new and key contemporary enemy folk devils in China's moral panic over rising Hongkonger resistance to Chinese rule in the HKSAR: "All of you should be clear about this: for the interest of the country, for the interest of Hong Kong and especially for the basic interest of the 7.3

million residents of Hong Kong we must defend one country, two systems and the Basic Law." (Un, 2016a)

Defend 'One Country, Two Systems'

Since 2010[92], China's clarion call to Hong Kong to defend OCTS and safeguard the HKSAR Basic Law (the legal codification of the OCTS policy) has been one increasingly heard from mainland and HKSAR officials and moralizing and securitizing actors – OCTS's 'Peddlers of Crisis' (Sanders, 1983) – albeit typically more coercively, direly and shrilly articulated by a constellation of Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors and complexes at home and abroad. The Chinese leader visiting Hong Kong, National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC) chairman, Zhang Dejiang, in May 2016 and other regime agents and securitization actors have repeatedly castigated and sought to mobilize Hongkongers that OCTS had to be defended – "safeguarded" – from dangerous political deviants in the city that had violated the Chinese communists' "bottom line" on sovereignty and national security. According to these securitizing discourses, Hong Kong, the SAR's relationship with the mainland, and OCTS faced myriad scourges of insidious political decay and disease eating away at China's sovereignty and national security, OCTS, and the Hong Kong SAR's prosperity and stability. These were malevolent putrefactions of OCTS, Hongkongers were told, instigated by anticommunist and anti-China sentiments, independence-minded localists, and Westernized pro-democracy radicals in the city. Significantly, following years of demonization as democratic insurrectionaries seeking color revolution, independence, peaceful revolution, and regime change against the HKSAR government and the mainland Socialist Leviathan, during NPC Chairman Zhang Dejiang's visit enemy Hongkonger folk devils were unprecedentedly likened by the Hongkonger Threat Lobby to political extremism, international terrorism and radical Islam in a series of multi-modal securitization discourses, enactments and performances. Coming from China's third ranked leader, the embodied, verbal, visual and textual securitization moves[93] of Zhang Dejiang, the Chinese and HKSAR regimes and a multitude of hegemonic security agents dramatically conflated and linked Hongkonger democratic forces, localist elements and separatist insurgents with mainland national

[92] For the purposes of this thesis, the research period has been limited to between 2010 and 2016. Chinese officials and securitization actors' calls for the defense of OCTS and the Basic Law, however, can be traced by earlier; most dramatically to the first decade anniversary of the establishment of the HKSAR. Earlier hegemonic accusations in earnest that Hongkongers misunderstood, unintentionally and/or deliberately, date back to at least 2004. The explicit and intense contemporary emphasis on national security in the context of Hong Kong and OCTS is a more recent development post-2010.

[93] A securitizing move is "a claim [by a securitizing actor] that the referent object is existentially threatened and that action according to the normal procedures will not be able to offset this time, and therefore extraordinary measures are both needed and justified." (Wæver, 2009, p.21)

security discourses and "threat packages"[94] regarding (religious) extremism, separatism and terrorism collectively known as the Three Evils: thereby elevating the Hongkonger enemy to the pantheon of gravest national security threats facing China.[95]

Tracing Hong Kong Independence as OCTS Securitization Spectacle, Arch-Enemy & Nightmare

The chapter consists of three sections. Taking the inspection tour of the HKSAR by a senior Chinese leader in May 2016 as an initial foray into the power politics of OCTS, the first section of this chapter examines the securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS as a national security spectacle and describes the construction of Hongkonger radical democrats, localists and separatists as enemies of the state and their transformation from dissidents to revolutionaries to terrorists by hegemonic securitizing actors using the national security image of an existential Hong Kong independence threat. Relatedly, it scantly examines the mythography of violent Hongkonger radicalism in pursuit of creating an independent political entity and its situating by China in its new national security discourses and rhetoric of the *Three Major Dangers*. In the following section, it looks at the hegemonic construction of radical democrats, localists and separatists as an arch-enemy of OCTS and Socialist China. Taking the unprecedented January 2015 policy address of Chief Executive (CE) Leung Chun-ying (CY Leung) attacking the University of Hong Kong Student Union Undergrad publication for advocating Hong Kong independence as the Chinese and HKSAR security communities' formal declaration of war on local radical democrats, localists and separatists, it examines the surrounding hegemonic enemification, security and threat discourses claiming existential danger so as to remake, reorder and militarize OCTS and Hong Kong society in the name of Chinese national security. A contextual and historical situating of the independence problem as having a basis in 2010 to 2012 hegemonic security agitations and threat constructions by key securitizing actors predating the contemporary 2015 and 2016 moral panic and political warfare furors meagerly traces the discursive hegemonic construction and manipulation of the Hong Kong independence threat image from virtual obscurity to seeming ubiquity. The final section before a brief concluding discussion, questions hegemonic assertions of the marginality of Hong Kong independence by illuminating its move into mainstream electoral, official, media, political and popular discursive spheres.

[94] A 'threat package' can be seen as the rhetorical conflation and linking of illicit activities or entities as single entity which can be treated in a similar manner or with similar security strategies, e.g., organized crime, human trafficking, migration, money laundering and terrorism. (Beare, 2003, p.xv; N. J. Jackson, 2006, p.310)
[95] Pro-democracy Hongkongers democratic and localist aspirations have been frequently depicted by Chinese and HKSAR regimes and their securitizing agents as cults, or cult-like. (Chan, 2013; Lo, 2012, Phillips, 2015) Similarly, some broader hegemonic Chinese discourses have framed democracy promotion as a form of Western civil religion proselytizing.

Securitization as Spectacle

Since the beginning of 2016 and the Mong Kok Riot, the enemification of oppositional dissident Hongkongers have been spectacularly imagined and constructed by the Chinese and HKSAR regimes as "radical separatist forces," "separatists with terroristic tendencies," and independence-minded zealots espousing "radical localism" in multitudinous hegemonic rhetorical constructions of the Hongkonger enemy before and during Zhang's tour, a security extravaganza that transformed parts of the city into an armed fortress. Theatrically framed by regime securitizing actors as a massive "counterterrorism operation," some 8,000 Hong Kong police officers deployed in an unparalleled security operation and occupation of the city in the name of Chinese national security. Despite being one of Asia's most policed and safest cities with a decades-long civil, non-violent protest culture and no publicly acknowledged terrorist threat, massive security barriers and zones were erected; effectively transforming the city into a Chinese Communist Party-like "militarized Green Zone" (or, perhaps, a "Red Zone" if one is politically correct) – a reference to the heavily fortified "protective area" surround the U.S. military headquarters in terrorist-battered, war-torn Baghdad, as one online commentator opined.[96] Rooftop snipers, plainclothes and uniformed machine gun armed officers patrolled the city. Bomb sniffing dogs, Victoria Harbor-diving explosives hunting SAR police, and mainland state security and military experts moved to transformed parts of the city into an unassailable citadel, if not a dystopian OCTS forbidden city. Protesters and journalists were kettled and manhandled far from the "VIP" while known "radical troublemakers" were monitored and surveilled in the real and virtual worlds; police were even detailed to camp on mountain tops to prevent dissident banners like "I want genuine universal suffrage" from being hung for the Chinese leader (and the city) to see.

A 40-plus vehicle armored caravan reminiscent of military convoys in Middle Eastern war zones deftly shuttled the state leader from destination to destination, intermittingly shutting down and clearing major thoroughfares in the heart of Hong Kong's business district – a quotidian disruptive act that, notably, the OCLP movement and Umbrella Revolution occupations in 2014 never quite accomplished. Though an intensification of the security crackdown observed in 2012 when then President Hu Jintao visited the SAR to appoint its new CE (CY Leung) who was under siege by radical Hongkonger pro-democracy forces as an alleged underground Chinese Communist Party member, the regimes' merchandising of fear during the 2016 Zhang Dejiang security spectacle dramatically suggested – despite a securitization speech to the contrary – the growing precariousness of OCTS. Likewise, the ever farcical and impotent nature of overbearing hegemonic national security

[96] The remark specifically referred to the HKSAR government's designation of security, press and designated protests areas for Zhang's visit cum "inspection tour" as arrangements were described in a Chinese-language Hong Kong newspaper.

measures and responses to contain the SAR's irrepressible radical democrats, localists and separatist dissidents only served to illuminate the conspicuous tapestry of Chinese insecurities depicting Hong Kong and Hongkongers as existential threats to not just Chinese leaders, but to Chinese sovereignty and national security. It was as if the *Battle for Hong Kong* and OCTS had transitioned to its next phase: the transmogrification of the city and OCTS into a militarized camp and patriotic battlefield.[97]

The Zhang Dejiang security extravaganza was not a spontaneous pseudo-Chinese police state enactment on Hong Kong soil, panicked misreading of the Hong Kong threat environment, or overzealous act of spectacular securitization by an increasingly militarized HKSAR security force. It was, rather, emblematic of a deliberate policy and deliberative discursive shift in the hegemonic rhetorical construction of enemies (Jasinski, 2001, p.201-205) – specifically the Hongkonger Enemy – by Chinese and HKSAR ruling forces as a diabolical enemy and mortal national security threat to OCTS and Socialist China, and a fabricated dramatic threat intended to radically illustrate to Hongkongers the urgent need for Hong Kong and Hongkongers to safeguard both OCTS and China. For nearly 18-months ahead of Zhang's inspection, hegemonic Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors had vigorously moved to discursively and rhetorically link localists, radical and youth Hongkonger democracy supporters and independence advocates to sensational – yet, of exceptionally dubious veracity – bombing, explosive and terror drone "plots" allegedly targeting the HKSAR and Chinese regimes during episodes of intense political confrontation and struggle between Hongkonger and Chinese forces.

For example, one HKSAR pro-regime-connected commentator in the *China Daily*, Tony Kwok, wrote: "My first reaction to the news report on the explosion outside the Legislative Council on Dec 9 [2015] was to wonder whether it was related to the earlier bomb case now pending trial in court, in which five defendants purported to be members of a 'pro-Hong Kong independence' group were charged with serious bomb-related offenses. Was it the same gang?" (Kwok, 2015) Blaming a weak HKSAR Law-and-Order response in punishing demonstrators from the earlier OCLP and Umbrella Revolution incidents, Kwok agitated that "having two bomb incidents within a period of six months is a matter of the gravest concern. This could severely affect our international image and tourism." (Kwok, 2015) Consequently, he labeled "'pro-Hong Kong independence' gangs" the SAR's "No 1 enemy" and incited that all of Hong Kong had to make "concerted efforts to eliminate them."(Kwok, 2015) Later, Tony Kwok in the context of armed insurgencies, civil wars and international terrorism in Indonesia, Northern Ireland, the Philippines, Spain, Russia and Timor-Leste depicted the

[97] Aside from hegemonic use of existential political struggle and warfare security metaphors, radical subalterns have also been observed conceptualizing the Hong Kong-China/HKSAR relationship in similar war-like terms. The phrase "Battle of Hong Kong" or "Battle for Hong Kong" – ostensibly between hegemonic and subaltern forces – has been observed multiple counter-hegemonic visual securitizations and counter-securitization texts during the observation period. Also, see (Garrett, 2014d)

establishment of a Hong Kong independence political party in early 2016 as an advancing terrorist *cancer* that left "unchecked, the bombing attacks in Belgium or Paris could become a reality in Hong Kong in the not too distant future!" (Kwok, 2016)

The Enemies and Friends of OCTS

Zhang Dejiang's three-day HKSAR blitzkrieg security circus vibrantly manifested the Maoist and Schmittian (Zheng, 2015) national security logics, power politics and morality plays that OCTS has become in the last few years. Culminated in a grand finale *Defend OCTS!* sermon orated to the city's patriot class and handful of token moderate pro-democracy legislators, Zhang starkly separated "localist Hongkongers" into "good localists" (servile and pro-establishment – FRIENDS) and "bad localists" (confrontational and oppositional extremists, separatists, terrorists – ENEMIES) in a traditional Chinese Communist Party united front *US versus Them* narrative so as the Hong Kong public would know where the red line was, and whom to attack. This was a call to arms the Hongkonger public had been steadily primed to receive in the weeks, months and years ahead of Zhang Dejiang's visit. A senior editor at the *China Daily*, for example, called for Hongkongers to "curb" the "evil" in the "rising tide of localism" afflicting the city, warning residents of a coming war: "It is fair to say that 'localism' is not necessarily a bad thing … But the alarming tendency here in Hong Kong is that 'localism' is being kidnapped by some people for their own political gains. As radical separatists are increasingly leaning toward terrorism, 'localism' is deliberately being honey-coated as a legitimate and noble cause worth fight for." (B. Lee, 2016b) Evoking the essentially violent nature of the Hongkonger enemy, another *China Daily* commentary defended the security lockdown and disruption of the city caused by Zhang's visit: "Besides the potential threat of global terrorism, Hong Kong also faces potential danger from radical 'localists' who have avowed to advance their political beliefs by resorting to any form of violent action they believe would help their cause." Continuing, the *China Daily* wove a mythography of violent radical Hongkonger democrats, localists and separatists intrigues that has become the Chinese and HKSAR regimes' hallmark threat image rationalizing the pullback of OCTS and the persecution of radical dissident voices in the city:

> The local security authorities have every reason to take the threat of these radicals seriously. The radicals have done more than enough to prove they're not just sloganeering. Their actions included a foiled bomb plot aimed at disrupting a Legislative Council (LegCo) vote on the proposed election reforms for universal suffrage in June last year, a blast in a rubbish bin outside the LegCo building during a debate on the copyright amendment bill last December, as well as the Mong Kok riots during the Lunar New Year earlier this year. Reports on Sunday that some saboteurs who had planned to disrupt Zhang's trip with drones have further validated the police's maximum security precautions this time. After all, it's always better to err on the side of caution. (China Daily, 2016e)

Framing radical democrats, localists and separatists as *political fanatics* who had energized the "monster of relentless politicization" in Hong Kong that was threatening *to ruin* its future, *China Daily* commentators claimed that *die-hard 'localists* groups such as Hong Kong Indigenous, Civic Passion, Hong Kong Localism Power, National Independent Party were a pox on the city, a "political virus" that was rapidly evolving into an *epidemic*: "No longer an empty slogan, these separatists are taking action now…" to pursue Hong Kong independence. (China Daily, 2016b, 2016f; B. Lee, 2016a) Yet, according to the *China Daily*, it was only after "some self-proclaimed 'localism' advocates went on a riot during the Chinese New Year holiday" that Hongkongers' *rude wakening* had led them to *reject* the *political snake oil* and *independence mumbo-jumb*o of Occupy and Umbrella *masterminds* and to see through their *separatist disguises*. (China Daily, 2016c) As put by a *China Daily* commentator who spotlighted one of the insurgent student groups, the Hong Kong Federation of Students, as ostensibly responsible for the Umbrella Revolution and the deception of Hongkongers as to their seditious intent:

> … the Hong Kong Federation of Students posted the slogan 'Self-determination of our fate' outside the government headquarters, reflecting that their true demands were not electoral democracy but the SAR's total autonomy or even 'independence.' Thus they echoed the rise of nativism movement in recent years. This advocates the protection of the values and culture of Hong Kong people and challenges national unity. But this mix of slogans and goals confused people who were unsure what this all meant.
>
> The true meaning finally emerged in the recent Mong Kok riot, after which Beijing categorized the rioters as 'radical separatists inclined toward terrorism'. Zhang Xiaoming, director of the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the Hong Kong SAR, also branded the rioters 'radical separatists', putting them in a similar category of separatists as those in Tibet and Xinjiang. (S. Wang, 2016)

Verbal and Visual OCTS Enemy Images and Securitizations

Like the security lockdown of the Hong Kong SAR for Zhang's visit, the discursive and rhetorical construction of the Hongkonger enemy as a terrorist actor and terrorist threat was not accidental. Years before Zhang's visit, Chinese and HKSAR security discourses and Hongkonger threat campaigns in 2013 and 2014 had frequently compared the OCLP movement and Hong Kong's radical democrats and localists to international terrorism, global insurgences and violent uprisings around the world such as those in Greece, Indonesia, Israel, Libya, Norway, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey and the Ukraine. With the latter, Ukraine had functioned as a special security sign of the China-Hong Kong conflict simultaneously iconic in opposing national security and societal security discourses, images and narratives underpinning OCTS. With the former, the Ukrainian-Russian war was as an

exemplar of the contemporary color revolution threat to China's political security from the United States; and, in the latter case, the 2013 Euromaidan and 2014 Maidan Revolution by Ukrainians against a corrupt (local) government propped up by the Russia Federation and Moscow's attempted obliteration of the Ukrainian identity embodied the spirit of subaltern Hong Kong's existential fight against the HKSAR government and Red China's annihilation of the Hongkonger identity and way of life.[98] Saliently, in this epic envisioning, each combatant (Chinese and Hongkonger) projected themselves and the *Other* as heroes and villains trapped in a grave Manichean struggle: each accusing the *Other* of terrorism, or white terror, as their respective political lines dictated.[99] The symbolic capital of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict for the Hong Kong-China conflict continues as suggested by the popular radical subaltern response to the 2015 movie, *Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom*, and hegemonic incorporation of Hong Kong as Ukraine color revolution narrative in official discourses, doctrine and texts.

In other instances of the hegemonic construction of the Hongkonger enemy, images of international terrorism and militant radicalization were invoked. A NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law Committee (BLC) member writing in the *China Daily*, for example, framed the threat of Hong Kong's radical dissidents to the city as similar to terrorists like the "Boston bombers" and Al-Qaida. (N.-k. Lau, 2013c) Another hegemonic securitizing actor, the former senior member of the HKSAR's Independent Commission Against Corruption Tony Kwok, called for new surveillance of Hongkonger dissidents claiming that the terror-bent Hongkonger independence forces could soon be 70,000 strong soon by adopting social media strategies like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, the infamous terror group more commonly known as ISIS had. (Kwok, 2016) The same securitizing actor claimed militant Hong Kong independence "gangs" – allegedly the "most radical groups in Hong Kong" – were brainwashing "discontented young people dissatisfied with society mainly because of their own incompetence, and to provoke their hatred toward the mainland" to join their forces and take violent actions in support of Hong Kong independence. (Kwok, 2015) Former HKSAR Secretary for Security, Regina Ip Suk-yee, claimed similarly: "Recently, political groupings purporting to represent young have emerged urging the establishment of Hong Kong as an independent state. These young people have no idea that they could be putting Hong Kong on a potentially dangerous collision course with the motherland and bringing an unmitigated disaster to the SAR." (Ip, 2016c) Ip, opining that "Hong Kong's nativism has

[98] In his study of the Russo-Sino strengthening of their strategic partnership in the context of the Russian Federation's pivot towards China and its implications on the Asia-Pacific security architecture, Baev (2016), observes: "One point that came up repeatedly in my interviews with experts and officials in Beijing in November 2014, was the comparison between alleged Western manipulations of the 'Euro-Maidan' in Kiev and the 'Umbrella movement' in Hong Kong." (p.106)

[99] This discussed elsewhere in this dissertation. That said, it should suffice to highlight here that the image of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, alleged U.S. involvement, and the Euromaidan movement aka the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution are salient icons and symbolic resources observed in multi-year top-down Chinese national security and bottom-up Hongkonger resistance discourses observed during this research period.

degenerated, in some quarters, into a battle cry for change by illegal and violent means," asserted that separatism was simply "anti-mainland doctrine in disguise." (Ip, 2016c)

In addition to discursive textual and verbal constructions of the Hongkonger enemy, pro-China media, online and street-level visual securitizations – "when images constitute something or someone as threatened and in need of immediate defense or when securitizing actors argue that images 'speak security'" (Hansen, 2011b, p.51) – of Hongkonger dissidents are becoming endemic. These instances often employed pictorial strategies depicting, or alluding to, enemy Hongkongers as violent criminals or terrorists and embraced visual securitization strategies to construct securitized Others like belittling, demonizing, familiarization, and suffering portrayals.[100] (p.59) Yet, the image politics (DeLuca, 1999; Khatib, 2013) and visual warfare over OCTS and the construction of enemies and heroes and heroines and villains and villainesses of the conflict are vigorously contested by both sides. (Garrett & Ho, 2014) Hegemonic counter-visual securitization of subaltern visual securitization claims against the ruling regimes such as subaltern deployed images and videos of China's Tiananmen Square massacre, HKSAR police on protester violence during localist protests, visual Umbrella claims of Blue Ribbon and police assaults, illegal or pictorial evidence of transgressive mainland tourist behavior (e.g., public defecation or urination, suspected parallel trading smuggling activities, criminal activities, etc.) or illegal anti-parallel trader activities – in Hong Kong's material and virtual spaces have also often depicted dissident subalterns as violent criminals, militant protesters and/or urban terrorists.

OCTS Securitization Mythographies: Bombers, Conspirators, Haters and Terrorists

Post-Occupy, but before the February 2016 Mong Kok Riot, HKSAR's CE, CY Leung, claimed democracy dissidents' rationalization of non-violent civil disobedience during Occupy/Umbrella had rationalized "violent behavior" in the city and contributed to some Hongkongers rationalizing bombing attacks allegedly planned for June 2015. Sensationally reporting his comments, a *South China Moring Post (SCMP)* headline declared: *Peaceful protests can lead to violence, CY Leung says amid Hong Kong 'bomb plot'* (Lai, 2015) A former HKSAR Secretary for Security, Regina Ip Suk-yee, concurred and asserted in a *SCMP* Op-Ed that radical localists had attempted a "gunpowder plot" in Hong Kong against the legislature like what had occurred more than 400 years ago in England. (Ip, 2015) Her Op-Ed also reinforced not just the CE's securitization claims but also those of a well-

[100] According to a visual securitization framework by Hansen (2011b): "a depiction through demonization constitutes a threat to be conquered while a strategy of belittling makes the threat manageable"; depictions of familiarization include representations of something "divine, sacred, or superior" which is prohibited or of "'ordinary people' in situations held to be too intimate, private, or vulnerable"; suffering images evoke representations of individuals or groups "as persecuted, violated, downtrodden, starving, and thus threatened." (p.59)

known commentator from the *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, Lam Hang-chi, who had invoked England's Gunpowder Treason Plot, the attempted regicide of King James in the 1600s, and the Nazi's burning of the Germany's Reichstag[101] in 1933 in his characterizations of the alleged June bomb plot by the (never before heard of) radical localist National Independent Party; observing post-Mong Kok Riot: "Now, the notion of Hong Kong independence has entered the real world." (H.-c. Lam, 2015)

Evocation of the Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot was salient; intended to tap criminal, radical and violent political activist and protest imaginaries and themes enacted by radical protesters around the world, as well as cinematic terrorist imageries popularized in the 2005 antiauthoritarian film, *V for Vendetta*. Notably, Guy Fawkes masks popularized by the movie have become, capitalizing on the close associations between terrorism and fictional discourses as a form of mythography (Appelbaum, 2007; Zulaika & Douglass, 1996), a common rhetorical and visual trope used by Chinese and HKSAR media and by police to stigmatize political deviants (i.e., dissidents) as *prima fascia* "evidence" of the deviants' nefariousness, radicalism and violent nature. As a *China Daily* article framed the "anti-China" nativists purportedly involved in the alleged June bomb plot: "A 3-D printer, various bomb-making implements, Guy Fawkes masks, and stickers and paraphernalia with links to opposition lawmakers were seized as evidence along with more than a dozen air rifles. Police are checking to see if sidearms popular with war-gamers have been modified to make them lethal." (Chui, 2015a) The report, with varying levels of disinformation, distortion and exaggeration continued to claim that: "Radicals, including those affiliated with opposition parties, have issued online calls for bombing campaigns against public institutions, including the Central Liaison Office and the funeral procession of a government ally." (Chui, 2015a) A *Global Times* (*GT*) report, *HK radicals arrested for bomb plot ahead of vote on reform (C. T.-l. Wong, 2015b),* concomitantly visually securitized the radical suspects through the selection of a photograph prominently displayed at the top of the article depicting three Guy Fawkes masks in police evidence bags adjacent to a yellow construction hat like those that had been used by some Occupy/Umbrellas protesters the year before; hence also visually implicating

[101] Though not mentioned in the opinion piece, the invocation of the burning of the Reichstag implicitly taps the securitization discourses Adolf Hitler used to suspend German liberties and to frame the communists for the attack in the 1930s – as well as historical and security discourses claiming the arson had been a false flag operation by the fascists to frame the communists to legitimate the suspension of liberties and ultimate taking of power. Framing localists and Hong Kong independence actors as fascist and right-wing forces in the city has been observed by ultra-hardline regime securitizing actors such as Regina Ip Suk-yee and Richard Wong Yue-chim, the latter also comparing localists groups to hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. (Wong, 2015b) Regarding the June 2015 alleged bomb plot of the LegCo by the National Independent Party, similar discourses questioning the veracity of the HKSAR government and police force's claims and suppositions regarding the "bomb plot" are evident in alternative media spaces. There the "plot" is perceived by many as a possible false flag operation by local Chinese communist forces, or those loyal to the establishment. More provocative, however is that as of June 2016, a year after the arrests, the suspects have yet to go to trial due to repeated delays and requests for additional investigative time by the HKSAR government – despite initial hegemonic claims of incontrovertible and overwhelming evidence.

and securitizing the Occupy and Umbrella democracy movements and members who were not connected to, or involved, in the alleged plot.

More formally, the alleged June bomb plot was institutionally securitized in the public record by hegemonic securitization actors a month after the arrests. In that legislative securitization performance, a pro-regime legislator, Christopher Chung, submitted questions to the HKSAR Secretary for Security regarding the incident and government measures to deal with the violent threat of Hong Kong independence groups. Under the caption of *combatting terrorism*, the lawmaker sensationally framed the suspects as an international terrorist organization. His questions suggested there were, or might be, more "Hong Kong pro-independence groups" in the city, each having "sufficient skills to make extremely lethal bombs with ordinary chemicals." Chung, in asking whether groups advocating, recruiting members or taking "substantive actions" in the name of Hong Kong independence would be prosecuted, insinuated the suspects had violated a United Nations Anti-Terrorism Measures Ordinance – thus attempting to elevate the national security implications and priority of Hong Kong independence to a global terrorism threat frame. Evocation of collusion with Taiwan independence groups were intended to frame the Hongkonger dissidents in the broader category of anti-China, anticommunist militant insurgents threatening the nation and not just the HKSAR. However, the *coup de grace* of Chung's security theater was his prefacing of the legislative question with sensational and unsubstantiated independence, radicalism and terrorism claims – none of which were rebutted by the Secretary for Security:

> It has been reported that the Police raided a bomb-making site and an arsenal last month, seizing large quantities of chemicals that could be used for making extremely lethal bombs, detonators, modified firearms, promotional leaflets, maps, etc. Some of the suspects involved in the case admitted that they belonged to an organization called the 'National Independent Party'. The mission of the organization is to strive to connect pro-independence groups and organizations in Taiwan with those in Hong Kong, so as to form a new 'independent force'. Some members of the public suspect that some Hong Kong pro-independence groups intend to achieve their goals by violent means…. (Information Services Department, 2015b)

Furthermore, according to the LegCo's Hansard, another pro-Beijing legislator, Kwok Wai-keung from the Federation of Trade Unions lobbied the Secretary for Security to elevate Hong Kong's terror alert status after having framed the alleged incident as a case of "bomb-making activists for independence" who had "greatly increased the possibility of attacks on Hong Kong people." (Legislative Council, 2015, p.13948) Pro-establishment heavyweight Tam Yiu-chung, former head of the largest pro-Beijing political party in Hong Kong, questioned the police on the numbers of online users "whose objectives or missions include the propagation of Hong Kong independence or building Hong Kong into an independent nation state?", and whether or not the police were taking actions to

prevent youth from "going astray and joining such pro-violence organizations …"? (p.13948-13949) A third pro-establishment lawmaker, Elizabeth Quat claimed that these "advocates of violence" in the "National Independent Party" had "mentioned [online] that they would resort to the hurling of petrol bombs, the erection of tyre barricades, the retaliatory use of force and even the blasting of rail tracks as a means of proclaiming independence. … they also that they would turn the Legislative Council Complex into another wasteland like Ukraine." (p.13949) As such, Quat wanted the Security Secretary to inform her how the HKSAR government could "effectively curb the continued growth of such [Hong Kong independence] forces and prevent such people from engaging in terrorist activities in Hong Kong" if Article 23 were not enacted, or the government did not designate the groups as a "terrorist organizations under the UNATMO?"[102] (p.13949) Though avoiding providing detailed answers to the various questions, the Secretary for Security invoked the threat of the CE applying to the courts to designate an individual(s) or group(s) as terrorists or terrorist associates per the UNATMO.

From Dissidents to Revolutionaries, Separatists and Terrorists

The hegemonic powers' discursive shift to a terrorism frame surrounding the Zhang Dejiang inspection tour to securitize radical democrats, localists and separatists from earlier dominant use of Color Revolution, Foreign Intervention, Law-and-Order and Rule-of-Law securitizing frames in 2013 and 2014 was an intensification of OCTS power politics, the Mainland-Hong Kong conflict and China's *war on radical Hong Kong dissidents*.[103] As observed by Zulaika and Douglass (1996), terrorism discourses have a "reality-making power" which converges the "media's sensational stories, old mythical stereotypes, and a burning sense of moral wrath" so that, "Once something that is called 'terrorism' – no matter how loosely it is defined – becomes established in the public, 'counterterrorism' is seemingly the only prudent course of action." [p.ix] Vultee (2011) also observes that securitization as a media frame functions as "an organizing principle invoked by political actors – and, crucially amplified or tamped down by the news media – in an effort to channel the ways in which issues are thought about." (P.78)

Essentially, the Chinese and HKSAR hegemonic forces' efforts to re-frame Hong Kong's radical democrats, extreme localists and separatists as armed insurrectionists and terrorists was an attempt to create a *mythography*[104] of Hong Kong independence and OCTS radicalism, terrorism, and violence

[102] The UNATMO refers to the HKSAR's United Nations (Anti-Terrorism Measures) Ordinance (UNATMO) enacted in 2002.
[103] As of mid-2016 the Law-and-Order and Rule-of-Law securitization frames remain actively in conjunction with the Terrorism frame in various forms of lawfare albeit seemingly with diminishing returns as discussed later in this chapter.
[104] Zulaika and Douglass (1996) argue that terrorism discourses constitute a "network of discourses and narrative strategies on the theme" (Appelbaum, 2007, p.465) that mythologizes the actors, events, and

threatening the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong, the security of the nation, and the viability of OCTS itself. Whereas Color Revolution, Foreign Intervention, Law-and-Order and Rule-of-Law securitization frames heretofore had been dominant security discourses, images and narratives observed deployed by the Chinese and HKSAR governments during the Occupy [January 2013 to September 2014] and Umbrella periods [September 2014 to February 2016], a qualitative shift by the regime(s) towards use of extremism, independence, terrorism labels and violent localism and radicalism securitization frames and stereotypes to further demonize Hongkonger dissidents was seemingly evident in 2015 and 2016. As observed by Bolt (2012), "Terrorism is a bestseller in popular and academic publishing." (p.12) Apparently, it is also in OCTS hegemonic and regime-friendly Chinese and HKSAR media discourses especially when used in the context of Hong Kong's radical democrats, localists and separatists.[105]

Likewise, similar hegemonic demonization of Hong Kong's civil society and non-violent protest culture – major irritants and embarrassments to the Chinese and HKSAR authorities and the SAR patriotic class, but long perceived as a sign of the health and vitality of OCTS (Garrett, 2015; Garrett & Ho, 2014) – have occurred since OCLP was first announced (2013), the Umbrella Revolution emerged (2014), and localism enter the public consciousness (2015) and became a political force in mainstream Hong Kong politics (2016). Post-June 2014, this has largely consisted of dramatic and relentless threat peddling and visual securitization of Hong Kong protests through images of raucous and violent contentious performances (Tilly, 2008) – especially of radical democrats, localists and separatist demonstrations, processions or rallies ostensibly attacking police, shoppers and tourists –

meaning(s) through a corpus of cultural products such as books, government accounts, movies, news reports, security discourses, television shows, and cultural merchandise.

[105] The failures of the Law-and-Order, Prosperity-and-Stability and Rule-of-Law securitization frames to deter the Occupy and Umbrella movements (albeit arguably generally moderating the occupations and occupiers) and weaker than expected moral indignation and condemnations by Hongkongers following the Mong Kok Riot (despite an extensive Law-and-Order, Rule-of-Law and Extremist Radical/Terrorism Frame official and media campaign) have demonstrated serious limitations with the incumbent OCTS Securitization approach reliant on Law-and-Order and Rule-of-Law securitization moves. Similarly, post-Fishball – but prior to Zhang Dejiang's visit – the emergence of overtly Hong Kong independence and self-determination aligned radical and youth political parties and surging pro-independence sentiment did not appear substantively deterred or intimidated (just the opposite in fact) by the Chinese and HKSAR governments threats of arrests, legal ramifications and resolute police actions as a strategy to securitize Basic Law-protected assembly, association and speech rights in the city. The effect of Zhang's tasking of the HKSAR government and judiciary to "do their jobs" in upholding Law-and-Order and Rule-of-Law follows earlier securitization efforts by ultra-hardline hegemonic actors to identify and target soft judges and HKSAR officials remains to be seen. To date, the Hong Kong Police Force appears to have been the sole HKSAR institutional securitization actor that has responded "successfully" and in earnest to Chinese authorities' demands for a crackdown on radical democrats, localists and separatists as demonstrated by the aggressive political policing and arrests of dissidents (many of whom, it appears, are then released for lack of evidence or other problems.) Yet, the "failure" of Hong Kong's judiciary following the Umbrella Revolution, localist protests and the Mong Kok Riot – as constructed by ultra-hardliners such as Tony Kwok and the Defend Hong Kong Campaign – have led to hegemonic securitizations of Hong Kong's Rule of Law and Law and Order against liberal constructions of the concepts. Subsequently, liberal Hong Kong and foreign judges have been singled out by some hegemonic forces for enemification as national security threats. Some, such as Lau Nai-keung, questioned how the Basic Law's allowances for overseas judges on the Court of Final Appeal could be consistent with China's national security requirements. (N.-k. Lau, 2015c)

framed as the new norm of Hong Kong's protest culture. The switch to depicting Hong Kong's vibrant protest culture as a symbol of national shame jeopardizing Hong Kong's international image as Asia's World City, Global Financial Center, and hospitable tourism destination (for mainlanders)[106] from the theretofore shining beacon of unqualified success of the OCTS project, was ultimately intended to deter dissident "street politics" and stoke Hongkongers' fear of economic marginalization and loss of prosperity and stability so as to mobilize society to action against the radical democrats, separatists and terrorists endangering OCTS. (Garrett, 2016)

According to a senior adviser to China's premier People's Liberation Army (PLA) intelligence think tank, the China International Institute for Strategic Society,[107] Wang Haiyan writing in the *Global Times*: "The beginning of the 21st century witnessed the color revolutions in several countries such as Ukraine and Georgia. Since then, street politics aimed at toppling legitimate regimes has taken place in other countries. The revolts in the Arab Spring that swept West Asia and North Africa were also color revolutions of this kind." (Wang, 2014) As described by *China Daily* opinion journalist Yang Sheng in *Anti-democratic street politics hurting HK*: "Street politics usually refers to mass demonstrations organized by political parties to achieve their goals. It often involves protesters storming government and law enforcement facilities to delay or even paralyze government operations." (Yang, 2014) In May 2014 Wang warned that "if the growing trend of street politics increases" in the "city of demonstrations" – as Hong Kong has come to be known over the last two decades – it would damage the SAR: "In Asia, from "Occupy the Legislative Yuan" in Taiwan to "Occupy Central" in Hong Kong and "Occupy Bangkok" in Thailand, the destructive power of street politics is clearly evident." (Yang, 2014)

Shortly after the commencement of the Umbrella Revolution, the *China Daily* warned Hongkongers that democratic development, economic prosperity and the rule of law were at risk: "The events unfolding on the streets of Hong Kong have clearly demonstrated that street politics won't contribute to democratic development. Rather, they are undermining rule of law – a key cornerstone for democratic development, as well as social stability – the foundation of the city's economic prosperity." (China Daily, 2015c) A week later, the *China Daily* in a commentary titled, *Tyranny of minority in Hong Kong takes its toll*, widened and escalated the threat of street politics in the city to the mainland and its relationship the international community and China's economic reforms: "While Hong Kong bears the brunt of the negative impact of the city's street politics, the mainland economy

[106] These are various subordinate referent objects under the OCTS Securitization macrosecuritization and point towards to some of the hegemonic securitizing actors and securitization audiences (e.g., the tourism sector) related to the survival of Hong Kong's prosperity and stability. (Garrett, 2016)

[107] According to Glaser (2015), the China Institute for International Strategic Studies is situated in the PLA's Second Department which deals with defense analyses, including cross-Strait military issues. It has hundreds of researchers and advisers drawn from throughout Chinese society including academic, diplomatic, government, intelligence, military and other sectors. (p.172)

could also be affected to some extent in the long-term, given the close economic ties between Hong Kong and the mainland. This is particularly apparent when considering the city plays the role as a bridge between the mainland and the external world, as well as a testing ground for financial reforms on the mainland." (China Daily, 2014d)

Beijing's antipathy towards demonstrations against the Chinese and HKSAR governments' expanded post-Occupy/Umbrella with the move towards more coercive policies towards counter-hegemonic protests. Linking street politics and color revolution, following the clearance of the Umbrella Revolution occupation sites a December 2014 *Global Times* editorial observed: "Discontent within society and the opposition's ambition to revamp basic political rules, as well as Western instigation are prerequisites for a color revolution." (Global Times, 2014d) It argued Hong Kong society should "reach a consensus on anti-street politics" as one of its pillars of ensuring the nation's long-term political security and stability." (Global Times, 2014d) This was reportedly necessary because: "Street politics can easily ravage a society and are addictive to some members of the public. The allure of revolution lies in the interruption to a depressing social order and creating the illusion that upheaval could bring about a change of life." (Global Times, 2014d) Hinting at its disappointment with having to repeatedly rescue the HKSAR from crisis after crisis, it stated: "Hong Kong needs systematic development. **The central government is unable to cater to Hong Kong's requests one by one; it can only serve as a strong hand at the helm, preventing the region from falling into a subversive state.** ..." (Global Times, 2014d) (emphasis added)

Concomitantly, hegemonic use of aggressive and frequently violent pro-regime counter-protests and protesters opposing the subalterns which were then depicted as violent dissident street politics and blamed on the dissidents, and widespread photographic and video surveillance intimidation by authorities of dissidents during lawful demonstrations, processions and rallies since 2012 have browbeaten many moderate participants. This led to some wearing masks to protect their identities and defend themselves from later regime reprisals and pro-regime vigilantism. These defensive subaltern personal security measures were then securitized by regime forces as symbolic of the *criminal*, *thuggish* and *terroristic* nature of the dissidents whom they often likened to as *hooligans* or *mobs* – a frequent hegemonic discursive tactic to dehumanize and delegitimize radical democrats, localists and separatists, especially Hong Kong's dissident youth. This was very much the case following the Mong Kok Riot where many rioters had worn masks. This led regime and pro-regime securitizing actors to crowdsource online images of masked rioters to identify rioters, especially over social media platforms like Facebook. Several security entrepreneurs also maneuvered to outlaw the wearing of masks at protests, or to otherwise conceal one's identity in public. This securitization maneuver, and associated anti-radical security rhetoric, recalled older dramatic Guy Fawkes mask-related protest clashes by radical democrats with the HKSAR government in 2011 over efforts to deny pro-democracy radicals access to a public consultation on eliminating by-elections over a 2010 *de*

facto universal suffrage referendum (Five Constituencies Referendum) characterized by Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors as a Hong Kong independence plot. The masks had gained popularity in the wake of the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street movements around the world and many regime actors portrayed their use by radicals as posing revolutionary threats to the HKSAR and Chinese regimes. Likewise, the adoption of the masks and the anti-authoritarian securitization rhetoric of the film *V for Vendetta* by the online hackactivist group Anonymous was similarly used by hegemonic securitization actors to malign radical Hongkongers' street and online use of the Guy Fawkes masks and *V for Vendetta* aesthetics to resist mainland communist domination, obliteration of the Hongkonger identity and way of life, and to lobby for Hong Kong independence.

Considered in conjunction with aggressive and expanded political policing of protests and the use of HKSAR Public Order Ordinance to harass and prosecute radical democrat, localist or separatist public assemblies (unlawful or otherwise) since 2014 – including arbitrary identification checks[108] (and sometimes detentions) of bystanders, participants and spectators – and, arrests of protesters as young as 14 years old – served in part to deter wider public involvement in pro-democracy, localist and separatist processions by increasing the potential and real costs of participation, even just passive non-violent observation. Lower attendance at public assemblies since the end of December 2014 was then frequently manipulated by hegemonic securitization actors in the media (K. Chan, 2015; H. Wong, 2015; S. C. Yeung, 2015b) and elsewhere as "evidence" of a *rational* public turning against *irrational* insurgent dissidents and the public's implicit approval of enhanced national security measures and policies for the government's quelling of *dangerous* dissidents threatening the Hong Kong public, Chinese tourists, the China-Hong Kong relationship, and OCTS.[109] This, however, had the opposite effect as more radical anarchistic elements of Hong Kong's non-violent protest culture began to adopt a Black Bloc aesthetic and protest logics in the wake of aggressive and violent political policing of radical democrats, localists and separatists. Indeed, prior to December 2015 the Hong Kong SAR protest culture essentially had no active or organized *violent* Black Bloc[110] protest element albeit

[108] Reportedly more than 1,000 individuals had their identity information recorded by Hong Kong police officers during the Umbrella Revolution and "related public order events." (Information Services Department, 2015a)

[109] Some of this logic is seen in initial regime responses to the November 2015 district council elections when state media and pro-regime commentators claimed the public had rejected localism, nativism and radicalism. Similar hegemonic triumphalism was evident upon the clearance of the Umbrella occupation sites and the earlier largest ever pro-regime procession in August 2014 against the OCLP movement.

[110] "Black Blocs," according to Dupuis-Déri and Lederhendler (2014), "are composed of ad hoc assemblages of individuals or affinity groups that last for the duration of a march or rally. The expression designates a specific type of collective action, a tactic that consists in forming a mobile bloc in which individuals retain their anonymity thanks in part to their masks and head-to-toe black clothing. Black Blocs may occasionally use force to express their outlook in a demonstration, but often they are content to march peacefully. The primary objective of a Black Bloc is to embody within the demonstration a radical critique of the economic and political system. … To make their message more explicit, Black Blocs generally display a number of anarchist flags (black or red and black) and banners bearing anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian slogans." (p.2-3)

online visuals and materials depicting aggressive or violent protests and tactics (also known as *riot porn*) have been exchanged online among some netizens including several different protest manuals aiding demonstrators' defensive repertoires. (Garrett, 2014b, 2015) Case in point, during the 79-day Umbrella Revolution occupation property damage or vandalism was negligible, no buildings or vehicles were set ablaze, and there was no looting.[111] This was despite the tens of thousands of occupiers and the more than one million Hongkongers who had participated in the Occupy and Umbrella movements. Regime and pro-regime violence on protesters, bystanders, and media during the Umbrella Revolution, however, was heavily visually securitized and resisted against by the subalterns in thousands of graphic on and off-line images and photographs depicting and interpreting hegemonic violence and its purveyors. Indeed, subaltern Hongkongers' moral indignation and outrage at perceived wanton HKSAR regime use of violence and collusion with Chinese organized crime and patriotic vigilantes on 28 September, 3 December and at other points during the Umbrella occupations and 2015 anti-parallel trade demonstrations seemed to have more viscerally mobilized people to the streets than did the stolen (future) election of the NPCSC 831 Decision.

A Mythography of Hongkonger Terrorism

In March 2015 during the annual Twin Meetings, NPCSC Chairman Zhang Dejiang's declaration in March 2015 that Hong Kong's radical democrats, localists and separatists had become "intolerable" and had broached China's bottom line on sovereignty and national security. In the months that followed a series of dubious, well-timed criminal, OCTS counter-revolutionary, and terror-themed securitization dramas transpired. Briefly these included, in May 2015, a prominent pro-democracy radical activist from *People Power* was arrested and accused of making an online bomb threat and inciting violence against a funeral procession for a pro-regime leader of the deadly 1967 Riots. (J. Ng, 2015)[112] Days later, in June 2015 Hong Kong police "discovered" an alleged bomb plot by an unheard of radical localist group, the *National Independent Party*. (S. C. Yeung, 2015a) In November 2015 a Hong Kong Nation-Building district council candidate, *Nakade Hitsujiko*[113], running on a pro-

[111] That said, articles of urban infrastructure were commandeered and used for street and occupation zone barricades both to prevent government personnel entry into official facilities, *and* to protect demonstrators from police charges. Much of the material initially used in barricades were, in fact, hundreds of police Mills barriers that had been cached around the city to kettle ordinary protests and to intimidate OCLP supporters. Trash cans and discarded constructions materials made up the bulk barricade materials. These barricades soon became material manifestations of symbolic moral universe boundary markers between ordinary Hongkongers and the forces of Red China. They also served as counter-securitization platforms disputing hegemonic enemification and securitization discourses *and* to express Hongkonger resistance to hegemonic domination and oppression.
[112] Each of these incidents involve a complicated and contested backstory as well as contextual and historical situating that go beyond available length considerations. As such, they are only scantly presented.
[113] The candidate was a close follower of so-called Godfather of Hong Kong Independence, Horace Chin Wan-kan. Chin Wan is variously credited with having initiated the localism movement with his 2011 book, *Hong Kong as City-State*. Nakade Hitsujiko's campaign, and the HKSAR government's response to it, were also the subject of controversy as the Registration and Electoral Office (REO) refused to authorize campaign mailings

independence platform was arrested for alleged money laundering involving a dubious mainland firm. (Economic Journal Insight, 2015) Then, in December 2015, an (exceptionally minor) "explosion"[114] by alleged *Valiant Frontier*-connected Hong Kong localists and separatists occurred in December 2015. (C. Lo & Ng, 2015) Moving into 2016, members of radical localist group, *Hong Kong Indigenous* were alleged to have instigated the Mong Kong Riot in February (Mok, 2016) and reputed explosive chemicals and weapons were discovered when its leader was arrested later the same month. (E. Cheung, 2016a; China Daily, 2016a; Real Hong Kong News, 2016) Lastly, the May 2016 discovery by mainland security services of a "drone plot" reportedly connected to the radical *League of Social Democrats* and alleged pro-democracy triads involved in money laundering ahead of Zhang Dejiang's visit to the city.[115] (C. Leung, Ng, Fung, & Ng, 2016; A. Lo, 2016) Following the NPCSC's chairman's admonishment to the HKSAR government to punish those threatening national security, in June 2016 shortly ahead of the LegCo elections a leading radical lawmaker from the League of Social Democrats was arrested under misconduct charges for allegedly improperly receiving a donation in 2012 from a pro-democracy media owner previously accused by various regime securitization actors of funding OCLP and the Umbrella Revolution. (RTHK, 2016c)

The veracity of most, if not all, of these hegemonic accounts of alleged dissident criminal, revolutionary and terrorist violence have been contested and remained unresolved as June 2016. (S. Chan, 2016; Plucinska, 2015; Real Hong Kong News, 2016; S. C. Yeung, 2015a) It is also noteworthy that most of the accused had previously been involved high-profile radical pro-democracy, pro-Hong Kong or independence activities targeting the central authorities, local government and mainlanders which the latter claimed challenged or violated China's sovereignty and national security interests.[116] Many of these incidents had evoked particularly visceral moral indignation and securitization responses from the hegemonic forces who considered them part of the anti-China forces "messing up"

containing slogans such as "Nation Building for Hong Kong," saying it violated the Basic Law and OCTS principle. REO and Electoral Affairs Commission (EAC) securitizing moves of dubious legality (*de facto* loyalty tests and declarations) targeting Hong Kong independence and self-determination candidates and political parties were subsequently deployed without warning in the lead up to 2016's LegCo elections.

[114] The "explosion" in an ordinary trash bin outside the LegCo was so weak that it basically only blew off the top of an unlatched trash can and didn't even burst the sides of the container; it resembled a firecracker detonation rather than an exploding bomb as suggested in many media and official accounts. Furthermore, though levied police charges involved arson, the government and media continued to predominately invoke discourses, images and narratives of an "explosion" which, embedded in the concurrent OCTS extremist, radicalism and terrorism rhetoric circulating in mainland and HKSAR discourses, both distorted and exaggerated the incident. A security fact evident from analysis of a publicly released video of the explosion by media on the scene and immediately adjacent to the trash bin when it 'exploded.'

[115] Just as with the dubious June 2015 alleged bomb plot, the so-called drone plot was discovered just days before a high-profile regime security spectacle.

[116] The radical pro-democracy parties the *League of Social Democrats* and *People Power* have, since their rise to political power in the LegCo in 2008 and gains in 2012 (S. H. Lo, 2010), been the target of hegemonic ire and are frequently blamed for the radicalization of Hong Kong politics and youth, frustration of the Chinese and HKSAR governments' implementation of OCTS, and accused of many other subversive activities. Many hegemonic securitization actors have openly agitated for their removal from the legislature.

Hong Kong and OCTS. Moreover, insofar as a mythography of dissident Hongkonger extremist localism and radical separatism goes, these alleged security developments were exceptionally convenient and opportunely timed incidents that dovetailed nicely with regime security discourses, threat images and narratives demonizing and securitizing radical democrats, localists and separatists as the gravest threats facing OCTS.[117]

Chinese communist linking of dissidents to alleged acts of extremism or terrorism in the HKSAR is not an isolated Chinese securitization practice. Nor is wanting to introduce mainland style counter-terrorism laws as articulated by HKSAR NPC deputy Peter Wong Man-Kong who called the Mong Kok Riot "genuine" terrorism as attacks on police officers amounted to terrorist activities; Wong had also wanted to institute Chinese terrorism laws in Hong Kong following the Umbrella Revolution as well. (H. Wong, 2016) As this dissertation seeks to elaborate, the latest Chinese and HKSAR securitizing moves depicting insurgent Hongkongers as extremists, separatists and terrorists (and even, implicitly, as counter-revolutionaries) during Zhang's visit were consistent with broader authoritative and quasi-authoritative Chinese enemification, securitization and threat discourses and security moves targeting other internal state enemies imagined under China's new National Security with Chinese Characteristics framework and *Three Trends and Three Major Dangers* concept. Radical Hongkongers have also been targeted by the Chinese and HKSAR regimes for defending Falun Gong practitioners, most dramatically in August 2013. (Garrett, 2015, p.214, 184-196) Though not banned in the SAR under OCTS, the HKSAR government established a precedent under the administration of former CE Tung Chee-hwa to securitize the Falun Gong so as to eradicate their presence in the city.

The *Three Major Dangers* and Hong Kong's Triple Threat to Chinese National Security: Radical Democrats, Localists and Separatists

Elaborating on this new National Security with Chinese Characteristics concept in early-2015, Admiral Sun Jianguo, then deputy chief of the General Staff Department of the PLA, invoked President Xi Jinping's new Overall Outlook on National Security and its commensurate threat

[117] Though the veracity of these 'extremist' or 'terrorist' incidents remains to be ascertained, one interviewee with substantial HKSAR security contacts indicated on different occasions that a police source had described the HKSAR government's response to the June 2015 "bomb plot" as a "political job." In discussions with various localists and radicals, and – as detailed in the media – there were substantive speculations among radical dissidents and youth that June 2015 "bomb plot" was a false flag operation. Several other interviewees opined in discussions between June 2015 and February 2016 that Hong Kong's localist and radical communities were not prepared, preparing for, or seriously contemplating violence against the government. During the Umbrella Revolution during an early December 2014 stand-off with the HKSAR government outside the Tamar complex next to Lung Wo Road, two other interviewees stated none of the 'guys' involved were violent or intended to overthrow the government; they just wanted to "Fuck with the police" because of how the cops had treated (gassed, pepper sprayed and beat) protesters on September 28 and subsequently attacked them multiple times in October 2014 in Mong Kok.

package of the *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers* facing China, constructed and highlighted the Hong Kong Threat and situated it within an implicit OCTS regional security complex framework and China's international threat environment. Writing in an English-language Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs related journal in an article titled, *Upholding the Chinese Approach to National Security*, Admiral Sun explained: "The Three Trends are from the perspective of the external environment, the international situation is constantly changing and new opportunities and challenges are continually emerging. The international system is experiencing deep adjustments and the international order is undergoing profound changes and development, to the advantage of peace and development. **China is now close to the center of the world stage, approaching the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. China is mainly facing the dangers of being invaded, toppled and separated, while its reform, development and stability face the danger of being sabotaged and the process of the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics faces the danger of being interrupted.**" (J. Sun, 2015) (emphasis added)

Using the security frame and threat package of the *Three Major Dangers.* Admiral Sun constructed the mainland's support of the HKSAR government in combating the Occupy/Umbrella movements as an exemplar of upholding the People's Republic of China's (PRC) national security. This was claimed to be emblematic of how China, under President Xi's new National Security with Chinese Characteristic concept, had successfully confronted (and defeated) internal and Western-tinged national security threats (color revolutions.) China's success in "defeating" Occupy/Umbrella, he wrote, would positively influence (i.e. deter) surrounding regions from challenging China hence forming a "good security environment for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation." Claiming that "Forces hostile to the Chinese government have always harbored a desire to turn Hong Kong into a bridgehead for political subversion and infiltration into the Chinese mainland," Admiral Sun asserted that the Occupy/Umbrella movements had attempted: "a kind of 'Color Revolution' deliberately plotted by some extremist groups in Hong Kong, on the pretext of universal suffrage in the election of the special administrative region's CE, under the instigation and support of external forces." (J. Sun, 2015) Described as a "rivalry between the SAR government and the 'Occupy Central movement,'" the Admiral framed the war against Hong Kong's color revolution as essentially "a fight to safeguard the 'One Country, Two Systems' principle and also a stern warning to the 'Taiwan independence' separatist forces." (J. Sun, 2015)[118]

[118] A December 2014 *China Daily* commentary, *'Umbrella revolution' defeated*, made similar securitization claims as the Admiral, especially with regards to the deterrence effect of China's victory: "The defeat of the 'umbrella revolution' has also sent a clear message to hostile forces – both local and overseas: On matters of principle, the central government will never make any concessions." (China Daily, 2014f) More stridently, NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Lau Nai-keung in a *China Daily* commentary, *'Umbrella Revolution' finally ends in failure, stridently declared a historic victory*: "This time, a color revolution plot has been foiled on Chinese soil. This is a feat never accomplished anywhere else in the world. It should have hopefully inoculated our 1.3 billion people from another attempt for the next two decades." (N.-k. Lau, 2014f) Even before the

The Admiral's position as the head of Chinese military intelligence added credibility to his observations regarding the security problems of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS, as did their publication by the leading Chinese think tank supporting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the China Institute of International Studies. The timing (early-2015) and platform for Admiral Sun's remarks (the online English-language journal *China International Studies*) were equally significant: Admiral Sun had recently informed the United States that Hong Kong/OCTS were core interests of the PRC. (T. Ng & P. So, 2015) In addition, two months earlier in November 2014, two academics with the quasi-official "think tank" apparently under the State Council[119], The Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies (*The Chinese Association* hereafter) – a key new institutional hegemonic securitization actor – similarly claimed that "Hong Kong security is a crucial determinant of national security of China, which is Hong Kong's sovereign country." (G. Cheung, 2014) The new notion of the "security of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" – supposedly implicit in "spirit" of the HKSAR Basic Law – meant that "Hong Kong security" *inter alia* China's national security was the chief executive's "most important consideration in discharging his or her duty." (G. Cheung, 2014) Notably, *The Chinese Association* had created a national security study group, the Professional Committee on Safeguarding National Security, the same month Admiral Sun had informed to the United States to back-off interfering in Hong Kong; According to Lau Siu-kai, a vice-chairman of the Association, the group was formed to defend China's national security in Hong Kong in the absence of the SAR's passage of its own national security legislation (Article 23). (S. Lau,

clearance of the Occupy/Umbrella camps, some hegemonic security actors were declaring China had not just defeated a color revolution but had defeated the United States and the United Kingdom – once again. Specifically, a 5 November 2014 *China Daily* commentary by Leung Kwok-leung titled, *It's the end of the road for 'Occupy Central' movement*, insinuated that China's intervention into the American and British instigated "smokeless war" in Hong Kong had deterred *and* defeated the Western forces plans to overthrow the People's Republic much how the reality and threat of Red China and North Korea fighting together against the Western forces in the 1950s had deterred the U.S. Congress from supporting U.S. general Douglas McArthur's plan to take the Korean War into mainland China. (K.-l. Leung, 2014b)

[119] Though perceived to have been created, or authorized, by the central authorities the specific fountainhead and chain-of-command is unknown. It is widely assumed that The Chinese Association reports back to the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office of the State Council but it is equally possible that it may fall under the control of another top-level national security (as opposed to Hong Kong and Macau affairs-focused) entity such as new Central National Security Commission (CNSC) chaired by President Xi Jinping. NPCSC Chairman Zhang Dejiang who is ostensibly responsible for Hong Kong affairs is believed to be one of the CNSC deputies, the other being Premier Li Keqiang. However, it has been articulated to the author by a mainland academic that post-Occupy/Umbrella President Xi was dissatisfied with political and security developments in the SAR and re-asserted control over Hong Kong matters. As such the function or role of the central leading group on Hong Kong affairs Zhang had led vis-à-vis the new Central National Security Commission might also be in flux, especially with Hong Kong's apparent elevation in the national security hierarchy. Moreover, overseas Chinese and Taiwanese dissidents have repeatedly claimed that a power struggle between Zhang Dejiang and Xi Jinping involving the HKSAR, OCTS and the Umbrella Revolution has been, or continues to be, played out. Regardless, the apparent elevation of Hong Kong and by extension, OCTS, as a core interest of the PRC, in conjunction with the varied national security focused discourses and securitization moves observed since 2012 and discussed in this dissertation suggests that a national security lens has become the dominant analytical lens used by the mainland to perceive and manage Hong Kong and OCTS. This, in effect, changes the historical focus of OCTS as a confidence building mechanism for Hongkongers and the international community to an authoritarian national security straightjacket obsessed with Chinese regime security at any, and all costs.

2015) According Zhang Guoyi, an assistant to the head of The Chinese Association, Chen Zuoer, a former deputy director at the State Council's Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office (HKMAO): "Steadfastly safeguarding out nation's core interests is a requirement arising from the situations inside and outside the country, and Hong Kong should feel the same." (J. Ng & Wan, 2015) As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, The Chinese Association has become a key security actor in constructing a new Hongkonger enemy image, a mythography of Hong Kong radical democrat, localist and separatist terrorism and the fear and threat-laden narrative of the crisis and insecurity of OCTS.

Probably not uncoincidently, January 2015 was the same month that Chinese and HKSAR governments formally launched its political, rhetorical and symbolic war on Hong Kong radical democrats, localists and separatists. This occurred on the heels of *The Chinese Association*'s Chen Zuoer warning Hong Kong to prepare for a long-term, society-wide political struggle against the forces messing Hong Kong up. This occurred via the CE's annual policy address cum securitization performance defending the Basic Law and OCTS and spotlighting Hongkonger ideological and separatist threats. Likewise, the HKSAR's surprise establishment of a Peoples' Liberation Army-mentored Hong Kong Army Cadets Association (Cadets hereafter) for instilling national identity and patriotism towards Socialist China among local youth was unveiled that month. The effort was an expansion on the PLA's patriotic education and soft power securitization efforts in Hong Kong – especially its use of military summer camps for Hong Kong youth (Garrett, n.d.) – and would "encourage the youth [as young as 7] in Hong Kong to be aware of their responsibilities and obligations as Chinese citizens." (Y.-l. Yuen, 2015a) The securitization of Hong Kong's youth, essentially ensuring young Hongkongers national identity and patriotism, was a national security imperative for the Chinese and HKSAR governments and communist party. (Garrett, 2010) As a HKSAR national committee member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) put it in a *China Daily* Op-Ed: "It's because of the lack of patriotic education that some of our young people have the illusion of viewing Hong Kong as an independent political entity." (E. Li, 2015a) Nonetheless, the creation of the Cadets consumed significant regime social capital and led to subaltern counter-securitizations of it and the Hong Kong Garrison; counter-securitizations which were most strikingly visually imagined in the award-winning film *Ten Years* discussed later in this chapter.

In other OCTS securitization developments that month, a HKSAR deputy to the NPC, citing the recently cleared Occupy/Umbrella occupation camps publicly called for China to amend the Basic Law and impose mainland national security laws on the SAR as the local government had been unable to enact the security legislation on its own: "People have been worrying about the umbrella revolution … and the [discussion of] the independence of Hong Kong." (J. Lam & Cheung, 2015) The HKSAR NPC deputy, Stanley Ng Chau-pei, threatened to introduce a motion to the NPC during the upcoming

Twin Meetings that year. (J. Lam & Cheung, 2015) This, raising Hong Kong independence or national security legislation, was a classic securitization move and ritualistic performance by members of the HKSAR's "patriot class" (Garrett, 2012, 2015) that has become (since at least 2012) part of an annual hegemonic security script of beating the dissident Hongkonger devils ahead of the CPPCC and NPC meetings every year since at least 2012 by flagging the threat and calling for national security legislation or mainland anti-secession and, more recently, even Chinese national security laws to be imposed upon the territory. Speaking to the issue, former CE and current vice-chairman of the CPPCC Tung Chee-hwa warned Hongkongers could not be "outsiders" in the nation and that China had the power to impose national security laws on the HKSAR: "Our nation is starting to become strong, and its importance is growing on the international arena. From a Hong Kong perspective, we cannot act like outsiders. We should know this is important, and we have to make the legislation one day." [120] (T. Cheung, So, & Lau, 2015) The former CE further claimed that the HKU students' remarks on self-determination and independence had caused concern in Beijing as Hong Kong could not infringe China's sovereignty or compromise its national security.

Tung Chee-hwa, a key Chinese united front operator in the HKSAR and in Sino-U.S. and Chinese global affairs influence operations and strategic communications targeting elites is one of the leading ultra-hardline super patriots – along with Zhang Dejiang, Lu Ping, Chen Zuoer, Zhang Xiaoming, CY Leung, Lau Siu-kai, Lau Nai-keung, Zhou Bajun, Regina Ip, Tony Kwok and others mentioned in this study – involved in securitizing Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. Revealingly, Tung made similar national security admonishments to Hongkongers more than a decade ago when he was CE. In July 2003, following the first Hongkonger uprising of half-a-million residents marching against China's mandated national security legislation for the HKSAR, Article 23, then CE Tung Chee-hwa in a HKSAR Government press release titled, *Security bill key to good relations*, framed the issue of China's national security and the HKSAR as follows: "Safeguarding national security is the prerequisite for the successful implementation of 'One Country Two Systems'; it is a prerequisite for maintaining the good relations between Hong Kong and the Mainland; it is a prerequisite for revitalizing the economy and safeguarding our long-term interests." (Information Services Department, 2003) Per the CE, not only was enacting Article 23 a duty of Hongkongers "to safeguard our national security" but it was also "a matter relating to the national dignity and the glory of the Chinese race."

Ironically, considering contemporary hysterical claims of national security urgency and social and political polarization articulated in Hong Kong in 2016 – some 13 years later – according to Tung's 2003 press release (issued prior to the SAR government's withdrawal the Article 23 legislation) Hong

[120] This invokes President Xi's concept of the *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers* where: "China is now close to the center of the world state, approaching the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation." (J. Sun, 2015)

Kong had already become "highly politicized over this issue" and that it would divide further "if we remain undecided on this issue." Using the age-old authoritarian bogyman of instability, he invoked the very same claims *in 2003* that Hongkongers endlessly hear today *in 2016* as part of Beijing's OCTS Securitization project regarding the threat of Hong Kong independence (and the urgent need to outlaw it) to the city's prosperity and stability; the threat of economic decline and marginalization from resisting mainlandization and greater integration; of no longer being Asia's World City or China's premier international financial center; and, the ever present calamity to national security from electing an oppositional CE: "Division is damaging to Hong Kong. Stability is the cornerstone of our success in the past. I suggest everybody should reflect rationally about how to maintain stability in Hong Kong and to properly manage some of the fundamental relationships, help maintain our stability, including our relations with the Mainland and the international community." (Information Services Department, 2003)

CONSTRUCTING OCTS' ARCH ENEMY: HONG KONG INDEPENDENCE

Defending OCTS from dissident anticommunist Westernized Hongkongers and the existential threat of Hong Kong independence – OCTS Securitization's most vibrant arch enemy – has become a ubiquitous national security securitization narrative and predominate political warfare strategy in China's real and symbolic wars on radical democrats, localists and separatists. As contended in this dissertation, the hegemonic threat construction of the subaltern specter of Hong Kong independence stalking OCTS and Socialist China has become an endemic arch-enemy image haunting (if not dominating) contemporary hegemonic security discourses regarding national security, dissident Hongkongers, OCTS and the China-Hong Kong relationship. This has been a carefully crafted OCTS securitization process enacted through the construction of enemy images, moral panic discourses and political warfare campaigns that began several years before the contemporary hegemonic construction and mainstreaming of Hong Kong independence movements and sentiments.

The discursive turn in 2016 to demonizing Hongkonger dissidents as separatists and terrorists followed an escalating trajectory beginning in January 2010 with 10,000 radicals and youths laying siege to the LegCo over a controversial mainland integration project, the High-Speed Express Rail and conducting a *de facto* referendum on universal suffrage enacted through Five Constituencies Referendum despite full-efforts by the Chinese and HKSAR governments to thwart the Five Constituencies Referendum. The comments of NPCSC HKSAR BLC Lau Nai-keung at the time framed it in the *China Daily* as a *Full-scale showdown* between the forces that loved OCTS and those that wanted to destroy it by declaring independence are illuminating and worth quoting at length given their relevance to the dominant Chinese and HKSAR security discourses articulated six years later in 2016 regarding color revolutions, insurgencies and Hong Kong independence. Moreover, Lau Nai-keung as a NPCSC HKSAR BLC member is responsible for advising the central authorities on what

the actual situation in Hong Kong is, and while those privileged communications are not in the public view, his opinion journalism arguably closely reflects his likely constructions of the state of Hong Kong and OCTS affairs and its enemies to the central authorities – i.e., the actual situation. Lau's assessments of radical democrats, localism and Hong Kong independence between 2010 and 2012 presaged (N.-k. Lau, 2010a, 2010c, 2010e, 2010f, 2011a, 2011b, 2011d, 2012a, 2012d, 2012e, 2012f, 2012g, 2012h, 2012i, 2012j, 2012k, 2012l), if not help formed, the hardline positions enunciated by Lu Ping and Chen Zuoer in 2012. In addition, it is important to keep in mind that Lau Nai-keung's comments here precede the securitization performance on Hong Kong independence by CE CY Leung – to whom he is reportedly a close adviser – by five years but resonated with the rhetoric used then and since January 2015 when the war on Hong Kong independence commenced. Lau, referring in 2010 to the pro-establishment legislators walking out the legislative chamber in protest over the resignation of five pro-democracy legislators (including radicals) to trigger a by-election cum *de facto* referendum on universal suffrage wrote:

> The walk-out of pro-establishment lawmakers last Wednesday in protest over the political resignations of five League of Social Democrats-Civic Party Alliance lawmakers will prove to be **the first blow-back and the beginning of a full-scale showdown between the two opposing political forces in Hong Kong. On the one side are those who support "one country, two systems" under the Basic Law framework, and on the other side, those who want to destroy it** and set up something else under the seductive banner "power to the people".
>
> Power has indeed been returned from the hands of the British colonialists to the people, the Chinese people in 1997; and the Central Government then assigned a large part of it to Hong Kong through the Basic Law. People of Hong Kong by ourselves never have had any legitimate power, and if we throw away the Basic Law, we will end up with nothing. **There are some dissidents who want to acquire power either through usurpation, or outright "uprising" and "liberation", which they now openly advocate. They still hide the word "independence", but it now transpires that this is their hidden agenda.**
>
> **It looks like an uprising, smells like an uprising, and the organizers assert time and again it is an uprising.** We cannot bury our heads in the sand, and imagine it is otherwise just because some soothsayers tell us these are just harmless rhetoric. **Revolutions of the colored kind can be non-violent too, but prove to be equally destructive. No self-respecting government can tolerate such rebellious advocacies**, yet some of our officials still insist they are obliged by law to fund and assist these seditious acts. Are there laws that

stipulate the government fund an uprising? No sir, I am afraid not, not even in Alice's Wonderland." (N.-k. Lau, 2010b) (emphasis added)

Criticizing the resignations and the electioneering slogans used by the dissidents which had been framed by the radicals as an effort to force the NPCSC to reconsider its lengthy timetable on introducing universal suffrage in the HKSAR – an act that under current ultra-hardline understandings of National Security with Chinese Characteristics could constitute a form of terrorism, the then president of the LegCo and a NPCSC Standing Committee member, Rita Fan, claimed it was *dangerous* for the Civic Party and the League of Social Democrats to use contentious language like *referendum* and *uprising* in their campaigning saying it implied independence and revolutionary threats towards China. Fan gave an exclusive interview to the *China Daily* who reported that Fan had foreshadowed: "Even though it may not be a bloody revolution, the inflammatory rhetoric will create unrest, instability and disturb the peace of the city..." (Joseph Li, 2010) Fan had also told the paper that if Hongkongers supported the Five Constituencies Referendum in large numbers that it would shake Beijing's confidence in the SAR and damage the HKSAR-mainland relationship: "It is a highly risky movement [Five Constituencies Referendum] and people who vote in their favor indirectly support their stance. In case the voter turnout rate is high, it will give rise to interpretations that Hong Kong is resistant to 'One Country, Two Systems' as well as to accepting that it is a part of China and that will be very unfortunate." (Joseph Li, 2010) This security logic resembled that which came four years later after the Mong Kok Riot and the 2016 LegCo by-election where a radical localist accused of rioting gain tens-of-thousands of votes. In addition to attempting to deter voters in 2010 from supporting the *de facto* referendum, Fan postulated different ways the HKSAR government could legally suppress voter turnout while meeting its constitutional and legal requirements to hold the by-election.[121]

Other hegemonic securitization actors at the time also claimed that radical pan-democrats' Five Constituencies Referendum was "tantamount to a 'revolution' seeking Hong Kong independence."[122]

[121] After the Five Constituencies Referendum, the HKSAR government embarked on a multi-year controversial campaign to change the law in order to prohibit repeated episodes. This led to many subsequent political and legal confrontations including the one scantly identified earlier regarding the Guy Fawkes mask incident at a public consultation in September 2011. Consequently, the hegemonic securitization attempts gave impetus to the broad subaltern use of filibustering and other administrative resistance and counter-securitizing acts that eventual grew into non-cooperation and political disobedience movements endangering, according to hegemonic securitization actors, the implementation of OCTS, the HKSAR's Basic Law dictated executive-led governance system, and the executive-legislative relationship among other existential threat claims such as the jeopardizing of the Hong Kong SAR's social cohesion, image and harmony and prosperity and stability.

[122] China has long opposed the use of a referendum in Hong Kong dating back to the Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong when it was proffered as a way for Hong Kong's residents to decide their future. Beijing became even more hostile to the concept of referendums in a democratic context due to their repeated use in Taiwan during the Chen Shui-bian administration to threaten independence. Referendums had previously been mooted in the LegCo by pan-democrats after the establishment of the HKSAR but have been similarly vilified by both Beijing and the SAR Governments. While the by-election resignation plan was a straightforward

(A. Leung & Cheung, 2010; A. Leung & Fung, 2010; A. Wong & Leung, 2010) Radicals' use of a slogan encompassing the phrase 'general uprising' was castigate as framing the referendum as a revolution. As a *China Daily* commentator, Xiao Ping asserted: "'Uprising' means overthrowing the existing ruling regime, which may involve bloodshed. The meaning of this term is understood even by primary school students. How could it have escaped the barrister-legislators?" (P. Xiao, 2010) The leading pro-establishment camp political party also accused the democrats turning the referendum into a revolution. (A. Leung & Cheung, 2010) Similar hegemonic consternation and moral panic regarding putative Hong Kong uprisings were observed during the 1 July 2003 mass march when some demonstrators held placards demanding "Down with Tung" and "Return power to the people" during the 1 July 2004 march referring to the CE Tung Chee-hwa and Hongkongers' rejection of the NPCSC decisions in April 2004 to postpone universal suffrage. (S.-H. Chan, 2009, p.63; C.-y. Cheung, 2005, p.153) Reportedly the hegemonic forces "regarded this as tantamount to a call for semi-independence for the HKSAR by the opposition." C.-y. Cheung (2005, p.153)

Though the 2010 Five Constituencies Referendum was boycotted by pro-Beijing parties under direction from China to avoid giving the election 'legitimacy,' much to the SAR and Central Governments' chagrin they were unable to prevent it from occurring within the rules of the Hong Kong system – thus demonstrating, from their perspective, a hobbled and violated national sovereignty over the HKSAR. Saliently, a significant disinformation campaign by the HKSAR Government and pro-Beijing forces to discredit the Referendum, its candidates, the results and level of public participation – 570,000 voters of 3.3 million registered voters – had been deployed before, during and after the election to make the by-election appear to be an expensive and useless radical political stunt. Subsequently, the SAR Government continued a securitizing media campaign against by-elections and radicals and even proposed changing the law to prevent legislators from resigning and then running for the same position. This included holding a public consultation on the issue. Though the HKSAR regime publicly cited the costs of the Five Constituencies Referendum and the 'public's wishes' – i.e., public opinion – it was apparent its actions were in retaliation for the radicals' success in carrying out the *de facto* referendum despite Beijing's wishes thereby embarrassing the Chinese authorities and, once again, demonstrating their lack of control – i.e., full sovereignty – over Hong Kong.

Yet, lost in the SAR Government's political warfare propaganda barrage and media dismissals of voter turnout rate for the Five Constituencies Referendum was the fact that the electoral exercise did achieve a significant political mobilization with important implications for the democracy movement

referendum, the packaging of it as a *de facto* referendum raised the same issues for the SAR and Chinese governments, essentially a challenge to their power and ability to dictate the political system of the Region. By going to the residents of Hong Kong the NPC's constitutional rights to determine the systems in China's SARs are usurped. (Ge, 2011)

and the rise of radicalism, localism and separatism in Hong Kong. First, the 570,000 votes in support of the radicals represented the largest democratic mobilization in Hong Kong at that time since July 2003 – a feat the mainstream pan-democrats or other moderate pro-democracy forces in Hong Kong had been unable to successfully recreate in the annual 1 July or other processions (or annual 4 June vigils.) Secondly, as described by Ma, the coalition of radical pan-democrats, "focused on making the *de facto* referendum the start of a political movement [i.e., the New Democracy Movement], claiming that each vote for themselves would be a vote for genuine democracy and the end of the FCs [functional constituencies]. Younger voters and civil society groups responded with enthusiasm."(Ma, 2011, p.61) Chan Kin Man also writes that, "Some civil society groups and youngsters were particularly excited by this innovative, if not subversive, attempt."(Man, 2011) The invocation of "genuine democracy" might be said to have partially presaged the dominant subaltern calls for genuine or true universal suffrage by the Occupy and Umbrella movements years later.

Conflicts over the Five Constituencies Referendum and alleged covert Hong Kong independence machinations by the dissident radicals continued into the following year. In 2011, a series of escalating hegemonic-subaltern confrontations and repeated Chinese and HKSAR government failures efforts to change HKSAR election law to prevent a referendum repeat transpired and involved further hegemonic securitization efforts to legitimate controversial exceptional political maneuvers to eliminate by-elections. A *China Daily* commentator, for example, attempted to justify the HKSAR's extraordinary securitization move by claiming that exceptional threats and the exceptional nature of OCTS required exceptional security measures: "Since the 'five-district-wide referendum' as an attempt to seek 'Hong Kong independence' was unique to Hong Kong, it is only fair that a corrective mechanism against the resignations for the '*de facto* referendum' campaign should be designed. The arguments raised by these scholars and legislators failed to discern the intention of the amendment, i.e. the people of Hong Kong demand action in order to penalize those who resigned." (J. C. K. Yeung, 2011) The HKSAR government's lawfare and Three Warfares tactics against pro-democracy radicals expanded as contentious performances against the government's efforts to outlaw by-elections and exclude dissident legislators from participating in them intensified.

Also in 2011, following a rowdy radical protest against the government's plans to change the law which devolved into a sensationalized incident involving accidental jostling of the CE, the Central Government expressed "serious concerns" and demanded resolute action from the HKSAR government against the "violent" radicals. As the CE was appointed by the central authorities and represented both Party rule over Hong Kong and a symbol of Socialist Chinese sovereignty over the enclave, some hegemonic securitization actors insinuated the "attack" on the CE was an attack on the Chinese authorities themselves. The spokesman from the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office demanded satisfaction: "The chief executive is elected according to the Basic Law and the relevant legislation in Hong Kong as well as appointed by the central government. He should be respected.

This kind of violent act should be punished according to the law." (P. Tsang & So, 2011) HKSAR Chief Secretary, Henry Tang Ying-yen, and Secretary for Security, Ambrose Lee Siu-kwong, also both condemned the incident, blaming radical democrats' behavior in the legislative chamber for negatively influencing the youth. Secretary Lee exhorted that: "We have seen this unacceptable behavior spread from the Legco chamber into the community. I believe it sets a very bad example for our students." (P. Tsang & So, 2011) This is a hegemonic anti-radical democrat line that has continued to be deployed today to securitize the LegCo and OCTS from the influence (and control) of radical and transgressive pro-democracy politicians and political parties disputing Beijing's power. Radical use of filibusters, impeachment actions, legislative motions, and quorum calls to oppose mainlandization of Hong Kong and other insurgent parliamentary measures designed thwart executive-led governance and embarrass Chinese and HKSAR authorities have increasingly been rhetorically elevated by indignant hegemonic forces as existential OCTS threats to China's sovereignty, security and development interests.

Accusing the radical pro-democracy camp of condoning incivility and violence in the legislature – a common dehumanizing trope used by the dominant forces to present dissident radical Hongkongers as uncivilized, barbarian-like – a Hong Kong English-language daily pro-Beijing commentator criticized the pan-democratic legislators for sending the wrong message to the public with their comments on the incident, opining that: "Such misguided justification will only encourage hooliganism to spread, in the guise of political slogans. I doubt the pan-democrats would react with the same degree of tolerance if they were on the receiving end."(Man, 2011) The commentator further blamed the radical legislators Hong Kong society's "worrying trend of political violence, ranging from the siege of the legislature by post-80s protesters, to the confrontation outside the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the Hong Kong SAR (CGLO). The radical lawmakers should be blamed and held responsible for the violence that already threatens the bottom line that society is prepared to accept." (Man, 2011) Similar Chinese Communist civilizing securitization lectures to Hongkongers were made during Occupy/Umbrella and following the Mong Kok Riot when Hongkongers didn't fall in line with hegemonic condemnations of radical direct actions involving confrontations or marginal violence. In these cases, the civilization, and the youth of the HKSAR – the future leaders of the SAR – were said to be existentially threatened by the transgressive dissent and examples of the radicals.

2011 also saw satirical calls by some pan-democratic politicians for a 'Bauhinia revolution' in Hong Kong over the HKSAR budget (AFP, 2011), and at rallies at Golden Bauhinia Square and China's CGLO by Hongkonger radicals who supported anonymous Internet calls for a Jasmine Revolution in China; Both aggravated Chinese authorities' suspicions that Hong Kong was a political minefield insofar as color revolution, independence sentiments, and hostility towards one-party rule and the CCP were concerned. Radical political parties and lawmakers relatedly came under increasingly heavy criticism from the moderate mainstream and right-wing establishment for disruptive and

disrespectful protest tactics and actions such as obstructing traffic following that year's 1 July rally and march. Though very small in numbers – just a few legislators, the establishment media and SAR government characterized isolated throwing of protest props, hurling of verbal abuse and other episodes of moderately unruly behavior in the legislature as having turned the LegCo into an arena for political stunts; Then CE Donald Tsang resorted to calling the radicals *thugs* and likening them to *triad societies* – also another common hegemonic demonizing and dehumanizing tactic insinuating not just criminal behavior, but also herd/mob mentalities. Notably, the mini-street occupations and disruptive direct democracy actions by Hong Kong's radical pro-democracy parties and youth supporters – some wearing Guy Fawkes masks – foreshadowed the OCLP movement's more "polite" yet similar tactics albeit the latter being on a larger, more civil scale and systematic scale.

The publication of Hong Kong independence scholar Chin Wan's award winning book, *On the Hong Kong City-State*, which has been contemporarily (overly) credited with having given impetus to the emergence of the extreme localism and separatism movements and antimainlander sentiments in the HKSAR, also occurred in 2011. The Hong Kong Autonomy Movement (HKAM) emerged during this time and is popularly framed as embodying Chin Wan's arguments that Hongkongers should, among other claims, forget fighting for democracy on the mainland (concentrating instead on Hong Kong democracy), and take back control over mainland immigration and tourism to the SAR. The latter had begun to become increasingly problematic and politicized for ordinary Hongkongers due to deleterious changes in Chinese tourism policies towards the Hong Kong SAR and accelerating mainlandization efforts. (Garrett, 2013, 2014c, 2015, 2016) These and other anti-mainlandization positions articulated by Chin Wan have been reportedly internalized by Hong Kong independence activists and those calling for a resumption of British sovereignty over Hong Kong due to China's alleged violations of the Sino-British Joint Declaration. 2011, and after, also saw the establishment of other similar autonomy, independence and self-determination groups such as the Hong Kong Independence Movement (HKIM) which called for the establishment of a Republic of Hong Kong as Hong Kong-Mainland tensions intensified in the wake of relentless mainlandization, parallel trading and tourism flows and HKSAR government inaction. (Garrett, 2016)

This led to the rise of anti-mainland mothers, anti-parallel trade (smuggling), anti-China Tourism Wave protests and sentiments and an anti-Moral and National Education (MNE) movement in 2012 which ultimately forced the SAR government to back down on its patriotic education project for Hongkongers. Reportedly, the HKSAR government's walk back on MNE – ultimately a task from then President Hu Jintao in 2007 (Garrett, 2009; Task Group on National Education, 2008) – was one of three OCTS crises since the Handover[123] according to the President of the LegCo and founder of

[123] The other two crises in implementing OCTS were said to have been the 1 July 2003 mass protest against the national security legislation and the Occupy/Umbrella movement.

the Hong Kong's largest pro-Beijing political party, the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB) Jasper Tsang Yok-sing. (Ip, 2016b) The 2012 episode of massive Hongkonger resistance was also significant in that it was the second of three major occupation actions to strike the HKSAR government in just a five-year time span – the 2010 Siege of the LegCo and the 2014 Umbrella Revolution being the other two episodes. A *Global Times* editorial at the time of the government's concession on MNE blamed the "Hong Kong opposition" as having irrationally scared residents "that the 'one country, two systems' policy may evolve into 'one system.'" (Global Times, 2012a)[124] It opined that it was *strange* that over 100,000 people had such a *strong reaction* to national education. The editorial, *Mainland has no desire to change HK*, went on to criticize Hongkongers' fears over brainwashing and "nostalgia for its colonial past and sense of superiority against mainlanders" concluding that: "National education textbooks are an issue for Hong Kong, but to the mainland, it represents a bigger question of how Hong Kong society identifies itself. The protest has triggered complicated feelings in mainland society." (Global Times, 2012a)

Hardline securitizing actors such as Lew Mon-hung, then a HKSAR CPPCC National Committee member and CY Leung supporter, claimed the HKAM and other colonial and Lion and Dragon flag[125] waving dissidents were also damaging the China-Hong Kong relationship by seeking the de-Sinofication of the HKSAR – a claim articulated and championed post-Occupy/Umbrella by ultra-hardliners like Chen Zuoer in their rectification pogroms against dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. Other hardline securitizing actors also sought to securitize the subaltern iconoclastic symbolic attacks on OCTS via the brandishing of transgressive flags. The symbolic displays were framed as a "dangerous political trend" in the *China Daily* where a HKSAR hardline commentator, Thomas Chan – head of the China Business Center at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, opined that the "undesirable political developments" such as "demonstrations against national education,

[124] Protecting hegemonic definitions and meanings of OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law have become major sub-securitizations, or micro-securitizations, of the larger OCTS Securitization macrosecuritization. (Buzan & Wæver, 2009)

[125] As has been the case with flag-centered moral panics and cultural/political warfare elsewhere (Becker, Enders-Comberg, Wagner, Christ, & Butz, 2012; Ungar, 2001; Welch, 2000; Welch & Bryan, 1996/97), the iconic and symbolic power of flags as symbolic resources visually securitizing *Us* and *Them* divides and *friend-enemy* political distinctions has become a discursive cultural, legal, moral, social and political battlefield in Hong Kong deployed by both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces. As described by Chin Wan in 2012: "There are two types of colonial flags being used in the demonstrations. The Hong Kong Autonomy Movement uses the former coat of arms of Hong Kong, without the Union Jack, as a historical symbol signifying the more than 170 years of the trading port and city-state of Hong Kong, since 1842. It's a symbol of local identity, just like those states, city-states and dependencies that still keep their historical coat of arms after joining a republic. The Hong Kong coat of arms is culturally rich and symbolic of Hong Kong, with the Chinese dragon, English lion, and Hong Kong lion, boats, crown and sea. The autonomy movement fosters autonomy under the Basic Law and prohibits the special administrative region government from giving up local interests in Hong Kong-mainland deals. Other groups raise the former colonial flag with the Union Jack as a way of protesting against the People's Republic of China's encroachment in Hong Kong. A few activists share sentiments towards independence because there are enough British National (Overseas) and other passport holders in Hong Kong." (South China Morning Post, 2012)

'liberation of Sheung Shui', and opposition to the development of the northeast New Territories" represented resistance not just to the CY Leung administration "but also the government and even the handover of Hong Kong in 1997." (T. Chan, 2012a) Referring to a demonstration where the colonial flag was displayed as protesters sung the British national anthem and shouted for Chinese to get out of Hong Kong, Chan further averred that: "This is the first time in the 15 years after the handover that a political group has so openly adopted an anti-Chinese and anti-handover stance. Although the number of people taking part was small, just a few dozen at the most, the political message was rather strong and alarming." (T. Chan, 2012a)

Invoking hegemonic security fears and threat images which evoked hegemonic color revolution and external and foreign forces themes that became dominant between 2013 and 2015 regarding hegemonic claims against Occupy and Umbrella, Chan speculated forces "behind the scenes" had calculated to take advantage of "the current time of political confusion" in Hong Kong to agitate and create "political momentum to serve their purpose of creating a larger opposition force to oppose the handover." (T. Chan, 2012a) He also claimed these radical forces were attempting to "redefine" OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law to allegedly grant the Region greater autonomy than the Chinese authorities permitted or desired to allow Hongkongers; the alleged strategy of pursuing excessive autonomy was because "politicians are still shy about calling for independence of Hong Kong." (T. Chan, 2012a) The securitizing hegemonic academic implicated the Chin Wan, his Hong Kong City-State Theory, and the HKAM as he criticized the SAR's historical anticommunist orientation in opposing and politicizing Socialist China and the HKSAR's mainlandization of Hong Kong for transforming supposedly non-political "local planning choices into a politicized and ideologized defence action against the allegedly Communist controlled [HKSAR] administration." (T. Chan, 2012a) In this way Chan attempted to present – and remove from public contention – controversial issues of public debate (economic development and mainland integration) which were inherently political topics as a non-political, national security problem for Socialist China – anticommunism and defiance of Chinese sovereignty.

NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Lau Nai-keung also attacked the HKAM as well as the HKIM and their colonial flag waving performances in a *China Daily* commentary, *HKAM no better than HIM* (N.-k. Lau, 2012g), as provocations of the central government designed elicit an overreaction from Chinese authorities that could be used to criticize the communists. This too was a similar claim made during Umbrella; And, articulating the same criticisms heard today post-2016 regarding the "word games" of Hong Kong's new "self-determination" political parties and politics which hegemonic securitization actors claim is simply independence calls in disguise, Lau Nai-keung accused the HKAM and Hong Kong independence advocates as playing word games in using the "safer" term *autonomy* than the term *independence*. Nonetheless, he advised that strategically the Chinese authorities should first "completely ignore the existence of these movements while at the same time

alienate them from the general public" and then consider actions such as the banning of the export to Hong Kong of Union Jack flags from mainland factories, and consider temporarily reducing the number of Chinese tourists to alleviate "local resentment" and "tourist congestion in our shops." (N.-k. Lau, 2012g)[126]

In similar enemification and threat rhetoric and securitization discourses observed in elsewhere in the demonization of radical democrats, localists and separatists, a *China Daily* commentator, Yang Sheng, claimed that the opposition camp had sought to seize "the governing power of Hong Kong" in 2012 by creating an anti-MNE alliance that aimed to "poison the social atmosphere," make the HKSAR government "look like the bad guy," and "weaken the popular support for pro-government parties." (Yang, 2012c) This, however, was only part of the dissidents' plot: they really intended to use the anti-MNE campaign "to tarnish the image of the central government in the minds of Hong Kong residents in the hope of gaining more room for the opposition to make political maneuvers." (Yang, 2012c) According to Yang, the dissidents had "adopted a strategy focused on magnifying various problems of the mainland to demonize the country, the central government and the ruling party in a bid to alienate Hong Kong residents from their mainland compatriots and turn them against the central government and the ruling party." (Yang, 2012c) These and other conflicts between Hong Kong and China in 2012 had led to top level interventions by Chinese securitization actors like those by former director and deputy director of the HKMAO, Lu Ping and Chen Zuoer, who respectively claimed advocates of Hong Kong independence were "sheer morons" and that a "pro-independence force" was "spreading like a virus" in Hong Kong. (S. Lau, 2012)

How to defeat this independence contagion? A Patriotic Discourse Industry of course!

Amidst the patriotic mobilizing over colonial flags and Hong Kong independence noises, the rise of radical democrats, anti-parallel trader and Chinese tourism protests, and unaffiliated radical youth forces in the SAR created more securitization quandaries for the hegemonic forces. Following the 2012 legislative elections in Hong Kong where pro-democracy radicals made gains at the cost of moderate figures and hot on the heels of the national education lost for the Chinese and HKSAR governments, Lau Nai-Keung lamented the rise of radical, anticommunist politicians in the pro-

[126] Dubiously, Lau Nai-keung refers to the HKIM's Facebook page in describing HKIM's origins: "There is a Facebook page in the name of the Hong Kong independence movement. I hazard to think that it is either a HIM or Hong Konger Front on Facebook. From information provided by the page, we can see that the Hong Kong independence movement was started in 2004 and joined Facebook on August 17, 2010." (N.-k. Lau, 2012g) This is interesting as contemporary hegemonic narratives attempt to frame the Hong Kong independence movement as having its basis in the 1 July 2003 anti-National Security Legislation movement. Though of negligible and questionable size and veracity, hegemonic and establishment media and scholarship have continued to accord the HKAM an influential role and, like with Chin Wan and the Hong Kong City-State Theory, are scapegoated for the contemporary Hongkonger uprisings and crises in OCTS – especially in 2012 (Anti-Moral and National Education) and 2014 (Umbrella Revolution) occupations.

democracy camp[127] and the local emergence of the "Hong Kong City-State Theory" in the Region. In a 2012 *China Daily* commentary that foreshadowed the January 2015 declaration of war on Hong Kong independence, Lau claimed: "What is at stake after the election is the definition of the idea of Hong Kong. We have to go back to basics and ask what it means, and has meant, to be a 'Hong Konger'?" (Lau, 2012c) And in what resembled latter hegemonic calls for a mass-line mobilization against the 'threat' of OCLP and radical democrats, localists and separatists, Lau Nai-keung further implored that: "Now that radicalism is normalized and has become the new mainstream for dissident politics, *we must meet their ideologies head-on. The 'Hong Kong City State Theory' will be a good place to start the confrontation.* What we need are not straight-forward answers, but a grand debate that recognizes our differences but still remain Chinese" (Lau, 2012c) (emphasis added).

Relatedly, Lau began constructing, articulating and mobilizing a Three Warfares-like plan (media, lawfare and psychological operations) to dislodge the radical democrat, localist and separatist "dissident industry" from "perpetual mobilization" by enabling the *Love China, Love Hong Kong* forces to beat the dissidents' at their own 'game.' He extorted that the patriot camp had to "Learn politics, or die." (Lau, 2012b) He urged the government to learn "creative journalism" (Lau, 2012a) to smash the "spiral of silence" (Lau, 2012d) endemic among Hong Kong's "ruling class" that had ceded Hong Kong's "public opinion" to OCTS' enemies. This was urgently necessary, Lau argued. They had to prevent the dissidents from "unbundling" Hong Kong and Hongkongers from their sovereign as any independence game would cause Hongkonger to lose their "rice" as well as their "shark fin." (Lau, 2012b) He further predicted the "real fight" with dissidents would come in 2017 when universal suffrage for selecting the chief executive was to be implemented; In the interim, the hegemonic forces' opponents would "discredit the government so that dissidents can dictate the forthcoming political reform." (Lau, 2013) If the HKSAR government and patriot camp continued "to show weakness" towards these "malcontents," then "all Hell" would break loose he warned; "tens of thousands of protesters" could march in the streets; or, Hong Kong would fall into a "constitutional void." After dramatically making his threat claims to various referent objects, Lau called for an extraordinary new approach to defeat the dissidents:

> The only chance for us to counter this veritable dissident industry is for the government to promote another discourse industry that is rational and constructive. The term discourse industry emphasizes the fact that a discourse is not merely words and ideas. On top of critical thinking, which has often been sadly lacking, we also need channels to promote our ideas. (Lau, 2013)

[127] This 'rise' represented a 'loss' to 'radical' democrat by mainstream 'moderate' pan-democrats rather than the hegemonic forces who had improved their legislative domination in the election.

Years later, another pro-Beijing observer, Richard Wong Yue-chim, similarly wrote in a *SCMP* op-ed on China's 2014 National Day three days after the start of the Umbrella Revolution that had been the failure of the pro-establishment forces to create an "establishment narrative" to successfully contest the pan-democrats "bottom-up narrative" that had led to the predicament of a divided city with no "single political narrative for Hong Kong." (Wong, 2014) This counter-hegemonic "bottom-up narrative" Wong securitized, was entrenched in "(1) democratic ideas, (2) championing the underprivileged and disadvantaged, and (3) defending civil liberties against Beijing" was responsible, he claimed, for the "divide in Hong Kong today." (Wong, 2014) A societal split where: "The democratic coalition has developed into an opposition group that constantly tests the boundaries of political engagement in Hong Kong and with Beijing …" (Wong, 2014) Not unrelated to current events or the symbolic value of the day (National Day), Wong's commentary came in the early days of the OCLP/Umbrella Revolution occupations of key sites in the city.

Comparable to Lau Nai-keung's and other hegemonic moral crusaders and reformers' vociferous calls for public mass-line mobilizations against Occupy Central, Wong concluded that those in the middle of the conflict between Beijing and the pro-democracy camp could not remain neutral: "As the two competing narratives remain divided, it has become more difficult to resolve society's political conflicts. Those in the middle are left pondering which side they will be pushed to join – remaining silent is becoming impossible." (Wong, 2014) These two leading ultra-hardline regime securitizing actors – Lau Nai-Keung and Richard Wong Yue-Chim – can be seen, in part, as part of the CCP's Hong Kong-based vanguard of securitizing hegemonic enemy image, moral panic and political warfare ideological strategists and discursive shock troops waging war on radical democrats, localists and separatists.

Shortly after the launching of the OCLP movement in Hong Kong in January 2013, chairman of the CPPCC and Politburo Standing Committee member Yu Zhengsheng warned HKSAR delegates during that year's Twin Meetings that politics in the city had become too "politicized." Furthermore, he instructed that "it 'would not be good for Hong Kong or the country if opposition forces ruled Hong Kong'" as forces that challenge the central government could not be permitted political power. (Mok, 2013) Yu Zhengsheng had also expressed similar views as Lu Ping and Chen Zuoer mentioned earlier regarding Hong Kong localists waving colonial flags and protesting mainland parallel traders and tourists, implying that they were part of the "centrifugal forces" threatening Chinese national security. (G. Cheung, Lee, & Li, 2013; Deva, 2013) The radical dissidents' 'embodied' visual counter-securitization of hegemonic sovereignty, national identity, patriotism and national security claims, and the subalterns' visual securitization of the Hongkonger identity through the contentious performance of colonial flag brandishing and waving at protests and in front of the icons of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong had viscerally perturbed and threatened the central authorities at multiple, overlapping levels – none the least of which were those issues that tap their own cultural,

ideological, political and societal security anxieties and insecurities (e.g., the spoiled identity of Chinese communism, sense of persecution, and victim complexes.) Yu, the fourth-ranked Chinese leader, admonished that Hong Kong was becoming a base of subversion: "Hong Kong cannot become a base and the bridgehead from which to subvert the socialist system in the mainland." (Luk & Chong, 2013) HKMAO Director Wang Guangya claimed that though Hong Kong was being used "as a bridgehead of subversion" it was just a "minority of people" in opposition to the country. (C. Lee, Cheung, & Tsang, 2013) Though not mentioning subversion, China's number three ranked leader, Zhang Dejiang, the NPC chairman, did iterate that Hong Kong and Hongkongers had to safeguard China's national security.

The launching of the OCLP movement in 2013 and the emergence of the Umbrella Revolution in 2014 and simultaneous rise in anticommunist, independence and localist sentiments in 2015 and 2016 were claimed by hegemonic forces to have damaged the relationship between the HKSAR and the mainland, and to have challenged, if not "blatantly challenged," China's sovereignty and national security interests involving Hong Kong and OCTS. Recent mainland and HKSAR hegemonic securitization discourses constructing the Hong Kong independence threat, most vividly articulated since 2015 but having a formative basis in 2012, are instructive in unpacking the power politics of OCTS. This is no less so given China's new strategic Outlook on National Security that has been characterized by Admiral Sun Jianguo "[a]s a powerful ideological weapon to guide the implementation of China's national security strategy…" (J. Sun, 2015) Moreover, even after the Chinese and HKSAR governments' had ostensibly "defeated" Occupy/Umbrella China's Vice President Li Yuanchao warned in January 2015 that "'Occupy' was not over and 'more drama was yet to come.'" (K.-l. Leung, 2015) The vice president reportedly had made the remarks to All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese delegates – a united front entity – and, in a similar but differently worded quote, claimed that although the central and HKSAR authorities and their allies had won this stage of the struggle, "the really interesting part of the show is yet to come." He reportedly tasked/called on the federation's members to support and strategize more approaches for the "anti-Occupy Central struggle." (M. Chan et al., 2015) The next section details one such approach: the hegemonically contrived moral panic and political war on Hong Kong's dissident radicals, localists and separatists as spectacularly enacted in 2015 with the targeting of student publications as the opening foray against radical democrats, localists and separatists.

The War *on* Hong Kong Independence Begins: 2015 Opening Gambits

In January 2015, following three years of intensifying hegemonic enmity narratives articulating growing concern over rising antimainland, localist and Hongkonger independence sentiment and resistance, HKSAR CE CY Leung, in a spectacular unprecedented securitization performance in his annual policy address, warned of *anarchy* in the city when he branded Hong Kong university students

at Hong Kong's most prestigious academic institution, The University of Hong Kong (HKU), as having had advocated Hong Kong independence and misled Hongkongers regarding the possibility of self-determination for the city as well as perverting the content and meaning of the HKSAR Basic Law and OCTS.[128] (J. Ng & P. So, 2015) Subsequently, a *Global Times* editorial warned: "Mainstream society has ignored these independence activists, but they still did not perish. It's not impossible that they will become one of the major problems facing Hong Kong and become a tool subject to external forces." (Global Times, 2015a) They further argued the "central government and Hong Kong should figure how to punish those who propagate talk of independence …" (Global Times, 2015a) In February 2015, Tam Yiu-chung, chairman of Hong Kong's largest pro-establishment political party the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong claimed: "There is a trend of localism on the rise in Hong Kong and they may give the impression of advocating 'Hong Kong independence.' Hong Kong society should be alert against these dangerous trends." (C. T.-l. Wong, 2015a) Zhang Xiaoming, the director of China's CGLO in the SAR, still fuming over the Occupy/Umbrella movements' thwarting of Chinese sovereignty over the HKSAR warned top SAR officials over future challenges from its dissidents: "We could not allow any attempt to reject the central authority's jurisdiction over Hong Kong under the pretext of a high degree of autonomy, to advocate 'Hong Kong independence,' or even to overtly confront with the central government through illegal ways."[129] (Reuters, 2015b)

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[128] The offending publication, HKUSU's magazine *Undergrad*, had published pro-Hong Kong nation building articles such as, *The Hong Kong nation deciding its own fate* (the cover story) and *Democracy and Independence for Hong Kong*, in its February 2014 issue – a year before the HKSAR's spectacular securitization performance. The articles were drawn from a book they published in 2013, *Hong Kong Nationalism*. At the time of publication, the issue was the subject of a couple pro-Beijing street protests but it was virtually ignored in mainstream hegemonic discourses until CY Leung's policy address and other Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors spotlighted it as a threat to national security; as a result, many dissidents claim CY Leung is ironically the "father" of the Hong Kong Independence movement. Contra claims that Hong Kong nationalism had not been part of a public discourse until the 2015 policy address and that Hongkongers had ethnically always identified as Chinese (So, 2016), the reality has been much more complexed and nuanced. Hegemonic concerns over Hongkongers' anticommunist sentiments, weak national identity, poor patriotism and sense of belonging to China have been persistent security concerns articulated before and after the Handover. Yet, the anticommunist orientation of colonial and post-SAR Hong Kong has been broadly minimalized and marginalized to the near point of disappearance in mainstream discourse and media. Moreover, many have consciously or unconsciously internalized the communists political maneuvering (warfare) that to be anticommunist is to be anti-Chinese. As briefly elucidated in this dissertation's situating of the problem of Hong Kong versus Mainland nation building projects, the Mainland-Hong Kong struggle is inherently political and inherently a case of communism versus anticommunism – both in Hong Kong and through the field of Hong Kong in Socialist China's geopolitical contests with the United States and Western civilization. The problem of China-Hong Kong relations or OCTS, it is contended here, cannot be unraveled or made sense of by removing the power politics and nationalistic emotions of anticommunism and pro-communism sentiments – historically or contemporarily. Anticommunist and anti-authoritarian sentiment deeply informs resistance to Red China's sovereignty and rule over Hong Kong albeit generally political incorrect to acknowledge in academic, official or media discourses – unless one is attacking the radical subalterns. This is one reason why democracy and modernization lenses have been inadequate in grasping the intricacies of China's securitization of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS and moving the HKSAR from the brink of a protracted sectarian conflict.

[129] This statement recalls a June 30, 2014 Global Times editorial, *Pushing confrontation not in HK's interest*, warning: "Hong Kong does not have the conditions for political confrontation [with China], but some people

Soon after, in March 2015 during the Twin Meetings and in the context of a few confrontational localist protests against mainland parallel traders in Hong Kong's New Territories that month and the month before, China's third-ranked leader and chairman of the NPCSC, Zhang Dejiang[130], warned visiting HKSAR 'patriotic' legislators and politicians that independence seeking Hongkongers had approached China's bottom line on the city (Reuters, 2015a) Chairman Zhang declared that: "Worrying signs [have] emerged in Hong Kong last year [2014], including the rise of some radical forces or even calls for independence. They are harmful to social stability in Hong Kong and national sovereignty and security." (Kyodo News, 2015) Hong Kong NPC deputy & NPCSC HKSAR BLC member Maria Tam recounted that Zhang warned: "Under 'one country, two systems,' protecting national sovereignty is a vivid principle red-line that is not to be challenged or crossed. Any subversive speech or act that openly advocates for Hong Kong's independence and city-state self-determination will not be tolerated." (Kyodo News, 2015) Even though the calls for Hong Kong Independence were said to represent only "a tiny minority" in the SAR, Zhang was reputed saying the regime could not take them 'lightly.' (G. Cheung & Cheung, 2015) Zhang Dejiang also remarked in March that anti-parallel trade and anti-China Tourism Wave localist protests, some with Hong Kong independence advocates or those waving the Lion and Dragon flag associated with independence sentiments, in Hong Kong were attempting to "alienate" Hongkongers and mainlanders; he directed HKSAR patriots to shut down protesters down. At a closed-door meeting of mainland Basic Law experts (Tsinghua University's Wang Zhenmin and Peking University's Rao Geping) attended by Tam and a few HKSAR representatives, the scholars reportedly "believed the central government would exhaust all the powers which it didn't use before to reverse the situation in [the] future." (J. Lam, 2015) Subsequently, mainland and HKSAR media and hegemonic securitizing actors, displaying moral panic and enemy imaging indicators such as dehumanization, distortion, exaggeration, and fabrications; minor scuffles became riots, localism became Hong Kong independence, localist protester folk devils became 'enemies of the state,' 'fascists,' 'gangsters,' 'rapists,' and 'hate groups.' (Garrett, 2016)

In June 2015, following the "October surprise"-like discovery of an alleged radical localist plot to bomb the legislature ahead of a political reform vote, former HKSAR Security minister Regina Ip Suk-yee claimed Hong Kong independence forces in the SAR had attempted a modern day Guy Fawkes "gunpowder plot" (Ip, 2015), as others clamored that Hongkonger *terrorists* had issued "online calls for bombing campaigns " (China Daily, 2015b; Chui, 2015a) Five months later, in

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have become frenzied. They seem civilized and rational, but their political paranoia [i.e., anticommunism] is about to light a fuse." (Global Times, 2014c)

[130] Significantly, Zhang Dejiang is also responsible for Hong Kong affairs and reportedly sits on China's CNSC; however, a mainland interviewee has suggested to the author that post-Occupy/Umbrella President Xi Jinping has been dissatisfied with Zhang's management of the HKSAR problem and has re-assumed control over the "issue" as of at least early-2016.

November 2015, Hong Kong's former first CE, Tung Chee-hwa, also patently in the capacity of a state-level leader as a vice chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC, went as far as to claim that Hong Kong's pro-democracy and other dissidents had destroyed OCTS by endlessly confronting the Chinese authorities: "A minority of Hongkongers ignored the achievements made by the Chinese people … selectively focused on individual incidents and magnified them to an unlimited extent. They created conflict … and the so-called 'China-Hong Kong conflicts' – this destroyed the 'one country, two systems' principle." (T. Cheung, 2015b)[131] By the end of 2015, following a second – equally dubious – alleged radical localist 'bomb plot' within six months – which the *China Daily* characterized as a domestic terrorism by a Hongkonger nativist group (China Daily, 2015a)[132], a securitizing NPCSC HKSAR BLC actor, Wang Zhenmin, warned, if not predicted (in light of the "Fishball Revolution" Riot to come in February 2016), that a violent subaltern revolution "was afoot" in the city. (Z. Wang, 2015)

OCTS: Going Critical

The alleged death of OCTS and premonition of a violent Hongkonger uprising withstanding, in August 2015, the director of the HKMAO, Wang Guangya, declared in a *China Daily* opinion piece that China's implementation of OCTS in the HKSAR had entered a critical stage and he warned Hongkongers against nurturing emerging separatist sentiments in the city: "Any attempts to advocate 'Hong Kong independence' by emphasizing 'Two Systems' over "One Country' and spreading delusional ideas like 'localism' and 'city state self-decision,' must be strongly resisted." (G. Wang, 2015) Elsewhere, a former deputy director of the HKMAO and now head of the quasi-official *The Chinese Association*, studying problems in the China-Hong Kong relationship including national security issues involving Hong Kong and OCTS, Chen Zuoer, declared in September 2015 that the HKSAR had to be de-colonized and re-Sinicized to address the "root causes" of Hong Kong's "serious internal strife and many problems." (T. Cheung, 2015a) Per Chen, responsibility for 'enlightening' Hongkongers was not just that of the local SAR government but also a mission for, and responsibility of, the central authorities. (J. Lam, 2015)

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[131] Tung Chee-hwa made even more dramatic claims in June 2016 when he claimed the executive-led political system imagined by China had failed to be realized and laid the blame at the what he implied was Hong Kong's irrational and destructive opposition: "It is very normal that opposing opinions exist in a democratic society, but opposition parties must be rational and constructive." Like Zhang Dejiang, he claimed localism was a smoke screen for independence and he linked Hong Kong's opposition to the independence movement: "As for the opposition camp, we must prevent the extremely small group of people from rejecting 'One Country'. They are in the course of pushing for the independence of Hong Kong in the name of localism, which could do damage to Hong Kong, and Hong Kong's peoples people would not accept this. The fact that 'Hong Kong is a part of China' cannot be altered whatsoever." (South China Morning Post, 2016b)

[132] The *China Daily* opinion piece rhetorically linked the December LegCo incident to an assortment of Folk Devil enemy images: localist protests over parallel traders and misbehaving Chinese tourists and 'confrontations with the police"; the June 2015 HKSAR Guy Fawkes "bomb plot"; and, the Occupy/Umbrella movements.

Reportedly, failure to decolonize Hong Kong (and Hongkongers) after the Handover in 1997, in conjunction with the subversive influence of the SAR's Westernized liberal studies programs and infiltration of Western universal values on its youth, had led young Hongkongers to forget their 'Chineseness' and to participate in the OCLP and Umbrella Revolution movements – both Western 'color revolution' intrigues (from Beijing's perspective); worse yet, the failure to decolonize, re-enlighten and re-Sinicize Hong Kong had led them to internalized anticommunist and anti-China sentiments and embrace colonial nostalgia leading to independence demands and sentiments according to dominant ultra-hardline hegemonic security narratives and rhetoric concerning the state of Hong Kong and OCTS.

A *Global Times* commentary in February 2016, for instance, suggested that Western values and interventions in Hong Kong had led the "opposition in Hong Kong to make extreme political confrontations," a reference to the Mong Kok Riot that month (Z. Liu, 2016) which, according to Chinese officials, had been provoked by "radical separatists" (RTHK, 2016d; Xinhua, 2016c) – a phrase often used in state media to describe Taiwan independence and Tibetan and Xinjiang armed militant organizations. China's CGLO chief in Hong Kong, Zhang Xiaoming, labeled rioters as having "terrorist tendencies" and a prominent pro-establishment district councilor asserted that killing rioters was OK because *they* weren't *really* Hongkongers. A mainland law professor from Wuhan University, Zhu Jie, also blamed "extreme populism" for the riot, opining that SAR independence forces were trending towards "urban terrorism" and posited that: "The Mong Kok riot is by no means an accidental event, as it is, to some extent, a corollary of the growth of pro-independence forces. The trend needs close attention." (Yi, 2016) A Peking University legal scholar, Chen Duanhong, also blamed "extreme nativism" – nativism being a term sometimes used interchangeably by local observers with localism or localist, but the term is not necessarily subscribed to or understood equally by all in either group – which had led Hongkongers to defy the central authorities under OCTS. (Yi, 2016) Saliently, Chen Duanhong was previously lauded in the *China Daily* by the then propaganda chief of the CGLO, Hao Tiechuan, in February 2014 for his book, *Constitutional Rule and Sovereignty*, that had concluded that "some persons in Hong Kong" had taken "advantage" of "inadequacies" in the HKSAR Basic Law's elaboration of OCTS' relationship between the *One Country* and the *Two Systems* to cause crises in implementing the Basic Law. (Hao, 2014) This followed the hegemonic line, increasingly in play over the last decade, that some Hongkongers had used ambiguities in the HKSAR Basic Law and OCTS to try to separate the SAR from the mainland, deny the central authorities' their sovereign rights, privileges and prerogatives to lord over Hong Kong affairs, and to declare, in effect, *de facto* independence by claiming near unlimited autonomy.

A "Total Violence Revolution"

Presciently, or possibly otherwise in light of the soon to occur Mong Kok Riot, in December 2015 influential mainland Basic Law scholar and former member of the NPCSC HKSAR BLC, Wang Zhenmin[133], emphasized the theme of deterring Hong Kong separatism; warning in a leading state-run pro-establishment magazine, *Bauhinia Magazine*, that yet another Hong Kong revolution was mustering in the city among anticommunist, youth and radical militants in the SAR: "Some people even want to launch a total violence revolution to overthrow the present regime… to build a 'new Hong Kong' and formulate a new Basic Law. Hong Kong is increasingly not like Hong Kong. In some aspects, it looks like a third world city." (Z. Wang, 2015) According to Wang Zhenmin, Hong Kong – a year after the Umbrella Revolution – had become 'un-civilized' (in other words, barbarian-like, a key dehumanizing tactic in vogue with One Country Absolutists to denigrate Hongkongers' alleged superiority complex in comparison to mainlanders[134]), was in chaos[135], pursuing 'extreme politics,' and had deliberately 'severed' itself from the motherland and its historic (patriotic) responsibility to aid China's national development (and rejuvenation.) Wang further averred that deterioration of the China-Hong Kong relationship (an important hegemonic referent object) in recent years had become one of the city's "deep-seated problems" jeopardizing it and OCTS (the primary referent object.) He opined that OCTS had never been 'fully implemented' in the HKSAR and that 'dormant' provisions and powers of the Chinese and HKSAR regimes embedded in the HKSAR Basic Law needed to be *activated* to address the *Hong Kong problem*.

Though not clear, Wang Zhenmin may have been invoking extraordinary security powers for the Chinese and HKSAR governments uncodified or specified in the Basic Law but allegedly constituted in the HKSAR's so-called "unwritten Basic Law" (Jiang, 2010; G. Li, 2013) which posits, reportedly, the leading role of the Chinese Communist Party and Socialist System above all else. Moreover, as

[133] Wang Zhenmin also served on the NPCSC's Macau SAR BLC.

[134] Senior Chinese and HKSAR hegemonic securitizing figures and state media mouthpieces have repeatedly framed radical Hong Kong dissidents as uncivilized on a variety of issues or used the civilizational lens as a tool to explain China-Hong Kong conflicts. Since 2010 this has included accusing of dissident Hongkongers of being un-civilized and irrational in opposing mainland-style patriotic education for Hong Kong youth ; demands for democracy/universal suffrage and the Rule of Law (L.-S. Ho, 2014a, 2014c, 2014d; S.-C. Song, 2014; Tung, 2014); national identity (N.-k. Lau, 2014c; C. K. Yeung, 2011); China-Hongkonger conflicts, opposing influxes of parallel traders and relentless mainland tourism inflows (C. Chan, 2012; N.-k. Lau, 2014a; Shu, 2014; Xin, 2014); the emergence of New Social Movements, polarization of politics, opposition to communist Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong (T. Chan, 2012c; China Daily, 2014a, 2014c; Global Times, 2014c; L.-S. Ho, 2013; N.-k. Lau, 2012j); support of OCLP (Kong, 2013); and, Hong Kong's future (Yang, 2012a).

[135] This does not appear to be an isolated opinion among mainland jurists and legal scholars. Similar references to Hong Kong be in chaos or chaotic due to 'opposition forces' arose in the author's conversations with two mainland legal academics on the sidelines of the International Conference on the Governance of China in January 2016 at HKU.

described by Peking University legal scholar and reputed drafter of the State Council's white paper[136] on OCTS, Jiang Shigong, Hong Kong's Basic Law (including the 'unwritten' part) is intended as "a new model for party rule of Hong Kong" and cannot be used to challenge, limit or undermine the Chinese Communist Party's absolute authority or sovereignty over the territory. (Jiang, 2010, p.40) In other words, the Basic Law, OCTS or the PRC Constitution were not restraints on the Party's efforts to obtain and retain total dominance over the political system in Hong Kong, or on the mainland. Seen in this light, Hong Kong dissidents' abandoning, attempting to amend or ignoring the Basic Law were understood hegemonically as attempts to degrade or deny Socialist China's its sovereignty over and governance of the HKSAR. Equally so, hegemonic securitization actors' reaction with furious indignation to radicals burning, defacing and otherwise disrespecting copies of the Basic Law, the State Councils' 2014 white paper, and regional and national emblems have been seen in a similar light as materially and symbolically denying and rejecting Chinese sovereignty – not to mention, disrespecting the communist regime whose "feelings" have become a security referent object. As with OCTS and the Basic Law, these are icons of socialist system and their desecrations offended the Chinese Communists' sensibilities and Socialist China's dignity – a factor that Tung Chee-hwa made clear was also a factor in safeguarding China's national security. (Information Services Department, 2003) More importantly, however, it also implied Schmittian-like extraordinary national security powers within the Basic Law (and Chinese Constitution) to take exceptional and emergency action against national security threats like the putative Hong Kong independence movement, supporters and sympathizers to defend the communists' dignity, glory and honor, and to "save" OCTS and Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.

A New Schmittian World Order with Chinese Hong Kong Characteristics

Considered in conjunction with new mainland national security laws, such as the 2015 National Security and Counterterrorism laws that provide a legal rationale for the extraterritoriality of Chinese military and security services to defend China's national security abroad – even, ostensibly, in the HKSAR according to some securitizing actors – recent hegemonic national security developments and rhetoric have caused alarm among many Hongkongers, and not just dissidents. Many hawkish Chinese and HKSAR securitizing actors have continued to agitate in local state and pro-establishment media for the patriotic forces in Hong Kong to aggressively confront and punish the Hong Kong separatist and opposition forces with some speaking of breaking, eliminating, eradicating or quashing the dissident Hongkongers.[137] OCTS Securitization witch hunts – including exposing and monitoring

[136] The State Council's white paper, *The Practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2014), was issued in mid-June 2014.

[137] In other words, conceptualizing the friends and enemies of OCTS in absolute or totalizing terms, i.e., as an absolute or total enemy. According to Thorup (2015), an absolute enmity is "a war without limitations" where

'lenient' judges and lax HKSAR officials soft on rioters and the radical opposition camp – before it was 'too late,' were implicit invocations of pre- and post-Handover panic specters of uninhibited wholescale interventions by the looming Communist Leviathan to the North, the PLA in Hong Kong's midst, and China's abandonment of the Two Systems dimension of OCTS. As crooned by *a China Daily* commentator, Xiao Ping, following Zhang Dejiang's visit, OCTS "draws the line between [Hong Kong's] unprecedented autonomy and separatism. **It allows us to quash** the latter according to relevant laws to maintain national security and peace in Hong Kong." (P. Xiao, 2016) (emphasis added)

Ominously, for the future of OCTS and the protection of the Region's liberal and partially Westernized-system under Two Systems, Wang Zhenmin – a so-called "young Basic Law Guardian"[138] who also was the Dean of China's prestigious Tsinghua University's School of Law – was appointed to head the CGLO's legal affairs department shortly after his December prediction of a violent revolution in the HKSAR. At the CGLO, Wang's mission was to *help* Hongkongers accept, submit to, and understand Chinese Communist Party rule in order to safeguard China's national security from enemies domestic and foreign. (K. Chan, 2016; G. Cheung & Cheung, 2016; G. Cheung & Lau, 2015b) Notably, this was not Wang's first securitizing assignment involving Hong Kong as suggested by the 'Basic Law guardian' rhetoric used in OCTS political discourse. In January 2014, for example, following the HKMAO's statement of 'grave concern' over supposed "Hong Kong independence" activists[139] waving colonial flags having had "broken into" and "raided" a PLA barracks in the city in December 2013 – in what was empirically a minor incident[140] almost to the

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an "enemy is dehumanized" and is the enemy because "he stands in the way of the final liberation and his complete destruction is hence both necessary and justified" (p.71) – such as OCTS or National Rejuvenation/Socialist Modernization. An absolute enemy would be one whose enemification is based on their *being*, as opposed strictly to their *actions*. (p.65)

[138] The nickname 'guardian' inherently denotes a security function, i.e. protective. Wang Zhenmin is one of the 'second generation of Basic Law 'guardians' who ostensibly defend the HKSAR Basic Law from enemy Hongkongers' interpretations of it and OCTS, of which the Basic Law is considered as having codified. Significantly, this judicial securitization of the Basic Law and OCTS – a form of legal warfare or lawfare – and the political struggle to determine its meaning are elements of China's "Three Warfares" political warfare strategy (*san zhong*), media and psychological warfare constituting the other dimensions of the program. (Halper, 2014) First generation Basic Law Guardian Xiao Weiyuan's (2001) book, *One Country, Two Systems: An Account of the Drafting of the Hong Kong Basic Law*, and Priscilla Leung's (2006), *The Hong Kong Basic Law: Hybrid of Common Law and Chinese Law*, influenced by Xu Chongde, another hardline first generation Basic Law Guardian who once accused Hong Kong's pro-democracy camp of doing nothing but stirring up trouble. (G. Cheung & Tsang, 2014)

[139] There are outstanding questions regarding the authenticity and affiliation(s) of the group, *Hongkongers Come First*, as Hong Kong independence activists – considering the various political actions and associations of a founder and other members of the group who have been involved in pro-Chinese Communist Party activism, anti-OCLP disruptions, and pro-regime political violence targeting localists and mainland religious dissidents in Hong Kong (e.g., the Falun Gong.) Participant observation by the author confirms some contradictions. Several interviewees and online discussants considered them a communist front organization intended to spy on localists and to create chaos in the city.

[140] The Hong Kong independence advocates literally just stepped a few feet inside the open front gate of the PLA Central Barracks and then were quickly pushed out by the Army's gate guards; an incident lasting less than

point of a non-event save the hegemonic response to it, a moral panic (Cohen, 1972) in other words — Wang immediately demanded the Hong Kong SAR introduce Article 23, its Basic Law mandated anti-subversion national security law, observing that the incident had 'harmed' the relationship with Beijing.[141] (J. Lam & Chan, 2014)

One Country, Two Systems 2.0

Other mainland and Hong Kong NPCSC Basic Law scholars, moral crusaders, and securitizing actors – key Peddlers of OCTS Crisis – went further than demanding that Article 23 should be introduced. Rather, they argued for *mainland* national security laws to be imposed on the city until Hong Kong passed its own anti-subversion legislation. (J. Lam & Cheung, 2014a; N.-k. Lau, 2015b) This was despite Basic Law restrictions and prohibitions on mainland laws being applied within Hong Kong.[142] One influential ultra-hardline NPCSC HKSAR Basic Law member, Lau Nai-keung, responding to the debate over the necessity of mainland national security measures in the SAR with his own securitizing move, preemptively declared the inherent inadequacy of any enacted Article 23 law in the city to deal with China's national security concerns or threats to the city – thereby legitimating the calls for imposing mainland security laws in Hong Kong.[143] More specifically, Lau, who was a National Committee member of the CPPCC and hence had significant united front propaganda and public opinion guiding and shaping roles in the city (W.-m. Lam & Lam, 2013; Stokes & Hsiao, 2013), invoked historical and contemporary foreign exploitation of China and Chinese by Western powers to argue that since "international relations" have been "re-politicized" by the West, Socialist China's

10 seconds. Though not major protest venue, the PLA Central Barracks is somewhat routinely the site of various protest actions and the guards are alert, especially as the facility is located among a busy thoroughfare. The area surrounding the barracks – situated in the middle of the Admiralty business district adjacent the CE's Office, the HKSAR Central Government Offices and the LegCo complex – is also heavily monitored by PLA CCTV cameras thereby precluding any approach by the dissidents waving colonial flags from not having been detected prior to arriving at the front gate.

[141] Wang, and others, made similar security claims and demands in 2016 following the Mong Kok Riot and emergence of Hong Kong independence seeking political parties.

[142] A handful of mainland laws are legally applicable within Hong Kong but must first be listed in Annex III of the HKSAR Basic Law. Article 23 of the HKSAR provides that a local national security law will be enacted but provides no timetable or explicit deadline for its promulgation. Literally and theoretically, the HKSAR has until 2047 to enact the legislation. More problematically is that the application of mainland national security laws within Hong Kong would essentially be equivalent to introducing the Socialist system in the HKSAR – in contravention of the Basic Law and OCTS principle.

[143] Former HKSAR Secretary for Security and incumbent Executive Councilor and New Peoples Party chairperson Regina Ip, also an ultra-hardliner on China-Hong Kong relations and OCTS, has similarly dismissed existing HKSAR laws as suitable for handling national security incidents like Occupy/Umbrella. (Ip, 2014a) Following the February 2016 Mong Kok Fishball Revolution Riot she asserted the Article 23 legislation tabled in 2003 by the HKSAR government when she was Secretary for Security was unsuitable for today's Hong Kong: "It was actually pretty toothless. If you see separatist sentiments translated into violent actions, then secession legislation would be necessary. But how to define and how to punish – that ordinance was very loose and not applicable today." (Siu, Lau, & Cheung, 2016a)

new national security demands also now required that the "entire existence" of OCTS had "to be reconsidered." (N.-k. Lau, 2015c)

Put plainly, Lau questioned the necessity and viability of continuing the OCTS policy unmodified considering the new national security environment and threats Hong Kong and the nation faced. Previously Lau Nai-keung had also called for the "renewal" of OCTS, or what he called a "One Country, Two Systems 2.0", to address developments and weaknesses in OCTS that he perceived as contradicting, impeding or undermining China's implementation of the principle, warning that without a new OCTS only more conflicts would occur.[144] (N.-k. Lau, 2013d) Of note is that Lau Nai-keung's appeal(s) for abandoning, remaking or strengthening OCTS were not isolated episodes; other ultra-hardline moral crusaders and securitizing actors – like *The Chinese Association*'s vice-chairman and former head of the HKSAR think tank, Lau Siu-kai – have made similar demands, most notably for the creation of a "New Political Order" and remolding of OCTS. (S.-k. Lau, 2007) Essentially these were calls for the decommissioning of liberal, or decades-long Hongkonger understood interpretations of OCTS that have been in held (accurate or not), arguably, since the 1980s/1990s/2000s.[145] Though generally hegemonically framed as rectifying the public's understanding of the Basic Law and OCTS and its implementation, these securitization moves – as well as those of many other regime securitizing agents including Zhang Dejiang – constitute *de facto* changes in OCTS and the Basic Law in how has actually been implemented since 1997 to a more draconian, National Security with Chinese Characteristics version.

Militarizing OCTS: Cannons, Guns and Laws

Predictably, following the Mong Kong riot many ultra-hardline moral crusaders and key securitizing actors made public calls to 'let the police loose' to eradicate the radical youth localists and, once again, for national security legislation with newer demands for an anti-secession law targeting independence advocates. (T. Cheung & Fung, 2016; X. Ding, 2016; RTHK, 2016a, 2016b; Siu et al., 2016a) Anti-secession legislation for Hong Kong refers to China's 2005 anti-secession law, a mode of lawfare under China's political warfare strategies, enacted to deter (i.e., securitize) Taiwan Independence forces and to legally justify military actions against Taiwan should Taipei formally declared independence. (D. Cheng, 2012a; Wei, 2010) Subsequently, 30 pro-Beijing lawyers associated with the united front-oriented legal pressure group, the China-Australia Legal Exchange

[144] Lau Nai-keung is a prolific, leading ultra-conservative media commentator in state and mainstream media. Between 2010 and 2015 alone he published more than 350 op-eds. Since becoming a NPCSC HKSAR BLC member he has written more than 600 published items.

[145] See, for example, Zhou Bajun's January 2016 *China Daily* op-ed, *Abandon self-destructive ideas*, where he informs readers that: "Some of those who advocate the 'Hong Kong angle' [on OCTS] are in fact thinking about 'Hong Kong independence'. This is an idea which will destroy the city's future. Society, therefore, must reject such dangerous notions as isolation-oriented 'localism' and 'de-sinofication'." (Zhou, 2016a)

Foundation (Legal Exchange Foundation hereafter), sought to enact similar anti-secession legislation, floating the idea at a meeting with NPCSC HKSAR BLC chairman and deputy-secretary general of the NPCSC, Li Fei. (Y.-l. Yuen, 2015b)

Uncoincidently, in 2016 the radical localists who had participated in controversial weekend anti-parallel trader and anti-China Tourism Wave demonstrations in February and March 2015 were framed by regime securitization actors and crisis peddlers as the very same localists and young radicals who had carried out the Fishball Revolution and who were agitating for an independent Hong Kong: Thus implying the Mong Kok Riot was *more* militant Hong Kong separatist uprising *than* criminal conduct (despite the official HKSAR government designation as a riot.) Likewise, the Legal Exchange Foundation found itself in a double political scandal and apparent internal factional intrigues following Zhang Dejiang's "conciliatory" inspection of the HKSAR when it cited NPCSC HKSAR BLC and *Chinese Association* member Zhang Rongshun's claims that Beijing was not worried over Hong Kong independence advocates: "Because it [the Hong Kong independence movement] does not have the strength. Even if it has the strength, it will be easy for Beijing because the central government has the laws, guns and cannons to handle it." (T. Cheung, 2016a)

Some top HKSAR patriots attempted to dismiss the BLC member's bellicose rhetoric as a misunderstanding or mistranslation: shortly thereafter, however, salacious images of two members of the Legal Exchange Foundation in a Beijing nightclub were mysteriously leaked to the Hong Kong media and several heavyweight pro-regime figures promptly resigned from the Foundation as others distanced themselves from the organization. Nonetheless, and despite the attempted walk back of Zhang Rongshun's remarks by some HKSAR Basic Law securitizing actors, Zhang Rongshun's mediated comments invariably converged with concurrent hardline threatening messages articulated towards the HKSAR's radical democrats, localists and separatists from a bevy of other ultra-hardline hegemonic securitizing actors. Among others, this includes the opinions of those like mentioned in the *China Daily* earlier (P. Xiao, 2016) where it was expressed that China had the means, and will, to quash separatists in the city. Others securitizing doomsayers, also signaling hardline securitization speech, were *Chinese Association* members Lau Siu-kai and Qi Pengfei who warned that Beijing would act in Hong Kong if it perceived "any threats to national safety in the city" and that violent insurgents in the city might provoke a "sea change" in Beijing's handling of Hongkonger localists. (Siu, Lau, & Cheung, 2016b) The alarming "guns and cannon" war rhetoric was also in line with other totalizing securitizing discourse by Chinese officials and Basic Law scholars warning that Hong Kong independence "could not [be] allow[ed]," "will not be tolerated," will not be taken "lightly," and would be "strongly resisted" as expressed by HKMAO Director Wang Guangya in a *China Daily* commentary titled, *'One Country, Two Systems' vital future*. (G. Wang, 2015) Zhang Dejiang's speech to Hongkongers in May 2016 during his visit also made it abundantly clear that the HKSAR and OCTS were of strategic importance to China's sovereignty, security and development interests

and no threats would be brooked. In other words, Hong Kong and OCTS was too important to China and its national economic development plans to be left to Hongkongers. In other words, Chinese strategic interests and national security needs trumped local Hong Kong concerns and wishes.

However, the belief in the sufficiency of existing HKSAR laws to contain the Hongkonger independence threat and uprising(s) – held by conservative and moderate hegemonic securitizing actors like some of those who had resigned from the Legal Foundation – was by no means universal among the hegemonic forces. In fact, just the opposite. NPCSC HKSAR BLC member, Rao Geping, for one, in the context of Hong Kong localists and the Mong Kok riot and the need for national security legislation claimed there was "a lack of tools in laws of Hong Kong to sanction the acts of secession and undermining the country's territorial integrity"; He ominously warned similar to Zhang Rongshun that "the central government will not sit idly in the face of attempts in Hong Kong to secede the city from the country and undermine territorial integrity." (G. Cheung, 2016) And though Rao dismissed Hong Kong independence sentiments as held by no more than just a few people in Hong Kong, he opined that it was: "noteworthy that there are signs of those extremists advocating secession are now resorting to violent methods." (G. Cheung, 2016)

This implied an escalation in the life-or-death political struggle between China and dissident Hongkongers, a new watershed ostensibly requiring new and exigent national security measures[146] – and maybe even a new OCTS.[147] Rao's securitization assertions complemented the earlier "warning" from Wang Zhenmin of a violent revolutionary brewing in the HKSAR. The claims of subaltern turn to violence, however, as elaborated earlier have been a growing discourse since 2010 and represents a prominent, if not the dominant, discursive securitization theme (one of many) encompassing China's demonization and enemification of Hongkonger dissidents to combat resistance towards Communist Chinese domination and removal related ideological and political threats to its existence. Concomitantly, the hegemonic use of dramatic, exaggerated, and sensationalized media, official and quasi-official accounts of subaltern Hongkonger intransigence, lawlessness, and violence that construct vivid enemy images, moral panic and enmity discourses and narratives that wage political

[146] The violence frame was also tightly linked to a securitization frame of illegality which, in turn, presupposed the inherent criminality of the dissidents. For instance, frequent discursive constructions of the OCLP campaign (with which the radical democrats, localists and separatists have all been conflated into a common enemy category) in nearly a thousand *China Daily* press items between January 2013 and May 2016 included phrasings like: "Occupy Central, the illegal protest movement"; "the illegal Occupy Central movement"; "the illegal 'Occupy Central' campaign"; "an illegal occupation campaign"; "illegal campaign"; "an illegal movement"; and, "the illegal 'Occupy Central' movement." Comparatively, the *Global Times* for the same period rarely used similar phraseology.

[147] A critical reading of Zhang Dejiang's remarks on the Rule of Law and the HKSAR Basic Law being the cornerstones of OCTS suggested that if the foundation (abiding by Beijing's interpretation of the Basic Law, OCTS and the Rule of Law) was broken, then changes would have to be made. The implication being that changes to OCTS would be effected.

warfare on Hongkonger enemies is a dominate mode of SAR System governmentality[148] that has been conceptualized here as core elements of Securitization with Chinese Characteristics as applied in the HKSAR, or more simply, OCTS Securitization.

HONG KONG INDEPENDENCE BECOMING A MAINSTREAM FORCE

Though hegemonic actors in Beijing and the HKSAR have repeatedly asserted that Hong Kong independence sentiments are no more than a fringe element in a radicalized and polarized Hong Kong society and unrepresentative of mainstream sentiment or politics, it is empirically undeniable that the discourses and notions of Hong Kong independence *have* become part of mainstream official and popular discourses. For example, over the last seven years mentions of the term *Hong Kong Independence* have been observed being articulated more than 5,000 times in Chinese-language media according to study by a pro-democracy party cited by *Economic Journal Insight* (*EJI*) *(S. C. Yeung, 2016)*. Mentions reportedly peaked in 2015 with about 4,700 references – likely commensurate with Chief Executive CY Leung's securitization performance regarding Hongkonger independence; through the first four months of the year (2016) had already exceeded 50 per cent of those observed the whole previous year (2015). According to this author's own English-language focused data collection of China and Hong Kong-focused publications like the *China Daily*, *Global Times*, *EJI*, *RTHK*, *SCMP*, and *The Standard* as well as select translations of the *Ming Pao*, *Ta Kung Pao* and *Wen Wei Po* drawn upon for this dissertation, nearly 800 instances of *Hong Kong Independence* or related variant stand-alone *news articles or opinion journalism* (as opposed to simple mentions in the media as the Chinese-language study apparently emphasized) were observed. As with the Chinese language study cited by *EJI*, the author's own collected data on standalone media items similarly reflected spikes in English-language intensity in 2015 and during the first five months of 2016 with no fewer than 206 and 463 media items noted respectively. For a headline listing of Chinese and HKSAR

[148] Contra W.-m. Lam and Lam (2013), this study argues that a state of "existential war" (albeit not conventional, total or unrestricted war) exists between the Chinese Communist Party and dissident Hongkonger democratic, localist and separatist forces. China's united front work in a war footing posture negates consolidation goals and strategies due to the existential nature of the conflict, e.g., the "life-or-death struggle." Moreover, it is contended that united front work in the HKSAR in general is more insidious, problematic and with greater implications typically understood: especially when placed in a national security and/or OCTS power politics context where mass line mobilizations and political violence against public/state enemies have become the norm as *a security policy*. Though they acknowledge "soft and hard tactics used in parallel in Hong Kong have resulted in further politicization and polarization of the civil society, and transformed the tension between the state and the local groups into clashes between different local groups, as seen in other autonomous regions such as Tibet and Xinjiang" (p.302), an unprecedented setting of existential political war (as opposed to banal united front work) in Hong Kong changes the goal. It is no longer to simply "ultimately consolidate China's hegemony in the local society," but rather to eradicate the Hongkonger enemy, degraded their capacity and political power to contest, resist and possibly thwart Chinese sovereignty, national security assertions, and compelled de-colonization, forced mainlandization and re-Sinicization projects. In short, the goal of OCTS Securitization agenda since 2010/2012 has been the re-making of Hong Kong, Hongkongers, and OCTS and elimination of political enemies: not the ordinary containment or exclusion of political foes.

English-language opinion journalism by leading hegemonic securitizing actors and news items between January 2010 and June 2016 discussing Hong Kong independence, self-determination, secession, or separatism. See *APPENDIX 5.*

OCTS in *Ten Years*: One Country, One System

The concept of Hong Kong independence has also vividly penetrated local popular culture as well as media and official discourses. Most significantly Hongkonger societal security concerns were depicted in the visual claims of the award winning 2015 independent Hong Kong film, *Ten Years*, which postulated an apocalyptic Hong Kong SAR ten years into the future (2025) under a notional "One Country, One System" (OCOS) reversion of OCTS. The film won the Best Pictures category in the 35th annual Hong Kong Film Awards in April 2016 and was promptly securitized on mainland China as politically sensitive for the dystopian depiction of a mainlandized and re-Sinicized Hong Kong as an oppressive mainlandized HKSAR reeling and suffocating under OCOS. This was a counter-securitizing subaltern narrative which insurgently and subversively contradicted the Chinese and HKSAR government's official stance and mythography of the success of OCTS and national reunification. Furthermore, it gave visual fictional presence to subalterns' suspicions of Chinese communist, HKSAR patriotic camp and triad collusion to stage fictitious violent security events such as an attempted assassination of pro-establishment lawmakers to create a panic to legitimate the compelled introduction of China's national security law.[149] Worse yet, it postulated an armed insurgency agitating for independence from Socialist China akin to existing Xinjiang and Tibetan problems. Even the Hong Kong Film Awards Presentation Ceremony for *Ten Years* was banned from being televised on the mainland. (Global Times, 2016a) Despite limited distribution to cinemas the film repeatedly played to sold out movie houses and standing room only repeated public viewings. (Blundy, 2016) Hongkongers even shared smartphone screenshots over social media of images of filled seating maps for movie houses. *Ten Years* was even derisively labeled as "thought virus" by the

[149] In one of the short stories in *Ten Years (Au, Ng, Chow, Wong, & Kwok, 2015), Extras*, the mainland mastermind informs the patriotic co-conspirators: "West point [China's Liaison Office located in the Western District of Hong Kong Island] called. The order being: the more chaotic, the better. The more they panic, the better. We want them both." Following a portrayal of an attempted assassination where the grassroots Hong Kong "attackers" were double-crossed by the "patriots," politically corrupt police, their triad boss and the Chinese communist official and killed the narration recounted a notional media report that, on varying levels, resembled those surrounding the dubious "bomb" plots discovered and thwarted by the HKSAR and Chinese authorities and the Mong Kok Riot: "The function held by political parties to celebrate Labor Day was attacked by terrorists. The two terrorists approached LegCo members, Miss Lam King Chee and Mr. Yeung Kam Wa, and fired their guns to attempt assassination. They were shot by police officers and died on the spot. … All secretaries of the SAR were shocked regarding the matter, and the Central Government has expressed a high degree of concern. The Liaison Office issued a written statement, strongly reprimanding the unlawful act of the terrorists that endangered the safety of all Hong Kong people. The professional protection and judgement of the police should be highly commended. But he [the Liaison Office official] iterated that, Hong Kong is not far from becoming the Base of Subversion for foreign powers. Thus, the implementation and executive of the National Security Law should begin right away. The National Security Law must be implemented. …"

Global Times – implicitly evoking "color revolutionary technology" and soft war rhetoric and fears[150] – that the movie might spark a violent turn in Hongkongers' protest repertoires. (C. Baldwin, 2016; K. Cheng, 2016b) An editorial from the same paper, demonstrating China's efforts to securitize Hongkongers confidence in OCTS and the Basic Law, belittled the movie as absurd and a failure; warning Hongkongers that: "If the filmmakers want to scare the public in Hong Kong and spread anxiety, they should consider what consequences this will have on the city." (South China Morning Post, 2016h)

After *Ten Years* won the Best Picture award in May 2016, local pro-regime uncivil society actors associated with mainland united front work in the HKSAR began mobilizing to make an anti-Occupy/Umbrella visual counter-securitization of *Ten Years* by producing their own movie – *Blood Umbrella*. The movie planned to tap hegemonic discursive and narrative themes of the threat to Hong Kong (and OCTS) from radical democrats, localists and separatists of armed uprisings, color revolution and terrorism and chaos and endless war observed elsewhere (and discussed in this dissertation) to demonize and securitize dissident Hongkongers in the frame of *What If* Occupy/Umbrella had succeeded. Hence implicitly emphasizing *the need* for ordinary Hongkongers to continue to mobilize against the constant evil machinations of the subversive radical democracy, localism and separatism elements in Hong Kong society turning Hongkongers against China, undermining stability and prosperity, jeopardizing Hong Kong's relationship with the mainland, and the viability of the OCTS policy. The goal of the movie, according to one of the *Love China, Love Hong Kong* groups planning it, was to have Hongkongers' decide if they should "take the road of stability and prosperity, or have Hong Kong become like Iraq and Syria, where citizens fleeing war become homeless and displaced." (Coconuts Hong Kong, 2016)

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[150] This inevitably invokes China's notions of color revolutions and soft war which, in part, according Emami et al. (2013) to appeals broader authoritarian claims of a new form of American/Western warfare directed towards them: "In 1989, a new theory based on 'soft war', later referred to as 'color revolution', 'velvet revolution' or 'flower revolution' emerged as a way to produce changes in political systems which were against Western powers' policies and some autocracies. In fact, velvet or flower and color revolutions are different names for gentle overthrow; a transformation and transition of power through civil resistance." (p.257) Dynon (2014) simply explains it as an ideological struggle involving "a contest of soft power in which the purpose of each state is to 'protect its own national interests, image and status so as to promote a stable international environment conducive to its development." (p.9) B. P. Jackson (2006) similarly elaborates it as "a 'soft war' over influence, alignment, and values." Also, see the 2015 special issue of the journal *Politics* titled, *The Soft Power of Hard States,* which examined authoritarian use of soft power as a new mode of warfare being adopted countries like China, Iran and Russia. ("The Soft Power of Hard States," 2015) Andrew Korybko (2015a), more directly evoking the concept of a "thought virus" cites Mann (1992) who recommended in the early-1990s after the Cold War concluded, that the United States government should create an "ideological virus as our weapon … as its basic national security strategy, to infect target populations with ideologies of democratic pluralism and respect for individual human rights" (p.66) in his account of the use of political contagions in color revolution cum hybrid wars: "Simply put, depending on the civilizational/cultural code and the best way to penetrate the target citizenry's social Five Rings, Color Revolutions can adapt their message to create their own custom 'virus' for winning over converts. The virus 'infects' individuals by working to change their political sentiment, and the idea is that once it finds one 'victim', this individual will then actively 'spread' their new ideas to others, leading to a 'political contagion'. …" (p.24)

This motivational articulation by Justice Alliance Deputy President Choi Hak-kin was entirely consistent with the apparent goals of official media discourses and hegemonic opinion journalism-based securitizations of dissident Hongkongers and Maoist and mass line mobilizations of patriotic and ordinary Hongkongers to rise and get rid of the "troublemakers" in Hong Kong. Allegedly organizers hoped to complete and show *Blood Umbrella* in Hong Kong in September, apparently ahead of the LegCo elections to influence voters to "Vote them out!" – a catchphrase that has been repeatedly articulated by hegemonic forces ahead of 2015's political reform vote and district council elections and refers to the so-called radical democrats, localists and separatists in the LegCo. It is, as Mao Zedong alluded to in his talk about friends and enemies of the revolution, about defending OCTS by rectifying the HKSAR government and patriotic camps' "tactical errors" in implementing OCTS: "If the Chinese revolution … has shown such meager results, it is not the goal but the tactics which have been wrong. The tactical error committed is precisely the inability to rally one's true friends to strike at one's true enemies." (Mao Zedong, 1965, p.13 cited in Van Slyke (1967, p.1) In China's OCTS Securitization model, mass line mobilizations of the Hong Kong public and patriot camp agasint the "true enemies" of OCTS – radical democrats, localists and separatists – have become dominant political securitization stratgies to attack the true enemies of OCTS and Socialist China.

Recovering Hong Kong: A Vote for Hong Kong Independence

The increasing prominence of the concept of Hong Kong independence sentiments have become evident not just in media, popular and protest culture, and official and quasi-official discourses but also in Hong Kong's electoral sphere where it threatens to gain political power – much to the angst of Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors. Most recently, in June 2016, according to media reports on a leaked HKSAR government commissioned survey, nearly 45 per cent of respondents in a survey on Hongkongers voting preferences indicated that candidates' position on Hong Kong independence would influence their vote. (Economic journal Insight, 2016) Earlier, following the final removal of Occupy/Umbrella occupation camps in December 2014, pro-regime securitization actors had begun framing the November 2015 District Council elections as the next "life-or-death" "political struggle" or "war" between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces in Hong Kong. Much was made, for instance, of the participation of new radical political actors in the OCTS strategic contest who were framed by the media as "Umbrella Soldiers" – an ambiguous yet invariably negative denotation suggesting militancy and war afflicting Hong Kong if taken in light of the contemporary hegemonic demonization of Occupiers and Umbrella 'people.'[151] The historic voter turnout – 47 per cent –

[151] Conversely, among the pro-democracy forces it may have been read as fighters for democracy; nonetheless, the labeling, framing and stereotyping of new anti-regime candidates as soldiers was inherently at odds with the official narrative of OCLP as non-violent civil disobedience. The negative categorization may have been more influential among the so-called silent majority of voters contested by both the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces. At the same time, the image invoked by the label umbrella soldier does represent partially the

exceeded that of the 2003 District Council elections that had so unnerved the Chinese and HKSAR regimes that a pro-democracy color revolution was preparing to sweep the city and kick out pro-establishment legislators.

In the November 2015 District Council elections, however, it was a new wave of localist candidates that stole the narrative and led to sweeping generalizations of a political shift in Hong Kong politics towards localism as several longstanding political stalwarts on both the pro-establishment and pro-democracy fell to first-time localists electoral contenders. Notably, traditional pro-democracy radicals – albeit arguably much more mainstream then their radical label suggests – were replaced by "new radicals" who had participated in Occupy/Umbrella and who *were* desirous of even more confrontational and provocative direct actions to achieve social and political change – these new 'radicals' were also eager to pick up the societal security banner to protect the Hongkonger identity, way of life and core values from hegemonic obliteration by Red China. One Hong Kong CPPCC national committee member gloated in the *China Daily* that: "Those who had advocated 'Hong Kong independence' and radicals, such as People Power, Civic Passion and the League of Social Democrats, were totally defeated in the latest polls. This has clearly demonstrated the popular will – Hong Kong people do not want any political troublemakers …" (E. Li, 2015b) The subhead of another *China Daily* Op-Ed titled *Grassroots voters firmly reject radical politicians*, announced: "Rout of nativist parties a symptom of public's desire for pragmatism." (Chui, 2015b) A noted commentator and co-convener of the pro-establishment securitization agent, the anti-OCLP Silent Majority for Hong Kong (Silent Majority henceforth), Ho Lok-sang, in a *China Daily* commentary tapping hegemonic national security fears, *Voters want service not sedition*, penned: "Radicalism is now clearly demonstrated to be hated by Hong Kong's voters." (L.-S. Ho, 2015) This, however, turned out to be demonstrably false – as well as premature considering the Mong Kong Riot and the forthcoming by-election.

Nonetheless, many of the district council "upsets" were much closer electoral contests than sweeping and breathless accounts in pro-establishment and pro-democracy media suggested: many were decided just by a few dozen or few hundred votes rather than any electoral landslide indicative of a popular mandate as seemingly suggested by many in the local media. After the initial fog of war over election returns and their implications, the surprised success of localism and radicals raised new security anxieties and concerns for the hegemonic forces that Hong Kong independence, localism and self-determination sentiments were entering the mainstream consciousness and, worse yet, near to gaining political power. A *SCMP* article expressed the sentiment aptly: *'The fight to reclaim Hong Kong… has just begun': 'Umbrella soldiers' look to bigger things after district polls." (E. Tsang & Lam, 2015)* Even HKSAR government securitization moves to exclude independence themed

turn towards a more aggressive, confrontational and unintimidated corps of radical and young democrats, localists and separatists willing to *fight* for the so-called *Hong Kong Nation* (or City-State.)

electoral materials and targeting transgressive localists, radicals and separatist candidates participating in the district council and other elections suggested regime security concerns and established precedents for future law-and-order and national security practices used later to deny the registration and candidacy of dissident political parties advocating Hong Kong independence platform in future elections. (Hamlett, 2015; K. Lau, 2015; Mok, 2015)

Patriot Panic: A OCTS Nightmare – the Localists are Coming!

Probably no other by-election in Hong Kong, with the possible exceptions of the 2007 pro-democracy versus pro-Beijing face-off between controversial former British and HKSAR ministers Anson Chan and Regina Ip, or the 2010 Five Constituencies Referendum, had been so closely watched or political salient as the March 2016 New Territories East LegCo by-election. Indeed, the results where a first-run localist candidate, Edward Leung Tin Kei of Hong Kong Indigenous, accused of inciting the Fishball Revolution cum riot received more than 66,000 votes and in the process defeating four other candidates (in a field of seven) two of whom were established pro-democracy moderate politicians (though ultimately coming in third in the election) sparked many alarmist assessments by Beijing's securitizing actors on the mainland in and Hong Kong. The *China Daily*, for one, extrapolated the campaign results across an electorate of 3.7 million as signifying that there were hundreds of thousands of localists and Hong Kong independence supporters. (China Daily, 2016d) Lau Nai-keung, an ultra-hardline NPCSC HKSAR BLC member – who, along with other members of the Committee, inform the central authorities as to the 'actual situation' in Hong Kong – described the localist electoral wins as "our worst nightmare," opining that Hongkongers were evidently 'less averse" and more "ambivalent" towards deploying political violence than originally perceived. Hong Kong Indigenous' campaign was said to have laid the foundation for worst case security scenarios for Beijing of separatist Hong Kong localists possibly winning five seats in the legislative polls in September 2016. (N.-k. Lau, 2016) Lau claimed that the localist enemy now consituted a "substantial minority" "political force to be recoknoned with" that encompassed two core constiuencies: Leung's Hong Kong Indigenous supporters who were "violent and radical young people"; and, Civic Party's Alvin Yeung Ngok-kiu backers "who prefer moderation but are ambivalent to violence." (N.-k. Lau, 2016)

The pro-establishment *SCMP*, who in the past was generally less sensational and one-sided in their daily reportage on Hong Kong independence and localist developments than the *China Daily* or *Global Times*, made a qualitative change in its coverage of localists. Beginning with the Mong Kok Riot they began heavily dehumanizing and demonizing Edward Leung and Hong Kong Indigenous over their alleged instigation and participation in the riot and advocacy of independence for the city. This continued in the *SCMP's* coverage of his by-election electioneering and campaign results. Editorially, the *SCMP* claimed alarm bells in Beijing and Tamar were going off: "For a youngster

without any district work and campaign experience, his performance has taken many by surprise. There needs to be reflection on why tens of thousands have backed someone involved in unrest heavily denounced by the government." (South China Morning Post, 2016e) The results, in conjunction with earlier district council elections where localists made a surprise showing upsetting both pro-Beijing and mainstream pro-democracy stalwarts, rebuked previous expert HKSAR academic, government and media assessments and accounts dismissive of Hongkonger support for localism (or independence) being any more than a fringe political trend in local politics.

Tellingly, the *SCMP* editorial, *Localism is becoming a force to be reckoned with in Hong Kong politics*, was the fourth on the riots or localism/separatism in less than three weeks (South China Morning Post, 2016a, 2016c, 2016d, 2016f); two additional *SCMP* editorials also invoked the riot or related issues of mainlandization frequently associated with the localist agenda. (South China Morning Post, 2016g, 2016i) Notably, the *SCMP*, following being acquired by a leading Chinese media and technology tycoon (Jack Ma) to enhance China's image by telling its stories *well* as President Xi Jinping had previously directed the country's media and patriots to do, took the unprecedented step of placing its opinion and hard news journalism coverage of the Mong Kok Riot and Hong Kong localism, independence, and separatism outside its then active paywall to allow free global access to its riot coverage. This provided China an opportunity to get *its* story on the Mong Kok Riot out to the world – a stated aim of the Alibaba acquisition of the *SCMP*. (Chow, 2015a, 2015b) It was also the first OCTS crisis post-acquisition that provided the *SCMP* an opportunity to attempt to form and shape the public and global English-language narrative of the Riot along the Chinese leadership's lines while ordinary communist mouthpieces (e.g., the *China Daily* and *GT*) initially maintained silence or, arguably, took a more tempered line.

The four weeks following the riot (9 February to 9 March 2016), for instance, accounted for 114 *SCMP* editorial, commentary and hard news items focused on the Mong Kok riot and localism. Other *SCMP* opinion and news items making references to the riot – albeit more tangential but still not unlike some of those commentaries and articles provided for free – were also published but not outside the paywall. These variously reproduced hegemonic themes attacking democrats (moderate and radical alike), localists and radicals for the riot and the alleged turn towards a violent protest culture in Hong Kong along the framing themes enunciated by the HKSAR and Chinese governments elsewhere; it was unclear as why those news and opinion items remained behind the paywall when so many others did not. Compared to the commentary and hard news coverage of the *China Daily* and the *Global Times*, the *SCMP* arguably took a leading role in the more vociferous English-language demonization of localists, radicals and rioters in Hong Kong's mainstream and pro-Beijing English-presses.

Concomitantly, the *SCMP*'s coverage complemented local Chinese and English-language united front denunciation campaigns in mainland and Hong Kong-based Chinese state media outlets such as the *Oriental Daily, Ta Kung Pao* and *Wen Wei Po*. It was only after de-securitizing remarks by top Chinese officials during the 2016 Twin Meetings that the *SCMP* appeared to lower the intensity, pace and rhetorical heat of its media panic over localists and Hongkonger independence. The Chinese leadership's statements appeared intended to preclude, or dismiss, notions of a political crisis in Hong Kong and OCTS which might detract attention from its promotion of its "New Normal" economic agenda at the meetings rather than an authentic representation of no, or little, concern over the riot or Hong Kong independence and localist separatist problems in the SAR. Likewise, Chinese regime desires to avoid being provoked by Hongkonger insurgents to overreact to the Mong Kok Riot, a so-called episode of the Propaganda of the Deed (POTD) (Bolt, 2012), or to give them and Hong Kong independence a national platform to air their grievances seem additional operative national security concerns according to Hong Kong media speculation. This, of course, was only a temporary lull in the enemification, moral panic and political war on radical democrats, localists and separatists as their transformation into the terrorists of OCTS soon commenced in earnest ahead of Zhang Dejiang's inspection tour of the HKSAR as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

SUMMARY

This chapter examined China's securitization of OCTS through the hegemonic construction of dissident subaltern Hong Kong independence, localists, and radical democrats as arch enemies of OCTS and existential national security threats to Socialist China. It probed the power politics of OCTS as articulated through moralizing and securitizing hegemonic enemification, security and threat discourses beginning in 2010. Taking the case of the May 2016 inspection of Hong Kong of the NPCSC chairman Zhang Dejiang as a grand securitization spectacle, it unpacked construction of radical dissident Hongkongers as mortal enemies of the state through their discursive transformation from dissidents to revolutionaries and terrorists by securitizing actors embracing China's new national security lens, logics, and rhetoric such as the *Three Major Dangers*. Then, taking the unprecedented January 2015 HKSAR CE policy as the beginning of a *de facto* war on so-called Hong Kong independence forces, radical democrats and localists, it investigated their mythographical construction in local and national security discourses as mortal threats to OCTS and Socialist China. Use of hegemonic enemification, security and threat discourses claiming existential danger were scrutinized as hegemonic legitimation to remake, reorder and militarize OCTS and Hong Kong society in the name of totalizing Chinese national security. Lastly, a contextual and historical situating of the independence problem and tracing of the Hong Kong independence threat discourses and images from obscurity to ubiquity was elucidated that situated radical democrat, localists and separatists in the mainstream of contemporary OCTS discourses.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS & FUTURE WORK

This study has situated the escalating China-Hong Kong conflict, growing hegemonic crisis, and China's securitization of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and "One Country, Two Systems" (OCTS) within Beijing's new, post-2013, National Security with Chinese Characteristics concept. It has done so through an integrated framework of enemy images, moral panic and political warfare, called here OCTS Securitization. This dissertation has sought to account for the cascading hegemonic crises under OCTS between January 2010 and June 2016 by explicating how – through the power politics of OCTS – Chinese and Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) authorities and the patriotic camp sought to construct state enemies from political competitors and remove contentious political issues like political reform and universal suffrage from the public agenda by unleashing demonizations, mortal threats and national security polemics. It sought to culturally, historically and contemporarily situate and politically explicate – *and illustrate* – how the recurrent regime color revolution and Hong Kong independence national security canards of recent years were hegemonically constructed as securitization media frames through mediated security discourses and threat narratives, and myriad securitization performances of dubious veracity. By claiming and constructing extraordinary crises, hegemonic forces have sought to legitimate and justify extraordinary powers for authoritarian reforms, annihilation of radical opposition, obliteration of strident transgressions of China's dignity, reversals of pre-Handover sovereignty concessions to Hongkongers in order to remake Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS under a more totalitarian national security imagining. In their own words, Hong Kong must be de-colonized, re-enlightened, re-Sinicized and the implementation and understanding of OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law rectified before Hong Kong can truly be considered as having returned to the motherland, or OCTS and the HKSAR Basic Law implemented correctly. Put simply, if OCTS was to survive it had to cease to exist as it had come to be known and experienced.

The main purpose in this research has been to make sense of the escalating Mainlander versus Hongkonger conflict over OCTS and the policy's increasingly precarious existence as its been known for the last three decades. As such, this thesis sought to systematically identify, analyze and understand the Hong Kong Threat and Hongkonger Enemy as hegemonically imagined through a coordinated, integrated and recursive chain of enemy images, moral panic discourses and political warfare narratives targeting radical democrats, localists and separatists since 2012. It was contended that OCTS was originally a Chinese security concept and confidence building mechanism intended to protect the Socialist System, Red China and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from external and internal and external conflicts. But post-2010, however, under an increasingly ultra-hardline OCTS Securitization process OCTS has transmogrified from a CBM to totalitarian security apparatus with

Hong Kong characteristics as hegemonic authorities attempted to stave off ever greater and more numerous perceived internal and challenges to China's national security – or, rather, to its political and ideological security – from dissident subaltern Hongkongers attempting to defend their societal security (identity and way of life.) In other words, a OCTS Security Dilemma positing China's national security against Hongkongers societal security. Resultantly, as was contended and illustrated in some measure in this dissertation, the China-Hong Kong relationship has devolved into an existential political war over competing national and societal security claims and imaginings of Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS which has now, post-2012, entered a new, dangerous phase as unprecedented, escalating crescendos of authoritarian angst and indignation have manifested in ever hardening coercive moves to securitize radical democrats, localists and separatists and remake Hong Kong and OCTS. In the course of investigating the "wicked problem" of OCTS and China-Hong Kong relations, not only was it demonstrated how hegemonic enemy images, moral panic discourses and political warfare narratives had contributed to the increasing polarization of Hong Kong society – a society that was taken as an already deeply divided and traumatized community that had never reconciled the chaos and turmoil of its post-1949 history – but how they had constituted a new mode of governmentally (OCTS Securitization). Through discursive analysis of hegemonic opinion journalism in the *China Daily and Global Times* and other security discourses and threat narratives since 2010, the pivotal role of mainland and HKSAR Basic Law commentators, experts, officials and scholars as pivotal securitization actors in this OCTS securitization drama emerged and was outlined in this dissertation; especially those of the Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies, certain National People's Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC) HKSAR Basic Law Committee (BLC) members, and various prominent mainland Basic Law research centers and academics who were situated at the nexus of China's media, legal and political warfare on dissident Hong Kong.

Discussion

In brief, the stated objectives of this study were to:

- To systematically identify, investigate, and understand hegemonic use of enemy images, moral panic discourses and political warfare narratives in opinion journalism and other threat discourses and narratives to securitize Hong Kong and OCTS as a new form of securitization conceptualized here as OCTS Securitization.

- To systematically identify, investigate, and understand the situating of dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS in China's new national security discourses and concept of National Security with Chinese Characteristics.

- To systematically identify, investigate, and understand key Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors and audiences operating in the OCTS Securitization framework.

In large measure, this study has substantively begun the task of addressing each of these objectives albeit further examination remains to be done. In fact, the study has thickly demonstrated that many fruitful areas remain to be examined in how Hong Kong (and China) are *mutually* constructed as enemies and the representational practices and power politics underlying the China-Hong Kong conflict and OCTS. It has sought to use the cases of radical democrats, localists and separatists (Hong Kong independence) to illustrate the hegemonic enemification, moral panic, and political warfare dimensions of the OCTS Securitization framework offered by, in part, examining the color revolution, peaceful evolution, and regime change securitization themes observed repeatedly in hegemonic discourses constructing and representing the Hongkonger Enemy and Hong Kong Threat. Though having a nexus in the Chinese Communist Party's Leninist worldview and the historical geopolitical situating of Hong Kong in the Cold War and East-West struggle, the study has illustrated that these enemy images of dissident Hong Kong and Hongkongers are not artefacts but very real and very salient phenomenon affecting Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS today – and increasingly so. Just as the content and meaning of OCTS has changed since the 1980s, so has the substance and implications of Chinese national security for OCTS metaphorized. No longer is OCTS a confidence building mechanism; it has become a social control and full-throated national security regime. Substantially more research is required on OCTS Securitization Actors and Audiences as the very complicated political situation of China-Hong Kong and OCTS power politics (inherently a wicked problem (Bateman, 2011) where any move to resolve a problem creates new equally or greater intractable problems) warrants significant enquiry given its factional nature and site of geopolitical and mainland politics.

Morality plays, security dramas and dramaturgical analysis

A dramaturgical analysis may be helpful in explicating such situations and was loosely drawn upon in this study as moral panic (Cohen, 2011) and securitization theorists (Salter, 2008) apply the approach to make sense of the complexity of different settings and actors. Dramaturgical analysis draws on Goffman's (1974) framing model and "uses the vocabulary of the theatre to understand social settings, roles and performances of identity." (Salter, 2008, p.328) As applied to securitization theory Salter (2008) writes: "dramaturgical theory argues that the setting of a securitizing move is determined by the actors and their roles, the rules of the discourse permissible within the space, and the expectations of the audience. When we push this theatrical metaphor, we can classify the different types of securitizing moves that all share similar conventions, narratives, characters, and tropes. The use of specialized language, procedural forms, and common conventions all suggest a common setting." (p.328) Salter (2008) suggests that this allows the classification of security moves according to the setting they take place in, namely "popular, elite, technocratic, and scientific settings." (p.328)

Arguably this framework can be expanded upon in a OCTS context given the competing ideologies, political cultures and systems involved though that work has been saved for the future. Regardless, the Salter's existing framework has explanatory power for organizing OCTS Securitization discourses along these lines and making sense of seeming contradictions among securitization actors and discourses; for example, the securitization talk of Basic Law scholars, experts and officials (mainland or Hongkonger) would fall within a technocratic setting; Ideological work on OCTS theory, from the Leninist perspective, would fall within the scientific securitization setting as the Chinese Communist Party considers OCTS a scientific theory; and the security moves by Tung Chee-hwa and the Voice of Loving Hong Kong speak to the patriotic elite and popular classes. Securitization agents like Lau Nai-keung may perform in the role of script writer, plot maker or town crier depending on the role assigned. These different roles and settings may also affect the rhetorical choices and performances employed. As it stands, much of the existing securitization discourses on OCTS, both hegemonic and subaltern, could be loosely categorized as occurring in a *One Country* or *Two Systems* settings which are suggestive of the different underlying interests to fortify each perspective. Chinese Communist Party political culture and language may be well suited this analytical approach though the impossibility of comprehensive access to the context, roles, and settings are inherent limitations.

Nonetheless, as this analytical approach is saved for future work, some clarifications regarding events discussed in this study may be in order.

Chinese authorities' compromise over 2010 political reform

The Chinese and HKSAR authorities OCTS Securitization processes, like the Communist Party's united front and Three Warfares strategies, include a combination of hard and soft tactics yet the core of the issue, the political struggle for power, remains the same. In the case of soft OCTS Securitization approaches, the political security implications may not be readily visible. For instance, a significant OCTS Securitization episode in 2010 was the hegemonic authorities' success in co-opting (and containing) the Democratic Party to support Beijing controversial political reform package that was essentially the same package rejected earlier in 2005, a significant real and symbolic defeat for the central authorities. Hence, the "success" of the 2010 political reform package was, in part, a securitization move that erased a damaging blemish on the image of the central and HKSAR authorities' implementation of OCTS. Though not delved into here, the image of OCTS (as well as the Chinese and HKSAR regimes) are important components of their power, governing brand, national myths and strategic narratives – both domestically and internationally. A tiny and defiant and oppositional Hong Kong ebulliently repudiating the supposedly indomitable Chinese Communist Party and the march of times, not to mention rejecting Beijing's form of universal suffrage – arguably a form of intra-party democracy with HKSAR characteristics – as un-democratic and inconsistent with "international standards" represented (and continues to represent) a much more ominous national

security-threatening contagion to be contained then democracy or a Westernized liberal political order per se. If little Hong Kong could stand up to the mighty Communist Party, why couldn't the much bigger and stronger mainland provinces do the same? Hence, the iconic OCTS mainland domino threat theory is less about democracy than a politically disobedient Hong Kong and transgressive Hongkongers defying an imperial communist center. Inevitably, this raises (national security) questions regarding China's *de facto* sovereignty over the enclave as they appear to not have absolute control over the situation.

Yet, there are many layers at which the Chinese authorities' so-called political reform "compromise" and "success" can be considered from a security perspective, especially when considering the Leninist system's core values of democratic centralism, one party domination, vanguard leadership, and brooking no confrontation or defiance. At a minimum, this episode could be understood through the OCTS Securitization process as follows. First, though celebrated by the Chinese and HKSAR governments and the pro-establishment camp and framed by many observers as a (rare) compromise by the central government, many others equally saw it as a typical united front divide-and-conquer stratagem. Indeed, whether intentional or not, the Democratic Party's defection to Beijing's camp did ultimately provoke the fragmentation *and* radicalization of the pro-democracy forces. The former was an obvious standing end of the regime's united front strategy to weaken the democracy camp but it failed to contain and neutralize the radicals; Instead, it seems to have had the opposite effect and strengthened political elements more willing to boldly confront the central authorities. Radical political parties' victories in the 2012 Legislative Council elections came at the determent of the Democratic Party (despite fragmentation within the radical camp.) In this case, it might be argued Beijing miscalculated who its true friends and enemies were. One might even consider this – the rise of the radical faction – as foreshadowing the emergence of the third political power in OCTS politics following the 2015 and 2016 district council and legislative elections, i.e., Hong Kong's localist/independence camp.

Second, the Democratic Party's defection was a huge moral and propaganda victory and tool for China to attack the enemy radicals and compel moderates to defect and attack the radicals; For instance, the *China Daily* regularly quoted moderate pan-democrats attacking the Civic Party and the League of Social Democrats for vitriolic attacks on Democratic Party. Yet, ironically, images from the meeting circulated by the Liaison Office and the *China Daily* depicting the Democratic Party sitting at the table with the Liaison Office leadership have become iconic visual securitizing and political warfare tools for radicals to attack the Democratic Party. Six years later, those same images are circulated through new and social media to frame the Democratic Party as betrayers of the Hong Kong people and part of the Chinese Communist Party's patriot bloc. Moreover, the meeting with the Democratic Party and the passage of the reforms had allowed the China to erase the failure of its 2005 reforms and to claim that a new era of historic cooperation had arrived – thereby pressuring moderate

pan-democratic fence sitters to join the "wining camp." It also allowed Beijing to frame itself as having assumed the driving role in moving Hong Kong's democratic development forward towards the historic implementation of universal suffrage in the HKSAR.

Third, winning the Democratic Party over to Beijing's side would have the consequence of nullifying what had heretofore been the vanguard of the anticommunist pro-democracy political parties; after their act of acquiesce and putative servitude in sitting down with, and defecting to the communist's side, explicitly and implicitly the Democratic Party would become similar to one of the united front's eight democratic parties on the Mainland aiding the Party in maintaining its democratic dictatorship. Furthermore, by compelling the Democratic Party to renege on earlier campaign promises to fight for democracy in 2012 and to eliminate functional constituencies, they undercut the moral legitimacy and leadership of the Democratic Party within the pro-democracy groups. The apparent political payoffs in allowing the Democratic Party's then chairman, Albert Ho, to participate in the 2012 chief executive in what many viewed simply a token move, and the subsequent political rehabilitation of the "radical" Emily Lau by the Chinese and Hong Kong SAR authorities further diminished the party's credibility among many voters as the flagship of the pro-democracy movement – especially among the new generation of voters.

Fourth, it was said that Beijing had been alarmed that if the reforms failed (again) radical democrats in the legislature would gain greater momentum and moderates would be further sidelined. Following the radicals 2008 Legislative Council wins and what many establishment observers called the "Taiwanization" of Hong Kong's legislature and political culture, the Chinese authorities were reportedly more anxious over the SAR's political trajectory. Allegedly, Beijing perceived they faced a situation of either compromise with the (now) moderate Democratic Party and use them as a counterbalance to the (real) anticommunist Jacobins, or risk strengthening their mortal enemy, the radicals.

Fifth, the reforms would have the benefit of weakening the pan-democrats' veto power to thwart the executive-led political system designed by the Chinese authorities. Furthermore, the pro-democracy camp limited financial and political resources and talent would be at a significant disadvantage in competing with the deep pockets and substantial means of the Liaison Office and mainland supporters of the pro-establishment camp. It was likely expected, following experience, that competition within the pro-democracy camp over who to field as candidates would once again prove divisive and promote disarray in their election strategies thereby not only sabotaging the democrats' electoral chance but also providing opportunities for the pro-establishment camp to win more seats and nullify or weaken the democrats' veto bloc in the parliament.

Sixth, the Chinese and HKSAR governments were still struggling with the aftermath of their failure to prevent the earlier Five Constituencies Referendum by the Civic Party and League of Social

Democrats. This primarily constituted of attempting to amend the Legislative Council Ordinance to prevent lawmakers from resigning to initiate a by-election and then to run for reelection. Lastly, whether the Chinese Communists compromised depends on if one believes Beijing really intends to allow free and fair elections that risk their political monopoly and political security be it in the legislature of the executive branch. The remarks of Chinese and HKSAR securitization actors that Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong and universal suffrage really means a new form of one-party rule in the SAR effected through the rule of patriots (Jiang, 2010) and that Hong Kong would be better off without universal suffrage if it meant that anyone, including the radical democrats, localists or separatists, could win, suggest otherwise. (N.-k. Lau, 2015a) Any compromise, if it indeed were, was a tactical and temporary maneuver in the existential political struggle (i.e., war) between the Chinese communists and Westernized anticommunist Hongkongers.

The Mong Kok Riot

It is uncontestable that the Mong Kok Riot, or Fishball Revolution as it is called by some, made many Hongkongers uncomfortable. Yet, much surrounding the incident – including, and especially, the HKSAR government, Liaison Office and/or patriot camp's role, participation and response to the confrontation – remains contested or unknown. However, the quick security moves by the hegemonic forces to condemn the "rioters," deify the "police," attack "defenders" of the riot and rioters, and to reject any HKSAR government investigation of the causes of the incident contributed to subaltern perceptions of a cover-up, or worse, i.e., that the police had provoked the riot or intentionally allowed it to escalate. Similarly, the Hong Kong Police Force's quick moves to silence a junior police officer association's criticisms of a problematic government response and the association's swift public recantation added to suspicions of a HKSAR cover-up. The initial days-long silence of the Chinese authorities and their dominant securitization actors in the *China Daily* and *Global Times* following the riot produced a public void that was initially filled by local securitization actors seeking to anticipate the Center's line. For instance, the Mong Kok event was the debut of the once mainstream *South China Morning Post* as a dominant hegemonic securitization agent who took unprecedented moves to ensure China's accounting of the riot was available for free to Hongkongers *and* international readers as discussed in *Chapter Five*.

Without a doubt the regime's actions and reactions to the riot had legitimate domestic security, law and order, facets to them. At the same time, however, the situating and elevation of the Mong Kok Riot protagonists into national security salient enemification, moral panic, political warfare and securitization discourses, narratives and themes, and the related linkages to other elements of dissident Hong Kong and Hongkongers' resistance to rule by Beijing, discursively shifted the event from normal criminal, political, or social control problems into an unequivocal case of securitization. The effusive calls for the urgent passage and/or implementation of Hong Kong anti-secession, national

security legislation, terrorism and surveillance laws, and demands for investigations into foreign direction, involvement, or support for the riot/rioters were some of the most vivid examples that emerged in the days and weeks following the riot drama. The subsequent exploitation of the riot by the ruling forces to marginalize the pro-democracy movement in general, and the radical democrats, localists and separatists specifically, under the auspice of security was also notable; as were the number of arrested suspects released for lack of police evidence and the dubiously low levels of police apprehensions considering the high numbers of rioters claimed by the police. Nonetheless, images and videos of the episode have been prominently co-opted to aid various securitization endeavors by pro-establishment social movements, legislative elections and united front national identity building drives including the *Proud to Be Chinese* nation building exercise targeting the *Hongkonger, Not Chinese* constructed ethnicity at the heart of the Hong Kong Nation building agenda and the recent Oath Gate affair.

Moreover, Chinese security entities like the Ministry of Public Security and the People's Liberation Army have similarly pictorially incorporated the Mong Kok event into Chinese national-level visual securitizations texts against color revolution, peaceful evolution and Western-style democracy and universal values threats. Unlike the Occupy Central/Umbrella Revolution where few compelling images of the occupiers being violent (as opposed to defending against regime violence, being in ambiguous shoving matches over barricades, holding umbrellas in the face of rivers of pepper spray and baton charges, or just occupying streets) were produced, imagery from the Mong Kok Riot has been extensively propagandized as positive and negative examples of Propaganda of the Deed. (Bolt, 2012) For example, iconic images from Mong Kok such as a masked and hooded rioter walking forward ominously while holding a brick in either hand, backlit by a raging bonfire have served simultaneously as signifiers of debasement, defiance, empowerment, rebellion, resistance, and warning consistent with the political orientation of the invoker. Likewise, an iconic image of a fallen police officer has been hegemonically appropriated to depict the inhumanity and savagery of the rioters, as well as by radical dissidents as evidence that subaltern Hongkongers *can* successfully fight back and hurt the regime and its minions. "*They can be hurt*", referring to the downed officer, claims the caption on one Internet mashup in circulation. Another viral visual invoking the two-handed brick carrying rioter proclaims: "*We are fighter*"

Concomitantly, the very considerable and visible efforts by the Hong Kong SAR regime and pro-establishment supporters to define, shape and guide public opinion regarding the event is an important factor in evaluating this affair even when considering the onerous problems of concealed and missing information and intense politicization that exist. Heavy-handed HKSAR pro-police propaganda seeking to capitalize on the confrontations to repair the seriously damaged public image of the police following Occupy Central/Umbrella Revolution movements was pervasive early-on. This included disputing incidents like the "Dark Corner Cops" and Franklin Chu cases; the multi-year-long clashes

with localists (especially in the New Territories); and, broader public concern over perceived aggressive political policing of dissent in Hong Kong since 2010.

Much of this was perceived as post-facto stability maintenance efforts to legitimate aggressive Law and Order and Rule of Law campaigns with obvious securitization implications for the legitimacy of the HKSAR regime and implementation of OCTS. Use of dubiously viewed pro-establishment, united front-connected, civil society activists and groups like Leticia Lee See-yin and the Justice Alliance, Patrick Ko Tat-bun and the Voice of Loving Hong Kong, and others – some of whom deploy their own political violence against the dissidents – to condemn the rioters provoked substantial online ridicule of the government among many subalterns, and further undermined sympathy for the police among subalterns even if not agreeing with the rioters' actions. Indeed, a major complaint of the hegemonic forces was that the moderate Hongkongers and dissident subalterns had rationalized radical violence as revenge against an oppressive police state – a clear distortion and exaggeration (i.e., Hong Kong as a police state), but one that is increasingly less so and contingent on the political underclasses being targeted by the ruling Chinese and HKSAR forces under the national security banner.

Indeed, many of these security moves surrounding the Mong Kok response sought to dispute and reject earlier subaltern allegations of: excessive force and indiscriminate pepper spraying; suppression of Basic Law-protected dissent surrounding visits of senior mainland officials to Hong Kong; fortifications against dissent at the HKSAR government complex and other public spaces; introduction of new and unreasonable restrictions on demonstrations and political fundraising during processions; and, the general militarization of pro-democracy protest policing. This militarization was initially frequently manifested in the repeated mobilization of thousands of police officers during pro-democracy marches despite Hong Kong's reputation for civil, peaceful, polite protests – a security strategy not employed when pro-establishment demonstrations, processions or rallies were held even when consisting of more than 100,000 participants such as the August 2014 anti-Occupy Central with Love and Peace procession spectacle. Later it was seen in the ubiquitous use of riot gear and high-profile requests for (and threats of use of) water cannons and other specialized armored riot vehicles. To many, these law enforcement political warfare campaigns appeared specifically designed to reverse the post-Occupy/Umbrella images of the *police as abuser* and *demonstrators as victims* and henceforth portray the *police as the real victims* deserving of Hongkongers sympathy and the *radical democrats, localists, and separatists the real villains* in the HKSAR story.[152]

[152] This "image" problem has its own national security implications for China, the HKSAR and OCTS brands such as political legitimacy, social control, and soft power. National People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Zhang Dejiang had previously lauded and identified the Hong Kong Police Force as instrumental in safeguarding "national security and social order" in the SAR by contributing to the successful administration of OCTS by Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying despite his low popularity and the large number of anti-CY protests. (Asia Sentinel, 2013)

Relatedly, the cultural and generational gaps between the ruling minority class of Beijing handpicked officials and the patriot class, ordinary Hongkongers, the moderate democrats, and the radical subalterns, localists and separatists appear to be significant. Within this milieu there seemed to be a continuum of views on protests and the necessity and permissibility of political violence. Crudely, this might be viewed as follows: First, there were older generations of patriotic Hongkongers who generally saw all protests as bad, especially those against the government or China. Hong Kong, they felt, should focus on making money and shut up instead of becoming a political city. Next, post-Sino-British Negotiations generations of pro-democracy Hongkongers saw civil protests as good, a civic responsibility, non-violent and polite. Third, a new post-SAR-era of so-called postmodern protesters saw confrontational, mildly disruptive and oppositional protests as a sometimes-necessary evil to struggle against political injustice and social oppression, albeit preferably non-violent. For many of them, contentious performances had also become part of their identities, collective history, and embedded within the notion of a *Hong Kong Nation* and *Hong Kong People*: Hongkongers protest in other words. Protests were part of their societal security articulations. Some of these were those who, post-2010, also debated whether violence was necessary or really violence if it was used in self-defense against the police, or if only targeted property. Then there were the so-called radical protesters who embraced confrontational, disruptive, performative and transgressive models of postmodern protests with vigor albeit still generally non-violent. Lastly, were those who saw civil, non-violent protests and occupations as meaningless, useless political stunts that would not move a repressive authoritarian regime like the People's Republic or, even the HKSAR government to liberalize, and therefore they considered militant, violent contentious politics and struggle within the realm of inevitable given the history of the Chinese Communist Party. Yet, just because they believed violence was unavoidable, or necessary (either now or at some point in the future), that did not necessarily mean they themselves would participate in it. Similarly, just because they held or expressed or shared violent views did not mean that they planned to follow through with violent actions. Though having taken a more confrontational and mildly militant turn, Mong Kok was by and large an aberration in the HKSAR's nearly two decades of civil, peaceful, non-violent protest culture. This has largely remained the case contra the enormous amount of hegemonic enemification, moral panic and political warfare concerning radical democrats, localists and separatists' putative turn towards violence that has become ubiquitous since 2010. However, if the regime continues to raise the coercive costs of resistance to Beijing's rule, the costs of suppression are also likely to rise in parallel as resistance grows and becomes insurgency. This is also part of the OCTS Securitization dilemma the Chinese authorities face: not only is it a case of the more they demand One Country submission the more they provoke Two Systems resistance from Hongkongers, but the more violent Beijing and Tamar's coercion of dissent becomes – legally, physically, or rhetorically – the more violent the resistance of some Hongkongers will become.

That said, the comparing by many of months of armed, territory-wide colonial regime threatening insurrection by Maoist inspired leftist militants in the 1967 Riots complete with *assassinations* and *more than 8,000 bombings that killed scores of Hongkongers* and literally disrupted the entire colony's quotidian experience and led to massive changes in administration of the colony with the highly confined, limited targeted violence and destruction of the Mong Kok event is a gross case of false equivalency, exaggeration and distortion: a moral panic in other words. Regardless of the nature of the Mong Kok Riot, empirically and symbolically it was demonstrably incomparable with the events of 1967 and the violence of the communists. The Mong Kok incident was limited to a small section of a single district. It took place over one night, lasting just 8 to 12 hours. There were no deaths. There were no bombings or shootings. Arrests numbered less than 200. Property damage was minimal and largely constricted to urban infrastructure such as a few sections of dug-up sidewalks (for bricks), trashcans, police barricades, loose construction materials, etc. No buildings were set on fire and bonfires were situated at intersections and on roadways. There was no foreign affairs or international relations dimension of the violence such as the burning of the British diplomatic facilities on the mainland during the 1967 Riots. Nonetheless, the Chinese and local regimes attempted to use Mong Kok as a political weapon to delegitimize the radical democrats, localists and separatists in general as well as ahead of the Legislative Council election.

In examining the incident, it appears to have evolved from a small protest to a larger street confrontation and then to a riot following the threatened use of lethal force by a police officer. While rioters' use of bricks and other materials could have also been life-threatening they in no way were commensurate with the use of firearms by the security forces. Arguably, judging from the crowd's reaction (as examined through various videos of the event) and after the fact discussions by the author with on-the-scene observers and journalists, the police officer's action in drawing his weapon, pointing it at rioters (and others next to and behind them), and then firing it in the air, had crossed the demonstrators and rioters' bottom line. This provoked their moral indignation and fury much how excessive police violence on September 28th in Admiralty had initiated the Umbrella Revolution, and alleged police condoning and collusion with reputed triads and Blue Ribbon vigilantes contributed to the perpetuation of the occupations. This was the essence of political disobedience (Harcourt, 2012) – the refusal to be governed/ruled in a certain way – that demarcates the radicals' form of resistance towards the hegemonic forces from that of the moderates (civil disobedience.) Indeed, if there was one significant take away from the Mong Kok incident and Umbrella Revolution, it should be that in the former the most radical subalterns had learned that they *could* fight back against an oppressive regime willing to use political violence against peaceful dissidents whereas in the latter case, the subalterns had only learned how to face their fear and stand up to the regime in the brunt of its violence. In this context, physically coercive suppressions of Mong Kok and the Umbrella Revolution by the HKSAR government, triads and patriotic forces had been counterproductive developments

causing greater insecurity for the regime as lost its monopoly on violence, and the power to intimidate the most militant of subalterns.

Though not discussed in this study due to the necessary splitting of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic panics, the online radical consumption, diffusion and nature of the so-called riot porn being shared has arguably made a discursive shift from the pre-Umbrella period. (Garrett, 2014b) Rather than simply resistant, oppositional and self-defense oriented it has become more militantly tinged. These subaltern securitization practices are clearly not representative of the near totality of the Hong Kong resistance movement, but they are salient insights into what might develop in the future if the Chinese and HKSAR authorities do not alter their current coercive course. Moreover, in general given the security logics of domestic and national security professionals, these texts and discursive shift would likely be perceived as highly threatening as opposed to simply prurient. Under the new National Security with Chinese Characteristics and OCTS Securitization processes described herein, they potentially could be considered indicative of extremist or terroristic inclinations if Hong Kong authorities decide to, or are compelled to, adopt a more absolutist, intolerant and totalitarian national security posture such as exhibited in China's new counter-terrorism and national security laws.

Furthermore, the strong electoral support of hundreds-of-thousands for localist and Hong Kong independence candidates and political parties in the wake of the Mong Kok suppression; the emergence of a third political camp in Hong Kong politics under the banner of localism and Hong Kong independence; and, the near riot outside the Central Government's Liaison Office in Western in November 2016 ahead of a National People's Congress Standing Committee intervention to support the removal of localist lawmakers have demonstrated that *these* Hongkongers have not been easily intimidated and are increasingly willing to stand and fight for their Hong Kong homeland and what they believe they were promised under OCTS. While the Chinese and HKSAR regimes have been successful post-Occupy/Umbrella in breaking the back of Hong Kong's once vibrant protest culture, they have not been able to cow the most passionate of Hong Kong defenders.

Visual securitization and warfare - Hong Kong democracy as a bad thing

Connecting the Hong Kong SAR and OCTS Securitization cases to scholarship outside of Hong Kong studies, several strong connections can be made to broader academic fields such as: civilizational conflict; democracy studies (as a negative case); discourse studies (the development of a Socialist Chinese discourse to compete with dominate Western discourses); international relations and foreign policy; political science – especially the study of competitive authoritarian political systems and the authoritarian resurgence and democratic retreat; governance and modernity studies such as the SAR System and OCTS's role in the Chinese Communist Party's development of a new forms of governance and modernity; nationalism studies; security and military studies such as the study of information warfare and new forms of ideational, discursive and visual strategic non-military conflict

transpiring over new and social media; social movement studies; soft power studies including its contested nature and the hard and soft uses of soft power; Sino-U.S. relations; and the return of East-West conflict are ready examples.

With regards to the use of visual securitization and warfare that appear to be becoming important Chinese securitization moves to safeguard its population against Western-style democracy and universal values and influence, the revolution may, or may not, be televised, but communist China's political war on, and visual securitization of, The West through color revolutions, democracy, peaceful evolution themes will be seen; Meaning that it has, and will continue to, increasingly take a visual and new media form of political struggle. Concomitantly, Hong Kong and the Occupy and Umbrella movements and rise of localism have been used as a negative exemplar to secure China and Chinese from the Hongkonger contagion. Conversely, China's "success" in "defeating" the Umbrella Revolution "color revolution" has become part of its national myth and evidence of a strong nation secured by the vanguard leadership of the Chinese communists in protecting the people from the predations of the United States and The West.

In recent years, China has begun using short propaganda videos to securitize many referent objects and to speak regarding existential security threats to the nation and national rejuvenation. Whether it has been official or quasi-official online videos about China's sovereignty claims over the South China Sea; foreign intelligence threats to female Chinese civil servants from Western boyfriends; the alleged external and foreign powers messing up the HKSAR in the name of the Umbrella Revolution and genuine universal suffrage; the "Kill! Kill! Kill!" of the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) recruitment videos and simulated attacks on Taiwan's Presidential Palace and U.S. military forces; the televised forced confessions of Hong Kong booksellers, Chinese human rights activists and lawyers putatively manipulated by the West (Cao, 2016); or, the "dirty claws" and "dark shadows" of the United States of America's "color revolution" democracy promotion and human rights "plots" to contain and derail China's rise, dismember the socialist state, overthrow the Chinese Communist Party, and snatch the Chinese Dream from the masses, the growing role of social media visual warfare in Beijing's political war campaigns against Western influence, democracy and universal values has become evident. Indeed, since at least 2013, militarized still and moving images are ever more prominent dimensions and seemingly preferred information weapons for CCP public opinion and psychological warfare operations targeting Hong Kong, the U.S. and, more broadly, The West and notions of Western-style democracy and universal values. In short, China's Three Warfares strategy – media/public opinion war, legal warfare, and psychological warfare – appear to be actively taking a more visual and popular form and making greater use of new and social media platforms and creativity for offensive (attacking democracy) and defensive missions (extolling the virtues of the Chinese model and CCP leadership.)

At the same time, China's visual political warfare skirmishes have not been limited to the virtual world of new media but have also extend to Hollywood's cinematic sphere. Commentaries in the *PLA Daily*, for example, have criticized American blockbuster movies like *Pacific Rim* (Xinhua, 2013b): "The decisive battle against the monsters was deliberately set in South China Sea adjacent to Hong Kong. The intention was to demonstrate the U.S. commitment to maintaining stability in the Asia-Pacific area and saving the mankind." – and, *Zootopia* – "Many Hollywood blockbusters will carefully select a topic or theme, and spare no efforts to promote America's values and its global strategy." (Global Times, 2016b) And though not a Hollywood production, Hong Kong's award winning independent film *Ten Years* depicting a dystopian Hong Kong a decade in the future following the *de facto* rectification of "One Country, Two Systems" into "One Country, One System" was labeled a "thought virus" by the *Global Times* (Baldwin, 2016) – an explicit invocation of so-called American color revolution 'technologies' which purportedly transform unsuspecting foreign publics into zombie-like anti-government swarms.

Earlier in 2016, Chinese authorities deemed *Ten Years* so injurious to OCTS's image they banned it, *and* even the 35th Hong Kong Film Awards show recognizing it as best picture. (Bloomberg & Lee, 2016) Reportedly, *Ten Years* and other films sympathetic to the Occupy Central with Love and Peace/Umbrella Revolution movements have been blacklisted or shunned by mainstream HKSAR theater chains fearful of offending mainland authorities. (E. Cheung, 2016b; Sala, 2016) After *Ten Years*' selection as best picture, pro-China directors in the Film Awards Association – some with significant business interests on the mainland – maneuvered to change the rules to exclude similarly politically sensitive movies from winning in the future. Equally aggressive, were the actions of a pro-China group in Hong Kong, the Justice Alliance who, aided by other united front groups, moved to make its own movie, *Blood Umbrella*, to counter *Ten Years*' pessimistic visual narrative of life in Hong Kong as a communist Chinese city. They also wanted to show Hongkongers what the SAR would have been like had the Umbrella Revolution – Hong Kong's version of a color revolution (China Daily, 2014e) – succeeded; This was to dissuade the SAR's residents from voting for pro-democracy candidates – especially localists and so-called Umbrella Soldiers – in the September 2016 legislative elections. (K. Cheung, 2016)

Notably, these and other "Love China, Love Hong Kong" groups have routinely used visual weapons to dehumanize and demonize pro-democracy, localist (pro-Hong Kong identity) and independence forces through regular street and online exhibitions of photographs and videos negatively depicting Hong Kong's dissidents. These weaponized visual forays sought to convince Hongkongers that the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre never happened and that the Chinese army were the real victims; that the OCLP and Umbrella Revolution movements were chaotic, violent, foreign-funded color revolution attempts; and, that Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement was controlled by the "black hands" of the United States and United Kingdom. Aside from being displayed at pro-China and anti-

democracy counter-protests, many of these images and videos are disseminated online among networks of pro-China Facebook groups used extensively to mobilize mass line actions against Hong Kong's democrats, localists and separatists. Saliently, two years before the current crop of anti-American, anti-Western color revolution-themed videos emerged this summer (2016) from government and party-connected official Chinese accounts and referencing the Hong Kong and Taiwan independence movements, or the 2011 failed Jasmine Revolution calls in China, such as the *Dark Shadow of the Stars and Stripes*, *Color Revolution*, and, *The Farce Outside the Tianjin Second Intermediate Court* were published, the Chinese and HKSAR regimes had already been honing anti-American and anti-Hongkonger public opinion warfare textual and visual color revolution narratives against Hong Kong's OCLP and Umbrella movements and Westernized pro-democracy supporters.

For instance, in the 18 months following the January 2013 announcement of OCLP and the clearance of the last Umbrella occupation site in December 2014, no fewer than 49 editorials, commentaries or news reports invoking the *American/*Western-led color revolution frames were published in the English-language *China Daily* and *Global Times* – the majority penned after the beginning of the Umbrella Revolution on 28 September following the HKSAR government's tear gassing and beating of non-violent pro-democracy protesters. Visually, many pro-China image warfare texts in the forms of Facebook, YouTube and other social media-shared videos and visuals emerged in 2014. These psychological and public opinion warfare texts included sensational videos such as: *Psychological Wars in the Streets of Hong Kong* (parts one and two); *Occupy Central: USA's 12 Steps to Bring China into WW3*; *The Umbrella Movement: Hong Kong's Version of Color Revolution*; and, *They Can Kill this City!* Hong Kong's *The Standard*, a free English-language sister publication of the pro-China *Sing Tao Daily*, reported on both the *Psychological Wars* and *12 Steps* in an article titled *12 Steps to a Color Revolution* (The Standard, 2014) stating the videos had received over 600,000 and 800,000 views respectively. Though space does not permit a lengthier discussion it is worth noting briefly that significant thematic and visual similarities and image re-use (conceptual and/or literal) between political warfare visuals (still and moving) observed in the Hong Kong case between 2014 and 2016 and visual narratives and visuality of the *Dark Shadow of the Stars and Stripes*, *Color Revolution* and other mainland textual and visual political warfare texts regarding color revolutions exist.

As such, it would be a mistake to consider the CCP's color revolution OCTS Securitization frame in the Hong Kong, OCTS or China cases as banal anti-Americanism or Western xenophobia, or a neo-Maoist throwback to the first Cold War. The color revolution threat package mirrors Beijing's existential threat perceptions expressed in the *Three Trends* and *Three Major Dangers* concept and articulated in the State Council Information Office's 2015 white paper on China's military strategy. (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2015) Moreover, the color revolution threat narrative, in fact, is consistent with China's new National Security with Chinese Characteristics concept which vastly broadens the threat horizon of existential threats beyond traditional military

security and places a higher emphasis on Socialist China's political, ideological and cultural security. In short, these visual securitization texts seek to reorient Chinese and Hongkongers against democracy and liberal values; They are forms of anti-color revolution technologies to use hegemonic parlance.

In this context, issues of national identity and patriotism become securitized and weaponized as sites of political struggle. The increased emphasis on new and social media is understandable too. In September 2013, the president of *Xinhua*, Li Congjun, writing in the *People's Daily*, claimed: "Some hostile Western forces and media do not want to see a prospering socialist China and target the spear of Westernization, separation and 'color revolution' at China." (Reuters, 2013) Western media, he argued, "massively play up the 'China threat' and the 'China collapse theory', creating rumors to attack and vilify our country and party which harms our interests and national image.'" (*ibid.*) Li exhorted that China had to "take the initiative in leading public opinion in new media" warning that, "If we cannot effectively rule new media, the ground will be taken by others, which will pose challenges to our dominant role in leading public opinion." (*ibid.*) This would prevent China from spreading and telling its stories well as directed by President Xi Jinping. (Xinhua, 2014)

Limitations: English-language Chinese and Hong Kong texts & Mainland Scholars

At one level, the emphasis on exploitation of English-language Chinese sources was a limitation on the study in the sense that in some potentially lucrative security discourses by key OCTS Securitization actors, such as articles in the Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macau Studies' *Hong Kong and Macao Journal* were not available to exploited for this study. Similarly, the use of mainland academics, especially Basic Law and OCTS scholars in (re)conceptualizing and operationalizing the theoretical dimensions of OCTS – such as the defense clause; the Hong Kong People Ruling Hong Kong, High Degree of Autonomy and the Patriot principle; the actual situation and universal suffrage – have become a dominant hegemonic approach in securitizing dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS. More to the point, they have crowded out and marginalized Hongkonger legal interpretations, narratives and understandings of the Basic Law and OCTS. By changing understandings of the Basic Law, the OCTS policy can be changed without adjusting the literal letter of the law. Arguably, the recent emphasis on mainland trumping Hong Kong's common law tradition is an outcome of this phenomena.

This is also an invocation of the hidden powers of the central government embedded in the Basic Law and OCTS policy per leading mainland academics such as Wang Zhenmin. Though mainland academics' OCTS Securitization-relevant scholarship is published in English, substantially more is produced in Chinese.[153] In fact, as raised earlier there has been a concerted effort by the Chinese

[153] The *Academic Journal of 'One Country, Two Systems'* is published in English and Chinese by the One Country Two Systems Research Center, Macao Polytechnic Institute.

government to have mainland academics develop and flesh out the OCTS theory with an emphasis on safeguarding the Chinese Communist Party's power and interest in Hong Kong in legitimating more authoritarian imaginings of the Basic Law and OCTS. Most of this research is in Chinese, not English. Today, these mainland academics are no longer simple "guardians" of the Basic Law, they are the Chinese communist shock troops assailing dissident and liberal versions of OCTS. In other words, lawfare. Legal warfare which is then legitimized on the opinion pages of the *China Daily*, *Global Times* and other pro-establishment media.

To address this limitation the following approaches were utilized. Regarding the hegemonic moral panics investigated, Chinese sources were used in this study albeit emphasis was primarily on mainland and Hong Kong SAR English-language opinion discourses and materials. That said, selective use of translated Chinese commentaries or editorials have also been drawn upon for illustrative or informative purposes. The ancillary sources and translations originated variously. For example, several of the China and/or Hong Kong-based English-language media entities examined such as the *China Daily*¸ *Global Times*, *People's Daily Online*, and *Xinhua* have English-editions and routinely provide translations of selected hegemonic commentaries and editorials from other state media or pro-Beijing papers. Other state-media sources used on a much less prominent basis, like CCTV broadcasts and transcripts, follow similar practices. China-studies focused websites such as the University of Hong Kong's *China Media Project* and others provide English summaries and/or translations of mainland traditional, new and social media texts. Alternative media and subaltern-wise, since at least mid-2014, a variety of non-traditional and dissident subaltern and new media entities, and social movement activists and citizen journalists, have translated into English and disseminated online various hegemonic and counter-hegemonic Chinese-language texts and mashup materials such as those examined within this dissertation. In addition, it is not now uncommon that popular resistance texts simultaneously disseminated in English and Chinese. Indeed, a notable number of counter-hegemonic samizdat contains both Chinese and English since the emergence of Occupy Central and the Umbrella Revolution.

For the purposes of documentary analysis, the Chinese and HKSAR governments have both published large amounts of relevant press releases, speeches and other important documents in English. The Information Office of the State Council (SCIO), for example, published its first ever white paper on the Hong Kong problem, *The Practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2014), in English as well as several other languages. The HKSAR Government has published relevant public consultation documents, a large variety or related reports, and daily press releases in English daily. Chinese government and influential mainland think tanks with a nexus to the national security and top decision making apparatuses of Chinese Communist Party and People's Republic of China government – such as the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), the

China institute of International Studies (CIIS), and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) – also publish salient articles, commentaries and academic scholarship on China-Hong Kong relations, the OCTS ideology, and Hong Kong situational analyses in English albeit more occasionally. In addition, several state-centric think tanks with dedicated Hong Kong SAR research and policy support programs providing policy or analytic support to the Chinese and HKSAR regimes release some information in English. Notably, this included statements and studies regarding putative Hong Kong sociopolitical problems under OCTS rooted in Hongkonger national security, patriotism and identity threats to China posed by a lack of national education of Hongkongers and demands for "genuine universal suffrage."

And though Hong Kong-China relations and OCTS remain a sensitive topic for mainland academics and think tanks – especially in the context of current troubles between the mainland and Hong Kong – a variety of Chinese think tanks and academic institutes publish English-language studies on the HKSAR, the Basic Law, and OCTS. This includes entities such as the "One Country, Two Systems" Research center at the Macao Polytechnic Institute, and Shenzhen University's Research Center of Hong Kong and Macao Basic Law that were identified earlier in *Chapter Two* as securitization actors. Some HKSAR-based think tanks, like the One Country, Two Systems Research Institute affiliated with Hong Kong Chief Executive CY Leung and the SAR governmental think tank, the Central Policy Unit (CPU) headed by Shi Sin-por who was also a former executive director of Research Institute, maintain cooperation and/or contact with mainland national security agencies, officials and think tanks regarding the analyses and assessments of the 'actual situation' in the territory. In addition, though the availability of the Hong Kong government and government think tank English-language translations of HKSAR and/or central authorities reports, statements, and studies on China-Hong Kong relations and OCTS publications have diminished in recent years (despite English remaining an official language of the Region), important official HKSAR government materials and LegCo documents and transcripts of legislative proceedings, debates, and motions do remain accessible.

Examples of relevant past publications include those such as the: CICIR's 2012 report for the CPU on *Hong Kong's Role in Supporting Chinese Enterprises going Global* (China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, 2012); 2011 CPU Commission on *Strategic Development (CSD) paper, Hong Kong's Relationship with the Central Authorities/the Mainland*; various 2011 youth (post-80s and post-90s) studies commissioned by the CPU following the Siege of the LegCo and other youth and radical protests; the Task Group on National Education (2008) report on the *Promotion of National Education in Hong Kong – Current Situation, Challenges and Way Forward*; the 2006 CSD paper, *Roles and Responsibilities of Hong Kong in Our Country's Economic, Social and Political Development*; and, the various 2004-2005 Constitutional Development Task Force Reports like *The Second Report of Constitutional Development Task Force: Issues of Principle in the Basic Law Relating to Constitutional Development*. *(Constitutional Development Task Force, 2004*)

OCTS Securitization and Broader Chinese Visions

As such, the English-language materials utilized in this dissertation remain representative of authentic Chinese and Hongkonger discourses, sources, and voices involved in moral panic and enemy/folk devil image processes even if they are in the English language instead of written Chinese. Indeed, the strategic contest between hegemonic and subaltern forces to deny, degrade, discourage, or encourage foreign intervention in China-Hong Kong relations continues to largely be waged by the Chinese Communist Party and others in local, international, and national English-language based opinion discourses. Moreover, as part of the larger civilizational and political discursive struggle by the Chinese Communist Party against Western dominance of legal, social science and scientific of information bases, it has pushed – from a State Council-level – for increased Chinese intellectual property (patents) and scientific scholarship[154] to constitute a broader Sino-centric intellectual footprint representing Chinese knowledge to balance and compete with Western values. Creation of regime-friendly academic scholarship invariably not just supports regime's narratives, assertions and assumptions regarding Hong Kong and OCTS but provides the basis to counter what is arguably an overwhelmingly pro-democracy, pro-Hong Kong literature base reaching back decades.

Though not the specific focus of this study, there are nexuses between China's national security, patriotism and identity moral panics over Hong Kong and these larger civilizational conflicts waged through English-language discourses. For example, Jiang Shigong, Peking University's Centre for Hong Kong and Macau Studies director and a former Liaison Office researcher in Hong Kong uses the OCTS ideology to support a notion of constitutionalism with Chinese characteristics positing the Chinese Communist Party as above the People's Republic of China state constitution and the rule of law. (Jiang, 2010) Similarly, Basic Law and other Chinese legal experts are attempting to use OCTS, its implementation in Hong Kong and Macau, and the "SAR system" itself as sources for a new form of Chinese constitutionalism and the creation of a socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics concept.

Others, yet, appear to be using (and seeking to modify) these resources to support notions of an authoritarian form of political Confucianism, a neo-Imperial China under the Chinese Communist Party, and a form of democracy with Chinese characteristics. Jiang's role in the production of the State Council's white paper has been alleged and rightly criticized. (Hung, 2014) Saliently, Ho-Fung Hung (2014) highlights the influence of the Nazi fascist jurist Carl Schmitt whose legal philosophy embraces "the practice of differentiating enemies from friends and the absolute decisiveness of the

[154] In January 2006, President Hu Jintao announced China's plan to become an 'innovation-oriented society," an effort which would include boosting dramatically China's scientific output in terms of scientific citations, patents, and publications. Strategically, the effort is related to other top-level Chinese initiatives to increase the global standing and leadership of Chinese universities and think tanks.

sovereign as being of utmost importance in politics, with priority over legal and legislative authorities." He points out that Jiang has written articles on the relationship and significance of Hong Kong for communist "China's revival as a Confucian empire." (Hung, 2014) In January 2015, Jiang stated that following the Occupy/Umbrella movements the central authorizes "had attached more importance to national security in Hong Kong ..." (J. Lam & Cheung, 2015)

As a "neo-Maoist" (Hung, 2014), Jiang's academic and legal positions on the absolute sovereignty of the Chinese Communist Party, the threat to China from Western influences and values, and his binary perspectives of friends and enemies and adoption of a Schmittian notion of "political theology" and his role in China's "Hong Kong" and OCTS policies may provide important insights into the on-going securitization of both. This is suggested, for instance, in his claim in a December 2013 *Global Times* op-ed that if pro-democracy candidates can be nominated to stand for the chief executive election then "the patriotic camp risks losing the governance over Hong Kong." (Jiang, 2013a)

Jiang also discounts Beijing's power, under article 45 of the Basic Law, to refuse to appoint an anticommunist chief executive candidate as it would appear to violate the popular will of the Hong Kong people; though not specified in the commentary, such a blocking move by Beijing would create a putative contradiction ideologically and a political crisis for the notion of neo-Confucian legitimacy for the communist regime. This would also create a situation whereby the manifestation of "One Party dictatorship" in the HKSAR would be thwarted – and that, writes Jiang, is the goal of the HKSAR Basic Law: "The leadership of the party is effected in Hong Kong by means of 'patriots ruling Hong Kong. In this sense, the Basic Law is not only a 'mini-constitution' for Hong Kong, but a 'mini-constitution' for China in its construction of a new model for party rule of Hong Kong." (Jiang, 2010, p.40) Thus, even under authoritarian or competitive authoritarian rule (as in the Hong Kong SAR), public opinion and public opinion wars are still exceptionally relevant (and relevant to the arguments made in this dissertation.) As Jiang lamented in his 2013 *Global Times* op-ed, "For Beijing, maintaining its sovereignty over Hong Kong depends not only on the legal system, but also on how to win over hearts in Hong Kong. The central government should be wise enough to absorb the majority of Hongkongers into the patriot camp." (Jiang, 2013a)

Future Work

As this study just scratches the surface of the OCTS Securitization process future work should build on the initial data forays and observations in this dissertation. A first order of business would be deeper exploration of enemification processes under OCTS. As indicated, observed enemy images, moral panics and political warfare processes were mutually manifesting and reinforcing. Based on the author's data collection and observations, there is rich data to support further investigation. Separate studies, each dedicated to cases of mutual enemy images, mutual moral panics and mutual episodes of political warfare are warranted. If examined individually, or out of the political context in which they

are occurring, these episodes may be mistaken for simple discrimination, hate speech, or adversarial identity politics rather than the dimensions of an emerging sectarian conflict in a deeply divided and traumatized society that they appear to this observer to be.

At the same time, hegemonic enemification, moral panic and political warfare under OCTS is only one half of the "wicked problem" of OCTS. The other is the subaltern-side of the coin. Dissident Hongkongers' own use of counter-securitizing counter-hegemonic panic discourses, images, narratives, and enemy/folk devil constructions rooted in anticommunist, mainland integration and invasion, and the loss of core values/identity/way of life anxieties, fears, and panics as: (1) as a mode of cultural resistance; (2) a response to hegemonic panic interventions; (3) a defense of the Hongkonger identity and Way of Life (Hongkongers' societal security); and, (4) as contributing to the formation of an intractable and protracted conflict between Hong Kong and China are significant areas for future work. Unlike the hegemonic OCTS Securitization process which tends to be manifested in media and official speech acts, the subaltern counter- and reverse-securitizations have been performatively and visually embodied as well as manifested in subaltern counter-public spheres. Securitization theory has not accounted for these types of asymmetric conflicts between dominant and dominated forces in a partially democratic system where neither the authoritarians or democrats have a freehand to securitize.

Similarly, another area very ripe for future investigations is hegemonic and counter-hegemonic televisual securitization practices such as the production of short videos, documentary films and other multimedia. Many of these visual securitization texts were observed and collected in the process of this study and will be analyzed as another securitization dimension of the China-Hong Kong conflict. Another, related area for research is the role of popular culture imagining in the OCTS conflict. Past work by the author regarding the impact of popular culture – especially anti-authoritarian comic books, movies and television shows – in subaltern construction of the SAR's political and protest culture (Garrett, 2014d; Garrett & Ho, 2014) suggest deep reservoirs of untapped securitization and OCTS puzzles. Future work by this author will involve the use of *eGao*/*KuSo* and other internet memes in the securitization and counter-securitization of OCTS and its icons.

Lastly, albeit overlapping securitization moves by conservative Chinese and Russian Federation actors were introduced in the context of enemy images, panic and political warfare claims regarding color revolution, hybrid war and soft war threats surrounding the events of 2014, they bear much deeper scrutiny. Space and the scope of this dissertation precluded further exploration here. Nonetheless, data and political trajectories in Beijing and Moscow suggest claims of a sort of ad hoc anti-color revolution proto alliance (or strategic partnership) forming in opposition to democracy and Western universal values is, or has formed. If so, it will have substantial implications for how dissident Hong Kong, Hongkongers and OCTS are perceived by Chinese authorities. This is all the

more the case as new forms of warfare as those raised in this study are increasingly seen by security actors in America, China and Russia as threats, and opportunities.

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APPENDIX 1.

Deng Xiaoping on 'Disturbances' in Hong Kong*

Date	Context	Title	Excerpt
19820924	Talk with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher	Our Basic Position on the Question of Hong Kong	"We even considered the possibility of something we would hate to see happen – that is, we considered what we should do **if serious disturbances occurred in Hong Kong** during the 15-year transition period. The Chinese government would then be **compelled to reconsider the timing and manner of the recovery**. If the announcement of the recovery of Hong Kong has, as you put it, 'a disastrous effect', **we shall face that disaster squarely and make a new policy decision**." (p.3-4) "What I am concerned about is how to make a smooth transition over the next 15 years. I am **concerned that there may be major disturbances in this period**, man-made disturbances. These could be **created not just by foreigners, but also by Chinese – but chiefly by Britons**. It is **very easy to create disturbances**. … There **must be no major disturbances** in Hong Kong during the 15-year transition period, and **affairs there must be administered even better after the Chinese recovery in 1997**." (p.4-5)
19841003	Talk with Hong Kong and Macao visitors attending National Day celebrations in Beijing	Maintain Prosperity and Stability in Hong Kong	"Now it seems that there will be good order in Hong Kong for the 13 years from 1984 to 1997 and for another 50 years after that. I am confident of this. But **we should not think there are no potentially disruptive forces**. These **forces may come from any direction**. **If there are disturbances in Hong Kong, the Central Government will intervene. If intervention puts an end to disturbances and brings about order, should we welcome or reject it? We should welcome it.**" (Deng, 2004, p.25)

			"Some people are **worried about possible disturbances** in Hong Kong. **If there are any disturbances, there will have to be intervention**. **Not only the Central Government but also the people in Hong Kong will have to take action.** There are **bound to be people who make trouble**, but we must **not let them get the upper hand**." (Deng, 2004, p.27) "The **Chinese troops in Hong Kong would have another role also: to prevent disturbances**. Knowing that there were Chinese troops present, **people who intended to incite disturbances would have to think twice** about it. And **even if there were disturbances, they could be quelled immediately.**" (Deng, 2004, p.27-28) "However, we should keep in mind that there are bound to be people who do not want to abide by it strictly. There will be **certain factors that might cause disturbances, disorder and instability.** To be honest, **these factors will not come from Beijing, but we cannot exclude the possibility that they exist inside Hong Kong or that they will come from certain international forces.** … When people talk about possible changes, they always speculate about the possibility that Beijing will change its policy, never about the possibility that others will change theirs. **So long as our compatriots in Hong Kong unite and choose good political figures to administer the region, they should not be afraid of changes, and they can prevent disturbances.** And **even if there are disturbances, they will be minor ones and can be dealt with easily**." (Deng, 2004, p.28)
19841022	Speech to Third Plenary Session, CCP Central Advisory Commission	Speech at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Advisory Commission of the Communist Party of China	"I told her [Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher] then that **if anything unexpected happened in Hong Kong during the 15-year period of transition – if there were disturbances**, for example – and if the Sino-British talks failed, **China would reconsider the timing and manner of its recovery of Hong Kong**. So at that time, China set out the keynote for a settlement of the Hong Kong question." (p.34)

19870416	Speech to Members of HKSAR Basic Law Drafting Committee	Speech at a Meeting with the Members of the Committee for Drafting the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	"For example, after 1997 we shall still allow people in Hong Kong to attack the Chinese Communist Party and China verbally, but **what if they should turn their words into action, trying to convert Hong Kong into a base of opposition to the mainland under the pretext of 'democracy'? Then we would have no choice but to intervene. First the administrative bodies in Hong Kong should intervene; mainland troops stationed there would not necessarily be used. They would be used only if there were disturbances, serious disturbances. Anyway, intervention of some sort would be necessary."** (p.77)

NOTE: *Excerpts from Deng Xiaoping on "one country, two systems" (Deng, 2004); emphasis added

APPENDIX 2.

***Hong Kong and Macao Journal*: Authors and Articles (201301 to 201602) ***

Issue	Author	Title
201602	Cheng Jie	Systematic Case Analysis of the Basic Law Litigation of Hong Kong
201602	Guan Feng Xie Hanguang	'The Belt and Road' and the Development Opportunities of Macao
201602	Ma Lili	Synergetic Transformation between Hong Kong and the Mainland under the Context of the 13th Five-Year Plan
201602	Wang Yu	The Central Government's Overall Jurisdiction over the SAR under the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy
201602	Yan Haina Yu Jing	The Characteristics of Hong Kong's Administrative Officer System and Its Enlightenment for the Development of Macao Civil Servant's Promotion System
201602	Zhang Guangnan Li Yezi Wu Libin	Research on the Problems and Countermeasures of the 'Negative List' Management for Service Trade Liberalization in Guangdong Province, Hong Kong and Macao
201602	Zhang Nandiyang	Statutory Bodies in Hong Kong: From a Perspective of the Transfer of Government Functions in Mainland China
201602	Zhang Yan Ye Yizhou	The Term 'Executive' and the Legal Status of the Chief Executive of Hong Kong
201602	Zhong Hua Xu Tuoqian	Social Science Studies under the Framework of 'the Belt and Road': Taking Hong Kong as an Example
201602	Zhong Yun	Evaluation of Guangdong Free Trade Zone Development under the Evolution of Institutional Framework

	Yu Xueqing	
201601	Henry KC Ho	The Relationship between Political Appointees and Civil Servants-Current Situation and Recommendations
201601	Ieong Tou Hong	Policy Suggestions on Macao's Strategies towards the World Tourism and Leisure Center
201601	Ip Chung Yan Stephen W.K. Chiu	Socio-economic Adaptation and Cohort Quality of Young Mainland-born Residents in Hong Kong after the Handover
201601	Qi Pengfei	A Better Hong Kong for a Better Mainland China: A Better Mainland China for an Even Better Hong Kong
201601	Sun Wenbin	Hong Kong's Statutory Bodies: Its Operation, Supervision, and Implication to the Mainland's Reform
201601	Wang Changbin	Key Issues in the Interim Review of Gaming Industry in Macao
201601	Yuan Chiping Liu Yang	Macao's Gaming Industry: New Characteristics and Development Strategy of Internal Diversification
201601	Zhang Qiang	On the Concept of Sovereignty within the Context of Special Administrative Region
201601	Zhu Jie Zhang Xiaoshan	A Historical Narration and Restoration of 'Hong Kong's Sense of Nativeness' – With a Review of the Formation and Evolution of the Thought of "Hong Kong Independence"
201504	Chow Wing-Sum	Hong Kong Residents' Common Identities and Value Systems
201504	Fang Zhou Gong Xiawen Yeung Wan	Assessment of the Transport Function of the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge in the New Economic Situation
201504	Feng Bangyan	The Third Transformation of Industrial Structure in Hong Kong: Constructing a "1+3" Industrial System
201504	Fong Ka Chio Bernadete Ozorio	Responsible Gaming: Macao's Mode and Experience

201504	Tai-Lok Lui	Hong Kong's Inbound Tourism: Problems and Challenges
201504	Xue Weiling Sun Daiyao	A Study of Demographic Factors in the Promotion of Macao's Competitiveness
201504	Yang Aiping	Experience and Implication on Inter-governmental Cooperation between Guangdong Province and Macao SAR under the Environment of 'One Country, Two Systems'
201504	Zhang Shudian	An Empirical Observation on the Operation of Recorders and Deputy Judges Institution in Hong Kong
201504	Zheng Zhonghu	A Study of Feasibility of Industrial Diversification for Small Economies
201503	Chen Guanghan Li Xiaoying	Enhance Consensus in Hong Kong via Economic Development and Livelihood Improvement
201503	Chow Wing-Sun	Population Aging and the Need of Senior Citizens for Retirement Security in Hong Kong
201503	Song Sio-Chong	On Universal Suffrage of the HKSAR Chief Executive and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
201503	Stephen W.K. Chiu Chung Yan	Social Mobility of Youth in Hong Kong: Objective Experiences and Subjective Perceptions
201503	Wang Chunxin	Economic Prospect of Hong Kong in the Post-Constitutional Reform Period
201503	Wang Liwan	On the Concept of Universal Suffrage in Hong Kong
201503	Zhang Nandiayng	Cooperative Governance among Government, Statutory Bodies and Society: The Case Study of Urban Planning System in Hong Kong
201503	Zhang Xiaoshuai	On the Enforcement of National Laws in Hong Kong SAR – Based on the Analysis of Article 18 of the Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR
201503	Zhang Yansheng	The Path Choice of Exerting Hong Kong's Advantages in China's 13th Five-Year Plan Period

201502	Lau Siu-kai	Constitutional Reform Disputes and the 'Decisive Battle' between Two Concepts of 'One Country, Two Systems'
201502	Lou Shenghua Li Zhouhang	Deliberative Democracy and the Practice of Community Governance in Macao
201502	Sio Chi-wai Chan Chi-Fong Tai Wa-hou Ho Chong-chun Loi Hoi Ngan	Political Positioning and Function Expanding of the 'Love Motherland and Love Macao Associations" in 'One Country, Two Systems'
201502	Sun Cheng Zou Pingxue	Review of the Legal Issues of '8.31 NPCSC Decision'
201502	Wu Xiaogang Li Jun Zheng Linzi	Hong Kong Immigrants in Shenzhen – Current Situation and Future Challenges of Life in Twin Cities
201502	Xu Chang	On Design Principles of Political Systems of Macao SAR and the Cause of Its Smooth Implementation
201502	Yang Xiaoman	The Application of the Basic Law of Macao SAR in the Macao Courts: a Comparison with the Hong Kong Courts
201502	Zhu Jie	Democratic Independence: Taiwan's lesson and Hong Kong's Future
201501	Bai Xiaoyu	'Occupy Movement' in Hong Kong: Process, Features and Impacts
201501	Chen Guanghan Li Xiaoying	Macao's Economic Growth Bottleneck and Outward Development Strategy
201501	Fanny F. Cheung Victor Zheng Wan Po-san	Changes in Hong Kong's Core Values: An Analysis from the Viewpoint of Public Opinion
201501	Lau Siu-kai	In-depth Analysis of Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' Protest

201501	Liu Pak-Wai	Growth Slow-down and Population Aging: Hong Kong's Fiscal Challenges
201501	Patrick C.P. Ho	Hong Kong Youth: Problems and Solutions
201501	Qi Pengfei	'The Story of Macao' Blending into the 'Chinese Dream': A *Review* of Major Trends and Developments in 15 Years After Macao's Return to China
201501	Wang Yu	Legal Consideration of 'Hong Kong is a nation'
201501	Zhang Dinghuai	Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' Protest: Theory Abusing and Essence Defining
201501	Zhou Ting	A study on the Restrictions on the Jurisdiction Imposed by the Legal System and Principles Previously in Force in Macao
201404	Chang Chak Yan	The Judicial Independence under "One Country, Two systems": The Judicial Challenges from HKSAR
201404	Francis T. Lui	The Effects of Population Aging on Hong Kong's Fiscal Policies and Retirement Protection Institutions
201404	Ho Hon Kuen	Crisis and Way Out: Chinese History Subject in the Hong Kong Secondary Schools
201404	Hu Rongrong Huang Shuqing	Theoretical Review of the Core Elements of the Decision on August 31, 2014 of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress
201404	Huang Ping Chen Xinxin	Occupying Central Has Challenged the Rule of Law
201404	Li Pang-kwong	Hong Kong's Governing Team: Operations in the British Colonial Era and Its Transformations after 1997
201404	Ling Yu Shi	The Severe Relationship between the Government and the Legislative Council in Hong Kong after a Misusing the Power of Proposing Amendments
201404	Tsoi Weng Kuan	Interest Articulation and Changes on Demand ─ A Study of the Written Interpellations Raised by Macao Legislators in the 3~(rd) and 4~(th)Term of Legislative Assembly
201404	Wu Xiaogang	Hong Kong Panel Study of Social Dynamics: Research Designs and Preliminary Findings

201404	Yuan Chiping Jie Ying	Research on the Adaptability between Gaming Development and the Carrying Capacity of Macao
201403	Anna Lai Elvis Luk Avin Tong	Hong Kong through the Eyes of “Gang Piao”: A Study on Mainland Professionals and Students in Hong Kong
201403	Chen Duanhong	On Reason of Existence and Democratic Legitimacy of the Nomination Committee for the CE Election
201403	Chen Yonghua Wang Liwan	On the Nature of the Occupy Central in Hong Kong: A Discussion Based on the Theory of Civil Disobedience
201403	Cheng Kai Ming	Education Reform in Hong Kong: Concepts, Design and Implementation
201403	Stephen W.K. Chiu Zhang Huanhua Tracy Lau Chui Shan	The Mainland Students in Hong Kong: Pursuing Higher Education, Career Plan, and Living
201403	Feng Xiaoyun	Realistic Thinking of the Economic Cooperation Trend between Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao
201403	Henry Ho	In Search of a New Model of Consultation
201403	Ho Lok-Sang	Democracy Revisited and Its Implications to Hong Kong
201403	Lee Ming Kwan	The Genesis of Elite Politics and Its Evolution in Hong Kong
201403	Li Haoran	A Study on Deng Xiaoping's Idea on “One Country, Two Systems”
201403	Linda Chelan Li Yang Zhenjie	The State and Development Trajectories of School Education Equity in Hong Kong
201403	Lou Shenghua	Social Structure Changes and Governance Adjustments in Macao after Its Return
201403	Rao Geping	The Only Way Leading to Universal Suffrage of the HKSAR Chief Executive

201403	Song Sio-Chong	Comments on Universal Suffrage Proposal for the Chief Executive in 2017 by the “Hong Kong 2020”
201403	Victor W.T. Zheng Wan Po-san	The Local Consciousness of Hong Kong People: Socio-economic and Political Perspectives on Identity
201403	Xu Chang	Judicial Research on Jurisdiction Status and Future Possible Adjustment of the Adjacent Waters of Macao
201403	Yang Aiping	On the Governance Capacity of the Macao SAR Government: Performance Assessment and Policy Suggestions
201403	Yang Hanxu	The Post Colonialism of Hong Kong Local Consciousness: On the Internal Culture Obstructing the National Identity Construction of Hong Kong People
201402	Luo Weijian	System Theory of “One Country, Two Systems”
201401	Cases Li Haoran	A Study on Seeking Condition and Process of Interpretation of the Basic Law: The Central-SAR Relation in Adjudicating Cases
201401	Han Dayuan Huang Mingtao	On the Central People's Government's Power of Appointing the Chief Executive of HKSAR
201401	Han Shanshan	Thoughts on “Hong Kong Independence” Radical Movements after PLA Barracks Break-in: Characteristics, Causes and Hazards
201401	Hong Wen Chang Ka-Mun	Hong Kong's Investment in the Mainland in the Service Sector: Possible Implications on Hong Kong and Policy Suggestions
201401	Lin Guangzhi Chen Wenyuan	Comments on Ming-Qing Dynasty Macao Chinese Society Studies
201401	Lu Ping	The Legal Basis of the Chief Executive's Duty of “Loving the Motherland and Hong Kong”
201401	Wang Lei	The Relationship between Universal Suffrage and Direct Election: from the Perspective of the Basic Law of HKSAR

201401	Wang Wuyi	The Evolution of Macao's Gaming Governing System Focusing on the Gaming Liberalization
201401	Xu Chang	Four-Dimension Understanding of the Theory and Practice of “One Country, Two Systems”
201401	Zou Pingxue	Review on the Proposition of “Civic Nomination” in Hong Kong Consultation of Constitutional Development
201301	Harry Cheong Liang Wang	Macao as a "World Tourism and Leisure Center": Gaps and Strategies
201301	Lau Chi-Pang	The Study of Hong Kong History: Present Situation, Function, and Prospects
201301	Lau Siu-kai	Reflection on Hong Kong Politics from the Point View of Its Uniqueness
201301	Li Lin Mo Jihong Chen Xinxin	"Love the Motherland and Hong Kong" Is the Basic Legal Requirement for a Chinese Citizen to Become Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
201301	Lui Tai-Lok	Opportunities Are Available but Not Easy to Grasp: Discrepancy between Reality and Expectations
201301	Sun Daiyao Xue Weiling	A Study on Social Security in the Context of Macao's Population Aging
201301	Wang ChunXin	The Trend and the Implication of HK Employment Market
201301	Wang Zhenmin	On Establishment of New Constitutional Order in Hong Kong and Macao After Their Return
201301	Xu Chongde	The Legal Status of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
201301	Zhang Yuge Guo Wa	Hong Kong's Economy: Challenges and Strategies

NOTE: *Bold indicates of special interest to this research topic and/or associated with a key hegemonic securitizing actor.
SOURCE: **Gang Ao yan jiu, 港澳研究** Quarterly, http://en.cnki.com.cn/Journal_en/G-G108-YJGA-2015.htm

APPENDIX 3.

***Key Securitization Acts & Hot-Button Issues in the Hong Kong and Macao Journal* (201301 to 201602) ***

Issue	Author	Title
201403	Anna Lai Elvis Luk Avin Tong	Hong Kong through the Eyes of "Gang Piao": A Study on Mainland Professionals and Students in Hong Kong
201501	Bai Xiaoyu	**'Occupy Movement' in Hong Kong: Process, Features and Impacts**
201401	Cases Li Haoran	**A Study on Seeking Condition and Process of Interpretation of the Basic Law: The Central-SAR Relation in Adjudicating Cases**
201403	Chen Duanhong	On Reason of Existence and Democratic Legitimacy of the Nomination Committee for the CE Election
201403	Chen Yonghua Wang Liwan	**On the Nature of the Occupy Central in Hong Kong: A Discussion Based on the Theory of Civil Disobedience**
201602	Cheng Jie	Systematic Case Analysis of the Basic Law Litigation of Hong Kong
201403	Cheng Kai Ming	Education Reform in Hong Kong: Concepts, Design and Implementation
201504	Chow Wing-Sum	**Hong Kong Residents' Common Identities and Value Systems**
201501	Fanny F. Cheung Victor Zheng Wan Po-san	**Changes in Hong Kong's Core Values: An Analysis from the Viewpoint of Public Opinion**

201401	Han Dayuan Huang Mingtao	On the Central People's Government's Power of Appointing the Chief Executive of HKSAR
201401	Han Shanshan	**Thoughts on "Hong Kong Independence" Radical Movements after PLA Barracks Break-in: Characteristics, Causes and Hazards**
201403	Henry Ho	**In Search of a New Model of Consultation**
201403	**Ho Lok-Sang**	**Democracy Revisited and Its Implications to Hong Kong**
201404	Hu Rongrong Huang Shuqing	**Theoretical Review of the Core Elements of the Decision on August 31, 2014 of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress**
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201301	**Lau Siu-Kai**	**Reflection on Hong Kong Politics from the Point View of Its Uniqueness**
201403	Lee Ming Kwan	The Genesis of Elite Politics and Its Evolution in Hong Kong
201403	Li Haoran	**A Study on Deng Xiaoping's Idea on "One Country, Two Systems"**
201301	Li Lin Mo Jihong Chen Xinxin	**"Love the Motherland and Hong Kong" Is the Basic Legal Requirement for a Chinese Citizen to Become Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region**
201404	Li Pang-Kwong	Hong Kong's Governing Team: Operations in the British Colonial Era and Its Transformations after 1997

201404	Ling Yu Shi	The Severe Relationship between the Government and the Legislative Council in Hong Kong after a Misusing the Power of Proposing Amendments
201401	**Lu Ping**	**The Legal Basis of the Chief Executive's Duty of "Loving the Motherland and Hong Kong"**
201402	Luo Weijian	**System Theory of "One Country, Two Systems"**
201501	**Qi Pengfei**	'The Story of Macao' Blending into the 'Chinese Dream': A *Review* of Major Trends and Developments in 15 Years After Macao's Return to China
201601	**Qi Pengfei**	A Better Hong Kong for a Better Mainland China: A Better Mainland China for an Even Better Hong Kong
201403	**Rao Geping**	**The Only Way Leading to Universal Suffrage of the HKSAR Chief Executive**
201403	**Song Sio-Chong**	**Comments on Universal Suffrage Proposal for the Chief Executive in 2017 by the "Hong Kong 2020"**
201503	**Song Sio-Chong**	**On Universal Suffrage of the HKSAR Chief Executive and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)**
201403	Stephen W.K. Chiu Zhang Huanhua Tracy Lau Chui Shan	**The Only Way Leading to Universal Suffrage of the HKSAR Chief Executive** Mainland Students in Hong Kong: Pursuing Higher Education, Career Plan, and Living
201502	Sun Cheng **Zou Pingxue**	**Review of the Legal Issues of '8.31 NPCSC Decision'**
201504	Tai-Lok Lui	**Hong Kong's Inbound Tourism: Problems and Challenges**
201403	Victor W.T. Zheng Wan Po-san	**The Local Consciousness of Hong Kong People: Socio-economic and Political Perspectives on Identity**
201401	Wang Lei	**The Relationship between Universal Suffrage and Direct Election: from the Perspective of the Basic Law of HKSAR**
201503	Wang Liwan	**On the Concept of Universal Suffrage in Hong Kong**

201602	Wang Yu	**The Central Government's Overall Jurisdiction over the SAR under the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy**
201301	**Wang Zhenmin**	**On Establishment of New Constitutional Order in Hong Kong and Macao After Their Return**
201401	Xu Chang	**Four-Dimension Understanding of the Theory and Practice of "One Country, Two Systems"**
201301	**Xu Chongde**	The Legal Status of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
201501	**Zhang Dinghuai**	**Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' Protest: Theory Abusing and Essence Defining**
201601	Zhang Qiang	**On the Concept of Sovereignty within the Context of Special Administrative Region**
201503	Zhang Xiaoshuai	**On the Enforcement of National Laws in Hong Kong SAR – Based on the Analysis of Article 18 of the Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR**
201602	Zhang Yan Ye Yizhou	The Term 'Executive' and the Legal Status of the Chief Executive of Hong Kong
201601	Zhu Jie Zhang Xiaoshan	**A Historical Narration and Restoration of 'Hong Kong's Sense of Nativeness' – With a Review of the Formation and Evolution of the Thought of "Hong Kong Independence"**
201502	Zhu Jie	**Democratic Independence: Taiwan's lesson and Hong Kong's Future**
201401	**Zou Pingxue**	**Review on the Proposition of "Civic Nomination" in Hong Kong Consultation of Constitutional Development**

NOTE: *Bold indicates Key Securitization Actor or Securitized Topic primarily examined in this thesis.
SOURCE: **Gang Ao yan jiu, 港澳研究** Quarterly, http://en.cnki.com.cn/Journal_en/G-G108-YJGA-2015.htm

APPENDIX 4.

Select Russian/Chinese Media-Centre for Research on Globalization-Land Destroyer Blog OCLP/Umbrella/Color Revolution Items

Date	Source	Headline
20130104	*RT*	Oligarchy Island: Behind the Hong Kong Protests
20140930	*Land Destroyer Blog*	US Openly Approves Hong Kong Chaos it Created
20140930	*RT*	Hong Kong's 'Semi-Autonomous Democracy' is still a leap forward
20141001	*New Eastern Outlook*	Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' is US-backed Sedition
20141002	*Voice of Russia*	Hong Kong government "digging its heels in" over protests
20141003	*Ria Novosti/Sputnik News*	Sputnik, US Backing of Hong Kong Protests Could Backfire: Investigative Journalist
20141005	*Global Research*	Hong Kong "Occupy Central" Protest Scripted in Washington. Leaders Mislead Grassroots
20141005	*Land Destroyer Blog*	Entire "Occupy Central" Protest Scripted in Washington
20141005	*Oriental Review*	The US Grand Strategy for Eurasia: Hong Kong's 'Umbrella Revolution' and Secessionist Politics in China
20141006	*RT*	'Another Tiananmen Square in Hong Kong – would be victory for US'
20141011	*People's Daily Online*	Why is the US so keen on 'Color Revolutions'?
20141011	*Land Destroyer Blog/Centre for Research on Globalization*	Hong Kong's 'Occupy Central' Fooling No One: China's People's Daily Says "Occupy Central" is a US-backed Color Revolution … Because It's a US-backed Color Revolution

20141014	*Strategic Culture Foundation*	Hong Kong: Fathers and Children
20141015	*China Daily*	Lee Cheuk-yan allegedly received American funds
20141016	*Global Times*	Occupy Central is undermining stability
20141017	*Strategic Culture Foundation*	Events in Hong Kong and US Fight for Dollar
20141020	*TASS*	Hong Kong leader blames external forces for mass riots
20141021	*China Daily*	New reports confirm US role in HK politics
20141021	*Land Destroyer Blog*	Turmoil in Hong Kong, Terrorism in Xinjiang: America's Covert War on China
20141022	*China Daily*	The Hong Kong 'Occupy Central' is a US-funded Color Revolution in China
20141022	*People's Daily/CCTV*	Why is America so obsessed with 'Color Revolution'?
20141024	*New Eastern Outlook/Centre for Research on Globalization*	Hong Kong's Umbrellas are 'Made in USA'
20141029	*China Daily*	HK's 'color revolution' carefully orchestrated
20141030	*China Daily*	Protesters should know when to compromise
20141031	*RT*	Pro-democracy protests in HK: But what is democracy for them?
20141104	*Centre for Research on Globalization*	Hong Kong "Occupy Central" Funded by Washington: The Neocons and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)
20141104	*Land Destroyer Blog*	New Eastern Outlook-Cons and Corporate Fascists for Hong Kong Democracy?
20141107	*New Eastern Outlook*	"Occupy Central's" Dirty Money, Dirtier Leaders

20141110	*China Daily*	HK's proposed electoral reforms are real progress
20141112	*TASS*	Chinese leader tells Obama Hong Kong protests 'internal matter'
20141119	*TASS/Sputnik*	Russia, China should jointly counter "color revolutions" — Russian Defense Ministry
20141129	*Land Destroyer Blog*	Hong Kong: "Pro-Democracy" Protesters Reject Will of the People
20141201	*RT*	'US eyes Occupy Central movement as ability to destabilize China'
20141210	*China Daily*	Uncle Sam's shady role in 'Occupy Central'
20150201	*Land Destroyer Blog*	US-backed Mobs Back in Hong Kong's Streets
20150203	*New Eastern Outlook/Land Destroyer Blog*	Occupy Hong Kong, Take Two
20160418	*Land Destroyer Blog/New Eastern Outlook*	Hong Kong Gets New US-backed Party
20160429	*Sputnik News*	Will Crimea Become Russia's Hong Kong?

APPENDIX 5.

Hong Kong Independence/Self-Determination/Secession/Separatism-Related
English-language media items January 2010-June 2016

Date	Paper	Author	Headline
20100119	SCMP	Guo Jiaxue	Govt to stick to consultation procedure: Lam
20100121	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Threat of legal challenge to by-election funding
20100122	SCMP	Ambrose Leung Fanny W.Y. Fung	HK people called on to fight for democracy
20100128	SCMP	Albert Wong Ambrose Leung	Quitters denied a parting shot by walkout 'Referendum' farce takes new twist
20100130	SCMP	Ambrose Leung Gary Cheung	Organisers of 'referendum' exercise are turning it into a revolution, claims DAB chief
20100202	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Full-scale showdown
20100205	SCMP	Ambrose Leung Fanny W.Y. Fung	By-elections to be funded by budget to avoid a crisis Legco will not get to vote directly on allocation of HK$159m costs
20100209	CDHK	Joseph Li	Fan labels 'referendum' call dangerous
20100909	SCMP	SCMP	New chief justice breaks a political taboo
20100210	SCMP	Dany Gittings	The mandarin who made HK

20110218	SCMP	Fanny W.Y. Fung	Official calls for better grasp of 'one country, two systems'
20110305	SCMP	Fanny W.Y. Fung	'Two systems' doesn't trump 'one country', vice-president says
20110527	SCMP	Hu Huifeng Fanny W.Y. Fung	Tencent silences online bridge debate 'Superior orders' cited as mainland-based portal shuts Civic Party vice-chairman's blog
20110611	CDHK	Joseph C.K. Yeung	Successive substitution a corrective mechanism
20111230	SCMP	KC Ng	Beijing envoy criticises HKU poll
20120107	SCMP	Stephen Vines	Dual identity has no place in one-party state
20120731	CDHK	Ho Lok-sang	We all need more humility
20120822	CDHK	Yang Sheng	Desperate CP wooing radical voters with cold War era cliché
20120919	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Post-election politics & the idea of HK
20120925	Hong Kong Commercial Daily in CDHK	Lam Tin-yuk	Safeguard 'one country'
20120926	SCMP	Stuart Lau	'De-Sinofication' debate re-emerges in HK
20120927	CDHK	Yang Sheng	Hong Kong needs rational expression
20121006	CDHK	Yang Sheng	Opposition's obsession with 'HK independence' kills conscience
20121010	CDHK	Thomas Chan	A dangerous political trend
20121012	CDHK	Liu Mengxiong	Governing HK requires political thinking
20121012	SCMP	Lu Ping	HK can't do without mainland

20121018	CDHK	Keung Kia-hing	‘HK independence’ attempt a display of political naiveté
20121026	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Hongkongers not after full autonomy, academics say ***also as HK not seeking independence, academics say
20121027	TKP column via CDHK	Chui Ning	Crush HK independence drive
20121029	The Standard	Winnie Chong	Tempers flare over independence spat
20121030	The Standard	Kelly Ip	Fan denies claim we’re chasing independence
20121030	SCMP	Emily Tsang	No need for ban on calling for autonomy, says Rita fan
20121030	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Biased historical discourses helps fuel separatist ideology
20121031	Global Times	Global Times	HK independence no more than an empty slogan
20121031	SCMP	Stuart Lau Dennis Chong	Beijing’s Global Times labels HK autonomy group ‘pro-independence’
20121101	SCMP	Gary Cheung Stuart Lau	Love China or leave it, says Lu Ping
20121101	CDHK	Chan Wai-keung	Pro-independence hogwash
20121102	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Voice on the rise in support for ‘Hong Kong independence’
20121105	SCMP	Alex Lo	Flag-wavers have right to be ridiculous

20121107	Global Times	Zhang Dinghuai	‘HK independence’ an empty argument
20121108	Global Times	Lin Meilian	World of their own
20121109	The Standard	Eddie Luk	Soft warn against separation
20121109	CDHK	Michelle Fei Li Likui	Hu reiterates support for SARs
20121112	RTHK	RTHK Backchat	Hong Kong independence movement/should judges be Hong Kong permanent residents
20121114	SCMP	Victor Fung Keung	Independent Hong Kong isn't on anyone's agenda
20121115	The Standard	Eddie Luk	‘One county, two systems’ vow endorsed
20121116	CDHK	Yang Sheng	‘1 country’ precedes ‘2 systems’
20121119	SCMP	Stuart Lau	Colonial flags ‘symbols of resentment’
20121119	SCMP	SCMP DEBATE	Dickson Cheung Founder of the ‘We’re Hongkongian, not Chinese’ Facebook page
20121120	The Standard	JS Lam	Made in Hong Kong and proud of it
20121120	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	HKAM no better than HIM
20121124	HK Commercial Daily via CDHK	Hong Kong Commercial Daily Editorial	Ride wave of development

20121201	CDHK	Richard Harris	Don't fall into colonial flag waver's trap
20121204	CDHK	Yang Sheng	Accurate grasp of CPC report can better guide HK's future
20121211	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Unbundling HK and the Hong Kongers
20121221	Global Times	Global Times Forum	Hong Kong nostalgia for undemocratic colonial period misplaced
20130107	Global Times	Bai Rui	HK's political divisions no cause for worry
20130111	CDHK	Thomas Chan	Political intentions behind anti-Leung bid
20130124	SCMP	Collen Lee	Universities offer help with public referendum
20130124	SCMP	Collen Lee	Colleges cast around for referendum ideas
20130124	The Standard	Winnie Chong	One voice for public opinion centers
20130228	CDHK	Thomas Chan	'Ethnic politics' poison society
20130301	SCMP	Lau Nai-keung	Occupy Central plan amounts to tyranny of minority
20130307	The Standard	Eddie Luk Winnie Chong	Subversion warning on 2017 CE race
20130308	The Standard	Eddie Luk	Patriotism warnings sound again
20130327	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Ample room for talks with dissidents
20130423	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Lessons for HK from Boston bombing

20130510	The Standard	Kelly Ip	Endgame for HK without Beijing
20130606	CDHK	Xiao Ping	Be mindful of the bottom line
20130628	CDHK	Thomas Yeung	Separatism must be stopped in HK
20130702	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Protests not a sign of desire to separate
20130703	TKP via CDHK	TKP Editorial	Protests versus reform
20130710	CDHK	Thomas Yeung	Setting tragic and depressing mood, 'Occupy' is a loser's game
20130718	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Protesters must remember HK is part of China
20130719	CDHK	Jony Lam	Opposition lawmakers' bid to control media, culture and your mind
20130821	WWP via CDHK	Cho Wai	Radical opposition groups may have received foreign help
20130823	CDHK	Chan Wai-keung	Politics and English language
20130829	WWP via CDHK	Tsui Shu	'HKI' gang's dirty tricks (WWP in CDHK's In the Press)
20130905	CDHK	Chan Wai-keung	Uncle Sam's double standards
20130905	TKP via CDHK	Wong Yat	'Independence' daydream (TKP in CDHK's In the Press)

20130909	Global Times	Zhang Dinghuai	US should keep out of HK politics
20130913	SCMP	Lau Nai-keung	Political winds blowing the wrong way for Hong Kong's dissidents
20130927	SCMP	Lau Nai-keung	Western busybodies put Hong Kong's democrats in a tight spot
20131009	Global Times	Zhang Dinghuai	HK suffrage impasse needs rational views
20131022	The Standard	Eddie Luk	'Collusion' cry to as trio travel to isle
20131025	The Standard	Kelly Ip	Occupy trio hit with 'external forces' charge
20131025	CDHK	Yang Sheng	Occupiers' retarded move
20131025	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	HK opposition at risk of becoming enemy of the State
20131025	SCMP	Jeffie Lam Joshua But	Occupy Central 'playing with fire'
20131031	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	'Occupy' missteps cloud vote debate
20131106	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Build a new common destiny
20131113	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Must keep an eye on collusion of 'independence'
20131212	CDHK	Jason Kuai	Upholding the principle
20131230	The Standard	Eddie Luk	Media offensive over Tamar break-in

20140102	SCMP	Phila Siu Jennifer Ngo	Two activists arrested over PLA barracks break-in
20140104	SCMP	Emily Tsang Fanny W.Y. Fung	'Independence' groups just want say in city's affairs Also as: 'Independence' groups want a stronger local voice in how city is run
20140106	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Abe's shrine visit offers lessons for Hong Kong's opposition
20140122	The Standard	Eddie Luk	Security law jitters again
20140214	SCMP	Tanna Chong Johnny Tam	'Antagonism stands in way of political reform', warns Beijing-loyal heavyweight
20140224	PDO	CDHK	Commentary: Politicians, separatists collude
20140225	CDHK	Zhang Yiwei	Majority angry at HK protest: poll
20140225	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Misleading myth of the mother tongue
20140225	Global Times	Zhang Yiwei	Majority angry at HK protest: poll
20140226	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	'One Country, Two Systems' at another historic crossroad
20140304	The Standard	Kelly Ip	CPPCC boss drives home patriot message for HK
20140330	SCMP	Regina Ip	True nature of HK autonomy
20140330	Global Times	Liu Yang	Influx of mainland visitors adds fuel to Hong Kong's political warfare

20140331	Global Times	Liu Yang	Locusts or brothers?
20140416	RTHK	RTHK	Govt urged to engage in independence debate
20140428	CDUSA	Liang Liren	HK protests a disturbing trend
20140526	CDHK	Yan Ming	Radical politicians don't care about true democracy
20140616	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	Talk on Hong Kong's future must not deviate from the Basic Law
20140623	SCMP	Ernest Kao Phila Siu Ng Kang-chung	Some Hongkongers greet democratic reform poll with ambivalence
20140625	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	HK braces for another political watershed
20140702	EJI	SC Yeung	Hong Kong youth start entertaining idea of independence
20140702	CDHK	Leung Lap-yan	Political wrestling in the SAR has reached critical point
20140723	SCMP	Chris Lau	Attack on pro-independence activist 'infringed his freedom of speech'
20140723	CDHK	Leung Lap-yan	'Public nomination' is a futile cause
20140901	The Standard	Eddie Luk Hilary Wong	Warning of prolonged bickering
20140923	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	HK students need to be better informed
20141007	SCMP	Alex Lo	Integration and Exceptionalism
20141007	SCMP	Andrew Leung	Beijing's fear of separatism looms large in Hong Kong's political reform

20141015	The Standard	The Standard	Beijing 'will not give an inch'
20141028	SCMP	Stuart Lau	HK independence advocates 'not subject' to march rules
20141029	CDUSA	Qiao Xinsheng	Let law take its course in Hong Kong
20141031	CDHK	Wang Sheng-wei	De-Sinicization won't succeed in Hong Kong
20141105	CDHK	Leung Kwok-Leung	It's the end of the road for 'Occupy Central' movement
20150109	EJI	EJI	Anglican Church agrees students must imbibe national spirit
20150114	EJI	EJI	Leung slams HKU student magazine for spreading 'false ideas'
20150115	SCMP	Gary Cheung Peter So	Leung spells out his master plan
20150115	EJI	EJI	Leung policy address more politics than economics
20150115	EJI	EJI	Former editor of HKU student magazine hits back at CY Leung
20150115	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Bold plans for difficult times
20150115	SCMP	Tony Cheung Stuart Lau Peter So	Gloves off as Leung targets student 'lies'
20150115	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Be wary of HK self-determination advocacy
20150115	The Standard	Marry Ann Benitez	'Fallacies' in HKU magazine blasted
20150116	EJI	EJI	Carrie Lam, John Tsang: Undergrad remarks CY Leung's own views

20150116	The Standard	Kevin Cheng Hilary Wong	CY trades barbs with democrats over free speech
20150116	SCMP	Tony Cheung Peter So	CY Leung's Hong Kong independence criticism sparks controversial book sales rush
20150116	SCMP	Tony Cheung Joyce Ng Peter So	Leung accused of stirring up new Cultural Revolution
20150117	SCMP	Tony Cheung Peter So	Leung blast gives book a sudden sales lift
20150119	EJI	EJI	It's our right to keep silent on HK independence: Yau Ching-yuen
20150119	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Heat rises at forum on talk of independence
20150119	CDHK	Yan Ming	'HK independence' is a very dangerous idea
20150120	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Opposing Leung equals challenging the central government?
20150120	CDA	Lau Nai-keung	Why Hong Kong can never be independent
20150121	EJI	EJI	HK will get national security law one day, says Tung
20150121	EJI	SC Yeung	What Tung Chee-hwa is really trying to tell Hong Kong
20150121	CDHK	China Daily Staff Writer	National security law a must
20150121	CDHK	Leung Kwok-leung	Calls for independence must not be tolerated
20150122	EJI	SC Yeung	What Leung should learn after his flop policy address

20150122	CDHK	China Daily Staff Writer	Who fears Article 23?
20150123	EJI	Joseph Liang Yizheng	How Beijing is mapping a mini-cultural revolution in HK
20150126	CDHK	Lai Chee-chum	HKU's tolerance of separatism irresponsible
20150127	SCMP	Peter So Gary Cheung Ng Kang-chung	Digging in on referendum
20150127	SCMP	Gary Cheung Peter So	Post-Occupy views on reform 'little changed'
20150127	SCMP	Peter So Gary Cheung Ng Kang-chung	Albert Ho to press on with plan to force 'referendum' despite poll showing public opposition to plan
20150127	SCMP	Gary Cheung Peter So	Post-Occupy Central public views of Hong Kong reform little changed: SCMP poll
20150127	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	National security law is badly needed
20150128	EJI	Aih Ching-tin	Why Leung lambasted Undergrad
20150129	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	SAR must respect central government's jurisdiction
20150129	SCMP	Teddy Ng Peter So	Hong Kong added to Beijing's list of 'core interests' amid post-Occupy unease
20150130	SCMP	Lam San-keung	Hongkongers have no reason to oppose Article 23, says Law Society council member
20150131	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Message of defiance in student magazine

20150131	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Hong Kong University student magazine Undergrad talks of revolution, weeks after chief executive's criticism
20150202	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Young pool shrinking as protest numbers dive
20150202	SCMP	Ng Kang-chung	Regina Ip hints that she might run in 2017 chief executive election
20150204	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Opposition inflexibility delaying political reform
20150205	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Zhang slams notion of independent SAR
20150205	EJI	EJI	Liaison office chief warns against calls for independence
20150205	CDHK	China Daily	Brave the winds
20150206	EJI	Frank Chen	Mainland students become collateral targets
20150206	SCMP	Albert Cheng	As smear campaign widens, will no one stand up for academic freedom at HKU?
20150206	CDHK	Yan Ming	'HK independence' advocacy will greatly damage the city
20150209	Global Times	Global Times	Keep alert to 'HK independence' rhetoric
20150210	EJI	SC Yeung	Govt should learn to communicate with the youth
20150210	CDHK	China Daily	Everyone must reject 'HK independence'
20150211	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Advocating separatism would be political suicide
20150211	Global Times	Catherine Wong Tsoi-lai	HK protests draw concern over localism

20150211	CDHK	Leung Kwok-leung	Subversive declarations will only hurt the SAR
20150212	CDHK	China Daily	Opposition's true colors
20150212	CDHK	Li Ping	The SAR must be vigilant about 'HK independence'
20150213	CD	Kahon Chan	Concerns grow over 'nativist' agenda on campuses
20150213	CDHK	Chan Tak-leung	Leung not interfering in academic freedom
20150213	CDHK	China Daily	Separatism will fail
20150215	SCMP	Fanny W.Y. Fung	HKU union to quit student federation
20150217	SCMP	Alex Lo	University of Hong Kong election doesn't further the cause of democracy
20150217	SCMP	Tony Cheung Lai Ying-kit Ng Kang-chung	HKU vote threatens student federation
20150224	EJI	EJI	Lau Nai-keung 'advocated HK independence in 1969'
20150302	SCMP	Tammy Tam	Dangers emerge in shopping protests
20150303	CDHK	CDHK	Separatist sections lack any legitimacy in HK
20150303	Global Times	Su Tan (Editorial)	Anti-trader protest drives wedge between HK, mainland
20150304	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Rising anti-mainland sentiment worrying
20150305	SCMP	Tony Cheung Gary Cheung Peter So	'One country, two systems' for Hong Kong must comply with China constitution, says Premier Li Keqiang
20150306	RTHK	RTHK	Beijing in stern warning over independence call

20150306	CDA	Agencies	Zhang warns against calls for HK independence
20150306	SCMP	Gary Cheung Tony Cheung	NPC boss Zhang Dejiang blasts supporters of Hong Kong independence
20150306	SCMP	Tony Cheung Gary Cheung	Constitution at heart of Li's HK message
20150306	SCMP	Jiang Xun	Unequal footing: Jiang xun says the SAR government was right to insist on the precise use of language describing relations between the mainland and Hong Kong, as the two have never been equals
20150307	SCMP	Tony Cheung Gary Cheung	NPC boss blasts supporters of HK independence
20150307	SCMP	Nectar Gan Stuart Lau	Chinese General: Hong Kong Protest Attempted Color Revolution
20150309	CDHK	Chow Mo-fai	Follow the Basic law toward a bright future
20150309	SCMP	Gary Cheung Tony Cheung	Chinese law professor urges Hongkongers to reject calls for independence
20150309	SCMP	Gary Cheung Tony Cheung	HK people urged to reject secession
20150309	CDHK	China Daily	Unyielding principles
20150310	EJI	EJI	Court of Final Appeal targeted in new HK graffiti attack
20150310	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	'Rioters' condemned after acts of humiliation

20150310	Global Times	Global Times Interview w/ Lau Siu-kai	Radical students must pay for defiance
20150311	EJI	Wong On-yin	Simple folk, not politicians, can bring about real change
20150311	CDHK	China Daily	Protests tarnish reputation
20150314	CDA	Shadow Li	Extremists exploiting anti-parallel trading protests: Fan
20150315	SCMP	Owen Fung	HKU student magazine says Hong Kong should become independent from China after 2047
20150316	Global Times	Yuen Yeuk-laam	Mainland confident in 'One Country, Two Systems' policy for HK
20150316	CDHK	Choy Tak-ho	Leung deserves credit for tackling 'Occupy Central'
20150317	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Sash group cuts dash in no-shops protest
20150318	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	How will Guangdong Free Trade Zone affect HK?
20150318	CDHK	Leung Kwok-leung	HK does not need a referendum
20150324	CDHK	China Daily	The Singapore experience
20150325	EJI	EJI	Arthur Li blames HK academic decline on certain professors
20150329	Global Times	Xinhua	Chinese officials urge HK to bear 'state concept' in mind
20150330	CDA	Felix Gao	'Localism' voice endangers future of HK
20150330	CDHK	Choy Tak-ho	Xi's 'Four Comprehensives' strategy inspires Hong Kong

20150401	EJI	EJI	HKPTU denies pushing controversial tittle in best books list
20150402	CDA	Kevin Law	Here is the concrete evidence
20150402	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Lawyers head to Beijing with localism in sights
20150403	Global Times	Global Times	HK ‘independence’ party slammed, could cause trouble in the region
20150406	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Legal experts ponder Hong Kong 25 years after promulgation of Basic Law
20150407	RTHK	RTHK	HK needs anti-separatism law: DAB’s Ma
20150407	Global Times	Yuen Yeuk-laam	HK lawyers propose anti-independence law
20150408	SCMP	Alex Lo	Arthur Li using hardball tactics at the University of Hong Kong
20150408	HKSAR	Rimsky Yuen	Secretary for Justice on anti-independence legislation
20150408	RTHK	RTHK	No plans for anti-separatism law: CE
20150408	HKSAR	HKSAR	Independence goes against SAR status
20150408	The Standard	Staff reporter	DAB member calls for laws to battle ‘localism’
20150408	HKSAR	HKSAR/CE	No plans for anti-separatism law
20150409	SCMP	Joyce Ng	CY Leung denies report that Hong Kong plans to outlaw independence campaigns
20150409	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Separatist campaigns won’t be banned: Cy
20150409	RTHK	RTHK	No need for sedition laws, says Anthony Leung

20150409	Coconuts HK	Thomas Chan	Lawmaker Proposes anti-Hong Kong Independence Law
20150409	EJI	SC Yeung	Who needs an anti-independence law?
20150409	CDHK	Xiao Ping	Exposing an ugly political truth
20150410	RTHK	RTHK BACKCHAT	Hong Kong Independence Movement/RTHK in replace of ATV
20150410	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Bridge that gap with our compatriots, says Leung
20150410	CDHK	Choy Tak-ho	Basic Law has worked successfully for 25 years
20150413	CDHK	Leung Kwok-leung	SAR must be vigilant about separatist ideas
20150413	The Standard	Staff Reporter	Pan-dems not for turning on political reforms
20150413	CDHK	China Daily	Basic Law protects democracy
20150415	SCMP	Lai Ying-kit Joyce Ng	Basic Law clear on universal suffrage, says top Beijing official in Hong Kong
20150420	EJI	SC Yeung	Is HKU being turned into a pro-Beijing university?
20150424	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Separatism now spreading like wild fire in Hong Kong
20150424	SCMP	Ronny Tong	A matter of trust
20150430	CDHK	Ho Lok-sang	‘Pan-democrat’ arguments flawed

20150505	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Beijing 'may suppress moderate politicians'
20150505	The Standard	Eddie Luk	Seasoned diplomat Lu Ping at 88
20150505	SCMP	Gary Cheung Ng Kang-chung Tony Cheung	Lu Ping – Beijing's man carrying Hong Kong in his heart
20150505	CDHK	Joseph Li	Architect of HK's return dies at 88
20150505	SCMP	SCMP	September 27, 1927: Born in Shanghai's French concession
20150508	EJI	EJI	HK responsibility cited in new draft of national security law
20150511	SCMP	Tony Cheung	National security law 'won't limit free speech'
20150523	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Hong Kong public remains split on political reform, with supporters maintaining marginal lead
20150524	SCMP	Shirley Zhao	Hong Kong student Joshua Wong still willing to lead Scholarism despite pressure
20150601	The Standard	Eddie Luk Kenneth Lau	Vote ahead as reform gap remains
20150601	CDHK	Shadow Li Kahon Chan	Poll plan rules out opposition minority
20150602	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Is the rise of localism a threat to Hong Kong's cosmopolitan values?
20150604	EJI	Rachel Cartland	To pocket or not to pocket? How HK could be governed better
20150605	SCMP	Tony Cheung Stuart Lau Samuel Chan	Divided, yet united, in their grief

20150605	SCMP	Tony Cheung Stuart Lau Samuel Chan	Mourners shun main event and flock to HKU and Tsim Sha Tsui to mark June 4
20150608	EJI	SC Yeung	How senior democrats must view Basic Law burning protest
20150610	Global Times	Xinhua	Chinese mainland opposed to 'HK, Taiwan independence': spokesman
20150610	Xinhua	Xinhua	Chinese mainland opposed to 'HK, Taiwan independence': spokesman
20150610	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Time to banish advocacy of 'localism' and separatism
20150611	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	What our young people are trying to say by burning the Basic Law
20150615	CDHK	James Ning	Crazy ideas like 'localism' can do society great harm
20150616	The Standard	Amy Nip Kenneth Lau	Independence link to plot
20150616	The Standard	The Standard	Ten bomb plot radicals seized
20150617	SCMP	Lana Lam Danny Mok	Hong Kong 'localist' groups seek inspiration from academic's book
20150617	SCMP	Lana Lam Danny Mok	Book's views inspire emergence of 'localist' groups
20150618	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Business leaders must help HK to re-focus on the economy
20150618	EJI	Lam Hang-chi	And so, we stagger into an even more uncertain future
20150623	EJI	SC Yeung	Legco by-election could test solidarity of democrats

20150624	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Reconciling Hong Kong's divided society is no easy task
20150624	CDHK	Wang Shengwei	Separatism has no place in the SAR
20150625	PDO	China Daily	Hong Kong will always be part of China
20150701	Time Out Hong Kong	Shirley Foo	Localism: Why is support for the political perspective growing – and who's behind it?
20150702	The Standard	Jasmine Siu	Shrunken crowd voices a multitude of demands
20150702	EJI	EJI	July 1 march draws lowest turnout in seven years
20150706	EJI	SC Yeung	What's the message behind PLA's latest live-fire drill?
20150706	CDHK	China Daily	The security law and HK
20150708	HKSAR	HKSAR	LCQ4: Combating terrorism
20150708	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Conditions for a 'third way' in Hong Kong politics
20150710	CDHK	Andrew Mitchell	Abandon 'localism' and its chilling echoes of the past
20150713	Global Times	Catherine Wong Tsoi-lai	Calm after the storm
20150715	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Will CY Leung be ousted soon? Here are two scenarios
20150715	CDHK	Andrew J. Mitchell	Delusions of 'independence' serve the interests of no one
20150727	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Tsang loves the party, but does the party love him?

20150803	CDHK	Wang Guangya	‘One Country, Two Systems’ vital future
20150806	EJI	Frank Chen	Forget universal suffrage, this is what young people want
20150827	EJI	SC Yeung	Let’s put a full stop to this meandering HKU saga
20150909	RTHK	RTHK	Official concerned about anti-mainland sentiment
20150911	CDHK	Leung Lap-yan	The mob that tries to justify abuse by breaking the law
20150921	CDHK	CDHK	Real effort needed
20151008	VOHK	VOHK	Beijing’s Claim of Superior Status of CE a Pipe Dream
20151103	EJI	EJI	New district council bets avoid localist issues in campaign
20151114	SCMP	Alex Lo	Warning letter to Lingnan University’s Dr Horace China Wan-kan was well-deserved
20151115	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Stakes Are High In Hong Kong-China World Cup Qualifier
20151124	CDHK	Staff Writer	Radicalism is rejected
20151124	CDHK	Ho Lok-sang	Voters want service not sedition
20151124	CDHK	Timothy Chui	Grassroots voters firmly reject radical politicians
20151126	HKFP	Ryan Kilpatrick	Inspired by Taiwan, Hongkongers declare independence with passport stickers
20151127	CDHK	Eddy Li	There can be no place for radical behavior in the city
20151127	The Standard	Amy Nip	Tabloid in bizarre rant at indy-minded

20151128	HKFP	Kris Cheng	Localist group Hong Kong Indigenous intends to run in LegCo by-election
20151201	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	How nativism and 'umbrella soldiers' thrived in district polls
20151202	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	HK-mainland economic integration progressing well
20151204	CDHK	Cheung Hok-sau	Protect district councils from politicization by the radicals
20151205	CDHK	CDHK	In Brief (Bomb plot case adjourned)
20151208	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Sung should have noted the real reasons for supporting Beijing
20151210	SCMP	Tony Cheung Jeffie Lam Gary Cheung Stuart Lau	Hong Kong district council polls sent message voters want youth at political table
20151217	CDHK	Tony Kwok	Bomb incidents are a worrying sign
20151219	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	Fair handling of Occupy Central beating case will restore trust between Hong Kong's police and public
20151222	CDHK	CDHK Staff writer	Beware domestic terrorism
20151222	SCMP	Lai Ying-kit	Radical Hong Kong group tied to Legco explosion participated in other local protests this year
20151222	The Standard	The Standard	Six legco arson suspects held
20151222	EJI	EJI	Six men arrested in suspected arson at Legco building
20151222	SCMP	Clifford Lo Ng Kang-chung	Four students among six arrested over Legco blast
20151223	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Legco explosion suspects out on bail after first Hong Kong court appearance

20151223	The Standard	Mary Ma	A rubbish way of protesting
20151224	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	HK radical camp misguided about its role
20151224	CDHK	Timothy Chu	Five charged over trash bin blast at legislature
20151227	RTHK	RTHK	Mainland passes first counter-terrorism law
20151227	SCMP	Stuart Lau	The bright side of localism: Hong Kong's finance minister sees a constructive sense of pride
20151228	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Master John Tsang Strikes at 'Localism-Bashers'
20151228	CDHK	CDHK	A hopeless pursuit
20151228	The Standard	Kinling Lo	No sitting on fences as Tsang cheers localism
20151228	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Mainland academic rings the alarm on the rise of 'neo-localism' in Hong Kong
20151228	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Mainland China academic suggest vigilance against the rise of 'neo-localism' in Hong Kong *See Global Times and The Standard articles re Fan Peng
20151230	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	HK must maintain stability
20151231	RTHK	RTHK	Beijing official warns Taiwan of 'complex changes'
20160103	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Will 2016 be Hong Kong chief executive CY Leung's make-or- break year?
20160103	Global Times	Fan Peng	Be wary of neo-localism disguised as academia in Hong Kong
20160103	SCMP	Alice Wu	Localism is everywhere, especially so in China, and that's not a problem

20160106	EJI	Cody Kwong Ying-ho	Political parties can ignore nativism only at their peril
20160110	RTHK	RTHK	HK independence activists separated during march
20160112	Global Times	Ding Xuezhen	HK actor cut form show for FB posts
20160112	EJI	EJI	HK celebrity under fire for sharing ‘Zhou Enlai gay’ post
20160114	The Standard	Adeline Mak	Lew tells court of his ‘political bomb’
20160120	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Fixation with ‘borders’ is outdated
20160127	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Abandon self-destructive ideas
20160203	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Political reality does not bode well for a ‘third road’ in HK
20160203	CDHK	Regina Ip	Lessons from Taiwan’s elections
20160205	EJI	Ben Kwok	Red packets from Uncle Xi Jinping, anyone?
20160212	EJI	EJI	China blames ‘radical separatist’ groups for Mong Kok clashes
20160212	SCMP	Stuart Lau Tony Cheung	Beijing brands instigators of Mong Kok riot as Hong Kong ‘separatists’
20160212	RTHK	RTHK	Beijing backs police handling of Mong Kok riot
20160212	CDA	Agencies	Riot: Central govt firmly backs Hong Kong
20160213	RTHK	RTHK	No plans for Article 23 over MK violence: Govt

20160213	HKSAR	HKSAR	Transcript of remarks by S for S
20160214	PDO	Xinhua	Top central gov't official in HK condemns radical separatists
20160214	Global Times	Xinhua	Top central gov't official in HK condemns radical separatists for riot
20160214	RTHK	RTHK	No need to push for Article 23, says Rita Fan
20160214	RTHK	RTHK	'Radical separatists' blamed for Mong Kok riots
20160214	SCMP	Phila Siu Stuart Lau Gary Cheung	Former top government advisor's remarks on Article 23 spark fears over national security law for Hong Kong
20160214	SCMP	Jeffie Lam Owen Fung	Beijing's top official in Hong Kong brands Mong Kok rioters 'radical separatists inclined to terrorism'
20160214	SCMP	Christy Leung	'Conflict of interest': Mong Kok riot probe likely to be led by director of police operation
20160215	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Bad Time for Renewed Push for Article 23
20160215	The Standard	Kinling Lo	'Separatists' pushed into hardline focus
20160215	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Former Hong Kong security chief condemns young 'beasts' of Mong Kok riot as losing 'their sense of reason'
20160216	VOHK	Chan King-cheung	Where Hong Kong Goes After Mongkok 'Riot'
20160216	EJI	EJI	Ambrose Lee describes Mong Kok protesters as 'beasts'
20160216	SCMP	Tony Cheung Owen Fung	'Lay down the law': Basic Law Committee member Rao Geping calls for national security legislation in Hong Kong after Mong Kok riot

20160216	RTHK	RTHK	Enact national security laws: Rao Geping
20160216	SCMP	Keane Shum	Everybody loses in Hong Kong game of political stalemate
20160216	CDHK	Kahon Chan	Govt rules out separate inquiry into Mong Kok riot
20160216	SCMP	Chris Lau	Hong Kong localist group 'knows no bounds' when it comes to protesting, says activist and by-election candidate
20160217	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Riot may spell end of radicalism
20160217	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	For a peaceful future, Hong Kong people, particularly the young, must understand mainland China.
20160217	SCMP	Richard Harris	It's time for a post-riot reality check
20160217	CDHK	Luis Liu	HK urgently needs security law, says Basic Law adviser
20160217	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Passage of security law urged
20160217	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Expert predicts more violent riots in Hong Kong this year as passions run high with upcoming elections
20160218	The Standard	Michael Chugani	On riots, thugs and separatism
20160218	SCMP	Christy Leung	Hong Kong firefighters to receive training in how to work in chaotic situations like riots
20160219	SCMP	Tony Cheung	New HKU student leader Althea Suen says independence is 'viable way' for Hong Kong
20160219	SCMP	Danny Mok	'Don't do stupid things': PLA blames 'separatists' in Hong Kong for Mong Kok riot, criticises Western media's coverage of incident
20160219	Harbour Times	Chris Yeung	Fishball Hardball: Hitting hard on fishballers will bounce back

20160220	SCMP	Regina Ip	The Mong Kok riot was no spontaneous outburst, but just who was behind the violence?
20160220	SCMP	Alex Lo	There is no comparison between Beijing in 1989 and today's Hong Kong
20160221	SCMP	Vivienne Chow	Hong Kong independence activists elected to head Chinese University's student union
20160222	HKFP	Karen Cheung	New 'localist' CUHK student leader will not veto any method if effective and supported by students
20160222	EJI	SC Yeung	Is Beijing trying to vindicate the 1967 riots?
20160222	SCMP	Vivienne Chow	Beijing slaps ban on Hong Kong and Taiwan film awards' amid rising political tensions
20160222	SCMP	Tammy Tam	The more Hong Kong's radicals push for independence, the further they go against mainstream view
20160222	RTHK	RTHK	Localism aims to defend HK values: student leaders
20160222	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Why 'red capital' is a blessing and curse for Hong Kong
20160223	SCMP	Alex Lo	Localist delinquent movement seeking independence makes fashionable move to violence, but it's a political dead end
20160223	SCMP	Alex Lo	The road to ruin: Hong Kong's pan-democrats are eating each other's' lunch
20160223	CDHK	CDHK	Beware campus extremism
20160224	SCMP	Danny Mok Gary Cheung	Hong Kong's 'godfather of localism' Horace Chin set to lose job at Lingnan University
20160224	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	HK needs a policy of realpolitik
20160224	EJI	SC Yeung	Is HK independence a mainstream thought among the youth?
20160225	The Standard	The Standard (Central Station)	Banned movie puts focus on money man

20160226	CDHK	Bob Lee	Article 23 legislation is needed
20160229	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Despite facing a rioting charge, localist Edward Leung garnered 16 per cent of Legco by-election votes. Who voted for him ... and why?
20160229	SCMP	KC Ng	Five localists plan to run for Legco seats in push for Hong Kong independence
20160229	Global Times	Jiang Jie	TV station criticized by HK residents for using simplified Chinese
20160229	SCMP	Alex Lo	Ronny Tong's resignation from Legco has fuelled the fires of radical localism
20160301	SCMP	Gary Cheung Owen Fung Stuart Lau	'Rioter' a storm at polls
20160301	SCMP	Michael Chugani	Just imagine an independent Hong Kong
20160301	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	Localism is becoming a force to be reckoned with in Hong Kong politics
20160302	CDHK	Fung Keung	Our youth could benefit from learning simplified Chinese
20160303	SCMP	Tony Cheung Gary Cheung Cary Huang	'Engage youth': Beijing's message for Hong Kong as China's political advisers begin annual meeting
20160303	SCMP	Chris Lau	Beyond the by-election: Hong Kong young people fuel rise of localism at city's universities
20160303	CDHK	Wang Shengwei	Separatism will lead to a dead end
20160304	SCMP	Chris Lau	Localism takes root on campuses
20160304	SCMP	Owen Fung	Hong Kong localist's vote haul in by-election points to further splits in radical groups at Legco polls

20160304	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Beijing will not sit by and watch push for Hong Kong independence, top adviser warns
20160304	CDHK	Bob Lee	Curbing rising tide of localism
20160304	RTHK	RTHK	‘Mong Kok clashes show need to focus on youth’
20160305	SCMP	Zuraidah Ibrahim	High time for a Hongkongers-first policy
20160306	RTHK	RTHK	Xi says Taiwan won’t be allowed to ‘split’ again
20160306	SCMP	Alice Wu	It’s within Beijing’s power to halt the march of radicalism in Hong Kong
20160307	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Education ‘lacking’ for localists
20160308	SCMP	John Chan	Seekers of Hong Kong independence must have the foresight and patience to walk a peaceful path
20160308	CDHK	Ho Lok-sang	Education system not helping students to face life's problems
20160308	HKFP	Chantal Yuen	China has ‘right and responsibility’ to intervene in riots in HK, says Basic Law Committee member
20160310	VOHK	Victoria Hui	We Are All Localists!
20160310	CDHK	Kahon Chan	Bernard Chan: Engage the young in policymaking
20160311	RTHK	RTHK	HK independence a dead end, says Rita Fan
20160311	The Standard	RTHK	Rita Fan urges restless young not to pursue dead end road
20160314	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Several young Hong Kong radicals likely to get elected to Legislative Council, says top Beijing official
20160315	SCMP	Owen Fung	HKU student magazine says Hong Kong should become independent from China after 2047

20160315	SCMP	N. Balakrishnan	Both Donald Trump and Hong Kong's localist movement are tapping a vein of popular anger
20160315	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Minority report: mainland Chinese official says Hong Kong separatists do not represent the mainstream
20160315	RTHK	RTHK	'Common sense' says HK will remain in China: CE
20160316	VOHK	Chris Leung	Voice of The 40s-50s by 2047
20160316	EJI	SC Yeung	Why can't we talk about independence?
20160316	SCMP	Gary Cheung Owen Fung Tony Cheung	Hong Kong radicals entering Legco would be 'normal', says Beijing official
20160316	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Rise of mainland's service sector brings opportunities and challenges
20160316	HKFP	Kris Cheng	A turn to localism? Civic Party launches 10th anniversary manifesto
20160316	HKFP	Chantal Yuen	Pro-Beijing figures slam Hong Kong separatism as 'impossible,' 'impractical'
20160316	SCMP	Michael Davis	The rule of law needs more than lip service to survive in Hong Kong
20160316	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	HKU mag in bold call for SAR independence
20160316	EJI	EJI	HKU student magazine calls for self-determination after 2047
20160317	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Li Steers Clear Of Hong Kong Conflicts To Prop Up Confidence
20160317	The Standard	The Standard Editorial	Independence pitch for silly heads
20160317	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Politicians drub student independence idea

20160317	Global Times	Global Times Interview Sun Xiaobo Fan Lingzhi	Hongkongers must learn virtues of mainland
20160317	RTHK	RTHK	Independence for HK is impossible: Li Ka-shing
20160317	RTHK	RTHK	'Beijing won't lose sleep over independence calls'
20160317	CDHK	CDHK	Beijing's support crucial
20160317	Singtao	Singtao	HK independence won't change "one country" but will damage "two systems"
20160318	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	How our young men envision Hong Kong's future
20160318	CDA	CD	Present status best for Hong Kong's future
20160318	CDHK	Wang Shengwei	The SAR must engage its youth
20160318	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Separatism is suicidal – US democracy expert urges Hong Kong activists to act smarter
20160318	The Standard	Esther Yu	'Don't hurt HK any more'
20160319	SCMP	Alex Lo	Nationalism reigns whatever the ideology
20160319	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Hong Kong separatism is dangerous illusion
20160320	SCMP	Tammy Tam	Hong Kong independence: waiting for the idea to go nowhere
20160321	EJI	Alan Lee	2047: Who can predict what will happen?

20160321	SCMP	SCMP	Billionaire Lee Shau-kee labels Hong Kong sovereignty debate ‘outrageous,’ sees no reason for city to go it alone
20160321	HKFP	Karen Cheung	Hong Kong shouldn’t and can’t be independent, says Ming Pao newspaper boss
20160321	SCMP	Gary Cheung	A softer, gentler Beijing shows its good grasp of what’s ailing Hong Kong
20160321	CDHK	Regina Ip	Cure for separatism lies in ourselves
20160321	The Standard	Arika Ho	Hey kids, think you can take on the PLA?
20160321	The Standard	The Standard	Economy a ‘man-made disaster’
20160322	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Here’s why an independent HK can actually help Beijing
20160322	The Standard	Esther Yu	Praise for ‘hardworking’ CY
20160322	SCMP	Nikki Sun	Turbulence ahead: Hong Kong chief executive expects ‘emotional resistance’ as he advances Beijing development plans
20160322	SCMP	Michael Chugani	Localists form a majority in Hong Kong if what they advocate is opposing mainlandization
20160322	VOHK	Chan King-cheung	Hong Kong Independence A Road Of No-Return Towards Disaster
20160322	CDHK	Chan Tak-Leung	Independence talk is pure fantasy
20160322	The Standard	Kinling Lo	CY sees outcry and interference ahead
20160323	Harbour Times	Chris Yeung	Independent Hong Kong a dangerous flutter

20160323	VOHK	Chan King-cheung	‘One Country, One System’ if Hong Kong has no value for China
20160323	EJI	Frank Chen	Hong Kong 2047: Two scenarios
20160323	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Give youth issues top priority
20160323	RTHK	RTHK	New education centre aims to boost nationalism
20160323	SCMP	KC Ng	Beijing officials upset about CY Leung’s policies ‘discriminating’ against mainland Chinese, Henry Tang says
20160324	VOHK	Chris Yeung	What’s in A Missing University Name?
20160324	SCMP	Danny Mok	Pro-Beijing politician Rita Fan says new Hong Kong centre for promoting Chinese history serves no political purpose
20160328	SCMP	KC Ng Owen Fung	Hong Kong National Party is born: will push for independence, will not recognise the Basic Law
20160328	SCMP	Peter Kammerer	From ‘national’ to ‘independence’: why everyday words matter in protecting Hong Kong values
20160328	RTHK	RTHK	New party wants HK independence, end of Basic Law
20160329	EJI	Lam Hang-chi	How Leung might use the police as scapegoat in case of rioting
20160329	The Standard	Arika Ho	New party pushes for independence and end to Beijing ‘hurt’
20160329	SCMP	KC NG Owen Fung	Is it legal? Hong Kong justice department questions status of new pro-independence party
20160329	The Standard	The Standard	Buzzwords determine different stances

20160330	RTHK	RTHK	Supporters of HK's independence 'eager for fame'
20160330	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Half-hearted gestures against separatism lead us nowhere
20160330	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Words of HK Independence Turn to Action, Or Kind Of
20160330	CDA	CDA	Authorities denounce pro-independence ‘party’
20160330	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Forming party to push Hong Kong independence is ‘taking it too far’, warns pro-China newspaper
20160330	SCMP	Phila Siu	Beijing slams creation of Hong Kong independence party, saying it endangers national security
20160330	SCMP	Ng Kang-chung Owen Fung	Officials question pro-independence party’s legal status
20160330	CDA	CDA	Authorities denounce pro-independence ‘party’
20160330	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Half-hearted gestures against separatism lead us nowhere
20160330	RTHK	RTHK	Supporters of HK's independence 'eager for fame'
20160330	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	HK separatists take a further extreme step
20160330	Xinhua	Xinhua	Chinese authority voices resolute opposition to ‘Hong Kong independence’ organization
20160330	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Forming party to push Hong Kong independence is ‘taking it too far’, warns pro-China newspaper
20160330	SCMP	Phila Siu	Beijing slams creation of Hong Kong independence party, saying it endangers national security
20160330	SCMP	Ng Kang-chung Owen Fung	Officials question pro-independence party’s legal status
20160330	HKSAR	HKSAR	Government statement

20160330	HKSAR	HKSAR	Independence calls breach Basic Law
20160331	SCMP	Alex Lo	Independence party founders are both clowns and criminals – and their poison is spreading
20160331	SCMP	Phila Siu	Beijing hits out at party pushing for city's independence
20160331	The Standard	Flora Chung	Beijing blasts independence calls
20160331	EJI	SC Yeung	Why Beijing is taking HK National Party seriously
20160331	CDHK	CDHK	HK party an insult to rule of law and commonsense
20160331	Xinhua	Xinhua	'Hong Kong independence' organization unconstitutional: experts
20160331	PDO	Xinhua	Authorities Voice Opposition to "Hong Kong Independence" Organization
20160331	RTHK	RTHK	Beijing says National Party threatens sovereignty
20160331	RTHK	RTHK	CPPCC delegate slams independence calls
20160331	RTHK	RTHK	War of words over calls for independence
20160331	RTHK	RTHK	HKNP formation exceeds free speech says Zhang
20160401	Xinhua	Xinhua	China Voice: 'Hong Kong independence,' a dangerous absurdity
20160401	CDA	Kahon Chan	Separatist 'party' has crossed the line: Zhang
20160401	EJI	EJI	Top Beijing official warns new pro-independence party
20160401	The Standard	The Standard Editorial	Independence stone dead in water

20160401	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Party ideas ‘cannot be tolerated’
20160401	The Standard	The Standard (RTHK)	Carrie Lam says Independence proponents are wrong
20160401	The Standard	The Standard	Independence talk contravenes Basic Law, Rimsky Yuen insists
20160401	CDHK	David Wong	Localist narrative is a political ploy
20160401	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Advocacy of separatism will ultimately prove suicidal
20160401	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Hong Kong chief secretary Carrie Lam says calls for independence from mainland China ‘wrong’.
20160401	RTHK	RTHK	Carrie Lam condemns calls for independence
20160401	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Young Hong Kong National Party radicals test limits of legal freedoms
20160401	RTHK	RTHK	Govt weighs action over independence calls
20160401	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Beijing Speaks Loud Against HK Independence, But Silent on Article 23
20160401	HKSAR	HKSAR	Independence calls wrong: CS
20160401	HKSAR	HKSAR	Secretary for Justice on advocating "independence of Hong Kong"
20160401	HKSAR	HKSAR	Independence calls violate Basic Law: SJ
20160402	RTHK	RTHK	'Localists' warned not to push Beijing too far
20160402	RTHK	RTHK	Junius Ho wants government to consider Article 23
20160403	SCMP	Stuart Lau	Chaos points to five more years of CY, says Rita Fan

20160403	SCMP	Gary Cheung	50 years on, Hong Kong protest pioneer has no regrets (but he's got no time for today's radicals)
20160403	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Youngsters dreaming of an independent Hong Kong 'are being manipulated', says Charles Ho Tsu-kwok
20160403	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Hong Kong's equality watchdog urged to step in after columnist attacks 'mentally ill patients' of pro-independence party
20160403	RTHK	RTHK	Charles Ho - autonomy advocates are inexperienced
20160403	RTHK	RTHK	Bernard Chan says HK independence impossible
20160404	VOHK	Chris Yeung	The Power of Fearlessness of Fear
20160404	RTHK	RTHK	Most don't support independence, says Anson Chan
20160404	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Formation of Hong Kong National Party is the latest sign that China is losing Hong Kong's young
20160404	SCMP	Celine Ge Elizabeth Cheung Tony Cheung	'Politics has kidnapped filmmaking': Media Asia head Peter Lam slams Ten Years' win at Hong Kong Film Awards
20160404	SCMP	Owen Fung	Despite growing interference from Beijing, most Hongkongers aren't seeking independence, says city's former No 2
20160404	SCMP	KC Ng	Hong Kong activist Joshua Wong accuses HSBC of political censorship for rejecting bank account bids
20160404	RTHK	RTHK	Joshua Wong says new party refused bank account
20160405	VOHK	Anson Chan	Sustaining Core Values in A Turbulent World
20160405	VOHK	Chan King-cheung	A city of Troubles
20160405	EJI	Frank Ching	Does opposition to HK independence trump freedom of speech?

20160405	SCMP	Alex Lo	Call me crazy, but it's time for all of us to try to be politically correct
20160405	HKFP	Alvin Y.H. Cheung	Vitriolic reactions to pro-independence National Party only increase the attraction of independence
20160405	SCMP	Phila Siu	Hong Kong directors defend success of Ten Years
20160405	SCMP	Phila Siu	Creating platform to discuss Hong Kong's future more important than winning award, say Ten Years directors
20160405	SCMP	Toney Cheung	No need for Hong Kong independence talk, says Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying
20160405	SCMP	Holden Chow	Beijing must counter perceptions in Hong Kong of high-handedness
20160405	RTHK	RTHK	Independence not needed to defend HK interests: CY
20160405	The Standard	The Standard (RTHK)	Leung says independence not needed to protect HK interests
20160406	HKFP	Chantal Yuen	Independence debate 'wrong', akin to bank robbery, says former lawmaker
20160406	EJI	Lam Hang-chi	A movie, a magazine and the 'conspiracy' for HK independence
20160406	EJI	SC Yeung	Why CY Leung is keeping his head down amid independence debate
20160406	SCMP	Jeffie Lam Stuart Lau	Occupy movement leaders reinvented? Joshua Wong to launch Hong Kong's newest political party Demosisto
20160406	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Joshua Wong 'should seek the opinions of the 1.3 billion Chinese citizens' over Hong Kong
20160406	The Standard	Flora Chung	I've put our people first, says Leung
20160406	The Standard	Kinling Lo	Time runs out for Ten Years at cinemas

20160407	EJI	Joseph Wong Wing-ping	Pro-independence genie can't be put back in the bottle
20160407	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Political correctness bane of society
20160407	SCMP	Stuart Lau	Executive councilor Regina Ip's email overture to Hong Kong pro-independence party rejected
20160407	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Debate on future a fiery encounter
20160407	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	National economy is vital to Hong Kong's prosperity
20160407	The Standard	Yupina Ng	Kuk tears shed after new party backed
20160407	The Standard	Kinling Lo	Ten Years team slams illegal views
20160408	HKSAR	HKSAR	No plans for anti-separatism law
20160408	HKSAR	HKSAR	Independence goes against SAR status
20160408	SCMP	Stuart Lau	Calls for Hong Kong independence break the law, says legal chief of Beijing liaison office
20160408	HKFP	Kris Cheng	'Accomplice of the dictatorship': Pro-independence party and student unions reject Regina Ip meeting
20160408	CDHK	Sonny Lo	Claiming HK is a 'nation' a serious distortion of facts
20160408	CDHK	Song Sio-chong	Separatist moves are indictable
20160408	RTHK	RTHK	Advocating independence is a crime: Wang Zhenmin
20160408	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	On Ten Years, the film industry should let bygones be bygones
20160408	The Standard	Kinling Lo	People's movie `deserving of award'

20160409	SCMP	KC Ng	Hong Kong localists groups to join forces for Legislative Council elections in September
20160409	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Foreign secretary: independence not an option for HK
20160410	RTHK	RTHK	Young people being radicalised: Kwok Ka-ki
20160410	RTHK	RTHK	DAB discuss strategy, dismiss independence talk
20160410	SCMP	Alice Wu	Love it or hate it, Ten Years points to the common enemy in Hong Kong politics – fear
20160410	SCMP	Mike Rowse	Most Hong Kong people know independence for the city isn't practicable, so why overreact to a minority opinion?
20160410	SCMP	Jeffie Lam KC Ng	Beijing can deal on its own with advocacy of Hong Kong independence, says mainland Chinese law expert
20160410	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	New Hong Kong pro-democracy group Demosisto eyes self-determination and elections, but is likely to clash with other post-Occupy groups
20160410	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Hong Kong independence not feasible ... for now, says new pro-democracy group Demosisto
20160411	EJI	EJI	New political groups urge self-determination referendum
20160411	EJI	SC Yeung	Why the idea of having two HK chief executives is being floated
20160411	RTHK	RTHK	Beijing must have say on Article 23: legal expert
20160411	RTHK	RTHK	Nathan Law, Joshua Wong plan US tour
20160411	CDHK	Tony Kwok	Separatism will trigger violence
20160411	CDHK	CDHK	Treading a dangerous path

20160411	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Young parties to shake up Legco election strategies; Activists pose pan-dems new problem
20160411	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	They’re young, vocal and very, very determined ... but how do Hong Kong’s newest political parties differ?
20160411	The Standard	Yupina Ng	Independence on agenda of poll alliance
20160411	The Standard	Yupina Ng	Localists warned about splitting pan-dem vote
20160412	The Standard	Michael Chugani	Free speech vs political correctness
20160412	The Standard	Joey Hung	Illegal line drawn at independence
20160412	The Standard	RTHK	Wang Zhenmin warns of conflicts over independence call
20160412	SCMP	Alex Lo	Good luck with the new political party, Joshua, but shame about the name
20160412	RTHK	RTHK	'Independence backers would cause instability'
20160412	RTHK	RTHK	Arrest National Party, Demosisto members: Alan Hoo
20160412	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	'Localism' and separatism live in fear of HK's declining influence
20160412	CDA	CDA	Independence parties may have violated law: Barrister
20160412	SCMP	Owen Fung Shirley Zhao	Hong Kong chief executive urges understanding of China sovereignty as National Party dubs itself revolutionary
20160412	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Panama Papers reveal the ugly truth about China’s elite

20160413	EJI	EJI	DOJ urged to investigate new pro-independence party
20160413	EJI	SC Yeung	How the government should respond to calls for independence
20160413	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	How Hong Kong independence can be legal
20160413	The Standard	Flora Chung	Freedom of speech has limits says Beijing's man
20160413	SCMP	Owen Fung Stuart Lau	Top Hong Kong judge urges tolerance of advocates of independence
20160413	RTHK	RTHK	Calls for independence legal, says Benny Tai
20160413	CDHK	CDHK	'Independence' just a ploy
20160413	CDHK CDUS	Timothy Chui Luis Liu	HK youth told not to agitate for separation
20160413	The Standard	Flora Chung	Knowledge of history queried
20160414	EJI	Michael Chugani	An independent Hong Kong? Stop dreaming
20160414	The Standard	Samuel Lai	Prof counters independence alerts
20160414	CDHK	Chan Tak-leung	No justification for separatism
20160414	SCMP	Lam Woon-kwong	On Second Thought: Taking pride in our shared experience is nothing to be ashamed of
20160414	SCMP	KC Ng Owen Fung	Claims Hong Kong independence forum censored

20160415	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	The young are marching into politics as the elders foul up
20160415	EJI	SC Yeung	How govt will try to bar pro-independence candidates from Legco
20160415	CDHK	Joseph Li	'Independence' not an option
20160415	RTHK	RTHK	Alan Hoo flogs Benny Tai over independence comment
20160415	The Standard	Kinling Lo	No new uni contract for localist prof
20160416	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	Talk on Hong Kong's future must not deviate from the Basic Law
20160417	SCMP	Stuart Lau	John Tsang remains equivocal over top job
20160417	RTHK	RTHK	Suppressing independence talk a bad idea: scholar
20160417	RTHK	RTHK	50-year pledge should be made permanent: Tien
20160417	RTHK	RTHK	Independence can't be ruled out: Demosisto
20160417	RTHK	RTHK	Independence advocates admirable but wrong: Tang
20160417	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Radicals are breaking the law by calling for Hong Kong independence, says Beijing diplomat
20160417	SCMP	Peter Guy	Why Hong Kong's rich like to pretend they can avoid politics
20160417	SCMP	Tammy Tam	Carrot or stick? It's no surprise that Beijing is using both with Hong Kong
20160418	VOHK	Tang Ka-piu	Government Cannot Take Patriotism from People for Granted
20160418	VOHK	Ching Cheong	Beijing Sets Fire, C.Y. Adds Oil To Independence Call

20160418	Global Times	Global Times	‘Hong Kong independence’ calls will fail: senior official
20160418	SCMP	KC NG	‘Beijing will send in troops if Hong Kong declares independence’
20160418	SCMP	Eliza Chan	Hong Kong should reconsider enacting Article 23 legislation to nip support for independence in the bud
20160418	The Standard	Flora Chung	Independence calls to ‘mess up’ polls
20160419	EJI	Benny Tai	What is breeding separatism in Hong Kong?
20160419	SCMP	Michael Chugani	Hong Kong independence: Dismiss it as a pipe dream by young idealists
20160419	CDHK	CDHK	Refocus on development
20160419	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	‘No violence’ pledge as party readies
20160419	EJI	SC Yeung	Why Occupy student leaders are losing touch with the public
20160420	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Exposing the rise of ‘localism’
20160420	SCMP	Tik Chi-yuen	In denial: Hong Kong independence calls ignore the inextricable link to China
20160420	The Standard	The Standard Editorial	Zhang to visit with SAR at crossroads
20160420	SCMP	Alex Lo	Alternate universe: where opinion polls are labelled as referendums
20160421	CDA	Luis Liu	HK people should be more rational: Official
20160421	RTHK	RTHK	CE hailed as 'father of HK's independence'

20160421	RTHK	RTHK	Localist 'shocked' over Poly U letter against him
20160421	SCMP	Jeffie Lam Owen Fung	Hong Kong independence advocates have a personality disorder, says prominent economist
20160421	CDHK	Fung Keung	Complacent attitudes will harm Hong Kong's future development
20160422	EJI	SC Yeung	Why democrats are split on call for HK independence
20160422	CDA	CDA	'Beijing concerned about HK separatism'
20160422	CDHK	Geoffrey Somers	Youth should learn the Basic Law
20160422	HKFP	Kris Cheng	Rural powerhouse Heung Yee Kuk vows to 'crush' HK independence movement in full-page ad
20160422	HKFP	Isaac Cheung	Advocates embrace professor's claim that independence will cause 90% drop in property market
20160422	SCMP	Eddie Lee	The road to sedition: the legal debate at the root of Hong Kong independence controversy
20160422	RTHK	RTHK	'Beijing wary of rise in independence calls'
20160422	RTHK	RTHK	Youngspiration rejects new self-determination call
20160422	SCMP	Gary Wong	Hong Kong's political parties must rise above the status of pressure groups
20160422	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Beijing frets pro-independence movement could 'worsen or spread', Hong Kong minister says
20160422	SCMP	KC Ng	Hong Kong National Party delegation to meet Taiwan independence advocates
20160423	HKSAR	HKSAR	Advocating autonomy breaches Basic Law
20160423	RTHK	RTHK	Independence calls contrary to law: SJ
20160423	SCMP	Eddie Lee	The road to sedition

20160423	RTHK	RTHK	Rimsky Yuen denies inaction over autonomy calls
20160423	RTHK	RTHK	Demosisto open to discussion on independence
20160423	RTHK	RTHK	People's Daily: prosecute independence advocates
20160424	SCMP	Cliff Buddle	Hong Kong does need to revisit Article 23 – not to criminalise calls for independence, but to modernise our outdated sedition laws
20160424	SCMP	KC Ng	Peaceful calls for Hong Kong independence are protected by Bill of Rights, ex-top prosecutor says
20160424	SCMP	Owen Fung	Hong Kong National Party under legal scrutiny as government studies whether group broke law
20160424	SCMP	Philip Bowring	Between a dubious decision by our market regulator and talk of sedition, are Hong Kong freedoms under threat?
20160425	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Get Real With 'Pseudo' Independence Issue
20160425	EJI	EJI	Govt puts pro-independence party under legal scanner
20160425	EJI	SC Yeung	What the legal scrutiny on pro-independence group tells us
20160425	RTHK	RTHK	Money, fame luring more youth to politics: Ip
20160425	SCMP	Raymond Tam	Hong Kong is too closely tied to mainland China for serious talk on independence
20160425	SCMP	Andrew Raffell	Independence Day? Probably not, but it's no crime (yet) for some Hongkongers to dream
20160425	SCMP	Enoch Yiu	Allan Zeman: 'Hong Kong should promote itself like South Korea; young people should aim high'
20160425	RTHK	RTHK	Restart political reform process: Ronny Tong

20160425	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Security chief lost for legal words
20160426	EJI	EJI	Young politicians motivated by money, fame: Regina Ip
20160426	EJI	SC Yeung	Will ethnicity argument work for pro-independence party?
20160426	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	How Beijing is helping sow the seeds of separatism
20160426	RTHK	RTHK	Autonomy calls will cost us Beijing's support: CY
20160426	CDHK	Ho Lok-sang	Everyone must respect Basic Law
20160426	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	An open debate is the best way to curb talk of independence
20160426	SCMP	Owen Fung	Independence talk by some could cost all Hongkongers dearly: C.Y. Leung warns
20160426	SCMP	Alex Lo	Calls to relaunch political reform process are fraught with danger
20160427	The Standard	RTHK	Beijing adviser warns against destructive independence call
20160427	The Standard	Flora Chung	Let court handle independence issue: top solicitor
20160427	EJI	Lam Hang-chi	Like it or not, young democrats are making a determined push
20160427	EJI	SC Yeung	How the Leung family is making the govt more unpopular
20160427	RTHK	RTHK	Independence calls will hurt HK: Beijing adviser
20160427	CDHK	Jon Lowe	We should not idealize democracy
20160427	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	'Localism' fails to acknowledge Hong Kong's economic realities

20160427	SCMP	Raymond Yeung	Jailed Hong Kong businessman Lew Mon-hung living in 'protected zone' with Rafael Hui and Thomas Kwok
20160427	SCMP	Grenville Cross	Talk of Hong Kong Independence is not criminal, but it's not helpful either
20160428	SCMP	Stuart Lau	EU envoy urges HK officials to investigate reasons driving independence campaign
20160428	Global Times	Global Times WWP Guancha.cn	'Independence' dead end for Hong Kong
20160428	EJI	EJI	Ming Pao refuses to reinstate editor, staff mull strike
20160428	EJI	SC Yeung	Who is responsible for the rise of pro-independence mindset?
20160428	RTHK	RTHK	Police delaying our registration, says new party
20160428	The Standard	The Standard Editorial	Yuen's unspoken words on sedition law
20160428	CDHK	Harry Ong	Examining worrying aspects of Hong Kong's education system
20160429	VOHK	Shih Wing-ching	2047 Fears Breed Separatism
20160429	SCMP	Jason Y. Ng	Baptism of fire for Joshua Wong and his nascent political party
20160429	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	The butterfly effect of Leung's 'luggagegate'
20160429	The Standard	Yupina Ng	Official visit bumps out cloud expo
20160429	The Standard	Amy Nip	Look into why they want to go it alone: EU official

20160430	HKFP	Tim Hamlett	Could calls for Hong Kong independence be acts of ‘treason’ against Xi Jinping
20160430	RTHK	RTHK	Police commissioner issues independence warning
20160501	SCMP	Owen Fung	Localist activist Edward Leung Tin-kei in talks with Dalai Lama
20160501	SCMP	Jeffie Lam KC Ng	Hong Kong anti-parallel trader protest pulled at last minute
20160501	SCMP	Tammy Tam	Worse to come for Hong Kong: Beijing is no longer in the mood to dish out any favours
20160502	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Who Says Politics Turns Mainland Visitors Away?
20160502	CDUS	Regina Ip	Separatism will doom Hong Kong
20160502	SCMP	Jeffie Lam KC Ng	Protest over parallel trading aborted
20160502	SCMP	Gary Cheung	What Beijing’s ideologues can learn from Zhou Enlai’s restraint when dealing with rebellious youth
20160503	EJI	Lam Hang-chi	Zhang Dejiang visit may only win votes for separatists
20160504	CDHK	Eddy Li	Closer mainland ties crucial to HK’s trade center status
20160504	SCMP	KC Ng	Pro-independence Hong Kong radicals start recruiting youth corps for ‘military’ summer camp
20160504	SCMP	Tony Cheung	David Chu: CY Leung sees ‘patriotism as a business’
20160504	SCMP	Owen Fung Stuart Lau	Hong Kong localist asks High Court to rule on city’s freedoms amid rising political tensions
20160504	EJI	SC Yeung	Why the Liberal Party has gained the people’s trust

20160505	SCMP	KC Ng	Radicals start recruiting city's teenagers for summer camp
20160505	EJI	SC Yeung	David Chu does some plain-speaking on Leung
20160505	SCMP	Christy Leung Gary Cheung Tony Cheung	Zhang Dejiang unlikely to touch on Hong Kong independence during visit, says source from mainland China
20160505	RTHK	RTHK	Nip independence calls in the bud: Ambrose Lee
20160505	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	'Independence is not a practical option,' it is just as simple as that
20160505	SCMP	Owen Fung	Dalai Lama urges Hong Kong not to quit democracy fight, says pro-independence activist after visit
20160505	SCMP	Owen Fung	Sedition laws could be unconstitutional, says Hong Kong National Party
20160506	CDHK	Song Sio-chong	Grenville Cross has got it all wrong
20160506	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	Fan slams independence 'word games'
20160506	SCMP	Sherif Elgebeily	The question Hong Kong must consider now: what will happen after 2047?
20160507	SCMP	Owen Fung	Beijing 'fears cross-border ties at stake if calls for independence are not curbed'
20160507	SCMP	Regina Ip	Why talk of an independent Hong Kong fails the test of reality
20160507	CDHK	Shadow Li	Political figures condemn scattered separatist advocacy
20160509	EJI	EJI	Jasper Tsang urges next HK govt to settle political reform issue
20160509	HKFP	Suzanne Pepper	Treason of free speech? Talk of independence touches a sensitive spot
20160510	CDHK	CDHK	Great to see rationality prevail

20160510	CDHK	Ho Lok-sang	The mainland shares and respects the universal values we all cherish
20160510	RTHK	RTHK	‘Zhang Dejiang unlikely to raise political issues’
20160511	EJI	EJI	Investors flee ETF tracking Hong Kong stocks
20160511	SCMP	Nikkie Sun	Chamber bullish on city's economy despite dire talk
20160511	The Standard	Kinling Lo	Subversion law bid wanted in 2 years
20160512	EJI	Ching Cheong	Here’s a Beijing conspiracy to mainlandize Hong Kong
20160512	CDHK	CDHK	Belonging to the same family
20160512	SCMP	Shirley Zhao	Legco run has nothing to do with getting free-to-air TV licence, says HKTVs Ricky Wong
20160512	SCMP	Gary Cheung	TV boss Ricky Wong reveals plan to run for Legco seat
20160512	The Standard	Kenneth Lau	TV boss aims for Legco run to target Leung
20160512	The Standard	The Standard	China stimulus measures `soon'
20160513	SCMP	Jeffie Lam Gary Cheung	Hong Kong pan-democrats hope to press top Beijing official on missing booksellers, CY and political reform
20160513	CDHK	N. Balakrishnan	'Independence' not always the best solution for a society's problems
20160513	SCMP	Shirley Zhao	Harvard historian paints a bleak picture for Hong Kong
20160513	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Wong win could shake up pan-dems
20160514	SCMP	Gary Cheung	CY, scandals and Hong Kong independence: Henry Tang laid bare

20160514	SCMP	Jeffie Lam Gary Cheung	Pan-dems identify key issues for talks
20160515	RTHK	RTHK	CE: voting system gives rise to independence talks
20160515	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Conflicting, Intriguing Messages Ahead of Zhang ‘Inspection’ Trip
20160515	SCMP	Allen Auyueng	Dr Horace China Wan-kan opens district office in Tai Wai
20160516	SCMP	Stuart Lau	Iron fist or soft glove? Zhang Dejiang strides on stage in an increasingly divided Hong Kong
20160516	SCMP	Owen Fung	Chief Executive CY Leung blames Hong Kong voting system for independence calls
20160517	EJI	SC Yeung	Why pan-dems may have already lost an opportunity with Zhang
20160517	CDUS	Wang Lei	Advocating independence violates HK law
20160517	CDHK	CDHK	Don't waste B&R opportunities
20160517	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Five key questions about senior Chinese official Zhang Dejiang and his Hong Kong visit
20160517	SCMP	Gary Wong	Focus on fixing the present-day problems in Hong Kong, rather than pipe dreams of self-determination
20160517	Harbour Times	Andrew Work	To Zhang Dejiang on Independence: Love HK forever, don't chain us to the past
20160517	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Is Zhang here merely for ‘Belt and Road’ platitudes?
20160518	Xinhua	Xinhua	China’s top legislator calls for strong confidence in ‘one country, two systems’, Hong Kong’s future
20160518	SCMP	Gary Cheung Stuart Lau	Smiles on one side, protests on the other greet Zhang

20160518	SCMP	Stuart Lau	You won’t lose your identity: Zhang Dejiang assures Hong Kong it will not be absorbed by mainland China
20160518	RTHK	RTHK	State leader tries to calm fears of HK people
20160519	EJI	Joseph Wong Wing-ping	Why Ricky Wong Wing-ping’s move may be start of Leung Chun-ying’s downfall
20160519	Global Times	Ding Xuezhen	Zhang meets HK opposition
20160519	SCMP	KC Ng	Hong Kong pan-democrats say Zhang Dejiang agreed to more direct talks
20160519	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	Zhang Dejiang has set the right tone for better ties between Hong Kong and the mainland
20160519	The Standard	Phoenix Un Kenneth Lau	You won’t be mainlandized
20160519	Singtao Daily	Singtao Daily Editorial	Three pillars swaying spell disaster for Hong Kong
20160519	CD	Luis Liu Shadow Li	One Country, Two Systems called bedrock of prosperity
20160519	CDHK	Ronald Ng	Young firebrands need to be constructive and not confrontational
20160519	SCMP	Gary Cheung Owen Fung Stuart Lau	Loyalty card: state leader’s ‘soft’ take on localism during Hong Kong visit surprises analysts
20160519	HKFP	Kris Cheng	Hong Kong will ‘undoubtedly rot’ if ‘viable’ Basic Law abandoned, says China’s Zhang Dejiang
20160519	EJI	EJI	Zhang assures status quo under 'one country, two systems'

20160519	Global Times	Ding Xuezhen	Zhang meets HK opposition
20160519	SCMP	KC Ng	Hong Kong pan-democrats say Zhang Dejiang agreed to more direct talks
20160519	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Zhang offers olive branch, but stands solidly versus notion of Hong Kong independence
20160519	The Standard	The Standard	Zhang Dejiang heads for Beijing after calming Hong Kong's nerves
20160519	VOHK	Chris Yeung	Promises and Realities: 'Belt and Road', 'One Country, Two Systems'
20160520	SCMP	Alex Lo	Forget the iron first, Zhang Dejiang delivered his message with a velvet glove
20160520	EJI	EJI	Self-determination, independence attempts doomed to fail: Zhang
20160520	The Standard	Phoenix Un	Don't let rot set into HK: Zhang
20160520	The Standard	The Standard Editorial	Lasting impressions and a few hints
20160520	SCMP	Zhang Dejiang	Zhang Dejiang: 'One country, two systems' is here to stay
20160520	MingPao	MingPao Editorial	Normalisation of relationship between central government and pan-democrats
20160521	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Beijing 'has the laws, guns and cannons to prevent independence', legal expert warns
20160521	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Rare consensus: Hong Kong student activist and pro-Beijing veteran chastise pan-democrats over meeting with state leader
20160522	SCMP	Alice Wu	Enough of the Lion Rock refrain – can Hong Kong and mainland China move on to actually setting aside their discord?

20160522	SCMP	Jeffie Lam	Beijing will use law and public opinion to handle Hong Kong independence issue, not guns, insists prominent lawyer
20160522	VOHK	Sin Chung-kai	Hong Kong Will Be Better the Sooner C.Y. Is Booted
20160523	EJI	Belinda Lloyd	Zhang had more protection than Obama will get in Hiroshima
20160523	CDHK	Xiao Ping	Zhang presented HK a 'golden key'
20160523	MingPao	MingPao Editorial	Positive energy brought by Zhang
20160524	HKSAR	HKSAR	Gov't fosters talks with Mainland
20160524	RTHK	RTHK	HKU students to discuss Hong Kong's future
20160524	SCMP	Cliff Buddle	Hong Kong's judges must remain above the fray, as should Chinese leaders with their comments on our judiciary
20160524	SCMP	Michael Chugani	Public Eye: Who were the winners from Zhang's visit? Legco elections may tell us
20160525	CDHK	Wang Shengwei	Reciprocate Beijing's olive branch
20160525	CDHK	Zhou Bajun	Be patient with the implementation of 'One Country, Two Systems' policy
20160525	The Standard	The Standard Editorial	Belting for lawyers out for fun on road
20160525	EJI	Lam Hang-chi	What Zhang's visit tells us about Hong Kong politics
20160526	The Standard	Flora Chung	Two more quit over China karaoke romp
20160526	CDHK	David Wong	Belt and Road offers HK young people enormous opportunities

20160526	SCMP	Elizabeth Wong	On Second Thought: Chinese leadership needs to go the extra mile after Zhang Dejiang's Hong Kong visit
20160526	RTHK	RTHK	'Young attention seekers behind independence call'
20160527	CDHK	CDHK	Separatism in HK is doomed
20160528	SCMP	Stuart Lau	'Pimps in a brothel': Hong Kong student leaders insult organisers of June 4 vigil
20160529	SCMP	Alice Wu	Loose cannons, not talk of Hong Kong independence or shady karaoke dealings, are Beijing's real problem
20160529	SCMP	Tammy Tam	Hard and soft: Zhang Dejiang lays down line on independence and localism
20160530	SCMP	Alex Lo	Locked minds of independence advocates
20160531	SCMP	Holden Chow	Zhang Dejiang's visit to Hong Kong a reminder of what really matters
20160531	EJI	SC Yeung	Why are out students condemning the remembrance of June 4?
20160531	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Why some youth are becoming indifferent to June 4
20160601	MingPao	MingPao Editorial	Unacceptable comments on the June Fourth Incident
20160602	EJI	Joseph Wong Wing-ping	Why we must watch out for 'mainlandization'
20160604	SCMP	SCMP Editorial	June 4 anniversary a reminder of bonds between Hong Kong and mainland China
20160604	RTHK	RTHK	Independence a theme at CUHK June 4 forum
20160604	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Two weeks to forget for controversy-riven DAB
20160605	RTHK	RTHK	HK-Beijing relationship 'difficult' - Lau Siu-kai

20160606	CDA	Li Yinze	Closer HK-mainland ties urged
20160606	EJI	EJI	June 4 vigil smallest in eight years but donations up 30%
20160607	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Why an old vigil can renew itself to remain relevant
20160607	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Mainland market power sways Lancôme
20160607	SCMP	Alex Lo	June 4 a reminder that we are Chinese
20160607	SCMP	Sonny Lo	June 4 rallies reveal deep divisions in Hong Kong
20160608	EJI	EJI	Candidates' stand on Leung deemed key issue ahead of Legco polls
20160608	EJI	Frank Chen	‘Don’t badmouth HK’: A mainland girl rebukes here follow citizens
20160608	RTHK	RTHK	PCCW does not support independence: Richard Li
20160609	RTHK	RTHK	Dennis Kwok warns of second Occupy Central
20160610	The Standard	Phoenix Un	Lancome reopens after protests
20160610	EJI	EJI	Mainland visitors still shop at Lancôme amid boycott campaign
20160611	EJI	SC Yeung	Are July 1 march organizers barking up the wrong tree?
20160611	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Ho demands answers from L'oreal
20160611	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Unlikely leader of Lancome protest says 'it's my duty'

20160611	RTHK	RTHK	Beijing must hear all HK voices: Tsang Yok-sing
20160612	RTHK	Albert Ho	Letter to Hong Kong
20160612	RTHK	RTHK	Localists breaking united front for democracy: Ho
20160613	RTHK	RTHK	Step up promotion on 'One Country': Tung
20160613	RTHK	RTHK	Tung unclear about localists' motivation: pan-dems
20160613	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Ex-chief executive to pro-Beijing camp: ‘work more closely’ with government for all of Hong Kong
20160613	SCMP	Gary Cheung	Hong Kong’s student leaders must understand the world beyond Facebook
20160613	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Former chief executive Tung Chee-hwa cites lack of party politics for poor Hong Kong governance
20160613	SCMP	Tung Chee-hwa	Extracts from former Hong Kong chief executive Tung Chee-hwa’s speech
20160614	EJI	EJI	Tung Chee-hwa blames system for governance failures since 1997
20160614	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Revealing the truth about the Lancome concert controversy
20160614	SCMP	Stuart Lau	New law society head ‘100pc’ confident in Hong Kong courts but silent on whether advocating city’s independence is legal
20160615	SCMP	Stuart Lau	Do not interfere with courts, law society chairman warns
20160615	SCMP	KC Ng	Radical move: two rival parties unite
20160615	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Show goes on for Denise Ho with free Hong Kong concert after Lancome scrapped her event
20160617	The Standard	AP	Beijing insists on right to deal with law breaker Lam Wing-kee

20160617	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Listerine promotion drops Denise Ho
20160617	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Canto-pop star to host show minus Lancome
20160617	SCMP	Shirley Zhao	Be proud of young Hongkongers and not worried about them, top university official says
20160619	SCMP	Tammy Tam	How Hong Kong has lost its importance in cross-strait relations
20160620	EJI	SC Yeung	Booksellers saga: Beijing tries to put the cat back in the bag
20160620	SCMP	Ernest Kao	Other brands have dumped me, Ho says
20160620	EJI	EJI	Denise Ho sends message about free speech in Sunday concert
20160621	The Standard	Phoenix Un	Indy may be way, says Lam
20160622	SCMP	KC Ng	New party seeks Hong Kong's independence, via return to British rule
20160622	SCMP	SCMP	The way Lam sees it
20160622	Global Times	Global Times Editorial	Attention-seeking extremists increase anxiety for HK
20160622	EJI	Wong On-yin	Lam Wing-kee epitomizes the spirit of Hong Kong
20160623	SCMP	Tony Cheung	Hong Kong pan-democrats plan fresh Loreal protest after cosmetics giant refuses to apologise for cancelling Denise Ho concert
20160624	SCMP	Alex Lo	Let the Brits back in? Pull the other one
20160624	EJ	EJI	HK independence can't be contained, says top barrister
20160624	EJI	Joseph Lian Yizheng	Democracy and self-determination: A lesson from Wukan

20160624	SCMP	Alex Lo	Let the Brits back in? Pull the other one
20160626	SCMP	KC Ng	Hong Kong party that wants Britain to take over again aims to win five Legco seats
20160627	SCMP	Alex Lo	Referendums: democracy's Achilles' heel
20160627	SCMP	KC Ng	British-rule party aims to win five Legco seats
20160627	The Standard	Carain Yeung	New Legco candidates start to make plans
20160627	EJI	EJI	Group seeks return of British rule, HK independence
20160628	CDHK	Lau Nai-keung	Brexit's lesson for HK separatists
20160628	SCMP	Zuraidah Ibrahim Gary Cheung	Q&A What it takes to run this city
20160629	SCMP	KC Ng Tony Cheung	Hong Kong police to deploy big force amid jitters over black mask rally in Western
20160630	SCMP	Clifford Lo	Police poised to search localists for weapons at July 1 protest as 'black bloc' rally poster sparks concern
20160630	RTHK	RTHK	Separatist movement dismissed as 'passing phase'
20160630	The Standard	RTHK	Wang Guangya predicts extremists fading away
20160630	SCMP	Joyce Ng	Top Beijing official for Hong Kong claims pan-democrats can become 'constructive force' in restless city