The Hong Kong Political Science Association expresses its deepest gratitude to the following organizations for sponsorship of the 2018 annual conference.

## Hong Kong Political Science Association Annual Conference 2018
### 3 November 2018
Connie Fan Multi-media Conference Room
4/F Cheng Yick-chi Building
City University of Hong Kong

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<td>Shayne Garcia, City University of Hong Kong</td>
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- Y5-202, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
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<td>its Consequences</td>
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**Y5-204 Imperial Visions and Organized Crime**

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- Y5-202, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
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between China and ASEAN Members  
Eric Chong King Man, Education University of Hong Kong  
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Localist Challenges and the Fragmentation of the Pan-democratic Camp in Hong Kong  
Jermain T.M. Lam, City University of Hong Kong  
Democracy Against Democracy? How Localists’ Advocacy for Independence Clashes with the Pan-democrats’ Push for Universal Suffrage in Hong Kong  
Raymond Kwun-Sun Lau, Hong Kong Baptist University  
The Myth of Hong Kong “Nationalism”  
Jeff Hai-chi Loo, City University of Hong Kong  
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Trey Menefee, Education University of Hong Kong |
| Centre Right Party v. Populist Radical Right Party Competition in the 2015-2018 European Refugee Crisis | James F. Downes, The Chinese University of Hong Kong  
Matthew Loveless, European University Institute  
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| Savior or Symptom? President Macron and the EU | Emilie Tran, Hong Kong Baptist University |
| Another Face of “Politicized Capitalism”: Private Entrepreneur’s Political Entitlement and Post-Socialist Institutional Change in Reforming China (1995-2010) | Chengzuo Tang, University of Chicago |
| **Y5-204** | **Round Table: Opportunities and Challenges of Policy Research and Advocacy in Hong Kong** |
| **Chair:** Kenneth Ka Lok Chan, Hong Kong Baptist University | 
Jasper Tsang Yuk Shing, Convenor, Hong Kong Vision 香港願景  
Hong Kong Policy Research Institute |
| Brian Wong Shiu Hung and Yeung Hai Chi  
Liber Research Community 本土研究社 | 
Albert Lai Kwong Tak  
Policy Committee Coordinator, Professional Commons 公共專業聯盟 |
Regional Solidarity, Hong Kong-Beijing Dynamics, and the Prospects for the Greater Bay Area Initiative: A Historical Perspective
Kent Pak-Kin WAN
University of Queensland

Hong Kong has long been mainland China’s unique asset. The city’s political, social, and economic separation from the mainland since 1841 meant that Chinese leaders of different political orientations could use Hong Kong as China’s economic window to the outside world or even a platform to launch anti-colonial mobilisations. It was the colonial status of Hong Kong, and the mistreatment of Hong Kong Chinese workers by the city’s British rulers and mercantile elites, that made the city a prime target against which anti-colonial popular mobilisations were launched in the 1920s. It was also Hong Kong’s capitalist system that made Deng Xiaoping’s economic reforms possible at a period when the PRC was still reeling from the chaos created by the Cultural Revolution. Since 1997, Hong Kong’s semi-autonomous status as China’s SAR under the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ as inscribed in the Basic Law even after Chinese resumption of sovereignty, is seen as adding fuel to Hong Kong Chinese’ sense of distinctiveness, a sentiment that has not been conducive to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) entering into a more mutually enriching relationship with the mainland.

It was in this climate of distrust between the Beijing officialdom and certain segments of the Hong Kong population, especially among the youth, that the Greater Bay Area (GBA) Initiative, the goal of which is to integrate Hong Kong, Macau, and nine other cities of the Pearl River Delta to create an economic hub comparable to the bay areas of San Francisco, New York, and Tokyo, was announced. This presentation will examine whether a shared Cantonese tongue, southern Chinese cultural sensitivities, and a determination to defend the city’s unique way of life, will allow Hong Kong and Guangdong to enter into a mutually advantageous partnership, in which the province obtain an asset able to accelerate Southern China’s entry into the global economy, while the HKSAR gains a ‘big brother’ that is best equipped to protect it from a central government that is seen as unable to preserve the Hong Kong way of life. If PRC policymakers are keen to preserve Hong Kong’s distinctiveness because the HKSAR’s unique characteristics often prove useful to the mainland, then the city has to continue to contribute to the mainland’s economic rise to justify its distinct status. This presentation posits that participation in the GBA Initiative is the best means for Hong Kong to serve its traditional role as mainland’s engine for innovation and economic growth.

Enemy or Empathy, Bonding and Boundary: Hong Kong-China Relationship as A Moral Practice
HUANG Xiuwei
MPhil in Anthropology, Chinese University of Hong Kong

The Umbrella Movement, a series of massive protests calling for “true universal suffrage”, broke out in Hong Kong in 2014, and ended without achieving its stated goals. Many activists now struggle to deal with feelings of disorientation and powerlessness caused by what they perceive to be an increasingly ominous political and social climate. Against the background of widespread
depression and possibility of radicalization, in my MPhil thesis I look at how some ordinary yet concerned Hongkongers can keep their political commitments alive in their daily lives. Since I am a mainland Chinese living in Hong Kong, Hongkongers’ impression of mainland Chinese and understanding of the Hong Kong-China relationship, a classic topic for Hong Kong studies and a heated one nowadays, frequently presented itself during my anthropological fieldwork, though at first I intentionally probed into neither the “China factor” nor the “Hong Kong identity”. I discovered, a bit surprisingly, that being suspicious of or even hating China has become the norm for my informants, ordinary Hongkongers who are not particularly “localist” but hold anti-establishment and pro-democracy political stances. However, on the other hand, they can treat individual mainland Chinese in a very friendly and heart-warming manner, as the conceptual boundary between “us” and “them” gives way to immediate connection made in actual interaction during their community service (as a form of Post-Umbrella Movement activism).

I was led to appreciate how these Hongkongers’ hatred against mainland Chinese is, of course, a political declaration but also a moral practice. Their imagination of “Hongkongers” (as opposed to mainland Chinese) has rich moral content about personal integrity and social awareness. This conceptual boundary does not necessarily dictate their behavior towards mainland Chinese or lead to extreme personal hostility, but variously functions in morally significant (and thus less predictable) ways in particular interpersonal encounters. Examining the Hong Kong-China relationship from a rather new angle, I illustrate how these political issues turn out to have strong moral undertones and are characterized by complicated ethical considerations when people do politics on the ground.

Left Melancholia in Different Temporalities:
Aesthetics and Affects behind the Conflicts in Hong Kong’s 1970s Social Movement Scene
LAU Pik-Ka (Lala)
International MA Program in Inter-Asia Cultural Studies
National Central University

Keywords: fiery era, social movement, Hong Kong 1967 leftist riots, left melancholia, global sixties, 火红年代

This essay is a response to Wang Hui’s suggestion that reconsidering the Sixties means returning to a politicized period of global scale. However, such return is never an easy one, not only because it faces obstruction from the hegemony of global capitalism and its supplement, liberal democracy, but also because of the hindrance from within - a problem which Wendy Brown would term as left melancholia. This essay aims at providing a contextualized and historicized understanding on the state of impasse and left melancholia that activists (especially the nationalists) faced in the period directly following 1967 riot – which is also called the fiery era (火紅年代) - where Hong Kong activists were trapped in multiple temporalities – the temporality of revolution that resulted from the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the temporality of change/reform that resulted from the Global Sixties and also the temporality of “the end of revolution” that arises due to the failure of the 1967 riots. I propose to understand the conflict between different activist groups, namely Guocuipai (the Nationalists / Maoists), Shehuipai (the “social camp”), Trotskyist and anarchists in the fiery era not only as ideological conflicts, but also as aesthetic and affective conflicts that arise from their different positions in different temporalities, which in turn affects their identification – which is in relation to the world as well - and hence political positions. To revisit the conflict in the activist scene of the fiery 70s, the period directly following 67, is a crucial step to understand the formation and configuration of Hong Kong’s activist scene today, and therefore to reimagine the im/possibilities of reconciliation and futurity.
Urban Development in the Era of Global China:
Hong Kong and Mainland Cities from a Comparative Perspective
HUANG Shan
PhD Candidate, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University

A major legacy of British colonialism, Hong Kong’s urban planning system is often praised for having overcome the port city’s notorious land scarcity and human density. Yet, as a modern technology of governance, planning is far from being a politically neutral technique that can be packaged and inherited out of context. In 2017, within just 20 days, the Chinese government announced two mega urban plans: a “Millennium Plan” of establishing a world-class New City near Beijing, and the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao “Greater Bay Area”—the world’s most populated economic hub and city cluster. What is underscored is the state’s unequivocal leadership in creating urban futures through large-scale planning and the relevance of such moves to China’s global positioning. As in the past—from the era of imperialism to the Cold-War—Hong Kong becomes, once again, a unique global frontier included into mega-plans made by a much larger polity. Hong Kong’s urban authorities often highlight the GBA initiative as bringing hopes of economic growth at a time when the HKSAR is losing its privileges over Mainland cities. The critical voices from urban activism, though, note that by mechanically following Mainland, Hong Kong is losing not only its autonomy in advance, but also a valuable opportunity to modify its own planning strategies crystalized in the late colonial era of excessive urbanization. My ongoing research focuses on the contested field of urban planning and land politics. In this presentation, I propose to juxtapose Mainland and Hong Kong’s urban development and explain the relevance of this comparative perspective to the GBA and contemporary urbanism in general.

Y5-202, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Changes in Hong Kong’s civil society

Performing Civil Disobedience in Hong Kong - Two Case Studies
Agnes Ku
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

This paper examines the broader institutional and the communicative environments in Hong Kong wherein instances of civil disobedience took shape after the political handover. It seeks to unravel, through two case studies, how the meanings of illegality, justice and civility were negotiated through discourse and dramaturgy in the midst of increasing state-society tensions. Moreover, it addresses the question of whether the discourse of civil society succeeds or fails to regulate interactions in the face of tensions and conflicts, both within civil society and between the state and society. The two cases are the conflict over the Public Order Ordinance in 2000 and the Umbrella Movement in 2014.

Explaining Localism in Post-handover Hong Kong: An Eventful Approach
Samson Yuen
Lingnan University

The pro-democracy movement in post-handover Hong Kong had long been an intense struggle between the hybrid regime and the pro-democracy civil society. Since the early 2010s, a new political force, broadly known as the localists, has entered the political domain through a series of
protest events and elections. However, just as they gained a foothold in politics, the hybrid regime swiftly moved in to clamp down on the nascent movement to keep them out from the political system. What explains the ebbs and flows of Hong Kong’s localist movement? This essay posits that localism is not an inevitable product of the macro-structural socio-political process, but an amalgam of ideas and action logics assembled sequentially through events and discursive constructions. We argue that localism first emerged through the interplay between anti-mainlandization protests and both online and intellectual discourses, and officially ascended on the political stage after the Umbrella Movement. Despite their meteoric rise, localists’ militant actions have allowed the hybrid regime to marginalize the nascent force through legal and non-legal repression, which has in turn created a “divided structure of contestation” among the opposition.

**From Mitigating to Utilizing Dissent:**
**Regime’s Mechanisms of Counter-Mobilization in Hong Kong**
Edmund Cheng
Baptist University of Hong Kong

This paper examines the Hong Kong hybrid regime’s mechanisms of counter-mobilization that arose from mass protests. It reveals how the united-front and mass-line strategies historically rooted in CCP apparatuses have diffused into the SAR, which established a hierarchical yet decentralized corporatist structure to enable elite cohesion and manage social contention. Contrary to Mainland China where these repertoires are highly dependent on coercive capacity, in Hong Kong, these political tasks are outsourced to communal-based societies, revered institutions, and grassroots actors. The multifaceted strategies deepened social penetration, practiced targeted coercion, and fostered “no-go zone” without generating a strong sense of oppression among the populace. However, the fragmented non-state agents also muddled the regime’s designated targets from radical localists to moderate pan-democrats to prolong instability. Regime resilience is thus illustrated in terms of how it can survive protests and can instigate incentive mechanisms and ambiguous boundaries to mitigate and utilize dissent.

**Cooperation between different NGOs in Hong Kong:**
**The Case of the “Save Our Country Park Alliance”**
Stephan Ortmann
City University of Hong Kong

Amid growing pressures to build houses on land currently conserved as country parks, conservation activists in Hong Kong have sought to unite under a common banner. The activists argue that the government should prioritize poorly used industrial sites and other land currently controlled by village oligarchs and developers because it is flat and close to public transport. Only a strong united force would be able to counter these forces inherent in the special administrative region’s oligarchic and exclusive form of semi-authoritarian regime. Unfortunately, civil society is deeply divided between small but highly active grassroots-oriented activists and larger more consensual organizations that seek to maintain a good relationship with the government. Usually cooperation occurs ad-hoc and is not formalized. This form of activism is more spontaneous and flexible. At the same time, however, it is also highly contingent on individual activists and their capacity and willingness to promote a cause. Even though there are attempts to form alliances such as the “Save Our Country Park Alliance”, they are very loose cooperations which lack a strong mandate and organizational structure. Nevertheless, the organic form of cooperation has resulted in periodic acts of contentious politics to counter the dominant state discourse. Activists have used various forms of
protest to attract media attention and garner support for their cause. This paper seeks to trace how different green groups have collaborated including through the formation of an alliance to promote the goal of nature conservation, which is increasingly viewed by the government as an obstacle to economic development.

Y5-203, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Current Issues in Transnational Politics

European Energy Security through Foreign Policy Analysis: Nord Stream 1 and its Consequences
Dr SLIWINSKI Krzysztof, Dr. Stratos Pourzitakis
Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong Baptist University

This paper reexamines the Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) with regard to recent developments concerning Nord Stream 1 (NS1) and Nord Stream 2 (NS2). Both of these projects are understood as specific foreign policy actions – “products” of foreign policy decisions. Drawing on Walter Carlsnaes’s identified lack of integrative and dynamic models that would convincingly include both types of variables – structures and actors in a dynamic fashion – this study proposes a “reinforced model” of foreign policy analysis. Our model accounts convincingly for the correlation between NS1 and NS2, understood as foreign policy actions. Our research indicates that the linear sequence, as proposed by Carlsnaes himself (structure – disposition – intention – action), can and indeed should be re-conceptualized in a “circular” manner. This being the case, it is claimed that the outcome of the original action (NS1) has reinforced the structural dimension that has led to reinforced dispositional dimension, which in turn has led to reinforced intentional dimension that ultimately underpins NS2.

China as a Norm Entrepreneur in International Society
Winston Fung
PhD Candidate, The University of Hong Kong

2018 has seen a distinct worsening of Sino-US relations with the initiation of the trade war by the Trump administration. This is coupled with the adoption of a more general hostile stance within US political circles against China. But both trends does not alter the need for China to promote its’ norms to the international society as it continues to grow economically and militarily. How can China successfully promote its’ norms in light of this growing antagonistic relations with the US? This proposal argues successful norm promotion by a rising power such as China is achievable by identifying the conditions for norm acceptance. The pathway to achieving acceptance legitimacy for a normative model depends on fulfilling the follow three conditions: first, locating and connecting the new norm to a contested derivative institution by the rising power will increase likelihood of successful norm legitimization. Second, the more a rising power is being perceived as a norm taker within a particular derivative institution, the more credibility it possesses to promote a new norm and being accepted by others in the international society. Third, the greater the ability of the norm entrepreneur to identify and persuade “cascade trigger” members of international society to accept the new norm, the more likely the entrepreneur can succeed in overcoming anti-preneurial resistance. Specifically, the proposal examines two case studies of successful norm promotion by China: the creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and comparison with the Asian Development Bank by Japan.
Transnational Politics in Canada: The international relations of the Province of Alberta
Dr Grant Dawson
Deputy Head of School, School of International Studies, FHSS Digital Learning Officer, University of Nottingham Ningbo China

My paper will focus on the Province of Alberta, Canada, which is a non-state governmental actor performing a variety of roles, from advocacy to negotiations on trade, in the international sphere. Though a government with bounded territory, the Province of Alberta is not a sovereign nation-state. Nonetheless, it has developed foreign policy ideas and pursued an agenda internationally, and was especially active in the 2006-16 period. My colleague, a government practitioner who has worked in the GOA international relations department, and I will examine the GOA's transnational activity and politics in 2006-16. We will compare Alberta's transnationalism with that of other Canadian provinces, including nationalist Quebec, to get a sense through cross-case analysis of the aspects of Alberta's activity that may have broader significance and determine their causes. We will ask, why did this activity even happen? What did Alberta do, and what does it say about contemporary transnational processes? What does Alberta do that has larger significance for Canada and perhaps other non-state governments across the world?

We will gather publicly available policy documents, carry-out secondary research, and conduct interviews with current and former members of the Alberta government and other Canadian governments at the federal and provincial level. The government documents are policy statements that were published by the Government of Alberta (Canada), and are freely available within the GOA. As well, there will be some 'Access to Information Requests' of the Canadian federal government. This is where a researcher formally requests to see some specific federal government documents, which you usually receive with the sensitive bits removed.

The role of China in the hegemonic interregnum of the 21st century: China’s strategic relations with the Latin American powers
Daniel Morales Ruvalcaba, Ph.D.
Center for Latin American Studies, Sun Yat-sen University

With the recent decline of the United States as a hegemonic power, humanity has entered a rare moment in history, characterized by the absence of hegemony: this period can be named as a hegemonic interregnum. Interregnum is defined as the time when a State does not have a sovereign; here, this concept will be used to talk about the period in which the international system lacks hegemonic power. In this context, the structural rise of China is one of the most outstanding phenomena of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century: practically, China is close to realize its transition from regional power to world power, which has led not only increase its global presence but also consolidate relationships with strategic partners in other regions. Now, regarding to Latin American, what are the countries with which China promotes strategic partnerships and what factors explain the interest for them? While some have sought answers in the economic, ideological and even migratory elements, we hold the hypothesis that China prioritizes relations with the most powerful countries in the region and with a better positioning in the international structure. To corroborate this, we will measure the power of each Latin American country with the Word Power Index (WPI) and we will contrast it with the diplomatic mentions, the volume of trade, the number of Confucius Institutes in each Latin American country, and other indicators. The
strategic relationships developed with each country will allow us to infer whether China acts as a status quo or peer competitor in the Latin American context.

**The Trump administration and the US – China Trade War**
Edward Ashbee
Chair and Programme Director – BSc / MSc International Business and Politics, Department of International Economics, Government and Business, Copenhagen Business School

Although the US is currently engaged in trade skirmishes with a broad range of countries its fight with China has edged towards a full-blown ‘trade war’. How and why has the Republican Party, long associated with trade liberalization, turned to the imposition of tariffs. For what reasons have many Democrats acquiesced? The paper argues that there are proximate reasons including the inherently loose and ambiguous character of the administration’s policy objectives and the White House’s use of institutional instruments located within the Trade Act of 1974 which enabled it to by-pass those who might have otherwise mobilized against protectionist measures. The more important reason why US policy shifted with comparative ease lies however in the character of the preceding policy and the historical moments at which it was framed. Although a policy commitment to promote trade with China, seek its integration into the world market through WTO membership, and pull the country towards western political norms, took shape in the years following Deng Xiaoping’s accession to power, the policy frame within which that commitment was legitimized was embedded only very shallowly within US politics. It had little ideational or institutional depth. This was because at the time of the key framing moments, the policy faced little structured opposition and did not have to be forcefully ‘sold’ beyond narrow, elite circles. Thus the processes described by E E Schattschneider in his classic 1935 description of the ways in which politics are shaped by policy and constituencies are built around a policy were largely absent. Ideational and institutional shallowness then opened the way for other frames and clusters of ideas, many drawn from populist and nationalist notions, to come to the fore two decades later.

**The Global Rise of Fake News and the Threat to Democratic Elections**
Speaker/Moderator/Panelist: Terry Lee, Five Corners Strategies
Panelists (if panel discussion):
TBD (three to five panelists)

At the end of 2016, in the United States 'fake news' had a clear meaning. It referred to stories that were fabrications. A new study, though, restores a bit of clarity to what “fake news” actually represents. Researchers at Oxford University's Internet Institute spent 18 months identifying 91 sources of propaganda from across the political spectrum on social media, which spread what they deemed “junk news” that was deliberately misleading or masquerading as authentic reporting.

In light of the recent elections in the US, UK, Indonesia, and Hong Kong, many fear that “fake news” has become a powerful and sinister force in the news media environment and fair and free elections. These fears stem from the idea that as news consumption increasingly takes place via social media sites, news audiences are more likely to find themselves drawn in by sensational headlines to sources that lack accuracy or legitimacy, with troubling consequences for democracy. Even though we are learning more every day, we still know little about the extent to which online audiences are exposed to fake news, and how these outlets factor into the average digital news diet.
For my proposed presentation or panel discussion, I argue that fears about fake news consumption echo fears about partisan selective exposure, in that both stem from concerns that more media choice leads audiences to consume news that align with their beliefs, and to ignore news that does not. Yet recent studies have concluded that the partisan media audience:
1. is small, and
2. also consumes news from popular, centrist outlets.
I will use online news audience data to show a similar phenomenon plays out when it comes to fake news.

Y5-204, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Imperial Visions and Organized Crime

German Visions of Global Order after an Axis Victory, 1939–1945
Joshua Derman
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Imperial Visions and Transnational Connections in the Russian Far East, 1895-1917
Niccolò Piancioletta
Lingnan University

The Curious Case of Meta-Securitization of the European Refugee Crisis in Greece after 2015: A New Mode of Securitization
STIVAS Dionysios
PhD Candidate, Department of Government and International Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University

The theory of securitization, as developed by the Copenhagen School of Security Studies, constitutes the main analytical framework through which scholars investigate how non-traditional security issues like migration, climate change and HIV gain security significance. On the basis of the securitization theory, scholars developed securitization sub-theories to explain phenomena which the securitization theory failed to address adequately. De-securitization, (a)securitization, in-securitization are just some of them. Yet, none of these sub-theories may explain the securitization related to the refugee crisis that was observed in Greece from 2015 onwards. This study argues that after winning the 2015’s elections, the leftist government of SYRIZA, ‘securitized’ the restrictive measures adopted and implemented by its right-wing predecessors in the context of the securitization of the migration crisis. Although the referent object of security, the nature of the threat and the emergency measures changed substantially, the leftist government of SYRIZA applied a form of securitization that has never been observed before: the securitization of the previous securitization’s emergency measures. This study names this form of securitization, meta-securitization. By applying the Modified Securitization Analytical Framework, this study argues that the leftist Greek government meta-securitized successfully the securitization measures implemented by its predecessors. Not only SYRIZA’s government framed the manner by which the previous right-wing government dealt with the crisis as an existential threat to the values that the European Union represents, but also it managed to reallocate the resources of the European Union in favor of Greece.

Transnational Organized Crime and Chinese Economic Activity in Spain: Stereotypes and Challenges for Bilateral Relations
Rubén Ruiz Ramas
Research Fellow at the Center for European Studies, School of International Studies (Sun Yat-sen University, China).

Abstract No. 1:
Between 2000 and 2018 the Chinese community in Spain grew 900%, being its economic contribution especially relevant to the country since the global recession opened in 2007. When other immigrant communities opted for returning to their countries, and the Spaniards migrated as never before in the last 40 years, the Chinese expanded not only their presence but also their investments. Today, 48% of the active population within the Chinese community are entrepreneurs or self-employers. What can be considered a successful business progression, it has also been accompanied by suspicions and ‘Chinese Mafia’ style stereotype representations about the means which made it possible such economic expansion in a time of recession. Like any other form of stereotyping, this also exploits elements of the real world. Indeed, during the last decade and a half, the scope of criminal activities committed by Chinese led organised crime groups (OCGs) operating in Spain have experienced significant growth both quantitatively and qualitatively. These examples of Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) apart from having a negative impact on the local perception of the Chinese community economic activity, represent a challenge for Spain-China bilateral relations.

This paper is divided into three sections. It begins by outlining the main characteristics of the Chinese led OCGs operating in Spain, as well as to introduce the Spanish police and legal reaction against TOC. The second section analyses how the local perception of the Chinese community economic activity is affected by the ‘Chinese Mafia’ set of representations present in the media, the literature and other popular culture items. The ‘Chinese Mafia’ functions both as a matrix of stereotypes and a system endowed with obscure norms and actors which pervades the whole Chinese community. Whereas the centripetal attraction of the ‘Chinese Mafia’ matrix of stereotypes captures many daily based economic behaviours –such as carrying significant large amounts of cash; the ‘Chinese mafia’, considered as a system, helps to provide an explanation based on speculation for behaviours and processes that do not match local codes and standards. The third section examines the reactions to the stereotyping of the Chinese economic activity in Spain. Among other aspects, the paper focuses on the potential for impacts on the bilateral relations, including the economic sphere and more specifically foreign direct investment in both directions in a critical period for the OBOR programme progress in the EU.
Parallel session II

Connie Fan Multi-Media Conference Room, 4F, Cheng Yick-Chi Building
Navigating the maze of myths and facts on the Belt and Road
Panel organizer: Tjia, Linda Yin-nor, Assistant Professor, Department of Asian and International Studies, City University of Hong Kong

Ever since China announced the Belt and Road initiative (BRI), academic research and policy reports have been skeptical about its intentions and possible outcomes, and a global discourse has emerged with Chinese and US poles. The Chinese government and media portray it as wholly positive and mutually beneficial and many BRI participant states affirm that position. The US government, some of its allies and much of US media characterize the BRI wholly negatively and in terms of a single issue: it is all about debt traps that result in the loss of developing country sovereignty. Based on documentary research and fieldwork, this panel seek to navigate the maze of myths and facts by studying varying connectivity and infrastructure projects along the Belt and Road. We examine China’s engagement norm in the Central and East European under the 16+1 framework, China’s freight train travelling to Germany and other European countries, Chinese construction and production projects in Ethiopia, as well as China’s presence in the coal sector in Indonesia.

Panel chair:
Linda Li, Professor, Department of Public Policy, City University of Hong Kong

Freight diplomacy: the politics of moving goods between Chongqing and Duisburg
Linda Tjia
Assistant Professor, Department of Asian and International Development, City University of Hong Kong

This paper challenges claims that many Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects are economically dubious and therefore were motivated solely by strategic concerns, and argues instead that some BRI projects arose from the previously-unseen agency of local-level actors in multiple sites; only later did it metamorphosize into what today looks like a grand strategy. By focusing on the freight transport projects between China and Europe, I track down the freight initiatives initially designed by local actors as “simply” economic can play the important—if unintended role of a politicized project of “freight diplomacy.”

Although the paradigm of global trade did not favor rail freight, local-level actors endeavored to catch-up and not to “miss the train.” Such freight connectivity requires institutional liaison for seamless transport to overcome economic anomalies. Such professional negotiations morphed into the BRI narrative and served to “neutralize” political issues, “buffer” confrontations, and “contain” mutual respect among the stakeholders. These political functions reproduce the freight activities, which gradually grow out of, not despite, economic anomalies.

China, Ethiopia and the Significance of the Belt and Road Initiative
Barry Sautman
Visiting Professor, Division of Social Science, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a mobilization that mainly focuses on infrastructure building and investment in developing countries. A global BRI discourse has recently emerged, with Chinese and US poles. The Chinese government and media portray it as wholly positive and mutually beneficial and many BRI participant states affirm that position. The US government, some
of its allies and much of US media characterize the BRI wholly negatively and in terms of a single issue: it is all about debt traps that result in the loss of developing country sovereignty.

Much of the BRI discourse is about Africa. Ethiopia is the continent’s model BRI country, because of elaborate Chinese infrastructure building and manufacturing. Based on documentary research and fieldwork, we seek the meaning of the BRI through the Ethiopian case. We examine major Chinese construction and production projects that may relate to building the predicates of industrialization and enhancing import substitution and exports. We also discuss local criticisms of Chinese activities that challenge the wholly positive view of the BRI, but that generally do not affirm the US-generated negative narrative. We find that the main significance of the BRI is that it is a Chinese state guarantee that even when the capital flow from China to non-BRI states is being curbed, as it is now, the flow to BRI states will still be encouraged and Chinese infrastructure building and investment will largely comport with demands of host country elites.

**China’s Maritime Silk Road: a look at the reality in Indonesia’s coal power sector**

Angela Tritto
Post-doctoral Fellow, Institute for emerging market studies, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Since its inception, China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has drawn much attention for the large investments it will bring. The plan of its Sea route, the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, was first unveiled in Indonesia. This paper provides an overview of Indonesia’s coal power sector, in which Chinese investments, alongside others, are long established. It seeks to answer the following question: how is BRI changing the scenario of coal power in the country? Fifteen in-depth interviews provided key insights into themes that were then explored with the help of quantitative data and further documentation. The main argument is that while China is trying to downsize the use of coal in its energy mix, large Chinese SOEs are going outward, propelled by the BRI to export their capacity abroad. Hence, coal-rich countries like Indonesia that still have a considerable gap in electricity coverage and are looking for foreign investors to finance their infrastructural deficit provide a perfect match. Results show that Chinese presence in Indonesia’s coal power sector started with construction contracts and BRI is bringing an increase of investments and a return of Chinese institutions as leading providers of funding of coal power plants. Despite what interviewees thought, the profile of the companies investing in Indonesia is not changing, as they are mostly top tier companies, but rather their presence has increased and BRI is bringing also companies outside the energy sector to invest in “instrumental” coal power plants that serve industrial parks. As Chinese companies seem to bring mostly subcritical (low-end) type of technology and are associated with a higher number of illegal labor-related issues, this poses a question towards the environmental and social sustainability of the Initiative.

**The Belt and Road Initiative: Provincial responses in Yunnan**

Tim Summers
Chinese University of Hong Kong

The Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been the subject of extensive scholarly, corporate and government analysis since the idea was first mentioned in late 2013. Most of these discussions have viewed the BRI as a manifestation of some aspect of China’s global approach under Xi Jinping, whether economic, geopolitical, or as a means for reshaping globalization. There has been a growth too in research into the responses and reactions to BRI in some of the countries and regions which might be affected by the initiative. But so far there has been little in the way of research into the impact of the initiative at the local level in China. This paper begins to address this gap by examining provincial responses to the BRI in Yunnan, a province in southwest China. Based on an examination of provincial-level policy documents, and the output of local scholars and corporates, the paper aims to sketch out the ways in which the elites in one province of China has
responded to the central government’s initiative, and what this might mean for the implementation and shaping of BRI. In doing so, the paper contributes to the wider theme of this conference, by bringing together the global patterns and local trends in China’s BRI.

Y5-202, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Governance in Macau in Comparative Perspective

One Country, Two Systems in Macau in Practice: Some Case Studies
Albert Wong
Independent Scholar

Unlike Hong Kong, dated from the “December 23 Incident”, Macau has been dubbed a “semi-liberated region” from Portugal. It was also considered a successful example of the “one-country, two systems” policy, after its Handover to China in 1999. Some recent cases, however, could have shown otherwise.

Macau, a city heavily dependent on Mainland Chinese tourists, has recently experienced unexpected reactions when it comes to Mainland-related policies, including the alleged report on the cancellation of its international airport (new border checkpoints), the change of medium of instruction from Cantonese to Mandarin in stages of compulsory education (national identity education), and the direction of Macau's public funds (PLA Garrison). Although these cases have not been linked in a systematic manner, caution should be taken when differences between the Mainland and the Special Administrative Region are put into consideration.

Macau and East Timor: Local and Global
Jean A. Berlie
Education University of Hong Kong

Macau and East Timor were more than 400 years former Portuguese territories; they have two different local political systems: Macau Special Administrative Region (MSAR) of China is ruled by its Basic Law and Timor-Leste (official name) is a Democratic Republic since 20 May 2002. Both have Portuguese as an official language, so are part of the global Lusophone World. Timor-Leste is a model of democracy with free and fair elections for more than sixteen years. Since the United Nations Referendum in August 1999, under Indonesia, the percentage of Timorese voters casting their votes is always close 80 percent, with an exception in March 2017 when President Lu Olo was elected at the first round of the presidential election.

Both, the MSAR and Timor-Leste are dependent of a unique main economic source of income: Casino Industry for Macau and oil and gas for Timor-Leste. The question asked by this presentation is how to adjust these two particular Macanese and Timorese political systems with the present globalization which is not really concerned by very particular local trends? However, China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is present in the Greater Bay Area, the MSAR is part of it, and China was well represented at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) by a special envoy and the local Ambassador in 2017 and 2018 in Dili, Timor-Leste’s capital city.

Bilingual Legislation in Trilingual Macau Special Administrative Region, China
Bruce Kam-kwan KWONG

Disregard of the majority of Chinese population, Portuguese has once been the only recognized language of Macau under the Portuguese administrative from mid-17th Century until the retrocession to China in 1999. Albeit the Portuguese administration passed a Decree recognizing the official language status of Chinese together with Portuguese before the handover and making Macau a bilingual state, English seems to be the third or even important language universally applicable in this tiny enclave. Due to the gradual infiltration of the pluralistic culture of Hong Kong, an ex-British colony in the Far East, English has been universally used by local Macau Chinese. Most of the local Chinese who can write and speak English more fluent than that of Portuguese making one queries the official status of English. After the increase of gaming franchise in early 2000’s, the applicability of English has become more explicit over time. It is claimed that Macau is a trilingual state in spite of the non-official status of English.

Managing crisis and improving governance: typhoon storm Hato and mega storm Mangkhut in Hong Kong and Macau
Chiew-siang Bryan HO
University of Macau

One year ago typhoon storm Hato struck the Pearl river delta areas as human lives and properties in Hong Kong and Macau, both special administrative regions (SAR) belonging to the Chinese government, were severely damaged and afflicted by such a natural disaster. In no time the politics of crisis management escalated in intensity as the disaster brought into light the handling or mishandling of the crisis by political executives of the Hong Kong SAR government and the Macau SAR government. On 16 September this year a mega storm typhoon Mangkhut greater many times in intensity than Hato struck both Hong Kong and Macau. This paper addresses salient issues and development in the crisis management of both the SAR governments. It compares and contrasts not only crisis management but governance and the politics of crisis management, and the lessons one may draw from typhoon storm Hato and mega storm Mangkhut.

The Politics of Securitization in China, Hong Kong and Macao
Sonny S. H. LO
HKU-SPACE

Y5-203, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
China’s Growing Prominence in International Relations

ASEAN and “Belt and Road Initiative”: Economic and social relations between China and ASEAN members
Dr Eric Chong King Man and Mariusz Boguszewski
Education University of Hong Kong

Abstract: This article explores and investigates some new trends in the economic and social relations between China and ASEAN members in the last 5 years (2013-2018). ASEAN has a
significant number of almost 650 million population, with US$2.761 trillion overall GDP and increasing purchasing power – US$12,328 per capita[1], thus making this regional bloc an important player in the global scale. Model of ASEAN integration evolved with visible new dynamism of deepening ties in the 2010s which is reflected in establishing ASEAN Community (AC) in 2015. The ASEAN region has a rich history of relations with its biggest neighbor – China. Its strategic geographical location and economic importance for China put the ASEAN countries in the scope of China’s flagship project: “Belt and Road Initiative” (BRI). The main research question is how political changes in ASEAN countries and its internal integration (such as AC) influence economic and social relations with China. Also, what could be the possible impacts of BRI launched by Chinese government on ASEAN and its members? Is the Chinese engagement in frame of BRI in the ASEAN countries welcomed? Authors analyze overall data for ASEAN and also use four examples to illustrate the dynamism: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. Findings are based on the literature review, popular media sources and analysis of selected economic and social indicators based on trade, capital and human flows, including projection on future. Data comparison and discussion lead to some plausible conclusions.

[1] International Monetary Fund 2017, imf.org. Retrieved 31 August 2018

Is China a European Power? Localizing the Global Silk Roads through the ‘16+1’
Emilian Kavalski
Li Dak Sum Chair Professor in China-Eurasia Relations and International Studies,
The University of Nottingham Ningbo China

A Digital Silk Road to the Future: China’s Vision for a Smart Eurasia
Yujia He
Postdoctoral Fellow, Institute for Emerging Market Studies & Institute for Advanced Study, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Abstract: The rapid development of emerging technologies is leading us to a “Fourth Industrial Revolution”, characterized by the interconnectivity of our physical, biological and cyber systems. The increasing connectivity, fueled by data and capital flows across borders, creates opportunities for international trade and investment. This is especially salient for the Eurasian continent: Internet users in China have reached 772 million and are still rapidly growing; the EU Digital Single Market covers a population of over 500 million; and Southeast Asia’s digital market is expected to grow more than six fold by 2025. Through the “Digital Silk Road” component of its Belt and Road Initiative, Beijing seeks to provide high-level policy support to strengthen the digital connectivity between China and the Belt and Road countries. Research on the initiative is still nascent, and existing research tends to focus on a single sector in specific countries. Through review of policy documents and industry reports, case studies, and assessments of cross-border investment and research collaboration, this research fills the gap in providing an analytical overview of China’s vision, support and progress for a digital Eurasia under the banner of “Digital Silk Road”. The analysis includes four areas, Internet connectivity, smart cities, e-commerce, and science research collaboration.
THE INSIGNIFICANCE OF TAIWAN’S GROWING DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION IN THE GLOBALIZING WORLD
Tolga Yaz
Tamkang University, Taiwan
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The world economy is increasingly more integrated attributed by the rapid expansion of trans-national trade and investment, turning most. Nation-states into a part of a larger pattern of global transformations and global flows. Such cross-border flows of capital and the rise of multinational companies have, however, undermined the state’s control over the capital movements. The international division of labor and the global circulation of commodities have similarly rendered the concept of national economy irrelevant. As a result of these developments, the role of the nation-state has changed radically, and the concepts of the nation-state and sovereignty substantially declined in importance. In light of this transformation, the paper argues that the increasing isolation of Taiwan from the international community due to several successive severances of diplomatic ties in the past two years has no adverse effects on the island country. In support of this argument, this paper examines and discusses how the increasing diplomatic isolation of Taiwan affects its political and economic positions in the globalizing world.

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Y5-204, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Hong Kong: Global and Local Perspectives

Process of „Mainlandization” of HKSAR from the perspective of European Studies
Dr Lukasz Zamecki
Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw

Although the term “mainlandization” is very often used by journalists and scholars, it is still not precisely conceptualized in terms of political science analysis. There are concepts presented by academics such as Sonny Shiu-Hing Lo, Wilson Wong, etc. but there is still place to in-depth analysis.

Specific origin of the Hong Kong status is the reason why the character of the PRC-HKSAR relationship is sui generis. One of the specificity is the role of “mediating institution” – one country, two concept principle. Process of mainlandization/sinification thus has a distinct character. The aim of the paper is an attempt to conceptualize the process of “mainlandization” of the HKSAR from the perspective of European Studies. On the field of European Studies exists concept of “Europeanization”. Although “europeanization” and “mainlandization” are distinct concepts (mainly due to different stance of the subject to influence of main actor) some of the ideas rooted in “europeanization” process could be used during studying “mainlandization”.

In the paper “mainlandization” is understood as a process of diffusion policy paradigms, ‘ways of doing things’, and norms which originate from the People’s Republic of China and their attempts to be incorporated in Hong Kong. The paper underlines the differences between the “top-down” transfer of political values and/or policy standards and the “bottom-up” adjustment. All institutions engaged in mediation (such as the “one country, two systems” principle, the political culture of HK society) are mentioned, as well as the process of reacting to the PRC activity in Hong Kong and different routes of these reactions (e.g. accommodation, transformation, inertia in response to them). Moreover, three forms of “PRC scepticism” (as a reaction to the mainlandization process) are mentioned (and groups representing these three forms).
The Open Society and Its Enemies: East European Lessons for Civil Society in the Post-Umbrella Movement Era in Hong Kong
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Changing climate in an Asian global city? Exploring the drives of the Climate Action Plan 2030 in Hong Kong
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Since the 1990s, there have been a number of governmental initiatives at the city-level to mitigate the impacts of climate change, in parallel to the lukewarm efforts of national governments since the Kyoto Protocol in 1992. Previous research found that the pioneering cities are predominantly in Europe and the United States, and prominent global cities such as London and New York are among them. Since the 2000s, increasing number of cities in Asia joins in the global effort, including Hong Kong. For its hub function for global financial market, Hong Kong is often regarded as a global city in Asia. On one hand, Hong Kong government has not usually given much priority to environmental issues, especially about global climate change, over the economic ones on the agenda. On the other hand, the public in general is not keen on pressing the government on climate issues. Nevertheless, Hong Kong has been swift to roll out its Climate Action Plan 2030 in January 2017, soon after the Paris Agreement on Climate Change was passed in December 2015 internationally and ratified by China in April 2016. This presentation would like to explore the potential drives and the implications of this climate policy in the global city.

The making of contentious political space: The transformation of Victoria Park
Chi Kwok (PhD Candidate, University of Toronto)
Ngai Keung Chan (PhD Student, Cornell University)

The global waves of occupy movement have demonstrated the mobilizational and strategic relevance of public space to large and sustainable social movements (Miller & Nicholls, 2013), the evolution of protest repertories (McCurdy, Feigenbaum, & Frenzel, 2016) and collective identity formation (Yuen, 2018). Space—especially its physical settings, the representation constructed through dominant and alternative discourses, and protesters’ spatial practices therein — constitutes and structures social movements to particular shapes (Della Porta & Fabbri, 2016). Despite the paramount significance of physical public space for collective actions, major theoretical frameworks tend either to focus on the philosophical qualities (Arendt, 2005) or the disorderly character of public spaces (De Certeau, 1984). The emergence and the physical characteristics of a sustainable, manageable, and iconic public space for continuous movement mobilization have been largely ignored. This paper studies the Victoria Park, one of the most iconic spaces of contention in Hong Kong, as a case to examine how a contentious political public space is made. The Victoria Park was originally a public recreational space built by the colonial governance for the purpose of gaining legitimacy. However, it has been transformed into a “contentious space” where many transnational and local protests occur and continue for a long period of time. Through archival research, this paper demonstrates how the Defend Diaoyutai Islands Movement of 1970
transformed the Victoria Park from an “empty” space to a political public space. It argues that people's political action made possible the transformation of the spatial order; however, the British colonial government’s re-policizing of the public space for the management of contentious collective actions was also an important factor for the stabilization of a long-term contentious space. This study affords significant opportunities for thinking about spatial constraints of contention (Tilly, 2000) and the limits of resistance in public spaces.

Beyond Confrontation or Obedience: Old People University, Public Service and Governance
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As a free harbour bridging Mainland China and Western World in last decades, Hong Kong (HK) always acts as a vital intermediary of trade, capital, human resource, and perspective of value and institution. Whatever changes occur, the most prominent challenge of HK is still how to keep its institutional innovation to connect and reconcile these powers in a fast-changing globalisation-era. In consideration of interactive relations with other systems, the modernisation transformation of traditional authoritarian institution is willing to adopt some well-conducted and be-verified methods of governance and public service that have been already adopted by some developed societies, including HK. This research states a hypothesis that, compared with Mainland China in the aspect of the sector of old people education, HK still owns comparative advantage and relative competitiveness, which is originally from its specific history and local resource; and HK experience based on self-organised governance could have their positive influence on Mainland China. Hence, this research wants to solve three understudied questions as follows: 1) What is the basic situation of old-people-education NGOs in HK? 2) What is the “old people university” in Mainland China? 3) Why should keep a rational attitude of eclecticism (or conservatism) on institutional changes, including old people education service? Overall, due to an increasing population ageing, Mainland China probably will develop its method of governance on old people education by learning HK experience and its model.
Localist Challenges and the Fragmentation of the Pan-democratic Camp in Hong Kong
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Abstract
The purpose of the paper is to analyze the challenges brought by the localist faction to the traditional democratic camp in order to examine the risks and opportunities for the pan-democratic camp in the democratization process. The methodologies used for the paper were documentary analyses to examine the theory and practice of localism in the political context of Hong Kong and the election data analyses to study the electoral performances of localist and traditional democratic camps in the 2015 District Council and 2016 Legislative Council elections. The paper found that first, mainland-Hong Kong conflicts was the nurturing ground for emergence of localism in Hong Kong. Second, the ideology of localism in the context of Hong Kong connotes an anti-China element in the protection of Hongkongers’ identity, interests, and values. Third, the growth of localist camp was rapid as evidenced in the 2015 and 2016 elections. Fourth, localism presented both challenges and new opportunities for the pan-democratic camp in the democratization process. The paper was the product of an original research project that examined the ideology of localism and the challenges brought by localism to the pan-democratic camp to reflect on the implications for the democratization process.

Democracy Against Democracy? How localists’ advocacy for independence clashes with the pan-democrats’ push for universal suffrage in Hong Kong
Raymond Kwun-Sun Lau
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Abstract
Political parties of the pan-democratic camp have played an important role in pushing for the realization of universal suffrage in Hong Kong since the 1980s. This democracy movement has culminated in the 2014 Umbrella Movement, albeit without success. The growing frustration and overall dissatisfaction with the pan-democrats has led to the emergence of a new generation of activists who think they have a case for self-determination, or even independence. Known as the localists, they share a vision of the future in which Hong Kong parts ways with mainland China. Forming a new democratic state from China, according to the localist groups, is the only way out for Hong Kong to counteract Beijing's interventionist approach towards the territory since 2003. Against the background of Beijing’s opposition to Hong Kong’s democratization since the mid-1980s, this paper seeks to understand how the emergence of localist groups and their calls for more autonomy and independence clash with the pan-democrats’ struggle for the realization of universal suffrage in Hong Kong. While both the pan-democrats and the localists share the same desire to achieve free and fair democratic elections in Hong Kong and to defend against Beijing's encroachments, this paper argues that the future of Hong Kong’s democracy movement may be shaped by the outcome of the conflict between democracy as universal suffrage and democracy as independence. On the one hand is the pan-democrats’ efforts to realize ‘genuine’ universal suffrage as a means of achieving a higher degree of autonomy in the sense of ‘Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong’. On the other is the localists’ advocacy of making Hong Kong an independent and democratic state as a means of tackling the uncertainty regarding the issue of Hong Kong’s 2047
milestone. These two opposing forms of democracy are engaged in a war which could have a profound impact on the political future of Hong Kong.

The Myth of Hong Kong “Nationalism”
Jeff Hai-chi Loo
City University of Hong Kong

There has been a trend of academic creation of “Nationalism” in Hong Kong, a phenomenon compounded by government exaggeration at HKSAR and central levels, and by the pro-Beijing’s media labelling of a tiny minority of Hong Kong activists as “nationalists”. The main objective of this paper is to provide a critical perspective to review academic, governmental, and pro-Beijing media view on the emergence of Hong Kong “Nationalism”. It will contend that the Hong Kong “Nationalism” advocated by critical academic, exaggerated in governmental level, and heavily labelled by pro-Beijing’s media have both conceptual, methodological, and empirical problems that particular ignore to reflect the identity determination of the majority of Hongkongers who are politically pragmatic and moderate in nature. It will also demonstrate that the idea of Hong Kong “Nationalism” can only be categorize as “localism” or “regionalism” at most. More crucially, it will illustrate that the complex interrelationship between the critical academic, HKSAR government, the PRC government, and pro-Beijing media leading to tremendous influence to the development of Hong Kong “Nationalism”. As the critical and opposition academics heavily oppose the government exaggeration and confront with the pro-Beijing media, it further stimulates the development and mobilization of “nativist groups”. As a result, the development of Hong Kong “Nationalism” have deeply suppressed by both Beijing and HKSAR government that further narrowed the political space of “imagined nationalism” in Hong Kong.

Is Party Factionalism Harmful or Beneficial to Party Development: The Case of Hong Kong Democratic Party
Steven Hung
Assistant Professor The Education University

The Democratic Party (DP) has been the flagship party for pan-democracy voices in Hong Kong since 1994. With an ideology of opposing Beijing authoritarian measures and fighting for further democratic developments in Hong Kong, the DP gains wider public support and achieves the status of being the largest opposing political party in Hong Kong. However, the party has suffered from intra-party conflicts seriously and this competitive factionalism is not correspondingly addressed. This paper will explore: (i) the evolution of intra-elite conflict within the DP since its establishment; (ii) the key factors leading to such confrontation among the political elites; and (iii) the profound implications of the conflicts for Hong Kong’s political development, especially how the intra-party confrontation in the DP influence the political democratization processes in Hong Kong.

From Opposition to Patriotic Advisers: The Future of the Democratic Movement in Hong Kong?
Evan Fowler
Institution: Press and Associate Fellow, Wolfson College, Cambridge
In my research I have reviewed much of the more recent literature on in history, the law and political sciences on the scope for constitutional reform in Hong Kong that exists under the Basic Law, recently declassified documents and had interviews with many of the leading political actors.

Rather than focus more acutely on a particular area of understanding, I deliberately set out to construct a broad macro-understanding from recent and more specialist papers in a variety of fields from which to look for any underlying consistencies on which perhaps a better and more practical understanding may be found that might prove insightful in seeking a solution to the frictional state of politics in Hong Kong.

Whilst in balance legal scholarship has been more sympathetic towards the case for the retention of what Hong Kong people understand as core to their way of life — the rule of law, press freedom and more recently their identity as distinct from the Mainland — and provides an interpretation, especially given HK’s international obligation, that accommodates a widely held presumption of democratic development, I will argue that what many have failed to appreciate is that for Beijing the Basic Law is in the Western sense a political document. And it is from Beijing that power must be derived.

I will also be arguing that if the Basic Law (and the Hong Kong SAR) must be understood as a political document, we must also understand what is political to Beijing, and that a fine balance needs to be maintained between being sensitive to a national historic narrative, on which the party has defined it’s legitimacy, and a contradictory narrative that is both remembered and being reshaped in Hong Kong. Politics must move away from an inherent presumption of a liberal, parliamentary model of critical opposition and adopt a dynamic that is more likely to work in Hong Kong’s favour should the undoubted democratic aspirations of the majority be fulfilled.

Y5-202, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Issues in the International Relations of East Asia

Chinese Responses to the Thucydides Trap
Jean-Pierre Cabestan
Hong Kong Baptist University

Thucydides trap and Graham Allison's publications have been widely debated by Chinese scholars since 2012. While they are far from agreeing among themselves about this trap's pertinence, most of them reject or blame the US for it. Likewise, the Chinese government does believe that it can avoid it. However, Beijing claims having introduced proactive policies to overcome the trap. And in East Asia, more than its words, China's deeds highlight a relative caution which underscores a willingness to manage risks and avoid confronting heads-on the United States or its allies.

Are US-China Relations in a State of Cold War? Trump as a Realist
Zhang Baohui
Lingnan University

Many used to believe that Donald Trump’s foreign policy was not guided by realist principles. His America First doctrine is neo-isolationist and eschews the goal of US global primacy. However, his latest China policy may suggest otherwise. There are rising evidence, as demonstrated by his trade war against Beijing, to suggest that Trump may be highly motivated to preserve US power.
advantages vs. China. If so, Trump is pursuing a realist China policy that seeks to use containment measures to forestall power transition. We may be seeing the beginning of a new cold war between China and the Untied States.

Is China’s Rise Now Stalling?
Daniel Lynch
City University of Hong Kong

The variations on power transition theory so widely used to frame analysis of U.S.-China relations tend to assume the inevitability or at least strong probability of China surpassing the U.S. in economic power if not necessarily military power. In the terminology of social psychology’s attribution theory, China is imputed with the identity of a state that is inevitably rising. The CCP encourages this attribution among Chinese people. But China’s economic rise – the foundation of its comprehensive rise – appears to have entered an inflection point in the mid-2010s and may now be stalling. In critical respects, China increasingly resembles the last two countries that ‘attempted’ a globe-level rise: the unsuccessful cases of postwar Japan and the Soviet Union. China’s labor force is shrinking; the country relies excessively on unsustainable debt increases to fuel economic growth; and pollution is seriously harming public health. But even if China’s rise conclusively stalls, it may take quite some time before the Chinese public and outside observers recognize the new reality because of intrinsic biases in the cognitive logic of attributing identities to actors.

Toward Normalcy? The Case of Japanese Foreign Intelligence
Brad Williams
City University of Hong Kong

Japan has long been considered to be an abnormal state in terms of being unable to project military power overseas if required for national defence purposes or contributing to international peace and security commensurate with its size, status and power. This pejorative description extends to Japan’s foreign intelligence apparatus, which domestic critics accuse of being relatively undersized and underfunded. A particular lightning rod for criticism has been Japan’s lack of a specialised foreign intelligence agency that can deploy agents abroad to conduct espionage, making Japan somewhat of an outlier among the great and middle powers in the international system. This presentation focuses on a normative explanation for this institutional lacuna: antimilitarism, defined broadly as distrust of Japan’s military establishment, its foreign deployment, as well as fears of democratic retreat. It argues that Japan’s increasingly severe security environment is interrelated with socio-political changes at the domestic level, which have combined to challenge antimilitaristic norms. A loosening of these normative constraints has created a propitious environment for Tokyo to consider seriously establishing a Japanese central intelligence agency. The creation of such an institution would represent Japan’s normalisation in the realm of international intelligence.

Y5-203, Yellow Zone, 5/F, Yeung Kin Man Academic Building
Populism, Migration, and Politicized Capitalism in Europe and Beyond

Crisis Curation and Charismatic Populism:
A Comparative Study of the Early Tenure of Trump and Duterte
In recent years, populist movements have emerged in a variety of contexts, from the elections of Donald Trump in the United States and Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, to the ‘Brexit’ referendum in the United Kingdom, to the rising political fortunes of many far-right parties in continental Europe, and finally to anti-liberal movements in Eastern Europe, Turkey, and Russia. Explanations for the rise of populist movements frequently attribute causal significance to objectively real social, economic, and/or political crises. We argue that while these structuralist theories have value, they tend to overlook the creative agency enjoyed by charismatic leaders (Weber 1922), who interact with political culture in ways that construct ‘crises’ for their constituencies. Moffit (2014) similarly argues that realist presumptions about populism are insensitive to the performative, constructivist dimensions of populist mobilization. Using Moffit’s notion of ‘crisis performance,’ and drawing on the literature on charismatic mobilization, we suggest that charismatic populists actively frame objectively real failures and problems as existential crises for their followers. This research thus provides a test Moffit’s crisis performance framework and a theoretical extension of it—and does so by way of a comparative case study of the elections and first-years in office of two charismatic-populists; Trump and Duterte.

Centre Right Party v. Populist Radical Right Party Competition in the 2015-2018 European Refugee Crisis
Dr. James F. Downes
(The Chinese University of Hong Kong/
Europe Asia Policy Centre for Comparative Research)
Dr. Matthew Loveless
(European University Institute)
Mr. Andrew Lam
(The Chinese University of Hong Kong)
Mr. Edward Chan
(The University of Hong Kong)

Downes and Loveless (2018) offered a novel theory to explain the electoral success of centre right parties over populist radical right parties during times of economic crisis. This paper examines centre right and populist radical right party competition in the context of the 2015-2018 refugee crisis. We draw on a novel theory which argues that centre right parties recognised the refugee crisis as providing electoral opportunities for populist radical right parties, with centre right parties responding ‘strategically’ by adopting hard-line positions on immigration. To test this theory, a mixed methods research design is adopted. Aggregate level (national parliamentary) election data is merged alongside Chapel Hill expert survey data during the refugee crisis. Populist radical right parties did not create a ‘political earthquake.’ Instead, we find that centre right parties, particularly ‘incumbents’ benefited electorally from adopting anti-immigrant positions, outperforming or even ‘matching’ populist radical right parties in certain cases (Belgium, Austria, Hungary and the Netherlands).

Qualitative case studies further demonstrate that centre right parties who did not adopt anti-immigrant positions tended to lose out electorally to populist radical right parties (Germany) in national parliamentary elections. The empirical findings also show that centre right and radical right parties hold similar ideological positions on the immigration issue and that on the whole centre right parties are better equipped to compete with the radical right than centre left parties are. These
empirical findings have important implications for the twenty-first century debate on global ‘populism’ and for contemporary European party politics.

Savior or Symptom? President Macron and the EU
Emilie Tran
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In 2017, amid the populist wave sweeping across Europe, hostile to the founding values of the EU and its institutions, the 39 year-old Emmanuel Macron, a centrist candidate with no party affiliation who had never held any electoral mandate and ran a markedly pro-EU campaign, won the French Presidency in a landslide victory against the far-right party Front National.
During his first year in office, Macron delivered no less than four speeches calling for the renewal of the EU. At the Pnyx Hill in Athens (7 September 2017), he positioned himself as the leader of the European democratic revival, calling for the shoring up of shared European ideals. At the Sorbonne in Paris (26 September 2017), he laid out his roadmap to reform the European institutions into a more coherent and stronger Union. At the European Parliament in Strasbourg (17 April 2018), he addressed 750 MEPs calling them to take immediate measures amid an adverse environment within and outside the EU. Finally, at the German city of Aachen (10 May 2018), upon receiving the Charlemagne Prize, the longest standing and most prestigious award to those who contribute to the European unification, he enacted four commandments to further galvanize the EU leaders into action.

Presenting a discourse analysis of Macron’s EU speeches, this paper reflects on the gap between the compelling narrative and the seemingly overall lack of concrete actions. Presented as Europe’s savior, Macron may just be a symptom of Europe’s ideological and institutional deadlock.

Another Face of “Politicized Capitalism”: Private Entrepreneur’s Political Entitlement and Post-Socialist Institutional Change in Reforming China (1995-2010)
Chengzuo Tang
University of Chicago

What if the economic actor plays a role in the political institution? In challenge to the existing literature of authoritarian studies, this paper employs a reflected and expanded economic sociology approach to substantively situate and explain the entry chance differential of both People’s Congress (PC) and People’s Political Consultative Conference (PPCC) for the emerging private entrepreneur in post-socialist China. Instead of a reductively partial interpretation of the institutional entitlement as a fundamental form of political connection for market benefit, it is contended and emphasized in this paper that the private entrepreneur’s political participation in the formal institution is socio-politically embedded in nature, requiring an advancing investigation into its noneconomic incentive source and networking foundation. Using a national survey dataset of the Chinese private entrepreneur in 1995 and 2010, the logistical regression estimates examine two theoretical models of Politicized Market Competition (PMC) and Transitional Elite Reproduction (TER) accordingly induced on the entry chance determination of PC and PPCC membership and leadership for the rising business elite. Further theoretical implication is particularly discussed for the authoritarian approach on the state-market relation and economic actor’s sociopolitical engagement, as well as the transitional studies on post-socialist institutional change in dialogue with other featured research traditions through such intellectual lens.
“Think globally, act locally” is easier said than done. This panel examines the roles of non-governmental think tanks in Hong Kong. What do think tanks do in Hong Kong? What does Hong Kong expect to gain from their works? How can the think tanks strengthen their legitimacy? What impact they have? What are the obstacles and constraints that think tanks have to overcome? What mechanisms are there to promote policy change? In a context of a hybrid regime like Hong Kong, it is not uncommon to question the political orientations, institutional ties, or alleged motives of the think tanks so as to discredit their works altogether. Against this background, leaders of three think tanks are invited to talk about the mission of their respective organization and showcase what they consider as the best practice or smart practice of policy research and advocacy, including but not limited to the global-local nexus and cross-sectoral collaborations between think tanks, academics, law-makers and policy-makers. The papers are expected to shed light on the Hong Kong policy environment from the panellists’ point of view and to contribute to a dialogue between political scientists, public policy researchers, civil society and non-governmental think tanks.