

May Days in Hong Kong

Riot and Emergency in 1967

Edited by Robert Bickers and Ray Yep



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1

Studying the 1967 riots: An overdue project

Ray Yep and Robert Bickers

The 1967 riots are understudied, but the events which began in May 1967 in Hong Kong led within a year to 51 deaths, 4,500 arrests, and a campaign of bombings which threatened to destabilize the colony. What began as a strike at an artificial flower factory became a major anti-colonial movement led by local leftists, which was eventually countered by a full range of emergency and security measures instituted by the colonial administration. The press and the education system became areas of conflict, and the impact of the events spilled over into Sino-British relations more broadly, and to outbreaks of violence in London, Shanghai and Beijing. By any objective standards this was a major crisis. However, while the public memory of the event is still alive, the public representation of these months of conflict is muted — there is little mention of them in the Hong Kong Museum of History, and most works on post-war history of Hong Kong allocate no more than a few pages on this subject.¹

Despite the paucity of analysis, accounts of the event contrast sharply. Notwithstanding the poor working conditions and appalling state of welfare provision in Hong Kong during the 1960s, John Cooper argued that ‘whatever the causes of this unrest were, they could in no way be sufficiently sound to justify the “reign of terror” which was to characterize the daily life of the Colony throughout the long summer of 1967’.² His indictment focused on the violence of the political campaign instigated by the communists who started ‘with the assumption that the Colony would bend under pressure as easily as Macao had done’.³ Cooper’s view finds resonance in an unexpected source; Jin Yaoru, a local communist boss in charge of propaganda work in the 1960s, voiced similar views on the influence of external sources on the unfolding of disturbances almost three decades later. In his book on Chinese Communist Party’s Hong Kong policy, he argues that the anxiety of the local party leadership to prove its loyalty to the radical movement in Beijing was the main impetus behind the campaign.⁴ Hong Kong’s 1997 reunification with China seems to have emboldened a segment of the left-wing camp to talk about the events, and more work on the issue has been published in recent years.

Gary Cheung's collection of interviews with several key players in the communist camp adds further ammunition to Jin's argument.⁵ While not disputing this basic argument, the account by Zhou Yi, former deputy chief editor of *Wen Wei Po*, provides a more nuanced analysis of the involvement of leftists in the confrontation. By contextualizing the event against the background of the unabated persecution of leftist organizations and individuals by the colonial administration in post-war Hong Kong,⁶ Zhou portrayed the turbulence simply as an explosion of anger fuelled by grievances at the persecution endured by the communist sympathizers over the years, and the violence unleashed as self-defence in the face of colonial ferocity. On the other hand, with the benefit of access to the now-open Foreign Office files, Liang and his colleagues have made a very important contribution to the general understanding of the matter by bringing in the views of the British and colonial governments. Based on the official records of communications between London and Hong Kong during that period, their analysis offers invaluable access to the thinking and calculation of the 'British' side and thus constitutes an important supplement to the various left-wing accounts mentioned above.⁷

This project is a response to the renewed interest in the 1967 riots. Despite the 'mini-boom' in publications on the event over the last few years, most analyses remain journalistic or partisan. This book aims at revisiting two fundamental questions. First, what had really happened during the riots? By this, we do not mean simply the chronology of events (which is well documented) but aim at uncovering the dynamics and logic of the interaction between the different parties concerned.⁸ Second, we wish to explore the importance of these events. Were they a turning point in Hong Kong history or is that an exaggeration? Was it really a legitimacy crisis, just a storm in a colonial teacup, or a test as argued by former colonial officials? 'How fatuous the whole thing was,' reflected former governor Sir David Trench in 1987, '[t]here was no issue between us and the people who were rioting except that they wanted to riot and we didn't want them to.'⁹ So, do they in fact belong to the obscurity that has mostly enveloped them? Were the social reforms of the post-riots years simply inevitable even without the turbulent explosion in 1967? We aim here to look beyond narratives of confrontation and the parochial dimensions of the event by placing our analysis in a wider context. We conceive the events in 1967 in a wider historical perspective and focus on how the previous experience of local disturbances in the colony had shaped and influenced its responses and perceptions of the challenge faced in the 1960s. We also try to place the analysis in the wider context of the late British Empire as the unfolding of events was determined not only by the concerns and anxiety of the colonial state during the Hong Kong emergency, but also by calculations of the British government that concern higher national interests, such as the diplomatic relationship with China, and strategic imperial planning.

In the following sections, we will present an overview of the main concerns of this collective effort. Specifically, the contributors intend to uncover four major

issues in our analysis: historical continuities and the potency of the China factor, the importance of the riots, the capacity of the colonial state, and the relationship between the colony and the sovereign power. Before we proceed to this discussion, three key points about the background of the events need to be elucidated.

Heroes or villains?

First, we need to consider whether it is appropriate to use the term ‘riots’ to describe what happened in 1967. The Hong Kong and British governments quickly adopted ‘confrontation’ as their formal term for the events that unfolded from May 1967 onwards. The prisoners’ issue, which continued until 1972, was usually referred to in Foreign and Commonwealth Office parlance as one concerning ‘confrontation prisoners’. We might understand more fully the response of British official minds if we remember that they viewed the events at the time as a ‘confrontation’, that is, a formal contestation of British power, involving popular internal as well as external forces.¹⁰ The related term that was used, though less frequently, was ‘emergency’. This had practical and technical consequences. ‘I believe that it would be wise,’ suggested General Sir Michael Carver, Commander-in-Chief Far East, after his visit in July 1967, ‘to recognize that Hong Kong faces a situation which, although not styled as such, is in effect an emergency, and to adjust the methods of all concerned accordingly.’¹¹ When debating the colony’s response to the escalating bombing campaign in September 1967, diplomat Sir Arthur Galsworthy sketched the comparative experience of ‘previous emergencies elsewhere’, in ‘the Malayan, Kenyan, Cyprus and Aden Emergencies’, and in Rhodesia for good measure.¹² Hong Kong was, after all, one colony amongst others. Using the contemporary term would help focus attention on the wider context of the events, and help their placing within that broader context of late British Empire history and popular contestations of British colonial rule. Whilst there were clearly unique aspects to the 1967 events, such as its relationship to the Chinese Cultural Revolution, there were also commonalities in the response of the British to the situation which might be argued to help us better understand the events if we move away from the commonly used term.

The term ‘riots’ is, however, more commonly adopted by the local population in Hong Kong in both Chinese and English (and it is how retired British officials often label it). Publications relating to the events are catalogued under ‘Riots, 1967’ in the Hong Kong University Libraries, while they are usually indexed under ‘Riots’ in histories of Hong Kong. The term, ‘riots’ (*baodong*), carries negative connotations of violence, wantonness and destruction, as it does in English. Notwithstanding the leftist coinage, *fanying kangbao* (‘anti-British and anti-violence campaign’), is commonly used by that camp and it characterizes leftist action as justifiable acts of self-defence against colonial oppression. The collective memory of the event as ‘riots’ reflects widespread popular contempt and condemnation of the disturbances

that took place in 1967. Chinese public opinion was clearly on the side of the colonial administration in 1967. More recently, the public outcry provoked by the government's decision in 2001 to award the Grand Bauhinia Medal to Yang Jiang (Yeung Kwong), the former chair of the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions, is illustrative of this general sentiment. Many people who had gone through the long summer of 1967 found it hard to accept the bestowal of such an accolade on someone who presided over the All Circles Anti-Persecution Struggle Committee, the body nominally in charge of all left-wing activities during that period. In reality, the events of 1967 alienated the left-wing from the local society and drove it into marginality. For much of Hong Kong popular opinion these were ultimately 'riots'. Xu Jiatur, who came to Hong Kong to take over the post of director of the New China News Agency in 1983, recalled that 'when I first arrived, some local cadres told me that after the riots, there was a general fear of Chinese officials in Hong Kong. Local people even dared not go into Chinese product department stores. Our cadres had to hide their official affiliation. Most people treated us with contempt and called us the leftist (*zuozhi*) behind our back.'¹³ The title of this volume includes both key terms, riot and emergency, with neither privileged. In the chapters, however, except where used in quotations, the contributors mostly use the term 'riots'. This should not be taken to indicate that we agree with this characterization of the events above any other; rather, adoption of this term simply reflects our respect for the sentiment of the generation who have witnessed the episode, and the resilience of the label in popular usage.

A Crown Colony

Hong Kong was part of Britain's contracting imperial patrimony. It is in fact easy to forget that Hong Kong was a colony, and that it was one amongst others, however uniquely placed (while the overall number of colonies was steadily shrinking).¹⁴ It was, as John Darwin notes, a 'most unusual colony' on a number of counts, but there were few, if any, territories which matched the ideal template, and while we might agree that it was more unusual than most, the literature has for too long neglected to examine Hong Kong in its wider colonial context.¹⁵ Two moments at which the colony might have reverted to Chinese rule — in 1945 and in 1949–50 — passed without incident, and it seemed that it was a colony which could not be shaken off.¹⁶ Nobody wanted it 'back'. Meanwhile, in the decade preceding 1967, thirty British colonial territories had secured independence; the Gold Coast, Kenya, Straits Settlements, Nigeria, Cyprus, Western Samoa and Jamaica were among those states from which the British had withdrawn. The process continued: in summer 1967 an inglorious and bloody endgame was being played out in Aden.¹⁷ The Colonial Office itself had been so denuded of its charges that it was merged with the Commonwealth Relations Office in 1966, and its increasing administrative overlaps with the Foreign Office presaged the merger of the two into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in

October 1968. Nonetheless, Hong Kong remained a colony, with an administration recognizable ‘instantly as “British”’, as Wm Roger Louis notes, and it was both a product of its colonial history and of its complete integration into the formal apparatus of colonial rule (not least the circulation of staff).¹⁸ It was also integrated into the informal and insidious world of colonial assumptions and attitudes, not least about White British relations with non-white peoples.

Hong Kong’s 1967 trial thus took place within the active sphere of British colonial policymaking, strategies and history. Its leading officials were men who had served in colonial administration across the world, and had done so during the heyday of the British Empire. Governor Sir David Trench was the Indian-born son of an engineer. His colonial service career had begun twenty-nine years before May 1967, and he had served in the Solomon Islands and in Hong Kong.¹⁹ Colonial Secretary Michael Gass first served on the Gold Coast in 1939, and thereafter in Gold Coast/Ghana, the West Pacific and in Hong Kong.²⁰ Philip Rogers, who chaired the Cabinet’s Defence Review Working Party on Hong Kong, joined the Colonial Office in 1936, serving in Jamaica as the governor’s private secretary. Trench and Gass may have adapted themselves and their assumptions to the realities of cold war Hong Kong, but they brought to their posts, as did many of their more junior officers, assumptions and experiences from elsewhere in the pre-war and post-war empire. This was not simply a matter of administrators and their attitudes, but was fully structural. Georgina Sinclair’s account of late-colonial policing, for example, places the Hong Kong police firmly within this networked and circulating colonial world.²¹

We also need to remember that, as on many other occasions in Hong Kong’s past, there were divergences and disagreements between British colonial policy and diplomatic policy. There were also discrepancies between the viewpoints of the Hong Kong colonial government and those of the British embassy in China.²² The former was par for the course of metropolitan/colonial relations within the British Empire. Men on the ‘spot’ administered their territories within the realms of practical local politics, balancing central instructions and requirements with realities (as they saw them) on the ground (and they usually felt that they saw them rather more clearly than the men behind desks in Whitehall). Hong Kong was not alone in having an administration which could frustrate London’s instructions and evade its requirements. The latter situation — which prompted what were in effect at times competing and contradictory foreign policies with central or regional power in China — was more unusual. The Foreign Office line was always ultimately the dominant one, and the diplomats were consistent in their efforts to remind the Colonial Office that British China policy was only partially concerned with Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong emergency also took place in other contexts — in the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and the Cold War, and it took place while the experience of the establishment of the People’s Republic was still fresh in planners’ minds — British firms and interests, and British nationals had effectively been held hostage as the

new regime took over the Chinese economy and drove out foreign interests.²³ It also took place as the colonels consolidated the April coup in Greece, the Wilson government applied to join the Common Market on 11 May, Israel launched the six-day war on 2 June, the Federal Army mutinied against the British in Aden later that same month, and the Biafran war began in July. Hong Kong struggled to keep a place in UK headlines over the year. A bomb or two is news, but 1,778 of them were a statistic that failed to maintain the headlines in the face of such competition. British policymakers had a wide range of issues to confront in early 1967. More widely, although Harold Wilson's first government had asserted a commitment to maintain a strong British military presence in the 'East of Suez', longer-term thinking about Britain's world role and the economics of his second term were forcing the radical rethink that was to lead to the January 1968 announcement of the intention to withdraw forces from Southeast Asia and the Gulf.²⁴ As the workers at the San Po Kong Artificial Flower Factory clashed with the Hong Kong police, the British state was intensely discussing how far its responsibilities should stretch.

No dinner party in Hong Kong

Regardless of the causes of the confrontation or its labels, the disturbances which started in 1967 were strikingly violent. Table 1.1 provides a succinct account of the intensity of violence during this turbulent period.

The disturbances started as a labour dispute in an artificial flower factory in Kowloon in April 1967. The row between police and the defiant factory workers on 6 May marked the beginning of violent confrontation. The intervention of the communist-dominated Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions two days later signalled the politicization of the events. The turning point, however, was the involvement of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 15 May 1967. A protest statement was passed to the British *chargé d'affaires* in Beijing, which was followed by anti-British demonstrations in the capital and in Guangzhou, accompanied by sympathetic editorials in the *People's Daily*.²⁵ The local leftists took note of these developments and formed an All Circles Anti-Persecution Struggle Committee (*Gangjiu guojie tongbao fandui gangying pohai douzheng weiyuanhui*) in Hong Kong the next day. This heralded the full-scale mobilization of local communists into the territory-wide anti-colonial campaign.

The leftists pursued the campaign with a multi-front approach. The struggle after May 1967 entailed the following.

Demonstrations. This was the most common tactic deployed in the early stage of the events. Union members, students and supporters were called to the street to make their voices heard. Thousands of protesters were mobilized to challenge colonial authority by rallying outside the Governor's House in mid-May 1967. Such gatherings of left-wing supporters outside government premises and court houses

Table 1.1
 Statistics of disturbances in Hong Kong, 11 May 1967–1 June 1968

Casualties	
Killed	51
Injured	848
Prisoners	
Arrests 4,498	
Convicted	2,077
Property damage	
Buildings	122
Vehicles	164
Ammunition expended by police	
No of occasions gas used	90
No of ball ammo. used	87
Bombs	
Explosions	253
True bombs	1,525
Hoax bombs	4,917
False alarms	2,645

Source: TNA, FCO 40/53, Serial No. 115, June 1968.

clutching the Little Red Book in their hands characterized the first two months of the confrontation.

Strikes. A ‘general strike’ was called in late June with more than twenty trade unions responding to the appeal. While the impact of the four-day event was less significant than leftists’ expectations of it, the strong presence of left-wing unions in transport services and public utilities (see Table 1.2) suggests that their actions caused considerable interruption of normal life.

Propaganda. Propaganda was a key battlefield between communists and the colonial administration during the confrontation. For left-wing activists, the nine pro-Beijing newspapers in Hong Kong provided moral support and encouragement, ammunition against imperialism, cues for action and major means for mobilization and propaganda. These titles, with daily circulations totalling more than 400,000,²⁶ contributed about a quarter of the total newspaper circulation in Hong Kong. The papers were flooded with rhetorical attacks on the ‘atrocities and repressions’ of the colonial government and with personal abuse of the governor, Sir David Trench. They reprinted editorials and articles from *People’s Daily*, and the leftist’s

Table 1.2
Staff position of public transport and utility companies

Public utility company	Strength prior to disturbance (A)	Number dismissed after strike	Strength by the end of 1967 (B)	(B)/(A)
Star Ferry	590	590	456	77%
Hong Kong and Yaumati Ferry	1885	115	1828	97%
Hong Kong Tramways	1713	679	1522	89%
China Motor Bus	2360	1273	1756	74%
Kowloon Motor Bus	7194	4907	4505	63%
Hong Kong Electric	978	148	883	90%
China Light and Power	2745	709	2567	94%
Hong Kong and China Gas	548	334	407	74%

Source: TNA, FCO 40/52.

interpretation of the confrontations. Chinese members of the Hong Kong Police Force were singled out by the communist press for a consistent propaganda barrage. Intimidating messages warning Chinese personnel not to be the ‘running dogs’ of the British appeared regularly. In addition to the orthodox press, many ‘mosquito’, ‘underground papers’ were published by left-wing groups after the colonial administration tightened its squeeze on the communist papers in August.

Bomb attacks. The leftists resorted to a more radical armed strategy in the form of a campaign of bombing when large-scale arrest sweeps of radicals by police began in July 1967. While most of these ‘bombs’ were hoaxes, there were still nearly two thousand genuine bombs or attempted attacks. Government premises, police stations and public utilities were common targets of these incidents, but civilians were not immune to these threats. Normal life was severely affected and the colony was shocked by the death of two young girls as a result of an explosion in North Point on 21 August. The effectiveness of such tactics as leverage for the struggle against the colonial government is debatable, but it undoubtedly aroused a great deal of resentment from the general public, and perhaps more than anything indicated the alienation of the left from the populace and its general impotence. This wave of terrorism gradually faded out by the end of 1967.

The China threat. The most potent weapon available for the leftists, however, was the threat of a potential takeover of the colony by China. Local communists suggested throughout the campaign that they had clear and full endorsement of Beijing for their radicalism in Hong Kong. As a matter of fact, although Beijing’s involvement was evident, it is debatable whether or not the local campaign was fully orchestrated by the Party centre. However, editorials in the *People’s Daily*, mass rallies in major cities, financial donations to local trade unions and the Chinese Foreign Ministry’s diplomatic pressure on the British camp were illustrative of

high-level support for the radicalism in Hong Kong.²⁷ The attack on the premises of the British Mission in Beijing by the Red Guards on 22 August 1967 was a naked act of retaliation against the Hong Kong government's decision to close down the operation of three communist papers in Hong Kong. However, it was the clash at Sha Tau Kok in July 1967 that put the confidence of local population on the edge of collapse. The conflict between several hundred Chinese residents and Hong Kong police in the border on 8 July resulted in the deaths of five policemen and the mobilization of British military force.

The colonial administration under Governor Trench responded with no less determination. While observing a restrained approach in handling the crisis in the early weeks and hoping that the tension would soon subside — 'We tried to do it softly, softly,' he later reflected, '... without capitulating,' more assertive measures were deployed as it became evident that the disturbance had the capacity to persist for a protracted period.²⁸ Once clearance from London was granted, levers of state coercion were fully utilized in combating the radicals. The administration used a combination of new regulations and old-style force to strike hard at the leftists. The strategy involved the following components:

Raids of communist premises and arrest of left-wing leaders. As part of the strategy of disrupting the co-ordination of leftist activities, the police force resorted to large-scale arrests of trouble-makers through raids on communist premises. Based on intelligence provided by the Special Branch, searches of the offices of trade unions, communist schools and cinemas became more frequent after early July 1967. The most dramatic episode was the raid on the Qiaoguan Building in North Point on 4 August, where the alleged headquarters of the leftists was housed. Backed up by military force, teams of policemen landed at the roof of the building from helicopters and crashed into the premise. Members of the All Circles Anti-Persecution Struggle Committee were specific targets of these raids. Many were arrested in follow-up action and detained in the centre at Morrison Hill for interrogation.

Emergency legislation. The colonial government also brought in further emergency legislation to combat the rioters. These legal devices imposed new restrictions on activities such as making inflammatory speeches and displaying relevant materials (such as banners and posters), possession of dangerous goods and offensive weapons, and assembly. These measures widened considerably the powers of police to combat the emergency, but their immediate and their longer-term repercussions for civil liberties and the rule of law were evident.

Banning of pro-communist papers. Communist newspapers were always seen as the major pillar of the left-wing campaign, and Trench was determined to take the initiative in this area. After intensive exchanges with London, five editors and publishers of three pro-communist newspapers, *Tin Fung Yat Po*, *Hong Kong Evening News* and *Afternoon News*, were arrested on 9 August. The three papers were eventually suspended for six months and three of the prosecuted were sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Closure of communist schools. Local communists had established a strong hold in local education in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, given the colonial administration's general reluctance to involve itself in social welfare provision. The government certainly found little comfort in such development and a drive to close down schools without proper registration, many of them left-wing schools, was launched in the early 1960s.²⁹ The 'problem' of Chinese state or party-affiliated education was one of long-standing within British Asian possessions.³⁰ The fear re-emerged during the confrontation in 1967. An internal report of the colonial government in late 1967 reiterated that 'there is evidence of sustained and intense communist and subversive indoctrination'³¹ within communist-controlled schools. In the evening of 27 November, an explosion was heard from Chung Wah Middle School. An injured teenage student was found with one hand and three fingers lost. The police found explosive powder and chemicals suitable for bomb-making as well as evidence of other explosions on the premises. Consequently, six people were arrested and the director of education closed the school until 15 August 1968.³² Other communist schools were raided and searched in the following weeks and more than a hundred students and teachers were detained and arrested.³³

Militarization of the response. British soldiers played a mainly back-up but nonetheless key role in confronting rioters during the riots. However, their presence had a key role in maintaining public confidence. For many, it was an important sign of British commitment to the colony. At the time of the disturbances, there were approximately four thousand British troops and five thousand Gurkhas in the territory.³⁴ As disturbances proliferated, the original plan for reduction of British forces outlined in the ongoing Defence Review was reversed. Instead, a further Gurkha Battalion arrived in late June 1967. The British battleship, HMS *Bulwark* also visited Hong Kong in May 1967 as a further gesture of commitment. In the use of combined and co-ordinated police and military force against the leftists lay one key to the success of the clampdown, but it was the loyal effectiveness of the police, and their garnering of widespread public support that maintained the important civilian character of the administration's response to the events.

'Winning hearts and minds'. Propaganda warfare is a common counter-insurgency activity as was demonstrated in the Kenyan and Malayan emergencies in the 1950s and 1960s.³⁵ A publicity committee headed by the deputy colonial secretary was formed in the early weeks of the disturbances. Both Hong Kong and London agreed that a more permanent base for 'psychological operations' was necessary in order to co-ordinate the efforts of Radio Hong Kong, the Government Information Department, the police, and other departments. Themes stressed in the materials disseminated by these units included the damaging effect of the Cultural Revolution on China and the importance of stability for the Hong Kong economy.³⁶ The Hong Kong Government Office in London initiated a new programme to 'project the image of the Hong Kong government' in the 'right perspective' to the Chinese community in Britain and more widely in Europe.³⁷ The operations and effectiveness

of the psychological warfare remain unexplored, yet it is undeniable that there was popular support for the colonial government during the riots, especially after the commencement of random bomb attacks by the leftists. Contemporary observers were not slow to assert that the government had failed in the ordinary course of events to communicate effectively with the population. Its public image needed a makeover.³⁸

This sketch of the strategies deployed by both sides in the struggle outlines the tensions faced by the local population during the riots period and the interruption to social order they experienced. The unfolding of events is, however, primarily a reflection of the interaction and contestation between domestic and external forces that had a major stake in maintaining or reversing the status quo of the colony. The objective of this exercise to revisit the history of the 1967 riots is thus not simply to produce a more detailed narrative of the events; instead, the task here is to provide a more nuanced understanding of the nature of colonial rule in Hong Kong. To elucidate the point, let us look at the several issues that are central to the analysis in this volume.

Historical continuity and relevance of the China factor

‘Policy makers are heirs before they are choosers’, Richard Rose has argued.³⁹ Colonial governors learnt from their predecessors when it came to handling emergencies and contingencies, and there were also striking similarities in the perimeters of policy options between crises. As revealed in the chapter by Georgina Sinclair in this book, the circulation of personnel between colonies and centralized imperial thinking on specific issues such as policing models contributed to establishing common approaches to handling crisis and thus forging certain connections between historical episodes. Historical continuities can be expressed in temporal terms as well. John Carroll’s comparison between the strike boycott of 1925–26 and the 1967 riots is illustrative of such an approach. The most obvious parallel uncovered in his chapter is the potency of the China factor and the extent to which events in mainland China could affect the colony. Carroll argues that despite the local social, economic and political conditions in the 1920s and 1960s, both disturbances could not have occurred without extensive support from within China. For the 1967 riots, the respective analyses of Wong and Yep also show how local developments resonated with the rise and fall of radical factions in Chinese politics. Radicalism in China and its spill-over appeared to be the regular source of instability in the colony, and return to normality in Hong Kong eventually came when the mainland government chose a change of direction. For colonial administrators, crisis management in the colony always needed to commence with informed guesswork about China’s intentions. Bickers’ chapter in this volume demonstrates how the confrontation in Macao, the so-called ‘12.3 Incident’, which happened six months before the outbreak of violence in Hong Kong, shaped the

course adopted by the colonial administration during the 1967 riots. The humiliation of Portuguese authorities in Macao shaped the template of British strategic planning for the colony and the cost of indiscriminate concessions to the communists was, as a result, deemed unacceptably high by segments of the policy community.

The historical continuity of the relevance of the China factor in colonial governance is demonstrated not only in the form of the ‘export of revolution’ or of violence, but also in terms of frameworks of reference used by Hong Kong people as well. Despite emotional attachments to the motherland, the mainland alternative also denoted instability and political radicalism in local eyes. The general uneasiness with the latter concerns, as uncovered by Carroll and Yep’s analyses, ironically helped to reinforce colonial rule in Hong Kong during the crisis period. For people who lived through the 1967 riots, the choice of loyalty between the motherland and an alien rule was made easier in the face of the political reality of chaos and fanaticism in the Mainland. Perversely, troubles in China may have reinforced general contentment with, or acquiescence in, the second best option open to Hong Kong’s populace: stable alien rule. This was one key to colonial governance in the territory and was central to the success of the colonial administration in securing public support on both occasions in the 1920s and 1960s. Basic services were maintained during the strike period as a result of the volunteer activity of many local people. Tung Wah Hospitals also provided a food service that helped minimize the impact of the disturbances. David Trench achieved no less a success in mobilizing social support in the 1960s. Hundreds of social and community organizations pledged support for the government during the first week of the events. ‘This support for the colonial government during both disturbances certainly reflected the concerns to preserve order and, especially in the case of the business and professional elites, class interests’, Carroll contends. The enthusiasm of Shouson Chow and Robert Kotewall during the 1920s and the loyalty of the Executive Council to the governor during the riots certainly confirmed such view. For these elites or the local community in general, the status quo, no matter how imperfect it was, was still more preferable to the alternative scenario of violence and uncertainty. After all, this was the reason why many had fled to the colony from the Mainland in the relatively recent past.

Capacity of the colonial state

A standard characterization of the colonial authority until the late 1960s is of a ‘minimal state’. As Ian Scott argued, ‘for much of its history, the activities of the colonial state in Hong Kong did not serve to distinguish the territory from other tropical, backward, disease-ridden, barely self-sufficient imperial acquisitions’.⁴⁰ Implicitly, therefore, Scott notes that it was, as it on the whole was, a fairly typical colonial state in terms of how it perceived its remit to engage with and shape local society. Indifference and distance were regarded as defining characteristics

of governance of the colony. The resolve of the colonial state to posit itself as a proactive administration was further tested by the challenges to its legitimacy from the Chinese Communist Party across the border. Consequently, there was a general sense of insecurity and incomprehension concerning local society among colonial officials. Leo Goodstadt has suggested that officials 'never felt completely secure in their authority and were never entirely free from the fear that the public might desert them'.⁴¹ The chapter by David Clayton in this volume certainly confirms this image of an indifferent, distant state. His analysis shows that despite growing pressure from London, colonial administrations under Robert Black and David Trench persistently declined to take concrete action to regulate industrial relations before the riots.

The reluctance to penetrate and engage with local society, however, should not be taken as equivalent to weakness. Comments of senior colonial officials deriding the riots as a 'storm in a teacup' as documented in Wong's chapter may be an exaggeration, yet the colonial state's success in withstanding the 1960s storm is vivid proof of its tenacity and capacity. As revealed by Catherine Schenk's contribution, the colonial authority's ability to maintain public confidence in financial institutions provided another key to its survival during this stormy period. Its fiscal strength also allowed uninterrupted support for the propaganda and law enforcement teams to counteract leftist activities. The colonial state also demonstrated its coercive capacity during the confrontations and its ability to call on wider imperial force. As described in Sinclair's chapter, its experiences in handling earlier disturbances turned out to be a blessing in disguise: the local police was well prepared for the task and performed admirably in disrupting the leftist network, arresting ringleaders and raiding communist premises. Reinforcement of the British garrison certainly helped maintain the confidence and morale of the police, yet it was the effectiveness and loyalty of this local civilian force that held the key to eventual success in containing the disturbances. Nonetheless, the events of 1967 prompted a rethink in the ongoing Defence Review discussions about the level of military commitment to be made to the colony. As a result, initial plans were changed and forces were redeployed permanently to Hong Kong from Southeast Asia (notably Royal Air Force helicopters and the Brigade of Gurkhas). It is tempting to see this significant enhancement of the military presence, especially when combined with the turn to a more proactive state, as representing nothing short of a formal re-occupation of the colony, one which lasted until the 1997 handover. The survival of the colonial state did not simply hinge upon its coercive capacity alone, however. In fact, the alien authority also demonstrated its symbolic capacity in winning the trust and support of local people during the confrontation. Gregor Benton has shown how the government's representative office set out, with some success, to engage systematically with the Chinese population in Britain, and build effective ties with community organizations.⁴² For residents of the colony and their confreres

overseas, as Carroll points out here, colonial rule ultimately was preferred as the law and order option against the political fanaticism and chaos offered by the leftist alternative. Such support, however passive in nature, did lay down foundations for the perpetuation of colonial rule.

Nevertheless, the most salient feature of the strength of the colonial state was revealed by its capacity to reform and revitalize itself after the riots. Unlike previous post-crisis reforms, such as the inclusion of Chinese members on the Executive Council after the strike-boycott of 1925–26 and the aborted proposals of the Young Plan in the aftermath of the Japanese occupation, the changes introduced after the riots were much more comprehensive and drastic. The so-called ‘MacLehose years of social reforms’ witnessed fundamental changes in policy concerning public housing, education, workers’ rights, and medical services. They indicated a departure from the previous position of detachment and heralded a more proactive approach of colonial governance. Smart and Lui argue, however, that these changes are not merely responses to the crisis of the riots. For the British, the main lessons of the confrontation in 1967 were the vulnerability of Hong Kong and the dim prospects for British rule over the territory beyond 1997, these authors contend. Thus, they believe that when MacLehose took up his office, the governor found it important to boost public confidence and to secure hegemonic leadership before China raised questions concerning the future of Hong Kong. The social reforms were therefore part of the preparation work for the forthcoming negotiations with the Chinese.

Importance of the riots

Regardless of the motivation behind these social reforms, the 1967 riots have always been seen by many as the turning point of the history of colony. Ian Scott, for example, argues that the disturbances ‘illuminated the weakness of the system and pointed to the need for change . . . and that a new political order and a new basis of legitimacy were urgent requirements’.⁴³ Authors in this book, however, offer a different view. The major argument forwarded by Smart and Lui is that while consenting to interpretations of the nature of the 1967 riots as a catalyst for social reforms in the 1970s, they contend that the changes in the aftermath of the event actually only make sense in the context of previous disturbances and the challenge that they posed to colonial authority. The MacLehose reforms were, therefore, products of reflections on the merits and demerits of various responses to a long list of challenges to the colonial regime: the Kowloon Walled City incident (1948), the Tung Tau Comfort Mission riot (1952), Double Ten disturbances (1956) and the Star Ferry riots (1966). Whereas the 1967 riots were seen as being externally provoked, all these confrontations stemmed from local problems that needed to be addressed and showed the limitation of responding with stop-gap measures. These incidents also exposed the vulnerability of the administration to local frustration and the necessity of capturing active support if the regime was to survive.

Clayton's work challenges the conventional wisdom that claims the 1967 riots as the turning point from another angle. Using the case of labour law on the eight-hour working day for women, Clayton argues that while the mass protests in the 1960s did provide ammunition for some benevolent bureaucrats in Hong Kong and London to circumvent business opposition to reform and justification for policy shift, the radicalism of 1967 failed to prompt fundamental change in the attitude of those who opposed state regulation of the economy. For the progressives, the year 1967 revealed workers' frustrations and signs of market failure, yet for the pragmatists, the fear of social revolution soon receded in the aftermath of the riots. For some, the loss of credibility of left-wing unions may have even emboldened their opposition to reforms as well. The 'watershed' argument probably needs to be refined.

Relationship between the colony and the sovereign

Scholarly works have highlighted the autonomy enjoyed by the colony, and argued that the governors were not always subservient to their superiors' opinions in London. Bickers' previous work reveals the Foreign Office's irritation with Hong Kong's pursuit of local diplomacy with the Guomindang authorities between 1917 and 1927, which directly defied London's instructions to Hong Kong to communicate with China only through the Legation in Peking or the Consul at Canton.⁴⁴ Colonial governors had also demonstrated repeated stubbornness in adeptly resisting reform initiatives from London when they found the latter's proposal inconvenient. Miners' case study of the abolition of *mui tsai* system, a disguised form of slavery, uncovered how local administration could defuse and resist the pressures and efforts of two foreign secretaries and the British parliament. Goodstadt attributes this 'informal devolution' to the remoteness of Hong Kong issue from the mainstream of British politics as the relevance of Hong Kong faded with the rapid shrinking of British Empire in the post-war period, but this is a common feature in colonial governance.⁴⁵

Essays in this volume suggest that central to the dynamics of the relationship between the colony and the sovereign is their respective interpretation of 'British interests'. For the colonial governor, effective governance in the territory was the primary interest of the British Empire in Hong Kong. London, however, did not always concur. From time to time, the colony appeared to be dispensable in the light of larger strategic interests. Carroll's chapter reveals that there were occasions during the interwar years when British officials had considered surrendering Hong Kong as a gesture of British goodwill in the face of rising Chinese nationalism. Contributions by Bickers, Schenk and Yep in this volume also reveal that evacuation was an option seriously contemplated by London during the early weeks of the confrontation in 1967. Yep's chapter further refines the analysis by bringing in the tension between British diplomats in Beijing and the colonial administration. The mandate to maintain a 'foot in the door' in China and vulnerability in the face of

violence prompted the diplomats in the British Mission in Beijing to propose a more accommodating approach in handling the disturbance in Hong Kong, whereas David Trench firmly believed in using a more confrontational style for preserving British interests. As Bickers and Yep suggest, British officials were convinced that this was the approach which would best bypass the slippery road to a ‘Macao-style’ scenario. London acted as the final arbitrator of the contrasting views during this period. While the colony’s analysis might have prevailed during the most turbulent months of violent confrontation, the concern of diplomats in preserving Sino-British relationship resumed primacy once signs of Communist China’s desire for normalcy were on the horizon.

Conclusion

This volume is not a definitive account of the 1967 events. There are clearly lacunae in our analysis. Firstly, given our reiteration of the importance of contextualizing Hong Kong developments in the frame of Cold War politics, an evaluation of the role of the United States in the unfolding of events in 1967 is imperative. London’s decision to withdraw from ‘East of Suez’ and its subsequent reduction of the British military presence in the Far East further enhanced the relevance of the American factor in the strategic thinking of the British government towards Hong Kong. For the communists, the response of the Americans — the leading imperialist power and a ‘special friend’ of the British Empire — towards the crisis in Hong Kong was certainly a factor to be considered as well. The Taiwan factor should also be further explored. Secondly, the role of Beijing in the disturbances in Hong Kong warrants more in-depth analysis. Interviews with left-wing leaders conducted by Wong and others have provided some valuable access to their partisan views of the origin of the event, yet more archival research is essential. The selective opening up of the 1950s and 1960s archives of the Chinese Foreign Ministry may herald a possibility for further research. In addition, Red Guard activities in Guangdong also warrant a re-examination given that party activities in the colony came under the jurisdiction of the provincial party organization. A deeper knowledge of the PLA activity in the province would also be valuable. Thirdly, the general mood of the local population before the riots remains unexplored. Cathryn Clayton’s current work, which is based on the oral testimony of events in Macao and Hong Kong in 1966–67, will provide new insights here. The official conclusion that the events of 1967 were simply a political provocation by the communists might overlook domestic causes of these social disturbances. It was, claimed William Heaton, ‘a good place to start a revolution’, owing to its social disequilibrium.⁴⁶ As Smart and Lui have further pointed out in this volume, the colony had gone through a series of confrontations in the post-war years and these should make us ponder the general frustration with the colonial regime on the eve of the 1967 riots. While our focus

here is on urban Hong Kong, we trust that more research in future will be carried out to explore the course and impact of the events on the New Territories. The border territories were indeed the site of a number of important events and it is our hope that Benton's work exploring the impact of the events in London's Chinatown can be further developed to help us better understand how overseas Hong Kong people responded to the crisis in the colony.⁴⁷

We have grouped the chapters into three sections. The first section explores the actions of the main actors in the unfolding events: the Hong Kong leftists, the Hong Kong government, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and Beijing. These chapters discuss such issues as the evolving strategies adopted, the debates and disagreements about those strategies, and the decisions that needed to be made. The chapters also locate the angry days of 1967 in the longer-term history of Hong Kong and Sino-British relations, and more widely, British late colonial history. The second section analyses specific policies that were carried out both before and during 1967. The essays here explore the legacy of the events in social policy, housing, and labour policy. In the third section, we have included transcribed testimonies of a number of 'witnesses' to the events. They had personally experienced the confrontation as adults, or as children, and reflected on the events for us at the 2007 conference. They joined our public forum and shared with the audience their accounts of the events after forty years. Their input provides us with an important supplement for our analysis — testimony to the emotion unleashed by this turbulent period in the 1960s. A systematic study of the state of mind of the local population is, however, required for a more refined understanding of the impact of the events and the ways in which they have shaped Hong Kong society and politics since. In retirement, British administrators such as Trench or Arthur Maddocks (Trench's political advisor from 1968) argued for the 'storm in a teacup' view, and claimed that it was 'a rather curious sequence of events' (Maddocks), a 'fleabite' (Trench), one which really ought to embarrass those concerned and really should not be taken seriously. 'They wanted to riot,' said Trench, 'and we didn't want them to.'⁴⁸

We hope that this book has instead demonstrated that the May days of 1967 and their impact on the 1960s should be taken more seriously. The events have not been explored widely in the last forty years, and we hope that in this book we have provided new questions and a new research agenda for the study of colonial rule in Hong Kong.

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Notes

Chapter 1

1. See for example, Yang Jianhua et al., *Xianggang chong Beizhan dao Huigui* (Hong Kong: From colonial rule to reunification) (Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe, 1997); Yuan Bangjian (ed.), *Xianggang Shilue* (A concise history of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Mainstream Publisher, 1987); Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 183–90. An exception is John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), pp. 150–60. By way of contrast one contemporary analysis still worth reading is William Heaton, ‘Maoist Revolutionary Strategy and Modern Colonialism: The Cultural Revolution in Hong Kong’, *Asian Survey*, 10:9 (1970), pp. 840–57.
2. John Cooper, *Colony in Conflict: The Hong Kong Disturbances May 1967–January 1968* (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Co., 1970), p. 9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
4. Jin Yaoru, *Zhonggong Xianggang zhengce miwen shilu* (Secrets and facts of the Chinese Communist Party’s Hong Kong policy) (Hong Kong: Tinyuan Press, 1998).
5. Gary Cheung, *Xianggang liuqi baodong neiqing* (Inside story of the 1967 riots in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Pacific Century Press, 2000).
6. Zhou Yi, *Xianggang zuopai duozhengshi* (History of left-wing struggle in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Leeman Press, 2002).
7. Liang Jiaqun et al., *Baodong mixin* (Secret stories of the riots) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Economic Press, 2001).
8. Good chronologies are to be found in Cooper, *Colony in Conflict*, and Gary Cheung, *Xianggang liuqi baodong neiqing*.
9. Oxford, Rhodes House Library, Mss.Ind.Ocn.s.337, ‘Transcript of interviews, 23 and 24 April 1987, given by Sir David Trench, Governor of Hong Kong (1964–71), to Dr Steve Tsang, and edited by Sir David Trench’ (hereafter Trench interview, 1987).
10. Tsang, *Modern History of Hong Kong*, pp. 183–90.
11. Carver’s note: TNA, FCO 40/95, Carver to CDS, MOD, 21 July 1967.
12. TNA, FCO 40/118, Sir Arthur Goldsworthy to M. D. I. Gass, 8 September 1967.
13. Xu Jiatusun, *Xu Jiatusun Xianggang huiyilu* (Xu Jiatusun’s reflection on Hong Kong affairs), Vol. 1 (Taipei: United Press, 1994), p. 40.

14. One work which places Hong Kong in that context is C. R. Schenk, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Hong Kong and the Decline of Sterling in the 1960s', *Economic History Review* 57:3 (2004), pp. 551–80.
15. John Darwin, 'Hong Kong in British Decolonisation', in Judith M. Brown and Rosemary Foot (eds.), *Hong Kong's Transitions, 1842–1997* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 16. Amongst the oddities outlined by Darwin: lack of significant constitutional evolution, of a Hong Kong nationalism, of demands for self-rule, and in terms of its economic prosperity, the absence of international or other pressure for four decades after 1945 for retrocession, and its 'complete absence as a topic of British political debate' before 1984; *ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
16. Wm Roger Louis, 'Hong Kong: The Critical Phase, 1945–1949', *American Historical Review* 102:4 (1997), pp. 1052–84.
17. Peter Hinchcliffe, John T. Ducker and Maria Holt, *Without Glory in Arabia: The British Retreat from Aden* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).
18. Louis, 'Hong Kong: The Critical Phase', p. 1053.
19. J. H. Smith, 'Trench, Sir David Clive Crosbie (1915–1988)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64160>, accessed 7 May 2007]. There was nothing to worry about, former governor Sir Alexander Grantham assured 'The Times Diary', Trench had prior experience of sorting out such affairs in the Solomons, when 'he was sent to sort out some trouble . . . when the natives were attacking Europeans and burning houses'; *The Times*, 16 May 1967, p. 10.
20. Obituary, *The Times*, 2 March 1983, p. 14.
21. Georgina Sinclair, *At the End of the Line: Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame, 1945–80* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
22. Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900–49* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 142.
23. See, for example, Beverley Hooper, *China Stands Up: Ending the Western Presence, 1948–50* (London and New York: Allen and Unwin, 1986); Thomas N. Thompson, *China's Nationalisation of Foreign Firms: The Politics of Hostage Capitalism, 1949–57* (Baltimore: School of Law, University of Maryland, Occasional papers, 1979).
24. Saki Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
25. Zhou, *History of left-wing struggle in Hong Kong*, pp. 231–2.
26. FCO 40/114 Hong Kong Police Special Branch Report, Ref. GEN/14/368/138, 24 October 1967.
27. New evidence has been sketchily emerging of People's Liberation Army (PLA) threats to the colony in 1967: 'Revealed: The Hong Kong invasion plan', *Sunday Times*, 24 June 2007, although the accepted view is that the PLA acted to prevent any incursions, although not as blatantly as it did in Macao; Allen S. Whiting, 'The Use of Force in Foreign Policy by the People's Republic of China', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 402:1 (1972), pp. 61–3.
28. Trench interview, 1987.
29. TNA, CO 1030/1107, 'The Governor of Hong Kong to the Secretary of State for the Colonies', ref: CR 14/2041/57, Telegram No. 1712, 12 August 1960.
30. See, for example, C. F. Yong and R. B. McKenna, *The Kuomintang Movement in British Malaya, 1912–1949* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990).
31. TNA, FCO 40/88, 'The Confrontation with Communists in Schools', ref. T. S., 1/3/1168/47, 7 December 1967.

32. TNA, FCO 40/88, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1779, 28 November 1967.
33. TNA, FCO 40/88, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1785, 29 November 1967.
34. John Cooper, *Colony in Conflict*, p. 97.
35. Richard Clutterbuck, *Riots and Revolution in Singapore and Malaya 1945–1963* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1972); David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005).
36. TNA, FCO 40/105, 24 September 1967.
37. Gregor Benton, 'Chinatown UK v. Colonial Hong Kong: An Early Exercise in Transnational Militancy and Manipulation, 1967–1969', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:2 (2005), p. 337.
38. Heaton, 'Maoist Revolutionary Strategy and Modern Colonialism', p. 846.
39. Richard Ross and Phillip Davies, *Inheritance in Public Policy: Change without Choice in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
40. Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 39.
41. Leo Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners: The Conflict Between Public Interest and Private Profit in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 20.
42. Benton, 'Chinatown UK v. Colonial Hong Kong'.
43. Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong*, p. 81.
44. Robert Bickers, 'The Colony's Shifting Position in the British Informal Empire in China,' in Judith Brown and Rosemary Foot (eds.), *Hong Kong's Transitions* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 33–61.
45. Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners*.
46. Heaton, 'Maoist Revolutionary Strategy and Modern Colonialism', p. 840.
47. Benton's work also draws clear links between the 'legacy in the New Territories of radical nationalism' dating from the Pacific War, and radicalism in 1967 in Britain's Chinese community, many of whom had come from the New Territories; see Benton, 'Chinatown UK v. Colonial Hong Kong', p. 335. See also his *The Chinese in Britain: Economy, Transnationalism, Identity* (with Edmund Terence Gomez) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
48. Oxford, Rhodes House Library, Mss.Ind.Ocn.s.340, 'Transcript of interview, 10 February 1988, given by Arthur Frederick Maddocks, Political Advisor to the Government of Hong Kong (1968–72), to Dr Steve Tsang'; Trench interview, 1987.

Chapter 2

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3. TNA, FCO 40/45, Hong Kong to Secretary of State of Commonwealth Affairs, 11 May 1967, Telegram No. 947.
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5. Jin Yiuru, *Xianggang wushinian yiwang* (50 Years in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Jin Yiuru Memorial Foundation, 2005), p. 122.

6. Qi Pengfei, *Deng Xiaoping yu Xianggang huigui* (Deng Xiaoping and the Return of Hong Kong) (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 2004), pp. 19–52.
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12. TNA, FCO 21/204, Despatch No. 12, Office of the British Chargé D’affaires to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Telegram, 6 June 1967.
13. Ibid.
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15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. TNA, CAB 134/2945, K(69)1, 28 March 1969, Cabinet Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong, *Hong Kong: Long Term Study*.
18. Ibid.
19. Saki Dockrill, *Britain’s Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
20. James Lilley, *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage and Diplomacy in Asia* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004). However, one should also note the tension on covert activities in Hong Kong between the Americans and the colonial administration. For details, see Steve Tsang, ‘Strategy for Survival: The Cold War and Hong Kong’s Policy towards Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Activities in the 1950s’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25: 2 (1997), pp. 294–317.
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27. TNA, CAB 134/2945, K(67)5, 20 September 1967.
28. TNA, FCO 21/191, Note by E. Bolland, Head of Far Eastern Department, Foreign Office, 20 February 1967.

29. 'The Hong Kong University Students' Union Council on the Recent Riot' (17 May 1967), in Ma Ming (ed.), *The Riot in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Sky Horse Book Company, 1967), p. 30, and Jack Cater, 'The 1967 Riots', in Sally Blyth and Ian Wotherspoon (eds.), *Hong Kong Remembers* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 107.
30. *Hong Kong Hansard*, 1967, p. 326.
31. Hong Kong Urban Council, *Official Record of Proceedings*, Meeting of 4 July 1967, pp. 131–2.
32. *Hong Kong Hansard* 1967, p. 390.
33. Interview with Edward Eates, Exeter, 28 May 2006.
34. Hong Kong Federation of Hong Kong Industries, *Annual Report 1967*, p. 6.
35. *Ming Pao*, 7 July 1967.
36. TNA, FCO 40/114 Hong Kong Police Special Branch Report, Ref. GEN/14/368/138, 24 October 1967.
37. TNA, FCO 21/192 Hong Kong Police Special Branch Report, Ref. GEN/14/368/3 (3), 15 May 1967.
38. TNA, FCO 40/45, the Commonwealth Office to the Hong Kong Governor, Telegram No. 910, 13 May 1967.
39. TNA, FCO 40/54, the Commonwealth Office to the Hong Kong Governor, Telegram No. 944, 17 May 1967.
40. TNA, FCO 40/54 Hong Kong Governor to the Commonwealth office, Telegram No. 641, 19 May 1967.
41. TNA, FCO 40/45 Peking Chargé D'affaires to the Foreign Office, Telegram No. 483, 15 May 1967.
42. TNA, FCO 40/46, the Commonwealth Office to Hong Kong, Telegram No. 1038, 25 May 1967.
43. TNA, FCO 40/54, Extract from C.O.S. (67) 55th Meeting held on 11 July 1967.
44. TNA, FCO 40/113, from the Officer Administering Hong Kong to the Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1151, 2 August 1967.
45. TNA, FCO 40/46, Peking to Foreign Office, Telegram No. 560, 24 May 1967; TNA, FCO 40/46, Hong Kong Governor to the Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 682, 24 May 1967; and TNA, FCO 40/113 Hong Kong to the Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1276, 21 August 1967.
46. TNA, FCO 40/113, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, unnumbered telegram, 29 August 1967.
47. Quoted in Edward Rice, *Mao's Way* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 377.
48. TNA, FCO 40/52, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1876, 18 December 1967, and Telegram No. 1854, 11 December 1967.
49. TNA, FCO 40/51 From JIC London to Hong Kong, 2 November 1967.
50. TNA, FCO 40/114, paper prepared by the Colonial Secretariat, 22 November 1967.
51. In August 1958, Parker Tu, headmaster of the Pui Kiu Middle School, a hard-core communist school in Hong Kong, was deported because of the school's active political indoctrination of students. Hon Wah Middle School, another flagship institution in the communist camp, was ordered to close down for safety reasons in the same month. Zhou Yi, *Xianggang zuopai douzhengshi*, pp. 170–80.
52. TNA, FCO 40/88, 'The Confrontation with Communists in Schools', ref. T. S, 1/3/1168/47, 7 December 1967.
53. *Ibid.*

54. TNA, FCO 40/88, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1779, 28 November 1967.
55. TNA, FCO 40/88, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 1785, 29 November 1967.
56. TNA, FCO 40/88, Hong Kong to Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 831, 29 June 1968.
57. TNA, FCO 40/88, Peking to Foreign Office, Telegram No. 648, 8 July 1968.
58. TNA, FCO 40/88, Peking to Foreign Office, Telegram No. 620, 2 July 1968.
59. Ibid.
60. TNA, FCO 40/88 Hong Kong Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 855, 5 July 1968.
61. TNA, FCO 40/88, James Murray to Wilkinson, 8 August 1968.
62. TNA, FCO 40/217, 'The Requisition of Ships Order 1955', Hong Kong Department, 5 December 1968; 'The Requisition of Ships Order 1969', Hong Kong Department, 9 October 1969.
63. TNA, FCO 40/114, Hall to Carter, 4 December 1967.
64. Gao Wenqian, *Wannian Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai in twilight years) (Hong Kong: Mirror Books, 2003), p. 232.

Chapter 3

1. For a fuller exposition see Cheuk-yin Wong, 'The Communist-Inspired Riots in Hong Kong, 1967: A Multi-Actors Approach' (Unpublished MPhil thesis, the University of Hong Kong, 2001).
2. Jack Cater was special assistant to the governor between May and June 1967 and deputy colonial secretary (special duties) between June 1967 and February 1968. He was stationed in the colony during the entire period of the riots. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
3. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
4. According to Cater, Denis Bray was the 'number two' person in the Special Group. Locking was at that time a district officer in the New Territories West. During the riots, Locking was responsible for the situations in the New Territories. He had 'very good attitudes at work.' David Ford joined the group at the end of July. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
5. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
6. Legislative Council, Hong Kong. *Reports of the Meeting of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong, sessions 1968*, 24 January 1968 (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1968).
7. Stephen Edward Waldron, 'Fire on the Rim: A Study in Contradictions in Left-Wing Mobilization' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Syracuse University, 1976), p. 240.
8. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
9. Waldron, 'Fire on the Rim', p. 235.
10. Denis Bray, who joined the Hong Kong government as a cadet officer class II in 1950, and retired in 1985 as secretary for home affairs, acting occasionally as chief secretary and governor. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
11. However, the water came through as contracted, so all the arrangements made for alternative supplies were immediately cancelled. Personal communication with Professor Norman Miners, dated 14 April 1999.
12. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
13. Waldron, 'Fire on the Rim', p. 236.

14. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
15. John Cooper, *Colony in Conflict: The Hong Kong Disturbances May 1967–January 1968* (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Company, 1970).
16. ‘Government Workers Suspended: Action Taken Following Marine Department Stoppage’, *South China Morning Post*, 2 June 1967.
17. Personal communication from Professor Norman Miners, 12 September 2000.
18. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
19. Ibid.
20. Cooper, *Colony in Conflict*, p. 105.
21. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
22. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
23. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
24. Chen Yangyong, *Kucheng Weiju: Zhou Enlai zai 1967* (Shoring up a shaky situation: Zhou Enlai in 1967) (Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe, 1999), p. 355.
25. Yao Dengshan was originally an officer in the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia before he was expelled from Jakarta in April 1967. Once back in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he set about the task of providing authoritative leadership to the radical forces directed against Chen Yi, who was attempting to shield the conduct of China’s foreign relations from the rising tide of internal violence. Wang Li, on the other hand, was renowned for his August-Seventh speech, in which he claimed, ‘[W]hy can’t a 20-year-old become the Minister of Foreign Affairs? We need to capture power now.’ See Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao’s Last Revolution* (Cambridge MA; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), Chapter 13.
26. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
27. Jin Yaoru, *Zhonggong Xianggang zhengce miwen shilu: Jin Yaoru wushinian xiangjiang yi wang* (Secret records of China’s Hong Kong policies: A memoir of Jin Yaoru, fifty years in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Tianyuan Shuwu, 1998), p. 122.
28. Percy Cradock, *Experiences of China* (London: John Murray, 1994), p. 64.
29. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
30. Wu Kang-min was a member of the ‘Struggle Committee’ in the 1967 riots. Wu interview, 25 May 2000.
31. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
32. TNA, FCO 21/204, Chinese policy towards Hong Kong, internal Foreign Office assessment, 16 June 1967. In fact, the only actual support from China was a gift of HK\$10 million by the Chinese Trade Union Federation to the Struggle Committee.
33. TNA, FCO 21/65, E. Bollard minute, 15 September 1967, p. 156.
34. *Records of the Hong Kong Legislative Council*, 12 July 1967.
35. ‘Paper Reveal Undercover Power Base during 1967 Riots’, *South China Morning Post*, 7 June 1992.
36. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
37. Some of the locations raided by the police were owned and operated by official commercial channels of China. Others were run in buildings leased by the Chinese side. Still others were independent of mainland interest but merely sold Chinese literature and propaganda materials. Waldron argued that the official and semi-official ties of such institutions made the government’s action against them potentially more serious than the raids against local leftists, since such actions may lead to Chinese protests. Waldron, ‘Fire on the Rim’, p. 264.

38. Committee of Hong Kong Kowloon Chinese Compatriots of All Circles for the Struggle Against Persecution by the British Authorities in Hong Kong. *The May Upheaval in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Committee of Hong Kong Kowloon Chinese Compatriots of All Circles for the Struggle Against Persecution by the British Authorities in Hong Kong, 1967), p. 38.
39. Bray interview, 24 April 1999. He responded in this way when being asked on his view towards the Hong Kong government's anti-riot tactics.
40. Waldron, 'Fire on the Rim', p. 266.
41. 'Raids on Three Communists Strongholds: Longest Operation Since May', *South China Morning Post*, 1 August 1967.
42. TNA, FCO 21/202, Hong Kong to CO, 21 September 1967, Telegram No. 903. Trench sent this telegram in reply to a Foreign Office telegram, giving details of the assessment of the situation in Hong Kong made by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
43. Jin, *Secret Records of China's Hong Kong Policies*, pp. 149–52.
44. Quoted in Jin, p. 152.
45. TNA, FCO 21/225, E. Bollard minute, Colonial Office official, 19 September 1967, p. 5.
46. TNA, FCO 21/202, Hong Kong to CO, 21 September 1967, Telegram No. 903.
47. Waldron, 'Fire on the Rim', p. 287.
48. HKRS 70-1/313G, Riots 1967, Declarations of Support to Government, 15 May 1967–10 August 1967.
49. The United Nations Association had very few, if any, members. It was formed and run by Ma Man-fei as a platform to publicize his own views. Personal communication with Norman Miners, 12 September 2000.
50. 'Siding with the Strength', *China Mail*, 7 March 1968.
51. 'Riots Warning', *Hong Kong Standard*, 7 December 1969.
52. HKRS70-1/326, Press Library Files, Social Welfare Department, 11 January 1967–7 December 1970.
53. 'Elsie Agrees with Lord Rhodes', *The Star*, 7 August 1967.
54. 'What Opinion Have the Elected Councilors Expressed on Behalf of the Residents', *Tin Tin Daily News*, 7 September 1967.
55. 'Siding with the Strength', the *China Mail*, 7 March 1968. The first half of the places mentioned were residential areas for the wealthy. The latter half was densely populated by the relatively poor.
56. On the concept of legitimacy, see William Connolly, *Legitimacy and the State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984); James O'Connor, *The Meaning of Crisis: A Theoretical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, *Authority Revisited* (New York: New York University Press, 1987); T. H. Rigby and Ferenc Fehér, *Political Legitimation in Communist States* (London: Macmillan, 1982). However, Peter Ferdinand argued that Ian Scott had no clear idea of what the 'legitimacy might be' and Alan P. L. Liu argued that Scott's account of a legitimacy crisis was not very meaningful in the context of the Hong Kong government. See *The American Political Science Review*, 85:3–4 (1991) (book review by Peter Ferdinand and Alan Liu), p. 330.
57. Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 322.
58. *Ibid.*

59. The former was used by Dr Patrick Hase, who worked as an administrative officer of the Hong Kong government until taking early retirement in 1996, and the latter by Denis Bray.
60. Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, pp. 36–7.
61. For the difference between legitimacy by performance and legitimacy by procedure, see Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 50.
62. Huntington, *The Third Wave*, p. 50.
63. Ibid.
64. Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p. 327.
65. Ibid., p. 106.
66. Hase interview, 9 May 1999.
67. Ibid.
68. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
69. *The American Political Science Review*, 85:3–4 (1991) (book review by Alan Liu), p. 330.
70. Personal letter from Norman Miners, 14 April 1999.
71. Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p. 322. Scott did not define what exactly a crisis was in his 1989 work. For the theoretical discussion, see James O'Connor, *The Meaning of Crisis: A Theoretical Introduction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987). In fact, crisis can be defined as 'the moment when a conflict occurred so great that the government cannot deal with it any more, or a situation where conflict, especially political conflict, has become so threatening or dangerous that people are afraid that there will be war or where the government is so heavily attacked that there is serious doubt whether it will continue to exist'. See *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993).
72. Norman Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong* (fifth edition) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 32.
73. Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p. 104.
74. Ibid., p. 322.
75. Ibid.
76. Cater interview, 12 October 1999.
77. Sir David Akers-Jones was the chief secretary of Hong Kong from 1985 to 1987. He first arrived in Hong Kong as a soldier in January 1945 and began his career in the colonial government in the summer of 1957. Jones interview, 28 May 1999.
78. Cater interview, 12 October 1999. He responded in this way when being asked on his view towards Scott's argument.
79. Personal interviews with a police constable (who refused to disclose his name), 9 June 2000.
80. Bray interview, 24 April 1999.
81. Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p. 104.

Chapter 4

1. Some of the materials used in this chapter were collected at The National Archives by Ray Yep, to whom I am grateful for sharing copies with me.
2. TNA, FCO 21/235, Hong Kong Tel. to CO, 6 September 1967. For Victoria's move see *The Times*, 28 August 1967, pp. 1, 4.

3. TNA, FCO 21/235, E. T. Davies to I. T. M. Lucas, Central Department, FO, 8 September 1967; Hugh Davies, 'An Undiplomatic Foray: A 1967 escapade in Macau', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 47 (2008), pp. 115–26.
4. This episode has attracted little attention in English. There is a short account, vague on some detail and chronology, and which is based on newspaper sources in Steve Shipp, *Macau, China: A Political History of the Portuguese Colony's Transition to Chinese Rule* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 1997), pp. 89–91. For a fuller treatment see Moisés Silva Fernandes, 'As prostrações das instituições britânicas em Macau durante a "revolução cultural" chinesa em Maio de 1967 e algumas das suas consequências' ('The prostration of British institutions in Macau during the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" in May 1967 and some of its repercussions'), in his *Confluência de Interesses: Macau nas Relações Luso-Chinesas Contemporâneas 1945–2005* (Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Coleção Biblioteca Diplomática Série A No. 9, 2008), pp. 305–44.
5. TNA, FCO 21/235, E. Bolland to Norman Ions, 28 July 1967.
6. See documents in HKPRO, HKRS 935-2-14, 'China and Macau'.
7. *The Times*, 18 April 1967, p. 5.
8. Quoted in Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong* (London: Hurst and Company, 1989), p. 97.
9. Quoted in Fernandes, 'As prostrações das instituições britânicas em Macau', p. 309.
10. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), pp. 255–62. On images of the colony see also Jonathan Porter, *Macau: The Imaginary City. Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000).
11. See Chapter 5 of De Leeuw's *Cities of Sin* (London: Noel Douglas, 1934; new editions in 1940 and 1953). Auden's aside — 'And nothing serious can happen here' — occurred in his 1938 poem, 'Macao', first published in W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *Journey to a War* (London: Faber and Faber, 1939).
12. Wang Zhicheng, *Portuguese in Shanghai* (Macau: Macau Foundation, 2004).
13. TNA, FCO 21/235, 'H.M. Consulate, Macao Return of Consular work for the 12 months ended 31 October 1966'; TNA, FCO 47/24, 'Evacuation (Emergency Planning — Macao)', Hong Kong Tel. No. 93, 21 January 1967; K. MacLellan, Canadian High Commission, to E. Bolland, 26 January 1967.
14. TNA, FCO 47/24, 'Evacuation (Emergency Planning) — Macao', Hong Kong Tel. No. 93, 21 January 1967.
15. *The Times*, 2 December 1967, p. 11. For accounts of the 12.3 events see Anthony R. Dicks, 'Macau: Legal Fiction and Gunboat Diplomacy,' in Goran Aijmer (ed.), *Leadership on the China Coast* (London: Curzon Press, 1984), pp. 90–128. (This is a reprint of a survey originally circulated privately in July 1967 as 'Macao: Gunboat Diplomacy'; see TNA, FCO 21/236, 'Macao: Political Affairs Internal. Foreign views on'. Dicks, then a fellow in Chinese law at the Institute of Current World Affairs, was living in Hong Kong. His various monthly reports to the Institute can be viewed at <http://www.icwa.org/FormerArticles.asp?vIni=ARD&vName=Anthony%20R.%20Dicks>.) Moisés Silva Fernandes, *Macau na Política Externa Chinesa, 1949–1979* (Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006) provides a full survey of events, and his *Sinopse de Macau nas Relações Luso-Chinesas, 1945–1995* (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 2000) provides a chronology and reprints of key documents.

16. TNA, FCO 40/71, 'Hong Kong: Political Affairs: Bilateral Relations with Macao', Monthly Intelligence Report, December 1966, Appendix, 'Events in Macao'; Joao De Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe: Person, Culture and Emotion in Macao* (London: Berg Publishers, 2000), pp. 72–5.
17. TNA, FCO 40/71, 'Hong Kong: Political Affairs: Bilateral Relations with Macao', Hong Kong Tel. 55, 14 January 1967; CO to Hong Kong, No. 95, 15 January 1967.
18. TNA, FCO 40/71, 'Hong Kong: Political Affairs: Bilateral Relations with Macao', Hong Kong Tel. 68, 17 January 1967.
19. TNA, FCO 47/24, 'Evacuation (Emergency Planning) — Macao', CO to Hong Kong, Tel. No. 123, 19 January 1967.
20. TNA, FCO 40/71, 'Hong Kong: Political Affairs: Bilateral Relations with Macao', 'Submission: Evacuation of Macao', 17 January 1967.
21. Copy of Hong Kong Despatch No. 1164, 23 June 1967 in TNA, DEFE 25/300.
22. De Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, p. 74; Richard Louis Edmonds and Herbert S. Yee, 'Macao: From Portuguese Autonomous Territory to Chinese Special Administrative Region', *The China Quarterly*, No. 160 (1999), p. 805, n. 14.
23. Fernandes, 'As prostrações das instituições britânicas em Macau', p. 326. In 1964 the Consulate had organized a press briefing to try and quell persistent press attacks on the entry permit system's alleged inadequacies; see Hong Kong Public Record Office, HKRS 41–2–346, 'Immigration Department: Macau Permit Office, Routine Correspondence'.
24. Much of the narrative is taken from Ions' later draft despatch on the episode, composed in early June in London, in TNA, FCO 21/235, paper 54, hereafter Ions despatch, and from Hong Kong telegrams to London collected in the same file. See also the *Times*, 13 May 1967, p. 1. This despatch has now been edited by Moisés Silva Fernandes and partially published as 'A Diplomat Interrupted', *Macau Closer* (15 February–15 March 2007), pp. 40–43.
25. TNA, FCO 21/235, 'H.M. Consul in Macao', Bolland minute, 16 May 1967.
26. Ions despatch.
27. TNA, FCO 21/235, Hong Kong Tel. No. 694, 24 May 1967.
28. *Daily Express* report, 25 May 1967, p. 2.
29. TNA, FCO 21/235, Hong Kong Tels. No. 692, No. 681, 24 May 1967.
30. Ions was satisfied that the hotel staff were spying on him, so he and the Hong Kong government officer with whom he discussed the situation resorted to using that standby code for subjects *pas devant les Chinois*: French.
31. TNA, FCO 21/235, E. T. Davies to I. T. M. Lucas, Central Departmentt, FO, 8 September 1967; George Walden, *Lucky George: Memoirs of an Anti-politician* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), pp. 90–92; Davies, 'An Undiplomatic Foray'.
32. TNA, FCO 21/235, K. R. Welbore Ker (Lisbon) to E. Bolland, 4 October 1967, James Murray, Submission, 'Macao Consulate', 1 December 1967.
33. TNA, CAB 134/2945, Annex, 'The Situation in Macao', 'Cabinet. Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong. Interim Report by Officials', 21 July 1967. The evolution of this report is recorded in FCO 40/77, 'Hong Kong: Territorial (Sovereignty). Future of.'
34. TNA, FCO 40/77, H. N. Hall, minute for Secretary of State, 28 June 1967, 'Hong Kong, Sir David Trench'.
35. *Hong Kong. Report for the Year 1967* (Hong Kong: Government Press, 1968), pp. 1–2. The report was the subject of disagreement between Trench and the Peking embassy:

- TNA, FCO 21/193, Hong Kong No. 135, 29 January 1968, and D. C. Wilson minute, 30 January 1968.
36. TNA, FCO 21/192, 'The Communist challenge', Special Branch, Hong Kong Police, 15 May 1967.
 37. TNA, FCO 21/204, F. Brewer, 'Hong Kong and China', 18 May 1967. Brewer concluded that while the Chinese 'evidently intended to gain effective, though indirect, control over Macao', their demands in Hong Kong were as yet more limited.
 38. 'Probably the Communists have not yet taken the decision to launch an all-out Macau-style attack': TNA, FCO 40/113, Hong Kong No. 600, 13 May 1967.
 39. TNA, FCO 40/77, 'The possibility of a British withdrawal from Hong Kong', A. N. Galsworthy minute, 31 May 1967. 'National humiliation' (*guochi*) is of course an important trope in PRC history making. On the subject see Paul A. Cohen, 'Remembering and Forgetting: National Humiliation in Twentieth-Century China,' in *China Unbound: Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 148–84.
 40. TNA, FCO 40/77, 'Extract from minutes of a meeting of the Defence and Overseas Policy Committee held on 25/5/1967'.
 41. TNA, FCO 40/77, 'The possibility of a British withdrawal from Hong Kong', A.N. Galsworthy minute, 31 May 1967, after visit to Hong Kong and discussions with Sir David Trench and General Worsley, Commander of British Forces, Hong Kong.
 42. Roderick MacFarquhar, 'China gets rough', *New Statesman*, 14 July 1967, p. 40; 'Punch-up diplomacy', *New Statesman*, 1 September 1967, p. 245.
 43. *The Times*, 12 May 1967, p. 5.
 44. *The Times*, 15 May 1967, p. 4.
 45. *The Economist*, 3 June 1967, p. 996.
 46. Ian Scott has shown, however, and the chapters in this volume reinforce the point, that in the longer term the crisis catalysed slowly evolving reform across the colonial administration and its practices and assumptions: *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong*, pp. 105–26.
 47. TNA, DEFE 11/754, Commonwealth Secretary to Hong Kong, No. 944, 17 May 1967.
 48. TNA, FCO 40/77, 'The possibility of a British withdrawal from Hong Kong', A.N. Galsworthy minute, 31 May 1967.
 49. TNA, CAB 134/2945, Cabinet Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Long Term Study, 28 March 1969, para. 87.
 50. TNA, FCO 40/77, Cabinet, OPD, Defence Review Working Party, 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Working Party', 26 June 1967.
 51. TNA, FCO 40/77, Cabinet, OPD, Defence Review Working Party, 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Working Party', 26 June 1967.
 52. TNA, FCO 40/77, Cabinet, OPD, Defence Review Working Party, 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Working Party', 17 July 1967.
 53. TNA, FCO 40/77, Herbert Jenkyns to Sir Arthur Galsworthy, 19 July 1967.
 54. TNA, CAB 134/2945, 'Cabinet. Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong. Interim Report by Officials', 21 July 1967.
 55. TNA, CAB 134/2945, 'Cabinet. Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong', Minutes of a meeting of the committee, 24 July 1967.
 56. TNA, CAB 134/2945, 'Cabinet. Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong', Minutes of a meeting of the committee, 22 September July 1967 and attached paper, 'Contingency Planning. Note by the Secretaries', 20 September 1967.

57. Draft OPD paper, 'Contingency Planning: Hong Kong. Memorandum by the Commonwealth Secretary', November 1967, copy in TNA, DEFE 25/300.
58. C. R. Schenk, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Hong Kong and the Decline of Sterling in the 1960s', *Economic History Review* 57:3 (2004), pp. 551–80.
59. TNA, T317/1228, 'Contingency planning: Hong Kong', S. H. Wright, Treasury, minute, 7 December 1967.
60. TNA, CAB 134/2945, Cabinet Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Long Term Study, 28 March 1969, para. 9.
61. TNA, FCO21/204, D.C. Hopson (Peking) Despatch No.12, 6 June 1967.
62. H.A. Turner et al., *The Last Colony: But Whose? A Study of the Labour Movement, Labour Market and Labour Relations in Hong Kong* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 104–6; TNA, CAB 134/2945, 'Cabinet. Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong', Minutes of a meeting of the committee, 22 September July 1967 and attached papers.

Chapter 5

1. Parts of this chapter draw from sections of my *Concise History of Hong Kong* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007; Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007).
2. Gary Wayne Catron, 'China and Hong Kong, 1945–1967' (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1971), pp. 297–300.
3. Catron, 'China and Hong Kong', p. 284.
4. Catron, 'China and Hong Kong', p. 250.
5. For example, *Who Is Guilty of These Atrocities?* (Hong Kong: Ta Kung Pao, 1967), *We Shall Win! British Imperialism in Hong Kong Will be Defeated!* (Hong Kong: Ta Kung Pao, 1967), *The May Upheaval in Hongkong* (Hong Kong: Committee of Hongkong-Kowloon Chinese Compatriots of All Circles for the Struggle against Persecution by the British Authorities in Hong Kong, 1967), *Ying diguozhuyi zai wanhuo* 英帝國主義在玩火 [British colonialism is playing with fire] (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1967), *Kongsu Gangying diguozhuyi Faxisi baoxing* [Complaint against the fascist violence of British colonialism] 控訴港英帝國主義法西斯暴行 (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1967).
6. Robert Kotewall's report on the strike, enclosed in TNA, CO 129/489, 24 October 1925, Stubbs to Amery, pp. 433–4.
7. Ming K. Chan, 'Labour vs. Crown: Aspects of Society-State Interactions in the Hong Kong Labour Movement before World War II', in Elizabeth Sinn (ed.), *Between East and West: Aspects of Social and Political Development in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, the University of Hong Kong, 1990), p. 141.
8. This correspondence is contained in the Foreign Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Far Eastern Department: Registered Files, F and FE Series, TNA, FCO 21/193, 1967–68.
9. *Hong Kong: Report for the Year 1967* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Press, 1968), pp. 1, 111.
10. For a brief discussion of these documents, see Gary Cheung, 'The Secret Handover', *South China Morning Post*, 20 November 2006.
11. Quoted in John D. Young, 'The Building Years: Maintaining a China-Hong Kong-Britain Equilibrium, 1950–71', in Ming K. Chan (ed.), *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain, 1842–1992* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), p. 138.

12. Cheung Ka-wai (Gary Cheung) 張家偉, *Xianggang liuqi baodong neiqing* 香港六七暴動內情 [Inside story of the 1967 riots in Hong Kong] (Beijing: Taipingyang shiji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 16–17.
13. John Cooper, *Colony in Conflict: The Hong Kong Disturbances, May 1967–January 1968* (Hong Kong: Swindon, 1970), p. 10.
14. Chan, ‘Labour vs. Crown’, p. 139.
15. Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 168.
16. For an example of leftist propaganda aimed at students, see *Tongxuemen, tuanjie qilai!* 同學們，團結起來！ [Students, organize and rise up!] (Hong Kong: Sanlian, 1967).
17. Chan, ‘Labour vs. Crown’, p. 139.
18. Kotewall’s report, pp. 442–3.
19. Sir Jack Cater, ‘The 1967 Riots’, in Sally Blyth and Ian Wotherspoon, *Hong Kong Remembers* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 108–9.
20. TNA, CO 129/489, 10 September 1925, P. P. J. Wodehouse to Colonial Secretary, pp. 193–6.
21. Young, ‘The Building Years’, p. 140. See also John D. Young, ‘Towards a Hong Kong Identity: The Riots of 1966 and 1967’, paper presented at the Twelfth Conference of the International Association of Historians, June 1991, the University of Hong Kong.
22. Henry J. Lethbridge, ‘Introduction’, in *Hong Kong: Stability and Change: A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 25.
23. David Faure, *Colonialism and the Hong Kong Mentality* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, the University of Hong Kong, 2003), pp. 75–76.
24. Kotewall’s report, pp. 431–2.
25. Kotewall’s report, pp. 433–4.
26. Chan, ‘Labour vs. Crown’, p. 142.
27. Cater, ‘The 1967 Riots’, p. 111.
28. Quoted in Gary Cheung, ‘Hong Kong’s Watershed’, *South China Morning Post*, 3 May 2007.
29. Stephen Edward Waldron, ‘Fire on the Rim: A Study in Contradictions in Left-Wing Political Mobilization in Hong Kong 1967’ (PhD thesis, University of Syracuse, 1980), p. 21.
30. Leo F. Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners: The Conflict Between Public Interest and Private Profit in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 147.
31. Quoted in John Rear, ‘One Brand of Politics’, in Keith Hopkins (ed.), *Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 55.
32. TNA, CO 129/263, 23 August 1894, Ripon to Robinson, reprinted in Steve Tsang (ed.), *Government and Politics: A Documentary History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995), p. 109.
33. TNA, CO 129/268, Robinson to Chamberlain, 16 August 1895, reprinted in Tsang, *Government and Politics*, p. 109.
34. TNA, CO 129/274, Chamberlain to Robinson, 29 May 1896, reprinted in Tsang, *Government and Politics*, p. 110.

Chapter 6

1. ‘Hong Kong Defeat of Rioters; High Prestige of Police’, David Bonavia, *The Times*, 22 June 1967.

2. European was the imperial term given for ‘white’ officers who were typically British but could also be drawn from other Commonwealth countries.
3. See Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Police* (London: Max Parrish, 1952), pp. 28–34. Jeffries was the deputy under-secretary of state for the colonies at this time and made the earliest study of British colonial policing.
4. It consisted originally of ninety-three soldiers seconded from British and Indian regiments.
5. Kevin Sinclair and Nelson Ng Kwok-cheung, *Asia’s Finest Marches On: Policing Hong Kong from 1841 into the 21st Century* (Hong Kong: Kevin Sinclair Associates Ltd, 1997); Colin Crisswell and Mike Watson, *The Royal Hong Kong Police, 1841–1945* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1982).
6. The Auxiliary Police Force was formed in 1914 and known originally as the Hong Kong Reserve. It was disbanded in 1919 but then re-formed in the early 1920s. In 1941, a special constabulary was formed separate to the Hong Kong Reserve though both bodies were amalgamated in 1957 to form the Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force.
7. Taken from an interview with Peter Schouten (RHKP, Sen. Assist. Commissioner, Rtd., 1949–78), 10 November 2006.
8. Mark S. Gaylord and Harold Traver, ‘Colonial Policing and the Demise of British Rule in Hong Kong’, *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 23 (1995), pp. 24–26.
9. Taken from an interview with Michael Ko-chun (RHKP, Sup. Rtd., 1950–75), 18 August 2003 and 15 September 2006. Ko-chun was born in Weihaiwei, arriving in Hong Kong in 1950 as a refugee.
10. Taken from an interview with Ivan Scott (RHKP, Sup. Rtd., 1955–1987), 21 May 2001.
11. For detailed discussion see Georgina Sinclair, *At the End of the Line: Colonial Policing and the Imperial Endgame, 1945–1980* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), Ch. 1.
12. This was particularly true in the late 1940s when the local population saw an influx of immigrants from China, many of whom were ‘Nationalists and keen to support the Colonial Government’. Indeed, the ‘loyalty’ of Chinese police officers recruited from this population was not called into question. Taken from an interview with Ted Eates (Sierra Leone, The Gambia, Nigeria RHKP, Com. Rtd., 1946–1968), 22 October 2007.
13. Eates interview, 23 July 2003.
14. Gaylord and Traver, ‘Colonial Policing’, p. 29.
15. Jeffries, *Colonial Police*, p. 84. In 1935, Sir Herbert Dowbiggin commented that the Hong Kong Police were better equipped for crowd and riot control than many of their colonial counterparts. This included transport and weaponry available. Dowbiggin, ‘Notes on Police Forces visited in 1935’, Rhodes House Library, Oxford (RHL) MSs. Ind. Oc. s. 288/f. 24.
16. C. L. Scobell (RHKP, Sen. Assist. Com. Rtd., 1951–78) in correspondence with the author, 22 February 2000.
17. Anthony Annieson, *The One-Eyed Dragon: The Inside Story of a Hong Kong Policeman* (Moffat: Lochar Publishing Ltd, 1989), pp. 37–64.
18. Schouten interview, 10 November 2006.
19. In 1956, each Police Tactical Squad (PTS) comprised some twenty-eight to thirty men divided into sections: baton; lock-up; rifle and gas with one non-commissioned officer (NCO) and six men per section managed by two European or Chinese officers.
20. Annieson, *One-Eyed Dragon*, pp. 39–40.

21. Sinclair and Ng Kwok-cheung, *Asia's Finest*, pp. 39–40.
22. Schouten interview, 10 November 2006; Eates interview, 23 July 2003.
23. Annieson, *One-Eyed Dragon*, p. 161.
24. Schouten interview, 10 November 2006.
25. Scobell interview, 22 February 2000, Eates interview 23 July 2003.
26. Trench to Colonial Secretary, Secret, 'Hong Kong: A Review of Principal Developments', 15 December 1966, The National Archives, London, TNA, DEFE 13/534.
27. Michael Hogan, C. K. Lo, L. T. Ride and Maurice P. K. Wong, 'Kowloon Report' (1966), TNA, FCO 40/39.
28. In the event, 93 rounds of ammunition were fired and this resulted in one dead and three injured according to the report. Report Kowloon disturbances, 1967, pp. 60–67, TNA, FCO 40/39.
29. Eates interview, 19 September 2007.
30. Report Kowloon disturbances, 1967, p. 65, TNA, FCO 40/39.
31. Report Kowloon disturbances, 1967, p. 66, TNA, FCO 40/39.
32. Trench to Commonwealth Secretary, 'Hong Kong: Principal Developments December 1966–June 1967', 25 July 1967, TNA, DEFE 25/300.
33. Eates, as deputy commissioner, replaced the commissioner of police, Edward Tyrer, in August 1967, having been acting commissioner during his six-week leave of absence in the UK. Tyrer had returned to Hong Kong in August and resumed command of the Hong Kong Police (HKP) at that time. He was said to have retired subsequently from the police for reasons of ill health; see Sinclair and Ng Kwok-cheung, *Asia's Finest*, p. 49. However, official correspondence does not provide any conclusive evidence of the reasons for his premature retirement. Eates has said that Tyrer told him that the Hong Kong government had lost confidence in him, but he did not give specific reasons for this. Rumours at the time suggested that Tyrer had been seen to have 'given the Communists too much elbow room and not taken a tough enough line', although police policy at the time was keen not to provoke Beijing in terms of HKP handling of local communist supporters. Moreover, Tyrer had told Eates on several occasions that he had disagreements with the commander of the British Forces (CBF) on how police operations should be managed; Eates interview, 15 February 2008. It could be suggested here that police commissioners had been forced into early retirement during colonial emergencies as a result of a difference of opinion with the CBF. For example, Nicol Gray in Malaya in 1952, George Robbins in Cyprus in 1956 and John Biles in Zanzibar in 1963.
34. Commissioner of Police, Annual Departmental Report, 1965 (Hong Kong, 1966), p. 1.
35. Taken from an interview with Pedro Ching (Sen. Assist. Com., RHKP, Rtd., 1963–98), 28 May 2007. Ching was recruited into the Inspectorate in 1963.
36. Trench to Commonwealth Secretary, 'Hong Kong: Principal Developments December 1966–June 1967', 25 July 1967, TNA, DEFE 25/300.
37. See, for example, Sinclair and Ng Kwok-cheung, *Asia's Finest*, pp. 45–50.
38. Eates noted that police morale 'suffered' temporarily though there were no incidents recalled when the Hong Kong Police failed to carry out their duties and responsibilities efficiently, nor were there more than a handful of resignations at that time. Eates interview, 15 February 2008.
39. Trench to Commonwealth Office, Secretary of State, 24 May 1967, TNA, FCO 2/191.
40. Hong Kong Information Office to Commonwealth Office, telegram, 23 May 1967, TNA, FCO 2/191.

41. Ching interview, 28 May 2007.
42. This was perceived as evidence that the British government were intent on remaining in Hong Kong; Eates interview, 15 February 2008 and Trench to Secretary of State, Commonwealth Office, secret telegram, 22 May 1967, TNA, FCO 2/191.
43. CINCFE to MOD UK, 22 May 1967, TNA, DEFE 25/300.
44. Ching interview, 28 May 2007.
45. 'General Situation and Policing', Hong Kong; Political Affairs, report, May 1967, TNA, FCO 21/191.
46. Hong Kong government to FCO, general report on disturbances, May 1967, TNA, DEFE 11/754.
47. 'Chinese Communist Confrontation with HK Government – Assessment of Recent Activities', Special Branch report, 15 January 1968, TNA, FCO 21/196.
48. Trench to Secretary of State, Commonwealth Office, secret telegram, 17 May 1967, TNA, FCO 2/191.
49. Eates interview, 4 February 2008.
50. Press Office Hong Kong to Press Chapelries, London, telegram, 17 May 1967, TNA, FCO 2/191.
51. Cooper, 'Hong Kong Disturbances', p. 14. Allegations were made of police violence during the 1967 disturbances, which the government then claimed to have been 'grossly exaggerated'. Five people died while in police custody. In four cases, it was claimed that these people had been arrested on 'occasions when extreme violence had been resorted to in attempts to resist the efforts of the Police to maintain law and order. The persons concerned had received injuries almost certainly incurred in the course of their arrest from which they subsequently died.' An inquiry was held into each case: two deaths due to misadventure, one accidental and one justifiable homicide. In the fifth case, three police officers were charged with murder and convicted with manslaughter. The convictions were all quashed on appeal owing to incomplete evidence. Police casualties were 10 killed and 212 injured, and for civilians, 17 people killed and 43 injured as a result of the use of firearms. Total casualties amongst the public were 39 killed and 585 injured, many as a result of bombings. TNA, FCO 40/226.
52. For example, a corporal and two constables were charged following an attack on a man held in custody from 24 June to 26 June. HK office to FCO, telegram, 1 July 1967, TNA, FCO 21/192.
53. Hong Kong Annual Report, 10 January 1968, TNA, FCO 21/193.
54. Sinclair and Ng Kwok-cheung, *Asia's Finest*, pp. 49–50, Eates interview, 22 October 2007.
55. For an in-depth overview of police/military relationship, see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 1–98.
56. Thomas R. Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency 1919–1960* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), p. 145.
57. 'Dormant Commission for CBF, Hong Kong', Top Secret, 1967, TNA, FCO 40/98.
58. 'UK Policy towards Hong Kong', secret, TNA, FCO 21/199.
59. Police/military exercises, known as TEWT (tactical exercises without troops), were carried out yearly, but involved police and army officers working out joint manoeuvres from a theoretical rather than practical perspective.
60. Eates interview, 19 September 2007.
61. Trench to Colonial Secretary, secret telegram, 12 January 1967, TNA, DEFE 24/595.

62. Ibid.
63. Defence Report, 'Dormant Commission', 1967, TNA, FCO 40/98.
64. Secret Special Branch Report, HKP, 15 May 1967, TNA, FCO 21/192.
65. This was also in response to the number of crimes recorded, which rose by 11.8 percent that year to 24,047, being the highest reported figure for eleven years. Hong Kong Police Annual Report, 1 April 1967 – 31 March 1968, pp. 4, 8, 19.
66. Chiefs of Staff Committee Defence Planning Report, 6 October 1966, TNA, DEFE 24/519.
67. Hong Kong defence contributions, 1967, TNA, FCO 40/99.
68. Minutes of Defence Planning Meeting, 11 October 1966, TNA, DEFE 24/519.
69. Secret memorandum by Colonial Secretary to Defence Planning Committee, October 1966 entitled 'Hong Kong Garrison', TNA, DEFE 13/534.
70. Top secret, Foreign Secretary notes taken at Defence Planning meeting, 5 September 1967, TNA, DEFE 11/756.
71. K. M. Wilford, Colonial Secretariat, HK to FCO, 21 July 1967, TNA, FCO 21/209.
72. Trench to Colonial Secretary, confidential telegram, 24 June 1967, 'Bilateral Border Incidents', TNA, FCO 21/209.
73. Trench to Colonial Secretary, confidential telegram, 27 June 1967, TNA, FCO 21/209.
74. 'Aspects of Recent Chinese Dealings with Hong Kong', Special Branch Report, 10 May 1968, TNA, FCO 21/198.
75. Eates interview, 7 September 2007 and Wilford, Colonial Secretariat, HK to FCO, 21 July 1967, TNA, FCO 21/209.
76. FCO to Peking Office, cipher, 5 July 1967, TNA, FCO 21/209.
77. FCO to Peking Office, cipher, 5 August 1967, TNA, FCO 21/209.
78. FCO Confidential report, 'Border Incidents', TNA, FCO 21/193.
79. Ching interview, 28 May 2007.
80. Peking Office to FCO, telegram, 15 August 1967, TNA, FCO 21/209.
81. Chief of the Defence Staff to the Commonwealth Secretary, Top Secret Report, UK eyes only, 27 July 1967, TNA, DEFE 25/300.
82. 'Hong and Border Incidents', FCO report, 16 October 1967, TNA, FCO 21/210.
83. 'Border Agreement', FCO report, 16 October 1967, TNA, FCO 21/198.
84. Eates, in correspondence with the author, 13 October 2007.
85. Signed D. W. H., Colonial Office to Ministry of Defence, 9 June 1967, TNA, DEFE 11/756.
86. Gerry Northam, *Shooting in the Dark: Riot Police in Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), pp. 38–42. This visit by the Royal Hong Kong Police (RHKP) was never made public, nor was the decision to adopt colonial-style riot police tactics in Britain, although these riot control methods had been employed in Northern Ireland since the inception of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in 1922.
87. Taken from an interview with Eric Blackburn (RHKP, Dep. Com., Rtd., 1954–1988), 20 October 2006.

Chapter 7

1. Part of the research for this chapter was undertaken while the author was Visiting Fellow at the Hong Kong Institute for Monetary Research. The research was funded by an ESRC research grant RES-165-25-0004.
2. C. R. Schenk, *Hong Kong as an International Financial Centre: Emergence and Development 1945–65* (London: Routledge, 2001).

3. The next two sections draw on C. R. Schenk, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Hong Kong and the Decline of Sterling in the 1960s', *Economic History Review*, LVII (3) August 2004, pp. 551–80.
4. Note by Secretary of the Cabinet (Burke Trend), the Economic Situation, 18 July 1966. The National Archives, Kew, London (hereafter TNA) CAB129/126.
5. Hong Kong Legislative Council, 15 March 1967.
6. P. R. Baldwin (Principal Private Secretary to Chancellor) to F. E. Figures (HMT), 25 October 1966, TNA, T317/1067.
7. Ministry of Defence paper, Defence Estimates 1967; draft white paper, 2 February 1967, TNA, CAB129/128.
8. Intelligence memorandum, 11 July 1967, CIA Office of Current Intelligence, 'The Situation in Hong Kong'. Lyndon B. Johnson Library.
9. Ministry of Defence (DEI) memo, 'The Economic Value of HK to China', 18 May 1967, TNA, T317/902.
10. CIA Intelligence memorandum, Office of Current Intelligence, 'The Outlook for Hong Kong', 25 August 1967, Lyndon B. Johnson Library.
11. F. E. Figures to Sir Denis Rickett, 17 May 1967. Reporting a discussion with Sir Roger Jackling on FO opinion of HK situation, TNA, T317/902.
12. Ministry of Defence (DEI) memo, 'The Economic Value of HK to China', 18 May 1967, TNA, T317/902.
13. Note for the record of a meeting between Denis Rickett and the Chancellor, by P. R. Baldwin, 16 May 1967, TNA, T317/902.
14. H. A. Copeman to Goldman, 19 May 1967. The memo was read by the chancellor on 25 May, TNA, T317/902.
15. Cabinet Conclusions, 10 a.m., 30 May 1967, TNA, CAB128/42.
16. Cabinet Conclusions, 11 July 1967, TNA, CAB128/42.
17. The other members were the secretary of state for defence, president of board of trade, Lord Shackleton, and the minister of state for foreign affairs (Mulley).
18. S. H. Wright to Mr Houghton, Top Secret 'Ministerial Committee on Hong Kong; interim report by officials', 21 July 1967, TNA, T317/902.
19. H. Jenkyns to Sir A. Galsworthy, 19 July 1967, TNA, T317/902.
20. HMT, Board of Trade, Bank of England Paper for Rogers Committee, 'Hong Kong: Contingency Planning for an Evacuation (financial and economic)', 10 August 1967, TNA, T295/240.
21. Bank of England, Treasury, Board of Trade paper, 'Hong Kong: Contingency Planning for an Evacuation (financial and economic)', 10 August 1967, TNA, T295/240. The book value of UK FDI in Hong Kong (excluding oil, insurance and banking) at the end of 1964 was £26 million. A. Mackay to Hubback (BE), 14 September 1967, TNA, T317/903.
22. Cowperthwaite meeting at Bank of England, 15 September 1967, TNA, PRO T295/240.
23. A. Mackay (HMT) to Hubback (BE), account of Rogers Working Party meeting, 24 August 1967, TNA, T295/240.
24. S. H. Wright to Mr Lavelle, passing on Commonwealth Secretary's views to Chancellor of the Exchequer calling for an end to the contingency planning, 7 December 1967, TNA, T295/240.
25. Note by P. Nicholls of a meeting of Rogers Working Party, 6 September 1967, TNA, T317/903.

26. Schenk, *Hong Kong as an International Financial Centre*, p. 70.
27. Report on 14 July 1967. Hong Kong Public Records Office (hereafter HKRS) 163-1-2660.
28. N. H. T. Bennett memo, 7 June 1967. Chairman's papers, Carton 4, Hong Kong Disturbances 1967, HSBC Group Archive (hereafter HSBC).
29. A. Mackay to Hubback, 24 August 1967, TNA, T295/240. L. Goodstadt, 'Painful Transitions: The Impact of Economic Growth and Government Policies on Hong Kong's Chinese banks, 1945–70', HKIMR Working Paper, 16, 2006.
30. 'The Sterling Supply' by J. M. Scott. Given to Government and to Cowperthwaite (then in the UK), 6 June 1967. The Chartered Bank were also worried about the drain of sterling from the note issue. Haslam (Bank of England) to G. O. W. Stewart, 15 June 1967. Chairman's papers, Carton 4, Hong Kong Disturbances 1967, HSBC.
31. F. J. Knightly to G. O. W. Stewart in London, 7 June 1967. Chairman's papers, Carton 4, Hong Kong Disturbances 1967, HSBC.
32. Haslam (Bank of England) to G. O. W. Stewart, 15 June 1967. Chairman's papers, Carton 4, Hong Kong Disturbances 1967, HSBC.
33. F. J. Knightly to J. A. H. Saunders, 20 June 1967. Chairman's papers, Carton 4, Hong Kong Disturbances 1967, HSBC. The government also agreed that the HSBC could hold a larger reserve of un-issued Hong Kong dollar notes in London for emergencies.
34. I am grateful to Robert Bickers for drawing my attention to the following news reports: 19 May 1967, *China Mail*; 23 May 1967, *South China Morning Post*.
35. Extract from *Cheng Wu Pao*, 20 May 1967, HKH95, HSBC.
36. Telegram from Sir David Trench to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 19 May 1967, TNA, T295/241. Cash withdrawals had been limited to HK\$100 per day during the 1965 banking crisis.
37. Memo by M. Brereton, S. S. (EM) to Financial Secretary, 29 March 1968, HKRS 163-1-3276.
38. Note by N. H. T. Bennett, 26 May 1967. Chairman's papers, Carton 4, Hong Kong Disturbances 1967, HSBC.
39. Extract from *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, 31 October 1967. HKH95, HSBC.
40. GHO 262/1, HSBC.
41. Memo, 3 May 1967, HKRS 163-1-3275.
42. For an account of the development of the Hong Kong banking system, see C. R. Schenk, 'Banking Crises and the Evolution of the Regulatory Framework in Hong Kong 1945–70', *Australian Economic History Review*, 43(2), pp. 140–54, 2003; C. R. Schenk, 'Banks and the Emergence of Hong Kong as an International Financial Centre', *Journal of International Financial Markets, Institutions and Money* 12(4–5), pp. 321–40; Catherine Schenk, 'Banking Groups in Hong Kong 1945–65', *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 2000: 7(2), pp. 131–54.
43. Leo F. Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners: The Conflict Between Public Interest and Private Profit in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 186.
44. HKRS 163-1-3274.

Chapter 8

1. Thanks to The Leverhulme Trust, which provided financial assistance, the Centre of Asian Studies of the University of Hong Kong, which provided support during field work, and participants at the 'May Days' workshop.

2. Tai-lok Lui and Stephen W. K. Chiu, 'Social Movements and Public Discourse on Politics', in Tak-Wing Ngo (ed.), *Hong Kong's History, State and Society Under Colonial Rule* (London, and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 102.
3. See Catherine Jones, *Promoting Prosperity: The Hong Kong Way of Social Policy* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990), pp. 209–83.
4. See Joe England and John Rear, *Chinese Labour Under British Rule* (Hong Kong and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 121–53; Joe England, *Industrial Relations and Law in Hong Kong* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
5. On the strike, see John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Latham, MD; Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), pp. 89–116. On trade unions, see England and Rear, *Chinese Labour*, pp. 74–85.
6. See David Clayton, 'Capitalism under Confucianism and Colonialism: The Government and Trade Unions in Hong Kong, c. 1948–60', available from the author on request.
7. See David Clayton, 'From "Free" to "Fair" trade': The Evolution of Labour Laws in Colonial Hong Kong, 1958–62', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 35:2 (2007), pp. 263–83.
8. Ibid.
9. England, *Industrial Relations*, p. 166.
10. Carroll, *History of Hong Kong*, pp. 158–61.
11. Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), p. 171.
12. See Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 461. On Chicago-school polemics, see Alvin Rabuska, *Hong Kong: A Study in Economic Freedom* [William H. Abbott Lectures in International Business and Economic] (Chicago: University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business, 1979).
13. See David W. Clayton, 'Industrialisation and Institutional Change in Hong Kong, 1842–1960', in John Latham and Heita Kawakatsu (eds.), *Asia Pacific Dynamism 1550–2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 149–69.
14. See David W. Clayton, 'Labour-intensive Industrialization in Hong Kong, 1950–70: A Note on Sources and Methods', *Asian Pacific Business Review*, 12:3 (2006), pp. 375–88.
15. The National Archives (Kew, London), Foreign and Commonwealth Office [henceforth TNA, FCO] 40/124, telegrams to London, 18 April, no. 481, and 24 April 1967, no. 495.
16. See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* [translated from German by Shelley L. Frisch] (Princeton: M. Weiner, Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), p. 60.
17. On structures, George B. Endacott, *Government and People in Hong Kong, 1841–1962: A Constitutional History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1964). On historical processes, see Steve Tsang, *Democracy Shelved* (Hong Kong and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
18. See Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1912–1941* (Hong Kong and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), on *mui-tsai* (indentured girl servants).
19. See John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empire: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2005).
20. England and Rear, *Chinese Labour*, p. 11.
21. Ian Scott, 'Policy-making in a Turbulent Environment: The Case of Hong Kong', *International Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 52 (1986), p. 455.

22. See Clayton, 'Free Trade'.
23. See Hong Kong Public Record Office (PRO), Hong Kong, Record Series [henceforth HKRS] 939/1/65, *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 7 September 1960; HKRS 939/52, *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 18 January 1961, 13 and 20 March 1959, and the *Hong Kong Times*, 14 March 1959.
24. See HKRS 270/5/60.
25. See Steven Chi Man Chow, 'Economic Growth and Income Distribution in Hong Kong' [Unpublished PhD] (Boston: University Graduate School, 1977).
26. See David W. Clayton, 'Inter-Asian Competition for the British Market in Cotton Textiles: The Political Economy of Anglo-Asian Cartels, c.1932–1960', in John Latham and Heita Kawakatsu (eds.), *Inter-Asian Competition for the World Market Since the Sixteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 186–209.
27. See Clayton, 'Free Trade'.
28. See Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong* (London: Hurst, 1989), pp. 81–121.
29. England, *Industrial Relations*, pp. 12–16.
30. Grace O. M. Lee, 'Labour Protection', in Paul Wilding, Ahmed Shafiqul Huque, and Julia Tao Lai Po-wah (eds.), *Social Policy in Hong Kong* (Cheltenham, UK, and Lyme, US: Edward Elgar, 1997), pp. 128–45; and Scott, *Political Change*.
31. Lee, 'Labour Protection', p. 131.
32. For details, see Clayton, 'Free Trade'.
33. TNA, FCO 40/127, 'Labour Conditions in Hong Kong', memorandum by the Hong Kong Labour Department, July 1968.
34. See Colonial Office [henceforth, CO] CO859/1715, and note on the hours of work of women and young persons, Hong Kong, Labour Department, 16 March 1965.
35. TNA, CO 859/1715, comment by J. S. Bennett, 9 October 1964.
36. TNA, CO 859/1715, letter to Robert Black, Governor Hong Kong, 13 December 1963.
37. HKRS 1017/2/2, 'Report on Visit to Hong Kong', 4–18 January 1963, by C. G. Gibbs, 14 February 1963.
38. TNA, CO 859/1715, minute by Gibbs, 14 February 1963.
39. TNA, CO 859/1715, letter from Trafford Smith to Black, 13 December 1963.
40. HKRS 1017/2/2, telegram to Hong Kong, 5 June 1963.
41. TNA, CO 59/1715, telegram to Hong Kong, 14 January 1964.
42. TNA, CO 8859/1715, minute by Bennett, 13 December 1963.
43. TNA, CO 859/1715, minute of meeting with Hong Kong officials, 9 October 1964; TNA, FCO 40/27, 'Labour Conditions in Hong Kong', July 1968; HKRS 1017/2/2, report on Visit, Gibbs, 14 February 1963.
44. TNA, CO 859/1715, minute by J. W. Vernon, 5 October 1964; TNA, CO 859/1715, minute of meeting with Hong Kong officials, 9 October 1964.
45. HKRS 1017/2/2, report by Gibbs, 14 February 1963.
46. TNA, CO 859 1715, minute of meeting with Hong Kong officials, 9 October 1964.
47. HKRS 1017/2/2, report by Gibbs, 14 February 1963.
48. Ibid.
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User's Note:

The arrangement of entries is word-by-word. Entries comprising numbers are alphabetized and placed in the appropriate alphabetical sequence, e.g. '1967' is read as 'nineteen sixty-seven' and placed after 'Ngo'.

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