"關於香港的對話: 邁向民主的未來" "关于香港的对话: 迈向民主的未来"

"Hong Kong: Conversations toward a Democratic Future"



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"關於香港的對話: 邁向民主的未來"

中國人權的項目

香港正處於一個重大的歷史關頭。香港民眾正面臨著錯綜複雜的挑戰:中國當局不斷強力干涉香港事務,正威脅侵蝕著《基本法》和"一國兩制"原則以及香港的核心價值和基本自由,並加劇了香港本地人和在港生活的大陸人之間的文化衝突。目前,香港的未來前途正在辯論和抗爭之中,而年輕人在設想和塑造這一未來中正在發揮重要作用。

2016 年,中國人權啟動了"關於香港的對話: 邁向民主的未來"計劃,旨在促進居住在香港的年輕本地人與大陸人之間的相互交流、理解與尊重。

在我們召集的系列對話過程中,參加對話者探討了一系列的主題,包括身份認同和社會行動的影響、香港的核心價值、導致香港人和大陸人衝突的因素、香港可能的未來前途等。對話是以英語、廣東話和普通話組合進行,由參與對話者自己選擇。

在對話中,我們對參與者思考的細微之處、慷慨的分享和彼此之間真正的思想交流印象深刻——這可以作為在這艱難時刻的公民話語模式,而且我們為他們彼此之間相互傾聽和相互學習的能力深受鼓舞。我們相信,這種能力和多元的經驗和見解的集體力量將有助於建設居住在香港的所有人之間的共同基礎,以推進民主和維護香港的自由。長遠來說,來自於香港抗爭的見解和經驗教訓也有助於促進中國大陸的公民社會的成長;不過,首先我們需要為彼此對話開發更多的資源。

我們很高興在此分享這些談話中的一次會談的文字記錄(經編輯),這次會談於 2016 年 9 月進行,有四位參與者——三位是香港本地人,一個是稱香港為家的內地人。

英文版包含了會談中粵語和普通話口語的翻譯;中文播客和記錄的編輯稿稍後將會在**中國人權**的網站發表。

在繁體和簡體的中文版本中納入了會談中英語口語的中文翻譯,並把粵語轉換成書面漢語。

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對話參加者簡介

亞歷克斯(Alex)

自我介紹:香港人,法律系學生。一向對政治冷漠,直至上大學開始對人權有所認識,其後漸漸了解到,人權的抗爭與發展與政治的抗爭息息相關。"雨傘運動"後,到了花旗國(美国)訪學一年,研讀人權與政治之餘,亦不忘"勾結外國勢力",把香港的處境告訴周圍的人。其間,有幸到**中國人權**做實習生。現繼續尋覓個人以及香港的出路。

約瑟夫(Joseph)

自我介紹: 27 歲,是香港土生土長的教育工作者及戲劇製作人,擁有英文學士及碩士學位,現正修讀教育碩士。政治立場溫和,希望所见的香港是根據《基本法》和在"一國兩制"的框架下,作为中國的一部份。

彼得 (Peter)

自我介紹: 2008 年大學畢業後在北京生活了 4 年,結識不少維權律師及人權捍衛者。2011 年起,在北京的一家 NGO 工作。2012 年 9 月起就讀於香港浸會大學電影學院。關注人權、公益及電影。

溫迪(Wendy)

香港人,二十多歲,就讀於香港本地某大學法律系,即將畢業。她沒有其他國家的護照,亦不覺得香港人需要為消極的政治氛圍而移居國外。

"關於香港的對話: 邁向民主的未來" 根據四位對話參與者的談話記錄編輯整理 2016 年 9 月 21 日,香港

身份認同問題

約瑟夫(Joseph)

當我想到自己的身份,我不會想用任何的國籍去定義自己。我絕對不認為自己是中國公民——香港人 是的,但法律上我是英國公民。所以我覺得國界的概念是充滿限製而古板的,早晚應該要廢除。

我會以我所做的事和我讀的書來把自己定位。我特別對西方哲學,思想,書籍,效益主義,十八,十九世紀自由主義學者等等感到認同。

提到十八,十九世紀西方哲學,當中的自決理論對我來說尤其重要。"自我決定"當時以民族國家的成立表現出來。我認為把這個哲學自然地延伸,便會是超越種族界限所以當我想到"身份",我會想到自決,而且希望我們不單單被護照或獨斷的地圖劃分來定義的。

彼得 (Peter)

我想對我自己來說,我自己應該首先是一個 human rights defender (人權捍衛者),因為我基本上成年後有了獨立思想之後,認識很多維權律師,包括一些有良心一些學者,他們對我的·······塑造我獨立人格的很大的影響······

然後呢,我 08 年畢業之後在北京待了大概四年的時間,當中經歷了很多很多事情,然後也看到這個制度下的很多很醜惡的現象,包括很多流落街頭的人,很多遭遇不公平想像的人。那我覺得我自己是有責任去做一些事情的。

然後,但是我究竟要怎麼樣去做,這可能就涉及到第二個身份……就是我的職業;我有做 NGO 的經驗, 然後另一個就是我要拿起攝像機,拍紀錄片,然後又拍電影……這是我職業的,另外一個身份。

那現在來到香港……關於這個問題就是,我覺得我的認同就是...香港作為一個給我自由的地方,然後我的...我現在的認同感就是,認同香港要優於大陸,或者內地,因為我現在在香港有一種很自然的家的感覺。這個地方給我自由的空氣,給我自由的生活的環境,我有可以自由發言的權利,有一種受法律的保護,可以不懼恐懼的這種……自然的權利。但是我一跨過羅湖界就有一種很……很莫名其妙的,那種揮不不去的恐懼。我覺得那不應該是我生活的地方。

就會是我一生致力於要去改變那個地方……但是我覺得在目前這種情況下下還……還很難去改變。所以我選擇可能很長的一段時間之內都會生活在香港這個地方。所以目前看來就是無論從感情上還是從我個人以後生活的長遠打算都……對我來說,香港是一個家。

你在你的家當中,你會感覺到很安全,很溫暖。你不會受到······你不會擔心...除非是黃之鋒那種人,你不會擔心這個突然被警察被國保破門而入這種事情:除非是乾很激進的事情。

所以我覺得,對於我來說,是這種安全感對我來說已經很重要了,我有這種發表言論自由的這種權利 ——就是不會被人像在內地一樣,被人跟踪,那種事情,不會擔心莫名其妙的事情發生。

亞歷克斯 (Alex)

其實我以前很少去想這個身份認同的問題。可能我第一次考慮的時候是我高中去一間叫 LPC 的學校 (Li Po Chun United World College,李寶椿聯合世界書院)。這學校除了有很多香港人之外,也有很多 外國人。可能在這個環境下促使我第一次去想其實我的身份是怎樣的呢。

我覺得對我最大啟發的就是去年去了美國的時候。可能人是在有對比下下產生比較多衝擊。我去到美國的時候,首先感受到,第一好像約瑟夫所講一個國家的國界真的不重要。

其實很大程度上我們現在的社會給了我們很多自由去塑造自己的身份。我們也不需要因為其他人的國籍或者...不需要用地理因素去標示我們所見的人或者自己同意這一點。但是對我來說,我覺得中國文化對我的影響也不小。

就是,我的是一個重要的部分,例如這個 Chinese language(中文)……中文就是……其實我覺得是不可代替的,對我來講……在那個文字裡面表現出來的很多意念呀,很多哲學的概念,還有那個社會的文化,那個美感,是其他地方不能找到的。所以我覺得雖然我們有自由去選擇我們認同的文化,但是其實也不完全是出於個人的選擇——可能是跟我們的出生,一直來講的外在的因素……也有很大的影響。

這個深刻的感受,是在外國的時候特別強烈,但是我身在香港的時候有一種相反的感覺,就是我想我對西方的文化比較有興趣,可能我看的書都是英文的……然後對本地的娛樂……對本地的娛樂圈就是興趣不太大……但是我覺得其實這個不是 contradictory(矛盾的),這個不是矛盾的、不是自相矛盾的,因為很多香港人的 identity(身份)都是融合了兩邊的文化的。

所以,兩件事:首先,對身份而言有很多的流動性;第二,在很大程度上它取決於外部因素——據我 所知。

溫迪(Wendy)

其實我非常認同大家所講的——關於香港人是一種多元文化的身份。我從一個本地香港人的角度——因為我沒有任何外國護照,我一直都在香港長大,然後我都沒有出過外國讀書——只是當過一年交換生,但沒有真正生活或融入其他國家的文化。

我覺得身份認同一直以來是一個隱藏的問題,大家其實知道,但沒有去好好討論,直到可能雨傘運動 那個年代——其實都是非常近期的事——開始有這個問題出現:就是這一代的年輕人沒辦法找到自己 的定位。

譬如你問我我是什麼人,我會答你"香港人"。但是"香港人"代表什麼呢?其實沒人知道。有些人 會覺得"香港人"是一個獨特的文化,像剛才約瑟夫所講的,"第三文化"。但是什麼定義這個文化 呢?我們的外貌是中國人,你可以說我們是"炎黃子孫",那种血統的人,我們吃的主食語文方面, 香港很多學校很崇尚英文,中文反而好像第二語言那樣,很多學校都不太重視中文。但是到底香港人是什麼呢?其實我自己都沒有一個好清晰的答案。

"我們要爭取民主",其實有沒有好多人知道民主是什麼?有很多這些問題,令我沒辦法給一個實質,確切的答案,因為我自己都還沒可可全面地探索其實"香港人"什麼,什麼定義"香港人"。

我覺得正正是這一點導致很多當前的問題,因為很多我這一輩的朋友或者我認識的同學,都覺得有一種"困在中間"的感覺。

我們了解其實中國有好多問題,例如人權,民主等問題——同時我們了解: "我們可以做什麼呢?" 我們某種程度上是中國的一部分,我們是中國裡最西化的一個地區。我覺得正正是身份認同這個根深 蒂固的問題導致了現在很多的問題。

譬如,之前我不記得是哪一個——最近有很多學生出來組織很多政黨選舉,我不記得哪一個人講——有人問他覺得"怎麼樣為之香港人呢?",他也不太能回答。其實是不是香港出生就是香港人呢?是不是你對香港文化有認同感——好像彼得他認同香港是他的家,我們又認不認同他是香港人呢?你明白嗎?這一堆問題造成很多磨擦,而且是很難調解的,因為它們實在是一些根本性的問題。所以我會說身份對我來說真是一個沒有確實答案的問題。

"在香港,你怎麼樣表達都沒有所謂,你可以怎麼定位"

彼得(Peter)

剛才溫迪講的時候,我突然想到一個現象。在香港這種多元價值觀,可以很自由思考的地方,你怎麼樣表達都沒有所謂,你可以怎麼定位,不會有人有一個強烈的來指導你,或者是怎麼樣你。但是你在一個專制的國家,他就會有一個很政治正確的答案一直在你的教育體系裡面來指導你。

所以,當時溫迪在講的時候,我就意識到……如果討論這個問題在中國的話,就會變成一個政治立場的問題。你說,你是香港人還是中國人,你如果說香港人你就很可能會被指責成為港獨。

或是變成一個台灣人……台灣藝人要到香港去發展,首先要簽一個擁護中華人民共和國,或者是擁有台灣是,是中國的一部分的……這麼一個責任書,你才可以到中國去發展。包括香港的藝人到中國去發展也是……也會面臨那麼一個情況。

就是說,你必須捨棄掉你的一些……在一個自由的地方去討論的,或者是必須默認它那政治政權,在 很多地方你就會必須要有一個很政治正確的身份,起碼在這種公開討論的環境之下。

所以我很珍視香港可以自由討論的那一種空間;雖然最近有一些收緊······雖然最近你說你不可以港獨,你不可以認同你是很 local (本地)的香港人這種問題。

溫迪(Wendy)

我覺得有個很有趣的現象就是,對於彼得來講,香港是一個較為有自由的國家——有自由的地區吧, 他覺得來到香港好像有了新的生活,可以呼吸自由的空氣。但是從一個本地的香港角度,或者現在整 體很多香港人覺得其實香港相比外國是不怎麼自由的。很多香港人覺得: "呀! 現在好亂呀!", "現在中央政府收緊得很厲害呀!", "我們應該要走呀、應該要去外國呀!", 覺得外國好呀,怎 樣怎樣的。那我個人覺得其實好像錢鍾書先生所講的, "城外的人想衝進去,城裡的人想逃出來"¹這 個道理而已。

我覺得其實看看其他外國國家,當然你說民主方面確實是先進很多的,但是美國、英國、加拿大等等國家都有他們自己的問題,不論政治方面或是自由方面,亦有些譬如警察打示威者很多那些事情……周圍都有的!那是不是相比下香港自由就少很多呢?是不是香港就那麼差呢?我就覺得這是一個應該探討的有趣的問題。

我自己的看法是,如果我認為自己是一個香港人,那就不應該走,而且我不見得走了會好多少——這是最主要的問題。你站在這裡看外面外面當然好啦!

"或者他們愚蠢,或者他們認為我們愚蠢"

約瑟夫(Joseph)

我在聽現在的香港和內地那個身份的溝通,其實最令人憤怒的地方就是當權的人吧。因為問題就是他們現在想跟我們說"你是中國人,你是香港人,你要港獨。"那些。其實那個想法,已經對很多現在年輕人來說,已經是過時了的。

我的……就是,我有那多多東西要做,你不要讓我想我是不是中國人,我是不是香港人,就是,我根本不 care (在乎)。然後,可是,他們現在的溝通...就是所有那些粗暴者,罵我們的話,全部都是"中國……中國……香港……香港…"其實是很反感。因為要是就是他們以為我們不明白那些字眼背後的意思,要么就是他們真的是那樣想,要么就是他們就是……不在乎;因為他們覺得他們會贏的,到最後。

然後有另外一個 point (問題) 就是香港和內地的比較。當然,如果你是想要比較那個絕對的自由的話,香港現在還是比較好一點的!可是,我們要比較的不是絕對的那個現在的東西,我們是要看十年以後,二十年以後,2047年的時候。然後作為一個香港人,我就會覺得:嗯唷!!其實看現在的那個情況,對 2047 我還有沒有這種樂觀的感覺。我就沒有了。

"我曾是'五毛'"

彼得(Peter)

我要告訴你,我在上大學以前就是上大二以前,都是傻的。我在上大二年級以前都是五毛。這是真的。就是我真的相信這些東西。因為你在一個封的教育環境之下,你書本里面的……你沒有接觸到自由的互聯網之前,你就是傻的。你的腦袋就是被洗得很乾淨的。因為你身邊的那些人都是那樣子的,包括你的父母是文革下來那幫人,他們整天接受的是新聞聯播的教育,是 CCTV 水平的那種的教育。

^{1&}quot;城外的人想衝進去,城裡的人想逃出來"出自著名中國現代作家、文學研究家錢鍾書的長篇小說《圍城》。

在我的經驗裡面是有不少人,剛開始是很積極的毛左,就是很愛國的那種人。以至於我們當時很多時候……在美國 911 的時候,真的是可以上街呼喊,然後就是公開地反普遍價值的那種人,看起來很傻,很愚蠢,甚至很殘忍。

你沒有一個人給你指路啊,就是那些明白人都被共產黨幹掉了啊,或者是明白人都不敢公開地說話,你就听不到那些異議的聲音。

那我沒有變成傻瓜,是得益於互聯網,是得益於電腦的,computer(電腦)的普及。

在我大學那時候,是整個宿舍······我們大概有六個人,家庭環境比較好的同學呢,他就有 personal computer (個人電腦)。然後呢,在他們打遊戲之餘,然後他們睡覺了,我就可以上網。

然後很意外地,我就找到一個翻牆軟件。現在要感謝那個法輪功……對,自由門。

從那時候,我就知道外面的世界是什麼樣子的。剛開始還是從一個叫豆瓣的論壇,然後裡面有一些人傳播一些信息啊什麼的。從那時候開始,"自由門"打開了自由之門,然後我就有了信息的自由。

雖然法輪功的一些新聞也是很誇張啦,但是至少我知道六四,至少我知道一些跟共產黨宣傳不一樣的東西。

最近幾年,這個共產黨封殺互聯網越來越嚴重了。它去買...它去花錢啊,就是,塑造一些愛國主義的一個形象。然後,我是相信有很大一比例的年輕人,真的是像我當年的那樣子的。

但同時你要看到,確實是有一些人經過了自由的信息洗禮之後,能夠變成一個獨立……具有獨立思想的人。這也有有很大比例的。

那互聯網往前發展的話,它……同時會有很多那種,我們叫"搬磚"的人——就是他在把一些文章到 處貼,包括微信朋友圈,包括其他論壇啊。有一批一批啟蒙一些人的,會啟蒙一些人的。

香港與大陸之間的衝突

彼得 (Peter)

對於香港對內地的矛盾,我覺得很大問題上確實是共產黨,確實是當局,包括梁振英政府他有意識這麼做的。我太太,她是做英語關鍵詞的那種評論的研究。她就發現,就是在當局的官員的發言裡面提到的一些詞彙裡面,他是有意識地利用輿論去引導,推一個矛盾的。

然後呢,內地的報紙這麼幹……香港的政府,包括一些媒體它也這麼幹。

我認為它是孤立香港,達到一種就是說,你香港對於大陸的影響力越來越小。

或者是變成一個負面的影響力,就不會變成民族向心力的那種影響力,以至於大陸的一些年輕人提到 香港就說"你港獨。你那邊那麼亂。你那邊那麼搞雨傘運動,要搞獨立。"這樣子。整個的信息都往 那個方向發展。 很明顯的一個事件就是,現在能夠發出不同聲音的香港媒體,在大陸受到的打壓越來越嚴重。你烏坎 事件,蘋果日報,或者是端傳媒的記者進去,直接就被抓。

你不可以報導關於烏坎的一些事情。那以前香港的媒體,香港的記者是……他至少不會直接打你。我 覺得是有……是很有步驟地來這麼做的。

有老價值觀的新移民

亞歷克斯 (Alex)

那我就回應一下你剛剛說的,你來到香港你就很享受來到這裡自由信息的來往,而且沒有了大陸那種強力的壓力。但是,其實我想指出一點,就是其實不是每一個大陸過來的人都好像你這麼想。香港每天有110個單程證(新移民)來香港。就是說,一年有3萬多人。20年來,就是超過60萬人已經來到了香港,從大陸。那香港,而整個香港就700幾萬人,就是可能最少10%是內地來的新移民。都是叫新移民啦,雖然其實可能都來了20年。另外,其實香港的大學,HKU香港大學)都是,其實都有很多內地的學生在這裡就讀。但在我的觀察就是,這些我統稱為內地的移民,短暫也好,長期也好,其實他們未必是有像你這樣的想法。其實他們是……未必會放棄他們前一路以來的價值觀。反而可能他會覺得,他們來香港……是可能為了一些香港有的,物質上的,是除了社會價值觀以外的條件,可能他們會比較重視。

雖然他們是有互聯網,但他們可以隨時看到關於中國政府的事實。但是,不是所有人……他們有機會去做,但那不意味著每個人都會選擇質疑他們所給予的東西。

那我覺得其實這一樣東西是很重要,例如剛剛他說的選舉。我們可以如何動員這些內地來的人?其實我們不動員,中聯辦都會動員的啦。他會用內地的親戚去鼓勵香港這些例子都可以看得出其實大陸政府是很重視這一班內地來香港的人,而我們其實都不應該忽略他們對香港的影響。

彼得 (Peter)

你剛才講的問題確實是一個很重要的問題。對於香港來說,確實……因為新移民現在佔有的比重比較大,但是很多人——包括我身邊很多朋友都是這樣子的……他們……就是說……固守自己以前形成的價值觀。拒絕融入,拒絕承認普世價值,然後擁有共產黨那一套價值。

那我從……我要從什麼方面來分析這個觀點——我是覺得跟每個人的背景很有關係。因為很多人來讀碩士或者讀博士的時候起碼如果他們能夠支付得起香港高昂的學費的時候起碼是一個中產背景的家庭。有很多是,甚至是官員的家庭;這種家庭當中長大的孩子就是受那種傳統教育、尤其是共產黨教育的其實是非常大的影響的。哪怕來到香港之後他……如果說不是試圖跟香港本地、local(本地)的同學接觸、融入,甚至接受他們的價值觀、持一種開放的心態,他們很難去接受另外一種價值觀,或者很難有自己獨立的思想。他們很可能就是,有很多人的思想就是:來到香港,拿一個名牌大學的學歷、鍍金,或者甚至是拿一個 passport (護照),然後回去之後可以拿到更高薪的工作、有更好的地位,很多人的價值觀是這樣子的。因為在……鄧小平改革開放之後中國的價值觀就變成 money first (金錢第一)——這個價值觀是很要不得。雖然說很要不得,但是你沒辦法,必須要接受,它是一個現實。

而且呢,你可以看到香港政府跟共產黨政府確實是有步驟的、有計劃的、一步一步的想要用那些只有 舊價值觀念的新移民來控製香港的很大一部分的選票。我的很多朋友都是那樣子的。他們就馬上就拿 香港的身份證了,博士畢業 PhD(博士學位),但是依舊認為共產黨其實是好的、沒有問題的! 他們 也是每天生活在自由的香港呀。

我個人來看這是一個很大的問題。你怎麼樣去影響那一批人?我當然試圖去做了,但是效果也不是很好。尤其是到他們的年紀了,已經成年了三十多歲的年紀了,接受了那多年的那種教育,除非有很大的挫折,或者……除非對他們觸動很大,才會影響到他們。

三種最重要的價值觀

約瑟夫(Joseph)

我會即時想到的三種價值是: 唯才主義, 自由, 公平。

亞歷克斯(Alex)

第一是自主,個人自主;第二是批准思考,對於事情的官方說法,或非官方,大眾普遍接受的說法有懷疑的能力。

溫迪(Wendy)

我會說,第一個是尊重。我覺得尊重很重要,無論其他人有自己一個看法,或者同意,或者不同意都好。我覺得互相尊重是最重要。 有不同意見都應該要尊重。第二就是自由,當然,然後第三就是平等,我覺得。

彼得 (Peter)

對我來講應該第一個是 freedom 自由,第二個我認為應該是公平,第三個我覺得還是包容。包容——包容不同的意見,然後能夠允許不同的意見。

形容香港文化和社會的形容詞

亞歷克斯(Alex)

我覺得,香港文化,第一就是其實很寫實的,很貼近社會現實……我覺得香港不多很學術性層面的文化討論或者藝術。然後第二就是幽默感,我覺得對我來講是最 重要的香港文化很有幽默感,不一定是正面的,可以是很諷刺性的,或者甚至是很黑色的幽默感……. 很多例如香港電影,其他的文化產品都是幽默…….很願意去取笑 自己或者別人得到一些更深層的真理。最後就是很商業化。例如你看一下現在香港電影,現在愈來愈多合拍片,跟大陸的合作,很多時候都因為是資金的問題……

約瑟夫(Joseph)

我覺得用三個形容詞來形容香港的社會的話,我會說,第一個就是我們很喜歡"利益最大化",要錢就是比較好的······這就是香港······可是因為我們知道每個人都會這樣最大化,就令每個人都很······

cynical——"犬儒主義"很強,就是犬儒主義······that's I think that···no? isn't it? But cynicism is from the Greek word canine, 犬····I don't know···Yea···· Oh, there's a beautiful Greek story to it. Oh so, (那是我這麼認為的······不是?不是嗎?但犬儒主義是來自於希臘字"犬","犬" ······我不知道······是的······哦,它還有一個美麗的希臘故事。哦,所以)就是······犬儒·····我們都不會很簡單地接受其他人的動機、解釋,就是······其他人······我們看見其他人做什麼東西的話我們都會想,"嗯,是不是真的、是不是真的","會不會其實是對他自己好、不是真的想幫我"那樣。就是······可能······陰謀論那些。Yea·····(是啊·····)會懷疑其他人。因為有那個"最大化"、因為有那個懷疑人的思想,所以我們最後就會······生活就是受很多限制一一在很多很多地方上面,有一些就是外加給我們的限制,可能是地方······,有很多事我們自己加給自己,我們都不信人······就是 maximizing, cynical, and constrained(最大化、犬儒主義和限制)。

亞歷克斯(Alex)

我對他剛剛說的做一個簡短的回應吧。我覺得很多人用了幽默感去超越你所說的限制。例如很多的政治笑話,諷刺,正正是因為香港人受制太多,並且沒有太大的能力去改變事情。

約瑟夫(Joseph)

我就覺得不可以說"超越"; 那只是"面對"。

温迪(Wendy)

我同意亞歷克斯所說的。我覺得好像剛剛約瑟夫說,說香港人很多約束,那是真的。但亞歷克斯就覺得是正正因為很多約束,所以香港人會發明很多幽默感來去處理這些情況······

我會用另一個字去形容,我會形容是很靈活,香港人。因此香港人生命力真的很頑強……你扔香港人去任何一個地方都可以生存,我會覺得……因為香港人……可以擠在一個火柴盒那麼小的地方,工作時長又差不多世界最長,然後人工又不是很高,然後又很多很多的麻煩,很多很多不好的事情,但是香港人都能夠……怎麼樣在這些絕處的縫中,生存。我覺得這一樣東西是一個 value (價值)。

此外其實都是和剛剛個兩位差不多,都是很務實,很實際。可能近年會更多,喜歡談論 2047 呀這些前途的話題,但是以前的人真的不討論……純粹說……啊今天我賺了多少錢,什麼時候下班之類的話題,香港人是非常之務實。

另外我都同意約瑟夫,就是香港人很多疑……我覺得。對於很多東西未必一定是陰謀論那麼極端,可能是純粹……譬如我看一張報紙,香港人都不會全信……譬如看蘋果(日報)都不會只全部相信蘋果、(看)明報又不會完全相信明報……會保持一種"我只信70%而已"那種心態。

彼得 (Peter)

但我一個比較外來文化的這種觀點來看香港。

很直觀的印象就是香港這地方很強調商業性。

什麼……無論是很多首先的要務就是"搵錢", "搵食"。

第二就是,這個地方只要你不違法什麼事情都可以去做,什麼事情都可以去想。它不禁止你這個去嘗 試的願望。所以對我來講是,這個地方是充滿自由性的可能性的地方。

但是,你沒有一個商業性的目標,沒有商業性的計劃,沒有商業性的 project (規劃), 你是很難成功的——沒有人去支持你。

但是它有很多可能性。另外一點就是······或者說·······目標很明確,或者是很務實,就不會花費太多的精力去做其他的東西。

但是在我的,圈子裡面,或者是我的同學裡面,去真正的去看一些比較嚴肅的書,或者是一些嚴肅的討論,哲學這些方面的這些東西。

個人價值與社會價值之間的衝突

約瑟夫(Joseph)

我對這個為什麼個人價值跟社會價值存差異的問題的即時反應

是,嗯,當然有年齡差距這個問題,是吧?所以你會看到這個多比較年輕的人對社會表達出焦慮,懷疑或某種對抗。

我覺得,因為香港的社會價值是由(前輩的)香港的人來組織出來的。他們所留下來的價值就是要錢,要務實那樣。

那就可以解釋得到,為什麼香港的年輕一代跟香港現在的建制派會有一個不合的情況——其實是很合理的。

我們現在社會上所看見的都是能夠反映這些衝突。這個衝突是絕對是存在的。

溫迪(Wendy)

我完全同意。我覺得年齡是一個……好重大個因子。我們現在在座各位其實都是相對的……是年輕人...那麼如果你問我們關於個人價值,當然是一些類似高層次……我們都是學生,基本上來說...我們思想都還是停留在學生...那麼學生一定是有些理想呀,或者喜歡思考一些什麼高層次一點的東西啦。

當然,如果你請一桌都是我爸我媽那一輩的人,當然他們給的價值觀就不是那些價值觀啦,我相信。另一樣事情就是香港的發展本身都是另一個問題,因為香港這麼多年來,最出名就是發展為一個金融中心。

香港的優勢就是它成為了中國對外的一些交易,金融的一些出口點。所以香港人引以為傲的就是我們的金融業,某程度上就會塑造了……這些多年來就塑造了一個價就是……金融是最重要的,我們要多賺錢,只能透過賺更多的錢在這個世界上爭取……更高的地位,才能夠肯定我們的自身價值……因為我們最棒就是這一樣東西……"亞洲的金融中心"……

當社會很側重這東西的時候,某程度上流傳下來的教育就是這樣……對下一代都是這樣的看法,覺得 "你做金融才有前途","你搞什麼藝術呀,,搞什麼創意產業"……這些產業……非常老實地說在香 港不是很受重視……所有人都跟你講: "噢你想搞時裝?你想搞媒體?你出外國啦,你不要留在香 港!"

彼得 (Peter)

我認為是確實香港長期以來,它作為一個這種這麼多年沒有很多資源的地方生養這麼多人口。

然後呢,形成一個以金融為主導的地方並不是偶然的。就是它從二戰以來那種地位來看,就是一個比較自由的金融中心。包括內地共產黨那時候被物資封鎖的時候都是一個很大的物資中轉站的一種角色。

那後來當然是慢慢地,中國大陸的那種改革開放,對香港的這種製造業產生很大的影響。那時候香港 製造業慢慢衰落之後,然後不得已就會繼續這種金融業的發展中。

或者是我從一個移民的角度來看。生存是第一要務嘛。或者很大的時候來到香港,偷渡來的這些人生 存是第一要務。然後呢,很多時候這種文化的觀念一代一代地傳下來。所以錢可能認為是最重要的一 種東西。

精神文化,或者是精神的這種需求並不是最重要的。

亞歷克斯 (Alex)

首先,我覺得你們兩個都提出了很重要的論點。我覺得,我想說的是,"商業化"這個情況是非常根深蒂固的。

這是製度上,已經是融入的香港的價值,這是不一定是個人選擇,這是可能家庭或者教育,或者很多社會的氣氛,這是很根深蒂固,就是推廣這個文化。

第二個就是,其實我們剛才提到的自治,自由,自我表達等等,其實沒有衝突啊,跟商業化。好像說,你可以當銀行家,對不對?如果你有自治權,你可以選擇加入華爾街。如果你想做金融也是一部分,但是為什麼這麼多人都是走同一條路呢?這是可能其實還沒有真正的自由。其實可很多看不到的暗流都是去推動,去塑造同一類型的人。

前方的路

溫迪(Wendy)

我首先承認我個人覺得,如果香港走現在這一條路的話,是不會得到一個很好的將來。所謂"這一條路"就是······香港與大陸的關係過於敵對。

對立化。我都同意中國大陸是有做一些東西去收緊香港的自由……但是我覺得香港人都有份參與,去令到兩方面的關係變得愈來愈差……譬如媒體有好多渲染,說什麼"大陸很差很差"的,或者"我們應該要抵制大陸人"的……我自己覺得從一個歷史性的角度來看,所有這些所謂種族之間的對立,永

遠都不會有很好的結果……而唯一的出路都只是可以合作和溝通。因為認真地說,香港你要脫離大陸,你是不是出兵去打大陸呢?我覺得這些不可能囉。

我覺得,香港有一點點去到有一種有一點不是很理性地排他的一種心態。有個例子就是,之前,不記得是上年還是前年,有個中大女學生在中大校區有車禍,大陸女生來的,拿獎學金在香港讀書,但是網上面有新聞出來,然後有好多評論,在 Facebook (臉書)的評論說"活該"什麼什麼的……我覺得,人家又沒有得罪你……有點太過不理智地排外的那種心態。我覺得最緊要的是應該要——不要那麼容易被媒體、或者其他的東西激起一種不理智的情緒,說我們要"反中國、反所有中國大陸的人",我覺得這種心態不是很健康、亦不會為香港帶來一個好的發展。

所以我覺得我會希望採取一個大家能夠合作的態度,而不是大家對立。我覺得沒必要對立,我覺得大 多數的中國人都沒有做些什麼,其實最差都是中國政府,如果真的要怪(責任)的話。所以我會希望 未來的態度是一個能夠溝通,能夠合作的態度。

約瑟夫(Joseph)

我認為香港問題的惡劣情況會大大改善——如果我們有一個真正問責的政府。

第二是,要改善我們面對中國的談判籌碼,我們必須更加自給自足。現在他們控制著我們的電力供應, 水源供應、食物供應。我覺得這一開始根本就把我們置於劣勢,如果我們從現實政治的角度去看。

我的希望是如果我們有個更好的政府,如果我們更自給自足,那麼我們大眾可以討論更好的東西——因為我們實在是對那些什麼身份,獨立的問題感到太厭倦了。我們何不關注一下,例如房屋問題這是個好問題,保健問題是個好問題,還有人口老化,出生率等這些問題都需要關注。一個更好的香港應該是問責了,自給自足的地方,那麼我們可以把精神投放在一些更重要的事情上。

要實行這一個改變,我認為,作為一個媒體工作者,要實行這種改變我們需要更好的傳播媒介。人的思想是很難改變的——除非你讓人看一場戲,而他們對某個角色產生強烈的同理心——儘管你發表多少篇學術論文,人家都不會去看的。我覺得,這些信息都是要從大眾娛樂的頻道傳播的,在戲劇裡,在電視上看到的紀錄片裡,免費而容易接觸的,用觀眾感興趣的主演呈現出來。

除非這類型的題材能在娛樂節目裡出現,否則我不見得很多群眾會關注、會討論。在美國他們有······ 雖然是比較別樹一格的節目,最少他們有 House of Cards(《紙牌屋》),還有什麼呢?·······在英國 他們有,對了,Minister(大臣)···對了,Yes,Prime Minister(《是,大臣》)。這些東西人家才 會討論,他們會想到底是真的還是假的;而且全是在娛樂節目裡。我覺得要透過故事去觸及人的想法、 透過論述。

這緊扣著第三點,就是我們怎樣令這些對話維持下去。我覺得香港真的欠缺了一個東西——經常有這麼多莫須有的指控在流傳——我們需要有一個公正的、可靠的事實鑑定者,讓人可以查考到,"噢,這個人這麼說,是錯的",一個事實鑑定者可以消除那些滿天飛的廢話,然後我們必然可以有更高層次的對話。我是說,在英、美,他們有很高層次的、聰明的討論,例如牛津式辯論,有多重的反駁等等,而且是很貼近大眾的。

目前我們並沒有容易獲得的基本資訊。當然,我們有一些比較獨特的網站例如 Hong Kong Free Press(香港自由媒介)和 FactWire(傳真社),它們自稱是公正的資訊來源,但你知道人們總是不會完全盡信它們。目前我們沒有一個公正的消息媒介,直到有這個東西以前,我們只會不停聽到由 A 到 B,由 B 到 A 無止境的指責。

彼得(Peter)

我覺得就是在這部電影"十年"之後,香港似乎真的有了一個可以稱得上稍微有影響力的獨立電影。 那我覺得這是一個好的開端。就是說你電影人開始覺醒,開始真正地不是那麼考慮商業化的東西,試 圖去用一些 serious(嚴肅)的東西去影響大眾,這是一個好的開端。

我覺得這對我們電影人來說應該是好的事情。我們可能會慢慢地往這個方向發展,去做一些真正的獨 立電影。

然後另外一點,對香港來說獨立的媒體是相當重要的。就是獨立的,具有調查力的這種媒體。當然我們現在看到的很多這種真的出來做事情的媒體也很多了。

亞歷克斯(Alex)

其他人說過的東西我就不重複啦,但是其他一樣東西就是我們真的要考慮"一國兩制"之後怎麼發展下去。

陳弘毅(香港大學法學院教授)說"人大 831 決定"是泛民的"覺醒的一刻", 敲醒了香港民主派……"人大 831"這個框架……那麼我們之後要怎樣走下去呢?我們可以接受, "OK,這個框架已經定了,可以選總比沒得選好啊!"我們可以這麼想的,但是……

可能我們是時候要重新討論香港人會作出一個怎樣的決定呢? 在這個框架下面……

彼得 (Peter)

另外······我是覺得確實是需要有一個政治目標的,你是要有一個真的能夠控制在選民手中的立法會,這是一個很重要的事情。

這次選舉也給我很大信心。我覺得很多人感覺前途比較灰暗,但是選舉之後他們感到: "哎!還是有一些希望的。

中國人權出版的香港與中國大陸相關資料

中國人權網絡刊物《中國人權論壇》特刊

- 《中國人權論壇》,2015年第1期——《香港與中國大陸:共同的將來、爭論的現在》
- 《中國人權論壇》,2014年第2期——《在風雨中堅守:香港邁向2017年及其後》
- 《中國人權論壇》,2011年第4期——《香港與中國大陸:建設一個共同的未來》

2015年播客

- 《香港與大陸錯綜複雜的關係》(英文原聲播客,音頻文稿中譯版)
- 《一個歷史話語權的爭奪戰》(<u>普通話原聲播客,音頻文稿</u>)

視頻

2014年

- 《來自旺角的兩種看法——採訪阿達、阿樂》
- 《為未來存照——採訪朱福強、黃宇軒》
- 《你會在10年內,看到這些未來的香港政治家——採訪傅華伶》
- 《民主是實現鄧小平方針的必由之路——採訪李柱銘》(文字記錄和視頻節選)
- 《香港人民聽見了自己的吶喊——採訪韓東方》(文字記錄和視頻節選)

2011年

• Word on the Street: Is Hong Kong the Tail That Wags the Dog?

"关于香港的对话:迈向民主的未来"

中国人权的项目

香港正处于一个重大的历史关头。香港民众正面临着错综复杂的挑战:中国当局不断强力干涉香港事务,正威胁侵蚀着《基本法》和"一国两制"原则以及香港的核心价值和基本自由,并加剧了香港本地人和在港生活的大陆人之间的文化冲突。目前,香港的未来前途正在辩论和抗争之中,而年轻人在设想和塑造这一未来中正在发挥重要作用。

2016 年,中国人权启动了"关于香港的对话:迈向民主的未来"项目,旨在促进居住在香港的年轻本地人与大陆人之间的相互交流、理解与尊重。

在我们召集的系列对话过程中,参加对话者探讨了一系列的主题,包括身份认同和社会行动的影响、 香港的核心价值、导致香港人和大陆人冲突的因素、香港可能的未来前途等。对话是以英语、广东话 和普通话组合进行,由参与对话者自己选择。

在对话中,我们对参与者思考的细微之处、慷慨的分享和彼此之间真正的思想交流印象深刻——这可以作为在这艰难时刻的公民话语模式,而且我们为他们彼此之间相互倾听和相互学习的能力深受鼓舞。我们相信,这种能力和多元的经验和见解的集体力量将有助于建设居住在香港的所有人之间的共同基础,以推进民主和维护香港的自由。长远来说,来自于香港抗争的见解和经验教训也有助于促进中国大陆的公民社会的成长;不过,首先我们需要为彼此对话开发更多的资源。

我们很高兴在此分享这些谈话中的一次会谈的文字记录(经编辑),这次会谈于 2016 年 9 月进行,有四位参与者——三位是香港本地人,一个是称香港为家的内地人。

英文版包含了会谈中粤语和普通话口语的翻译;中文播客和记录的编辑稿稍后将会在中国人权的网站发表。

在繁体和简体的中文版本中纳入了会谈中英语口语的中文翻译,并把粤语转换成书面汉语。

项目主导:徐美玲 (<u>miling.tsui@hrichina.org</u>) 谭竞嫦 (<u>sharon.hom@hrichina.org</u>)

对话参加者简介

亚历克斯(Alex)

自我介绍:香港人,法律系学生。一向对政治冷漠,直至上大学开始对人权有所认识,其后渐渐了解到,人权的抗争与发展与政治的抗争息息相关。"雨伞运动"后,到了花旗国(美国)访学一年,研读人权与政治之余,亦不忘"勾结外国势力",把香港的处境告诉周围的人。其间,有幸到**中国人权**做实习生。现继续寻觅个人以及香港的出路。

约瑟夫(Joseph)

自我介绍: 27 岁,是香港土生土长的教育工作者及戏剧制作人,拥有英文学士及硕士学位,现正修读教育硕士。政治立场温和,希望所见的香港是根据《基本法》和在"一国两制"的框架下,作为中国的一部分。

彼得(Peter)

自我介绍: 2008 年大学毕业后在北京生活了 4 年,结识不少维权律师及人权捍卫者。2011 年起,在北京的一家 NGO 工作。2012 年 9 月起就读于香港浸会大学电影学院。关注人权、公益及电影。

温迪(Wendy)

香港人,二十多岁,就读于香港本地某大学法律系,即将毕业。她没有其他国家的护照,亦不觉得香港人需要为消极的政治氛围而移居国外。

"关于香港的对话:迈向民主的未来" 根据四位对话参与者的谈话记录编辑整理 2016 年 9 月 21 日,香港

身份认同问题

约瑟夫 (Joseph)

当我想到自己的身份,我不会想用任何的国籍去定义自己。我绝对不认为自己是中国公民——香港人是的,但法律上我是英国公民。所以我觉得国界的概念是充满限制而古板的,早晚应该要废除。

我会以我所做的事和我读的书来把自己定位。我特别对西方哲学、思想、书籍、效益主义、十八、十九世纪自由主义学者等等感到认同。

提到十八、十九世纪西方哲学,当中的自决理论对我来说尤其重要。"自我决定"当时以民族国家的成立表现出来。我认为把这个哲学自然地延伸,便会是超越种族界限的一种自决。所以当我想到"身份",我会想到自决,而且希望我们不单单被护照或独断的地图划分来定义的。

彼得 (Peter)

我想对我自己来说,我自己应该首先是一个 human rights defender(人权捍卫者),因为我基本上成年后有了独立思想之后,认识很多维权律师,包括一些有良心一些学者, 他们对我的……塑造我独立 人格的很大的影响……

然后呢,我 08 年毕业之后在北京待了大概四年的时间,当中经历了很多很多事情,然后也看到这个制度下的很多很丑恶的现象,包括很多流落街头的人,很多遭遇不公平想象的人。那我觉得我自己是有责任去做一些事情的。

然后,但是我究竟要怎么样去做,这可能就涉及到第二个身份……就是我的职业;我有做 NGO 的经验,然后另一个就是我要拿起摄像机、拍纪录片,然后又拍电影……这是我职业的、另外一个身份。

那现在来到香港……关于这个问题就是,我觉得我的认同就是……香港作为一个给我自由的地方,然后我的……我现在的认同感就是,认同香港要优于大陆,或者内地,因为我现在在香港有一种很自然的家的感觉。这个地方给我自由的空气、给我自由的生活的环境,我有可以自由发言的权利,有一种受法律的保护、可以不受恐惧的这种……自然的权利。但是我一跨过罗湖界就有一种很……很莫名其妙的、那种挥之不去的恐惧。我觉得那不应该是我生活的地方。

就算是我一生致力于要去改变那个地方……但是我觉得在目前这种情况之下还……还很难去改变。所以我选择可能很长的一段时间之内都会生活在香港这个地方。所以目前看来就是无论从感情上还是从我个人以后生活的长远打算都……对我来说,香港是一个家。

你在你的家当中,你会感觉到很安全,很温暖。你不会受到……你不会担心……除非是黄之锋那种人,你不会担心这个突然被警察被国保破门而入这种事情:除非是干很激进的事情。

所以我觉得,对于我来说,是这种安全感对我来说已经很重要了,我有这种发表言论自由的这种权利——就是不会被人像在内地一样,被人跟踪,那种事情;不会担心莫名其妙的事情发生。

亚历克斯 (Alex)

其实我以前很少去想这个身份认同的问题。可能我第一次考虑的时候是我高中去一间叫 LPC 的学校 (Li Po Chun United World College,李宝椿联合世界书院)。这学校除了有很多香港人之外,也有很多 外国人。可能在这个环境下促使我第一次去想其实我的身份是怎样的呢。

我觉得对我最大启发的就是去年去了美国的时候。可能人是在有对比之下产生比较多冲击。我去到美国的时候,首先感受到,第一好像约瑟夫所讲其实一个国家的国界真的不重要。

其实很大程度上我们现在的社会给了我们很多自由去塑造自己的身份。我们也不需要因为其他人的国籍或者······不需要用地理因素去标示我们所见的人或者自己。我都很同意这一点。但是对我来说,我觉得中国文化对我的影响也不小。

就是,尤其是去到外国的时候呢,发现其实中华文化对我来讲是一个重要的部分,例如这个 Chinese language (中文) ……中文就是……其实我觉得是不可代替的,对我来讲……在那个文字里面表现出来的很多意念呀、很多哲学的概念,还有那个社会的文化、那个美感,是其他地方不能找到的。所以我觉得虽然我们有自由去选择我们认同的文化,但是其实也不完全是出于个人的选择——可能是跟我们的出生、一直来讲的外在的因素……也有很大的影响。

这个深刻的感受,是在外国的时候特别强烈,但是我身在香港的时候有一种相反的感觉,就是我想我对西方的文化比较有兴趣,可能我看的书都是英文的······然后对本地的娱乐······对本地的娱乐圈就是兴趣不太大······但是我觉得其实这个不是 contradictory(矛盾的),这个不是矛盾的、不是自相矛盾的,因为很多香港人的 identity(身份)都是融合了两边的文化的。

所以,两件事:首先,对身份而言有很多的流动性;第二,在很大程度上它取决于外部因素——据我 所知。

温迪(Wendy)

其实我非常认同大家所讲的——关于香港人是一种多元文化的身份。我从一个本地香港人的角度——因为我没有任何外国护照,我一直都在香港长大,然后我都没有出过外国读书——只是当过一年交换生,但没有真正生活或融入其他国家的文化。

我觉得身份认同一直以来是一个隐藏的问题,大家其实知道,但是没有去好好讨论,直到可能雨伞运动那个年代——其实都是非常近期的事——开始有这个问题出现:就是这一代的年轻人没办法找到自己的定位。

譬如你问我我是什么人,我会答你"香港人"。但是"香港人"代表什么呢?其实没人知道。有些人会觉得"香港人"是一个独特的文化,像刚才约瑟夫所讲的,"第三文化"。但是什么定义这个文化呢?我们的外貌是中国人,你可以说我们是"炎黄子孙",那种血统的人,我们吃的主食全都是中国的主食。但是语文方面,香港很多学校很崇尚英文,中文反而好像第二语言那样,很多学校都不太重视中文。但到底香港人是什么呢?其实我自己都没有一个好清晰的答案。

"我们要争取民主",其实有没有好多人知道民主是什么?有很多这些问题,令我没办法给一个实质、确切的答案,因为我自己都还没可以全面地探索其实"香港人"代表什么,什么定义"香港人"。

我觉得正正是这一点导致很多当前的问题,因为很多我这一辈的朋友或者我认识的同学,都觉得有一种"困在中间"的感觉。

我们了解其实中国有好多问题,例如人权、民主等问题——因为我们受很多西方的影响——同时我们了解: "我们可以做什么呢?"我们某种程度上是中国的一部分,我们是中国里最西化的一个地区。我觉得正正是身份认同这个根深蒂固的问题导致了现在很多的问题。

譬如,之前我不记得是哪一个——最近有很多学生出来组织很多政党选举,我不记得哪一个人讲——有人问他觉得"怎么样为之香港人呢?",他也不太能回答。其实是不是香港出生就是香港人呢?是不是你对香港文化有认同感——好像彼得他认同香港是他的家,我们又认不认同他是香港人呢?你明白吗?这一堆问题造成很多磨擦,而且是很难调解的,因为它们实在是一些根本性的问题。所以我会说身份对我来说真是一个没有确实答案的问题。

"在香港,你怎么样表达都没有所谓,你可以怎么定位"

彼得 (Peter)

刚才温迪讲的时候,我突然想到一个现象。在香港这种多元价值观,可以很自由思考的地方,你怎么样表达都没有所谓,你可以怎么定位,不会有人有一个强烈的来指导你,或者是怎么样你。但是你在一个专制的国家,他就会有一个很政治正确的答案一直在你的教育体系里面来指导你。

所以,当时温迪在讲的时候,我就意识到……如果讨论这个问题在中国的话,就会变成一个政治立场的问题。你说,你是香港人还是中国人,你如果说香港人你就很可能会被指责成为港独。

或是变成一个台湾人……台湾艺人要到香港去发展,首先要签一个拥护中华人民共和国,或者是拥护台湾是、是中国的一部分的……这么一个责任书,你才可以到中国去发展。包括香港的艺人到中国去发展也是……也会面临那么一个情况。

就是说,你必须舍弃掉你的一些······在一个自由的地方去讨论的,或者是必须默认它那个政治政权,在很多地方你就会必须要有一个很政治正确的身份,起码在这种公开讨论的环境之下。

所以我很珍视香港可以自由讨论的那一种空间;虽然最近有一些收紧······虽然最近你说你不可以港独,你不可以认同你是很 local (本地)的香港人这种问题。

温迪(Wendy)

我觉得有个很有趣的现象就是,对于彼得来讲,香港是一个较为有自由的国家——有自由的地区吧,他觉得来到香港好像有了新的生活,可以呼吸自由的空气。但是从一个本地的香港角度,或者现在整体很多香港人觉得其实香港相比外国是不怎么自由的。很多香港人觉得:"呀!现在好乱呀!","现在中央政府收紧得很厉害呀!","我们应该要走呀、应该要去外国呀!",觉得外国好呀,怎样怎样的。那我个人觉得其实好像钱钟书先生所讲的,"城外的人想冲进去,城里的人想逃出来"²这个道理而已。

我觉得其实看看其他外国国家,当然你说民主方面确实是先进很多的,但是美国、英国、加拿大等等国家都有他们自己的问题,不论政治方面或是自由方面,亦有些譬如警察打示威者很多那些事情……周围都有的!那是不是相比下香港自由就少很多呢?是不是香港就那么差呢?我就觉得这是一个应该探讨的有趣的问题。

我自己的看法是,如果我认为自己是一个香港人,那就不应该走,而且我不见得走了会好多少——这是最主要的问题。你站在这里看外面外面当然好啦!

^{2&}quot;城外的人想冲进去,城里的人想逃出来"出自著名中国现代作家、文学研究家钱钟书的长篇小说《围城》。

"或者他们愚蠢,或者他们认为我们愚蠢"

约瑟夫(Joseph)

我在听现在的香港和内地那个身份的沟通,其实最令人愤怒的地方就是当权的人吧。因为问题就是他们现在想跟我们说"你是中国人、你是香港人、你要港独。"那些。其实那个想法,已经对很多现在年轻人来说,已经是过时了的。

我的……就是,我有那么多东西要做,你不要让我想我是不是中国人,我是不是香港人,就是,我根本不 care(在乎)。然后,可是,他们现在的沟通……就是所有那些粗暴者,骂我们的话,全部都是"中国……中国……香港……香港…"其实是很反感。因为要么就是他们以为我们不明白那些字眼背后的意思,要么就是他们真的是那样想,要么就是他们就是……不在乎;因为他们觉得他们会赢的,到最后。

然后有另外一个 point (问题) 就是香港和内地的比较。当然,如果你是想要比较那个绝对的自由的话,香港现在还是比较好一点的!可是,我们要比较的不是绝对的那个现在的东西,我们是要看十年以后、二十年以后,2047 年的时候。然后作为一个香港人,我就会觉得:嗯?!其实看现在的那个情况,对2047 我还有没有这种乐观的感觉。我就没有了。

"我曾是'五毛'"

彼得 (Peter)

我要告诉你,我在上大学以前就是上大二以前,都是傻的。我在上大学二年级以前都是五毛。这是真的。就是我真的相信这些东西。因为你在一个封闭的教育环境之下,你书本里面的······你没有接触到自由的互联网之前,你就是傻的。你的脑袋就是被洗得很干净的。因为你身边的那些人都是那样子的,包括你的父母是文革下来那帮人,他们整天接受的是新闻联播的教育,是 CCTV 水平的那种的教育。

在我的经验里面是有不少人,刚开始是很积极的毛左,就是很爱国的那种人。以至于我们当时很多时候……在美国 911 的时候,真的是可以上街呼喊,然后就是公开地反普世价值的那种人,看起来很傻、很愚蠢,甚至很残忍。

你没有一个人给你指路啊,就是那些明白人都被共产党干掉了啊,或者是明白人都不敢公开地说话, 你就听不到那些异议的声音。

那我没有变成傻瓜,是得益于互联网,是得益于电脑的,computer(电脑)的普及。

在我大学那时候,是整个宿舍······我们大概有六个人,家庭环境比较好的同学呢,他就有 personal computer(个人电脑)。然后呢,在他们打游戏之余,然后他们睡觉了,我就可以上网。

然后很意外地,我就找到一个翻墙软件。现在要感谢那个法轮功……对,自由门。

从那时候,我就知道外面的世界是什么样子的。刚开始还是从一个叫豆瓣的论坛,然后里面有一些人 传播一些信息啊什么的。从那时候开始,"自由门"打开了自由之门,然后我就有了信息的自由。

虽然法轮功的一些新闻也是很夸张啦,但是至少我知道六四,至少我知道一些跟共产党宣传不一样的东西。

最近几年,这个共产党封杀互联网越来越严重了。出动大量的五毛。它去买…它去花钱啊,就是,塑造一些爱国主义的一个形象。然后,我是相信有很大一比例的年轻人,真的是像我当年的那样子的。

但同时你要看到,确实是有一些人经过了自由的信息洗礼之后,能够变成一个独立……具有独立思想的人。这也是有很大比例的。

那互联网往前发展的话,它……同时会有很多那种,我们叫"搬砖"的人——就是他就把一些文章到处贴,包括微信朋友圈,包括其他论坛啊。所以我相信是有一批一批启蒙一些人的,会启蒙一些人的。

香港与大陆之间的冲突

彼得 (Peter)

对于香港对内地的矛盾,我觉得很大问题上确实是共产党,确实是当局,包括梁振英政府他有意识这么做的。我太太,她是做英语关键词的那种评论的研究。她就发现,就是在当局的官员的发言里面提到的一些词汇里面,他是有意识地利用舆论去引导,推向一个矛盾的。

然后呢,内地的报纸这么干……香港的政府,包括一些媒体它也这么干。

我认为它是孤立香港,达到一种就是说,你香港对于大陆的影响力越来越小。

或者是变成一个负面的影响力,就不会变成民族向心力的那种影响力,以至于大陆的一些年轻人提到香港就说"你港独。你那边那么乱。你那边那么搞雨伞运动,要搞独立。"这样子。整个的信息都往那个方向发展。

很明显的一个事件就是,现在能够发出不同声音的香港媒体,在大陆受到的打压越来越严重。你乌坎事件,苹果日报,或者是端传媒的记者进去,直接就被抓。

你不可以报道关于乌坎的一些事情。那以前香港的媒体、香港的记者是……他至少不会直接打你。我 觉得是有……是很有步骤地来这么做的。

有老价值观的新移民

亚历克斯(Alex)

那我就回应一下你刚刚说的,你来到香港你就很享受来到这里自由信息的来往,而且没有了大陆那种强权的压力。但是,其实我想指出一点,就是其实不是每一个从大陆过来的人都好像你这么想。香港每天有110个单程证(新移民)来香港。就是说,一年有3万多人。20年来,就是超过60万人已经来到了香港,从大陆。那香港,而整个香港就700几万人,就是可能最少10%是内地来的新移民。都是叫新移民啦,虽然其实可能都来了20年。另外,其实香港的大学,HKU(香港大学)都是,其实都有很多内地的学生在这里就读。但是在我的观察就是,这些我统称为内地的移民,短暂也好,长期也好,其实他们未必是有像你这样的想法。其实他们是……未必会放弃他之前一路以来的价值观。反而可能他会觉得,他们来香港……是可能为了一些香港有的,物质上的,是除了社会价值观以外的条件,可能他们会比较重视。

虽然他们是有互联网,他们可以随时看到关于中国政府的事实。但是,不是所有人……他们有机会去做,但那不意味着每个人都会选择质疑他们所给予的东西。

那我觉得其实这一样东西是很重要,例如刚刚他说的选举。我们可以如何动员这些内地来的人?其实我们不动员,中联办都会动员的啦。他会用内地的亲戚去鼓励香港居住的人去投给某些人的票。这些例子都可以看得出其实大陆政府是很重视这一班内地来香港的人,而我们其实都不应该忽略他们对香港的影响。

彼得 (Peter)

你刚才讲的问题确实是一个很重要的问题。对于香港来说,确实……因为新移民现在占的比重比较大,但是很多人——包括我身边很多朋友都是这样子的……他们……就是说……固守自己以前形成的价值观。拒绝融入、拒绝承认普世价值,然后拥护共产党那一套价值。

那我从……我要从什么方面来分析这个观点——我是觉得跟每个人的背景很有关系。因为很多人来读硕士或者读博士的时候起码如果他们能够支付得起香港高昂的学费的时候起码是一个中产背景的家庭。有很多是,甚至是官员的家庭;这种家庭当中长大的孩子就是受那种传统教育、尤其是共产党教育的其实是非常大的影响的。哪怕来到香港之后他……如果说不是试图跟香港本地、local(本地)的同学接触、融入,甚至接受他们的价值观、持一种开放的心态,他们很难去接受另外一种价值观,或者很难有自己独立的思想。他们很可能就是,有很多人的思想就是:来到香港,拿一个名牌大学的学历、镀金,或者甚至是拿一个 passport (护照),然后回去之后可以拿到更高薪的工作、有更好的地位,很多人的价值观是这样子的。因为在……邓小平改革开放之后中国的价值观就变成 money first (金钱第一)——这个价值观是很要不得。虽然说很要不得,但是你没办法,必须要接受,它是一个现实。

而且呢,你可以看到香港政府跟共产党政府确实是有步骤的、有计划的、一步一步的想要用那些只有旧价值观念的新移民来控制香港的很大一部分的选票。我的很多朋友都是那样子的。他们就马上就拿香港的身份证了,博士毕业 PhD (博士学位),但是依旧认为共产党其实是好的、没有问题的! 他们也是每天生活在自由的香港呀。

我个人来看这是一个很大的问题。你怎么样去影响那一批人?我当然试图去做了,但是效果也不是很好。尤其是到他们的年纪了,已经成年了三十多岁的年纪了、接受了那么多年的那种教育,除非有很大的挫折,或者······除非对他们触动很大,才会影响到他们。

三种最重要的价值观

约瑟夫 (Joseph)

我会即时想到的三种价值是: 唯才主义、自由、公平。

亚历克斯(Alex)

第一是自主、个人自主;第二是批判思考,对于事情的官方说法,或非官方、大众普遍接受的说法有怀疑的能力。

温迪(Wendy)

我会说,第一个是尊重。我觉得尊重很重要,无论其他人有自己一个看法,或者同意,或者不同意都好。我觉得互相尊重是最重要。尊重、互相尊重是最重要的。有不同意见都应该要尊重。第二就是自由,当然,然后第三就是平等,我觉得。

彼得 (Peter)

对我来讲应该第一个是 freedom 自由,第二个我认为应该是公平,第三个我觉得还是包容。包容——包容不同的意见,然后能够允许不同的意见。

形容香港文化和社会的形容词

亚历克斯(Alex)

我觉得,香港文化,第一就是其实很写实的,很贴近社会现实……我觉得香港不多很学术性层面的文化讨论或者艺术。然后第二就是幽默感,我觉得对我来讲是最重要的香港文化很有幽默感,不一定是正面的,可以是很讽刺性的,或者甚至是很黑色的幽默感……很多例如香港电影,其他的文化产品都是幽默……很愿意去取笑自己或者别人来得到一些更深层的真理。最后就是很商业化。例如你看一下现在香港电影,现在愈来愈多合拍片,跟大陆的合作,很多时候都因为是资金的问题……

约瑟夫(Joseph)

我觉得用三个形容词来形容香港的社会的话,我会说,第一个就是我们很喜欢"利益最大化",要钱就是比较好的……这就是香港……可是因为我们知道每个人都会这样最大化,就令每个人都很……cynical——"犬儒主义"很强,就是犬儒主义……that's I think that…no? isn't it? But cynicism is from the Greek word canine, 犬…I don't know…Yea… Oh, there's a beautiful Greek story to it. Oh so, (那是我这么认为的……不是?不是吗?但犬儒主义是来自于希腊字"犬","犬"……我不知道……是的……哦,它还有一个美丽的希腊故事。哦,所以)就是……犬儒……我们都不会很简单地接受其他人的动机、解释,就是……其他人……我们看见其他人做什么东西的话我们都会想,"嗯,是不是真的、是不是真的","会不会其实是对他自己好、不是真的想帮我"那样。就是……可能……阴谋论那些。Yea……(是啊……)会怀疑其他人。因为有那个"最大化"、因为有那个怀疑人的思想,所以我们最后就会……生活就是受很多限制——在很多很多地方上面,有一些就是外加给我们的限制,可能是地方……,有很多事我们自己加给自己,我们都不信人……就是 maximizing, cynical, and constrained(最大化、犬儒主义和限制)。

亚历克斯 (Alex)

我对他刚刚说的做一个简短的回应吧。我觉得很多人用了幽默感去超越你所说的限制。例如很多的政治笑话、讽刺,正正是因为香港人受制太多,并且没有太大的能力去改变事情。

约瑟夫(Joseph)

我就觉得不可以说"超越"; 那只是"面对"。

温迪(Wendy)

我同意亚历克斯所说的。我觉得好像刚刚约瑟夫说,说香港人很多约束,那是真的。但亚历克斯就觉得是正正因为很多约束,所以香港人会发明很多幽默感来去处理这些情况······

我会用另一个字去形容,我会形容是很灵活,香港人。因此香港人生命力真的很顽强……你扔香港人去任何一个地方都可以生存,我会觉得……因为香港人……可以挤在一个火柴盒那么小的地方,工作时长又差不多世界最长,然后人工又不是很高,然后又很多很多的麻烦,很多很多不好的事情,但是香港人都能够……怎么样在这些绝处的缝中,生存。我觉得这一样东西是一个 value(价值)。

此外其实都是和刚刚个两位差不多,都是很务实,很实际。可能近年会更多,喜欢谈论 2047 呀这些前途的话题,但是以前的人真的不讨论……纯粹说……啊今天我赚了多少钱,什么时候下班之类的话题,香港人是非常之务实。

另外我都同意约瑟夫,就是香港人很多疑……我觉得。对于很多东西未必一定是阴谋论那么极端,可能是纯粹……譬如我看一张报纸,香港人都不会全信……譬如看苹果(日报)都不会只全部相信苹果、(看)明报又不会完全相信明报……会保持一种"我只信70%而已"那种心态。

彼得 (Peter)

但我一个比较外来文化的这种观点来看香港。

很直观的印象就是香港这地方很强调商业性。

什么……无论是很多首先的要务就是"搵钱"、"搵食"。

第二就是,这个地方只要你不违法什么事情都可以去做,什么事情都可以去想。它不禁止你这个去尝试的愿望。所以对我来讲是,这个地方是充满自由性的可能性的地方。

但是,你没有一个商业性的目标,没有商业性的计划,没有商业性的 project(规划),你是很难成功的一一没有人去支持你。这是另外一方面。

但是它有很多可能性。另外一点就是······或者说······目标很明确,或者是很务实,就不会花费太多的精力去做其他的东西。

精神层面的这种生活会少一些,或者是我有一些偏见。但是在我的,圈子里面,或者是我的同学里面,去真正的去看一些比较严肃的书,或者是一些严肃的讨论、哲学这些方面的这些东西。比较少。

个人价值与社会价值之间的冲突

约瑟夫(Joseph)

我对这个为什么个人价值跟社会价值存差异的问题的即时反应

是,嗯,当然有年龄差距这个问题,是吧?所以你会看到这么多比较年轻的人对社会表达出焦虑、怀 疑或某种对抗。

我觉得,因为香港的社会价值是由(前辈的)香港的人来组织出来的。他们所留下来的价值就是要钱,要务实那样。

那就可以解释得到,为什么香港的年轻一代跟香港现在的建制派会有一个不合的情况——其实是很合理的。

我们现在社会上所看见的都是能够反映这个冲突。这个冲突是绝对是存在的。

温迪(Wendy)

我完全同意。我觉得年龄是一个······好重大个因子。我们现在在座各位其实都是相对的······是年轻人·····那么如果你问我们关于个人价值,当然是一些类似高层次······因为我们都是学生,基本上来

说······我们思想都还是停留在学生······那么学生一定是有些理想呀,或者喜欢思考一些什么高层次一点的东西啦。

当然,如果你请一桌都是我爸我妈那一辈的人,当然他们给的价值观就不是那些价值观啦,我相信。 另一样事情就是香港的发展本身都是另一个问题,因为香港这么多年来,最出名就是发展为一个金融中心。

香港的优势就是它成为了中国对外的一些交易、金融的一些出口点。所以香港人引以为傲的就是我们的金融业,某程度上就会塑造了……这么多年来就塑造了一个价值观就是……金融是最重要的,我们要多赚钱,只能透过赚更多的钱在这个世界上争取……更高个地位、才能够肯定我们的自身价值……因为我们最棒就是这一样东西……"亚洲的金融中心"……

当社会很侧重这东西的时候,某程度上流传下来的教育就是这样……对下一代都是这样的看法,觉得"你做金融才有前途","你搞什么艺术呀,,搞什么创意产业"……这些产业……非常老实地说在香港不是很受重视……所有人都跟你讲:"噢你想搞时装?你想搞媒体?你出外国啦,你不要留在香港!"

彼得 (Peter)

我认为是确实香港长期以来,它作为一个这种这么多年没有很多资源的地方生养这么多人口。

然后呢,形成一个以金融为主导的地方并不是偶然的。就是它从二战以来那种地位来看,就是一个比较自由的金融中心。包括内地共产党那时候被物资封锁的时候都是一个很大的物资中转站的一种角色。

那后来当然是慢慢地,中国大陆的那种改革开放,对香港的这种制造业产生很大的影响。那时候香港制造业慢慢衰落之后,然后不得已就会继续这种金融业的发展。

或者是我从一个移民的角度来看。生存是第一要务嘛。或者很大的时候来到香港,偷渡来的这些人生存是第一要务。然后呢,很多时候这种文化的观念一代一代地传下来。所以钱可能认为是最重要的一种东西。

精神文化,或者是精神的这种需求并不是最重要的。

亚历克斯(Alex)

首先,我觉得你们两个都提出了很重要的论点。我觉得,我想说的是,"商业化"这个情况是非常根深蒂固的。

这是制度上,已经是融入的香港的价值,这是不一定是个人选择,这是可能家庭或者教育,或者很多 社会的气氛,这是很根深蒂固,就是推广这个文化。

第二个就是,其实我们刚才提到的自治、自由、自我表达等等,其实没有冲突啊,跟商业化。好像说,你可以当银行家,对不对?如果你有自治权,你可以选择加入华尔街。如果你想做金融也是一部分,但是为什么这么多人都是走同一条路呢?这是可能其实还没有真正的自由。其实可能在白纸黑字上我们可以选择。但是其实很多看不到的暗流都是去推动,去塑造同一类型的人。

前方的路

温迪(Wendy)

我首先承认我个人觉得,如果香港走现在这一条路的话,是不会得到一个很好的将来。所谓"这一条路"就是······香港与大陆的关系过于敌对。

对立化。我都同意中国大陆是有做一些东西去收紧香港的自由……但是我觉得香港人都有份参与,去令到两方面的关系变得愈来愈差……譬如媒体有好多渲染,说什么"大陆很差很差"的,或者"我们应该要抵制大陆人"的……我自己觉得从一个历史性的角度来看,所有这些所谓种族之间的对立,永远都不会有很好的结果……而唯一的出路都只是可以合作和沟通。因为认真地说,香港你要脱离大陆,你怎么做到脱离呢?你是不是出兵去打大陆呢?我觉得这是这些不可能啰。

我觉得,香港有一点点去到有一种有一点不是很理性地排他的一种心态。有个例子就是,之前,不记得是上年还是前年,有个中大女学生在中大校区有车祸,大陆女生来的,拿奖学金在香港读书,但是网上面有新闻出来,然后有好多评论,在 Facebook (脸书)的评论说"活该"什么什么的……我觉得,人家又没有得罪你……有点太过不理智地排外的那种心态。我觉得最紧要的是应该要——不要那么容易被媒体、或者其他的东西激起一种不理智的情绪,说我们要"反中国、反所有中国大陆的人",我觉得这种心态不是很健康、亦不会为香港带来一个好的发展。

所以我觉得我会希望采取一个大家能够合作的态度,而不是大家对立。我觉得没必要要对立,我觉得大多数的中国人都没有做些什么,其实最差都是中国政府,如果真的要怪(责什么)的话。所以我会希望未来的态度是一个能够沟通、能够合作的态度。

约瑟夫 (Joseph)

我认为香港问题的恶劣情况会大大改善——如果我们有一个真正问责的政府。

第二是,要改善我们面对中国的谈判筹码,我们必须更加自给自足。现在他们控制着我们的电力供应、水源供应、食物供应。我觉得这一开始根本就把我们置于劣势,如果我们从现实政治的角度去看。

我的希望是如果我们有个更好的政府、如果我们更自给自足,那么我们大众可以讨论更好的东西——因为我们实在是对那些什么身份、独立的问题感到太厌倦了。我们何不关注一下,例如房屋问题这是个好问题、保健问题是个好问题,还有人口老化、出生率等这些问题都需要关注。一个更好的香港应该是问责的、自给自足的地方,那么我们可以把精神投放在一些更重要的事情上。

要实行这一个改变,我认为,作为一个媒体工作者,要实行这改变我们需要更好的传播媒介。人的思想是很难改变的——除非你让人看一场戏,而他们对某个角色产生强烈的同理心——尽管你发表多少篇学术论文,人家都不会去看的。我觉得,这些信息都是要从大众娱乐的渠道传播的,在戏剧里、在电视上看到的纪录片里,免费而容易接触的,用观众感兴趣的主演呈现出来。

除非这类型的题材能在娱乐节目里出现,否则我不见得很多群众会关注、会讨论。在美国他们有……虽然是比较别树一格的节目,最少他们有 House of Cards(《纸牌屋》),还有什么呢?……在英国他们有,对了,Minister(大臣)…对了,Yes,Prime Minister(《是,大臣》)。这些东西人家才会讨论,他们会想到底是真的还是假的;而且全是在娱乐节目里。我觉得要透过故事去触及人的想法、透过论述。

这紧扣着第三点,就是我们怎样令这些对话维持下去。我觉得香港真的欠缺了一个东西——经常有这么多莫须有的指控在流传——我们需要有一个公正的、可靠的事实鉴定者,让人可以查考到,"噢,这个人这么说,是错的",一个事实鉴定者可以消除那些满天飞的废话,然后我们必然可以有更高层次的对话。我是说,在英、美,他们有很高层次的、聪明的讨论,例如牛津式辩论,有多重的反驳等等,而且是很贴近大众的。

目前我们并没有容易获得的基本资讯。当然,我们有一些比较独特的网站例如 Hong Kong Free Press(香港自由媒介)和 FactWire(传真社),它们自称是公正的资讯来源,但你知道人们总是不会完全尽信它们。目前我们没有一个公正的消息媒介,直到有这个东西以前,我们只会不停听到由 A 到 B,由 B 到 A 无止境的指责。

彼得 (Peter)

我觉得就是在这部电影"十年"之后,香港似乎真的有了一个可以称得上稍微有影响力的独立电影。那我觉得这是一个好的开端。就是说你电影人开始觉醒,开始真正地不是那么考虑商业化的东西,试图去用一些 serious(严肃)的东西去影响大众,这是一个好的开端。

我觉得这对我们电影人来说应该是好的事情。我们可能会慢慢地往这个方向发展,去做一些真正的独立电影。

然后另外一点,对香港来说独立的媒体是相当重要的。就是独立的、具有调查力的这种媒体。当然我们现在看到的有很多这种真的出来做事情的媒体也很多了。

亚历克斯(Alex)

其他人说过的东西我就不重复啦,但是其他一样东西就是我们真的要考虑"一国两制"之后怎么发展下去。

陈弘毅(香港大学法学院教授)说"人大 831 决定"是泛民的"觉醒的一刻",敲醒了香港民主派……"人大 831"这个框架……那么我们之后要怎样走下去呢?我们可以接受,"OK,这个框架已经定了,可以选总比没得选好啊!"我们可以这么想的,但是……

可能我们是时候要重新讨论香港人会作出一个怎样的决定呢?在这个框架下面……

彼得 (Peter)

另外······我是觉得确实是需要有一个政治目标的,你是要有一个真的能够控制在选民手中的立法会,这是一个很重要的事情。

这次选举也给我很大信心。我觉得很多人感觉前途比较灰暗,但是选举之后他们感到: "哎!还是有一些希望的。"

中国人权出版的香港与中国大陆相关资料

中国人权网络刊物《中国人权论坛》特刊

- 《中国人权论坛》,2015年第1期——《香港与中国大陆:共同的将来、争论的现在》
- 《中国人权论坛》,2014年第2期——《在风雨中坚守:香港迈向2017年及其后》
- 《中国人权论坛》,2011年第4期——《香港与中国大陆:建设一个共同的未来》

2015年播客

- 《香港与大陆错综复杂的关系》(英文原声播客,音频文稿中译版)
- 《一个历史话语权的争夺战》(普通话原声播客,音频文稿)

视频

2014年

- 《来自旺角的两种看法——采访阿达、阿乐》
- 《为未来存照——采访朱福强、黄宇轩》
- 《你会在10年内,看到这些未来的香港政治家——采访傅华伶》
- 《民主是实现邓小平方针的必由之路——采访李柱铭》(文字记录和视频节选)
- 《香港人民听见了自己的呐喊——采访韩东方》(文字记录和视频节选)

2011年

• Word on the Street: Is Hong Kong the Tail That Wags the Dog?

"Hong Kong: Conversations toward a Democratic Future"

A Project of Human Rights in China (HRIC)

Hong Kong stands at a critical historic juncture. The people of Hong Kong are facing complex challenges: increasing interference from mainland authorities is threatening to erode the "One Country, Two Systems" principle underlying the *Basic Law*, fundamental freedoms, and core values of Hong Kong, and is intensifying the cultural tension between locals and mainlanders living in Hong Kong. As the possible futures for Hong Kong are now being debated and struggled for, the young people are playing a key role in envisioning and shaping that future.

In 2016, HRIC launched the "Hong Kong: Conversations toward a Democratic Future" project aimed at promoting engagement, mutual understanding, and mutual respect among young local Hong Kongers and mainlanders living in Hong Kong.

In the series of conversations we have convened, the participants explored a range of topics, including identity and implications for community actions, Hong Kong's core values, factors contributing to the clash between Hong Kongers and mainlanders, and visions of Hong Kong's possible futures. The conversations were conducted in a combination of English, Cantonese, and putonghua, as preferred by the participants.

In these conversations, we were impressed by the nuanced thinking, the shared generosity, and the genuine intellectual engagement among the participants—which can serve as a model for civic discourse in this difficult time. And we found inspiring the capacity for listening to and learning from one another. We believe that that capacity and the collective strength of diverse experiences and views will contribute to the building of common ground among all people in Hong Kong for advancing democracy and preserving freedoms in Hong Kong. In the longer term, insights and lessons from the Hong Kong struggle can also contribute to fostering the growth of a civil society inside China. But first, we need to develop more resources for talking with each other.

We are pleased to share this edited transcript of one of these conversations, conducted in September 2016 in Hong Kong with four participants—three local Hong Kongers and one mainlander who now calls Hong Kong home.

The English version incorporates translation of the Cantonese and *putonghua* spoken during the conversation. (The Chinese language podcasts and edited transcripts will be available on HRIC's website at a later date.)

The traditional and simplified Chinese versions incorporate Chinese translation of the English spoken during the conversation, as well as conversion of Cantonese into written Chinese.

Project leads: Mi Ling Tsui (miling.tsui@hrichina.org)

Sharon Hom (sharon.hom@hrichina.org)

About the Participants

Alex

Self-introduction: I am a Hong Konger and a law student at a local law department. I had been politically apathetic until my introduction to human rights at university, where I came to understand that human rights struggle and development are closely linked to political struggle. After the Umbrella Movement, I spent a year as an exchange student in the United States, where I not only studied human rights and politics, but also, in my spare time, did not neglect to "collude with foreign forces"—to tell the people around me about the situation facing Hong Kong. In that time, I was fortunate to work as an intern at Human Rights in China. Currently, I am trying to forge a future path for myself and also for Hong Kong.

Joseph

Self-introduction: I am a 27-year-old teacher and theatre producer, born and grew up in Hong Kong. I have a B.A. and an M.A. degrees in English literature, and am pursuing a second Master's degree in education. Politically, I identify myself as a moderate, and would like to see Hong Kong as part of China under the "One Country, Two Systems" framework as delineated in the *Basic Law*.

Peter

Self-introduction: After graduating from university in 2008, I lived in Beijing for four years where I came to know quite a few rights lawyers and defenders. I started working at an NGO there in 2011. In September 2012, I came to Hong Kong to study at the Hong Kong Baptist University's Academy of Film. I care about human rights, public interest, and films.

Wendy

Wendy is a Hong Konger in her early 20s. She is in her final year of law studies at a local university. She doesn't have a foreign passport and doesn't believe that Hong Kong people should think about emigrating because of the current political climate.

"Hong Kong: Conversations toward a Democratic Future" Edited transcript of a conversation with four participants September 21, 2016, Hong Kong

Questions of Identity

Joseph

When I think about my identity, I would really hesitate to define myself by any national boundaries. I definitely do not see myself as a Chinese citizen. Hong Konger—definitely, but by law I am a British citizen. So I think the idea of a national boundary is limited and archaic, and should be abolished sooner or later.

And then, I usually see myself as the functions I fulfill and the books I read. So I see myself identifying much more with Western philosophies and thoughts, particularly the Utilitarian theory advanced by 18th-19th-century liberal scholars, and so on.

So when I think about 18th-, 19th-century Western philosophy, what really jumps out at me would be the aspect of self-determination. Self-determination manifested itself at that time as the establishment of nation states. I think the natural extension of that philosophy would be self-determination beyond racial boundaries. So when I think about identity, I think about self-determination and the hope that we would be defined by more than the little line on our passport, or arbitrary markings on a map.

Peter

I think, for me personally, I'm first and foremost a human rights defender. Basically, after I became an adult, after I became independent-minded, I came to know many rights lawyers, including some scholars with a conscience. They have had a big impact on shaping my individual character.

After I graduated [from university] in 2008, I stayed in Beijing for about four years. During that time, I experienced a great deal, and also saw many facets of the ugly reality under that system, including lots of homeless people and lots of people suffering injustice. So, I felt that I, personally, have a responsibility to do something.

But then, how in fact should I go about doing it? That question perhaps has to do with my second identity—my occupation. I've had NGO work experience. And another thing is, I wanted to pick up a camera and film documentaries, and later I also made movies. This is my occupation, my other identity.

So now that I've come to Hong Kong, regarding this question [of identity], I recognize Hong Kong as a place that has given me freedom, that it is better than mainland China. This is because, being in Hong Kong, I have this very natural feeling that it is home. It is a place that gives me the air of freedom and an environment to live freely. Here, I have the right to speak freely, and a kind of very natural right to be protected by law and not subjected to fear. But as soon as I across the border at Lo Wu [into the mainland], I get this kind of inexplicable fear that I can't get rid of. And I feel that that is not a place I should be living in.

And even if I devote my life to changing that place, I feel, judging from the current situation, it is still very hard to change it. So my choice is that I'll live perhaps for a long time in Hong Kong. So now it seems—whether on an emotional level or in terms of my long-range plans for my own future—Hong Kong is a home for me.

In Hong Kong, I have this very natural feeling that it is home.... But as soon as I across the border at Lo Wu, I get this kind of inexplicable fear.

When you're in your home, you'll feel very secure. It's a very warm feeling. You won't be subjected to or have to worry about—unless you're Joshua Wong or someone like him—you won't have to worry about police suddenly kicking in and bursting through your door, this kind of thing, unless you've done some very radical thing.

So I think, for me, this sense of security is already very important. I have this kind of right to express my opinions freely. And I won't be followed—like in mainland China—and I won't have to worry about things happening that you can't explain.

Alex

Actually, I really hadn't thought much about this question of identity previously. Perhaps the first time I thought about it was when I went to high school, it was called LPC—Li Po Chun United World College. Aside from a lot of Hong Kongers, this school also had lots of international students. Perhaps it was in this environment that I was first prompted to think about what my identity was.

I think, the greatest revelation for me came last year when I went to the United States. Perhaps more conflicts tend to occur among people in a situation of contrast. When I went to the U.S., my first feeling was—similar to what Joseph said earlier—actually a country's borders aren't really important [in defining an identity].

In fact, to a large extent, our society has given us a lot of freedom to shape our own identity. We also don't need to use other people's nationality—that is, use geographic factors—to brand people we meet or ourselves. I really agree with this. But also, for me, I think Chinese culture has influenced me a great deal.

While we can choose to identify with whatever we feel linked to, on the other hand, it is not an entirely voluntary process, because we can't choose where we were born or the influences that we grow up in. So, for example, personally, I feel a strong affinity to the Chinese language, especially when I was abroad. I felt that, a lot of ideas, a lot of philosophical concepts, local culture, and aesthetics expressed in Chinese literature don't exist elsewhere. And that has been a very large discovery of myself. This kind of feeling is especially strong when I'm abroad.

But when I'm in Hong Kong, it's the opposite: here, I've always been more interested in Western culture, and the books I read are English books. And I have very little interest in local pop culture and so on.

But I don't think this is a contradiction—because the identity of many Hong Kongers is an integration of the two cultures.

So, two things, first, there's a lot of fluidity to identity. And second, it does depend to a large extent on external factors. As far as I'm concerned.

Wendy

I really agree with what everybody just said about "Hong Konger" being a multi-cultural identity. I'm talking about this from a local's point of view: I have no foreign passport, I grew up in Hong Kong, and I have never studied abroad. I did spend one year as an exchange student, but did not truly live or immerse myself in another country's culture.

I think the question of identity has always been a hidden problem. Everybody knows the question exists but has never discussed it properly. And it wasn't until the Umbrella Movement—so, very recently—that the problem surfaced: that is, this generation of young people is unable to define where they are situated.

For example, if you ask "what am I?," I'd say a "Hong Konger." But what does "Hong Konger" represent? Actually nobody knows. Some say a Hong Konger embodies a unique culture, like what Joseph just said, a "third culture." But what defines this culture? Our appearance is that of Chinese people, or you can say, we are the "descendants of Emperors Yan and Huang" and belong to that bloodline; and our staple food is the same as that in China. But in terms of language, many Hong Kong schools value English over

So we say, "We need to fight for democracy." But how many people actually know what democracy is?

Chinese, and treat Chinese almost like a secondary language. So, in the end, what is a "Hong Konger"? Actually, I don't even have a clear answer for myself.

So we say, "We need to fight for democracy." But how many people actually know what democracy is? There are so many questions like this one. I can't provide a concrete, definite answer as I myself have

not been able to fully explore actually what a "Hong Konger" represents, and what defines a "Hong Konger."

I think it is precisely this point that has caused many of our current problems. Because many friends from my generation or classmates all have this feeling of being "trapped in the middle." We understand that China has a lot of problems, such as human rights, democracy, because we're exposed to a lot of Western influences. But at the same time, we also understand the limits of what we can do about those problems. To a certain extent, we're part of China, and we're the most Westernized region in China. Again, I think it is precisely the deep-rooted problem of identity that has caused the many problems of today.

For example, recently, a lot of students organized many political parties to run for election. I forget which candidate it was exactly, but somebody asked him, "What does Hong Konger mean?" He couldn't quite answer. So, does it mean you're a Hong Konger if you were born in Hong Kong? And would we identify someone as a Hong Konger if he, like Peter, identifies with Hong Kong culture and identifies Hong Kong as his home? Do you see my point? All these problems create a lot of conflicts, ones that are very hard to resolve, because these questions are too fundamental. Therefore I'd say the question of identify is a question mark.

"In Hong Kong, It Doesn't Matter How You Want to Identify Yourself"

Peter

What Wendy said just now made me think of this phenomenon. That is, in Hong Kong, a place with diverse values, where you can think freely, it doesn't matter how you want to express yourself or define yourself, and you won't have someone instructing you by force, or doing whatever to you. But in an authoritarian state, they will always have a very politically correct answer that they'll inculcate in you through the education system.

So, when Wendy was talking, I realized that if we were discussing this topic *in* China, it would have become a question of political position. On the question of "Are you a Hong Konger or a Chinese?," if you say that you're a Hong Konger, you would probably be accused of advocating for Hong Kong independence.

If we were discussing [identity] in China, it would have become a question of political position.

Or, let's say this concerns a Taiwanese person. Taiwanese entertainers who want to go to China to develop, they are first required to sign an agreement that they embrace the People's Republic of China, or embrace the concept that Taiwan is a part of China. Only with such an agreement can you go to China to develop. This also applies to Hong Kong entertainers who want to go to China to develop. They also face this kind of situation.

That is to say, in that situation, you have to give up some of the things you could discuss in a free place, or you must tacitly accede to the PRC's sovereignty. In many respects, you have to have an identity that is very politically correct, at least in this type of open discussion situation.

That's why I really value the space in Hong Kong where you can discuss freely—even though recently there has been some tightening, and there's been the talk of not allowing the talk of Hong Kong independence, or identifying oneself as a very local Hong Konger, this type of problem.

Wendy

I think this is a very interesting phenomenon. To Peter, Hong Kong is a relatively free place, and he feels that he has found a new life since he came to live in Hong Kong, where he can breathe the air of freedom. But from a local Hong Kong perspective, or, looking at Hong Kong as a whole, a lot of Hong Kongers think that Hong Kong in fact isn't that free compared with many other countries. Many Hong Kongers feel, "oh no, Hong Kong is a real mess right now," "the Chinese central government is really tightening things up," "we should just leave, we should emigrate," and that other countries are better, etc., etc. Personally, I think the situation is analogous to what Mr. Qian Zhongshu said: The people outside want to storm in, and the people inside are desperate to get out.³

I feel that if you look at other countries, of course a lot of them are much more advanced than Hong Kong in terms of democracy. But countries like the U.S., the U.K., Canada, etc., all have their own problems in politics and in terms of freedom. And they have incidents like police beating up protestors. It happens everywhere! By comparison, is Hong Kong really much less free? Is it really that bad in Hong Kong? I think this is an interesting question to explore.

My view is, if you identify yourself as a Hong Konger, then you shouldn't leave. And I don't see how much better it would be for you if you leave—that's the most important question. If you're standing here looking outside, of course the outside looks good!

"Either They Are Stupid or They Think We're Stupid"

Joseph

The counterpoint I would like to give to that is: Of course, if you compare Hong Kong with China on an absolute freedom level, then Hong Kong is going to win out. But it is not the absolute comparison that we are interested in. We want to look at the trend. And you can't argue about it: it's definitely getting worse in Hong Kong.

And the really offensive thing is that you just have to wonder whether the powers-that-be think people are stupid. They bring in all these arguments, such as: "Do you belong?" "Are you for us?" "Are you against us?"—this kind of polarized thinking, this kind of basic demagoguery, basic propaganda. And the reason it's offensive is that: do they think that we have not read George Orwell? Do they think that we have gone past all the Nazi stuff for nothing? Right now, in the 21st century, we are in a better position to recognize all these kinds of underhanded tactics. And you just have to think, either they are stupid, and they just try to copy the Joseph Goebbels strategy, or they think we are stupid, in which case we should be offended.

Another point is the comparison between Hong Kong and mainland China. Of course, if you compare the absolute freedom, the situation in Hong Kong is still better! But we should not be comparing absolutes.

³ A reference to the theme of Fortress Besieged (園城, 1947) a satirical novel and one of the best-known works by Qian Zhongshu (钱钟书), 1910-1998.

We should look ten years, 20 years ahead, toward 2047. As a Hong Konger, judging from the current situation, do I still feel optimistic about 2047? I don't.

"I Was a Wumao"

Peter

I'll just use my experience to address Joseph's points. Let me tell you, before I started my second year in university, I was a fool, I was a wumao.⁴ This is the truth. I really believed in those things [that the government said]. Because if you're in a closed educational environment, before you can access the free Internet, you are a fool. Your brain has been scrubbed clean. Everyone around you is like that. For everyone who lived through the Cultural Revolution—including your own parents—all they got, all day, was an education via news broadcasts, an education of the China Central Television (CCTV) standards.

From my experience, there are a lot of people who start out as Maoists on the extreme left, the kind of very patriotic people. So much so that, very often, after the terrorist attacks on the U.S. on September 11, 2001, we really were the type who could go to the streets to shout [anti-American] slogans and openly oppose universal values. It now seems very foolish, very stupid, and very cruel even.

[In that environment,] you don't have a single person to guide you. The Communist Party of China has gotten rid of all those people who understand. Or, no one who

understands has the courage to speak out openly. And you just don't hear any dissenting voices.

And the reason I didn't end up being an idiot is the Internet. I benefitted from the popularization of the computer.

The reason I didn't end up being an idiot is the Internet. I benefitted from the popularization of the computer.

When I was at university, there were about six of us in the dorm room. The classmates from relatively more well-off families had personal computers. So, after they finished playing computer games and after they went to sleep, I could [use their computers to] get on the Internet.

Then, totally by accident, I found software to get through the Great Firewall. Now I want to thank Falun Gong. Yes, FreeGate.

At that moment, I found out what the outside world was like. In the beginning, there was an online forum called Douban, and people were using that to disseminate information. From that time on, FreeGate opened the door of freedom, and I acquired freedom of information.

Although some of the news from Falun Gong is exaggerated, at least I knew about June Fourth, at least I got to know things that were different from what CPC propaganda said.

These past few years, the CPC's blocking of the Internet has become increasingly severe, mobilizing a large number of wumaos. They're spending money to fashion an image of patriotism. And I believe a lot of young people are really like myself in those days.

But at the same time, what you do see is that there really are some people who *can*—after the baptism of freedom of information—become people with independent thinking. There's a sizable number of these people.

⁴ A "fifty center"—a person in mainland China who is paid 50 cents per online post that is pro-government and against government critics.

So, in terms of the future development of the Internet, there is a lot of what we call "brick movers" (ban zhuan 搬砖). That is, they post some articles everywhere, including in WeChat groups and other forums. So, I believe that some people will continue to be enlightened, group by group.

Conflicts between Hong Kong and the Mainland

Peter

In terms of the conflict between Hong Kong and the mainland, I think a large part of the problem is that it is indeed being deliberately created by the CPC and the authorities, including C.Y. Leung's government. My wife, she does research on English key terms in commentary. She found that the authorities use certain vocabulary in official speeches to deliberately drive public opinion toward a conflict.

And mainland newspapers are doing this, and the Hong Kong government, and some media outlets, are also doing this.

I think that they are trying to isolate Hong Kong, in order to undermine Hong Kong's influence on the mainland over time.

Or to turn that influence into a negative one, rather than one of national cohesion, so much so that whenever young people on the mainland mention Hong Kongers, they would say things like, "They're pro-independence, they're creating chaos over there, they started the Umbrella Movement, they want independence." All of the information about Hong Kong is heading in this direction.

What is really clear is that the Hong Kong media that *can* voice different opinions are now being increasingly suppressed on the mainland. Take the Wukan Incident,⁵ reporters from *Apple Daily* or Initium Media⁶ who went to the mainland [to report on developments] were immediately detained.

You can't report on events related to Wukan. Before, they at least would not directly attack Hong Kong media and Hong Kong journalists. I think they're doing this according to a plan.

New Immigrants with Old Values

Alex

So I'd like to respond to what you just said: that you came to Hong Kong and really enjoy the free flow of information you can have here, and the absence of the kind of pressure from the powers-that-be that exists on the mainland. But, actually, I'd like to point out that not every immigrant from the mainland thinks like you. There are 110 new immigrants who arrive in Hong Kong every day. That's over 30,000 a year. And that has brought more than 600,000 mainland immigrants to Hong Kong over the past 20 some years. Hong Kong's current population is seven million—so at least 10 percent are new immigrants from the mainland. We call them "new immigrants," but actually, some may have already been here for 20 years.

Furthermore, Hong Kong's universities, such as the University of Hong Kong, actually all have a lot of students from the mainland. But, from my observations, these immigrants, who are here either short-term or long-term, may not in fact think the same way you do. They in fact may not give up the values that

⁵ In 2011, the villagers of Wukan, Guangdong Province, erupted in mass protests alleging corrupt officials sold their land to developers; the protests escalated in December when one of their representatives died in police custody. In September 2016, riots broke out after Lin Zulian, an elected village leader, was sentenced to prison for bribery following his public complaints about continued official corruption. The authorities have imposed a news blackout on the protest and reportedly detained five Hong Kong journalists.

⁶ A Hong Kong-based Chinese language news website: https://theinitium.com/.

they've had all along. On the contrary, perhaps they came to Hong Kong for material reasons, and they may attach greater importance to things other than societal values.

Even though they have the Internet and can see the truth about the Chinese government anytime—they have the chance to do it—that doesn't mean everyone will choose to question the things that they've been given.

I think this is very important. For example, elections: how can we mobilize people who came from the mainland? In fact, while we're not mobilizing them, the Central Government's Liaison Office is mobilizing them! It will use people on the mainland to encourage their relatives in Hong Kong to vote for certain people. From this, you can see that, in fact, the mainland government attaches great importance to the mainlanders who have come to Hong Kong. And we really shouldn't overlook their impact on Hong Kong.

Peter

The problem you just talked about really is a very important problem, because the proportion of new immigrants moving here is relatively large. But many people—including a lot of people I know—are like this. They stubbornly cling to values that were previously formed. They refuse to assimilate, refuse to acknowledge universal values, and they also embrace the CPC's set of values.

How can we mobilize people who came from the mainland? In fact, while we're not mobilizing them, the Central Government's Liaison Office is mobilizing them!

So how should I analyze this view point? I think it's very much related to each person's individual background. Because a lot of people coming here to study for a master's or a Ph.D. degree, if they can afford the high tuition fees in Hong Kong, they are at least from a middle-class background. Many are even from families of officials. Children who grow up in this background will receive a traditional education. Particularly, the CPC education will have a great influence on them. After they arrive in Hong Kong, if they don't try to connect with local Hong Kong students, to assimilate, even to accept their values, and keep a kind of open mind, they will find it very difficult to accept another set of values, or to have their own independent thought.

Most likely, a lot of people's thinking is: come to Hong Kong, get a degree from a famous university—get "gold-plated" (du jin 镀金)—or even get a passport. And then when they go back to the mainland, they can get an even higher-paying job, and a better status. A lot of people have values like this. This is because since Deng Xiaoping's Reform and Opening-up, China's values have become "money first"—really unacceptable values. But even though you say it's unacceptable, there's nothing you can do about it. You must accept it, this is a reality.

Moreover, you can see that the Hong Kong and CPC governments really do have a procedure, a plan. That is, step-by-step, they want to use those new immigrants with old values to control a large portion of Hong Kong's votes. I have a lot of friends who are like that. They're about to get their Hong Kong ID cards, they have Ph.D. degrees, but they still think the CPC is actually good, that there are no problems with it! But at the same time, they are also living in a free Hong Kong, every day.

A lot of people's thinking is: come to Hong Kong, get a degree from a famous university—get "gold-plated" (du jin 镀金)—or even get a passport.

I personally see this as a very big problem. How do you influence that group of people? Of course, I have tried to do it, but the results haven't been very good. Especially with people in their 30s, who have received so many years of that kind of education. Unless they have had a great deal of setback or unless you can touch them in a big way, only then can you influence them.

Three Most Important Values

Joseph

I would say the three values that jump to mind would be meritocracy, freedom, and equity.

Alex

First of all autonomy, personal autonomy. Second of all, critical thinking, which means the ability to be skeptical towards some official narrative, or some unofficial or popularly-accepted narrative.

Wendy

I would say the first is *respect*. No matter whether you agree or disagree with other people's opinions, mutual respect is most important. Different opinions should be respected. Secondly, it's *freedom*, of course. And the third would be *equality*.

Peter

For me, the first should be *freedom*. I think the second should be *fairness*, and the third should be *tolerance*. With tolerance of different opinions, you can make allowance for the different opinions.

Adjectives for Hong Kong Culture and Society

Alex

I think Hong Kong's culture is, first, very realistic, very close to the social reality. I think Hong Kong doesn't have much theoretical discussion of culture or art. Then, second, a sense of humor. As far as I'm concerned, this is the most important part of Hong Kong culture. It's not necessarily a positive thing, it can be sarcastic, or even black humor. Many Hong Kong movies, for example, and other cultural products, are humorous. They're very willing to make fun of themselves or others, in order to reach some deeper truth. Lastly, it's very commercialized. For example, you can see in Hong Kong's movies, there are more and more cooperation and co-productions with the mainland. Often it's because of financing.

Joseph

The three adjectives I would use to describe Hong Kong society are maximizing, cynical, and constrained.

The first one would be *maximizing*, in a selfish, capitalistic kind of way. So I suppose that echoes what Alex just said. We like to maximize anything: whatever we do, we just get the most out of it, like, the most floor space, the most number of apartments from a given apartment block.

And because we know that everyone else likes to maximize, that also makes people very cynical—that's

the second one. We have a *deep distrust* of whatever everyone else is doing. They say they are doing this for A, we will say, "Oh it's probably for promotion, for some, you know, backhanded subsidy or whatever."

And then the third one, I would say, because we are also maximizing and cynical, we are forced to live a *very constrained lifestyle*, in everything we do. We are constrained in the way we live-physically, in the things we are allowed to do, and constrained by political

I'd describe Hong Kong people as flexible. Look, they are squeezed into this tiny place, with the world's longest work hours, without high pay, and with lots and lots of troubles and lots and lots of difficulties—still Hong Kongers have managed to survive.

correctness, by everyone else's maximizing and by just being so cynical.

Alex

Can I just quickly respond to what he just said? I think, there's a lot of use of humor to overcome the constraints you have mentioned. There are a lot of political jokes and a lot of sarcasm, precisely because Hong Kong people are very constrained, and we don't have a lot of power to change a lot of things.

Joseph

Except I wouldn't call it overcoming. It's coping.

Wendy

I agree with what Alex said. And, just like Joseph described, Hong Kong people live with a lot of constraints, really. But Alex thinks it's precisely because of these constraints that Hong Kongers invent a lot of humor to cope with the situation.

I'd use another word to describe it—I'd describe Hong Kong people as flexible. Their ability to survive is really stubborn. You can throw them in any corner, they will survive. Look, they are squeezed into this tiny place, with the world's longest work hours, without high pay, and with lots and lots of troubles and lots and lots of difficulties—still Hong Kongers have managed to survive in these extreme conditions. I think this is one of their values.

Apart from that, what I'd say would be similar to what Alex and Joseph just said, that is: very pragmatic, down to earth. Maybe in recent years, more people like to discuss topics like 2047 and the future. But in the past, people didn't discuss these things. They'd just talk about how much money they've made that day, what time they'd finish working, etc. I'd say Hong Kongers are really pragmatic.

I also agree with Joseph that Hong Kongers are very skeptical. Maybe they aren't as extreme as seeing conspiracies in everything. But, for example, when they read the newspaper, they wouldn't believe everything there. They would read *Apple Daily* and not trust it completely, or *Ming Pao*. They'd always keep an "I only trust you 70 percent" kind of attitude.

Hong Kongers are very skeptical. They'd always keep an "I only trust you 70 percent" kind of attitude.

Peter

But I view Hong Kong from my relatively foreign cultural perspective. My impression, or intuition, is that Hong Kong is a place with a strong emphasis on business, that, no matter what, the first priority is to "make money" or "make a living."

The second is, in this place you can do anything as long as it's not illegal. You can think anything. It doesn't prohibit you from wishing to try. So, for me, this is a place that's filled with freedom and possibility.

But if you don't have a commercial objective, or a commercial plan, or a commercial project, then it'll be very difficult for you to succeed. No one will support you. This is another aspect.

Another point is, or let's say, if the goal is very clear, or very pragmatic, then people won't waste a lot of energy doing other things.

There's less of a spiritual side to this life. Perhaps I'm a bit biased. But in my circle, or among my classmates, there are relatively few who really read more serious books, or have serious discussions, such as about philosophy.

Clash between Personal Values and Societal Values

Joseph

So my immediate reaction to the question why there's a disparity between personal values and societal values would be that, well, there is definitely an age gap, right? This probably just reflects why there are so many relatively younger people expressing angst, distrust, or just some sort of antagonism against society.

I think Hong Kong's social values were formed by previous generations of Hong Kongers. Their legacy is one of emphasizing money, of pragmatism.

That can explain why Hong Kong's younger generation does not agree with the pro-establishment camp. This makes sense. What we can observe from the society these days reflects this conflict. This conflict definitely exists.

Wendy

I completely agree. I think age is a very important factor. All of us at this conversation are relatively young people. If you ask about our personal values, they are of course those of a higher level. It's because all of us are students, basically, and our thinking is still idealistic, and we like thinking about things of a higher level.

And of course, if you invite a group of people of my parents' generation here, the values they will tell you about will be totally different, I believe. Another issue is the course of Hong Kong's development. Hong Kong is renowned for its development as a financial center.

Hong Kong's advantage is its having become a port of trade and financial exchange for China with the rest of the world. That's why our financial sector is a source of pride for Hong Kong people. And in a certain sense, this has, over the years, shaped the value that finance is the most important thing, that we've got to make more money, and that it is only through making more money that we can achieve a higher position in the world—and only then can we be assured of our own value. It is because what we're best at is this: being "Asia's financial center."

Peter

I think it is true that, for a long time, Hong Kong has been a place that has provided for such a massive population for so many years with very few resources.

Then, to have become a financially-oriented place wasn't a coincidence. You can see that since the Second World War, Hong Kong has had this position of being a relatively free financial center. It has played a great role in being an entrepôt, including during the time when the CPC imposed a material blockade on the mainland.

And of course, later, the Reform and Opening-up of mainland China gradually had a big impact on the manufacturing industry of Hong Kong. And when its manufacturing industry slowly declined, it had little choice but to continue to develop its financial sector.

Or, looking at it from my immigrant perspective: survival is the first priority. And for those who came to Hong Kong illegally [fleeing from the mainland], survival is the number one priority. And then, this kind of cultural concept was handed down through generations. That's why money is perhaps considered the most important thing.

Spiritual culture, or spiritual needs, is not the most important.

Alex

You two brought up a lot of important points, and what I want to say is that this value about commercialization and so on is very entrenched. It is systemic—it's already become integral in Hong Kong's values. And this isn't necessarily a personal choice—it has to do with family or education. Or a lot of it is from the atmosphere of the society. It is very deeply-rooted, and widespread.

The second point is, actually what we just mentioned, autonomy, freedom, self-expression, etc., actually, aren't in conflict with commercialization. That is to say, you can choose to be a banker, right? If you have autonomy, you can choose to join Wall Street, work in finance. But why do so many people walk down the same path? This is perhaps because we don't in fact have real freedom. Perhaps on paper we can choose. But, in fact, invisible forces are all pushing to shape the same kind of people.

The Road Ahead

Wendy

First, I have to admit that, I personally feel that if Hong Kong continues on this path, it will not lead to a good future. By "this path," I mean the serious antagonism in the Hong Kong-mainland relationship.

Antagonism. I agree that mainland China has done things to restrict freedom in Hong Kong. But I think Hong Kong people have also contributed to worsening the relationship between the two sides. For example, the media have played up views such as "China is so bad, so bad," or "we should boycott mainland people," etc. I feel that, from a

I agree that mainland China has done things to restrict freedom in Hong Kong. But I think Hong Kong people have also contributed to worsening the relationship between the two sides.

historical perspective, this kind of hostility between ethnic groups would never end well. The only solution is cooperation and communication. To be honest, if Hong Kong wants to separate from the mainland, how would you do it? Are you going to send soldiers to fight the mainland? It is impossible.

I think Hong Kong has developed a little bit of an "anti-other" mindset that isn't quite rational. For example, I don't remember whether it happened last year or the year before, a female student at the Chinese University of Hong Kong had a traffic accident on campus. She was a mainlander who came to study in Hong Kong on scholarship. Once the news was on the Internet, there were a lot of comments on Facebook saying something like "She deserved it." I thought: she didn't do anything to offend the people who posted these comments; and it seemed that their irrational anti-foreign sentiments went a little out of hand. I think it is most important to not let ourselves be so easily provoked by the media or anything else, let them make us say we're "against China, against all mainland Chinese people." I think this kind of mentality is unhealthy and won't contribute to the good development of Hong Kong.

So I hope that people will take a cooperative, instead of an antagonistic, approach. I think there's no need to be antagonistic. I think the majority of Chinese people have done nothing wrong—it is really the Chinese government, if you really want to blame someone.

I think it is most important to not let ourselves be so easily provoked by the media or anything else. So I hope that the approach in the future would be one that promotes communication and cooperation.

Joseph

I think most of Hong Kong's problems would be lessened to a great extent if we just had a truly accountable government.

And the second thing is, I think in order to improve our bargaining power versus China, we definitely need to be more self-sufficient. Right now, they control our power supply, our water supply, and our food supply. And I think that starts us fundamentally at a disadvantage—if we think about it from a *realpolitik* kind of way.

And then my hope is that if we have a better government, if we are more self-sufficient, then we as a public can talk about better things, because, honestly, we are sick and tired of always talking about the same old kind of things like identity, independence. I mean, why can't we focus on, housing, for example? Healthcare is a pretty good thing to focus on. People are growing old, and the birthrate needs to be focused on. So, a better Hong Kong would be an accountable, self-sufficient place where we can focus on better things.

And then, in order to effect this change—speaking as someone who works in the media—it just needs to be effected through better media. You don't really change minds until you get people watching a show and they really empathize with a character. You can publish as many scholarly essays as you want, but people won't go and read them. I think all these messages need to be in popular entertainment media; they need to be in plays, in documentaries that are shown on TV, or be free and very accessible, and starring people whom the viewership would care about.

So until we get these discussions into entertainment, I just don't see how we can get enough people to actually care and talk about it. In the U.S.—it's relatively niche—but at least you have "House of Cards,"

[and] in the UK you have "Yes, Minister" and "Yes, Prime Minister." And people talk about these things, and they think about whether these things are true or not true—they are all in entertainment. So you get to people's minds through stories, I think, through narratives.

And then, that also ties into how we can keep the conversation going. I think, what's really missing in Hong Kong, because there are all these accusations, baseless, going around, is a very impartial, very trusted fact checker, so that people can just see, "Okay, this guy said that, that's false"—a fact checker to cut all the bullshit that has been flying around.

You don't really change minds until you get people watching a show and they really empathize with a character. You can publish as many scholarly essays as you want, but people won't go and read them.

I mean, in the UK and U.S., they have very high level and intelligent discussions, like the Oxford style debate, with lots of rebuttals and so on, which are very accessible for people.

Right now, we don't really have the basic information accessible. We have kind of niche websites like Hong Kong Free Press and FactWire, and so on, the self-declared impartial sources. But then, obviously, people take them with a grain of salt.

⁷ "House of Cards" is an American political drama television series that is adapted from the 1990 British mini-series of the same name based on a book of the same title by Michael Dobbs.

⁸ "Yes, Prime Minister," 1986-1988, was the sequel to the BBC Television satirical sitcom, "Yes, Minister," 1980-1984.

So right now, we lack this impartial force to mediate everything. And until we have that impartial mediating force, the best we can hope for would be accusations running from A to B and then from B to A again. And we would never see the end of it.

Peter

I think it is after the movie "Ten Years" [came out] that Hong Kong really seems to have what you could call an independent movie of some influence. So I think this is a good start. That's to say filmmakers are beginning to wake up, to really start to not just consider commercial things but to try to use serious things to influence the general public. This is a good start.

I feel that this should be a good thing for us filmmakers. Perhaps we will slowly develop in this direction, make some truly independent movies.

And then, another point, for Hong Kong, independent media are of considerable importance. That is, the type of independent media with investigative powers. Of course, we are now seeing a lot of these media really coming out and doing things.

Alex

I won't repeat what the others have said, but the other thing that we really have to consider is how the "One Country, Two Systems" will develop going forward.

Albert Chen Hung-yee⁹ said the National People's Congress Standing Committee's decision on August 31 [2014]¹⁰ was a "moment of awakening" for the pan-democrats in Hong Kong. What do we do next? We can accept it, and say "OK, this framework is already set. It's better to be able to elect [the next Chief Executive in 2017] than not at all!" We could think like this but perhaps it's time to revisit what kind of decision Hong Kong people will make under this framework.

Peter

Also, I think Hong Kong really needs a legislative council with a political goal that is genuinely controlled by the voters. This is a very important thing.

The [recent] elections really gave me a lot of confidence. I think a lot of people feel that the future is fairly bleak. But after the elections, they think, "Eh! There's still some hope."

⁹ Professor Albert Chen Hung-yee (陳弘毅), of the Faculty of Law at the University of Hong Kong, is a member of the Committee for the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region under the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

10 The formal decision on the 2017 election framework states that two to three candidates for the office of the Chief Executive will be selected by a nominating

¹⁰ The formal <u>decision</u> on the 2017 election framework states that two to three candidates for the office of the Chief Executive will be selected by a nominating committee (which is largely pro-Beijing), and that each candidate must be endorsed by a majority of the 1,200-member committee. This decision contradicted a previous decision issued by the NPCSC in 2007 that the election of the Hong Kong Chief Executive in 2017 "may be implemented by the method of universal suffrage" and triggered the Umbrella Movement of 2014-2015 in Hong Kong.

HRIC Resources on Hong Kong & the Mainland

Dedicated Issues in China Rights Forum:

- CRF 2015, no. 1 HK & Mainland: Shared Future, Contested Present
- CRF 2014, no. 2 Steadfast in the Storm: Hong Kong Towards 2017 and Beyond
- CRF 2011, no. 4 Hong Kong & Mainland China: Building a Shared Future

2015 Podcasts

- A Complex Relationship (Podcast-English, Transcript)
- A Contested History (<u>Podcast-Putonghua</u>, <u>Transcript</u>)

Videos

2014

- Two Views from Mong Kok: Interview with Tat and Lok
- Archiving for the Future: Interview with Simon Chu and Sampson Wong
- You'll See Future Politicians in Hong Kong within Ten Years: Interview with Professor Fu Hualing
- <u>Democracy is a Must for Deng Xiaoping's Formula to Work: Interview with Martin Lee (text and video excerpts)</u>
- Hong Kong's People Heard Their Own Voice: Interview with Han Dongfang (text and video excerpts)

2011

Word on the Street: Is Hong Kong the Tail That Wags the Dog?



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