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HONG KONG–BEIJING RELATIONS

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Introduction

Recently, I have detected a general loss of interest in Hong Kong. Hong Kong has become less relevant to China watchers. They think Hong Kong is just another Chinese city. They think Hong Kong is no longer relevant to their analysis on China's destiny. When you greet people with "I am from Hong Kong", they will respond by "I see. You are from China." Hong Kong is rapidly losing its importance. Has Hong Kong really become irrelevant? Or, has Hong Kong's significance been misjudged?

Developments in Hong Kong are still important to watch. These could well inspire China's developments. Do not take your eyes off Hong Kong yet. Many of the things happening there could have their effects felt beyond the geographical confines of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong has its roots in China

When I ran in the Chief Executive election in March, the first section in my election platform contained the following paragraph about my vision of Hong Kong's position in China:

"Hong Kong's roots are in China. Our future is tied to the future of China, economically, socially and politically."

History in the past century, however, has placed us in such a uniquely privileged position that we literally enjoyed the best of both worlds. Hong Kong is a city where the East meets the West. Hong Kong has transformed itself from an unknown fishing village tucked away at the south-eastern China shore to a renowned world city. In the process, the people who are Chinese have acquired the identity of Hongkongers. But, our roots are still in China.

Upon the reversion of sovereignty to China, Hong Kong has to redefine its relationship to China. Hongkongers have to ask ourselves what, as Chinese, we can do for the country. While Chinese is not a newly-acquired identity, Hongkongers are very much aware of the differences in social, economic and political institutions between Hong Kong and the Mainland. We have to ask ourselves questions about what to make of such differences. Do we simply forget about what we are and try best to become 100% Mainlanders? I would say not. Hong Kong can best serve the country's interest by building on our institutions and perfecting them so that the same can inspire the development of the same institutions in Chinese Mainland. We should not be shy to continue to defend our core values, hoping that one day they will also become the core values of Chinese on the Mainland.

Hong Kong's Institutions and Core Values

Hongkongers trust, respect and defend the rule of law. Hongkongers respect human rights. We respect men as individuals. We believe individuals should enjoy freedoms of association, religion and thought. We value equality, fairness and justice. We believe in institutions including an independent judiciary, clean government, and separation of powers so that they can keep one another under check and control. Hongkongers are brought up in and

used to being part of a pluralistic society. We cherish an active and vibrant civil society. We want democracy because we know it is the prerequisite to good governance and the ultimate backing for the rule of law.

Our core values include liberty, democracy, human rights, rule of law, fairness, social justice, peace and compassion, integrity and transparency, plurality, respect for individuals, and upholding professionalism. These are Hong Kong's advantages and building blocks for modernity, and losing our core values is losing Hong Kong.

These attributes of Hongkongers are the result of over 160 years of interactions with the western world. During this time, we did not just reap the benefits from business activities; we have also acquired the values and become a member of the mainstream international community.

What make Hong Kong proud are these institutions and values that define Hong Kong. Institutions and values that have evolved through a historical process during which Hong Kong sought to develop socially and economically.

What can Hong Kong do for China?

China is going through a transformation from a state that is feudalistic and practises the rule by man to a state that is democratic and practises the rule of law. In terms of historic importance and significance, I do not hesitate to compare this transformation to the two revolutions which built modern China. The one led by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in 1911 and the one led by Mr. Mao Tze-Tung in 1949.

Hong Kong can help in this transformation in at least two ways.

Hong Kong as a model to inspire

Hong Kong's institutions and core values can inspire changes in the humanities values and behaviors in the Mainland so as to help to quicken the pace of the transformation. The journey taken by Hong Kong Chinese over the last 160 years has to be covered by Mainland Chinese. Appreciating the mistakes Hong Kong has made and by avoiding them, Mainland Chinese can hopefully complete the journey within a shorter time span.

Examples of Hong Kong playing such a model can be found in trade and business, in financial market, in the economy, in growth of civil society, in clean and open government; in the law and legal system; in building of the professions; in work ethics; in the trust we have for institutions as opposed to men; in food safety; in combating air pollution; in product safety and institution building.

Hong Kong as an example of successful strategic partnership

The case of Hong Kong is certainly in point when the world today wants to find a way to deal with China as the single most important emerging power. By engaging China in a

strategic partnership, so that what has happened to Hong Kong will in due course happen to the whole country, seems to be a practical and practicable option.

Hong Kong, being experienced in dealing with the Mainland to our mutual benefit, has a lot to share with the international community. Hong Kong has been an inspiration for the Mainland's economic developments in the past three decades. We interacted with Mainland authorities on environmental protection, water supply, health and food hygiene issues with proven results. Our experience of fruitful engagements with the Mainland will be plenty of food for thought.

Hong Kong can act as a bridge to China from the rest of the world. We have attracted investments and people from all over the world to Hong Kong and played the entryway into the emerging Mainland market. We shall be making the most useful contribution if we can inspire the Mainland to build its own institutions and acquire its own core values that are shared by other players on the world stage. China will gain recognition and earn respect from other countries when it has done so.

Engagement of China as a strategic partner is the best bet the world can place for China to become an active member of the international community acceptable to all.

Mainlandisation of Hong Kong will not help

Hong Kong is 100% part of China. Yet, insofar as social institutions and our humanities values are concerned, we should remain uniquely different from the Chinese Mainland. We can be most useful by retaining such uniqueness.

When we are doing business with the Mainland, we should have the courage to insist on doing things our way in accordance with our long-established norms and standards. We cannot yield to the Mainland norms and standards simply because we want to do business there. If we do that, then we are bringing down both the Mainland and Hong Kong. By insisting on our norms and standards and not yielding to theirs, our Mainland counterparts will eventually appreciate what we are doing is in fact helping them to become part of the international community paving the way to profit and recognition.

The best way we can serve our country is to remain unique in the way we live and work. The border between Hong Kong and the Mainland should certainly be lifted for capital and people to flow as freely as possible. However, insofar as the institutions and core values are concerned, we must continue to defend them as much as we can.

As 21st century China's world city, Hong Kong will inspire Chinese in the Mainland in such a way that will eventually lead to a paradigm shift in the mindset of governance on the part of our state leaders. This has always been my China Dream.

What can China do for Hong Kong?

The one single most important thing China can do for Hong Kong is to allow us to solve the problem of polarization and social discord by universal suffrage. That will restore fairness to the system and give the Chief Executive the political mandate he needs and his government the legitimacy to govern. Once we have put behind us the arguments and the acrimony amongst the people generated thereby, Hong Kong can immediately excel and do much better than what we are doing now.

Hong Kong possesses all the attributes to make universal suffrage a success. Beijing only has to trust the people and our judgment. With such trust, Beijing will no longer insist on knowing the results of elections before they take place in Hong Kong. Based on the hitherto behavior of Hong Kong people in public demonstrations and elections, such trust cannot be misplaced. Beijing must put an end to all the excuses for not giving Hong Kong people universal suffrage uttered by bureaucrats, tycoons and patriots since the early 1980s; they are insulting people's intelligence and common sense.

As the governing party, the Communist Party must know that many of the social and institutional problems can only be solved by installing a system that makes those vested with public powers fully accountable to the people. With the rapidly expanding middle class and highly educated people in the Mainland, coupled with newly made laws to protect private ownership, their demand for participation in governance is not a question of whether, but when.

The democratic legislators and those in the democratic camp in Hong Kong are aware that reform entails negotiation and dialogue and we stand prepared to participate in this process. In the interests of achieving universal suffrage we are prepared to go the extra mile in working for its realization and will therefore take part in any sincere dialogue about timing or indeed the phasing-in of the reforms. The extent of this flexibility, however, cannot extend to questioning the fundamental principles that underlie the achievement of democratic government.

Leaders in Beijing should have the wisdom of realizing that a democratic Hong Kong is beneficial to the Mainland. It will be a showcase for the pragmatic and professional approach to governance of the Chinese leadership. The international community must respond with a lot of respect for China answering the global values of human rights, freedom, rule of law and democracy. President Hu and Premier Wan will practise what they have been preaching for China. Not only will Beijing win the trust of the international community, it will also win the respect of the people of Hong Kong.

A democratic Hong Kong will remove internal drainage of resources and build true harmony. The "deep-rooted conflicts" mentioned by our state leaders will be removed. Hong Kong has always been pluralistic, free and resourceful. We ought to have done far better than what we have. Those who advocate for full democracy will no longer be labeled "unpatriotic" and can contribute by participating in governance. We can then tap on all talents available to serve Hong Kong and not just a fraction of them. A government fully accountable to the people is also the best guarantee for preserving the unique institutions in Hong Kong. Market economy, the rule of law, good governance, vibrant civil society, freedom of information and a free press

will continue to inspire developments in the 21st century China.

Once a democratic system of government is proven to work in Hong Kong, Beijing will be more at ease with it and in a better position to adapt it for application in the Mainland.

This may not be wishful thinking. I certainly hope it is not. Before I came over, I attended a symposium in Hong Kong on Democratic Socialism hosted by two old comrades of the Chinese Communist Party. They talked about how democratizing the socialist regime in the Mainland would be the way forward to save the country and the Party. We have also heard President Hu and Premier Wan speaking on different occasions on record about how China respected human rights, freedoms and people's participation in governance. All these suggest there are grounds based on which we could be cautiously optimistic about developments in China. We in Hong Kong are watching with keen interest about what will come out of the Party's 17th Conference due to take place in October. I am sure you do as well.

Thank you.

RICHARD BUSH: What I suggest we do is that you take the questions.

Just point out who you'd like to ask the questions, and I ask the people to identify yourselves, to say who you are and what your affiliation is, and then we will go from there.

MR. LEONG: Thank you.

QUESTION: My name is Masahiro Matsumura, from Brookings. I like your approach and I agree with you in principle, but your statement begs a further analytical question particularly when you talked about sooner or later and what timeframe.

Beijing is obligated to preserve the existing regime in Hong Kong for 50 years and 10 years has passed. The clock is ticking. You have 40 years left. After that, Beijing can do whatever they want. They do not have any international obligation to do that.

My question is, will the political situation in China according to your view transform in a favorable way to reach to the entrance of modernity so that the Hong Kong regime, the political and sociopolitical institutions will make it relevant?

At this point, unfortunately, except in metropolitan enclaves like Beijing and Shanghai, the overwhelming majority of Chinese in rural areas have not really reached to the elements of modernity as yet. So when Mainland China reaches the entrance of modernity, the Hong Kong experience will be very much relevant and an asset for the Chinese. Otherwise, Hong Kong will turn out to be a liability rather than an asset. So what is your timeframe? You have 40 years left.

MR. LEONG: I wish my "timetable" and "timeframe," in your words, will be relevant.

Of course, if you want, you can describe me as an optimist, cautiously optimistic. I really do not see how China can really backpedal. We cannot go back now. With membership in

the WTO and also we are having the Olympics in 2008, with laws to protect private ownership, with the rule according to law written into our constitution, I do not think we could really go back.

So I think it is really a question of how fast we are advancing China to becoming a member of the international community. Of course, I hope that the Hong Kong model can be an inspiration because in the past we have already witnessed how Hong Kong has inspired economic development in the Mainland.

I gave the example of my personal encounter with lawyers' associations in the Mainland, they are looking to their counterparts in Hong Kong for some inspiration as to how they should take their organizations forward, talks on self-governance, so I really do not see things going backwards.

As to the timeframe and timetable, it is difficult to really say, but I just mentioned about the two old cadets that I met before I came over. Their estimate was by the time probably of the nineteenth meeting of the Communist Party, that would mean about at least 10 to 15 years from now, they estimated that by then we would see some very significant changes within the Communist Party itself. I am in no position to challenge them, but if it really happens in 15 years, I think that is something that we should be quite happy about.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Leong, for your great lecture. I'm Liu Yingling from the Worldwatch Institution. Actually, I am not looking to ask you a question; it is kind of a comment.

Do you think it is a good thing that Hong Kong is becoming more and more like Mainland China? Let me put it another way, that Mainland China is more like Hong Kong. Because I think that Mainland China is not stagnant so a lot of activities and changes are happening there and there is the dynamic that you cannot stop as you just said.

Do you think that in order to be more helpful or not helpful, the best way for Hong Kong to remain itself is to transform or translate its uniqueness into common form in Mainland China in this regard with some of the uniqueness you have at this moment like judicial independence, like the lively civil society?

Do you think that Hong Kong can give another push or even provide more training and more cooperative exchanges with Mainland China that you can give a hard push for further and deeper change in Mainland China?

You mentioned your personal encounter with senior officials from one of the provinces. I think this is very interesting not only because like it shows what Mainland China is lacking at this moment, the civil society and the regulations by themselves, but also it shows that the key determinations for them actively thinking of solutions. So I would say that in order for Hong Kong to be itself is not to put out its uniqueness but to promote its uniqueness to transform it into a formal form.

I agree totally with you that Hong Kong deserves all the chances from the central government. In another way, the central government traditionally and historically does not [inaudible] populace as everyone can tell even in Mainland China. So I think that with the gradual change happening there, definitely we have to adapt their attitudes.

So to be realistic, at this moment you cannot ask for chance, but you can win a chance, so I do think that by doing something and by giving an extra push, this chance will come further sooner than later. Thank you.

MR. LEONG: Since you said this was not a question, I would not try to answer it. But I agree with you that Hong Kong can certainly help to catalyze changes in the Mainland, but when you use the words give it a hard push, I am not sure that is the right way to go about it. If you push it too hard, I think the retaliation will be also very hard.

Do not worry. All these things are happening just like what I described to you like the exchanges between the professionals and all that, I think the culture and arts people, they are also exchanging very, very actively.

And of course, every day we have tens of thousands of Mainlanders visiting Hong Kong on a two-way permit. All these I think are really what I describe as Hong Kong's role in bringing about China's development so that it will become a member of the mainstream international community. These are happening and they will continue to happen.

QUESTION: Thank you. Herbert Levin. You mentioned the visits back and forth with members of the legal profession. Could you describe for us more technical detailed arrangements? Can Hong Kong really be probated in a Shanghai court? What happens with criminal pursuit? I gather that people are being handed over. What about lawyers who are admitted to practice in one place appearing in courts in the other place, honoring decrees of courts in one place and the other? Can you tell us a little bit more about the technology of legal cooperation between Hong Kong and Mainland China? Thank you.

MR. LEONG: Thank you. Hong Kong lawyers are now allowed to sit for the national qualifying examinations, so if we do get qualified that way, we can practice law in the Mainland. The only restriction is that we can't be advocates in court, so that is a restriction.

But recently as a result of the CEPA, Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement, we can now appear in court not as an advocate, but as somebody who is appointed by the party concerned as a Chinese citizen. I think if you want to go deeper into say how we have a system of mutual recognition of judgment, mutual recognition of -- awards, et cetera, I think we may talk about that in our emails. I am very happy to assist.

QUESTION: I would like to know a little bit more about the 1982-1984 struggle for universal suffrage. Thank you.

MR. LEONG: In 1984 there was what people can still remember in Hong Kong called the [inaudible]. That is a meeting of the democratic advocates at an auditorium in Kowloon

called the Ko Shan Theater. At that meeting, the democrats asked for universal suffrage to be introduced in Hong Kong as soon as possible and at that time they called for the legislative council to be democratized first because in 1984 there were no directly elected seats, not a single directly elected seat, and all seats were appointed by the British governor.

Of course, since then we have seen introduced into LegCo, the Legislative Council, that is, directly elected seats, first of all from 18 then to 24 and then to 30. So the Ko Shan meeting was the meeting that I referred to as the demand for universal suffrage in 1984.

QUESTION: Richard Hu, Brookings Institution. Two questions. First, I would like to have your view on the likely outcome of the current round of the consultations on the Green Paper of constitutional reform. Secondly, I appreciate your presentation about the relation between Hong Kong and Beijing when you say Hong Kong is rooted in China and then also you elaborate on the cases how Hong Kong inspires the Mainland in various aspects. I have been living in Hong Kong for 10 years and I have witnessed that happening. But with one exception which is the political and constitutional system, Hong Kong did not inspire anything for the Mainland as a role model.

I've observed one of the problems is especially since 2003 and the demonstrations, Beijing began to hold back and have some reservations about whether to let Hong Kong go forward with constitutional reform because the trust level on the reform, especially on the Democratic Party or the camp side is reduced.

So to follow-up that young lady's question, how does the Democratic Party or your party, the Civic Party, can find a way to win back their trust? This is very important for future reform. Very specifically, how you can establish more effective communication with the central government on future steps or roadmap of constitutional reform. Thank you.

MR. LEONG: Thank you very much. Now of course in order to establish that trust, it takes both the Hong Kong democrats and the leadership in Beijing to do something. You can't just have a one-sided dialogue. Dialogue necessarily means both sides.

My assessment is really this: that Beijing does not want any dialogue now because Beijing knows where the dialogue would be leading and unless Beijing really thinks that it can give Hong Kong universal suffrage at a time certain, I think that there is no incentive for Beijing to start this dialogue.

I wouldn't think that I can be described as a radical and I have always spoken in a very balanced manner taking into account different points of view and I am quite prepared to see things from other people's angles and perspectives.

But what has happened to me is that Beijing is not opening the door to any discussion with me and that is the present state of play. Those who have the power of course have to do more. This is how I see it. I have repeatedly openly declared the willingness to communicate, but such a manifestation of willingness has not produced anything as yet up to now when we are here talking at Brookings.

Maybe just a few words on the Green Paper.

I have brought two sets of this Green Paper and also a document called “Progress Toward Universal Suffrage” which I can leave with Brookings. The Green Paper consultation is about what constitutional development Hong Kong people want.

You asked about what I anticipate to be the outcome of the Green Paper. I anticipate that at the end of the consultation period which would be October 10, our Chief Executive will then write a report. The report will be given to the NPC, National People's Congress Standing Committee, for them to produce. I base this anticipation on the NPCSC's interpretation on April 26, 2004. The NPC Standing Committee will then say to the Chief Executive what it thinks he should do.

The likely outcome is we will not have universal suffrage in 2012. There is every indication that Beijing would want 100-percent control over the election results and universal suffrage by definition is not what they can live with I am afraid.

But that doesn't mean that we should not continue to demand for universal suffrage. Particularly our demand is not really a pursuit of some abstract political ideology. We are proposing universal suffrage to solve the problem of bad governance as a result of an unfair election system in Hong Kong.

So we stand on solid ground and I hope what I just shared with you in my speech could become Beijing's view that sooner or later Beijing will have to deal with democracy in the country to use Hong Kong as a place to test out how a democratic system can be practiced among the Chinese population.

So once Beijing has accepted that, then it is better, we stand a better chance. But of course I am all for institutionalized formal regular dialogues with Beijing, but they are not happening as of now.

QUESTION: Thank you very much, Mr. Leong. I am Pang Zhongying from the People's University of China. I am a visiting fellow at CNAPS. My question is, let me ask you can you say some words about Hong Kong's relations with Britain and the European Union? Thank you very much.

MR. LEONG: Hong Kong's relationship with Britain and the European Union.

I think Hong Kong being an international world city, we of course are maintaining our good relationship with the rest of the world and people from all over the world are very interested to know about Hong Kong and the developments there, that is, whatever they are interested in we would be happy to share with them what we see to be the situation in Hong Kong.

So all these interactions are happening, they haven't ceased because of the reversion of

sovereignty and part of the reason why I am here is really to satisfy some of the curiosity about Hong Kong that this country has, those in politics have, and those in the think tanks have. So this is happening and it is happening here, and it is also happening with the British or with the European Union.

In fact, before I came over I met a delegation of the Green Party who is of course the now governing party in the E.U., and they sent a delegation to China via Hong Kong and I did the same sharing with them as I did with you this morning. So these are going on.

QUESTION: Thank you. Kerry Dumbaugh from the Congressional Research Service.

First I want to congratulate you for having gotten on the ballot and also commend you for putting yourself through that exercise on a matter of democratic principle.

I want to go back to one of the very first things that you said. You said that you felt there was kind of a loss of interest here in Washington about Hong Kong and a lack of attention. That interests me because I think some people might say that that is perhaps a good thing and they might counsel you to be careful what you wish for.

So having said that, I guess I would ask what kind of interest you would like to see here and relate it to some of your comments about universal suffrage and developments and building trust with Beijing, are you looking for some kind of U.S. involvement to try to help facilitate that trust, or what kind of interest do you want to see revived here?

MR. LEONG: I think any U.S. involvement will only prevent that trust from being built. I'm sorry, I'm a bit blunt here, but that is true. In fact, in Hong Kong I have been asked similar questions by very concerned people there from all over the world and I invariably tell them that of course you should keep yourself posted of developments in Hong Kong, but I don't think there is anything that you can directly do to bring out democracy in Hong Kong.

I really think as in anywhere else, democracy must be fought for by the people. It is not for an outsider to help to bring that about. But of course Hong Kong being a world city, an international city, we would want the international presence there to continue. We would certainly want the world to understand what we are doing. We want the world to continue to be interested in what we did and what we shall do.

While I said there could not be any direct involvement that could help to bring about democracy in Hong Kong, I think there are areas that you can help. For example, when I was visiting Congress I was exploring with the people that I met whether it would be possible for us to send our legislators or some of our political party officials here to learn about how the democratic process is working in the states. That may help in ways.

But other than that, I think anything that an outsider would want to do to bring about democracy in Hong Kong will not help, but produce the opposite result.

MR. LEONG: I think you raised your hand for a few times already.

QUESTION: James Huang, a visiting fellow at Brookings. I appreciate your speech; it seems to ignore talking about relations between Taiwan and Hong Kong. I think in my view that Hong Kong now has deep relations with China about economic developments.

And you also mentioned that Hong Kong has soft power that it can contribute to China. But I think Hong Kong still has to fight for its you may say hard power, your top-level election for the leader, and so in my view I think Hong Kong may have good relations with Taiwan to I would not say learn, but to have mutual relations to talk about the future between Hong Kong and Taiwan political relations.

What do you think?

MR. LEONG: Thank you. In fact, I think Hong Kong can play a more active role in bringing about a more congenial cross-strait relationship.

I think that our government has done enough, but probably you can't blame them. I don't know. I think both Mr. Tung and Mr. Tsang may be very, very cautious. Some may say they are overcautious because I can see that they are walking a tightrope with no safety net down below, so it is difficult, but I must say that Hong Kong ought to have played a more active role in bringing the two sides of the strait together.

One way of going about it is for Hong Kong to organize some seminars or to organize some lectures or workshops, symposia, to start with maybe on subjects like the arts and culture or on some social issues, and then we can invite officials from both sides of the strait to Hong Kong just to start the ball rolling.

I really think Hong Kong has a role to play and that role hasn't been played out as I would have hoped that it had. But the dynamics there I think must be very, very complicated and not being in the government I just can't really say, I can't blame Mr. Tung or Mr. Tsang for not doing enough. It think it is difficult, but we really should explore every possible avenue and to make use of every possible outlet to help to bring about a better cross-strait relationship.

QUESTION: Hi again, Alan, Janet Pau from A.T. Kearney Global Business Policy Council.

You were speaking about the Mainlandization of Hong Kong and in the medium-term possibly more open borders allowing the flow of goods and people to and from China and Hong Kong.

How do you see this medium-term demographic change of talent from China coming to Hong Kong, people, immigrants from southern China coming for family reunions and so forth, how do you see that changing the electorate of Hong Kong and also Hong Kong's civil society? And how do you plan to engage these new residents of Hong Kong in the future rather than marginalize them?

MR. LEONG: Thank you. I don't think it is right to marginalize anybody who is coming to Hong Kong and making Hong Kong their home, not only Mainlanders, but nobody should be marginalized, because as a world city we of course welcome people with open arms.

But the impact that you asked about on Hong Kong caused by the influx of Mainlanders, that is a subject that cannot be lightly dealt with and fully explained in a few minutes.

As I understand it, the Hong Kong government is studying this under the auspices of what they call the population policy and I like you would be watching that with keen interest as to how the government in possession of all the figures, projections and analysis would advise Hong Kong people on what to expect.

But in the immediate term, I think it is very important for Hong Kong to actually bring about the integration of the Mainlanders into Hong Kong's community. If you go to my district and look at my electorate, my constituency, you will see that there are a lot of social problems caused by the large number of immigrants from the Mainland.

The problems usually happen in families where you have a very old Hong Kong man marrying relatively young lady from the Mainland and maybe these young women, they came to Hong Kong with certain expectations in mind and they find that they ended up totally disillusioned then -- evolves.

And the young children growing up there would pose a serious threat to the social stability of Hong Kong in times to come. In fact, we are already seeing some of those in those housing states that have a very high concentration of families that I have just described.

So I think we have to deal with this problem in both the short-, medium-, and long-term, but I don't think I can really give you a better answer than what I just said.

QUESTION: I'm Jerry Hyman at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. I wonder if I could go back to your very first sentences in which you talked about the core values and institutions of Hong Kong and how they would inspire China.

You then listed all of these core values which I think any Anglo-Saxon citizen in the world would probably list, I'm not so sure about our French cousins, but I wonder if you could talk a little bit about how you think those core values will either be adopted or changed in China. There is a lot of talk about democracy needing to be homegrown and you yourself said that in the ways in which these institutions and values will have a different institutional or other complexion.

I wonder if you could speculate a little bit about 20 years from now when the congress you talked about would convene. What sort of Chinese democracy do you think you would see there? Would it be the Anglo-Saxon version that you described or do you think there would be some changes, and what would those be?

MR. LEONG: Thank you. As a politician, I still don't speculate, but I think those values

that I listed are really global values. I think they come naturally so I would venture to suggest that values like justice, you have to have a compassionate society, fairness and all that, rule of law, I don't think it is too difficult to really get the Chinese on the Mainland to embrace them. I don't think it's difficult.

As to how and when that could happen, as to how, I already suggested that perhaps through interaction and in those interactions we are not yielding to the norms and standards of the Mainland Chinese standards and norms.

In the course of such interactions, I think the Mainland Chinese would pick up all these. I suppose as simple as I as a lawyer going onto the Mainland to share with my counterparts there, they would pick up some of my core values like how I would go about doing a case, what are the work ethics, what is the code of conduct like, I think these will inspire them.

Again I can't say that they must learn from us because we may be learning from them as well with respect to different methods. But what we have gone through certainly would be inspirations to them and it is not for us to lecture them, but they can see for themselves in the way that we behave, in the way that we act both in our professional capacity and otherwise, and that could be inspiring.

Before I forget, there was one thing that I wanted to tell you about. In fact, we asked an earlier question whether Hong Kong could inspire the Mainland on political development.

I don't have a definite answer, but as a matter of fact, the two televised debates which took place on the 1st and 15th of March this year when I debated Donald Tsang who is of course now the serving Chief Executive in Hong Kong, that debate was not only seen by 86 percent of Hong Kong television viewers which is of course a very, very high percentage, but it could also be seen throughout Guangdong, the whole province, the signals can reach the whole of Guangdong, and actually our cable TV sent a reporter to Guangzhou and interviewed somebody who had just finished watching the debate on March 15.

The video news clip that I saw on TV was that this student responded to the question of the reporter, What did you make of the debate that you just saw? This student answered by saying, Well, why can't our state leaders do something likewise? I would call that an inspiration. So you start people thinking if Hong Kong can do this, can our state leaders also debate in front of our eyes. So I still think that there is room for Hong Kong to inspire even in the area of political development.

DR. BUSH: With that we come to the end of our program. Alan, thank you for stimulating a very good discussion, and we wish you well on your journey and your career. Thank you all for coming and have a good day.

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