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Author(s): Laura Ferguson

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esharp@gla.ac.uk

Hong Kong: Communicating 1997 and beyond through Film

Laura E. Ferguson (University of Glasgow)

This paper intends to examine how cinema in Hong Kong depicted the 1997 Handover and post-Handover Hong Kong in the hope of being able to identify collective attitudes, beliefs and fears displayed during these periods to support the central argument that Hong Kong cinema is a key cultural vehicle for communicating change.

The period from the Sino British Joint Declaration of 1984 onwards was an era of great change for the region which was strongly reflected in films produced throughout that time. There was particularly a sense of anxiety evident in many movies in the years leading up to the handover, involving what Julian Stringer described as ‘narratives of loss, alienation and doubt’ (Stringer 1997, p.25). This paper shall examine Hong Kong films in the years between the Sino British Joint Declaration and the Handover, through the immediate effect of the event itself in 1997 and looking towards the long-term future of Hong Kong as a part of China, arguing that they depict a society in crisis over its identity and permanent uncertainty over its future.

First, it is relevant to briefly look at Hong Kong, its cinema and the historical significance of 1997. Hong Kong became a British colony in 1842, a situation that ‘gave Hong Kong a degree of freedom un-known on the mainland’ (Bordwell 2000, p.29). This resulted in it having cultural links to both China and Britain, however this hybridity also made it markedly different to both the rest of the East and to the West. Stephen Teo describes Hong Kong as East from a Western perspective and West from a Chinese

perspective (1997), while Tony Williams views it as ‘a contradictory entity’ being ‘both Chinese and capitalist’ (Williams 2000, p.144). Such a distinctive nationality led to the theme of identity being driven strong in Hong Kong films characteristically – a theme only strengthened by the imminent change to the national situation again.

The Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 stated that Hong Kong would revert to Chinese rule on 1 July 1997 but retain a degree of freedom and its own local government, with China only responsible for foreign and defence matters. The period 1984-1997, or the ‘transitional period’ (Ching-kiu Chan 2001, p.488), was clearly a time of uncertainty. The nation was compelled to reconsider its relationship with China:

As the 1980s rolled by and the issue of Hong Kong’s return to mainland China in 1997 became the bugbear in every household, Hong Kong was forced to face the historical reality of a China that had become a stranger over the years. (Cheuk-to 1994, p.165)

Ackbar Abbas supports this when he argues that Hong Kong’s history prior to British colonisation was irrelevant to the modern population who were ‘now culturally and politically quite distinct from mainlanders; two peoples separated by a common ethnicity’ (Abbas 1997, p.2):

It is not true, as some might wish to believe, that if you scratch the surface of a Hong Kong person you will find a Chinese identity waiting to be reborn. (Abbas 1997, p.2)

Bordwell echoes Abbas’ remark about a distinction:

Certainly most accepted Confucian values, took the family as the model for social organization, and recognised “face” as a sign of mutual respect. But over the decades, Hong Kong’s roots in Cantonese society, the influences from Shanghai and from Britain, and a

business-driven openness to the West had shaped a unique version of Chinese culture. (Bordwell 2000, p.31)

Hong Kong's cinema had also developed along quite a distinct line from that of the mainland. Bordwell argues that the Hong Kong cinema produced from the late 1980s is the fourth phase of the country's cinema (2000); the first being the classical period that was based on a studio system and ran from 1946 to 1970, the second a transitional stage between 1971 and 1978 where Kung Fu films were popular, and the third which arrived in 1979 with the start of the New Wave (Bordwell 2000, p.72). This fourth phase strongly represented attitudes towards the Handover, often with little disguise.

Some general issues and themes began to appear in films. Of these, one of the most outstanding and often discussed is the fear or anxiety of the reversion to Chinese rule. Helen Hok-se Leung writes that 1997 'became a cultural symbol of fear and apprehension' (Hok-se Leung 2004, p.459). Esther Yau plausibly argues that this was triggered by Margaret Thatcher's visit in 1982 which 'brought back memories of a refugee past and created collective anxieties regarding Hong Kong's unknown political future' (Yau 1994, p.181). However, Teo argues that the Tiananmen Square incident was the pivotal moment when the outlook changed from 'hope and optimism' to 'despair and frustration' (Teo 1997 p.245) as it made the people of Hong Kong worry about living under the Chinese regime and 'the prospect of a future over which it will have little or no say' (Teo 1997, p.243). Williams supports this in analysing some of John Woo's films as exhibiting 'dark apocalyptic overtones in which both historical past and immediate present become overwhelmed by visions of a dark spectacular ontological future'

(Williams 2000, p.150), citing *Bullet in the Head* (1989, Dir. John Woo) as particularly dark.

Regardless of the exact trigger for this cultural wave of fear, it remains obvious that the main force behind it was the impending Handover to China. Esther Cheung has written of a sharp increase in horror films produced since 1983, depicting danger and fear of 1997 (2004). *The Wicked City* (1992, Dir. Mak Tai-wai) particularly expresses the fear and anxiety over China. Set in 1997, it is about half-human Raptors which descend upon Hong Kong and try to take over, controlling the people with happiness drugs from the Bank of China building. Leung Ping-kwan describes producer Tsui Hark as 'skilful in channelling the general anxiety of the people' (Ping-kwan 2000, p.242). The metaphor of the half-human Raptors is easily read as referring to Communist China taking over. Such a direct reference suggests the strength of the anxiety within the population and the overriding importance of the Handover event in their lives.

Survival is also displayed in the kind of crisis¹ cinema being discussed, with Woo's films typically depicting a struggle to survive (Williams 2000, p.150), as well as the cinema of Ann Hui regularly promoting the concept (Erens 2000, p.192). Stringer views gangster films as particularly allegorical 'about the need for Hong Kong people to possess survival skills' (Stringer 1997, p.35). Films about gangs and triads, such as the *Young and Dangerous* series (1997, Dir. Andrew Lau), which Berenice Reynaud neatly describes as 'the fad of the day' (Reynaud 1997, p.22), were major box office hits and highly lucrative. These films also promote the values of family and friendship that Bordwell identifies as another reaction to the instability of 1997 (2000). This is seen, for example, in the *Young and*

¹ Stokes and Hoover describe a 'crisis cinema', at once paralleling, producing, and reflecting the identity, legitimacy, and sovereignty predicament of the people themselves' (Stokes & Hoover 1999, p.304).

Dangerous films where Nam's brothers, in particular Chicken, are always framed as standing by him, being there when he needs help and deeply respecting the hierarchy of the family.

As was indicated in the opening of this paper, another prominent feature of this pre-Handover era is a concern with identity:

Now faced with the uncomfortable possibility of an alien identity about to be imposed on it from China, Hong Kong is experiencing a kind of last-minute collective search for a more definite identity. (Abbas 1997, p.4)

This appears to have first pushed Hong Kong towards China, and then away from it. Reynaud identifies one of the first effects of the 1984 agreement as 'to encourage "Hongkies" to dig into their cultural roots – from studying Confucianism or returning to Buddhism, to opening traditional "tea houses" everywhere' (Reynaud 1997, p.20). In the post-Tiananmen climate, however, concern surrounding the integration into China grew. David Desser discusses Hong Kong's desire to distinguish itself from China, asserting its Western links and 'cultural liberation from the mainland' (Desser 2000, p.32), something reflected in the films of the time as they began to promote a separate Hong Kong. As the Handover in July 1997 drew closer, worries over the loss of a distinct local identity increased to fever pitch: 'it is anybody's guess how long after 1997 'Hong Kong' will continue to survive, not merely as an entity, but as an idea' (Teo 1997, p.251). Kai-Fai Yau (2001) and Achbar Abbas (1997) identify a 'threat of disappearance' (Yau 2001, p.452) in Hong Kong's culture in the run up to 1997:

The change in status of culture in Hong Kong can be described as follows: from reverse hallucination², which

² 'Reverse hallucination' is a Freudian term which Abbas uses to describe the cultural situation in pre-1982 Hong Kong – 'if hallucination is seeing what is not there, then reverse hallucination is not seeing what is there' (Abbas 1997, p.25).

sees only desert, to a culture of disappearance, whose appearance is posited on the immanence of its disappearance. (Abbas 1997, p.7)

Abbas discusses the concern over disappearance and assertion of cultural identity across not only cinema but other cultural and artistic disciplines, such as photographs emphasizing 'Hong Kong-ness' (Abbas 1997, p.98), literature concerned with the theme of identity, such as the poetry of Leung³, and a desire to preserve architecture which emphasises the importance of a sense of place. Such architecture included the Kowloon Walled City, which was demolished despite public disagreement, and Flagstaff House, the British Military Headquarters, which was interestingly preserved as a museum of Chinese teaware. The impending reversion to Chinese rule had permeated many areas of Hong Kong culture, life and identity.

Keith Negus and Patricia Roman-Velazquez claim 'identities are continuously understood in relation to places; people and things are continually being tied down and are not simply detached and free-floating postmodern signifiers without a referent' (Negus & Roman-Velazquez 2000, p.332). Place certainly is an issue which appears in some films of the period, including *Happy Together* (1997, Dir. Wong Kar-wai) which tells the story of two gay men, Fai and Ho, who travel from Hong Kong to South America, Taipei and the end of the world. They stay in Argentina but Fai saves money to return to Hong Kong and there is the recurring sentiment of a new beginning. The film is about a search for a homeland, something which Chu Yiu Wai claims is difficult for the people of Hong Kong

³ In *In Fabric Alley* Leung uses clothing as a metaphor for the political system. The fabric has 'so much of our lives interwoven in it' that it cannot just be thrown away. The poem asks 'how to go about tailoring something new/ to make it so it wears the body well', questioning how to find a new identity which fits (lines from poem cited in Abbas 1997, p.136).

as their country has always been ‘seen as a transient shelter but not a true home’ (Wai 2005, p.317).

This notion of migration is another key feature of the cinema of a Hong Kong ‘between colonizers’ (Erni 2001, p.395). Many people, in particular the educated and wealthy, emigrated, fearing Chinese rule⁴. Sheldon Lu is just one film theorist who uses the word diaspora to describe this dislocation and ‘reterritorialization outside the homeland’ (Lu 2005, p.301), evident in such films as *Happy Together*.

Ann Hui’s films often deal with the themes of ‘exile, diaspora and refugees’ (Erens 2004, p.179), as well as the issue of 1997. *The Boat People* (1982, Dir. Ann Hui), set in Vietnam shortly after the war with America, is ‘seen as the first Hong Kong picture to address the phobia and anxiety of Hong Kong people about 1997’⁵ (Teo 1997, p.214). Her film *Song of the Exile* has a particularly strong theme of the exile, diaspora, and the search for identity triggered by the impending date in 1997. The film involves setting the main character, Hueyin, in a number of different locations. It begins with her in London at university where she is ‘an exile in a foreign land’ (Erens 2004, p.182); she then returns to Hong Kong, goes to Japan with her mother⁶ and visits her grandparents in China. The film is about the search for home and a sense of belonging, which can be read in light of contemplations over Hong Kong as simultaneously part of and distinct from both the East and the West. *Song of the Exile* offers its audience a conclusion that suggests the continuation of

⁴ Especially post-Tiananmen Square.

⁵ Although Hui did not intend it to be read as an allegory of the situation of Hong Kong being taken over by Communist China – she always claimed she was not political – the Hong Kong audience viewed it in this light, as did China where the film was banned.

⁶ Japan was her mother’s birthplace.

Hong Kong, despite the fate of the country, but in the altered frame of the modern era of globalization:

Hueyin and Aiko reach a realization that home is a mental state. Although they both ultimately make a commitment to Hong Kong, the film reflects the changing sense of home as something global and mobile. (Erens 2004, p.187).

As well as identity and migration or a sense of place, another common feature of Hong Kong culture's concern with 1997 was a preoccupation with time. As Audrey Yue writes:

Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 is situated around the time-space nexus mapped by a movement forward in time and backwards in space. (Yue 2004, p.226)

Han Suyin describes Hong Kong as living 'on borrowed time and in a borrowed place' (Suyin cited in Abbas 1997, p.142), and films often conveyed a sense of time running out. *Chungking Express* focuses intensely on time⁷, particularly in the first of its two parts⁸ 'with all its expiration dates and ominous digital clocks' (Bordwell 2000, p.286)⁹. It concerns a deadline of May 1, a date falling thirty days after Policeman 223 (Wu) is left by his girlfriend, as well as marking his twenty-fifth birthday, and the day on which he has decided his relationship with May will expire if she has not returned to him. To prepare for the event, he buys a tin of pineapples (May's favourite food) every day, beginning the day after she leaves him. Each one bears an expiry date of May 1. He then eats them all on the day they expire. This expiration date can easily be read as a

⁷ Migration also features in this film, as in those already discussed. In the second story Faye dreams of emigrating to California and she becomes an air hostess in order to travel.

⁸ Yau has claimed that the fact that there are two stories displays 'a space-time in which Hong Kong appears in many versions' (Yau 2004, p.29).

⁹ Clocks are a recurring motif also found in other Wong Kar-wai films, for example *Days of Being Wild* (1990, Dir. Wong Kar-wai).

metaphor for the handover to China. 223 says ‘the date on the can told me I don’t have much time left’ (*Chungking Express*, 1994, Dir. Wong Kar-wai) and he wonders if there is anything that does not have an expiration date.

The preoccupation with time is developed further in the scene when 223 goes jogging:

I was born at 6.00am. Two more minutes and I’ll be 25. In other words, I’ve lived a quarter of a century. To celebrate this historic moment, I go jogging to get rid of the excess water in my body. (*Chungking Express*, 1994, Dir. Wong Kar-wai)

The use of the phrase ‘historic moment’ has particular connotations of the 1997 handover. This story seems to promote a negative view of the 1997 deadline. 223 does not like expiration dates; he is looking for something with more permanence:

If memory can be canned I hope it will never expire. If an expiry date must be added to it, I hope it will be a million years. (*Chungking Express*, 1994, Dir. Wong Kar-wai)

The second part of the film features the song ‘What a Difference a Day Makes’ and is centred around Policeman 633. There is a similar concern with time, although it is less precise and strict than in the first part. There is temporal distortion as 633 drinks coffee and the background moves at an increased pace, showing ‘life as a literal “blur” [...] a vertiginous feeling of spatial/temporal disorientation’ (Marchetti 2000, p.293), and once again there is a deadline as Faye leaves a boarding pass for 633 dated for exactly one year later.

Some films chose to depict the past rather than confront the present. Cheung sees this nostalgia as being triggered by an ‘inability to imagine the future’ (Cheung 2004, p.264) and the desire to seek stability in the past, as with such films as *Eighteen Springs* (1997, Dir.

Ann Hui). Through nostalgic films one could ‘stick one’s head in the sand and efface the history that looms on the horizon by effacing the ‘real’ history of the past’ (Teo 1997, p.250). Some of these films portrayed ancient times, such as the *Once Upon a Time in China* films (1991-1997, Dir. Tsui Hark), but others, such as *Days of Being Wild* (1990, Dir. Wong Kar-wai), looked to the 1950s/1960s for inspiration:

The 1950s and 1960s, in an allegorical way, are represented as the beginning of the history of Hong Kong and, simultaneously, as the golden age of the colonial time. (Hung 2000, p.265)

The 1930s were also popular, with films such as *Rouge* (1987, Dir. Stanley Kwan), *Center Stage* (1992, Dir. Stanley Kwan) and *Shanghai Blues* (1984, Dir. Tsui Hark).

Nostalgic films were not only motivated by a desire to relive the past or escape the future. Many would make use of what Blanche Wing-ki describes as an ‘indirect parallel of social anxieties in past periods’ (Chu 2004, p.341) to ‘express contemporary sentiments... without presenting the 1997 question on a realistic plane’ (Yau 1994, p.181) because censorship in Hong Kong ‘discouraged direct representation’ (Yau 1994, p.181) of the subject.

As the appointed date in 1997 grew closer, Howard Hampton (1997) describes a mood of acceptance emerging; Teo goes further to identify a ‘new optimism’ (Teo 1997, p.245) overriding the ‘general sense of malaise’ (Teo 1997, p.254). Hong Kong seemed to be preparing itself for its ‘quasi-colonial relationship’ (Chiaudhuri 2005, p.132) with China. This is evident in the ending to *Happy Together* where the pair speed off in the train towards brightness.

The Handover itself came and went. Emerging from the other side, filmmakers found the apocalyptic ending they had feared had

not occurred in quite the way they expected. As Yingjin Zhang wrote:

The post-1997 adjustment to the fundamentally changed political and economic situation has been agonizing to filmmakers, who nonetheless have managed to beat the odds and have sustained a high level of artistic achievement. (Yingjin 2004, p.260)

Hong Kong's position as a Special Administrative Region of China sheltered it from the full force of communist control. However, the 'narratives of loss, alienation and doubt' (Stringer 1997, p.25) were not overridden entirely and Hong Kong cinema continued to convey a concerned nation.

The reversion to China opened up the opportunity for Mainlanders to travel south to work and so, to many Mainlanders, the Handover was viewed as a great opportunity. Hong Kong filmmakers began featuring migrant workers in social dramas. The migratory theme, present in so many pre-1997 films, such as *Happy Together*, *The Boat People* and *Song of the Exile*, continued – only this time people were not migrating from Hong Kong but to it. No longer portrayed as Rapters taking control, the Mainland Chinese were now aliens in a culture far removed from their own, struggling to survive.

Durian Durian (2000, Dir. Fruit Chan) depicts this even more effectively by setting part of the film in Hong Kong and part in the far north-east of Mainland China. Chan explores the 'one country, two systems' idea through his 'one film, two stories' and 'one person, two characters' narrative devices. The two main characters, whose stories have only occasional crossover throughout the film, both have idealised views of Hong Kong and relocate there to pursue those dreams. Fan is a young girl who moves with her mother and sister to be with her father who works in Hong Kong. Yan is a young

woman who came to Hong Kong for three months to work and ended up working as a prostitute. The alienation and hardships both experience in Hong Kong are emphasised through the contrasting cinematic styles. Hong Kong has short frenetic takes and bright lighting. The Mainland China scenes are duller with much longer takes and Yan's identity shifts from streetwise prostitute to quiet daughter. Wendy Gan (2005) views the disparities between the two as forcing the reconsideration of the 'one country' notion. Neither character is shown to form any bonds with Hong Kong or anything in it, the differences being too large. In Hong Kong nothing is fixed. People move and Yan's identity moves, not just in the major shift back to the mainland, but also in the way she uses a different name and hometown with all the clients she is seen with. In contrast, Yan is shown to have a strong network of friends, family and acquaintances at home in the Mainland with whom she has very close relationships.

The strong assertions of a distinct identity promoted through these films could be a cinematic display of Abbas's argument that there was 'the growing conviction in the wake of Tiananmen Square, that some sense of "cultural identity" is a kind of first-line defence against total political absorption' (Abbas 1997, p.142). A fear of being absorbed into China appears to have pushed Hong Kong filmmakers towards depicting very stark contradictions between Hong Kong and Mainland China as places, and between Hong Kongers and Chinese as people.

Even the first post-Handover addition to the *Young and Dangerous* series, *Young and Dangerous Part V* (1998, Dir. Andrew Lau), is 'deliberately loaded with the issue of identity' (Chu 2004, p.50) as Chan Ho-nam is told by his boss he must leave his street-

fighting to pursue legitimate business, a complete revolution in identity at a pivotal time in Hong Kong's identity.

Yingjin describes two schools of Hong Kong films in the immediate post-1997 years, 'forgetting' and 'not forgetting' (Yingjin 2004, p.269). Of the 'forgetting' films, *Who Am I?* (1998, Dir. Jackie Chan, Benny Chan) and *Purple Storm* (1999, Dir. Teddy Chan) are cited as particularly strong. Crucial to these films, Yingjin claims, is 'the figure of the lone wanderer or drifter, who has no identity, no country, no family, no friends and no clear vision of the future' (Yingjin 2004, p.269). As 'not forgetting' films he uses Fruit Chan's films *Made in Hong Kong* (1997), *Little Cheung* (1999) and *Durian Durian* (2000) as examples of confronting the reality of Hong Kong. However, *Durian Durian* arguably follows the 'forgetting' school also through Yan's character¹⁰ and as such is an amalgamation, or even confusion, of the two.

Cheung argues that Hong Kong cinema is naturally a 'crisis cinema' (Cheung 2004, p.248) because of this continued issue of identity:

The city is generally understood to be in a perpetual state of crisis. The never-ending process of destruction and construction poses threat and insecurity to dwellers in the city. (Cheung 2004, p.248)

The next menace looming over Hong Kong is depicted in *2046* (2004, Dir. Wong Kar Wai) with the destruction of its Special Administrative Region Status and full integration into Mainland China. Featuring Wong Kar Wai's continuing preoccupation with time, *2046* jumps repeatedly between the past, present, and imagined future through Chow Mo Wan's memories, his (and the film's)

¹⁰ She is alone in Hong Kong, uses several identities, has trouble trying to decide upon her future and is newly divorced (although, certainly, she does have her family and friends in her home town – even if her friends and cousin do at the end leave her to pursue their own fortunes in Hong Kong).

present and scenes from his futuristic novel semi-biographical novel 2046, respectively. Captions showing the date or informing the viewer it is now one hour later, ten hours later, or a hundred hours later are frequent. The migratory theme prevalent in pre-1997 films when Hong Kongers looked outward for clues to their identity also returns with scenes or character connections in Singapore, Phnom Penh, Japan and Hong Kong. Neither place nor time is fixed and the film is therefore very disjointed. The nostalgic theme also returns, through the inclusion of the 1960s scenes as well as with the core purpose of travellers going to 2046 – for old memories:

In the year 2046, a vast rail network spans the globe. A mysterious train leaves for 2046 every once in a while. Every passenger going to 2046 has the same intention. They want to recapture lost memories. Because nothing ever changes in 2046. Nobody really knows if that's true because nobody's ever come back. Except me.
(2046, 2004, Dir. Wong Kar Wai)

2046 appears to be a static period in time, at a point when Hong Kong is on the brink of another massive upheaval.

Chow Mo Wan is inspired to write a second story called 2047 for his landlord's daughter, Jing Wen. She did not like the ending as it was too sad and asks for it to be changed but Chow Mo wan had difficulty in providing a more optimistic close to the story: 'I also wanted the story to have a happy ending, but I didn't know how to write it' (2046, 2004, Dir. Wong Kar Wai). This could be read as providing the contradiction to 2046, where everyone wants to be. The desire to stay in 2046 suggesting it is infinitely better than to move on to 2047. Set in the 1960s, the film itself is another nostalgic portrayal of a past Hong Kong before 'China ... became the bugbear in every household' (Cheuk-to 1994, p.165).

The film exhibits a distinct unwillingness to tell secrets, and particularly to tell of 2046 and why so many want to go there and

the main character is the only one who wants to leave it. This could be related to a feeling of uncertainty over Hong Kong in the year 2047 and Wong Kar Wai's film *2046* could only be the first of many to reflect on the significance of that date.

As the analysis in this paper has shown, the films leading to the Handover, following the Handover and looking to the next major change for Hong Kong demonstrate a continued sense of uncertainty for a place that always seems to be in a transitional state. With four more decades to contemplate Hong Kong's full integration to Mainland China, it appears Hong Kong cinema will continue to be a cinema communicating change.

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Happy Together. 1997. Dir. by Wong Kar-wai. Artificial Eye.

Little Cheung. 1999. Dir. by Fruit Chan. Nicetop Independent.

Love Will Tear Us Apart. 1999. Dir. by Yu Lik-Wai. City Connection Co. Ltd.

Made in Hong Kong. 1997. Dir. by Fruit Chan. EDKO Films.

Once Upon a Time in China. 1991. Dir. by Tsui Hark. Film Workshop/Golden Harvest/Paragon Films.

Once Upon a Time in China II. 1992. Dir. by Tsui Hark. Film Workshop/Golden Harvest/Paragon Films.

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Purple Storm. 1999. Dir. by Teddy Chan. Universal International.

Rouge. 1987. Dir. by Stanley Kwan. Golden Harvest/Golden Way Films/Paragon Films.

Shanghai Blues. 1984. Dir. by Tsui Hark. Film Workshop.

Song of the Exile. 1990. Dir. by Ann Hui. Kino International.

The Boat People. 1992. Dir. by Ann Hui. Bluebird Movie Enterprises,
Greenwood Co. Ltd.

The Wicked City. 1992. Dir. by Mak Tai-wai. EDKO Films/Film
Workshop/Golden Princess Film Production Limited.

Who Am I? 1998. Dir. by Jackie Chan, Benny Chan. Golden
Harvest.

*Young and Dangerous / Young and Dangerous II / Young and Dangerous
III*. 1997. Dir. by Andrew Lau. Mia Video Entertainment Ltd.

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