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THE YOUNG REP•RTER *magazine*

October 2014



**Brollying up
for
democracy**

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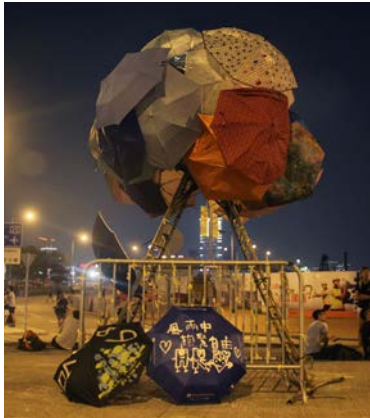
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Legislator Mr Leung Kwok-
hung talks about his iconic
look and recent strikes

Joyce Ma has always had a passion for paintings and installations. She is the artist who designed the cover of this TYR special issue on Occupy Central. She also created the illustrations for the Key Players page. She is a year-1 visual arts student at Hong Kong Baptist University. Her idea for the cover came from the term "umbrella revolution" coined by foreign media to describe the protests for democracy in Hong Kong. The umbrellas are worn out as they symbolise the tough struggle between protesters and police. Two umbrella handles are used to form a heart to signify how protesters are united in the long fight for universal suffrage.



Letter from the Editor

THE YOUNG REPORTER magazine

THIS September and October have been unusual for Hong Kong, with the Occupy Central with Love and Peace movement paralysing parts of the city. The Young Reporter team has made timely coverage of this historic and unprecedented campaign, which has been dubbed the “Umbrella Revolution” by international media.

In this issue, you will learn how the movement evolved from an idea proposed by an academic to a mass movement, with tens of thousands of protesters blocking key roads to put pressure on the government to introduce genuine democratic reforms.

Our cover story explores the sentiments towards Beijing’s decision on constitutional reform and how a week-long class boycott organised by tertiary students joined forces with the occupy movement. Then we take a look at why Central has not really been occupied

while other areas are.

Protesters say they have taken to the street to fight for a better society. Yet, their civil disobedience campaign has also drawn widespread criticism. The Young Reporter presents to you how ordinary citizens and various sectors think of the movement.

We have also talked to the chairperson of the Civic Party, Ms Audrey Eu, to tap her views on Hong Kong’s political situation, and lawmaker and veteran protester Mr Leung Kwok-hung, who shares his experience with first-time protesters and organisers.

As the Umbrella Revolution goes on, The Young Reporter will continue to keep a close eye on the situation and provide live updates via social media. Please like us on Facebook and follow us on Twitter for more.

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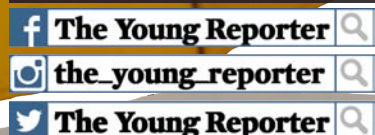
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One Moment



In the evening of September 26, hundreds of students responded to a call to reclaim Civic Square outside government headquarters. Sixty-one of them, including Scholarism leader Mr Joshua Wong Chi-fung, were arrested for breaking into government premises and unlawful assembly. This photograph was taken in the morning of September 27 while the arrests were being made.

By **The Young Reporter**
Photo by **Steven Wang**



TIMELINE

From Occupy Central to Umbrella Revolution

January 16, 2013 – Mr Benny Tai's debut

"To achieve genuine universal suffrage, we may need to prepare a more 'lethal' weapon — Occupy Central," Mr Benny Tai Yiu-ting writes in his column in the Hong Kong Economic Journal. Together with Reverend Chu Yiu-ming and Dr Chan Kin-man, Mr Tai proposes to force the central government to implement an electoral system "in accordance with international standards" for the 2017 Chief Executive election by paralysing the economic and political centre of Hong Kong. The movement is later named "Occupy Central with Love and Peace".

June 22, 2014 – Civil referendum

Working with the Public Opinion Programme of The University of Hong Kong and the Centre for Social Policy Studies of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Occupy Central activists hold an unofficial civil referendum on the constitutional reform proposals and ask the public if LegCo should veto the government proposal if it cannot satisfy international standards by allowing genuine choices by voters. Of the 800,000 votes cast, more than 87% vote "yes" on the second question.



September 1, 2014 – Rally at Tamar Park

Thousands of people join a rally at Tamar Park to support Occupy Central with Love and Peace to show their opposition to the rigid electoral framework set by the government.

June 10, 2014 – White Paper released

Ten days before an unofficial referendum held by Occupy Central activists, Beijing releases a white paper emphasising the central government's total control over Hong Kong.

It says:

- * All the executive, legislative and judicial practices in the HKSAR must conform to the Basic Law.
- * China's central government has comprehensive jurisdiction over all local administrative regions, including the HKSAR.
- * The high degree of autonomy enjoyed by Hong Kong is subject to the level of the central leadership's authorisation.

August 31, 2014 – Beijing's decision

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress approves a resolution that lays down the following framework for the 2017 Chief Executive Election:

- * A 1,200-member Nominating Committee with the same composition as the Election Committee that elected the current chief executive in 2012 will nominate two to three candidates for future chief executive elections;
- * The candidates have to be approved by more than half of the Nominating Committee members; and
- * All eligible voters have the right to vote.



September 22, 2014 – Class boycott

The Hong Kong Federation of Teachers leads a class boycott with a call for the Hong Kong government to revoke its decision to allow more than 25 tertiary institutions to appoint non-academic members to their boards. During the week, scholars take turns to

August 17, 2014 – Anti-Occupy Central parade

More than 100,000 people march from Victoria Park to Central to voice their opposition to the Occupy Central movement. Some participants reportedly receive money and other forms of rewards. The parade is the culmination of a month-long Anti-Occupy Central signature campaign launched by the Alliance for Peace and Democracy, a pro-Beijing political group.

September 26, 2014 – Occupy Civic Square

About 3,000 secondary school students join a one-day class boycott organised by student activist group Scholarism. At the end of an evening rally marking the end of the boycott, Scholarism convener Mr Joshua Wong Chi-fung calls on protesters to “occupy” Civic Square at the government headquarters, which was previously open to the public but since blocked off. More than 100 protesters climb the barriers and manage to get inside the square, and 61 of them, including Mr Wong, are arrested the following morning. HKFS admits planning the intrusion beforehand with Scholarism. The arrests prompt more protesters to gather outside government headquarters.



Park

Park organised by
w their discontent
ne NPC.



October 4, 2014 – Anger at unofficial clearance operations

People opposed to the occupation, reportedly including triads, try to disperse the crowds with force in Mong Kok and Causeway Bay. Police are initially unable to stop the attempted clearance. HKFS calls off dialogue with the government to express their anger at police's failure to protect student protesters.

October 9, 2014 – Dialogue called off

The government calls off the October 10 meeting on the grounds that the basis for a constructive meeting has been undermined after protest leaders restate demands regarding the NPC and the Chief Executive and call on more people to come strengthen the civil-disobedience campaign.

September 28, 2014 – Occupy Central begins three days ahead of schedule

About 1.40 am, Mr Benny Tai announces that Occupy Central officially begins, three days ahead of the original launch date of October 1. By afternoon, tens of thousands of protesters have occupied traffic lanes at Admiralty, blocking access between Central and Wanchai. When some protestors try to break through a police cordon, police use pepper spray and tear gas to disperse the crowd. But the use of tear gas – 87 rounds are fired – fails to drive people off; instead, more people join the protest.



October 4 – Class boycott kicks off

eration of Students launches a weeklong rally at the Chinese University of Hong and by an estimated 13,000 students from ry institutions. They demand the NPC and Chief Executive Mr Leung Chun-ying eek, students move to Tamar Park, where o lecture on social issues.



In the following days, around 60,000 protesters assemble in Admiralty, Causeway Bay, Mong Kok, and Wan Chai, blocking main roads in the areas.



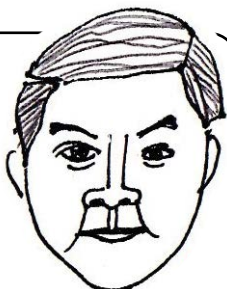
October 8, 2014 – Dialogue between officials and students announced

A meeting between senior officials responsible for political reforms and student leaders is scheduled for October 10 after students appear to have softened their stance by not mentioning their demands for the NPC to revoke its resolution and Chief Executive Mr Leung Chun-ying to resign.

As this issue of TYR goes to print, it is unknown how long the protests will continue or what either side will do next.

Key Players:

Mr Leung Chun-ying
aka CY Leung
or “689”,
Chief Executive
of HKSAR



Occupy protesters gave Mr Leung the nickname “689” in reference to the 689 votes he received from the 1,200-person election committee in the 2012 CE election. Mr Leung urges lawmakers to accept Beijing’s 2017 election framework saying, “We cannot afford a standstill in our constitutional development or else the prosperity or stability of Hong Kong will be at stake.” Mr Leung said the occupy movement for democracy is “unlawful”.



Constitutional Reform Trio

(Left) Mr Rimsky Yuen Kwok-keung, Secretary for Justice
(Center) Ms Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, Chief Secretary for Administration
(Right) Mr Raymond Tam Chi-yuen, Secretary for Constitutional and Mainland Affairs

The Hong Kong government formed the Task Force on Constitutional Development in October 2013 to carry out public consultations on reform of the chief executive election in 2017 and the formation of the Legislative Council in 2016. The trio faced criticism for not reflecting mainstream opinion in a July report submitted to the NPC. The second phase of public consultation, scheduled for October, was postponed after the occupy movement kicked off.



Mr Benny Tai Yiu-ting
Associate Professor of Law
at the University of Hong Kong

This 50-year-old democrat and academic initiated the civil disobedience movement Occupy Central with Love and Peace calling for democratic elections by international standards in January 2013. He has kept a low profile since students took the lead in the occupy movement.



Dr Chan Kin-man
Associate Professor of Sociology
at Chinese University of Hong Kong

This 55-year-old academic with research interests in democracy and social movements became a co-leader of Occupy Central in 2013. He says the movement is “touching,” and supports the use of non-violent resistance and the student attempts at dialogue with the government.



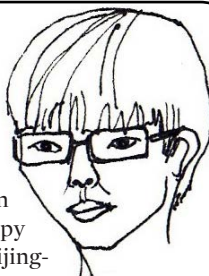
Reverend Chu Yiu-ming
Baptist minister

This 70-year-old veteran activist is known for spending decades promoting human rights and democracy in Hong Kong and mainland China before becoming a co-organiser of Occupy Central in 2014.

Occupy Central Trio

Mr Joshua Wong Chi-fung
Convenor of Scholarism

This just-turned-18 politics student at the Open University of Hong Kong is one of the most outspoken Hong Kong activists in recent years. He founded the student-activist group Scholarism in 2011. In 2012, he mobilised 120,000 people to occupy government headquarters to protest against Beijing-backed national education curriculum, forcing the government to scrap the plan. Most recently, his arrest and two-day detention after storming Civic Square at the end of the class boycott sparked the growth of even more protesters. He continues to lead the crowds in the current occupy movement.

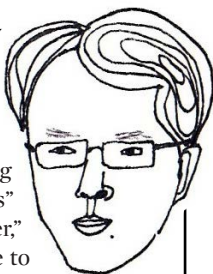


Student Leaders

The HKFS is comprised of the student unions of eight universities in Hong Kong, and these two student leaders actively promote student movements. They organised a civil disobedience sit-in in Chater Road after this year’s July 1 democracy march, with 511 arrested. “It’s not enough to repeat the march and the assembly every year,” 24-year-old Chow said at the sit-in. “We have to upgrade it to a civil disobedience movement.” From class boycott to the occupy movement, these two have organised assemblies and are taking the lead in negotiations with the government.

Mr Zhang Xiaoming
Director of the central
government's liaison office

Beijing's top official in Hong Kong, Mr Zhang called Occupy Central "illegal" and "disastrous" in July. "Hong Kong is a city with law and order," he said to lawmakers. "If it allows some people to challenge the law, it will be a disaster and there will be lasting consequences. It may be harmful to young people." Beijing seems to be unmoved by the pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong as he responded in early October saying, "The sun rises as usual."



Mr Li Fei
National People's Congress
Standing Committee Deputy
Secretary-General and
Basic Law Committee Chairman

This senior official explained the NPC's decision on political reform to Hong Kong on September 1, saying the election framework could be applied to future chief executive elections if it is vetoed by the Legislative Council. "The decision has stipulated the term 'starting from 2017', meaning that the election method for universal suffrage in 2017 and beyond should also be based on this framework," he said at a press conference. He also warned that Occupy Central would jeopardize the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong. "Occupy Central is an illegal activity. If we give in, it will trigger more illegal activities."

Mr Tung Chee-hwa
Hong Kong's first chief executive
and Vice Chairman of the Chinese
People's Political Consultative
Conference

This former leader called on Hong Kong people with different political affiliations to unite for democracy and accept electoral reform proposed by the NPCSC, which was "comparatively conservative" but also "comparatively the best". His rare comment on Hong Kong was widely perceived as Beijing's strategy to defend its decision. "If we come to a standstill this time, I don't know when we can move forward again," Mr Tung said in his first press conference in nine years in early September.



Mr Alex Chow Yong-kang
Secretary General of the Hong
Kong Federation of Students



Mr Lester Shum,
Deputy Secretary General
of the Hong Kong
Federation of Students



By Joyce Wong and Alpha Chan

NPC's Decision

ON August 31, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress voted to approve a resolution that lays down a framework for future chief executive elections in Hong Kong in and after 2017 and the formation of the Legislative Council in 2016.

The resolution provides that future chief executive elections will be implemented by universal suffrage. Every Hong Kong permanent resident aged 18 and above will have the right to vote for a candidate in the election.

But it also stipulates that candidates for the chief executive election will have to get the blessing of a 1,200-member Nomination Committee. This committee's composition and formation method will be the same as the Election Committee that elected the fourth chief executive in 2012.

Up to three candidates who have the endorsement of more than half of all the members of the Nominating Committee can stand for election. The winning candidate will then be appointed chief executive of Hong Kong by the Central People's Government.

To implement the NPC's resolution, bills amending local electoral legislation will have to be introduced to the Legislative Council by the Hong Kong government, endorsed by a two-thirds majority of all members of the council, and submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval.

But if the reform package amended according to the NPC resolution is not supported by a two-thirds majority of LegCo, then the method used in electing the chief executive in 2012 shall continue to apply.

By Catherine Chen and Kyle Sun
 Edited by Aska Cheong and Tiffany Lee

Hong Kong turns a new page as thousands occupy main roads to press for genuine democracy

Occupy Central has galvanised a whole generation of young people to stand up for their right to elect their leaders



The wall outside the government headquarters in Admiralty is covered by colourful post-it notes with messages written by protesters. This "Lennon Wall Hong Kong" is inspired by the John Lennon Wall in Prague, Czech Republic, a symbol of love and peace.

WHEN law professor Mr Benny Tai Yiu-ting wrote in his newspaper column in January last year that a campaign similar to the Occupy Wall Street movement be launched in Hong Kong to press for genuine democracy, he could not have known what was to come next.

As The Young Reporter goes to press on October 12, the Occupy Central with Love and Peace movement is in its third week and has disrupted parts of Central, Admiralty, Wan Chai, Mong Kok and Causeway Bay. Protesters, mainly tertiary students, have blocked key roads, causing traffic jams affecting local businesses and tens of thousands of commuters.

Occupy Central, conceived as an adult-led civil disobedience campaign, has joined forces with a student-led movement to challenge the establishment's view that Hong Kong should follow what the government called a step-by-step approach in advancing democracy within a framework laid down by Beijing.

The defining moment came shortly

after 5pm on September 28, when police used pepper spray and tear gas to disperse crowds of protesters trying to break a police cordon outside government headquarters at Admiralty. Protesters' use of umbrellas to shield themselves from the spray has since prompted international media to dub the protests the "Umbrella Revolution," a misnomer, some say, in that the protesters are not trying to overthrow the government.

The movement's trigger was a resolution passed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on August 31 that would allow Beijing to decide candidates in future chief executive elections in and after 2017.

Pro-democracy activists regard the decision as a "betrayal of universal suffrage," as candidates not favoured by Beijing would have no chance of being nominated.

As the protests continue, the gap between lawmakers is widening. Pro-democracy legislators have vowed to launch a "non-cooperation campaign" causing their pro-government

counterparts to postpone the opening of the new legislative session originally scheduled for October 8.

In the community, some families and friends are split. Although the protest areas have taken on a carnival atmosphere, clashes have also broken out over the protesters' method of civil disobedience.

Some businesses in the occupied areas claimed they have suffered colossal losses and taxi and lorry operators have complained of severe impact on their livelihood.

While protesters feel Occupy Central is an opportunity to demonstrate their yearning for true democracy, there are growing concerns that their insistence in pressing demands - NPC revoking its decision and Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying stepping down - that are unlikely to be realised and continuing with the occupation may cause public resentment, eventually inviting a government crackdown.

Former Secretary for Education and Manpower and former Vice-Chancellor of the Chinese University of Hong Kong,



Protesters occupying main roads decorate public spaces and abandoned buses with banners and posters demanding genuine democracy. The protests have provided an unusual medium for creative Hongkongers to display messages and art.

Professor Arthur Li Kwok-cheung, has likened Occupy Central participants to the notorious Red Guards who did much damage on the mainland during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s.

If students wished "to demonstrate the spirit of sacrifice in their quests for democracy," they should quit their studies altogether instead of simply boycotting classes for a week, he said.

Mr Robert Chow, spokesman for the Alliance for Peace and Democracy campaign against Occupy Central, said radical teachers might have brainwashed students.

Rejecting their concerns, former Deputy Secretary General of the Hong Kong Federation of Students, Ms. Willis Ho Kit-wang, said she believed students were critical thinkers and they could make decisions independently.

Sin and Jim, both 16 years old and members of the political reform concern group at the S.K.H. Bishop Mok Sau Tseng Secondary School, said they would strive for "genuine universal suffrage" no matter how hard the struggle would be.

But not everyone has been taking

part in the class boycott. A science major at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology who would only be identified by his surname Chow, said he had mixed feelings about the protests. "Though it is a special occasion for us to learn about politics, I am worried about it affecting my studies," he said.

Ms Lee, a 17-year-old student at the Shap Pat Heung Rural Committee Kung Yik Secondary School, said she was afraid her parents would disapprove of her participation in the class boycott.

Leading up to the Occupy Central movement, Mr Oscar Lai Man-lok, spokesman of Scholarism, said student activists are independent of the three Occupy Central co-founders.

Mr Lai is certain of upping the ante if the government continues to snub their demands.

"Every society group has its own autonomy, goals to achieve and its own ways of doing things. So organisations just work together in a way coordinating with each other," Mr Tai said.

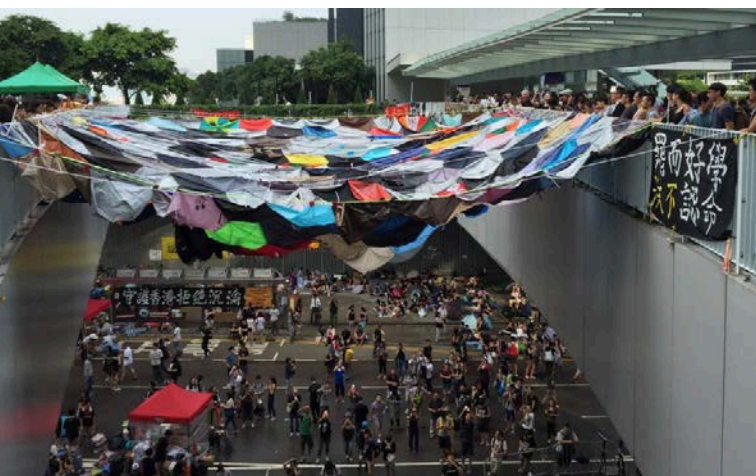
"When the students act, they do not do it just for fun, they are taking it

very seriously," Mr Tai added. "Students are a democratic force themselves and Occupy Central Committee is more like the coordinator."

As things stand, there are no signs of a back-down by either the government or the protestors that would pave the way for an end to the occupation. Will there be a peaceful resolution, a long-drawn out protest that turns the community against the students or a crackdown by force?

In an interview with TVB broadcast on October 12, Mr Leung, said the government did not want to use force to clear protesters from the streets unless it had to. The police were trying different methods to get protesters to leave, he said. If a clearance operation had to be taken, police would use minimum force.

Regardless of how Occupy Central ends, the movement has undoubtedly energised and united a generation of young people who have demonstrated they are ready for radical action to push their demands for genuine democracy with far reaching implications for Hong Kong and China.



Visual Arts students from Hong Kong Baptist University stitch umbrellas together to form a canopy in Admiralty.



Protesters set up a "bedroom" on Argyle Street, Mong Kok.



Student protesters study at an outdoor study area on Connaught Road, Admiralty.

Pan-democrats vow to veto proposal for 2017 election

Civic Party legislator Ms Claudia Mo Man-ching says the electoral framework laid down by the NPC means the 2017 chief executive election will remain a “small-circle election” masqueraded as democratic by allowing people to vote on the candidates by “one man, one vote”.

For the electoral reform to become law when it is eventually submitted to the Legislative Council, the government will need the support of two-thirds of the council’s 70 members.

But on September 1, a total 25 out of 27 pan-democrat legislators pledged to veto the proposed reform in a joint declaration, while the remaining two publicly opposed the NPC’s decision.

For the government to get what it wants, it will have to succeed in getting at least five pan-democrats to turn against their own camp – an unlikely feat particularly in the wake of the massive support for the Occupy Central movement shown over the past two weeks.

Democratic Party lawmaker Mr Albert Ho Chun-yan says the gap between moderate and radical democrats has narrowed and everyone who has signed the declaration has to be responsible to his or her voters and the community.

Meanwhile, Mr Jasper Tsang Yok-sing, President of the Legislative Council, says he would vote in favour of the proposal if only one more vote is needed and then step down.

Though some pro-democracy supporters fear that the pan-democrats’ tough stance against the NPC’s decision and support for the Occupy Central movements may not endear themselves to moderate voters, Mr Kenneth Chan Ka-lok, lawmaker from the Civic Party, says he is not worried.

“We can talk with our voters. I have the confidence that they will continue supporting us, as we are doing the right thing for Hong Kong,” Mr Chan said.

Ms Mo said pan-democrats, who have been pushing for civil nomination of chief executives candidates, are more united, thanks to Beijing’s decision.

But Mr Tam Yiu-chung, chairman of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, supports the NPC’s decision, saying that it is made in strict accordance with the Basic Law.

He believes that civil nomination is impossible, as a broadly representative nominating committee will do the job according to Article 45 of the Basic Law.

Occupy Central will do great damage to the economy and the international image of the city, and it will not sway Beijing’s decisions, he said.

“Pan-democrats may be upset or disappointed at present, but there is still time to talk and put in place improvements before the vote (on political reform). We can polish the proposal in the second round of public consultation,” he said.

“Voting against the reform is easy, but if we did that we would have to wait for at least five more years to talk about it again. It would be a pity if we did not seize the chance this time.”



(Left) Statue of Kwan Tai, a Chinese god worshiped by many police officers, is placed at a blockade in Mong Kok, with a note saying that he would not bless the police.



(Right) Handrails in an MTR train are tied with yellow ribbons, a symbol of support for the student movement.



Police deploy tear gas to clear protesters. On September 28, 87 canisters of tear gas are fired.

(Left) Protesters dress in masks, plastic wrap, goggles, hats and wet towels to ward off pepper spray and tear gas.
(Right) Police set up barriers in Admiralty to stop protesters from spreading.



MAP

Occupy in the name of Hong Kong people

THE student storming of Civic Square lead by Scholarism leader Mr Joshua Wong Chi-fung ended up with 61 arrests, students pepper sprayed and an early start to Occupy Central. After Occupy Central leader Mr. Benny Tai Yiu-ting announced the official start to the movement in the early hours of September 28, protesters poured in to occupy main roads outside government headquarters in Admiralty. The pro-democracy protests escalated with thousands of people spontaneously occupying other areas of the city out of anger fanned by police use of tear gas to disperse protesters. The turnout was “totally unexpected,” said Mr Tai.

By **Thomas Chan**
Edited by **Alpha Chan**



More protesters join the rally outside government headquarters after students are arrested for “reclaiming” Civic Square.



Groups of protesters sit outside the bus stop at Connaught Road Central. The banner says “Protect Hong Kong, refuse to let it sink”.

People v
halt traf



Protesters rest on the street on mats typically used in markets in Mong Kok.



Canton Road, usually one of the busiest streets during the mainland Chinese holiday Golden Week, is occupied by protesters at midnight on China's National Day.



Protesters walk on car-free Connaught Road as blockades take place in Central.

1. Admiralty

Admiralty is the first and most significant protest site since the occupy movement started at the Central Government Complex on Tim Mei Avenue and spread to Harcourt Road and Queensway.

2. Central

Traffic is blocked at Connaught Road Central, the financial hub the Occupy Central movement originally aimed to paralyze.

3. Wan Chai

Protesters gather at Gloucester Road and Lung Wo Road. Crowds take shelter in the Academy for Performing Arts the night tear gas is used.

4. Causeway Bay

An escalating number of protesters spread to Yee Wo Street near Hennessy Road and Lockhart Road in Causeway Bay on September 29.

5. Mong Kok

Protesters call on people to occupy Nathan Road and Argyle Street in Mong Kok with sit-in and blockades.

6. Tsim Sha Tsui

Canton Road in business district Tsim Sha Tsui is blocked at midnight on October 1, China's National Day and the beginning of China's Golden Week holiday. The occupy movement in Tsim Sha Tsui comes to an end two days later.

PHOTO ESSAY

Rallying call for change

The class boycott is about:

- * Refusing to watch with apathy;
- * Taking the first step towards striking back against oppression;
- * Re-grouping the masses at a fresh starting point;
- * Urging Hong Kong people to reflect on their own fate; and
- * Appealing to the older generation to heed the calls of young people.

We absolutely do not accept our fate, as we are determined to get back our future and be the masters of our own destiny.

Excerpt from the Hong Kong Federation of Students' declaration on class boycott

WITH the release of this declaration, tertiary students launched the biggest-ever class boycott in Hong Kong's history on September 22. The class boycott was kicked off by a mass rally attended by estimated 13,000 students at the University mall of the Chinese University on September 22. With yellow ribbons pinned on their white clothes to symbolize their pursuit of "genuine" universal suffrage and peace, the students called for a revocation of the NPC resolution.

While they boycotted classes, the students said they would not stop learning and announced plans to invite scholars from different disciplines to give public lectures. More than 10 lectures a day were held from September 23 at Tamar Park and two other protest sites near the Central Government Office and Legislative Council Complex. On September 26, some secondary school students joined the class boycott on the initiation of student-activist group Scholarism.

Things took a dramatic turn in the evening, when Scholarism convenor Mr Joshua Wong Chi-fung urged the crowd to break into the front plaza of the government headquarters. Known as Civic Square, the plaza was recently closed to the public, and Mr Wong said the break-in was aimed at "recovering" the public space for the masses.

Scores of students who managed to get into the plaza were briefly detained before being released, but Mr Wong was detained for almost two days, prompting other students to rally to his support by staging a sit-in outside the Central Government Office.

By **Yanis Chan**
Edited by **Carain Yeung**

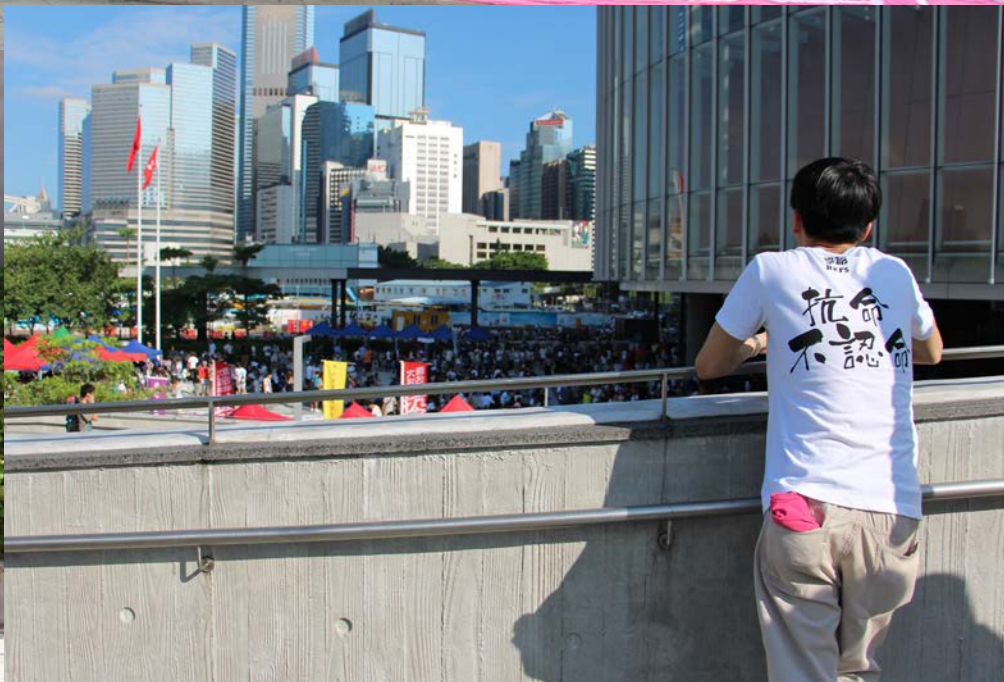




PHOTO ESSAY

The Umbrella Revolution

SINCE September 28, umbrellas have become a symbol of the fight for democracy in Hong Kong.

That day, occupy movement protesters fended off pepper spray and tear gas with umbrellas when police tried to disperse the crowd occupying a main road in Admiralty, the financial hub of the city. The movement has since been dubbed the “Umbrella Revolution”.

The movement was originally a pro-democracy campaign called Occupy Central with Love and Peace, scheduled for October 1. It called on people to stage a

sit-in protest in Central aimed at forcing Beijing to give true universal suffrage for the Chief Executive election in 2017, as opposed to the one that Beijing proposed which screens candidates. University students staged a week-long class boycott and protested outside the government headquarters to demand true democracy.

The protest took a turn when police tried to clear the scene using pepper spray and tear gas. More people took to the streets with their umbrellas condemning the police action.

By **Mari Chow**
Edited by **Natalie Leung**





Where're The Protesters

Connaught Road, a main traffic route in the central business district was left empty on October 11, 2014.

John Tsang: Blessing HK in America



Financial Secretary Mr John Tsang Chun-wah was supposed to explain to the United States on a recent visit how Hong Kong achieves revenue under a low tax system, but he ended up explaining the Occupy Central movement.

In his October 5 blog titled “Bless Hong Kong,” Mr Tsang said he and his colleagues wavered on whether it was appropriate to attend a US conference during the occupy movement.

The 63-year-old official and his team ended up attending the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group annual meetings in Washington D.C., more than a week after the occupy movement, also called the Umbrella Revolution, began.

It was seen as a diplomatic move from Mr Tsang: to describe the civil disobedience movement to Americans from the Hong Kong government’s perspective.

But when asked how the non-cooperation movement — the pro-democracy legislators’ threat to boycott Beijing’s election framework in the next Legislative Council meeting — might develop, he had to answer, I don’t know.

Despite Mr Tsang’s inability to make prophesies, the financial secretary knows one thing for certain: the plug on the Umbrella Revolution needs to be pulled as soon as possible.

“The ‘wall’ we have built for many years, might not be able to withstand severe collision,” Mr Tsang wrote in his October 12 blog post. “Democracy’s prime purpose was to strengthen this ‘wall,’ but destroying it for freedoms is more a loss than gain.”

The self-described insomniac isn’t the only one worried about Hong Kong’s future. A 2014 fourth quarter Hong Kong Macroeconomic Forecast by the University of Hong Kong shows that real GDP could drop next quarter.

While the predicted percentage change in GDP is not drastic, co-author of the macroeconomic forecast Mr Richard Wong Yue-chim wrote in an article for the Hong Kong Economic Journal that economic healing should begin now before the movement spins “out of control”. To do this, Mr Wong says dialogue is essential, but will only work if both sides don’t mind who takes credit for the outcome.

Mr Tsang’s hopes for the Umbrella Revolution’s finale were dashed when Mr Joshua Wong Chi-fung, one of the protest leaders, urged a second wave of civil disobedience on October 10 and Chief Secretary Ms Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor “temporarily” shelved a dialogue with protesters. Mr Wong, leader of student-activist group Scholarism, asked protesters to bring tents for a “sleep-in” at Harcourt Road outside the Central Government Offices in Admiralty.

For now, Mr Tsang is not left with many options, as protesters look nowhere near ready to retreat. Maybe they could start by working as a team first.

POLITICS

Central Unoccupied

The impact of Occupying Central on Hong Kong's financial hub has been minimal even though protesters have filled its streets

WHEN Occupy Central co-convenor Mr Benny Tai Yiu-ting, a University of Hong Kong law professor, concluded the first stage of Occupy Central movement as a victory, he said “civil disobedience has bloomed everywhere.”

He did not know then he meant it literally — protesters' footprints can be traced in the busiest districts of the city including Causeway Bay, Wan Chai, Admiralty, Tsim Sha Tsui and Mong Kok. Even in Sheung Shui in north New Territories, small groups of people took to the street to call on Chief Executive Mr Leung Chun-ying to step down.

The Occupy Central with Love and Peace website explains that Central was chosen as the location for demonstration because it is the “most fragile point of Hong Kong” as the pivot of financial activities.

Yet, Central seems to be the least affected area. There were no crowds

swarming in the streets and no heavily jammed main traffic lanes.

“I find it strange that they picked Central as the occupying location to bring about political changes,” said Mr Alex Shiu Siu-tao, a commentator who published an article questioning the loca-

tion of the occupy movement.

Mr Shiu said financial clerks did not need much more than a laptop and access to the Internet for them to work. This means the financial system could still function even if nobody is physically working in Central.

The Hong Kong Monetary Authority conducted a drill in June to test the stress capacity of 55 banks in Central if their offices became inaccessible. It found that back-up operating plans worked efficiently for most banks, indicating that Occupy Central would not stop the core operations of the financial hub.

Mr Shiu said Central was the symbol of Hong Kong as an international financial centre. He believed that Occupy Central was meant to imperil the heart of financial business in the city.

Capitalists and Beijing would be alarmed as Hong Kong is a window through which capital flows freely from



Mr Alex Shiu Siu-tao



mainland China to the world, he said.

As much as the Occupy Central conveners tried to minimise disturbance to citizens, as stated on their website, residents in Mong Kok and Causeway Bay are seriously affected as most protesters there seem to find those districts better “leverage” than Central. Occupying those districts has drawn much attention and caused a lot of disruption.

According to the Transport Department, nearly half of the bus networks and more than 15 million passengers have been affected by blockades in the major traffic lanes since September 26. Schools in Wan Chai and Central and Western District were suspended for days as a result.

Mr Shiu believed that the occupation of Mong Kok was triggered accidentally, with less organisation and no specific leaders. He said some protesters in Mong Kok might have a different agenda

from those occupying Admiralty.

He believed some protesters in Mong Kok were asking for more than just a fair electoral system by demanding the Chief Executive step down.

Multiple violent incidents occurred in Mong Kok and have paralysed small businesses there. This has created a negative image for the movement even without government’s tactics, said Mr Shiu.

Another Occupy Central co-convenor, Dr Chan Kin-man, a Chinese University sociology professor, apologised for obstructing citizens’ daily life at a press conference on October 2.

Mr Tai said that the objective of Occupy Central was not to paralyse Central, but to generate social disturbance to an extent that the police had to arrest protesters.

He believes that when Hong Kong’s governance could no longer be maintained at a normal level, the central gov-

ernment would have to make concessions.

“Social disturbance is to generate social awakening. The more people are willing to sacrifice, the more power you will get. Self-sacrifice is also the power of the powerless,” Mr Tai said.



Mr Benny Tai Yiu-ting

*By Tsui See Au Yeung
Edited by Steven Wang*

On the other side of the barricades

Voices against Occupy Central

As tens of thousands of people join the Occupy Central movement, others have complained that the campaign has hurt the livelihood of ordinary people by blocking roads and traffic.

By **Nathaniel Suen**
Edited by **Karen Leung**



Mr Allan Zeman

Entrepreneur
Former chairman of Ocean Park

**"At some point you need to open the roads.
You're choking off the economy."**

(Source: Newsweek)

**"If the people say no, please don't disrupt
our lives..... By all means fight with the
government, by all means fight with China,
but please don't make us hostages."**

(Source: CNN)



Mr Robert Chow-yung

Alliance for Peace and Democracy
spokesperson



Ms Leticia Lee See-yin
Justice Alliance convener

“The order of Hong Kong has been disrupted, traffic paralysed, stores forced to close, people cannot commute to work and students cannot attend classes.”

(Source: The Standard)

“The occupy movement participants are blocking roads, and the police cannot disperse the crowds and maintain order. We can’t tolerate that anymore.”

(Source: Mingpao)



Ms Chan Ching-sum
Caring Hong Kong Power spokesperson

“They kept asking why the police did not enforce the law to protect the occupation protesters. I want to tell them. Those occupation people would not have been still occupying the road if the police had enforced the law in the first place to evict them.”

(Source: SCMP)



Mr Patrick Ko Tat-pun
The Voice of Loving Hong Kong
convener

“The central government made a clear framework for the further three-year discussions [on reform]. The central government should ‘shut the door down’ and we should not waste time on civil nomination.”

(Source: The Standard)



Mr Fu Chun-chung
Defend Hong Kong Campaign convener

VOICES

Fanfare for the common people

Mr Michael Kei, 50
A staff member of Charitable Education Fund

“I wish I had participated in those events but I was sick then. Actually, I am in an awkward position. I work in Central and as a part of my company, I have to stand against those protesters. I feel like I am a ‘two-face person’.

We always talk about ‘change’, by which we mean political reform. But the Chinese government thinks fighting for proper political reform equals staging a coup. They see Hong Kong as a potential threat to the Communist Party’s regime. So in their position, they need to stabilize the current situation.”

Ms WONG Sze Yan, 18
Hong Kong Baptist University
Year-1 Student

“I haven’t and won’t take part in those activities. To be honest, I don’t understand thoroughly what Occupy Central is and what’s going on there. I think this is far away from me and it seems like it will not affect my life.”



Ms Lin Da, 19
University Student from
mainland China

“No, I don’t have time and I don’t have the passion to participate. I think student strikes won’t have substantial influence on a social system. On the upside, it may draw public’s attention and force the Communist Party to change its decision. But the fact that students are skipping classes might cause the Chinese government to take more action to suppress the acts. I support the NPC’s decision as it can help the government run the country.”



Ms Cheung Tsz-ting, 32 Physiotherapist

“As much as I want to, I can’t join the protest because doing my job and taking care of my family have already taken up all of my time. But I think the idea of Occupy Central should not be limited to literally occupying Central. It can be an idea for people to bear in mind. I think a group of people sitting in Mong Kok peacefully can also be called Occupy Central. The aim is to tell the government we are not satisfied with the current situation. I think the Chinese government is kind of overreacting. We are not against them. We are just rejecting the offer we don’t want.”



Mr Anthony Lai, 40s Owner of a card shop in Central

“As long as it won’t happen in front of my shop and it won’t affect my business, it’s fine.”



Mr Chau Yam, 16 Secondary School Student

“It seems that protesters will not dismiss in the near future. But if Hong Kong government responds to rather than dodges our requirements, there may be a turnaround. I think Beijing might want the chaos to continue so that it could have a better reason to take over Hong Kong. This can be a disadvantage of the on-going protest.”



OVERSEAS VOICES

Home views from afar

The Young Reporter puts three questions on Occupy Central to Hong Kong students studying overseas:

1. Will the political situation affect your plan to return to Hong Kong?
2. Beijing says there is no international standard for universal suffrage and each country has its own electoral system. Do you agree?
3. Do you think the Occupy Central movement has succeeded so far and why?

Here are their responses:

1. Yes, because I am concerned about the stability and security of the city and my own safety.

2. I strongly disagree because the government should put the welfare of citizens in the first place and heed the voices of the people. Besides, given the historical background between Hong Kong and China, Hong Kong has the right to maintain a different political system for at least 50 years without interference from the Chinese government.

3. I think so, because people at least are making an effort to let the world know what they desire and what they are hoping to change in the future.



Ho Cherry, 24
Overseas Hong Kong

1. It will affect my decision but it's not the major reason. I just feel that Hong Kong's situation is unstable. If the mainland totally took over Hong Kong, the city's culture would be changed, and I'd say it'd be better to stay in the United States.

2. If what Beijing does is good for the whole country, and if the electoral system can reflect public opinion, I think it's okay. Just don't dominate the whole Hong Kong government. Everything should be based on whether it's good for the country. I agree with what Beijing says to a certain extent. People's education levels are different. Some people will vote recklessly.

3. No. The protesters have not affected the government. I think they cannot affect what the government does anyway. What they do is no more than paralysing Central. It's not civilized.



Doris Ting Yin Man, 22
Baylor University

1. Although the political condition in Hong Kong has been quite unstable in recent years, my plan is still to go home after completing my studies. The first reason is that Hong Kong is my hometown where I was brought up, and my family is still there and I want to take care of them there. Another reason is that I think I have the responsibility to make Hong Kong a better place.

2. I agree that there is no international standard. But in Hong Kong's political environment, I think civil nomination is very essential. The proposed nomination committee will remain pretty much the same as the current election committee.

3. I think the Occupy Central movement has not failed as it has aroused discussions among the general public on universal suffrage in 2017.



Lai Hei Yui, Hiram, 22
University of Central Lancashire

1. No, it won't affect my plan to go back to Hong Kong. I'm in Liverpool only to do my undergraduate degree. My family and friends are in Hong Kong.

2. I disagree. There should be an international standard for universal suffrage for every country to follow. Everyone should have a fair chance to stand for election as a candidate.

3. I think Occupy Central has not succeeded yet, but at least it has succeeded in giving a warning to the Chinese government because many people are getting to know about the issue. I mean it is arousing at least some international attention. I know some British people who also know about it.



Lai Ting Chi, Leo, 20
University of Liverpool

1. No, I don't think so. Hong Kong is always my home.

2. I agree. I think Hong Kong is an undivided part of China, so we have to follow its rules about universal suffrage. Different countries have their own electoral systems. Hong Kong should be able to negotiate with the mainland government. There should not be absolute power.

3. I don't think the Occupy Central movement is successful because it has not aroused great public interest. The movement is not useful as a way of expressing our will, and it ruins Hong Kong's fame. So it is very [much] like a farce.



Lee Hau Yan, Fiona, 20
Keele University

1. Yes. I will think about it because I hate being surrounded by Chinese who don't pay tax.

2. I don't agree. It's an excuse.

3. No. Because 689 still sucks and it seems nothing could be done and we cannot change what has been decided.



Hannah Ho, 21
University of Central Lancashire



INTERNATIONAL

The world is watching

Canada



Photo courtesy of Ontario United Front of Hong Kong Students



The UK

Photo courtesy of Crystal Tse

The Netherlands



Photo courtesy of Teresa Lam

France



Photo courtesy of Julie Hennes

Norway



Photo courtesy of Anders Kuvaas Herting

Finland



Photo courtesy of Support HK in FINLAND

Denmark



Photo courtesy of United for Democracy: Global Solidarity with Hong Kong in Copenhagen

Korea



Photo courtesy of Natalie Yuen

New Zealand

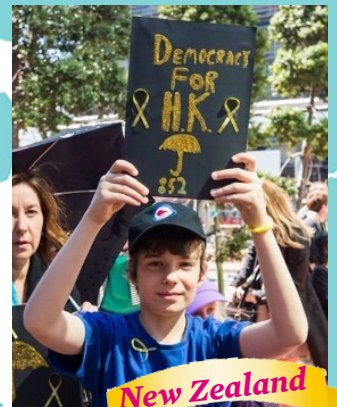


Photo courtesy of Pearland Chow

Australia



Photo courtesy of Adelaide - support democracy in HK

PEOPLE

We have choices

Audrey Eu's vision on Hong Kong's struggle for democracy

Q: What do you think is the major obstacle for true democracy in HK?

A: I think there are really two sides of it. One is that people in power are never willing to give democracy easily because to a lot of people in power it's addictive. The more power they have, the more they want and they don't want to share it with the people. The other obstacle in many ways is whether Hong Kong people are prepared to sacrifice, are prepared to fight for a share of the power, a share of the wealth.

Q: Some see Hong Kong as one of the freest cities in the world and that Beijing is already making some great concessions. Why are you fighting for democracy now, with controversial civil unrest?

A: Because things change. Don't think that what you are enjoying is given, or that it will continue... So for ordinary people, like you and me, we have no protection other than having a system whereby we are ensured a free and new choice in who would be deciding things like our social policies, our electoral laws, who gets to be our secretaries, what kind of policies they devise. If you don't safeguard "one country, two systems", it will become "one country, one system".

I think Hong Kong people are increasingly aware that if you want your 50 years to remain unchanged, if you want to carry out with your way of life, you want to preserve things, like Cantonese and the way we write our Chinese characters and our culture or even our breathing and living space, you've got to earn it.

Q: The pan-democrats are going to veto the Beijing model and boycott the next round of consultation for the Chief Executive election methods, but some say it will delay the democratic progress in Hong Kong, saying it will probably take another ten years to really have some change in the electoral system. What do you make of it?

A: Ten years is a very long time in politics. You don't know what is going to happen next year, let alone ten years. But

what is on the table is not democracy, it's a pack of lies. What we are told is that that's universal suffrage. And if you accept a lie, there is no going back.

Q: Ms. Rita Fan said that moderate pan-democrats, those who are not at the "frontline", will get a chance to run for the Chief Executive. What do you think about this?

A: I don't think with the communist party, necessarily anyone knows what's going to happen next...Who is going to guarantee the next Chief Executive? So much of it is about political struggle. That's what Hong Kong people don't want to see. Hong Kong people are not interested in political struggle, not interested in political patronage as such. The pan-democrats are really asking for a system where people have equal rights of nomination or fairer rights, even if not equal. We are asking for equal universal suffrage with no unreasonable restriction, people's right to stand for election. It's a system fair for all. It's not a system to ensure that particular pan-democrat to get elected.

Q: Maybe she's suggesting, if you are not that outspoken of certain ideas, then you may stand a chance?

A: Well that's what they always tell the kids. If you are good, you get a candy. Macau has been very good. Do you think Macau has got a lot of candies?

Q: Forgive me for being pessimistic, but China might just crush the opposing opinions. How can you be confident that things could be changed?

A: First of all I think you are quite right in saying that the regime is quite ruthless. It will crack down on anything, anybody that's in their way. I mean that's how autocratic regimes try to stay in power...One must not underestimate the risk and the danger, and maybe even the terror. But I think there will be enough people around in the whole of China and Hong Kong to keep the struggle alive. You never know how long it is going to take but there will always be a choice.



Q: Some arguments suggest that this occupy movement is ruining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong, or even in mainland China where the economy is blossoming. What do you think about this?

A: I don't think Hong Kong is destroying their whole system. Hong Kong people are not trying to overthrow the Chinese communist government. We really are only asking for real universal suffrage that's been promised to us. This entire argument is on the basis that a totalitarian government is more efficient, can promise you economic development. But really totalitarian government is only for those who want to be slaves, who want to be told what they want to do. Hong Kong people are peace-loving but also would love freedom. And we don't want to be slaves. Even the Chinese national anthem tells us to "rise up, don't be slaves anymore," so I don't think this argument holds much thought of Hong Kong people.

Q: How long will the movement last? The students have been camping here for days and they are not going anywhere. But the government cancelled the open conversation with them. What do you think will be in the near future?

A: I think first of all it's the government who should answer the people what's happening here. The government so far hasn't apologised, hasn't given an inch. That's why people are still camping out here. And I think the protesters have to think about the strategy. Because any democratic movement must get popular support...It's time that we think of conserving our energy and making sure, particularly if you are thinking of a long term fight, that you try not to alienate so many people and try not to affect daily lives of the people as much as possible.

By **Wu Hoi Yi**
Edited by **Stephen Leung**

FASHION

Let my T-shirt do the talking

Legislator Leung Kwok-hung talks about his iconic look and protest experience



Mr Leung Kwok-hung said the strikes will at least make more Hong Kong people re-evaluate the political situation in the city.

WITH his trademark long hair and Che Guevara t-shirt, the now “short hair” Legislative Council member Mr Leung Kwok-hung talks about how one can speak through his or her outfit and how he sees the student-initiated class boycott and Occupy Central movement.

“How you dress is a kind of statement to everyone,” Mr Leung said, “people can see clearly what you wear ... that is what a T-shirt is for.”

Mr Leung’s iconic image has helped him make a point and arouse public attention on many occasions, for example when his hair was cut short by jailers in June this year. Another time he was denied entry to Shenzhen as he refused to take off his shirt reading “Never forget June fourth, citizen nomination, Occupy Central” while he was

on his way to a meeting with senior mainland officials about political reform in August this year.



Symbolic installations and banners are other tools for him to express his opinion, especially in demonstrations. “They need to fit the subject and be symbolic enough to make everyone understand, sometimes with a little humor and sarcasm,” said Mr Leung.

Like many students who are part of the class boycott or Occupy Central movement, Mr Leung’s first protest was when he was a student, about 15.

Although he is not optimistic about the effect of student strikes alone in overturning the NPC’s decision on Hong Kong’s chief executive election in 2017, he believes the power of the masses to stop society’s daily operation

“They need to fit the subject and be symbolic enough to make everyone understand, sometimes with a little humour and sarcasm.”

Mr Leung Kwok-hung,
League of Social Democrats legislative councilor



might help push the powerful to reconsider.

“If you want to change a decision from any government, the movement should be massive and direct,” said Mr Leung.

He added that a large-scale and long-term struggle would be decisive to get the government and the business circles to respond.

Although the strikes for genuine democracy have mostly been peaceful and non-violent, Mr Leung said, many people have mistaken non-violent civil disobedience for peaceful action.

“The cruelty is there. It’s on the other side, just like what happened in Beijing,” he said.

He reminded first-time protesters to be prepared for potential challenges and harassments. “You need to have the courage to understand yourself, your limit, the power of the people and also to understand what you are fighting for,” said Mr Leung.

By **Tina Cheung**
Edited by **Joyce Wong**



Pretty Rally

WANT to prevent your make-up from melting in a rally? Wish to stay fresh when protesting? Local make-up artist Mr Akira Chan has some tips.

Make-up styles...

- Natural and ordinary
- Light
- Long lasting

Make-up tips...

Primer: helps prepare the skin, fill pores and fine lines and make-up last longer

Foundation: thin foundation is moisturising; vitamin-packed; water and oil-proof; helps minimise shine due to sweat and oil; and prevents smudging

Concealer: moisturising concealer has oil and water-proof ingredients that reduce creasing and smudging

Brow pencil: better than powder at combating sweat and oil

Eyeliner: water and oil-proof gel eyeliner is the best smudge-proof choice

Mascara: oil and waterproof mascara prevents smudging

Brow gel: the wax in brow gel keeps eyebrows in place all day in the heat

Dress styles...

- Be simple
- Conform to the dress code of the protest



Check out a make-up demonstration:



Mr Akira Chan graduated from make-up and styling school in 2012 with two diplomas. He provides make-up services for prominent artists, theatre performers, and magazine fashion models. He has been directing annual fashion shows since 2013.

By **Anne Lau**
Edited by **Alice Wan**



ХОНГ КОНГИЙН
ардчилалыг
дэмжье!

Hong Kong
firmamentum
in democratia

Sostieni
la democrazia
a Hong Kong

וּפִּי
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Voor
in Hong Kong

RECOLTA
LA
DEMOCRÀCIA
DE
HONG KONG

Ondersteun
demokrasie
in Hong Kong

Apoya a
la democracia

WSPIERAMY
DEMOKRACJĘ
W
HONG-KONGU

SUPPORT
DEMOCRACY
IN HONG KONG

홍콩이 민주주의가
될수있도록 도와주세요

PODRŠKA ZA
DEMOKRACIJU
HONG KONG-U

PODPORUJEME
DEMOKRACII
V HONGKONGU

دعم الديمقراطية في هونغ كونغ

Støtt demokrati
i Hong Kong

TOETA
DEMOKRAATIA
HONGKONGIS

Für Demokratie
in
Hong Kong

Daonlathas
Tacaíocht
i Hong Kong

Stjóðum
LYÐRÆÐI
í Hong Kong

Appuyez
la démocratie
à Hong Kong

apoie a
democracia
em Hong Kong

ПОДДЕРЖИ
ДЕМОКРАТИЮ
В ГОНГКОНГЕ!

ИЗДРНИ
ХОНГ КОНГ!
ПОДДРШКА ОД
МАКЕДОНИЈА
(MACEDONIAN)

Støtt demokrati
i Hong Kong

Stöd
i Hong Kong

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Hong Kong
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Sustinem
Democratia
in Hong Kong

PODRŠKA
ZA
DEMOKRACIJU
HONGKONGA

Suportahan ang
Demokrasya

ช่วยกัน
ช่วยกัน
ช่วยกัน

Tuugane kupigania
demokrasi

siza eku mbasaneni
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