

HONG KONG'S 2019 PROTESTS AMID A HALF-CENTURY'S STRUGGLE: AN ORAL HISTORY

半世紀的抗爭

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近數十年來，口述史、公眾史、社區史、自下而上的歷史、社會史及草根史這些史學範疇的興起，推動了歷史研究的新浪潮。相比傳統的歷史研究法，這些敘述歷史的手法，大多強調名不見經傳的大眾在歷史形成中所扮演的角色。普通人看來瑣碎而微不足道的日常生活，卻塑造了世界，這說法或許並不為過。以新的手法，發掘被隱藏的、被忘記的、遺失的、被壓抑的、沒有被說出來的非正規歷史，重構未被述說的民眾集體記憶，以圖對過去有新的看法，重新思考我們是誰、我們所住的地方、我們的歸屬感、個人感受及選擇，以及重新詮釋我們如何走到當下。

甚麼才是創造歷史的終極力量？香港，曾經是英國殖民地，於1997年7月1日回歸中國統治。自此，這個自由市場意識形態及自我約束之政治文化根深蒂固的城市，經歷了社會政治認同的挑戰，這反映在一波一波的示威，以及日益緊張的國家與社會關係。2014年的雨傘運動，顯然將這個城市自1970年代社會改革及1980年代民主化以來的公民運動推至高峰。接二連三的衝突不斷累積，終引發2019年對逃犯條例修訂的強烈抗議，是為香港史上規模最大的示威潮，期間示威者與警察發生衝突。為了恢復香港社會秩序，北京中央政府於2020年6月30日通過為香港而設的國家安全法，將分裂國家、顛覆國家政權、恐怖主義及勾結外國勢力定為刑事罪行，並在當日實施。緊接著的，是在2021年3月11日實施的新選舉法，大幅逆轉了香港立法會及行政長官選舉的民主化進程。在2024年3月，香港立法會完成了遲遲未完成的基本法廿三條立法，以防範間諜活動、外國情報機關的陰謀，以及敵對勢力的滲透與破壞。香港正被再教育成為一個愛國城市，再不再回頭。

這本結集是一次可貴的嘗試，將普通香港人政治參與的第一手觀點及其微觀歷史匯集成書。這本書收錄了十一個口述歷史訪問，重構了非官方的香港公共歷史，這有助記錄及明確展現香港的重大政治變遷。這些訪談可資解答以下問題，例如：什麼因素導致上述示威在這個以政治自我克制及熱衷發展經濟而聞名的城市發生？那些參與者究竟是誰？他們的動機為何？還有，是什麼文化源流及歷史事件為這種巨變鋪路？這本結集，作為香港歷史的一個紀錄，相比從官方敘事所獲知的，更能有助理解那些參與者。

書中的訪談涵蓋了來自不同社會背景的個人，以及一些家庭在過去二十年不同階段的故事。而且確，2019年的示威，就像潘朵拉的盒子，將各種不同的政治能量釋放出來。受訪者的個人及職業背景多種多樣，包括律師、作曲家、工會組織者、護士、前區議員、退休人士、中學生、學運參與者，以及年少時從香港移民到加拿大的人；其人口組別包括首次參加示威的青少年、於愛國氛圍下成長的學生、年輕人、成人，以及在英屬香港出生及成長的長者。這些訪談使我們從時間縱向的角度了解他們的背景、政治取向、個人歷史及其政治參與的動機。一些受訪者反思他們自以為的政治冷感，這反證了香港人政治冷感的標籤，與之相對的，是一些長年參與人權運動的人士、社會運動倡議者、從政者及本土派人士，同時間，一些人的政治立場，由親中變成親香港。

歷史是由事先籌謀與原因不明的事件交織成的協同力量，當中充滿意外、曲折、轉折與驚奇，而歷史的重量無可避免地不斷累積。這些訪談有助了解香港政治及公民社會行動的重要性及影響。那些參與香港政治的關鍵組織及平台，形塑了直至2019年的香港政治文化，雖然當中許多都已不復存在，但值得記下來，例如學生組織有香港專上學生聯會、學民思潮；工會有職工盟、紫鐵業團結工會，還有政黨、教會組織、人權團體、支持民主理念的雜誌及社交媒體平台、自發的耕作群組、基層及關社組織。這些社會組織建構了香港公民社會的結構，並為主流教育以外，追求人權及公義的政治及公民覺醒，打好了基礎。

同時，這些訪談揭示了1997年以來香港各政治事件對個人的深遠影響，展示了歷史研究中的路徑依賴理論。受訪者追溯關鍵的社會事件如何在其人生歷程中塑造了他們的政治意識，包括他們讀大學時處處看見的學生運動、1989年的六四事件、2003年反對廿三條國安法的大規模示威、2007年紫鐵工人36天的罷工、2009年的反高鐵運動、2012年的反德育及國民教育科運動、2014年的雨傘運動及其後各社區與專業中行動派組織的興起、2019年的示威（尤其因為其規模及警方用上催淚彈），以及隨之湧現的一眾新工會。

這些訪問展現了眾多歷史片段的一手記憶，例如2007年紫鐵工人罷工、多場民主運動的內部分歧、2019年香港中文大學及香港理工大學圍城事件，以及2019年區議會選舉等。這些訪談令我們更深入了解參與者的心理、考量過程及各種參與方式，當中由公開宣示其身份及行動、組織示威、監察香港人權狀況、創作音樂以

喚醒人心，到在示威現場擔任急救員、在2019年抗爭高潮期間參選區議會，以及創立新工會作為香港公民社會的支柱。

這些訪談亦是受訪者自我反省的人生故事。受訪者身處2019年示威的緊張時勢，面對著與家人及其他政治陣營的分歧，其所採取的梳理、應對及化解方法，甚具啟發性。他們分享了自己所經驗的感受、反思及對得失的理解、他們對運動的評估、他們在奮力維持及重建人生方向時的掙扎、他們作為倖存者的愧疚感，以及對香港的失望、沮喪及回憶。儘管如此，受訪者展現了對其信念的堅持並持續參與，這與香港人是政治冷感這個先入為主的前設，形成強烈對比。

貫穿著所有受訪者的，是他們認同自己屬於離散港人社群或是這個社群的同行者。幾經轉折，一些定居加拿大，一些則定居英國。對他們一些人來說，其持續面對的挑戰，是在適應新環境及作為新來者的身份之同時，又致力維持香港的文化，及參與香港政治或以寓居國和擴展了的支持基礎延續香港的民主運動。

綜合而言，這些香港人的微觀歷史，有助展現近數十年來香港社會的宏觀政治變遷。這些微歷史，呈現了這幾代人的韌力，如何將一個政治上自我約束的社會，轉化為一個由積極參與、具策略思維、聯繫國際的人所組成的社群。他們與政治的相遇，有助我們了解本地 – 社群及自下而上 – 的歷史是如何形成的。這些記述保存了曾幾何時的香港記憶及真貌，它表述了非官方歷史，當中顯示了人民和當局，在詮釋香港曾經發生的事，以及未來將會發生的事上，所存在著的差異。

林蔚文，比較政治學及香港研究學者。

她著有 *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization* (ME Sharpe 2004; Routledge 2015)，並共同編輯 *Contemporary Hong Kong Government and Politics* (第一至三版，香港大學出版社 2007, 2012, 2024) 及 *Citizenship, Identity and Social Movements in the New Hong Kong: Localism after the Umbrella Movement* (Routledge 2018)。

她曾在香港都會大學出任社會科學系副教授及系主任至2024年。

Micro histories Wai Man LAM

21 April 2025

In recent decades, the emergence of fields, including oral history, public history, community history, bottom-up history, social history, and grassroots history, has contributed to a new wave of historical research. Alongside traditional historical methods, these historical narrative approaches largely underscore the role of unnoticed public in making history. It is perhaps not exaggerating to see how ordinary people, in the seemingly littleness and triviality of their everyday lives, could have shaped the world. New approaches to the untold collective memories of the people, in uncovering hidden, forgotten, lost, repressed or untold informal histories, aim to bring about renewed perceptions of the past, rethinking of who we are, the place we live, our sense of belonging, and personal feelings and choices, as well as reinterpreting how we have arrived at our present.

What ultimately makes history? Hong Kong, once a British colony, was returned to Chinese rule on 1 July 1997. Amid the free-market ideology and politically self-restrained culture entrenched in the city, Hong Kong has experienced socio-political identities challenges ever since, as marked by waves of protests and increasingly contentious state-society relations. The Umbrella Movement in 2014 notably brought the city's civil movement since the 1970s social reforms and the 1980s democratisation reforms to its peak. Culminated conflicts found another outcry in the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Movement in 2019, instigating the largest demonstrations in Hong Kong's history with extensive confrontation between the protesters and police. To restore social order to the city, the national security law for Hong Kong, which criminalises secession, subversion, terrorism and collusion with foreign forces, was passed by the Central Government and came into effect on 30 June 2020. That was accompanied by new election laws adopted on 11 March 2021 which drastically reverted the democratisation process for the election of the local legislature and the Chief Executive of Hong Kong. In March 2024, the local legislature completed its long overdue enactment of Article 23 of the Basic Law, safeguarding against espionage activities, conspiracies from foreign intelligence agencies, and infiltration and sabotage by hostile forces. Hong Kong is being re-educated into a patriotic city reaching a point of no return.

This edited volume is a valuable attempt to compile first-hand perspectives and micro histories of political participation of ordinary Hong Kong people. It features

a collection of eleven oral interviews reconstructing the nonofficial public histories of Hong Kong which help document and articulate the massive political changes in the city. The interviews provide insight into questions such as: What had led to the demonstrations in a city known for its political self-restraint and zeal for economic development? Who were the participants and what their intentions were? And what cultural threads and historical events had paved the way for such transformation? This edited volume serves as a record of Hong Kong's history, facilitating a better understanding of the participants other than what official narratives could infer.

Interviews in the volume cover stories of individuals from various walks of life and families at their different stages over the past two decades. Indeed, the 2019 demonstrations were like a Pandora's box that had unleashed diverse political energies. Personal and professional backgrounds of the interviewees are varied, including lawyer, songwriter, trade unionist, nurse, former district councillor, retiree, secondary school student, student activist, and Hong Kong people immigrated to Canada at a young age. The demographic included teenage first-time protesters, students brought up in a patriotic atmosphere, youngsters, adults and seniors born and raised in colonial Hong Kong. These interviews provide insight into their backgrounds, political orientations, personal histories, and motivations of political participation from a longitudinal perspective. Testified against the label of political apathy in Hong Kong, interviewees had shown reflection on their perceived political apathy, in contrast to their counterparts, such as long-time human rights activists, social movement advocates, politicians, and localists, while some others had shifted their political stance from pro-China to pro-Hong Kong.

History, a synergy of intertwined premeditated and idiopathic events, is filled with accidents, twists, turns, and surprises, while the weight of history inevitably accumulates. The interviews help understand the significance and impact of political and civil society activism in Hong Kong. Key participating organisations and platforms that shaped Hong Kong's political culture up to 2019, although many no longer exist, are noteworthy. Examples include student unions - the Hong Kong Federation of Students, Scholarism, trade unions - the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions, the Bar-Bending Industry Workers' Solidarity Union, political parties, church organisations, human rights organisations, pro-democracy magazines and social media platforms, self-organised farming groups, and grassroots and social concern organisations. These social entities

have constituted the fabric of Hong Kong's civil society and empowered the foundation of civil and political awakening for human rights and justice beyond mainstream education.

Alongside, the interviews reveal the profound effects of various political events on individuals in Hong Kong since 1997, illustrating the theory of path dependence in historical research. Interviewees traced how key events in the society had shaped their political awareness on their life journeys, including widespread student activism during their college years, the June 4 incident in 1989, the massive protests against the national security bill in 2003, the 36-day strike by bar-benders in 2007, the anti-express rail protests in 2009, the anti-moral and national education movement in 2012, the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and subsequent developments of community and professional activism, the 2019 demonstrations - especially due to the scale and use of tear gas by police - and the subsequent emergence of new trade unions.

The interviews reveal first-hand memories on episodes like the 2007 bar-benders' strike, the divergences within the democratic movements, the 2019 sieges at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, and the 2019 district council elections. The interviews provide deeper insights into the psychology, the deliberations, and types of involvement in the movement - ranging from openly expressing their identity and activism, organising protests, monitoring human rights conditions in Hong Kong, and composing music to raise awareness, to serving as paramedics on protest sites, to running for the 2019 district council elections amid the heights of the protests, and establishing new trade unions as the backbone of Hong Kong's civil society.

The interviews are life stories of self-reflections. The ways in which the interviewees processed, navigated, and resolved differences with family members and other political camps during the tension of the 2019 demonstrations are inspiring. The interviewees shared feelings, reflections and understanding of gains and losses from their experiences, their assessment of the movement, their struggle to persevere and re-establish life directions, the feelings of survivor guilt, and the disillusionment, frustration and memories of Hong Kong. Notwithstanding these, the interviewees have shown persistence in their beliefs and continued participation - this stands in stark contrast to the postulation of people's apathy in Hong Kong.

A common thread among the interviewees is their identification as or with the Hong Kong diasporic community. Through twists and turns, some have settled in Canada or the United Kingdom. For some, adjusting to a new environment and the identity as new arrivals while striving to preserve Hong Kong's culture, engaging in Hong Kong politics or continuing the democracy movement with a localised and expanded support base are ongoing challenges.

In summary, micro histories of individual Hong Kong people help illuminate the larger political changes in the society in recent decades. They have illustrated how resilience of the generations could transform a politically self-restrained society into a community of concerned, strategic, and internationally engaged individuals. Their encounters with politics provide insight into the making of local - community and bottom-up - history. These narratives preserve the memory and true face of the once-Hong Kong. They represent the non-official histories that show disparities between the people and the authorities' interpretations of what had happened - and inferably what will be happening - in Hong Kong.

Wai-Man LAM, comparative politics and Hong Kong studies scholar.

She is the author of *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization* (ME Sharpe 2004; Routledge 2015), and coeditor of *Contemporary Hong Kong Government and Politics* (the first to third editions, Hong Kong University Press 2007, 2012, 2024) and *Citizenship, Identity and Social Movements in the New Hong Kong: Localism after the Umbrella Movement* (Routledge 2018).

She was formerly associate professor and head of social sciences at the Hong Kong Metropolitan University until 2024.

受訪者參與的香港社運與離散年表

TIMELINE OF HONG KONG SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE DIASPORA: AS LIVED BY OUR INTERVIEWEES

這份年表記錄的，不僅是一連串重要的社會運動事件，更是親歷其中的參與者——學生、工人、區議員、家長、記者、藝術家——的行動軌跡與生命經歷。他們的敘述穿越街頭與社區、監獄與立法會、香港與海外，反映出香港人如何在歷史巨變中思考、實踐與抵抗。

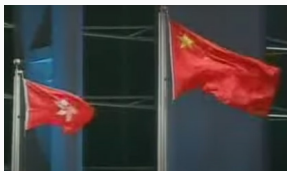
這些訪問者不是旁觀者。他們在每一場運動中付出、組織、領導、支持。他們的故事，既是運動史的一部分，也是香港近代歷史的見證。這份年表既展示了香港社運的多樣面貌，也描繪了在國安法與全球離散之後，流亡與重建的政治想像如何延續與轉化。

This timeline charts not only the key events of Hong Kong's social movements, but also the lived journeys and personal experiences of those who were part of them—students, workers, district councillors, parents, journalists, and artists. Their stories cut across streets and neighbourhoods, prisons and the Legislative Council, Hong Kong and overseas. Through them, we see how Hongkongers have reflected, taken action, and resisted in times of epic change.

These interviewees were not bystanders. They gave their time, energy, and conviction—organising, leading, supporting, and standing up in every struggle. Their stories are more than a record of activism; they are part of Hong Kong's recent history. This timeline offers a glimpse into the many faces of the city's social movements and shows how political imagination has survived and transformed amid China's imposition of the National Security Law on Hong Kong, followed by the global emergence of Hong Kong diaspora.

1997年回歸後

After the 1997 Handover



區議員 District councillor

1999年參選區議會落敗，四年後當選，並擔任怡富區區議員至2021年。

Ran for District Council in 1999 and lost; elected four years later, serving as councillor for Yee Fu until 2021.

 地區議會與香港民主運動——前區議員任啟邦訪問

*District Council and Hong Kong Democratic Movements:
An Interview with former district councillor Kai-bong Yam*

2004年七一大遊行

1 July 2004 Protest

學生參與者 Student participant

以「香港中學生聯盟」身份首次參與遊行，開啟其往後十年的民主想像與政治參與之路。

Took part in a protest for the first time as a member of the Hong Kong Secondary Students Union —marking the start of a decade of democratic engagement.

 八十後政治參與的啟蒙、告別與重生—M

The Awakening, Farewell, and Rebirth of Post-80s Political Participation: An Interview with M

2007年紫鐵工人大罷工

2007 Formwork Employees' Strike

工運組織者 Labour organiser

擔任罷工行動的發言人，積極參與工人運動。

Served as a spokesperson and played an active role in the labour rights movement.

 鋼筋與血汗：工運路上的堅持與抉擇

Steel and Sweat: Persistence and Dilemmas on the Road of Labour Movement

2012年反國教運動

2012 Anti-National Education Movement



學生參與者 Student participant

參與反國教運動，初次接觸大型群眾動員與議題。

Joined the protests and experienced large-scale mobilisation for the first time.

 從中學反修例關注組走到西敏宮—吳凱軒 Ian Ng

From Anti-Extradition Bill Concern Group in Secondary School to Westminster Palace - Ian Ng

2014年反新界東北發展撥款運動

2014 Protests Against the Budget of Development Scheme in Northeast New Territories

示威參與者 Protester

於示威中被捕並入獄，經歷法律與政治壓力。

Arrested and jailed during the demonstrations, facing legal and political pressure.



流亡無悔：一位香港學生記者的堅持與抉擇

No Regrets in Exile: The Conviction and Choices of Gary Wong, a Hong Kong Student Journalist

觀察參與者 Observer-participant

從反官商勾結、土地正義到追求城鄉自主、自決的轉變觀察。

Reflected on the shift from opposing collusion between officials and developers to pursuing land justice and local self-determination.



哀其不幸，怒其不爭，昏睡百年，港人何往？

觀察者鄒崇銘看社運存續

Pity the Misfortune, Rage at the Inaction—Asleep for a Century, Where Are Hongkongers Headed? An Interview with Sung Ming Chow

2014年雨傘運動

2014 Umbrella Movement



學聯代表 HKFS representative

參與佔領區運作，見證運動現場的政治學習與挫敗。

Assisted the operation of the occupied zones and witnessed the learning and heartbreaking moments at the occupied sites.



香港史上第一場大型醫護罷工的組織者——羅卓堯

Law Cheuk-yiu Ivan, Organiser of the First Large-scale Healthcare Strike in Hong Kong's History

學民思潮成員 Scholarism member

於926重奪「公民廣場」行動中被捕，雨傘運動成為其政治啟蒙。

Arrested during the 26 September "Civic Square" reoccupation; the Umbrella Movement became a turning point in political awakening.



97後民主運動下成長的少年

The Youth Brought Up Through Waves of Social Movements Post-Handover



平民/家庭支援者 Parent and supporter

因需照顧年幼子女，於928以後線支援金鐘示威者。

Provided behind-the-scenes support for the Admiralty occupation while caring for young children.

 同心守望應許之地——一個香港家庭的信念、抗爭與追尋

Standing Together for the Promised Land: A Hong Kong Family's Faith, Struggle, and Pursuit

海外港人 Overseas Hongkonger

由六四經歷延伸至2014年，參與海外組織的轉型與政治工作。

Bridged their memory of Tiananmen in 1989 with the events of 2014, supporting the transformation of overseas organising.

 燃燭為光，燃身為炬——李美寶的承擔與信念

*Burn a Candle for Light, Burn Yourself as a Torch
- Mabel Tung's commitment and belief*


2015年區議會選舉

2015 District Council
Elections

政治人 Political activist

從70年代的「盲人工潮」到2015年，經歷國教與雨傘運動後重返政圈，協助「傘兵」參選。

Returned to politics after decades of labour activism, helping "Umbrella soldiers" run for office following the movement for the first time.

 由1970年代學運先鋒到2019年「銀髮族」抗議者——楊寶熙

From a student movement pioneer in the 1970s to a "silver-haired" protester in 2019 - Yeung Po-hi

2016年反水貨客 「光復」行動

2016 Anti-Parallel
Trading "Reclaim"
Protests

抗爭者 Activist

由學民思潮轉向本土派，參與光復行動，實踐抗爭策略轉變。

Transitioned from Scholarism to localist activism, taking part in "Reclaim" actions and adapting new protest tactics.

 97後民主運動下成長的少年

The Youth Brought Up Through Waves of Social Movements Post-Handover

2016年立法會選舉

2016 Legislative Council Elections

社福界代表 Social welfare sector representative

由社福界出發參與特首選委會，其後進入區議會服務。

Hong Kong's Chief Executive) via winning a seat in the social welfare sector and later served as a district councillor.



與弱勢和社區同行：前區議員李鳳琼的民運之路

With the Vulnerable and the Community: Former District Councillor Alice Lee's Path of Pro-Democracy Movement

2019年反送中運動

2019 Anti-Extradition Bill Movement

海外港人 Overseas Hongkonger

分享6月9日前後的心路歷程與情緒起伏。

Reflected on the emotional turmoil around 9 June and the early protest wave.



八十後政治參與的啟蒙、告別與重生—M

The Awakening, Farewell, and Rebirth of Post-80s Political Participation: An Interview with M



學生記者 Student journalist

於七一當天以記者身份被控暴動，敘述控罪與身份認同的衝突。

Charged with rioting on 1 July while reporting—highlighting the tension between professional identity and political pressure.



流亡無悔：一位香港學生記者的堅持與抉擇

No Regrets in Exile: The Conviction and Choices of Gary Wong, a Hong Kong Student Journalist



學生參與者 Student Participant

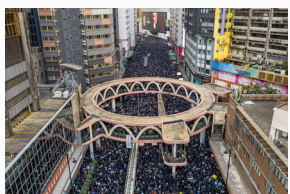
成立校內「反修例關注組」計劃罷課。

Established the "Anti-Extradition Bill Concern Group" within the school and planned school strikes.



從中學反修例關注組走到西敏宮—吳凱軒 Ian Ng

From Anti-Extradition Bill Concern Group in Secondary School to Westminster Palace - Ian Ng



律師 Blind lawyer

作為盲人律師，親歷爆眼少女事件、和你塞及理大圍城。

Witnessed key events including the police shooting, "Lunch with You," and the PolyU siege.

📖 信念不滅，心中有光——盲人律師 Joy 的歷史見證

*The Unwavering Belief with Light in the Heart:
The Historical Witness of Joy, a Blind Lawyer*

家庭參與者 Parent

孩子成為前線示威者，而父母則在理性非暴力中掙扎支持與保護。

Their child became a frontline protester, and they navigated how to support them while holding to non-violence.

📖 同心守望應許之地——
一個香港家庭的信念、抗爭與追尋

*Standing Together for the Promised Land:
A Hong Kong Family's Faith, Struggle, and Pursuit*

藝術家 Artist

透過藝術介入社會運動，以創作回應政治現場。

Responded to the movement through creative expression and artistic resistance.

📖 願榮光長存：Ricker Choi 以藝術書寫的未竟之戰
*For Eternal Glory: Ricker Choi's Unfinished Battle
Written in Art*

支援者 Supporter

從2014年物資線支援，延續至2019年自發性援助行動。

Continued voluntary logistics support work begun in 2014.

📖 從支援八九學運到守護反送中抗爭者：Mary的見證
*From supporting the 1989 Democracy Movement to
Protecting the Anti-Extradition protesters:
Mary's testimony*

2020年國安法 生效後

After the Enactment of
the National Security
Law (2020)

2020年後流亡經歷

After the Enactment of
the National Security
Law (2020)

區議員 District councillor

推動社區文宣與區內組織工作。

Led local organising and community messaging efforts.

 地區議會與香港民主運動——前區議員任啟邦訪問

*District Council and Hong Kong Democratic Movements:
An Interview with former district councillor Kai-bong Yam*

醫護工會成員 Healthcare union member

籌組醫護罷工並促成行動實現。

Helped organise the health workers' strike.

 香港史上第一場大型醫護罷工的組織者——羅卓堯

*Law Cheuk-yiu Ivan, Organiser of the First Large-scale
Healthcare Strike in Hong Kong's History*

初選參與者 Primary election participant

參與民主派初選後被捕並入獄，親歷鎮壓升級。

Arrested and jailed after the pro-democracy primaries,
experiencing heightened repression first-hand.

 97後民主運動下成長的少年

*The Youth Brought Up Through Waves of Social
Movements Post-Handover*

平民 Ordinary citizen

國安法實施後因恐懼被捕而選擇流亡加拿大。

Fled to Canada fearing arrest after the National Security Law
came into force.

 流亡無悔：一位香港學生記者的堅持與抉擇

*No Regrets in Exile: The Conviction and Choices of a
Hong Kong Student Journalist*

家長 Primary election participant

在加拿大成立家長會，協助支援流亡手足。

Founded a parents' group in Canada to support fellow exiles.

 轉變的角色 不變的身份——多倫多香港家長會創會人KK的口述歷史

*Shifting Roles, Unchanging Identity: The Oral History
of KK, Founding Member of the Toronto Hong Kong
Parents' Group*

藝術家 Artist

因作品被《大公報》、《文匯報》攻擊而流亡，繼續在全球推廣政治藝術。

Went into exile after being attacked in Ta Kung Pao and Wen Wei Po, continuing to promote political art internationally.



願榮光長存：Ricker Choi以藝術書寫的未竟之戰

For Eternal Glory: Ricker Choi's Unfinished Battle Written in Art

社交媒體組織者 Political activist

成立「Somebody」組織，持續主張香港獨立。

Founded the organisation "Somebody" to advocate for Hong Kong independence.



堅持不散、文化不滅：Somebody與他鄉的香港守望

Staying Strong, Culture Lives On: Somebody and the Hong Kong Spirit in a New Land

流亡區議員 Exiled district councillor

成為當地社區的Community Councillor，持續關注公共事務。

Became a community councillor in their new home, remaining active in public affairs.



與弱勢和社區同行：前區議員李鳳琮的民運之路

With the Vulnerable and the Community: Former District Councillor Alice Lee's Path of Pro-Democracy Movement

政治倡議者 Political Advocate

參與港人政治倡議工作，並成為英國國會研究員。

Participated in political advocacy work for Hongkongers and became a parliamentary researcher in the UK.



從中學反修例關注組走到西敏宮—吳凱軒 Ian Ng

From Anti-Extradition Bill Concern Group in Secondary School to Westminster Palace - Ian Ng



你可以在以下網頁閱讀包括本書未刊載在內的所有訪問文章：

You can read all the interview articles, including those not published in this book, at the following webpage:

<https://medium.com/hksmohproj>

「沒有記憶，就沒有文化。沒有記憶，就沒有文明，沒有社會，沒有未來。」

"Without memory, there is no culture. Without memory, there would be no civilization, no society, no future."

—— 艾利·維瑟爾 (Elie Wiesel)

香港 —— 一個位於亞洲、處於中共主權統治之下的城市，其集體記憶正逐漸褪色。

這裏所說的集體記憶，不僅是指香港人反抗威權、爭取民主化的社會運動歷史，更包括香港人和社群所共同建立起來，獨有的香港人身份認同、政治文化和價值觀。自2019年6月起，香港經歷翻天覆地的變化。俗稱「反送中運動」的一系列抗爭行動，起初是反對《逃犯條例》修訂，一方面激發了大多數香港人追求民主、抵抗威權統治的政治意識和覺醒；另一方面也促使中共作為主權國，以非常手段壓制香港的抗議活動。2020年6月，中共在香港實施《國安法》，透過高度集權的執法機制，改變香港原有的三權分立政治秩序，並大力推行「以言入罪」，拘捕政治反對派和公民社會的組織者，使民間噤若寒蟬。與香港社會運動、群眾抗爭有關的大眾刊物與中文專著，也陸續淪為被審查的對象。

在《國安法》之下，香港的國家機器透過改寫香港歷史和操控意識形態，逐步消滅社會運動的集體記憶、香港人的身份認同及社群意識。同時，大批香港人選擇離開故土，遠赴他方，在自由世界中重建生活。在這群「新移民」之中，不少人並不自視為純粹的經濟移民 (economic migrants)。他們認為，自己的離散，是為了擺脫中共對香港的政治控制；而在海外重新展開生活，也不僅是為了生計和子女的前途，更是為了傳承與延續香港人的身分、文化與價值觀。正因如此，香港離散群體 (diaspora) 正逐步在世界各個崇尚自由民主的國家中成形。

在香港高壓的政治環境下，民主運動的記憶越發難以在陽光下傳播；而離散群體的聲音，也越來越難以傳回香港境內。全球地緣政治的緊張局勢，令香港議題淪為大國競爭中的一枚棋子。香港人及其社群的聲音與觀點，如同其他受壓迫的離散族群，早已不再是國際的焦點。然而，正因如此，我們更應在各種艱難的條件下，努力保存並傳播香港社群的記憶、聲音、思想與歷史。因此，我們——一群身處北美和英國的青年學者 —— 自2024年起開展了「香港社運口述歷史計劃」。透過

這個計劃，我們希望連結流散世界各地的香港人，記錄他們的生活、思考，以及參與香港民主運動的經歷，將這些故事再次呈現在香港離散社群和國際社會面前。

鳥瞰當代香港社會運動史

當代香港的民主運動，可追溯至1970年代。當時，香港正逐步脫離「難民社會」，土生土長的一代開始冒起。相較於上一代，這一代對人權自由及社會公義有著更強烈的渴求，對英國殖民統治下的社會不公也變得更加敏感。其中，有些人積極批判殖民統治，要求推動社會改革；有些人則嚮往「社會主義祖國」，深信中共是中國乃至全世界人民的大救星。隨著新界租借地99年的租期即將屆滿，佔據香港超過九成土地面積的地區面臨主權移交問題。英國原希望延續其對香港的統治至1997年之後，但中國領導人予以拒絕，這引發了香港的嚴重信心危機。部分港人因此選擇移民至加拿大、英國、澳洲等西方國家，但多數香港人仍選擇留下，面對未來的挑戰。那些在1970年代批判殖民統治的青年，聯同社會其他人士，積極爭取參與1997年後香港的未來討論和行動。他們不僅要求實現北京承諾的「港人治港」、「高度自治」，還有「港人民主治港」、實現真正自治的訴求。最終，他們成為了香港的「民主派」，積極向已成「夕陽政府」的英殖政府，以及日後主宰香港的中國政府爭取民主。同時，香港的獨立工運開始興起，先後出現了「香港教育專業人員協會」（1973-2021年）、「香港職工會聯盟」（1990-2021年）等獨立工會，並最終成為了「民主派」的中堅力量。

在1989年之前，雖然民主派積極向中國政府爭取主權移交後的香港能享有民主，但雙方關係仍相對和緩。民主派人士甚至參與了《香港特區行政區基本法》的起草工作。然而，1989年「六四事件」發生後，民主派不滿中共動用正規軍，以真槍實彈血腥鎮壓「北京民運」，自此與北京決裂。在「六四事件」前一個月成立的「香港市民支援愛國民主運動聯合會」（支聯會，1989-2021年），及其每年舉辦的「悼念六四燭光晚會」，自此成為了中共的「眼中釘」。同時，「六四事件」亦激起更多港人要求英殖政府不應再畏懼北京的反對聲音，應加快香港的民主步伐。結果，在1990年代英國統治香港的最後數年，香港的民主發展顯著加快。民主派在立法機關及地方議會中取得越來越多議席，民主運動獲得進展，惟與北京的關係卻日益緊張。

主權移交後，北京為了維持香港的繁榮安定及國際地位，以助中國現代化並「走向世界」，因而保留了香港政制中的一些民主元素，以及相對自由的社會環境。結果，

民主派政治團體在港仍有公開的生存空間，並在議會中維持一定的席位。雖然民主派始終無法在香港執政，但憑藉議會內的影響力，加上公民社會中支持民主自由的組織積極動員街頭抗爭，民主派在香港政治上依然具備重大影響力。最鮮明的例子，就是2003年由「民間人權陣線」（2002-2021年）牽頭，聯合民主派政團及其支持者所發起的「七一大遊行」。當年7月1日，逾五十萬人走上街頭抗議，最終迫使特區政府無限期擱置「國家安全法」的本地立法，亦即根據香港《基本法》第二十三條的本地立法工作。

雖然在97之後，民主派的抗爭取得一定成果，但香港的民主發展卻始終未見實質進展。與此同時，北京對香港事務的干預越加頻繁且明顯，再加上政權主導下的中港社會和經濟融合，嚴重衝擊了港人原有的生活方式與公共空間，令不少市民對特區政府的管治能力，乃至中國對香港主權的實踐方式，產生越來越深的質疑與反感。不少人認為，傳統的民主派政團（如1994年成立的民主黨）已無法有效爭取香港民主、捍衛港人既有權益，於是轉而支持立場更為激進的民主派人士和新興的本土派政團。同時，隨著互聯網、智能手機及社交媒體日益普及，許多原本名不見經傳的普通市民也開始自發組織抗爭行動。其中，以2011年由一群中學生組成的「學民思潮」（2011-2016年），最受香港社會及國際矚目。2012年，他們發起「反對德育及國民教科」運動，最後獲得廣泛社會支持。兩年後，2014年9月，香港爆發「雨傘運動」（較激進者會稱之為「雨傘革命」）。參與者佔領香港及九龍三處主要幹道，長達79天，以爭取「雙真普選」——即普選香港特區首長及立法機關全體議員。然而，北京始終堅拒讓步，最終令佔領運動以失敗告終。

「雨傘運動」後，香港社會運動進一步走向激進化。越來越多抗爭者主張「勇武抗爭」，更多人支持「香港民族，前途自決」的理念。這股思潮催生了2016年農曆新年的「旺角騷動」，也促成多個主張「港人自決前途」，甚至「香港獨立建國」的政黨相繼誕生。至2019年夏天，這股激進化浪潮達至頂點。反對《逃犯條例》的抗爭迅速升溫，其規模與激烈程度遠超於2014年的「雨傘運動」。政權與抗爭雙方不斷升級行動，全港各區多處爆發衝突，整場抗爭歷時超過半年。2020年5月，北京繞過香港本地立法程序，宣布直接為香港訂立《國家安全法》。同年6月30日23時，由中國全國人大所訂立的《港區國安法》正式生效。此後，一眾民主派政治人物及社運人士陸續被捕，民主派團體亦紛紛解散，多人流亡海外。由1970年代延續至今的香港本土民主運動，至此正式告一段落。

社運口述歷史的價值

自2020年起，我們目睹香港政府透過各種機關，試圖讓公民社會噤聲，打壓學術自由，抹除歷史記錄，並將「反修例運動」定性為受外國政權操控的「顏色革命」，扭曲香港歷史論述，以服務政權需要。然而，歷史論述不應是一家之言，更不應抹去參與者的能動性。2019年的「反修例運動」是一場真正的全民運動，參與者來自海內外、橫跨不同社會階層。這些出身各異的參與者，在運動中處於不同的身位，擁有獨特的經歷與詮釋角度。「香港社運口述歷史計劃」的價值，正是在於嘗試收錄這些多元的聲音，保存一份具溫度及厚度的社運記憶。口述歷史不僅承載著香港政權試圖抹去的聲音及記錄，更透過呈現每位參與者在運動中的考量、抉擇及反思，有力駁斥了「示威者被『外國代言人』煽動」的官方論調。

保存社運記憶，不只是對官方打壓的頑抗回應，更是為了記錄及傳承香港社會運動的知識及經驗。正如我們收錄的參與者經歷所示，「反修例運動」絕非憑空誕生，而是源自「六四運動」、「反國教運動」、「雨傘運動」等一場場歷史抗爭所累積的經驗和能量。這些不僅是個人的經驗，更是社群共同的記憶。無論是工運組織者、學運領袖，還是紮根社區深耕細作的區議員，甚至是普通市民，他們對每場運動的貢獻及理解或許大相逕庭，但正是這些不同角色的努力與協調，香港的社運才得以延續，並壯大起來。在2019年之前，不少公民社會的內耗根源，往往源自不同身位的香港人無法理解彼此的角色及想法。而2019年的「兄弟爬山」精神，在某程度上象徵了香港人之間跨派別的同理與和解。如今，隨著政治寒冬的籠罩，香港人不單要面對打壓的恐懼，更面臨歷史脈絡斷層的危機。這項社運口述歷史計劃，旨在保存這段歷史脈絡，讓讀者得以理解不同身份參與者在香港社運中的角色、衝突與調解歷程，讓下一代港人不致囿於單一派別的歷史詮釋。

與此同時，此計劃亦肩負為社群充權的使命，鼓勵並培育離散港人群體參與口述歷史及社群文獻保存的工作。唯有社群的積極參與，口述歷史方能持續並日益豐厚。圖博族人的口述歷史計劃，始於一位學者與達賴喇嘛的對話——達賴喇嘛提醒他們，應在老一輩流亡族人離世前，及早記錄他們的故事。該學者於2006年開始訪問圖博族的長者，後來團隊不斷壯大，至今已完成並發佈304篇訪問。^[i]其他離散社群、原住民族與多個社區團體也正進行各式各樣的口述歷史計劃，致力讓每位社群成員共同書寫並論述屬於自己的歷史。借鑑這些經驗，我們從

[i] <https://www.tibetoralhistory.org/interviewcollection.php>

英國及加拿大的離散港人社群中招募訪問者，並於計劃期間在相關城市舉辦口述歷史工作坊，培訓社群成員的技能與意識，期望啟發更多由社群主導的口述歷史計劃。

我們的口述歷史雖植根於社群，但同時亦走向世界。近年來，隨著港人流散至英、美、加等地，我們的口述歷史帶到了不同國度，使接待離散港人的國家與人民可進一步理解港人歷史。透過這份多元、立體的歷史記錄，我們希望讓其他社群認識到香港社群並非鐵板一塊，並促進跨社群的理解與互諒。因此，在海外離散港人社群的協助下，我們將主要成果翻譯為中英雙語，讓國際社會知曉：香港人不僅是歷史的「受害者」，更是擁有主體性及行動力的參與者。雖然社群中存在不同觀點與衝突，但在條件許可之下，許多港人仍選擇與追求自由、民主、人權的國度同行，成為理念相契的夥伴。

閱讀建議

總體而言，這本書既非一份純然的歷史紀錄，也非單一運動的紀實報導，而是一項富有生命感的集體記憶工程。

每一篇口述故事，都是受訪者的生命書寫，帶著獨有的角色設定與歷史脈絡，展現出2019年香港運動中多元的參與面貌與分工方式。我們誠邀讀者在閱讀本書時，嘗試抱持至少兩種不同的閱讀方式。

第一種，從個體生命出發的細讀方式——思考與觀察：是怎樣的生命經歷，引領他們走進這場運動？又是怎樣的處境，最終使他們走向流散？他們的政治參與與離散經歷，從來不是中斷式的選擇，亦非單一事件所致，而是與時代交織、在多重身份拉扯中的連續編織。

第二種閱讀方式，是從橫向細讀全書十個故事，以拼湊出一幅更廣闊的香港民主運動與離散過程的生命地圖。書中既有年輕的初次參與者，也有歷經多場運動的資深組織者；有人走進了機構，有人走向了街頭；有人選擇留下，有人選擇遠走離散——這些交織而成的生命線，不僅展現了抗爭者群體的多樣性，也揭示了在流散與留下的港人之間，建立共同體所需的理解與交會。

本書內容主要分為兩個部分：

口述歷史篇章：這是本書的核心部分，收錄了來自不同背景的參與者口述他們在香港社會運動中的親身經歷。每篇故事均附有訪談者的簡介及簡要脈絡說明，讓讀者能掌握當時的時代處境與說話者所處的位置。

年表：本書在導讀後附上《香港社運與離散年表》，標示受訪者自2014年起至2025年間參與的主要事件，包括街頭行動、社群流亡、組織成立與轉型、國際連結等。這有助讀者從宏觀角度理解事件脈絡，也鼓勵讀者補上自己的記憶與位置——因為這不只是他們的歷史，也是你的、我們的歷史。

此外，出於篇幅與出版考量，我們會將部分訪談內容與延伸主題文章上載至Medium平台。讀者可透過掃描書中附上的QR code，隨時閱讀、評論與分享。我們相信，口述歷史不應止步於紙本出版，更應進入網絡空間，成為一個開放的記憶場域，讓更多離散社群成員持續參與、共同建構這份歷史。

我們亦拍攝了數段訪談與剪影影片，記錄受訪者的聲音與神情，補足文字難以傳遞的情感與姿態。這些影片同樣可透過QR code一鍵收看。

我們期待，這本書不是一個句點，而是一個起點——一本可以翻開的記憶，一場可以展開的對話，一道可以延續的共鳴。

是為序。

香港社運口述歷史計劃編輯小組

2025年5月

"Without memory, there is no culture. Without memory, there would be no civilization, no society, no future."

— ***Elie Wiesel***

Hong Kong—a city in Asia under the sovereign rule of the Chinese Communist Party—is witnessing the gradual fading of its collective memory.

The collective memory referred to here encompasses not only the social movement history of Hong Kong people's resistance against authoritarianism and struggle for democratization, but also the uniquely shared identity, political culture, and values forged by Hongkongers and their communities. Since June 2019, Hong Kong has undergone seismic transformations. The wave of protest actions, commonly known as the "Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill" movement, initially emerged in opposition to proposed amendments to the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance. On one hand, the movement awakened widespread political consciousness among Hongkongers, igniting a collective desire for democracy and resistance against authoritarian control. On the other hand, it triggered the Chinese Communist Party, as the sovereign power, to adopt extraordinary measures to suppress dissent in the city. In June 2020, Beijing imposed the National Security Law on Hong Kong. Through a highly centralised enforcement regime, it dismantled the city's former separation-of-powers framework and ushered in a sweeping crackdown on speech, targeting political opposition and civil society organisers. As a result, public discourse has been stifled, and popular publications and Chinese-language monographs related to Hong Kong's social movements and mass resistance have also gradually become targets of censorship.

Under the National Security Law, the Hong Kong state apparatus has sought to erase the collective memory of social movements, along with Hongkongers' identity and sense of community, by rewriting the city's history and manipulating ideology. At the same time, large numbers of Hongkongers have chosen to leave their homeland and rebuild their lives elsewhere in the free world. Among this group of "new immigrants," many do not see themselves as merely economic migrants. They believe their displacement is a means of escaping the Chinese Communist Party's political control over Hong Kong, and that beginning anew overseas is not only for survival or the future of their children, but also a way to preserve and carry forward the identity, culture, and values of being Hongkongers. For this reason, a Hong Kong diaspora is gradually taking shape across democratic and freedom-loving countries around the world.

Under Hong Kong's increasingly repressive political environment, the memory of the democratic movement grows ever harder to share openly, while the voices of the diaspora struggle to find their way back into the city. Amid rising global geopolitical tensions, the Hong Kong issue has been reduced to a pawn in the games of great power rivalry. The voices and perspectives of Hongkongers, like those of other oppressed diasporic communities, have long since faded from international focus. And yet, it is precisely under such conditions that we must strive to preserve and amplify the memory, voices, ideas, and history of the Hong Kong community. For this reason, we—a group of young scholars based in North America and the UK—launched the Hong Kong Social Movement Oral History Project in 2024. Through this initiative, we aim to connect Hongkongers scattered across the globe, documenting their lives, reflections, and experiences of participating in Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement. These stories, we hope, will be shared anew—both within the global Hong Kong diaspora and with the wider international community.

A Bird's Eye View of Contemporary Hong Kong Social Movement History

The roots of contemporary Hong Kong's democratic movement can be traced back to the 1970s. During this time, Hong Kong was gradually transitioning away from its identity as a "refugee society," and a generation born and raised in the city began to rise. Compared with their predecessors, this generation harboured a deeper yearning for human rights, freedom, and social justice, and a heightened sensitivity to the inequalities under British colonial rule. Some within this group actively criticised colonial governance and called for social reform; others looked longingly towards the "socialist motherland", placing their faith in the Chinese Communist Party as the great liberator of China and the world. As the 99-year lease on the New Territories approached expiry, sovereignty over the vast region—making up more than 90% of Hong Kong's landmass—became a central issue. Britain hoped to extend its rule beyond 1997, but Chinese leaders firmly rejected the idea, triggering a serious crisis of confidence in Hong Kong. Some Hongkongers chose to emigrate to Western countries such as Canada, the UK, and Australia. Yet most stayed, prepared to face an uncertain future. The young people who had spoken out against colonial rule in the 1970s joined others in society to actively push for involvement in shaping Hong Kong's post-1997 future. Their demands extended beyond the promised "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" and "a high degree of autonomy" to include true democratic governance and genuine self-determination. This cohort would go on to form

the backbone of Hong Kong's "pro-democracy camp", advocating for democratic reforms from both the fading British colonial regime and the Chinese government poised to take control. It was during this same period that independent labour activism began to take root. Trade unions such as the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (1973–2021) and the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (1990–2021) emerged as independent unions, eventually becoming pillars of the pro-democracy camp.

Before 1989, although Hong Kong's democrats actively campaigned for Beijing to grant democracy to the city following the handover of sovereignty, relations between the two sides remained relatively cordial. Pro-democracy figures even took part in drafting the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. However, the Tiananmen Square massacre in June 1989 marked a turning point. Outraged by the Chinese Communist Party's deployment of the military to brutally suppress the Beijing democracy movement with live ammunition, the pro-democracy camp broke decisively with Beijing. The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China (1989–2021), founded just a month before the crackdown, and its annual candlelight vigil commemorating 4th June, became thorns in the side of the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time, the massacre galvanised more Hongkongers to demand that the British colonial administration resist pressure from Beijing and push forward with democratic reforms. As a result, the 1990s—the final years of British rule—witnessed a notable acceleration in Hong Kong's democratic development. Pro-democracy candidates won an increasing number of seats in both the Legislative Council and local District Councils, marking progress for the movement, but relations with Beijing grew increasingly strained.

After the handover of sovereignty, Beijing preserved certain democratic elements within Hong Kong's political system, along with a relatively free social environment, in order to sustain the city's prosperity and international standing—factors seen as essential to China's modernisation and efforts to "go global". As a result, pro-democracy political groups continued to have room to operate publicly and retained a number of seats in the legislature. Although the pro-democracy camp was never able to govern, it maintained considerable political influence through both its presence in the legislature and the active mobilisation of street protests by civil society groups advocating for freedom and democracy. The clearest example came in 2003, when the Civil Human Rights Front (2002–

2021), together with pro-democracy parties and supporters, organised the 1st of July protest. Over 500,000 people took to the streets that day, ultimately forcing the HKSAR government to indefinitely shelve the local enactment of the National Security Law under Article 23 of the Basic Law.

Although the pro-democracy movement achieved certain gains after the 1997 handover, Hong Kong's democratic development has seen no substantive progress. Meanwhile, Beijing's interference in Hong Kong affairs has grown increasingly frequent and overt. Besides, the regime-led social and economic integration between Hong Kong and mainland China has severely disrupted the original way of life and public space of Hongkongers. All these deepened public scepticism and resentment towards the HKSAR government's capacity to govern, as well as towards the Chinese state's exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong. Many came to believe that traditional pro-democracy parties—such as the Democratic Party (1994–2025)—could no longer effectively fight for democracy or safeguard the rights and interests of Hong Kong people. As a result, support shifted towards more radical democrats and emerging localist parties. At the same time, the growing ubiquity of the internet, smartphones, and social media enabled many previously unknown, ordinary citizens to spontaneously organise protest actions. Among them, the student group Scholarism (2011–2016), founded by a group of secondary school students, gained significant attention both locally and internationally. In 2012, they launched the movement against the Moral and National Education curriculum, which eventually won broad-based public support. Two years later, in September 2014, the Umbrella Movement (referred to by some more radical voices as the “Umbrella Revolution”) erupted in Hong Kong. Protesters occupied three major thoroughfares in Hong Kong and Kowloon for 79 days to demand “double genuine universal suffrage”—namely, free elections for the Chief Executive and the full Legislative Council. Yet Beijing consistently refused to yield, and the occupation ultimately ended in failure.

The value of social movement oral history

Since 2020, we have witnessed the Hong Kong government, through various institutions, attempt to silence civil society, suppress academic freedom, erase historical records, and frame the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement as a “colour revolution” orchestrated by foreign powers, distorting the narrative of Hong Kong's history to serve the regime's ends. Yet historical narratives should never belong to a single voice, nor should they erase the agency of those who took

part. The 2019 movement was a truly mass mobilisation, with participants from both Hong Kong and overseas, spanning across all sectors of society. These individuals shaped by diverse backgrounds occupied different positions within the movement and brought with them unique experiences and interpretations. The value of the “Hong Kong Social Movement Oral History Project” lies in its effort to collect these many voices, preserving a record of the movement that is both textured and deeply human. Oral history not only safeguards the voices and records that the Hong Kong regime has sought to erase, but also, through documenting the reflections, decisions, and motivations of each participant, powerfully rebuts the state’s narrative that protesters were manipulated by “foreign agents”.

Preserving the memory of social movements is not only a form of resistance against state suppression; it is also a way to document and pass on the knowledge and experience accumulated through Hong Kong’s long history of civic struggles. As the accounts we have collected illustrate, the Anti-Extradition Movement of 2019 did not emerge from a vacuum. It was shaped by the lessons and momentum of previous protests, from the Tiananmen movement to the Anti-National Education campaign, and the Umbrella Movement and many others. These were not merely personal experiences, but part of a collective social memory. Whether they were organisers of labour actions, student leaders, District Councillors rooted in their communities, or simply ordinary citizens, each brought their own understanding and contributions to the table. It was through the efforts and coordination of this diverse range of roles that Hong Kong’s social movements were able to persist and grow. Before 2019, many of the tensions within civil society stemmed from a lack of mutual understanding between participants playing different roles. The “brothers climbing a mountain together” spirit that emerged in 2019 symbolised, in many ways, a newfound empathy and reconciliation across political divides. Today, amid a deepening political winter, Hongkongers must contend not only with the fear of repression, but also with the looming danger of historical rupture. This oral history project is an effort to preserve those historical threads—to enable readers to understand the roles, conflicts, and reconciliations of individuals from different walks of life in Hong Kong’s social movements, and to ensure that future generations are not confined to a singular, monolithic narrative of history.

At the same time, this project carries a broader mission of community empowerment—encouraging and nurturing the involvement of the Hong Kong diaspora in the practice of oral history and the preservation of community archives. Oral history can only be sustained and enriched through the active participation of the community itself. One source of inspiration is the Tibetan oral history project, which began with a conversation between a scholar and the Dalai Lama—who reminded them that they should record the stories of the older generation of exiles before they passed away. In response, the scholar began interviewing Tibetan elders in 2006. The project has since grown steadily, and to date has completed and published 304 interviews. Other diaspora communities, indigenous peoples, and various community groups are also carrying out a wide range of oral history projects, dedicated to enabling every member of the community to collectively write and narrate their own history. Drawing on these experiences, we recruited interviewers from Hong Kong diaspora communities in the UK and Canada and, during the course of the project, held oral history workshops in their cities to equip community members with the necessary skills and awareness, with the hope of inspiring more community-led oral history initiatives.

Our oral history stories are rooted in the community, yet they also reach outward to the world. In recent years, as Hongkongers have dispersed to the UK, US, Canada, and elsewhere, these oral histories have travelled with them, allowing the countries and peoples that have received them to better understand Hong Kong's history. Through this pluralistic and multidimensional record, we hope to show that the Hong Kong community is not monolithic, and to foster cross-community understanding and mutual respect. With the help of overseas diasporic Hong Kong communities, we have translated our key materials into both Chinese and English, so that the international community may come to understand that Hongkongers are not merely “victims” of history, but active agents with subjectivity and initiative. While there are differing views and tensions within the community, many Hongkongers continue—where circumstances allow—to walk alongside societies committed to freedom, democracy, and human rights, forging partnerships grounded in shared values.

[i] <https://www.tibetoralhistory.org/interviewcollection.php>

Reading suggestions

Overall, this book is neither a pure historical record nor a journalistic account of a single movement, but rather a collective memory project brimming with life.

Each story in this volume is a form of life-writing by the interviewee, shaped by their unique role and historical context. Together, they reveal the diversity of participation and the many forms of contribution within the 2019 Hong Kong movement. We warmly invite readers to approach this book with at least two different modes of reading.

The first is a close reading that begins with the individual life. Reflect and observe: What life experiences led them into this movement? What circumstances eventually pushed them into exile? Their political engagement and diasporic journeys were never abrupt choices, nor the outcome of a single event. Rather, they were continuously woven, entangled with the times and shaped by the tensions of multiple identities.

The second way of reading is a horizontal journey across all ten stories, piecing together a broader life map of Hong Kong's democratic movement and the unfolding diaspora. The book features both young first-time participants and seasoned organisers shaped by past struggles; some moved into institutions, others took to the streets; some chose to stay, others went into exile. These interwoven lifelines reveal not only the diversity within the protest community, but also the understanding and encounters required to build solidarity between those who remained and those scattered abroad.

This book is divided into two parts:

Oral History Chapters: This is the heart of the book, featuring personal accounts from participants of diverse backgrounds as they recount their experiences in Hong Kong's social movements. Each chapter is accompanied by a short introduction to the interviewer and a brief contextual note, helping readers grasp the circumstances of the time and the speaker's position within it.

Chronology: At the end of the book is a "Chronology of Hong Kong Social Movements and Diaspora", marking key events in which interviewees participated between 2014 and 2025, including street protests, community exile,

the founding and transformation of organisations, and international solidarity efforts. This timeline helps readers understand the broader context of these events and invites them to locate their own memories and positions within it—for this is not only the interviewees' history, but yours, and ours.

In addition, due to length and publishing considerations, some interview content and extended thematic articles will be made available on our Medium platform. Readers can access, comment on, and share these materials at any time by scanning the QR code provided in the book. We believe that oral history should not be confined to print but should enter the digital realm as an open field of memory, one in which members of the diaspora can continue to take part and collectively shape this history.

We have also filmed several interview and portrait-style videos to capture the voices and expressions of our interviewees to convey emotions and gestures that words alone may not fully express. These videos can likewise be accessed with a single click via the QR code.

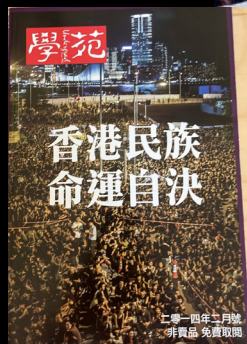
We hope this book is not an ending, but a beginning—a memory to be reopened, a conversation to be sparked, and a resonance to be carried forward.

Let this be the beginning.

Hong Kong Social Movement Oral History Project Editorial Team
May 2025

97後民主運動下 成長的少年

訪問者：RW



2024年11月，筆者與C和P相約在倫敦進行訪談。雖然我們早在香港中文大學（中大）時就已相識，且先後來到倫敦進修，但似乎從未真正坐下來回顧我們在香港的過去。「反修例運動」五年後，他們心心念念的民主派初選隊友被判刑之際，我們終於聚首，一同反思那些令我們無言的過去，和那些年「搞事」的回憶。

政治早熟的C：何時才能長大去「搞事」？

C成長於一個公務員家庭，父母的教育方式相當自由，讓他能随心選擇自己的興趣。自小，他便跟父親一同閱讀文史哲類的書籍，也經常觀看電影。然而，最令他印象深刻的，是與家人一起收聽商業電台（商台）節目：「當時『兩支大炮』——早上聽鄭經翰（的節目），晚上聽黃毓民（的節目）。」對C來說，政治早在他未滿十歲時便已存在於生活之中。2003年的「七一遊行」，當時不足十歲的C跟隨父母上街遊行，高舉維護言論自由的標語。他憶述：「可能對許多人來說，03年（的遊行）是『反廿三條』，但對我而言，卻是不滿梁振英打壓商台。所以我的標語上特別畫了一個收音機的圖案。」這次遊行，也成了C的政治行動初體驗。

「其實，我小時候已經懂得『見人講人話，見鬼講鬼話』。」C小學時已經推行雙語教學，以普通話教授中文，學生還經常被帶到中國大陸參加遊學團。學校一直努力灌輸中國的主旋律，希望令學生認同自己是中國人，更不容許他們思考自己的身份認同。因此，C自幼學會如何應對師長。然而，令他最反感的，並非官方的大中華論述，而是他親眼目睹中國的小學生在學校擔任「少年衝鋒隊」時，若姿勢不正，便會被師長羞辱。「天天講集體主義，但我只想要自由，所以我們注定不會是同路人。」

「我只是想找同伴，所以很自然地加入了學民思潮。」對C而言，參與社會運動是正常不過的事情，家人亦並未曾阻撓，僅叮囑一句：「不要被捕就行了。」受當年台灣「太陽花學運」佔領立法院成功的影響，C一直想「做多啲」。所以，他十分支持肢體抗爭，並積極參與學民思潮舉辦的示威活動。

2014年9月26日，C因與學民隊友衝擊政府總部門外的「公民廣場」，人生首次「被捕」。C語氣十分平淡地說：「當年（警察）還算厚道，把我抬走就算了，沒有拘捕我。之後，我還重返廣場。」對他而言，衝擊公民廣場只是啟動「雨傘運動」的必要手段。「感覺大家都按捺不住了。如果甚麼都不做，就不會有結果。衝擊了一次，就要繼續下去。」

但當佔領開始後，C有感運動停滯不前：「大家好像繼續正常生活。」因此，他減少駐守佔領區的時間。直至旺角佔領區爆發示威者與疑似黑社會人士的衝突，C才決定回到佔領區，與前線行動者一同駐守，並直言：「要打架才叫上我。」當時社會仍以「和理非」（和平、理性、非暴力）為主，示威者之間亦存在許多路線分歧。惟C已極為支持「勇武」的理念。非建制派的分裂在「雨傘運動」後全面爆發，並在不同平台上針鋒相對，更在其後的立法會補選中呈現在公眾眼前。

意外覺醒的P：原來香港人可以擁有這些時刻，那一刻我真正覺得自己是香港人。對於一直在「大中華」環境中成長的P而言，「雨傘運動」既是他人人生首次參與的社會運動，也奠定了他日後積極參與本土派行動的基礎。P出生於紀律部隊的家庭，父母對政治冷感。唯獨父親擁抱作為執法者的思維，從小便向P灌輸守法的重要性，甚至會帶他到法院旁聽案件。法院的莊嚴氛圍為年幼的P留下了深刻印象。雖說父親展現權威一面，但他從未將工作的作風及情緒帶回家中。

P笑言：「我在中二前是『大中華膠』。」在學時，他曾參與中國的遊學機會，平日也喜歡閱讀中國文學作品。對P而言，這些國情教育確實成功。他認為中國發展迅速，人們的生活比想像中光鮮。加上家族親戚都是紀律部隊出身，他沒有機會接觸其他思想，所以從未質疑過自己的中國人身份認同。「我很記得那時畫了一艘戰艦，上面掛著中國國旗。」聽起來，P當年的言行跟如今所見的「小粉紅」無異。

P的政治啟蒙來自一連串的意外——從意外參與2012年的「七一遊行」，到與通識科老師討論時政；最後，在中學時期，改變他一生的「政治」終於進入他的生命。

「我記得是中二的暑假，我被同學騙去遊行。那時甚麼都不懂，恰巧一名外媒記者訪問我，然後我只會說『Freedom』。但其實我不知所云，只覺得這個體驗很好玩。」然而，這次經歷未讓P關心時政。反而是「雨傘運動」期間，一個「反佔中」活動令P開始反思自己的想法。

「學校的體育教練突然叫我們參加『反佔中跑步日』，我覺得這件事很尷尬，理所當然地拒絕。但當新聞報導這個活動時，我的親友竟然拍手叫好，我就覺得『something is wrong』。」自此，P開始嘗試了解香港的政制問題，隨後更參與了罷課行動。

罷課的場面，對P這個政治初哥來說，十分震撼。他笑着對C說：「去了現場才發現，原來有那麼多年齡相近的人早已參與其中。We are making social change here。」其後的「九二八衝突」更促使P全身投入社運。在佔領區中，他經常與示威者討論政治，進一步深化他對政治的認識。然而，與C一樣，P也察覺到佔領區的社運動能逐漸消失，金鐘的示威者更像是組織者，而非他理想中的行動者。於是，P漸漸轉往旺角佔領區。「可能旺角的人比較『草根』，雖然沒有特定政治理念，但他們擁有行動力和決心。」那時的P已經會在家偷偷製作防具，準備前往旺角佔領區保護示威者。短短數月，P從一個不知政治為何物的人，蛻變成前線的行動者。

堅定的本土派：我覺得要做點甚麼

「雨傘運動」最終在訴求未獲回應、警方強行清拆佔領區的情況下落幕。社會運動進入低潮期，尤其是那些被推到鎂光燈下的學生組織「雙學」——「學聯」及「學民思潮」。C回憶道：「當時學民完全無法開會去組織行動，但我覺得要做點甚麼。」P亦有相近的想法：「『傘運』失敗後，應該要有點意外的行動，延續社運的動能。」所以，C和P便參與了一系列「反水貨」的行動，前往受「水貨客」困擾、生活用品被炒賣的邊境地區，例如元朗、上水等地，進行「光復」行動。他們直接向「水貨客」示威，行動期間經常演變成肢體衝突。

隨著示威越演越烈，香港政府最終推出「一周一行」政策，禁止深圳居民利用簽證不斷往返邊境地區「走水貨」。C指出：「『反水貨』很有成效，不像『兩傘』那般不斷捱打，你感覺到警察會退縮。而最後政府也因為我們而改政策。」對C和P而言，

一系列「光復」行動幫助他們走出後「傘運」後的無力感。與此同時，本土派作者開始出版不同書籍，宣傳有別於傳統主流泛民主派的政治論述，例如陳雲的《城邦論》和港大學生會出版的《香港民族論》。以上一切令二人更加認定自己本土派的身份。P直言：「我覺得香港在中國統治下不會有民主。」

對於二人來說，爭取本土派的話語權是他們主要的推動力。他們認為：「在革命之前，需要先革主流泛民主派的命。」考進香港中文大學（中大）後，他們參選了學生會，務求在社會不同層面推動本土派論述，更希望藉著學生身份推動社會對本土派的認識。

改變生命的2019：我真的怕大家走了就不再回來

在大學學生會耕耘數年後，社會依然未見改變，社運低潮的無力感再次湧上他們心頭。C和P語帶稀噓地說：「我準備『落莊』（離任學生會）後就不再過問世事，只管吃喝玩樂。」當2019年初，不同界別人士成立「反修訂逃犯條例關注組」時，曾經活躍的二人也僅以輔助角色參與：「純粹幫一下同學和學兄、學弟。」

6月9日，民陣發起「反修例大遊行」，他們有感這次遊行與「後雨傘運動」的遊行不同，感覺民氣回歸：「遊行的時候，我已經感覺到大家的憤怒回來了。」遊行結束，時任特首林鄭月娥宣布修例日程維持不變，進一步激發示威者衝擊立法會示威區，並引發自2016年旺角衝突以來首次大規模的警民衝突。

6月12日，立法會繼續處理《逃犯條例》修訂工作，大批示威者一早到立法會外集會，並在早上9時前佔領了告士打道及夏慤道。下午時分，警方施放大量催淚彈驅散示威者。大部分示威者當時並未佩戴任何保護裝備，在催淚煙的籠罩下，被迫湧入中信大廈，更險些釀成人踩人意外。P憶述：「我真的很怕大家會因為懼怕槍炮（而退縮）。但到『六一六大遊行』大家依然走出來，我心想，那麼團結，應該不會散了。」在餘下的2019年，二人繼續活躍於前線，與警方對抗，「以武制暴」。

兄弟爬山，各自努力：尊重理解不同社運中人

在「反修例運動」前，C和P致力為象徵「勇武」的本土派與象徵「和理非」的泛民主派爭奪話語權。但「反修例運動」卻為兩派提供了一個和解的契機，其後更聯合針對政權。對C而言：「社會運動已經發生，可以包容泛民主派過去（對我們的攻擊），

而他們也有自己的作用。」P反思道：「以前會將民主失敗歸咎於泛民，覺得只要香港人勇武起來就可以改變。但發現其實也要做『和理非』，不不再相信單一路線。」

在2019年躁動的11月，中大及理大衝突後，大批示威者受傷或被捕，前線衝突減少。隨著肺炎疫情的來襲，香港政府也藉機以不同法律手段進一步打擊日漸低迷的示威行動。但二人並未因此而消磨意志，反而一直尋找機會延續社運動能。

直至2020年，非建制派陣營決定舉辦立法會初選，目的在於協調年中的立法會出選名單，令非建制派陣營在立法會取得過半席位，繼續爭取「五大訴求」。P一直對參與初選抱有興趣：「不能浪費年輕本土派的付出。我在機緣巧合下結識了鄒家成，發現大家政治立場相近，也是前線手足，所以我最後加入了他的競選團隊。」C和P自此與鄒家成結下不解之緣。其後，鄒家成代表本土抗爭派順利勝出民主派初選，但香港政府以疫情為由，押後了當年的立法會選舉。

「不能停，停下來的話，公民社會就會一沉百踩。」2021年1月6日，香港警方國安處對參與民主派初選的發起人及參與者進行大規模圍捕，其中47人被國安處起訴，包括C和P 很看重的鄒家成。然而，二人並未有因此停下腳步，繼續參與不同組織的活動，務求延續社運，直至他們因「反修例」的案件被判入獄為止。

牢獄前後：為自己打算/想陪同伴坐牢

C和P作為多年戰友，筆者先問C，P在入獄前後的轉變。C表示：「我覺得P入獄前不太清楚往後的目標，但出獄後卻知道自己要來（英國）讀書。」P回應道：「主要因為出獄後，所有東西（公民社會）都解體了，不能再做grassroot activism（草根行動）；反而開始思考香港人在世界上究竟有甚麼影響力，所以決定裝備自己。」C補充說：「P為自己考慮多了。」P笑稱：「自開始『搞事』，真的不曾為自己打算過甚麼。」

那C的改變呢？P帶著一點沉重的語氣回答說：「C有很重的survival guilt（倖存者偏差），一直消除不了，直至他被捕為止。」C回應：「我感覺到很多人擔心我，但其實我一直希望被捕，因為覺得有很多人替我去坐牢，特別是鄒家成。」P 開玩笑說：「C是該坐牢的，他出獄後也終於多考慮自己的事，算是還清了債。」

眼前的二人，看起來跟很多來到英國的年輕人相似，但他倆共同經歷的創傷，卻為他們建立了深厚的羈絆。未來，他們將以不同方式，繼續為仍然身陷囹圄的朋友、為他們所相信的理念而戰鬥。

離開香港：所有東西都是為了準備一個機會的來臨

最後，問及二人對自己和香港人流散社群的未來有何期許時，二人不約而同強調香港人融入當地社區，並壯大群體影響力的重要性。P特別關注如何繼續維繫香港人社群，他表示：「很多現在依然會舉辦活動的組織者已經很burnout(過勞)，所以需要透過不同社區活動吸納新血。同時，我們要『做大個餅』，在香港人群體以外建立事業和關係，但也不能過於脫離香港人。」所以，P在建立自己事業的同時，亦經常參與港人社群活動，實現「雙線發展」。

對於「國際線」的想像，C希望流散港人可以成為「國際線」的一部分。他表示：「與其繼續求人，不如推動香港人加入體制，做MP(議員)也好，做區議員也好，就像加拿大的錫克人一樣，加入政府內閣，左右朝政。希望香港人能為自己發聲，不再被代言。」C依然把在香港的人放在心上。他補充：「無論海外(香港)社群做甚麼也好，其實都是次要的，依然留在香港的人才最清楚事情實況。」

P則認為應利用不同機會擴大整個香港人運動。他說：「我以前以為國際線是遊說外國政府推動有利抗爭的政策，但如今我覺得可以做得更多。」雖然P擔心香港人的根基不穩，可能難以延續運動，但他仍對未來充滿信心：「我們雖然沒有猶太人那種(底蘊)，但也不需要像他們那種流散方式。香港人是歷史上一個獨特的群體，我們可以利用不同的方法進行跨國協作。就像2014年後那樣，我們等待下一個機會。」

失語(?)

筆者和二人相識了一段時間，但對於自2019年以來的種種事情，大家仍處於有點失語的狀態，很多感受、想法尚未有時間、精力去整理。即使兩人與早前所見的精神面貌已有所不同，也許筆者難以形容這種變化，但慶幸，我們在英國仍擁有一片自由的空間，能靜下來反思，並感受大家在離港後，尤其是2019年後的轉變。

The youth brought up through waves of social movements post-Handover

Interviewer: RW



Though I have known C and P back when we met at Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), it is my first time interviewing them in London as of October of 2024. Funny how we all end up here in the same city for further studies, yet never sat down to properly talk about all that we went through back home. Five years after the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement, the sentencing of their comrades from the primaries¹ are gradually being announced. Perhaps it is time to reflect on the past that leaves us all at a loss of words, those years of ‘messaging around’ and all that it has led to.

Political awakening at childhood: How old is old enough to mess around with politics?

C has grown up with parents working as civil servants. A rather liberal parenting has allowed him to pick his hobby as his heart desires. Somehow, reading books and watching films about art, history and philosophy with his father became the common activities of his childhood. Listening to news commentary on Commercial Radio Hong Kong² (CRHK) with his parents was the most memorable part of that. ‘Listening to Albert Cheng³ in the morning, then Raymond Wong⁴ in the evening, both famous for their opinionated voices’ C describes. Politics has never strayed far from C, as his parents brought him along for the 1st July March⁵, themed to stand against Article 23, in 2003, when he was barely ten. Still, he participated in his own way, holding up a sign calling

1 2020 Hong Kong pro-democracy primaries: a self-organised primaries for the then upcoming Legislative Council election, hoping to maximise the pro-Democratic candidates’ chances of winning over half of the Council.

2 Commercial Radio Hong Kong is one of two commercial radio broadcasting companies in Hong Kong

3 Albert Cheng Jing-Han: a former broadcaster of political talk show and Legislative Councillor with no political party background

4 Raymond Wong Yuk-Man: an experienced commentator of Hong Kong politics and former Legislative Councillor, co-founder of People Power

5 1st July march: an annual protest rally organized by the Civil Human Rights Front from 1997 to 2020, each year would carry with it a specific theme or issue, dependent on the political atmosphere of the time

for freedom of speech. He recalls 'though the protest felt intended to be against Article 23 for most, to me I was upset with how Chun-ying Leung⁶ was messing with CRHK, so I drew a radio on that sign.' That was his very first political stance in practice.

'I have learned from a young age to deal with people of different opinion than I, which is to say whatever appeases who I am in the presence of', as C explains further about his education. His primary school was one promoting bilingual learning of the Chinese language⁷, thus having a few classes of it being taught in Mandarin. The school also organised study trips to Mainland China for its students, in order to nurture their sense of belonging to China and their identity as a Chinese citizen. His teachers and principals worked hard to ensure there was little space to reflect on their own sense of identity, thus he had to learn of a way to deal with such attitude. It was not the political ideals that he despises most from those school trips visiting primary schools in China, but how the teachers would shame their students just because their forms when marching was not perfect. 'They kept talking about collectivism in China, yet I have always just wanted freedom. I was bound not to be on the same path as they tried to set.'

To C, participating in social movement is perhaps the most natural thing for him to do. His family has never tried to stop him, only giving him a word of caution 'don't get arrested or anything.' 'I was seeking companions and joining Scholarism⁸ became the natural course of action (at the time).' As C witnessed Taiwan's Sunflower Movement successfully occupy the Legislative Yuan, it strengthened his belief to go further than just peaceful protest, that engaging in physical confrontation against authority should adopted in Hong Kong. With that in mind, he started actively participating in protests organised by Scholarism. On 26th September of 2014, C and his fellow members in Scholarism cracked into the Civic Square⁹ at the Central Government Offices (CGO), leading to his very first "arrest" by the police. C retells the tale as if just another day in life, 'the

6 Chung-ying Leung: a prominent political figure since before 1997, went on to become the Chief Executive in 2012-2017.

7 This is referring to how schools might choose to employ Mandarin in teaching the Chinese subject, instead of Cantonese. At the time of C being in primary school, few schools adopted such policies.

8 Scholarism: a student-led political organization, founded by Joshua Wong and others and with the intention of advocating against Moral and National Education being compulsory for all schools, later continued to be active among social movements until its dissolution in 2016.

9 Civic Square: a nickname for the temporary parking space in front of the Central Government Offices, as it was constantly used as the stage for numerous protests' ending point in 2012.

police merely carried me outside, they did not even actually arrest me at all, and I even walked back into the Square afterwards.' To him, cracking into the Square was another necessary step to kick-start the Umbrella Movement. 'I could feel the crowd not being satisfied with the lack of tension, knowing that another peaceful end of a protest would likely lead to the government's continued ignorance, something's gotta give for it to be escalated for negotiation.' Yet not long after the start of the occupation¹⁰, C felt that lack of tension and loss of direction again. 'It was as if people just move on with their lives,' so he spent less time stationing in the occupation territories. It was until the occupied territories in Mong Kok was in conflict with potentially triad members that he returned to the site of confrontation, ready to defend and fight with his comrades, 'call me only when there is a fight to be had!' At the time of 2014, most citizens still considered 'peaceful, rational and non-violent'¹¹ to be the leading path of social movement, while protesters started to be divided about different approaches on sites, C was already vouching for a more radical¹² approach. This divide of opinion became apparent in the post-Umbrella Movement era, reflected through various debates among candidates for the by-election of the LegCo in 2016.

Political awakening as an accident: I did not realise until that moment, that this could be what it means to be a Hongkonger

The Umbrella Movement was P's very first taste of social movement and the foundation of how he became an active participant with the Localists¹³. P's parents both worked in government disciplinary forces and carried with them a sense of political ignorance. The only exception was how his father embraced the ideals of a law enforcer, teaching him the necessity of following the law. He would even bring P to observe a hearing or two, as the solemnness of the court left a lasting impression on P. Though it further associated his father with being authoritative, he had never treated P the way he would treat his work at all.

10 Occupy Central was announced to begin on 28th September 2016, which sparked off a wave of occupation in a few districts, like Causeway Bay and Mong Kok.

11 A term used by early Democrats to describe the manner of protests they deem to be ideal to reflect the qualities of protesters

12 Radical: those believing in direct action and conflict against authority would be a more effective way of protest

13 The Localists: a strand of Hong Kong political ideals that believes the only way for the city to gain democracy is through being independent from China, to first be concerned only about the welfare and freedom of Hong Kong on its own term, instead of grounding it with treaties or agreements signed by other powers or countries through history.

P joked 'I was basically what we refer to as "Mainland Chinese plastic"¹⁴ before S2¹⁵ P also attended school trips to China and very much enjoyed reading Chinese literature during his school years. To him, those trips as a way of national education were quite successful. He felt like China was rapidly developing as a country, people there were living a life better than he would have imagined. In addition, since most of P's relatives also bore ties to the disciplinary forces, there was close to no chance for him to be in touch with any alternatives. 'I could vividly recall how I drew a battleship with a Chinese flag hanging on top, as if it is the most natural thing for a teenager to do.' Hearing that now, it very much sounds like something "little pink"¹⁶ would do.

It took a series of coincidences for P to stumble into his own political awakening. Somehow, he joined the 1st July march in 2012, then having a chance to discuss trending political concerns with his Liberal Studies' teacher, until politics really entered his life at the latter years of his secondary school life. 'I think I was dragged, or tricked into, joining my friends during summer holiday to that protest, knowing nothing about it. A foreign journalist somehow caught me and interviewed me, I only said something about freedom and left feeling like protest was a fun thing to do.' That encounter did not lead to his genuine interest in politics, that would all come later when the Umbrella Movement arrived. During the Umbrella Movement, 'my PE coach told us to join an anti-Umbrella Movement marathon out of the blue one day, it all just felt so awkward and embarrassing. Of course I refused that invitation of an outing. Then when I saw that marathon being reported on the news, and one of my relatives was next to me cheering it on, I was certain that this all felt wrong to me.' This sense of wrongness led to P's attempt to properly understand the political structure and concerns of Hong Kong and eventually led to him joining the students' strike at the time.

14 Mainland Chinese plastic: a direct Cantonese term of translation to describe people that blindly adhere to 'one China' belief, that Hong Kong is merely another city of China, thus its future is dependent entirely on China's own political development; plastic is commonly used in Cantonese to describe someone as idiotic or sort

15 S2 = 2nd year of secondary school

16 Little Pink: a term coined a few years ago online, to describe netizens that repeatedly comment pro-China views on posts they deem to be 'attacking China's sovereignty or authority'

The sight of the students' strike¹⁷ (of the Umbrella Movement) truly struck P as astonishing, 'witnessing it made me realise peers of my age have been participating in politics in more ways than I could imagine.' P grinned as he said to C 'we are(were) making social change here (there and then)'. The confrontation just a few days later on 28th September¹⁸ only allowed P to further embrace his role within the social movement. As P walked around different occupation territories, he gained the chance to discuss with his fellow protesters about politics and consolidated his political knowledge and ideals. At this point, similarly to C, P gradually felt the loss of mobility as the protesters at the occupation territory in Admiralty acted more like organisers of an event than actors in a movement. He visited the occupation territory in Mong Kok more often then. 'Maybe more people gathered in Mong Kok came from a more grassroot background, have less specific political ideal but possess more determination and readiness to act.' By then, P was already making protective gears at home, ready to defend protesters at Mong Kok. Within a short few months, P had grown from not knowing a word about politics to an actor on the front-line.

A firm localist: I just know I have to do something

Unfortunately, the Umbrella Movement ended without any compromise from the government, with the police forcibly taking down each and every occupied territory across districts. Social movements (civic discontent/ civic momentum) at large in Hong Kong took a quieter turn, especially the students' organisations that were brought under the limelight during the Umbrella Movement, Scholarism and Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS)¹⁹. C recalls, 'Scholarism could not even organise among itself for any noticeable action, but I knew something had to be done.' P had a similar thought, 'after the failure of the Umbrella Movement, there should be something unexpected happening, to continue that civic momentum of sort.' Hence, C and P joined the series of 'Anti-parallel trading protests', getting to districts where parallel traders were pushing up the prices of daily necessities and crowding up pedestrians' paths with carts and all, like Yuen Long and Sheung Shui, protesting directly against those traders and often escalating to physical confrontations.

17 2014 Hong Kong class boycott campaign began on 22nd September and was to end on 28th September

18 26th September – 28th September 2014 marked the three days of protesters gathering and resisting the police's effort in dispersing the crowd outside the Civic Square

19 HKFS: founded in 1985, as a representation of students' unions across higher education institutions in Hong Kong; a frequent participating organisation in students' movements and social movements through the decades

Considering the deteriorating tension and confrontations, the Hong Kong government finally relented and carried out 'one visit per week' for Shenzhen residents that are traveling to Hong Kong, stopping them from using their visa to go back and forth between the two cities daily for parallel trading. C points out that 'it was effective, unlike how we were just waiting to be approached and play defence from the police, we could feel the cops retreating when those confrontations happened. And reality proves that the government relented and adopted the policy for such demand.' To C and P, this series of action led them out of feeling helpless and hopeless after the Umbrella Movement. Coincidentally, the Localists had started to publish various journals and essays, explaining and promoting their ideals, such as *On the Hong Kong City-State* written by Chin Wan and the *Hong Kong Nationalism* published by the Hong Kong University Students' Union, to show there is a way different from the traditional democratic ideals. This further consolidated how C and P aligns themselves with such ideals as Localists. P puts it bluntly 'I know as long as Hong Kong is under China's rule, there won't be actual democracy.'

At that point in time, their main mission became pushing for space in the public discourse for the Localists. They both agreed that 'before any actual revolution, you need to start within the minds and ideals of our fellow pan-Democrats.' They later managed to get into Chinese University of Hong Kong, and participated in the Students' Union's election, seeking every opportunity to promote the Localists' theory and ideals, hoping their new status could help change how the civic society thinks of the Localists.

2019: The year that brought all to a crossroad

"I was really worried that once people left, they won't ever return"

As C and P worked hard with their positions at the Students' Union²⁰ of Chinese University of Hong Kong, there was no sign of returning civic discontent or momentum to press for democracy with any social movements. Once again, helplessness and desperation caught up with them. They both expressed that they were ready to just "eat, play, sleep" and stop caring about the news and everything, once they finished their duties as part of the Students' Union. When 2019 began, and people from all over started to gather for action about protesting against the extradition bill, they only showed up as support, 'just there to help a friend or a fellow classmate out.'

20 Aside from the aforementioned HKFS, most Students' Unions of the time often played a significant role in leading social movements and upholding and promoting democratic ideals and practice in Hong Kong politics.

9th June was the first huge protest against the Extradition Bill, organised by the Civil Human Rights Front (CHRF), C and P could feel the atmosphere was different than what they had felt post-Umbrella Movement. 'I could feel the anger and fury among the crowds, that such momentum has returned' When the protest was done, the then Chief Executive Carrie Lam announced the schedule of the passing of the Extradition Bill would continue. Such response triggered the protesters attempting to crash into the designated protest area at the LegCo, becoming the first larger scale confrontation between citizens and police ever since the one in Mong Kok in 2016²¹.

12th June²², the LegCo continued to work on procedures to pass the bill, while large crowds of protesters arrived outside LegCo, occupying Gloucester Road and Harcourt Road before nine a.m. By the afternoon, the police were utilising a significant amount of tear gas to disperse protesters, that had surrounded the Central Government Offices. Some protesters were forced to run inside the CITIC Tower²³ to seek refuge from the onslaught of tear gas without any protective gear, yet that had almost caused a crowd collapse from within. As P recalls that day, 'I was terrified that people would be scared of such extensive use of police arms. Yet the crowd re congregated for the protest on 16th September, telling me we were not ready to back down.' In the remainder of 2019, both of them continued to stay active among various frontlines, in big and small protests.

Each to their own path, hiking up the same peak: respect and mutual understanding across all positions within the movement

Before 2019, C and P were promoting the Localists' ideal, which is also often associated with being more radical in action, amidst the predominant principles of 'peaceful, rational and non-violent' that had been held by the pan-Democrats for years. The Anti-Extradition Bill Movement somehow provided an opportunity for people with either view to reach a compromise, to cooperate in opposition to the authority putting its chains onto the city's freedom and democracy. To C, 'when a movement is in motion, I could look past the pan-Democrats' critiques

21 2016: It has been a tradition to have hawkers appear certain area during Lunar New Year, where the cops would turn a blind eye for those few days. Yet as crowds gathered further than before that year, as hawkers and crowds were on car streets technically, it drove towards the police forcing them to scatter by force.

22 12th June: A general strike was called so more might join the protest of the day, it served similar purpose to have Gloucester Road blocked so early, as one of the main roads passing through significant part of Hong Kong Island.

23 CITIC Tower is a commercial building right opposite the CGO, with only Harcourt Road between the two, hence its entrance would often be filled with protesters when the occasion arose

on us, to see that they are helping in their own ways.' P reflects, 'we used to blame the lack of success on how the pan-Democrats were not progressive or aggressive enough, that if the people were ready to take radical direct action, it would've been enough to bring about change. Only then did I realise the path of peaceful, rational and non-violent protest can also plays its role (in persuading people to support the movement and encouraging government's negotiation) and I stopped believing there is only one path towards our goal.'

That fateful November in 2019, after huge crowds of protesters getting injured, wounded or arrested by the police at the sieges of CUHK and Polytechnic University of Hong Kong (PolyU), frontline confrontations with the police eventually reduced in numbers, along with the outbreak of Covid, the Hong Kong government utilised the chance to employ all legal measures to strike the dwindling number of protests and demonstrations. C and P had not lost their morales under such atmosphere, continued to find glimpses under such heavy clouds to enlengthen that momentum of the social movement, just like their efforts after the Umbrella Movement.

Fortunately, the pro-democratic side of LegCo decided to organise a primary election in early 2020, aiming to reach the best compromise for the upcoming LegCo election in order to win the majority of it, striving to achieve 'Five Demands, Not One Less'²⁴ through the legislative branch. P has always been interested in joining the primaries, 'We cannot waste the efforts of the younger Localists.'²⁵ Getting to know Owen Chow at that point was quite opportune, as we share similar political stance and him having experience on the frontline was enough for me to believe in and participate in his electoral campaign.' C and P have founded a fateful bonding with Chow from then on. Chow, representing Localist' view, later won in the pro-democracy primaries, but the Hong Kong government used Covid as the excuse to delay the election of LegCo.

'We cannot stop, if we stop, the civil society will forever lose its momentum.' On 6th January 2021, the National Security Department of the Hong Kong Police arrested the leading organisers and candidates of the pro-democracy primaries, 47 out of them were later charged, including Chow. Still, C and P continued in

24 The prominent demand throughout the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement, which includes: Withdrawal of the Extradition Bill, Retracting the word "riot" to describe the series of protests, Release arrested protestors, Establish independent commission of enquiry into police brutality throughout the movement. Resignation of Carrie Lam and fulfilling universal suffrage

25 Here referring to protesters who acted in support of Localists' ideal throughout 2019 to 2020

their participation in other activities that could continue the civic momentum, until they themselves were arrested, charged and put in jail for cases relating to the Anti-Extradition Movement.

Before/After jail: What about my own future? / I wanna be in jail with them

C and P have been comrades for years, so I ask if they felt any changes in one another before and after being in jail. C points out 'I feel like P had no idea what his next step would be when he was getting in jail, but once he was out, he knew he had to leave and study in the UK.' P responds, 'It's mainly because the civil society and the momentum were all gone by the time I came out of jail, there was no space for grassroot activism, and so my only conclusion is to better equip myself and work towards how else a Hongkonger can influence the world.' C adds that 'he started thinking for himself more,' to which P only laughs 'from the beginning of joining all this, I had almost never planned for my own future.' I ask P the same question and he replied with a weigh in his voice. 'C carried much survivor's guilt, up until he himself was arrested and put in jail.' C responded, 'I realised a lot of people were worried about me, but I actually always wanted to be arrested. Too many others have been jailed for me (sharing a cause with him), especially Owen Chow.' P jokes 'He just had to be in jail, paid his due in his own way. Now that he is out of jail, he can finally start thinking for himself more, relieved of some of that debt.'

Though these two look just like any other young adults newly arriving in the UK from Hong Kong, the wounds they carry with them continue to be the foundation of their friendship, to continue the fight for those who are still in jail, for the belief they still carry, only in a vastly different way than before.

Leaving Hong Kong: Prepare everything for when a chance to strike again

Lastly, I ask them about their future and wishes for the Hong Kong diaspora. They both emphasise Hong Kong immigrants have to integrate themselves into local communities, strengthen their influence in groups and population. P especially spotlights on how to continue the bonding among Hongkongers, 'lots of existing organisers for Hongkongers' communities are already in burnout, hence it needs new volunteers joining, and to connect with other communities and businesses.' Hence, P ensures he participates often in activities for Hongkongers, aside from building up his own career.

As for a vision of what role Hongkongers would continue to play on the international arena, C hopes that a few or some Hongkongers would rise to the occasion, joining the arena themselves, 'whether it is campaigning to be an MP, joining the local council members, or like the Sikhs in Canada, joining the cabinet, to play an active part in the existing political structure. Only then we would have a direct channel to put our voices forward, instead of keep waiting for someone to provide us aid, speaking out for us.' C still cares much about where Hongkongers will go next, 'whatever those who had left does, it does not compare to those who are still staying in Hong Kong, living in the aftermath and actuality of being a Hongkonger.'

P thinks it is crucial to take every opportunity to expand the scope of Hongkongers' movement. 'I used to think international frontier only means persuading foreign governments on policies that would benefit the protests in Hong Kong. Now I can see more ways than that.' Still, he worries that the foundation of a Hongkongers' community in diaspora is not as consolidated as some others, which might lead to its momentum being difficult to hold onto. 'Though we don't have the foundation as the Jewish diaspora, we don't have to follow the same path as any other diasporas. We have been drawn a unique path in history, there are other ways to facilitate cross-country cooperation and collaboration, to accumulate momentum until a chance arises, just like how we waited after the Umbrella Movement.'

At a loss

I have known both of them for a long time and shared with them the sentiment of not knowing how to speak of all that we experienced and walked through. Too many thoughts and emotions whirling within us, yet reality has not allowed any of us to put them all into words. Fortunately, perhaps they are already showing a different facet than what I saw in them just a few years ago. Though I fail to describe such changes, it is fortunate we can breathe in the freedom in the UK, allowing time to let all of it sink in, to be continued.

從前線急救員到異鄉重生 —— Sam 的成長與蛻變

訪問者：呂譔慷

浪潮初起，初生之犢不畏途

2019年，Sam(化名)17歲，是香港中學文憑考試(DSE)應屆中六考生，同時也是「反修例運動」中的一名急救員。

同年6月9日，他人生第一次參加遊行，隨著蜂擁而至的人潮行走在馬路中央，他深感震撼。

6月12日，目睹警方如何對待示威者，他非常氣憤：「公民意識突然被push(推)到很高。」

整個6月，他不顧父母反對，持續參與抗爭。一方面，他意識到這場運動與自己的未來息息相關；另一方面，他受到朋輩及社交媒體的鼓勵；此外，他對這種政治表達形式感到「新奇」。

Sam 自言，其政治取向偏向「和理非」（和平、理性、非暴力），欠缺前線所需的「勇氣」與「體能」。由於擁有急救牌照，所以他經朋友介紹，加入了一支急救小隊。每次出動時，他會穿上印有十字標記的反光背心，帶上小型急救包，內有紗布、膠布、生理鹽水等，還有「前輩」傳授的便捷止血用品——衛生巾。

小隊共有八名成員，彼此擁有共同目標，並建立了「好純粹」而深厚的信任。Sam說：「當你身處一個團隊時，你整個mindset(思維)都會受到影響。它好像給了你一份勇氣，大家真正做到『齊上齊落』。」若非加入了小隊，單憑個人力量，他絕對不會參與11月的兩場激烈衝突。

中大烽煙，信念與迷惘交錯

11月11日，示威者發起「黎明行動」，於香港中文大學(中大)引發嚴重衝突。當日，Sam如常上學補習，隨後與隊友乘坐的士進入中大。他形容當時的情況很荒謬。

抵達中大後，他憶述目之所及的場面很誇張——四周烈火熊熊，催淚彈不斷發射；有人焚燒電箱，空氣中瀰漫著廢鐵與毒氣的氣味，這一切都讓他永遠無法忘記。他從沒想過自己竟會處於比較偏激的對抗狀態，內心確有掙扎。但他說：「在那個情況下，因為團隊的關係，又或者基於自己所想……我其實不太知道自己（的想法）……我只是覺得自己在表達一些東西、在參與一樣事情，然後我就去做了。」

Sam留守 U Gym（體育中心），主要負責處理催淚彈個案，也目睹不少人被打傷。這裏是抗爭者的大本營：一側擺放著桌子，上面整齊陳列著零食、大學生的「頹 tee」（迎新營T恤）等物資；另一側是休息區，用於進行各類急救與存放個人物品，籃球場的觀眾席則可供人躺下休息。當時，他也嘗試著斷斷續續地入睡。

他憶述，當時有人自發煮飯，他曾吃過意粉和很多「公仔麵」；也有人負責處理垃圾，甚至四處詢問其他人是否需要洗澡更衣。縱使當時承受極大壓力，大家仍互相照顧，展現「很團結的公民抗命」。然而，這樣的情景，恐怕難以再現。

11月15日，中大衝突結束。為保安全，Sam過了一兩天才離開。他已曠課多日，甚至沒有告假，DSE更是無暇顧及。

此時，香港理工大學（理大）已爆發激烈衝突。回家後，他換了衣服，不顧家人反對，再次出門，轉戰理大。

暗潮湧動，理大圍城步步為營

Sam說，理大那一週，是他人生最 traumatic（造成創傷）的一次經歷。

相比中大，理大衝突進一步升級。抗爭者佔據了整個校園，入內人士必須接受盤問才能「過關」。前線多人受傷倒地，不少人傷勢嚴重。不過，這次場內醫護較多，設於正門樓梯頂部的急救室甚至有註冊護士當值。

基於「留下來就必須有用」的原則，Sam的崗位因而改變——他不再留在後排專門進行「純粹」的急救，尤其針對橡膠彈等造成的嚴重傷勢，他自覺應當交由專業人士處理。因此，他改為前往前線，負責把傷者搬扶回來（亦稱「拉人」）。這項工作讓他被捕與受傷的風險大增。

他說，現在回想，當時的畫面甚為恐怖，但當下卻沒有膽怯的空間——他親眼看到有人手臂被橡膠彈打出「大洞」；有人頭盔被打凹；有人被水炮車射中後，急救員需立刻剪開他們的衣服，以減緩痛楚。他整天聽到的，除了不斷響起的警鐘聲、「報位」（報告警察位置）的呼喊聲外，還有傷者的呻吟聲。有些前線抗爭者為了保護後排，即使受傷也不肯撤退，「死撐」（苦苦堅持）了一整天，結果翌日動彈不得，更被護士痛心責備：「為何不早點回來？」Sam 形容，这一幕幕場面讓人十分「心噏」（讓人傷心）。

讓他「心噏」的，還有親眼見證理大的變化——剛抵達時，物資充裕，環境整潔，有精於廚藝的人負責煮食。但在圍困近兩週後，糧食短缺，物資匱乏，四周凌亂不堪，空氣中彌漫著惶恐與絕望。

沉舟折戟，餘生埋下烙印

Sam認為自己「拖得太久」，應該早點離開。他曾與幾名隊友試圖逃走，惜未遂。情急之下，他們躲進一個隱蔽密室。這應該是工地的臨時辦公室。他們只聽見外面不時傳來腳步聲，卻不知是否來人是否警察，所以只好輪流以身體抵著大門，以防有人破門而入。火警鐘聲響過不停，讓人如坐針氈，氣氛十分恐怖。他不知道自己待了多久。半天？一天？他無法確定自己在做甚麼，也不知道還有沒有逃脫的可能。他說，那種幽閉與壓抑的感覺難以形容，他感到深深的絕望。這一刻，成為整場運動裏，對他心理影響最深的創傷。

此時，各界人士正與警方磋商，安排進入理大帶走未成年學生。而警方承諾不作拘捕，但保留起訴權利。Sam的中學副校長亦致電勸他離開，但他卻感到掙扎：「當裏面的大學生知道你是中學生時，每個人都問你：『為甚麼這麼蠢還不走？』他們真的為你擔憂，因為他們已經覺得沒有希望了。那種絕望的氣氛是……讓人很心痛。他們說這句的時候，是因為他們知道自己走不了，卻覺得你還有機會，覺得你應該選擇離開。但你自己心懷不忿。」

最終，促使他作出抉擇的，是幾位大學生姐姐。她們邊哭邊拉著他的手，苦苦央求他離開。當他準備踏出校園之際，他與其他人一樣，把身上的裝`備棄置在入口的噴水池。他感覺理大在「一瞬間變成了遺址」。他憶述，警察拍下了他的照片、登記他的身份證。雖然他們一直對著他笑，但卻一點也不友善。

餘燼未冷，重塑人生軌跡

就這樣，Sam的急救員身份就在完全沒有預警之下結束了。他也再沒見過幾名隊友，不知他們的安危，卻也不敢主動聯絡，以免成為罪證。

後來，他因其他政治參與而導致DSE失利，還官司纏身。雖然勉強考入大學，卻無緣修讀心儀的護理系，而身邊的朋友大多升讀「神科」。為了安全，他決定遠赴英國升學。然而，第一年特別難過——他時常徹夜難眠，昔日的畫面不斷浮現眼前。學生宿舍的火警鐘頻繁鳴響，總會勾起他的創傷回憶，每每更因而嚇得不懂反應。

Sam說：「若說沒有後悔，是假的。」若能回到過去，他會勸自己「想清楚才做」，不要參與中大、理大的衝突。即使在其中有自己的崗位，卻像是為了留下來而勉強找個位置，沒有真正的貢獻，最終只會成為別人的負累。

但過去不能逆轉，唯有學習說服自己，與自己和解。Sam說，他原本是個只會讀書的小朋友，而這場運動讓他更了解自己，也更清楚自己想看到的世界。他感恩「被逼」離開香港，才得以慢慢重新尋找目標，建立新的朋友圈，學習撫平傷口——例如當聽到警鐘時，會強逼自己作出反應，不能再被創傷「打敗」。經歷了人生的跌宕起伏，現年23歲的他笑說：「由零開始建立，輕而易舉。」目前，他正朝著新目標——開設咖啡店——進發。



Sam 在英國重新出發，尋找人生方向，圖為 Sam 的咖啡拉花作品

Just Another Secondary Student, a First Aider¹ in the Anti-Extradition Movement: Sam

Interviewer: Lui Ngok Hong

In 2019, Sam was merely 17 years old when he became a first aider at the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement, the exact year he was about to take the HKDSE.²

9th June was his first time participating in a protest ever. As he followed the crowd walking on the road normally filled with busy traffic, it filled him with a sense of astonishment.

12th June was his first time witnessing how cruel the police treated the protesters, he was furious. 'It was like a sudden push towards my civic awareness.'

The remainder of June, he continued to participate in the movement despite his parents' opposition. The three factors that led to his action were: how he realised the movement was tied to his own future, the encouragement from peers and on social media and his own curiosity towards such political expressions.

Sam says he had always leaned towards 'peaceful, rational and non-violent' means of protests and lacked the bravery and physicality he deemed essential for those on the frontline³. Hence, he was introduced by friends into a first aid team, given he already had his first aid certificate. Whenever they joined a protest, they would wear reflective vests with a cross clearly seen, equipped with first aid supplies, like gauze, plasters, saline, and most of all, a perhaps unconventional means to staunch blood, sanitary pads.

There were eight in the team, sharing the same goal and the trust that came seemingly natural with it. Sam says, 'When you are in a team, it really affects your mindset, as if giving you courage, as if you really are united in your minds

1 First-aiders at protests and more severe confrontation with the police carries the duties of tending to those wounded. Since they carry their certified identity cards with them, for a certain period during 2019 protests, it gave them a degree of legitimate reasons to stay around without being pushed away by the police at scenes of protests and conflicts. Hence, they represented a specific group of actors throughout the Movement.

2 HKDSE: Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education Examination is the current examination in place to determine students' score for university entry

3 'peaceful, rational and non-violent' is often used to describe protesters who tended to not engage with direct conflict with the police, in contrast to those who are deemed 'radical'

and actions'. He would not have been at the fierce sieges in November, if not for being part of a team.

The Siege of Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK)

The protesters called for a general strike and blockades of main highways and roads on 11th November⁴. With CUHK being one of the destined location, severe confrontation broke out. That very day, Sam went to his tutorial class as normal, then immediately joined his teammates, riding on a taxi on route to CUHK. It was absurd.

Upon his arrival, what he witnessed was 'beyond imagination': fires everywhere, shots after shots of tear gas going about, people igniting feeder pillars, air filled with the smell of tarnished metal and toxic fumes. It was a scene he would never forget. He had never anticipated himself being at the scene of a more 'radical and extreme' resistance, and that caused certain doubt in his mind. Yet he says, 'under those circumstances, being with my team. I am still not sure what I was doing or thinking, I just know I am expressing a stance and being a part of something bigger, and so I stayed.'

Sam stationed at the Students' Sports Centre (U Gym), mainly treating those who suffered from tear gas shots, but also people who were beaten up. It was the base camp for protesters, one side of it was lined with tables filled with snacks, t-shirts and more supplies ready for the taking, the other side served as a resting zone, all kinds of first-aid treatments, temporary storage of personal items and space for all to just lay down and rest. He tried to get a nap or two amidst the chaos.

He recalls that people would volunteer to cook for everyone, so he had gotten pasta and 'a whole ton of instant noodles' from them. Others handled the trash, asking around if anyone might need a change of clothes or a shower. No matter the pressure each was under at such tense confrontation, everyone took care of everybody, it was a clear reflection of the spirit behind such scale of civil disobedience. It might be close to impossible for such a scene to appear again in the same city.

⁴ 11th November: nicknamed Action Dawn「黎明行動」CUHK campus includes a bridge over a Tolo Highway and another over East Rail line, making it prime location to enact such blockade. Those two are the main ways for Tai Po and Sha Tin surrounding residents to enter Kowloon.

The siege of CUHK ended on 15th November, Sam stayed another few days just for safety. By that time, he had skipped school for days, without a single notice to his school, let alone caring for his own studies for HKDSE.

Though the siege at CUHK ended, another of similar scale had ignited at Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU). Once he got home, changing out his outfit and ignoring his family's own protest, he went ahead towards PolyU.

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The siege of Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Sam declares that the week at PolyU was the most traumatic experience he has ever had.

Compared to CUHK, the confrontation here escalated further, with protesters occupying most of the campus and blocking entrances, filtering those who wish to enter. When those on the frontline fell back and returned to rest, all of their wounds and injuries were more severe. Yet there were also more certified medics at the scene, with the emergency room at the entrance always stationed with certified nurses.

Following the principle of 'those who stay must serve a purpose,' Sam switched out his duty of staying back to treat patients. He agreed that the responsibility of treating those with severe injuries, from tear gas or plastic bullets, should reserve for certified medical professionals at the scene. So, he took up the role of moving wounded patients from the frontline to the back. This new role also meant he faced significantly higher risk of getting arrested or beaten. He says, recalling those scenes, each of them was horrifying, yet there was no room for him to feel scared at that moment. He has seen people's arms with a huge hole from a shot of plastic bullet, someone's helmet with an obvious indentation implying possible heavy beating, those who got hit by water cannon required first aider to immediately remove their clothing just to reduce the pain. Every moment of the day, he only heard warning alarms, reports of police positions, or moaning of patients all around. Sometimes, protesters on the frontline would insist to stay for longer hours, despite their own injuries, just to protect those at the back. By

the time they returned to the emergency room for treatment, they had not been able to move part of their body for the entire day, earning them scolding from the nurses 'Why didn't you come back sooner?' It was all heartbreaking for Sam to witness.

Yet another facet of the siege that tugged at Sam's heartstrings was witnessing the changes within PolyU in just a week or so. When he first arrived, supplies were ample, everything arranged neatly and tidily, with people good at cooking serving all those who stayed; after two weeks of blockade from the police, food and supplies were running low, messes everywhere, and the worst of all was the suffocating sense of fear and desperation in the air.

Sam states that in retrospect he stayed far too long, when he should have left sooner. His team and him had attempted to escape from the blockade yet failed. They hid inside an enclosed room (assuming it to be a construction site's temporary office). They stayed there for hours, staying alert to any sound of footsteps outside, not knowing if it was the police or not, using their bodies to prevent the door from being opened. Fire alarms kept blaring all hours and he had no idea exactly how long they had stayed there, half a day or an entire day. It was at that point that he had no idea what he was doing anymore, with no clue if he could escape or not. To him, that level of claustrophobic and oppressive atmosphere ultimately led him to absolute hopelessness. This marks the deepest wound he still carries with him from those days.

At that point, representatives from different industries or people with certain level of reputation had attempted to negotiate with the police. They arranged for their entry to PolyU to bring underaged participants away, with the promise that they would not be arrested upon exit, yet the police reserved the right to charge them later. Sam's own vice principal had called him as well, persuading him to leave on those terms, still he was conflicted.

'When people inside (PolyU) realised you are a secondary student, everyone asked you "Why aren't you leaving? Don't be idiotic." They were truly worried for me, already accepting defeat and it just broke my heart further. When they said this to me, they knew they could not leave without being arrested or at least bothered by the police. They know I still stood a chance to leave unscathed and so I should take that choice. Still, I just could not accept that was all it led to.' Eventually, Sam made the choice to leave on those terms, when a few undergraduates took his hands in tears, begging him to go. As he stepped outside the campus, he threw all his gears and supplies at the fountain at the

entrance, just as everyone else, and that moment 'as if it all turned into a frozen scene at a historical abandoned site.' He recalls how the police took his photo, registered his ID number and keep smirking at him without an ounce of kindness.

After the siege of PolyU

With that, Sam ceased to be a first aider 'without any planning or warning.' He never saw his teammates again, despite worrying about them he dared not to reach out, in fear of any contact would become evidence for police prosecution in the future.

He still got entangled with other forms of political participation afterwards, leading to not quite making it through his HKDSE and with a court case troubling his days. Though he did end up passing for university entrance, he could not get into his desired major of nursing, worse when all his peers managed to get into top-notch universities and their high-ranking majors. For safety reasons, he finally decided to study at universities in the UK. The first year was especially rough, Sam lied there sleepless, as his mind flashing through scenes of the past. Students' dormitory alarm rang often, and it only served to trigger his traumatic memories and cause him to freeze on the spot, failing to react.

Sam says, 'if I said I have no regret, I'd only be lying.' If given the chance to return to the past, he would tell himself to think carefully before his every action and not to participate at the sieges of CUHK and PolyU. Now he feels like, even though it seemed like he had a place to help, it sounded more like excuses for himself to stay and not be a burden to others.

Alas, the past cannot be rewritten, he has to reconcile with his own decisions and actions. Sam says he used to be 'the kid that only knows to study well,' the Movement showed him the world and a different perspective of himself. He could only be thankful he was 'forced' to leave Hong Kong. He has the time and space to start again, find his peer groups, learn to put balm on his wounds, like learning not to freeze upon any fire alarm, so his trauma would not have him beat. Having gone through all this and just now at the age of 23, Sam grins and says, 'Starting from zero should be a piece of cake, right?', as he now continues to work towards his new goal of opening a coffee shop.

信念不滅，心中有光 ——盲人律師Joy的 歷史見證

訪問者：烏鴉哥



投身法律，捍衛公義

2019年「反修例運動」期間，香港失明律師陸耀輝(Joy)經常出現在示威現場，監察「警暴」，為抗爭者提供法律協助，並保釋被捕人士。三年多前，Joy首次離開香港，宣佈流亡至加拿大多倫多。她在香港大學取得國際人權法學碩士學位，長年關注民主和人權議題。現時，正於多倫多大學(多大)法律系攻讀環球法律碩士，期望明年能在加拿大重新取得律師資格，繼續為理想中的公義發聲。

Joy從小在元朗長大，後因升讀聖保羅書院搬到市區。完成PCLL(律師資格考試)後，她到香港大學修讀國際人權法學碩士課程。碩士畢業後，她輾轉加入平等機會委員會，擔任調查主任約三年，主要調查歧視案件。她表示，自己從小對法律深感興趣。Joy清楚記得《基本法》剛實施的時候，她在學校圖書館找到的一本點字版的《基本法》小冊子，讀了幾遍後便深深著迷，也因此發現自己對於法律條文有濃厚興趣。此外，電影《法內情》中劉德華的角色——一位在孤兒院長大的青年律師——深深啟發了她，讓她萌生成為律師的念頭，希望為傷殘人士爭取權益。而且，Joy認為律師的身份令她處理某些事情時更「方便」，例如在警局協助保釋時，律師更了解程序，也擁有更多話語權。

難以磨滅的記憶——「反修例運動」中的三大經歷

Joy表示，2019至2020年「反修例運動」期間，接連不斷的事件都讓她難以忘懷，特別是香港人之間的人情味，教她驚喜不已。其中，以下三件事對她而言最為深刻。

多區遊行活動：深水埗至尖沙嘴的驚險時刻

2019年8月11日，原定於深水埗舉行的遊行及集會，因警方拒絕發出「不反對通知書」，未能獲得正式批准。然而，下午3時左右，大批市民仍從遊行起點楓樹街遊樂場出發，沿長沙灣道向麗閣邨方向遊行。半小時後，警方在深水埗警署天台向欽州街施放催淚彈驅散市民，並派出大批防暴警察分別從欽州街和荔枝角

方向道推進，不斷在施放催淚彈。當日，Joy先到深水埗參與遊行，隨後前往荔枝角。抵達荔枝角後，她進入地鐵站躲避催淚彈，但警察當日亦在各區地鐵站內施放催淚彈。Joy聽見催淚彈洩及在場兒童，孩子們的哭泣聲此起彼落。於是，她用隨身的風扇和清水幫助孩子驅散殘留在身上催淚煙味。

其後，Joy輾轉到達尖沙嘴柏麗大道。當時，她身旁站著的正是「爆眼少女」——在尖沙咀警署外遭警員發射布袋彈擊中右眼的義務急救員少女K。事發時，Joy和K之間的距離僅約一至兩米，情況極為驚險。

9.1和你塞：徒步逃離機場的長征

2019年9月1日，逾千名市民響應「9.1和你塞」行動。然而，當示威者離開機場時，警方從海陸兩路夾擊，幾乎切斷市區所有公共交通工具。最終，近500人徒步近18公里，從機場經富東邨前往欣澳，再走到青馬收費廣場轉乘巴士，或由熱心司機義載離開大嶼山。Joy也是其中一員。當時，她背著沉重的背囊徒步從機場走到東涌，加上本身患有糖尿病，所以沿途頻感到暈眩不適。然而，在場的抗爭者彼此照應，互相關心，这一幕令她對「一向冷漠」的香港人徹底改觀。甚至有途人將600元塞到她手裏以表支持。最終抵達東涌後，商場職員引領Joy到職員休息室以躲避警方，更請她喝飲料，並給她買來一大堆小吃。職員們緊盯著電視直播，確保外面環境安全後，才放心讓Joy離開。

理大圍城：逃出生天的生死抉擇

2019年11月11日，網民發起「三罷」，大批抗爭者進入香港理工大學（理大）。至11月18日深夜，警察圍堵理大，逾千人被困校園內。同月17日，Joy乘坐火車前往紅磡，在旁人協助下抵達歷史博物館附近。當時，警方出動兩輛水炮車和銳武裝甲車。雖然Joy無法親眼目睹，但仍能感受到現場衝突有多激烈。其後，她順利進入了理大校園。警方當時宣布，如晚上10時前仍沒離開理大校園，校內所有人將會被控暴動罪。Joy表示，當時有醫護人員選擇離開，但隨後傳出被捕消息。於是，理大內的抗爭者不再信任警方，決定死守在理大校園內。直至半夜，許多人開始用手機錄下遺言，Joy也錄製了一段語音轉發給社工。其後，她便在體育館稍作休息。清晨時分，防暴警察悄悄進入理大，Joy被其他抗爭者叫醒逃走，卻在混亂間不慎遺失手機，並與社工失聯。途中，她感到心臟不適，遂前往救護站求助。當時，救護站內已有兩名傷者。稍後，數名消防隊救護員趕至。Joy起初懷疑對方是否偽裝成消防員的警察，經過交談後才確認對方的身份。救護員表示只能

帶一人離開，Joy幸運地被選中，跟隨他們穿過滿目瘡痍的校園，歷經波折才登上理大外的救護車。當時有兩名年輕抗爭者請求跟車離開，救護員未有拒絕。不過，二人為免在醫院遇上警察，選擇中途下車。最後，Joy被送往醫院分流站，成功避開了大堂內的警察，最後沒有被捕。

在這些事件中，儘管現場情況惡劣，人人提心吊膽，但仍願意照顧他人，或盡力提供協助。同時，香港警察的無賴行為亦昭然若揭。Joy表示：「始終外面拘捕了200多人，還全數定罪，被判入獄四至五年。（我對）在裏面（牢獄）的人既感激，也深感愧疚，希望能盡力多做一些事。」或許正因如此，Joy至今難以釋懷對被捕抗爭者的愧疚。

失明律師：從自卑到秘密武器

Joy認為，警察屢次選擇不拘捕她，並非因為她的律師身份，而是她的盲人身份。Joy坦言，年幼時常常因失明帶來生活上的諸多不便而抱怨。可是，在運動的經歷中，她意外發現自己的特殊身份竟能起獨特作用：警察為了避免引起公關災難或影響聲譽，往往對她避而不捕。這讓Joy能在現場自由幫助「手足」，無論是拖延時間、分散注意力，還是阻礙警察工作，她都能發揮影響力。

有一次，Joy站在街道中央，故意阻礙警察追捕示威者。她聽見其中一名警察談論她道：「原來這種（指Joy）才是最強的武器。」聽畢，Joy更意識到自己在運動中的獨特優勢。她表示：「如果他們不抓我，那我就可以充分利用自己『盲』這個優勢做我該做，而他人做不到的事。」由於警察大多不會阻撓Joy進入防線內，她偶爾能趁機偷聽警察的佈防，並即時通知現場的「手足」。

流亡異鄉，延續對公義的追求

Joy表示，自離開香港，她所從事的工作大多以線上形式進行。例如，在2024年9月，媒體《追新聞》發表的一篇報導揭露了「721」事件中兩名警察的身份。然而，該影片因「私隱問題及公眾利益」遭YouTube下架。於是，Joy代表《追新聞》撰寫上訴信，強調由於香港警察濫權，所以該報導並未損害公眾利益。然而，YouTube至今仍未回應。此外，Joy亦協助有意逃亡至加拿大的人士申請庇護。

同時，Joy積極參與會議和訪問，例如出席加國港人團體的會議，延續關於香港民主追求的討論。

決別故土之後

2021年12月, Joy首次使用香港護照搭乘飛機, 離開香港前往加拿大。在搬到加拿大前, 她對這個國家幾乎毫無認識(如: 東岸西岸的地理概念), 也沒有親戚或朋友居住於此。Joy回憶, 在那程飛往多倫多的航班上, 她感到很迷茫。獨自在異國展開新生活、人生路不熟, 她心情十分忐忑。同年大年三十, Joy的父親離世, Joy的母親在短短一年內失去丈夫和女兒。Joy與母親關係親近, 時常透過視像通話聯繫。Joy喜歡吹奏電子笛給母親聽, 而母親亦曾提及, 待自己完成工作合約後, 便會來多倫多探望她。談及此事, Joy慨歎:「盲人主要靠手來親身接觸, 不僅僅是靠聲音, 光是聲音, 其實跟打電話差不多。但對於她(母親)來說, 可能看到我會安心一點。」對於母親, Joy表示很愧疚。她坦言自己選擇投身香港的事, 卻為家人們惹來了麻煩。但Joy認為香港人曾給予她太多幫助, 而自己卻虧欠香港甚多, 所以希望能盡力貢獻, 哪怕只是一點點。

至於留在香港的朋友, Joy坦言由於自己身份尷尬敏感, 擔心影響他們的安全, 因此至今仍不敢主動聯絡, 尤其是與她關係最密切的朋友。

來到多倫多已三年多, Joy順利入讀多大法律系, 並期望明年能獲得加拿大律師牌照。在這三年間, 她建立了規律的生活: 在家複習得累時, 便上網聽聽YouTube上的時事評論, 或吹奏電子笛(她特別喜歡鄧麗君的歌曲)。此外, 她也在YouTube上開設了個人頻道。Joy笑言, 有時候看完新聞後太憤怒, 便拍攝影片發洩情緒。她說:「我知道沒人看, 不過這不重要, 最重要是能抒發情緒, 也當作是一個記錄。」(陸耀輝的YouTube頻道: <https://www.youtube.com/@JOY-jl6jd>)

除了上學和參加教會活動外, Joy其餘時間都喜歡待在家裏。雖然在加拿大沒有親朋好友, 但移加後, 她結識了很多新朋友, 也參加過各式各樣的香港人聚會, 例如香港人市集和聖誕節聚會等。偶爾, 她還會邀請較熟稔的朋友到家裏作客; 但大多數時候, 與朋友的相聚都是外出用餐為主。

對香港人寄望與結語

Joy希望, 那些已經離開香港卻無法再回去的香港人, 能做更多。相較之下, 其他身處海外的港人, 可能因為家庭或其他因素, 將來仍需返回香港, 因此不得不

有所顧忌：「因為我們已經無畏無懼，在這個情況下，就要以這種能力做一些其他人做不到的事。」

此外，Joy期望香港人能團結不分化，別再在危機關頭相互指責，例如批評「和理非」或「左膠」壞了好事等言論。在政治運動中，抗爭者的光譜其實並非如此黑白分明。有時，「和理非」也可以變得「勇武」，行動的方式只是視乎當下情勢和需要。

在訪談中，Joy屢次提及自己有意出書，以自傳方式記錄個人經歷。她天生記憶力過人，能過目成誦，更清楚記得大部份日子裏發生的事。因此，她希望從盲人律師的視角，透過自己的筆觸，記錄重要的歷史事件。她認為，香港人的抗爭絕都不能被忘記、抹去。

她說：「怎能忘記呢？但如果你忘了，歷史就會被改寫，所以我想趁著自己還有記憶的時候動筆。」記憶是一個人歷史的承載者，它塑造了我們的過去，也影響著我們的未來。我們選擇記住，便是對過往的尊重與承擔；而當我們遺忘，歷史的痕跡便會逐漸模糊，最終改變我們的方向。因此，在記憶尚存之時，正是最好的時機去完成那份未竟的事。這份信念，也正好呼應了這次口述歷史計劃的宗旨。



The Unwavering Belief with Light in the Heart: The Historical Witness of Joy, a Blind Lawyer

Interviewer: Wu Aa Gor



During the 2019 “Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement”, Hong Kong blind lawyer Joy Luk often appeared at demonstration sites, monitoring police brutality, providing legal assistance to protesters, and bailing out those arrested. More than three years ago, Joy left Hong Kong for the first time, announcing her exile in Toronto, Canada. She obtained a Master of Laws in Human Rights from the University of Hong Kong and has long been concerned with democracy and human rights issues. Currently, Joy is pursuing a Global Professional Master of Laws at the University of Toronto Faculty of Law, hoping to requalify as a lawyer in Canada next year and continue to speak out for her ideal of justice.

Joy grew up in Yuen Long and later moved to the urban district to attend St Paul’s College. After completing PCLL (Postgraduate Certificate in Laws, Hong Kong’s lawyer qualifying exam), she went on to the University of Hong Kong to study for a Master of Laws in Human Rights. Following her Master’s, she joined the Equal Opportunities Commission as an investigations officer for some three years, primarily investigating discrimination cases. Joy said that she has had a deep interest in law since childhood. She clearly recalls when the Basic Law was first implemented, she found a Braille version of the Basic Law booklet in her school library. After reading it several times, she became deeply fascinated and discovered her strong interest in legal provisions. Furthermore, Andy Lau’s character in the film “The Truth”—a young lawyer raised in an orphanage—profoundly inspired her, planting the idea of becoming a solicitor to advocate for the rights of disabled individuals. Moreover, Joy believes that her identity as a solicitor makes handling certain matters more “convenient”; for instance, when assisting with bail at the police station, a solicitor has a better understanding of procedures and a stronger voice.

Indelible Memories: Three Key Experiences During the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement

Joy said that the succession of events during the 2019–2020 Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement left an indelible mark on her, especially the warmth and solidarity shown by Hongkongers, which never ceased to amaze her. Of all these moments, the following three stood out to her the most.

Multi-district March: Thrilling Moments from Sham Shui Po to Tsim Sha Tsui

On 11th August 2019, a march and assembly originally scheduled to be held in Sham Shui Po failed to receive formal authorisation as police refused to issue a “Notice of No Objection”. Nevertheless, at around 3 pm, large numbers of citizens still departed from the march’s starting point at Maple Street Playground, proceeding along Cheung Sha Wan Road towards Lai Kok Estate. Half an hour later, police fired tear gas from the rooftop of Sham Shui Po Police Station towards Yen Chow Street to disperse citizens, and deployed numerous riot police advancing from both Yen Chow Street and Lai Chi Kok directions, continuously firing tear gas. That day, Joy first participated in the march at Sham Shui Po before heading to Lai Chi Kok. Upon reaching Lai Chi Kok, she entered the MTR station to escape the tear gas, but police were also releasing tear gas inside MTR stations across various districts that day. Joy heard the tear gas affecting children in the station, with their cries rising one after another. She used her portable fan and clean water to help the children dispel the residual tear gas smell from their bodies.

Later, Joy made her way to Park Lane Shopper’s Boulevard in Tsim Sha Tsui. Standing right beside her was the “girl with the burst eye”, K, a volunteer first-aidier who would later that evening be hit in the right eye by a bean bag round fired by a police officer at that very spot outside Tsim Sha Tsui Police Station. The distance between Joy and K was only about one to two metres at the time; the situation was extremely dangerous.

1st September “Congest with you”: The Exodus on foot from the Airport

On 1st September 2019, over a thousand citizens responded to the “9.1 Congest with You (和你塞)” action aimed at disrupting airport transport. However, as protesters attempted to leave the airport, police converged from land and sea, virtually severing all public transport connections to the urban area. Consequently, nearly 500 individuals undertook an arduous walk of almost 18

kilometres, journeying from the airport via Fu Tung Estate to Sunny Bay, and proceeding to the Tsing Ma Toll Plaza to find bus services, while others received volunteer lifts from drivers to leave Lantau Island.

Joy was among them. Carrying a heavy backpack, she walked from the airport towards Tung Chung. Suffering from diabetes, she frequently experienced dizziness and felt unwell during the trek. Yet, the mutual care and concern demonstrated by the protesters present fundamentally altered her view of Hong Kong people, whom she had previously regarded as “typically apathetic”. One passer-by even pressed HK\$600 into her hand to express support. Upon finally reaching Tung Chung, staff at a shopping centre guided Joy to their staff room so she could evade the police, offering her drinks and buying her a generous amount of snacks. The staff monitored live television newsfeeds intently, ensuring the environment outside was secure before they felt it safe for Joy to depart.

The PolyU Siege: The Life-or-Death Choice of the Ultimate Escape

On 11th November 2019, amidst a city-wide general strike (known locally as the “three strikes”) initiated online, a large number of protesters entered The Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU). By the late night of 18th November, police had besieged the campus, trapping over a thousand people inside. Earlier, on 17th November, Joy had travelled by train to Hung Hom and, with assistance from others, reached the vicinity of the History Museum. Police had deployed two water cannon vehicles and Unimog armoured vehicles nearby. Although Joy could not directly witness the clashes, she could sense their intensity. Afterwards, she managed to enter the PolyU campus. Police subsequently announced that anyone remaining on campus after 10 pm would be charged with rioting.

According to Joy, some medical personnel initially chose to leave, but reports soon emerged that they had been arrested upon exiting. Consequently, the protesters within PolyU lost trust in the police and resolved to hold their ground inside the campus. Around midnight, many began recording last messages on their mobile phones; Joy recorded a voice message and forwarded it to her social worker before resting briefly in the Sports Complex.

In the early hours of the morning, riot police entered PolyU stealthily. Joy was woken by fellow protesters urging her to flee. In the ensuing chaos, she lost her

mobile phone and, thereby also losing contact with her social worker. During the escape attempt, she experienced heart discomfort and sought help at a first-aid post, where two injured individuals were already present. Shortly after, several Fire Services Department paramedics arrived. Joy was initially wary, suspecting they might be police officers in disguise, but confirmed their identity through conversation. The paramedics indicated they could only evacuate one person. Fortunately, Joy was selected. She followed them through the devastated campus, navigating a difficult passage before finally boarding an ambulance waiting outside PolyU. Two young protesters requested passage in the ambulance as well, which the paramedics did not refuse. However, fearing police presence at the hospital, the pair chose to alight from. Amid these events, despite the dire conditions and the pervasive sense of fear, people were still willing to care for one another and do their utmost to help. At the same time, the shameless, scoundrelly conduct of the Hong Kong police was laid bare. Joy said, "More than 200 people were arrested, and every one of them was convicted and sentenced to four to five years in prison. I feel both immense gratitude and deep guilt towards those who are now behind bars—I only hope I can do more." Perhaps it is for this reason that Joy continues to carry the weight of guilt for the arrested protesters.

Blind Lawyer: From Inferiority Complex to Secret Weapon

Joy believes that the police repeatedly chose not to arrest her not because of her status as a lawyer, but because of her blindness. She admits that when she was young, she often complained about the many inconveniences her visual impairment brought to daily life. Yet, through her involvement in the movement, she unexpectedly discovered that her unique identity could serve a special purpose: in order to avoid a public relations disaster or reputational damage, police officers often avoided arresting her. This gave Joy the freedom to assist fellow protesters on the ground—whether by buying time, creating distractions, or obstructing police operations, she found herself able to make a tangible impact.

On one occasion, Joy stood in the middle of the street, deliberately obstructing the police as they pursued protesters. She overheard one officer remark, "Turns out someone like her is the most powerful weapon." Hearing this made Joy even more aware of the unique advantage she held within the movement. "If they're not going to arrest me," she said, "then I can fully use my 'blindness' to do what I must—things others simply can't do." Since officers typically didn't stop her from

crossing into their perimeters, she was occasionally able to eavesdrop on their defence formations and immediately relay the information to fellow protesters on the ground.

In Exile, the Pursuit of Justice Continues

Joy explained that since leaving Hong Kong, the majority of her work has been conducted online. For example, in September 2024, an article published by the media outlet The Chaser revealed the identities of two police officers involved in the “721” incident. However, the video was taken down by YouTube due to “privacy concerns and public interest.” Consequently, Joy, representing The Chaser, wrote an appeal, emphasising that the report did not harm public interest given the Hong Kong Police Force’s abuse of power. Nevertheless, YouTube has yet to respond. Furthermore, Joy also assists individuals intending to seek asylum in Canada with their applications.

At the same time, Joy has been actively involved in conferences and speaking engagements, such as attending meetings held by Hongkonger groups in Canada to carry forward the discussion on Hong Kong’s pursuit of democracy.

Since Parting with the Homeland

In December 2021, for the first time, she used her Hong Kong passport to board a flight and travelled to Canada. Before the move, she knew almost nothing about the country—not even the basic geography of east and west—and had neither relatives nor friends there. She recalled feeling utterly lost on that flight to Toronto: alone in a foreign land, unsure of what lay ahead, anxious about navigating a new life. On Lunar New Year’s Eve that same year, her father passed away. Within a single year, Joy’s mother had lost both her husband and daughter. The mother and daughter shared a close bond and kept in touch frequently via video calls. Joy liked to play the electronic flute for her mother, and her mother had once said she would visit her in Toronto once she completed her work contract. Reflecting on this, Joy said, “Blind people rely mostly on touch for connection—not just sound. Sound alone, really, is no different from a phone call. But for her, maybe seeing me in person would give her some comfort.” Joy expressed deep guilt towards her mother. She admitted that her decision to become involved in Hong Kong’s affairs had brought trouble to her family. Yet she feels that Hongkongers have given her so much and that she, in turn, owes Hong Kong deeply. That’s why she hopes to give back as much as she can, even if it is just a little.

As for friends who remain in Hong Kong, Joy confided that due to her own delicate and sensitive situation, she fears compromising their safety. Consequently, she has thus far refrained from initiating contact, particularly with her closest confidantes.

Joy has now been in Toronto for over three years. She was successfully admitted to the University of Toronto's law school and hopes to obtain her Canadian lawyer's licence next year. Over these three years, she has built a steady routine: when tired from revising at home, she goes online to listen to current affairs commentary on YouTube or plays the electronic flute (she's especially fond of Teresa Teng's songs). She has also launched a personal YouTube channel. Joy laughs that sometimes, after watching the news and feeling too angry, she records videos to let off steam. "I know no one watches them, but that doesn't matter. What matters is being able to express my emotions; it's also a way of keeping a record." (Joy Luk's YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/@JOY-jl6jd>)

Apart from attending school and church activities, Joy prefers to spend most of her time at home. Although she has no family or old friends in Canada, she has made many new ones since moving there, and has taken part in various Hongkonger gatherings, such as local markets and Christmas parties. Occasionally, she invites closer friends over to her home, but more often than not, their get-togethers revolve around dining out.

Hopes and Remarks for the People of Hong Kong

Joy hopes that those Hongkongers who have left and can no longer return will do more. By contrast, other overseas Hongkongers—due to family or other reasons—may eventually need to return, and so must remain cautious. "Because we are already fearless," she said, "we must use that capacity to do the things others cannot."

In addition, Joy hopes that Hongkongers can remain united rather than divided, and refrain from blaming one another in times of crisis—such as criticising the "peaceful, rational, and non-violent" groups or so-called "leftards" for ruining things. In political movements, the spectrum of protest is rarely so black and white. At times, even those who are "peaceful, rational and non-violent" may become "militant"; the form of action simply depends on the situation and what is needed at the time.

During the interview, Joy repeatedly expressed her intention to publish a book as an autobiographical record of her personal experiences. Gifted with an exceptional memory and can recite things after a single reading, she is able to recall with clarity the events of most days. Through her own writing, she hopes to document important historical moments from the perspective of a blind lawyer. She believes that the struggles of the Hong Kong people must never be forgotten or erased.

She said, "How could one forget? But if you do, history will be rewritten. That's why I want to start writing while my memories are still with me." Memory is the vessel of a person's history. It shapes our past and influences our future. To remember is to honour and shoulder the weight of what came before; to forget is to let the traces of history fade, until we quietly shift our course. And so, while memory endures, there is no better time to complete what remains unfinished. This conviction, too, resonates with the very purpose of this oral history project.



同心守望應許之地

—— 一個香港家庭的信念、抗爭與追尋

訪問者：Shirley

從信仰到覺醒：兩代人的社運起點

健光、雪敏和三名子女小雲、細佬、細細佬，還有一隻貓，組成了六口之家。2020年3月，他們毅然從香港舉家遷往多倫多。這對夫婦自1992年在中學時在教會相識，升讀大學後開始交往。除數年因工作而暫居溫哥華外，在香港生活時，他們都會定期參加「六四維園燭光晚會」及各種遊行。

健光回憶：「我本非熱衷社運的人。『六四』發生時，我還是初中生，並未參與任何集會。直到1997年，我開始反思：我們會否逐漸失去香港的自由呢？未來又會怎樣呢？」他續稱：「2003年的『七一遊行』是我首次參與的遊行。自此，每年的『七一遊行』，我會視乎主題而參與。大概五年參加三次左右。」他語氣堅定地說：「信耶穌後，對我來說是一個很大的轉變。我學會責任和分辨是非，這改變了我的價值觀。」他坦言：「我是在大學畢業後才開始參加集會。」



相比之下，雪敏從中學起便積極參與校內支持中國民運人士的活動。畢業後，她加入了教會為中國同胞祈禱的小組，為中國的福音和維權工作祈禱。她憶述：「很多時候看到大陸信徒遭遇很多苦難，或因維權而遭受不公平對待的新聞，我們便漸漸將這些帶入禱告，慢慢形成了一顆愛國的心。97年後，中國與香港變得一脈相連；我開始意識到，日後香港可能會面臨同樣事情。因此，我更加關注民主，也留意政府政策是否有所傾側，影響了我們的核心價值。」

雨傘下的堅定：由旁觀者到行動者

2014年「928雨傘運動」爆發當天，警方對示威者施放大量催淚彈。健光回憶當晚飯後與家人在家中觀看電視直播，無法按捺下決定隻身前往金鐘支援示威者。當時兩口子已經為人父母，育有一女兩子。健光待孩子入睡後，才乘搭小巴出發。「那時候家庭有很大的需要，最小的兒子才兩歲。初時只意識到『對與錯』，後來明白自己有社會責任——目睹政府的荒謬行徑和面對這個毫無底線的政權，我必需站出來。否則，社會只會剩下一群『豬』。」

持續兩個多月的「佔領中環」結束後，「佔中三子」戴耀廷、陳健民及朱耀明決定自首。健光與雪敏多番商討及深思熟慮後，也決定加入自首行列。

他回憶道：「那天起床後，我告訴雪敏我會支持自首行動。如有需要，我也會自首——我並非犯了罪，而是一種表態，表達對政府的不滿。猶記得我跟雪敏說，如果自首人數超過一百就不用我了，但如果少於五人，又『太出』了，所以也不行。結果知道只有六十多人自首，便決定加入，因為這是我能負得起的責任範圍，也是對自己和香港社會的承諾。」

與孩子同行：一家五口的社運足跡

2014年的「雨傘運動」成為夫妻每年堅持參與遊行集會的轉捩點。隨着子女長大，他們一家五口一同參與活動。2019年，香港爆發「反修例」示威活動，他們更成為遊行和集會的常客。「孩子已經長大，我們可以牽着他們參加，甚至聞到催淚煙也能牽著他們逃生，而不用抱著跑。我最小的兒子每星期都問：『媽媽，我們今天去遊行嗎？』每個星期天好像出去玩一樣，因為遊行後可以吃雪條。」雪敏笑說：「現在回想，原來能一起遊行是件很開心的事。」

然而，雖然全家參與的大多是和平、且獲警方批准的集會，但局勢卻日益緊張。

雪敏坦言：「我們是典型的『和理非』，非主動地積極。我們會衡量代價和風險，確保所做的都合理、合法。」即使立場理念相近，他們與女兒仍有分歧。2019年的時候，小雲曾對父母說：「爸媽，你們『進化』吧。」雪敏解釋：「我曾向她表達過，民主的光譜其實是有層次的，而每一個層次都有其作用，每一部分都不可以被分化、分裂。我們儘量心平氣和地討論和調適，如果不懂怎樣回答，就一起探索、尋找答案。」

理念有距, 情感無礙:一場跨代的抗爭對話

「我們全家一起參加的集會大多比較安全。但運動後期, 你已經無法選擇, 因為不知道哪天會有催淚彈。」健光說。這些時候, 雪敏只好先帶年紀較小的細佬和細佬離開。然而有一次, 小雲主動表示想留下來支援。

「那是我印象最深刻的一次。那時候同行人士計劃離開, 我卻說想留下來。這應該是我第一次明確表達可能會做一些讓我被捕, 甚至讓他們失去女兒的行為。之前我總害怕他們會阻止我。」小雲繼續回憶道:「那次, 爸爸留下陪我走了一會兒。我向他坦白自己帶了噴漆, 他便把噴漆放進了細佬的背包。」

「我覺得這是一個有趣的回憶, 也更能感受家人的支持。很多人並沒有這樣的經驗。」小雲說。當時年僅13歲的她已在網絡接觸到比較激進的思想, 這使她與父母的價值觀產生了一點差異。「最初都由他們帶我出去, 但後來我的資訊不再只是來自他們, 而是通過社交媒體接觸到的同輩。」

她坦言:「我當時並非反對他們的理念, 只是認為『和理非』是行不通的。我也想理性, 但和平、喊口號這些, 政府根本不會理會, 也不會聽, 所以我想更進一步。」

「我們雖然很擔心, 但表面還是支持她。」雪敏說:「我們只擔心她會否跌倒或阻礙別人離開。她願意出一分力, 我們也感到光榮。」

夫妻倆沒有阻止小雲, 反而嘗試和她溝通, 聆聽她的想法, 並分享自己的價值觀, 提醒她行動的風險, 盼能彼此互相理解和遷就。健光笑言:「有些東西是我們不能預計的——她的轉變、成長, 甚至她到底會有多激進。但作為父母, 我們要支持她。」

「我們相信她的判斷力, 只是不太相信如果要逃跑的話, 她能逃得掉。假如她真的被捕了, 長遠而言, 我們能否承擔?」健光說。

雪敏感慨道:「那刻欣喜的是, 她能肯定地表達意見, 知道自己要做甚麼。我們希望她知道, 爸爸媽媽會全力支持她。只要她能平安回家, 我們就很感恩了。爸媽永遠會在家裏等她。」

除了遊行集會外，當時許多中學生組織發起不同形式的罷課行動。據教育局指引，若學生請假罷課，需提交家長信。小雲向母親表明有意加入罷課行列，雪敏二話不說幫她寫了一封家長信。

「第一次罷課，我校只有我一人有家長信。」小雲感慨道：「感覺被背叛，但我理解。此外，亦感到很幸福，因為我認識大部分年青人的家長都不支持他們。」第二次，她打電話回家說：「讓我走吧，我不知道在這裏罷甚麼。」

健光安慰她：「這很重要，即使只多了你一人，但（罷課名單上的）學校就多了一間。而且這是種表態，我也有響應參與罷工，當天還把請假的電郵傳送至全公司。」

去與留的抉擇：何處是吾家

積極參與社會運動同時，健光一家開始思考去留問題。撇開政治環境不談，健光指決定舉家移民的主要動力是為了小朋友的教育。雖然當時他們一直努力為子女尋找課程較為輕鬆的學校，但最終發現，學校仍然會因家長的期望和施壓而慢慢改變和調整課程及教學模式。

「那時還沒有外國的移民政策，也未興起離港潮，但我們一直思考這件事。」健光說。「最記得三個子女上同一家幼稚園，從小雲一隻字也不用寫，到細佬開始要寫字，再到細佬學得更複雜，整個社會的思維模式，就是要求大家走同一條路。永遠只有一半人能考到中上成績，那中下游的人可以怎麼辦呢？是否就是失敗者？答案是，也並不是。其實他們應該有不同的發展空間。」

雪敏補充：「還要思考人生下半場：要繼續在香港面對樓價高企、『捱貴租』的生活嗎？於是向神祈禱。後來在《聖經》尋著神的呼召，讓我讀一個神學學位。當時『救生艇計劃』、英國BNO『5+1』還未推出，我們已經決定一家人手牽手，好像亞伯拉罕離開吾珥一樣，到一個新的『迦南』——神所應許的美地。」

最後，他們選擇了加拿大。健光完成博士學位後曾在香港中文大學任教，及後短暫赴溫哥華工作兩年，小雲便是在加拿大出生的。這些經歷讓一家人與加拿大結下不解之緣，有深厚連結。然而，要離開成長的地方，他們內心始終不捨。

重建與適應：愛讓家不變

自小雲出生，雪敏便辭去教師工作，成為家庭主婦。由於他們決定移民時，加拿大尚未推出「救生艇計劃」，健光一家藉雪敏報讀神學課程，才得以移居加拿大。初來乍到，雪敏一邊面對學業壓力，一邊為子女準備入學，結果疲勞過度「生蛇」（帶狀皰疹）。「身體真的會告訴你壓力有多大。作為新移民適應新生活，本以為『捱下眼瞓』、加把勁就能解決，怎料免疫系統告訴我：已經捱不住了。」

雪敏語帶輕鬆地說：「關關難過關關過。一步一步走，看一步便走一步，走一步又可以看一步。」她認為，一家人一起迎接新生活，本來就是一次有趣的冒險和挑戰。假使最終移民失敗要回流香港，至少賺到了一個機會。「沒有成功或失敗的說法，一家人無論『食粥食飯』，最重要的是齊齊整整在一起，這已經是很寶貴的事了。」

要努力適應的，不僅是雪敏，還有小雲。她坦言，初到異地很不習慣。尤其那時正值新冠疫情，就讀高中的小雲無法回校上課，只能透過網課學習。

小雲回憶道：「突然來到這裏，我也不知道是哪一刻適應了。但好像慢慢就融入了：認識了一些人，開始和他們聊天，而他們又願意和我一起做些事情，就這樣慢慢地適應了這裏的文化。例如學會了如何乘搭巴士，打完噴嚏後會有人對你說『bless you』。有些文化，自己也會跟著做了。」

而本來在香港有穩定工作的健光，也選擇辭去工作，和家人一起移居加拿大。惜剛抵埗便遇上新冠疫情，即使他擁有高學歷和兩年的本地工作經驗，也花了整整八個月才找到工作，且職級遠低於以往。不過，他從未考慮留港工作，只偶爾飛來加拿大探望家人當「太空人」的選項。健光堅定地說：「因為我本來的價值觀就是，一家人要在一起，所以從沒考慮過當『太空人』。雖然生活質素會下降，收入會減少，而所做的工作也可能是自己從沒想像過的，甚至職位或會比原來低，但我寧願這樣，也不願意一家人分開。」

堅守和相信：追尋中的盼望

完成神學課程後，雪敏現於一間主要服侍香港移民的教會事奉。他們一家也在教會圈子中，結識了不少政見相近的同路人，更會一同出席香港人的集會和活動。

雪敏發現，教會的教友十分珍惜能以廣東話進行兒童主日學的機會。她分享道：「他們可能覺得，我們這一代移民，是因為香港經歷了很多轉變，繁體字和廣東話都逐漸被『淡化』。大家會覺得，自己成長的那個香港漸漸失去。而我們帶著這種語言、文化和知識來到另一片土地上，就有責任去承擔——保存那些在原地已失去的東西，要在這個流散的地方，繼續發展和守護我們所珍視的文化和語言。」她續道：「失去一個民族性，往往最先失去它的語言。所以如果要保存香港人精神、文化與價值，首先要建立第一道防線——堅守自己的語言。」

健光也非常認同這個想法。他們一家平日會一起聽廣東歌，看港產片。「我們將會成為加拿大人，但我們同時也是香港人。因此我們要維持自己的身份，繼續使用繁體字、說廣東話。」

「我們現在仍未知道哪一種民主方式最有效，大家還在探索、努力。而悲哀的是，我們現在仍未找到答案。」雪敏笑說：「但樂觀的是，我們在這裏還有機會去問，仍可以繼續尋找。」



Standing Together for the Promised Land: A Hong Kong Family's Faith, Struggle, and Pursuit

Interviewer: Shirley

From Faith to Awakening: The Starting Point of Social Movements of Two Generations

Kin-kwong, Suet-man, their three children—Siu Wan, Sai Lo, and Sai Sai Lo—and a cat make up a family of six. In March 2020, they made the resolute decision to relocate from Hong Kong to Toronto. The couple first met at church in secondary school in 1992 and began dating after entering university. Apart from a few years spent in Vancouver for work, they lived in Hong Kong, where they regularly took part in the Victoria Park candlelight vigil commemorating 4th June, as well as various protest marches.

Kin-kwong recalled, "I wasn't someone particularly enthusiastic about social movements. When the Tiananmen Massacre happened, I was still in junior secondary school and hadn't taken part in any rallies. It wasn't until 1997 that I began to reflect: would we gradually lose Hong Kong's freedoms? What would the future hold?" He went on, "The 1st of July march in 2003 was the first march I ever joined. Since then, I would take part depending on the theme—probably around three times every five years." With conviction, he said, "Becoming a Christian brought about a major transformation in me. I learned about responsibility and how to discern right from wrong—it changed my entire value system." He added frankly, "It was only after graduating from university that I began attending rallies."

By contrast, Suet-man had been active since secondary school in supporting Chinese pro-democracy activists. After graduating, she joined a church prayer group that prayed for fellow Chinese people—for both the spread of the gospel and for human rights work in China. She recalled, "Many times, when we saw mainland believers suffering or read news about people being unfairly treated for defending their rights, we gradually brought these into our prayers. Over time, this formed a heart of love for the country. After 1997, China and Hong Kong became closely connected; I began to realise that Hong Kong might one day face the same issues. That's when I started to care more about democracy and paid attention to whether government policies were leaning in ways that affected our core values."

Steadfast Beneath the Umbrella: From Bystander to Activist

On 28th September 2014, the day the Umbrella Movement broke out, police fired large amounts of tear gas at protesters. Kin-kwong recalled how, after dinner that evening, he and his family were watching the live television broadcast at home. Unable to sit idly by, he made the decision to head alone to Admiralty to support the demonstrators. At the time, the couple were already parents to three young children—a daughter and two sons. Kin-kwong waited until the children were asleep before setting off by minibus. “At the time, our family had many needs—our youngest son was only two years old. At first, I was simply reacting to what was right and wrong. But over time, I came to understand that I had a responsibility to society. Witnessing the absurd actions of the government and facing a regime that knew no limits, I realised I had to take a stand. If we didn’t, society would be left with nothing but a herd of ‘pigs.’”

After the “Occupy Central” movement, which lasted for more than two months, came to an end, the “Occupy Trio”—Benny Tai, Chan Kin-man, and Chu Yiu-ming—decided to turn themselves in. After much discussion and careful consideration, Kin-kwong and Suet-man also chose to do the same. He recalled, “When I woke up that morning, I told Suet-man that I would support the act of turning ourselves in. If necessary, I’d do it too, not because I had committed a crime, but as a way to express discontent with the government. I remember saying to her, if more than a hundred people surrendered, I wouldn’t be needed. But if it was fewer than five, my participation would be too conspicuous—that wouldn’t do either. When I found out that just over sixty people had turned themselves in, I decided to join. It was a responsibility I could shoulder—a commitment to myself, and to Hong Kong society.”

Marching with the Children: A Family of Five in Hong Kong’s Social Movements

The 2014 Umbrella Movement marked a turning point for the couple—it was then they began taking part in marches and rallies every year without fail. As their children grew older, the whole family of five would take to the streets together. During the 2019 anti-extradition protests, they became regular faces at demonstrations and assemblies. “The children had grown up—we could walk with them hand-in-hand, even flee tear gas without having to carry them,” Suet-man recalled. “My youngest son would ask every week, ‘Mum, are we going to a march today?’ Sundays felt like outings, especially because we’d get ice lollies afterwards.” She laughed, “Looking back now, marching together was actually such a joyful thing.”

However, although the family mostly took part in peaceful rallies that had received police approval, the situation was becoming increasingly tense. Suet-man admitted, “We are the typical ‘peaceful, rational, and non-violent’ type, not actively proactive somehow. We weigh the costs and risks, making sure that what we do is reasonable and lawful.” Even though they shared similar ideals, differences still arose between them and their daughter. In 2019, Siu Wan once said to her parents, “Mum, Dad, you need to ‘evolve.’” Suet-man explained, “I told her that the democratic spectrum has many layers, and each has its role. None of them should be divided or dismissed. We try our best to have calm, open discussions. If we don’t know the answers, we search for them together.”

A difference in ideals, but no distance in love: a cross-generational dialogue on resistance

“Most of the rallies our family joined were relatively safe. But towards the later stages of the movement, you no longer had a choice; you never knew when tear gas might be fired,” said Kin-kwong. At such times, Suet-man had no option but to take Sai Lo and Sai Sai Lo, the younger two, away first. But on one occasion, Siu Wan took the initiative and said she wanted to stay behind to offer support.

“That was the most memorable moment for me. The people I was with were planning to leave, but I said I wanted to stay. It was probably the first time I clearly expressed that I might do something that could get me arrested—or even cost them their daughter. Before that, I was always afraid they’d try to stop me,” Siu Wan recalled. “That time, Dad stayed with me for a bit. I told him honestly that I’d brought spray paint — and he slipped it into Sai Sai Lo’s backpack.”

“I think it’s quite an interesting memory. It made me feel the support of my family, and I know that’s something many people don’t have,” said Siu Wan. At just 13, she had already been exposed to more radical ideas online, which created some differences between her values and those of her parents. “At first, they were the ones taking me out to protests. But later, my information wasn’t just coming from them anymore; it was coming from peers I connected with through social media.”

She admitted, “It wasn’t that I opposed their beliefs—I just didn’t think that being ‘peaceful, rational and non-violent’ was effective. I wanted to be rational too, but peaceful marches and shouting slogans—the government simply wouldn’t care or listen. That’s why I wanted to go a step further.”

"Although we were very worried, we still showed our support on the surface," said Suet-man. "We were only concerned about whether she might fall or get in the way of others trying to leave. But the fact that she was willing to play her part made us feel proud." Instead of stopping Siu Wan, the couple chose to talk with her—listening to her views, sharing their own values, and reminding her of the risks involved in her actions, in the hope of fostering mutual understanding and compromise. Kin-kwong said with a smile, "There are things we simply can't foresee: how she'll change, how she'll grow, or even how radical she might become. But as parents, we must support her."

"We trust her judgement," said Kin-kwong, "but we're not so sure she'd be able to get away if she needed to run. If she were really arrested—could we bear the consequences in the long run?" With emotion, Suet-man said, "What brought us joy in that moment was her ability to express herself clearly, to know what she wanted to do. We just hope she knows that Mum and Dad will support her wholeheartedly. As long as she comes home safely, we'll be deeply grateful. Mum and Dad will always be home waiting for her."

In addition to marches and rallies, many secondary school student groups at the time launched various forms of class boycotts. According to guidelines from the Education Bureau, students wishing to take leave to strike were required to submit a letter from their parents. When Siu Wan told her mother she intended to join the boycott, Suet-man didn't hesitate. She wrote the parental consent letter for her straight away. "For the first student strike, I was the only one at my school with a parent's letter," said Siu Wan, with emotion. "I felt betrayed, but I understood. At the same time, I felt very fortunate, because I knew most young people didn't have the support of their parents." The second time, she called home and said, "Let me leave. I don't know what I'm even boycotting here."

Kin-kwong reassured her, "It matters—even if it's just one more person, that's one more school added to the strike list. And it's a form of expression. I also took part in the strike; I even sent my leave request to the entire company that day."

To Stay or to Go: Where is Home?

While actively engaging in social movements, Kin-kwong and his family began to consider whether to stay or leave. Setting aside the political climate, Kin-kwong said their main motivation for emigrating as a family was their children's education. Although they had been trying to find schools with a lighter curriculum, they eventually realised that schools would still gradually shift

and adapt their teaching methods and syllabus under the weight of parental expectations and pressure.

"At that time, there were no overseas immigration schemes, nor had the wave of departures from Hong Kong begun, but we were already thinking about it," said Kin-kwong. "What stood out most for me was that all three of our children attended the same kindergarten. When Siu Wan went, she didn't need to write a single word. By the time Sai Lo attended, writing had become a requirement, and when Sai Sai Lo started, the learning had grown even more complex. It reflected a mindset across society—that everyone must walk the same path. Only half the students can ever achieve above-average grades, so what about those in the lower half? Are they simply failures? The answer is both yes and no. In reality, they deserve space to develop in different ways."

Suet-man added, "We also had to think about the second half of our lives: were we to remain in Hong Kong, struggling with soaring property prices and exorbitant rent? So I prayed to God. Later, I found His calling through the Bible, prompting me to pursue a degree in theology. At the time, the 'Lifeboat Scheme' and the UK BNO '5+1' route hadn't yet been introduced, but we had already decided—as a family, hand in hand—to set out for a new 'Canaan,' just as Abraham once left Ur, journeying toward the promised land."

In the end, they chose Canada. After completing his doctorate, Kin-kwong taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and later spent two years working in Vancouver. It was during that time that Siu Wan was born. These experiences fostered a deep and lasting connection between the family and Canada. Still, the thought of leaving the place where they had grown up weighed heavily on their hearts.

Rebuilding and Adapting: Love Makes a Home Wherever You Are

Since Siu Wan was born, Suet-man gave up her teaching career to become a full-time homemaker. When the family made the decision to emigrate, Canada had not yet introduced the "Lifeboat Scheme," so it was through Suet-man enrolling in a theology programme that Kin-kwong and the family were able to relocate. Upon arrival, Suet-man had to juggle the demands of her studies with preparing her children to enter school. The strain eventually took its toll—she developed shingles due to exhaustion. "Your body really tells you how much pressure you're under. As a new immigrant trying to adapt to a new life, I thought I could just push through with a bit less sleep and a bit more effort, but my immune system told me otherwise: I couldn't go on like that."

Suet-man said with an easy smile, "Every hurdle we face, we get through it. One step at a time—we take a step, see where we are, then take the next." To her, embracing a new life as a family is itself a meaningful adventure and challenge. Even if, in the end, they had to return to Hong Kong, they would at least have gained the experience of trying. "There's no such thing as success or failure," she said. "Whether we're 'eating plain porridge or proper rice,' what matters most is that we're together. And that, in itself, is something truly precious."

It wasn't only Suet-man who had to adjust—Siu Wan did too. She admitted that she found it difficult to adapt at first, especially as she had arrived in a new country during the COVID-19 pandemic. Then a high school student, Siu Wan was unable to attend classes in person and had to rely entirely on online learning.

Siu Wan recalled, "Having come here all of a sudden, I didn't really know when I began to adjust. But somehow, I gradually settled in—met some people, started chatting, and they were happy to do things together with me. Bit by bit, I got used to the culture here. For example, I learned how to take the bus, and when you sneeze, someone says 'bless you.' Some things are just part of the culture, and I found myself doing them too."

Kin-kwong, who had held a stable job in Hong Kong, also chose to resign and relocate to Canada with his family. Unfortunately, they arrived just as the COVID-19 pandemic broke out. Despite his advanced academic qualifications and two-year local work experience, it took him a full eight months to secure employment—and the position he eventually found was far below his previous role. Still, he never considered remaining in Hong Kong to work while visiting his family in Canada occasionally as a "satellite father." "My core belief has always been that the family should stay together," Kin-kwong said firmly. "So I never once thought about becoming a 'satellite dad.' Yes, the quality of life may drop, our income may shrink, and the work I take up might be something I'd never imagined doing—or a rank much lower than before. But I would still choose this over having our family separated."

Perseverance and Faith: Hope Along the Journey

After completing her theology course, Suet-man now serves at a church that mainly supports Hong Kong immigrants. Within church circles, the family has connected with many like-minded individuals who share similar political convictions, and they often attend gatherings and events organised by the Hong Kong diaspora together.

Suet-man has found that many in the church community deeply treasure the opportunity for their children to attend Sunday school in Cantonese. She shared, "Perhaps they feel that our generation chose to emigrate because Hong Kong has undergone so many changes. Traditional Chinese characters and Cantonese are gradually being 'faded out.' People feel that the Hong Kong they grew up in is slowly slipping away. Carrying our language, culture, and knowledge with us to another land, we bear the responsibility to preserve what has already been lost back home—to continue nurturing and safeguarding the culture and language we hold dear, here in the diaspora." She continued, "When a people begin to lose their identity, they often lose their language first. So if we are to preserve the spirit, culture, and values of Hongkongers, we must first build a line of defence by standing firm in our language."

Kin-kwong wholeheartedly agrees. As a family, they often listen to Cantopop and watch Hong Kong films together. "We will become Canadians, but we are also Hongkongers," he said. "That's why we must preserve our identity — by continuing to use traditional Chinese characters and to speak Cantonese."

"We still don't know which form of democracy is the most effective; we're all still exploring and striving," Suet-man said with a smile. "The sad part is that we haven't found the answer yet. But the hopeful thing is, here, we still have the freedom to ask, and the chance to keep searching."



由1970年代學運先鋒 到2019年「銀髮族」抗議者 ——楊寶熙

訪問者：崔永健

歲月不改心志，銀髮守護港青

「支持青年，守護香港」——楊寶熙拉起橫額，走上街頭，時間是2019年7月。當時，因反對香港特區政府修訂《逃犯條例》而引發的連串抗爭正越演越烈。面對這場動盪，楊寶熙決定發起「銀髮族遊行」，以聲援抗爭者。同時，她亦參與管理「銀髮族老而不廢」Facebook專頁。當時在這場運動中，最積極投入抗爭的群體是年輕人，而許多老年人則持反對態度，因此被青年人譏諷為「廢老」。正因如此，「銀髮族遊行」成為這場抗爭中一道獨特的風景。而這道風景背後，亦側面展現了香港一脈相承的社運傳統。楊寶熙曾是學生運動領袖，早在1975年便成為香港中文大學學生會首位女會長。如今，青絲染霜的她，再次站上最前線。

從學運的火種到銀髮的力量

楊寶熙在1952年生於香港。她父親的經歷與她的成長歷程，正好反映當時香港作為英國統治下中國人社會的特性——中華與西方、資本主義與共產主義陣營在此直接接觸、碰撞，卻又共存乃至共融。她出生小康之家，父母育有五名子女，她排行第四。父親在二戰前就讀於香港著名教會英文中學——華仁書院，惟因家道中落，中學四年級後便輟學投身社會，在廣州與香港兩邊走（1949年以前，中港之間並無嚴格出入境管制）。他曾任職大企業及外資公司。楊笑說：「當時父親英文比中文好。」然而，楊父其實很愛中國：「父親經歷過日本佔領下的香港，在街上見到日本兵都得鞠躬行禮的日子。」楊還記得父親在她小時候，會定期買兩本雜誌Scientific American和《人民畫報》，其中後者是中國政府的文宣刊物。父親曾抱怨當時正在讀中學的楊過於西化，並不了解中國。其時楊正於聖羅撒書院——天主教英文女校就讀。楊回憶道：「因為學校好像和英國皇室有點淵源，所以音樂課時會教我們唱英國國歌。」楊喜愛英美流行曲，也喜歡閱讀中文書籍，更對中文寫作充滿興趣。她尤其關心社會公義議題，曾撰寫〈太平山下不太平〉一文，並投稿至香港天主教教區刊物《公教報》。有一天，喜歡逛報攤的她，偶然看到一本名為《70年代雙週刊》的雜誌，便買回家細讀。漸漸地，她被該刊對全球社會公義的關注和對世界各地時

事的報導所吸引。某次，她讀到雜誌報導某國水災，便在班上發起募捐賑災，並親自將所籌款項送往《70年代》雜誌社。自此，楊和該刊一眾編委熟絡起來，他們亦放發了她日後踏上參與社運的道路。

「國粹派」與「自我覺醒」的對立

「我很想做大學生，因為想搞社運。」結果，楊如願以償，在1971年9月入讀香港中文大學（中大）。該校為英屬香港的第二所大學，也是唯一一間能以中文為主要授課語言的大學。同年，中大學生會成立。她最初跟70年代雙週刊的朋友參與1971年10月的「盲人工潮」。翌年6月18日，香港遭遇暴雨，引發山泥傾瀉，掩埋香港秀茂坪多間寮屋，導致多人被活埋，許多居民無家可歸。當時，由中大學生組成的「社工隊」前赴災場賑災；關心社會公義的楊亦為「社工隊」一員。「中大社工隊」關心貧苦，曾舉辦「工作營」前往鄉郊協助修橋補路，又為漁民子女開辦「識字班」，教授中文、英文和數學。然而，教授的內容卻有明顯政治色彩，不但批判資本主義，更讚揚共產黨領導下中國之建設成就。「社工隊」由「國粹派」學生掌權。所謂「國粹派」，就是一班無條件支持中國政府當權派的學生，而他們亦獲得中共在香港的勢力支持。在此背景下，楊也成為了「國粹派」一員。在大學三年級時，她經常參與「國粹派」舉辦的讀書會，閱讀《人民日報》、《光明日報》及《紅旗》雜誌，並研讀中共所編譯的「馬列主義」著作，如《共產黨宣言》、《哥達綱領批判》。此外，她還參加考察團到中國親身了解「社會主義祖國建設成就」。不久後，有「國粹派」同學力勸楊參選學生會會長，並協助她組織內閣。最終，她成功當選，成為中大學生會首位女會長。翌年，即1976年，在「國粹派」同學極力游說下，她又競選香港專上學生聯會（學聯）會長，並順利當選。她在任期間，適逢毛澤東逝世。在追悼會上，她發表致詞——〈毛主席永遠活在我們心中〉。然而，不久之後，以毛澤東為靠山、主導「文化大革命」激進路線的「四人幫」被捕入獄，隨後更被清算。和很多「國粹派」學生一樣，楊在思想上是「吃四人幫的奶水大」的。所以當她發現一切都是政治騙局後，便徹底將自己「非政治化」，專心從事教學，做一名中學教師。其後，在1980年代，她組織家庭，先後誕下兩子，隨後便成為全職母親。

「非政治化」的沉澱與重燃

楊稱：「我對1980年代的香港前途問題沒有感覺，對1989年的『六四事件』中很多人死去和被捕雖然覺得悲痛，但政治上仍然沒有感覺，對1997年香港回歸中國也沒有感覺。」看來，她確實成功地「非政治化」自己。可是，當她在1990年代初重返職場時，卻再次投身服務基層市民。她以半職身份加入一家自負營虧的「社會服務中心」，她坦言：「有種回到當年『中大社工隊』的感覺。」到了2000年，她加入嘉道理農場，在社區中推廣有機耕種。五年後，她更與其他九位朋友成立「土生合作社」，推廣有機食品及有機耕種。2008年朱凱迪舉辦了「大埔精華遊」活動，推動學習大埔區的歷史，她參加了活動，因而認識了日後成為立法會直選議員的朱。翌年，朱成為反對興建連接中港的高速鐵路（高鐵）運動的中堅分子。

風雨中的堅守：「銀髮族遊行」的背後

2012年，特區政府計劃在新學年推行「德育及國民教育科」，其內容及宗旨均與中國大陸的「愛國主義教育」相似。當時，親政府的亞洲電視評論節目指出，該科「理解要執行，不理解也要執行。」這句話源自「文革」時期，曾為「國粹派」的楊聽到後腦中警鈴大作。同年9月，反對該科的學生及家長發起絕食抗議。當時已學佛的她，在一次拜參後接到昔日《70年代雙週刊》友人岑建勳的來電，提議由1970年代的「社運老兵」加入絕食行動。她馬上答允。然而，政府很快讓步，最終擱置該科的推行。2014年「雨傘運動」期間，她雖非任何領頭人物，卻經常到金鐘佔領區坐坐。後來，為撰寫有關「雨傘運動」的書，她亦走訪旺角及銅鑼灣佔領區。這本書名為《走過火紅的傘下銀髮》，於2015年12月由香港「進一步多媒體」出版（該出版社已在2024年5月結業）。在金鐘佔領區清場前夕，她靜坐著等待被捕，最後被帶往警署，翌日獲釋。

「雨傘運動」結束後，她「重返政治」，生活重心由有機農業轉向政治參與。2015年區議會選舉，她為爭取民主的年輕人（當時稱為「傘兵」）助選。2016年立法會選舉，她為朱凱迪助選，最後朱成功當選。2019年初，政府宣佈修訂《逃犯條例》，楊於4月參與首次大規模抗議遊行；6月9日的百萬人大遊行，她亦現身其中。7月，昔日《70年代雙週刊》的朋友希望楊發起老年人遊行，以聲援年輕抗爭者。她答應，隨即發起連串的「銀髮族遊行」。

跨越國界，堅守信念

2020年6月，中國全國人大宣佈為香港訂立《國安法》，楊擔心言論自此受限，遂決定移民臺灣。然而，後來因不滿臺灣公共行政機關的做事作風等問題，她於2024年夏天移居英國。抵達英國後，她仍積極參與當地港僑抗議中港政府的集會，並幫忙派發文宣傳單。

從1970年代的「國粹派」學生、忠於中共政權，到近年與之對抗，同齡舊相識曾這問她：「為何你經常『今日的我打倒昨日的我』？」楊回答道：「因為人會進步。」

From a student movement pioneer in the 1970s to a “silver-haired” protester in 2019 - Yeung Po-hi

Interviewer: Tony Chui

The Years Have Not Changed Their Aspirations: The Silver-Haired Guardians of Hong Kong’s Youth

“Support the Youth, Protect Hong Kong”—Yeung Po-hi raised a banner and took to the streets. It was July 2019. A series of protests against the Hong Kong SAR government’s amendment to the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance were rapidly escalating. In response to this turmoil, Yeung Po-hi decided to organise the “Silver-Hair March” to show solidarity with the protesters. She also managed the “Silver Hair Group” Facebook page. During this movement, the group most actively involved in the protests were the young people, while many elderly individuals opposed the movement and were ridiculed by younger demonstrators as “useless old people”. As a result, the “Silver-Hair March” became a unique feature of the protests. Behind this scenery, Hong Kong’s long-standing tradition of social movements was also reflected. Yeung Po-hi, once a leader of student movements, became the first female president of the Chinese University of Hong Kong’s Student Union long ago in 1975. Now, with her once-black hair turning gray, she found herself once again on the front lines.

From the spark of student movement to the power of the silver-haired

Yeung Po-hi was born in Hong Kong in 1952. Her father’s experiences and her own upbringing reflect the characteristics of Hong Kong as a Chinese society under British rule—where Chinese and Western influences, as well as capitalist and communist ideologies, directly interacted, clashed, yet coexisted and even integrated. She was born into a middle-class family with five children, and she was the fourth. Before World War II, her father attended Wah Yan College, a well-known English-language church secondary school in Hong Kong. However, due to the family’s financial decline, he dropped out after the fourth year of secondary school and entered the workforce, traveling between Guangzhou and Hong Kong (before 1949, there were no strict border controls between China and Hong

Kong). He worked for large enterprises and foreign companies. Yeung laughs, recalling, "At that time, my father's English was better than his Chinese." However, Yeung's father truly loved China: "He lived through the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, when he had to bow and salute when encountering Japanese soldiers on the street." Yeung remembers that, when she was a child, her father would regularly buy two magazines—Scientific American and China Pictorial, the latter being a propaganda publication from the Chinese government. Her father once complained that Yeung, who was in secondary school at the time, was too Westernised and didn't understand China. At the time, she was studying at St. Rose of Lima's School, a Catholic English school for girls. Yeung recalls, "Because the school seemed to have some connection with the British royal family, we were taught to sing the British national anthem in music class." She loved British and American pop music, enjoyed reading Chinese books, and had a deep interest in Chinese writing. She was particularly concerned with issues of social justice and once wrote an article titled "No Peace Below Peace [i.e., Victoria] Peak", which she submitted to Kung Kao Po, the publication of the Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong. One day, while browsing through a newsstand—something she loved doing—she came across a magazine called The 70's Biweekly and bought it to read. Gradually, she became drawn to the magazine's focus on global social justice and its coverage of current events worldwide. Once, after reading about a flood in a certain country, she initiated a fundraising campaign in her class for disaster relief and personally delivered the funds to the 70s editorial office. From then on, Yeung became familiar with the editorial board of the magazine, and they inspired her to eventually get involved in social movements.

The conflict between the "Maoist faction" and "self-awakening"

"I really wanted to be a university student because I wanted to engage in social activism." As a result, Yeung Po-hi got her wish and entered the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) in September 1971. CUHK was the second university in British Hong Kong and the only one that used Chinese as the main language of instruction. That same year, the CUHK Student Union was established. As a CUHK student, she first participated in the "Blind Workers' Strike" in October 1971 with her friends from the 70's Biweekly. On June 18 of the following year, Hong Kong was hit by heavy rains, which caused landslides that buried several squatter huts in Sau Mau Ping, resulting in many people being buried alive and leaving numerous residents homeless. At the time, a "Social

Service Team” composed of CUHK students went to the site to provide aid, and Yeung, who was passionate about social justice, joined the team. The CUHK Social Service Team focused on helping the poor. They organised “work camps” in the countryside to repair bridges and roads, and they set up “literacy classes” for the children of fishermen, teaching Chinese, English, and mathematics. However, the content taught had a clear political slant, criticising capitalism and praising China’s achievements under Communist Party leadership. The Social Service Team was led by “national essence” (or simply, Maoist) students, a group of students who unconditionally supported the Chinese government’s ruling faction and had the backing of the Chinese Communist Party forces in Hong Kong. In this context, Yeung also became part of the “national essence” faction. In her third year at university, she regularly participated in study groups organised by the “national essence” students, reading People’s Daily, Guangming Daily, and the Red Flag magazine, and studying Marxist-Leninist works like The Communist Manifesto and Critique of the Gotha Program, translated and edited by the Chinese Communist Party. Besides, she joined study tours to China to learn about the “achievements of the socialist motherland”. Soon after, some of her “national essence” colleagues urged Yeung to run for president of the Student Union and helped her organise a cabinet. She was successfully elected, and became the first female president of the CUHK Student Union. The following year, in 1976, under the strong influence of her “national essence” colleagues, she ran for president of the Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) and won. During her tenure, Mao Zedong passed away. At the memorial service, she delivered a speech entitled “Chairman Mao Will Forever Live in Our Hearts”. However, not long after, the “Gang of Four”, who had been backed by Mao Zedong and led the radical line of the Cultural Revolution, were arrested, imprisoned, and later persecuted. Like many “national essence” students, Yeung had been ideologically “raised on the milk of the Gang of Four”. When she realised that everything had been a political scam, she completely “depoliticised” herself and focused on teaching as a secondary school teacher. Later, in the 1980s, she started a family, gave birth to two sons, and became a full-time mother.

The Settling of “Depoliticisation”, and the Reignition

Yeung said, “I had no feelings about the issue of Hong Kong’s future in the 1980s. Though I felt sadness for those killed and arrested in the June 4th Incident in 1989, I had no political feelings about it. And I also had no feelings

about Hong Kong's return to China in 1997." It seems she truly succeeded in "depoliticising" herself. However, when she returned to the workforce in the early 1990s, she once again dedicated herself to serving the grassroots community. She joined a self-financing social services centre on a part-time basis, and she admitted, "It felt like I was back in the CUHK Social Service Team" In 2000, she joined Kadoorie Farm, where she promoted organic farming within the community. Five years later, she, along with nine friends, established a cooperative to promote organic food and farming. In 2008, she met Eddie Chu Hoi-dick, who later became a directly elected member of the Legislative Council, through joining a history tour of Tai Po (a district in the New Territories of Hong Kong) organised by Chu. The following year, Chu emerged as a key figure in the movement against the construction of the high-speed rail link connecting Hong Kong and China.

Perseverance in the storm: Behind the "Silver-Hair March"

In 2012, the HKSAR government planned to implement the "Moral and National Education" curriculum in the new school year, the content and objectives of which were similar to "Patriotic Education" in mainland China. At the time, a commentary program on the pro-government Asia Television pointed out that the curriculum "must be executed whether you understand it or not". This phrase, originating from the Cultural Revolution, set off alarm bells in Yeung's mind, who had once been part of the Maoist faction in her student activist years. In September of the same year, students and parents who opposed the curriculum launched a hunger strike. By then, Yeung had already become a Buddhist, and after a worship visit, she received a call from her old friend Sham Kin-fun from The 70's Biweekly, who suggested that "veterans" of the 1970s social movement should join the hunger strike. She agreed on the spot. The government soon backed down and eventually shelved the curriculum. During the 2014 "Umbrella Movement", although she was not a leading figure, Yeung frequently visited and sat in the occupied area in Admiralty. Later, she also visited the Mong Kok and Causeway Bay occupied areas to gather material for a book about the movement. The book, titled *The Once-Fiery Silver Hairs beneath the Umbrella*, was published in December 2015 by Hong Kong's Step Forward Multimedia (the publisher closed in May 2024). On the eve of the clearance of the Admiralty occupation area, she sat quietly, waiting to be arrested. She was eventually taken to the police station and released the next day.

After the “Umbrella Movement” ended, she “returned to politics” and shifted her everyday focus from organic farming to political participation. In the 2015 District Council elections, she campaigned for young people fighting for democracy (then known as the “umbrella troopers”). In the 2016 Legislative Council elections, she supported Eddie Chu, who was eventually elected. In early 2019, when the government announced the amendment to the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance, Yeung participated in the first large-scale protest in April; she also joined the million-strong march on June 9. In July, a friend from the former 70’s Biweekly asked Yeung to initiate a march for senior citizens to support the young protesters. She agreed and launched a series of “Silver Hair Marches”.

Crossing borders, upholding beliefs

In June 2020, China’s National People’s Congress announced the enactment of the National Security Law for Hong Kong. Yeung, concerned that her freedom of speech would be restricted, decided to emigrate to Taiwan. However, due to dissatisfaction with Taiwan’s public administration and other issues, she moved to the UK in the summer of 2024. After arriving in the UK, she continued to actively participate in rallies held by Hong Kongers there to protest against the Hong Kong and Chinese governments, and helped distribute leaflets.

From being a Maoist faction student in the 1970s, loyal to the Chinese Communist regime, to opposing it in recent years, an old acquaintance of the same age once asked her, “Why do you always have ‘Today’s me defeat yesterday’s me’?” Yeung replied, “Because people progress.”



Yeung Po-hi



地區議會與香港民主運動 ——前區議員任啟邦訪問

訪問者：閻閻

政治啟蒙，孕育鴻鵠之志

任啟邦出生於1978年，其政治啟蒙源於父親。任父常在家中收聽有關香港時局的報導，在耳濡目染下，任啟邦對政治漸生興趣。1989年「六四事件」發生後，任父毫不忌諱地帶著當時只是小學生的任啟邦參與遊行、集會。年幼的他滿心疑惑：「為何政權要以武力鎮壓手無寸鐵的市民和學生？」這個疑問為他日後追求公義和民主埋下了伏筆。

1997年香港政權移交，18歲的任啟邦與許多香港人一樣，對香港回歸中國表示歡迎，卻同時對中共政權心存恐懼，擔憂中共日後會打壓香港的民主和自由。然而，縱使心懷恐懼，受家庭條件所限，他們無法移民海外，只能選擇留港，直面未來。他雖然仍關心香港的政治發展，但當時並未有意投身政界。直至1998年特區第一屆立法會選舉，中七畢業的任加入民主黨的選舉義工團隊。任首次接觸政黨選舉工程和地區工作，這段經歷讓他開始渴望為社區帶來改變。

在助選過程中，他發現區議員並非「口噏喻」（空談）。區議員的職權確實能向政府部門施壓，解決居民生活乃至社區大小問題。他觀察到，政府官員為了避免犯錯，通常對社會問題回應緩慢，加上官僚主義作祟，市民的民生需求往往久久未能解決。而區議員的角色則是站在市民角度，向政府反映大眾的聲音，從而縮短政府和市民之間的距離。對區議員一職心生憧憬的他，適逢黨內有成員退選，便臨時補上，並出選1999年的區議會選舉（區選），成為當時最年輕的候選人。

學有所成，回饋社區

雖然1999年未能當選，但任並未放棄，隨即準備四年後的下一屆選舉。他先赴英國完成社會政策學學士課程，豐富學識，回港後則在地區深耕細作。他笑言當時每月僅領取一千多元的車馬費，卻儼如全職般投入地區服務，負責文康工作、地區倡議、個案跟進，甚至與官員會面，大小事務一手包辦。在地區一年多的努力和付出，加上2003年的「反廿三條 七一大遊行」，使任成功在同年年底的區選中，以一千二百票的差距擊敗連任三屆的對手。任正式當選怡富區區議員，直至2021年辭任為止。

近二十年的議會工作讓任啟邦總結出，區議員就像一座橋樑，連接政府和地區市民。區議員不僅要向政府轉達市民聲音，還需向市民報告區議會的工作。這不但營造出一種專屬地區議政的問責機制，更讓市民能透過區議員這一渠道，向官員反映有關社區的意見。市民意識到自己的意見得到重視，憑藉表達意見、簽名等方式，既能推動政府進行地方施政，亦可參與自己所在地區的事務。

「議員在地區工作的最終目的都是為了選票，這是鐵一般的事實。放眼整個世界均是如此，所以無需為此感到羞恥。」但任啟邦強調，爭取選票時仍應以幫助市民為己任，並要顧及社區日後的可持續發展和各項倡議的可行性。他認為以此能連結不同持份者一同協商解決方案。例如，單方面指責政府官員辦事不力無助推動和改善政府在社區事務上的施政。而官員擔心項目實際成效，如新建天橋、升降機或巴士線投入服務後的使用量是否達到預期等，這時區議員就需依靠在地區工作中獲得的資料、數據和市民意見，來說服政府官員落實項目。

民主路上的抉擇與得失

雖然任在區議會選舉中戰績彪炳，但他的政治之路並非一帆風順。2010年，他因與民主黨就當時的政改方案出現意見分歧，又見部份核心成員竟願意前往中聯辦與中共官員「密室談判」，遂決定退出民主黨，另組新民主同盟（新同盟）。

離開香港第一大泛民政黨而另立新黨，任認為對其地區工作影響不大，全因大多「街坊」認人不認黨。他笑言，經過多年經營，只要不倒向民建聯，市民就不會質疑你是否在政治立場上「轉軌」。即便與「前東家」在政治議題上存有分歧而分道揚鑣，但在地區議題上，他們仍合作無間，不分黨籍。

另外，即使另起爐灶，新同盟在大埔區議會內仍是非建制派的第一大黨。加上不少地區「樁腳」及鄭家富的支持，代表新同盟的范國威成功在2012年當選立法會議員。黨內新增一位立法會議員，為任的地區工作提供了不少幫助。他以運輸署為例，指出區議員依規只能約見運輸主任，而立法會議員則可直接約見助理署長級官員。透過這種方式，他能向層級更高的政府官員反映意見、施加壓力，加快工程的推展進度。

在地區民生事務上，各方不分政治立場，即使是親政府的民建聯也會反對巴士加價。而作為泛民主派的議員，則需在「廿三條」立法、爭取普選或「反送中」等政治議題上發動社區動員。這不但突顯了他們與建制派的區別，也讓他們藉街站等動員活動，向市民解釋上街遊行的原因，從而提高市民的關注，甚至鼓勵更多人參與。此外，動員可團結凝聚社區中一批積極堅實的民主派支持者，擴大民主黨派在社區中的影響力。

一般而言，區議員較難直接動員群眾上街遊行示威，尤其是在2014年的「雨傘運動」期間。由於運動目標是癱瘓金鐘和旺角，任啟邦落區時觀察到運動初期市民普遍同情學生，但日子一長，便因交通不便而心生抱怨，建制派也藉此發動輿論

攻勢。惟他認為區議員應更積極在街站中向市民解釋運動的來龍去脈，以改變大眾對運動的觀感。

除此之外，他亦提到「傘運」啟發了不少從未參政的「政治素人」在2015年的區議會選舉中參選，為社區和地區議會帶來了傳統政黨政治以外的新氣象，並促進公民社會在地方層面的發展。這不僅為任的地區工作帶來新機遇和挑戰，也促使他反思傳統政黨在地區工作的既定模式，例如社交媒體的運用及與政府的關係等，都需要他重新適應和調整。然而，任的工作成果在2015年底的選舉中顯著體現，他成功以72%的得票率力壓對手。

政治風暴中的挑戰與堅持

在2019年的「反送中」事件中，汲取「雨傘運動」的經驗，任啟邦同樣重視宣傳工作。早在同年6月爆發衝突前，他便透過派發傳單、展示橫額和在街站與市民面對面交流等方式，解釋反對政府修訂《逃犯條例》的原因，並強調問題的重要性和迫切性。從中他觀察到，相較14年的「傘運」，「送中條例」更加直接觸動不同年齡層市民對港府及中共政權的恐懼，也引發對香港司法獨立前景的憂慮。然而，與「傘運」一樣，不少市民認為示威者堵路阻塞交通，嚴重影響他們的生活並損害了香港經濟。故此，任認為19年的區議會選舉，可謂是兩股民意之間的對決。

2019年區議會選舉後，大埔區議會首次由非建制議員取得過半議席，得以全面地掌制議會的提案及討論內容，並在民生議題上對政府施加更大壓力。然而，任強調，自區議會民主派大勝後，警務處及各政府部門的態度卻明顯較以往不合作。例如，當議會質詢抗爭期間的警暴問題或濫用催淚彈等議題時，政府代表往往以離席要脅，甚至直接中途離場以示不滿。即使涉及民生項目，在疫情爆發後，政府官員亦經常以疫情為由拒絕出席會議。雖然至今仍無法確認官員抗拒合作是否與區議會民主派大勝有關，但議會和政府之間的關係明顯日漸惡化。

任還提及另一例子，如民政處需為區議會提供會議場地、會議記錄、整理議程及協助約見相關部門等；但每當區議會準備討論較具政治性的議題，例如警暴問題，民政處便拒絕提供上述服務，導致會議無法順利舉行，政府亦由此無需作出任何回應。此外，隨著疫情爆發，政治議題在地區內逐漸淡化，關注度下降，議會工作重心亦多轉向防疫物資的分配和管理等事務。

除了政治議題，非建制派議員（包括任啟邦本人）都曾計劃取得大埔區區議會主導權後，大力推動地區行政改革，為社區充權。例如撥款資助部份新興團體，嘗試舉辦更多元化的活動，以取代建制派在文康界別的衛星組織。但隨著政府以防疫為由限制舉辦活動，以上種種最終未能付諸實行，只停留於構想之中。

乘著2019年各區區議會民主派大勝的浪潮，任於2020年報名參選立法會區議會（一）界別，希望能夠在立法會發揮多年議會工作經驗，為一眾同僚爭取提升區議員職能，並解決他們在營運上面對的各種問題。可惜，隨著《港區國安法》的

實施，加上新同盟三名成員在初選案中被捕，為免政黨身份影響被捕成員的審判，加之不少成員曾在初選期間借出辦事處作票站，甚至擔任工作人員，承受沉重壓力；最終經過商討，任無奈決定解散新同盟，並辭去區議員一職。他的政治長跑，彷彿到此為止。

遠走他鄉，未忘初衷

近二十年的從政經歷，是任人生非常重要的一部份。回望多年來的區議員工作，他以「細水長流」來形容，因為不少地區工程需要長年籌備，從等待政府批核動土到最終落成，過程漫長而繁瑣。但他仍為自己在選區內爭取到各種無障礙通道等設施感到自豪，欣慰這些項目最終得以落實。即使離任、甚至移居英國後，他仍與不少昔日街坊保持聯絡，在節日互相問候。畢竟，選民對他的認可，從來不是一朝一夕得來的。

縱然移居英國後，任未再從事與政治相關的工作，但過往的從政經驗讓他更容易融入當地香港人社群。他積極舉辦活動、聯誼，團結在英港人。另外，他亦不避諱以前區議員的身份，公開參與「六四」等政治集會。雖然暫無返港打算，但對於不知何年何月才有機會安全回港，他感到無奈和遺憾。

然而，任啟邦對未來的英國生活心懷冀望。他雖笑稱自己對區議員一職「做到夠皮了」，但仍盼將來有機會以香港人的身份，在英國以非正式參政的方式，就香港議題進行政策提倡，或反映在英港人的訴求，繼續扮演「橋樑」的角色，將香港人的聲音帶到英國各大政黨和議會，使英國政客了解——香港人並非政治冷感。



District Council and Hong Kong Democratic Movements: An Interview with former district councillor Kai-bong Yam

Interviewer: Lui Yim

Political Enlightenment: Nurturing Lofty Ambitions

Yam Kai-bong (Yam) was born in 1978, into a family that sowed the seeds of his interest in politics. His father would often listen to the radio reports about Hong Kong's political news, allowing Yam's interest to grow under such influence. As the Tiananmen Crackdown happened in 1989, his father brought him along to the protest and memorial. It was enough to spark his own question of why a government in power would use violence to answer a group of unarmed students and citizens. Such a line of questioning laid the groundwork of how he would come to strive for justice and democracy in his life.

As Hong Kong was handed to China in 1997, Yam was just about 18 years old. Similar to his peers, he welcomed the Handover, yet a sense of fear lingered. There was the concern of how the Communist Party of China (CPC) might suppress democracy and freedom in Hong Kong. Despite such fear, his family could not afford to move overseas at the time. They had to remain in Hong Kong to embrace their fates. Though concerned with Hong Kong's political development, Yam had no interest in actively playing a part in it. Until the first Legislative Council (LegCo) election in 1998, he signed up to be a volunteer for the Democratic Party after finishing secondary school. It was his first experience with electoral campaigns and district work, igniting his desire to bring changes to his community.

During his time at the campaign, he realised that district councillors weren't all talks. They could impose pressure on the government, to ensure it address residents' big and small concerns. Yet, he also observed that most government officials would respond glacially slow to requests and demands, just to avoid making mistakes. Combined with the bureaucratic culture at play, it usually took a long time for residents' concerns to be addressed, let alone solved. As a district councillor, it was their duty to deliver those concerns to the government, closing that gap between the two. Carrying such desire, when circumstance came that Yam's party member would withdraw from the election, he became the replacement and thus the youngest candidate in the 1999 election.

Gaining Knowledge and Giving Back to the Community

Though Yam did not win that election, he did not give up. Instead, he immediately started to prepare for the next election in four-year's time. He first completed his degree in Social Policy in the UK, enriching his own knowledge, then came back to start grinding in his community. He laughs now how he treated it as if it was already his full-time job, when he was just receiving a few hundred dollars as transport compensation. He followed through the development of recreational facilities in the community, advocated for residents' welfare, followed up on individual cases and arranged meetings with government officials to address residents' concerns. Yam's efforts within the district for over a year, along with the social atmosphere after the anti-Article 23 protest on 1st July were not in vain, he was finally elected by the end of 2003. He won with over a thousand votes' margin to his opponent who had served for three terms prior. He officially became the district councillor of Yee Fu District, continued to win through all following elections, until his final resignation in 2021.

After almost two decades of council work, Yam concludes that district councillors are a bridge between the government and district residents. District councillors not only need to deliver residents' concerns to the government, but also to report the council's efforts and achievements to residents, which would create a specific sense of accountability for district politics. Moreover, this would help residents realise how their voices are valued and more than able to influence district affairs through signing petitions, showing up at district public consultations and other ways to participate in the daily affair of the place they live in and push for government's response to their needs.

'It is undeniable that district counsellors are ultimately working for vote counts. This statement is true throughout the world, so there is no shame attached when I say this.' Yet, Yam also insists that aside from votes, one should ensure that serving residents is their top priority. That it is also the district counsellor's duties to consider the community's developmental sustainability and all manners of advocacy available to residents, while utilising their position to bring stakeholders with different interests to the same table and reach a compromise for the best solution. He states that it is not helpful if one is merely critiquing the government's policies and execution, as it would not lead to communal matters being resolved at any level. When government officials are worried about the actual results of new policies or infrastructure projects, like new footbridges, lifts, if new bus lines' usage will meet its initial expectation, it is the district councillor's job to persuade them with district-based data and collection of residents' opinion that these new projects or policies are worth the efforts.

Choices, Gains and Losses on the Path of Democratic Movement

Though Yam had outstanding performance in district elections, his political path had not all been smooth. In 2010, he disagreed with the Democratic Party at large, specifically over their support for the proposed electoral reform. Then he witnessed some core party members actually were willing to attend a closed-door negotiation with the Hong Kong Liaison Office of the Central People's Government about said proposal. It only further encouraged him to leave the party and founded the Neo Democrats with others. Leaving the major democratic party and founding a new one did not affect Yam's district's work, as residents recognise the person that serves them and not the party. He teases that under his years of efforts within the district, as long as he did not suddenly turn to the DAB, residents are not going to doubt his political leaning. Although he had disagreement with his former party, in terms of district matters he held friendly relations with those who serve in the same district as he did, no matter which party they belonged to.

Though it was a relatively new party, the Neo Democrats managed to become the largest democratic party within the Tai Po District Council. Along with other strongholds at district councils and the assistance of Andrew Cheng, the Neo Democrats managed to push Gary Fan into the LegCo in 2012. With a legislator in the party, it assisted much with district's works as well. Yam takes the Transport Department as an example, while district councillors can only request meeting with the Transport Officers, legislators can request meeting with Assistant Director or Director, allowing for more leverage when bargaining with government officials on speeding up construction projects for the community. Though even DAB district councillors would also be of the same opinion with Yam and his colleagues on social affairs like opposing a raise to bus fares, there are some additional duties for a pan-Democrats district councillor like engaging in social mobilisation when political issues arise. They did so for Article 23, demands for universal suffrage and the Anti-Extradition Movement. It is not just to contrast their differences from the pro-Beijing councillors but setting up street counters to explain why such protests were happening, it could raise further awareness for the issue and hope to bring forth more participants. It can also unite the base of democratic supporters, expand the democratic parties' influence within the community.

Generally speaking, it is challenging for district councillors to directly call for residents to join protests and demonstrations. In 2014, at the start of the Umbrella

Movement Yam observed that the public tended to sympathise with the students when he interacted with the residents. As time went on, they started to complain about the traffic disruptions in Mong Kok and Causeway Bay caused by the Movement, the same concern that was also brought up by the pro-Beijing side in their attempt to win over the public opinion. Still, Yam insists that it is a district councillor's duty to explain the ongoing events amongst residents, with their street counters and direct conversations, so the public stands a chance to better understand what is at stake.

Another surprise brought by the Umbrella Movement was 'political amateurs' were inspired to participate in the 2015's district election without the traditional party support or past political experience. It broke through the traditional party politics and created spaces for civil participation on a district level. This brought new challenges and opportunities for Yam that he needed time to adjust to, like reflecting upon the traditional manner of serving the community, usage of social media as a district councillor and new ideas about the relationship between district councillors and the government. Amidst such challenges, his long-lasting efforts rooted within the district proved steady while he was still adapting to such dynamics, as he still won the 2015 district election with 72% of the votes against his opponent.

Challenges and Perseverance Amid Political Turmoil

Based on his experience with the Umbrella Movement, Yam stood strong with his duty to explain for the Anti-Extradition Movement in 2019. Even before the larger protests came along in June, he had started spreading leaflets and setting up street counters to have direct discussion with residents about how the bill would come into effect, its significance and the multiple problems it would cause if passed through. From his observation, the Extradition Bill triggered the fear across age group about the Chinese Communist Government's influence on the Hong Kong government and legal autonomy, which did not happen for the Umbrella Movement. Yet similarly, it was inevitable for some to resent the traffic disruptions caused by waves of protests and confrontations, some even worried over how it would disrupt the economy overall. To Yam, the district election held in 2019 was a blatant showdown between the two sides of citizens' opinion. After that election in 2019, the pro-Democrats won the majority in the Tai Po district council for the first time ever. It allowed them to fully autonomy with the council agenda and discussion content, as well as more bargaining power with government officials on social affairs. However, Yam emphasised that the police

and all government departments showed an added degree of unwillingness to cooperate after that election. If the council consulted the government representatives about police brutality or abuse of tear gas, they would threaten with withdrawal from the meeting, or even actually left to show their discontent with such questionings. Even on social affairs, after the outbreak of Covid, government officials started to use it as an excuse to not attend any meeting with the district council. Though there is no explicit confirmation that such unwillingness, or even hostility, was directly caused by the pro-Democrats' win, the deterioration of relationship between the council and the government could not be denied.

The Home Affairs Department is supposed to provide meeting venues, minutes, organisation of related documents and arrange government officials' meetings for the district council. However, they would often refuse to provide the above services when the district council prepared a slightly more political issue at hand, like police brutality. Such refusal prevented any meeting between the district council and government officials, therefore there would not be any response from the government regarding any social affairs. Following that and the Covid outbreak in Hong Kong, political concerns drifted to the side and the district council turned their attention towards the allocation and management of pandemic preventive supplies and related measures.

With the domination of pro-Democrats district councillors in Tai Po, many of them, including Yam, were planning to implement administrative reform to empower the community through passing fundings for new social or communal organisations, attempting different activities to foster sense of community and provide recreational entertainment, that are different from the satellite organisations from the pro-Beijing councillors. However, such efforts were cut short by the various Covid prevention measures and restrictions on large gatherings from the government and remained nothing but an idea. Following the electoral win in 2019, Yam signed up to participate in the District Council functional constituency of LegCo in 2020, hoping he could advocate for expansion on functionalities of the district councils and possible solutions to various operational issues they had faced with his decade-long experience at district council himself. Unfortunately, with the passing of the National Security Law, three of Yam's fellow party members were arrested for their participation in the primaries held earlier in the same year. In order to avoid their cases being affected by their party background, and more than a few members of the

Neo Democrats were under pressure themselves for having been volunteers or lent out their offices for the primaries, Yam and his party members decided to dissolve the party and resign from their position as district councillor. That seemed to mark the end of his political marathon.

Leaving for Distant Lands, Yet Never Forgetting the Original Aspiration

Closing in on almost two decades of political experience, it has been a significant part of Yam's life. As he looks back on all of his district work, Yam describes it as how dripping water hollows out stones, reflecting how a lot of district facilities and projects require years to initiate, plan and be passed, then waiting for the government to actually start construction or implementation, it was a long and complicated process. Still, he was proud of all the barrier-free facilities that are now well used in the district that he served, since he fought his way to bring those to life. Even after his move to the UK, he still keeps contact with a lot of residents back home, sending each other festive greetings from time to time. It only proves the trust and bonding he had built with those he served did not come easily, nor does it leave easily.

Yam has not worked on anything related to politics since his arrival in the UK. Yet, his past experience allows him to blend in well with the other Hongkongers who have also migrated. He often hosts gatherings and activities for Hongkongers in the UK to unite them for a time. He shows up at Tiananmen Crackdown's commemoration and other political gatherings, not shying away from being a former district councillor. Though he has no plan to return to Hong Kong for now, Yam states it is still a pity to not know when it would be possible for him to return without any risk of being threatened or arrested and charged, with the tone of resignation in his voice.

Yam holds out hope for his life in the UK. He laughs that he probably "had more than enough time as a district councillor" but still hopes for a chance to represent Hongkongers' voices in the UK or advocate for Hong Kong related policies outside of the formal political structure. It is still his wishes to play the role of a bridge, to bring Hongkongers' concerns to the parliament and various political parties in the UK and let them know Hongkongers are not ignorant towards politics at all.

鋼筋與血汗： 工運路上的堅持與抉擇

訪問者：Rae Lai, Fong Chang

初啟工運之路：荃灣紗廠的抗爭

2007年夏天，紫鐵工友發動了一場歷時兩個多月的大型罷工，要求將2003年「沙士」期間被削減的工資回復至合理水平。這場工潮獲得傳媒廣泛報道，不少香港人因而首次認識「紫鐵」這個工種。而在工潮的最前線，一位工友代表頻繁出現在各大媒體上為工友發聲——他就是Man哥。

然而，Man哥並非工運「新丁」。早在1980年代，年輕的Man哥便已參與勞工抗爭。當時，他在荃灣某紗廠工作，工人因不滿待遇而發起罷工。同事尋求香港工會聯合會（工聯會）支援，Man哥回憶道：「當時工聯會很犀利，他們連煮食設施都搬來工廠，為罷工工友煮『大鑊飯』，還動員其他工廠的工人捐款支持。」最終，工友佔領工廠長達三天。經過如此熱血的一役，Man哥轉行投身紫鐵業，並曾短暫加入工聯會。他說：「但越接近『九七』，我越覺得他們有點『和稀泥』，所以對他們失去了信任，就漸漸疏遠了。」

金融風暴與「沙士」的衝擊：共渡時艱 義氣相挺

1997年，紫鐵工人的日薪為一千二百元，工時8小時。然而，隨著1997年金融風暴以至2003年「沙士」疫情的衝擊，紫鐵工人與許多「打工仔」一樣，被要求「共渡時艱」，日薪被削減半至六百元，但工時卻增至8.5小時，甚至更長。當時，Man哥寧願暫時轉行。他稱：「我在其他行業是新手，拿較低的工資是合理的；但我在紫鐵行業已有經驗，那樣的薪資根本毫無尊嚴。」後來，隨著經濟逐步復甦，紫鐵工人的日薪於2005年回升至八百元，工時仍維持在8.5小時。同一時期，樓價亦穩步上揚，工友們都期望工資能慢慢回復至1997年的水平。

激起火焰：2007年工潮爆發

紫鐵行業一般每年會進行一次薪酬調整，通常由工會代表工人和「蛇頭」聯席商議，達成共識後再由承判商確定並落實執行。2007年7月，工聯會屬下的紫鐵工會按慣例和「蛇頭」聯席制定年度薪酬，雙方達成共識，決定將日薪提升至九百五十元，並將工時恢復至每天8小時。然而，這次由承判商組成的紫鐵商會拒絕接納協議，反而單方面決定工人薪酬，無視工會及「蛇頭」聯席的磋商結果，成為這次紫鐵工潮的導火線。「8月7日，在工聯會召開會員大會時，有工友指出，其中一間

承判商發出通告，表示日薪僅加三十至五十元不等，但工時卻延長至8小時45分鐘。該地盤的工友對此極為不滿，更立即罷工，並要求工聯會牽頭談判。然而，工聯會拒絕，只表示他們會『聲援』。工人的罷工訴求很明確：當年因金融風暴導致經濟低迷，工人願意減薪，與全社會一同「共渡時艱」。惟經濟復甦後，工人理應與社會各行業共同分享經濟成果，卻發現資方無視他們的付出，繼續壓榨，工人忍無可忍，迫於無奈下唯有罷工以示抗議。

翌日(8月8日)，工人聚集於天光道與靠背壟街地盤抗議。「當時大約有400人，工聯會到場聲援，而(職)工盟亦開始介入。」其時已在建築工人註冊處登記的紫鐵工人大約有3,000人，即超過一成工人參與這次罷工。Man哥亦在場協助擔任糾察的角色。

罷工進入第三天(8月10日)，時任立法會議員梁國雄(長毛)亦前來支援，更協助工人申請遊行。Man哥憶述：「本來計劃從天光道遊行至天星碼頭，再過海往政府總部。但當時颱風迫近，當我們遊行至油麻地窩打老道一帶時，已經有大批警察戒備。我們試圖改乘地鐵過海，但亦遭警察攔截，一時間進退失據。由於八號風球即將懸掛，我們將遊行延至翌日。」當時，有人建議前往鄰近的工盟辦事處商討對策，但甫抵達工盟所在的大廈，就發現大批警察早已駐守，其中包括蒙兆達在內的三位工盟幹事當場被捕。不過，在聯絡長毛和梁耀忠等立法會議員協助後，他們很快獲釋。翌日，長毛為工人申請「不反對通知書」，並即日獲批，工人隨即繼續遊行。

血與淚：艱難談判與妥協

工友們透過罷工、集會和遊行，成功爭取更多談判籌碼。勞工署亦承諾工友，在與資方談判時會有工友在場(即由勞工處、資方、工聯會及罷工工人代表組成的四方會議)。不過，8月13日，工聯會突然向工人宣布已和商會取得共識，決定將日薪由八百元調升至八百五十元，工時則由8小時30分縮減至8小時15分；更聲稱若果工人不接受並繼續罷工，一切行動將與工聯會無關。Man哥回憶指很多工人對這個結果甚感不滿：「不少工人質疑，為何談判時沒有罷工工人代表參加會議？他們亦認為談判黑箱作業，覺得自己被工聯會出賣，甚至憤而將工聯會趕離現場。」

罷工期間，工人成立了「罷工糾察隊」，負責協助罷工期間的各項工作。同時，商業電台的論政節目《左右大局》也發起籌款活動，所得款項用作支援罷工工友的生活開支及提供罷工糾察的津貼。Man哥作為工友發言人，曾多次接受媒體訪問，讓市民更了解工友面對的困難和罷工原因。

衝突升級：與警察對峙

後來，罷工進一步擴展至其他的工地，包括大圍銅鑼灣山的工地。不同地區的警察對罷工的取態大相逕庭。其中，大圍所屬的沙田警區總警司決定對罷工採取強硬手段，派出大批警察戒備，和工友對峙。然而，紫鐵工友們又何嘗不是硬漢子？

結果，雙方僵持不下，造成「硬碰硬」的局面。Man哥說：「有一位阿Sir（警員）面對著罷工工友時情緒突然變得激動，更幾乎拔槍，形勢如箭在弦。幸好職工盟主席兼立法會議員李卓人及時趕到，提醒該警察：『你唔好刺激佢哋呀，有咩事我搵唔住㗎。』阿Sir看了看面前一大群體型健碩的工友，最終收起武器，慢慢退後。」後來，李卓人建議工友集中於紮鐵商會所在的荃灣集會，風波才得以平息。最終，這場工運取得勝利，坊間不少人認為，紮鐵工人體格強健，是其中一個致勝關鍵。

不過，對「散工」來說，罷工意味「手停口停」的現實壓力。「有些工友可能會偷偷地開工，但不敢張揚，怕被指責；也有些人因為家庭負擔較重，無法長時間罷工。」直至9月，每天的罷工人數已由最初的400人減少至每天約200人，這也意味著工人的談判籌碼越來越少。「下一步會如何？我真的不知道。」

抗爭現曙光：微調薪水的「慘勝」

此時，行動迎來另一重大轉機。9月9日，時任特首曾蔭權前往北京述職時，被中央官員問及紮鐵工潮的狀況，因而公開表達關注。其後，勞工及福利局（勞福局）開始積極促請勞資雙方進行談判。在9月12日正式談判前，勞福局特意安排了一場飯局，讓勞資雙方「先摸個底」。「那場飯局大家都客客氣氣，建築商更表示甚麼都說可以談。然而真正談判時，他們卻甚麼都『企硬』。」而在談判前一天，工聯會亦舉行預備會議。「他們想先選定發言代表，以防太激進的工友發聲，但工友並沒有理會他們的安排。」

至12日，工友代表和商會正式展開談判。Man哥深知若罷工再持續下去，工人將越來越難維持生計，談判籌碼也會逐漸減少。因此，他爭取要在此次會議上達成共識。可是，即使如此，他仍堅持自己的底線——工時必需減至8小時。「紮鐵的工作環境相當嚴酷，尤其是夏天，超過8小時的勞動會影響安全（工業意外多發生在黃昏時分，因為工友此時已相當疲累，甚至體力透支）。」面對不願讓步的資方，經過長時間的艱苦談判，最後雙方初步達成共識——日薪調升至八百六十元，工時減至8小時。

資方和勞福局希望立即確定此方案，但Man哥堅持必需先徵求罷工工友的同意。於是，Man哥等人趕往集會現場，向工友徵詢意見。「這時，工聯會又突然跳出來『搶光環』，準備了三個投票箱讓工人投票，卻不允許李卓人和工盟的人進入他們的範圍，結果工友們極度不滿，一直向他們喝倒彩。」擾攘了一會兒，最後由Man哥等人在非工聯會「地頭」諮詢工友意見，李卓人亦建議直接以舉手表決，取代投票箱方式。

日薪八百六十元和原本的九百五十元仍相距甚遠，李卓人發言時亦就「未能為工友爭取最好的薪酬條件」致歉，但他同時向工友分析利弊，指出事已至此，工友手中的籌碼已越來越少：「不如先接受，日後再爭取更多。」此番言論當然迎來部分工友的反對。Man哥指：「有一位工友堅持反對，認為工時8小時並非白紙黑字的承諾，

擔心資方會擅自更改。我立即將他拉到一旁力陳利弊，最後才說服了他。」長毛等人亦盡力遊說工友，最後方案在大比數下獲得通過。李卓人形容這場工潮是「慘勝」。

汗水換來的團結：新工會的誕生

當初承諾會繼續爭取更好待遇，Man哥就付諸行動。工潮完結後便旋即著手籌備成立新工會「紮鐵業團結工會」，並於同年11月11日正式成立。「我希望成立一個由下而上的工會，與會員保持開放和清楚的溝通。」新工會成立後，成功爭取將每年薪金調整提早至5月進行，讓有子女的工友能更早規劃新學年的開支預算，薪金亦得以合理地逐年提升；此外，亦成功爭取在6月至9月期間增加15分鐘的休息時間，減輕工友在酷暑的負擔。

新工會亦與建造業議會(CIC)合作舉辦技能提升課程，Man哥始終堅持因材施教：「承傳是重要的，每個人的起步點有高有低，不可能用單一的教學方式適用於所有人。最重要是學員有心學習。」也因此，紮鐵業團結工會的課程合格率在業界內一直名列前茅。

面對變局：《國安法》下的抉擇

紮鐵業團結工會是Man哥的心血，他視之如親生兒子般悉心「栽培」。但《國安法》實施後，職工盟被迫解散。雖然紮鐵業團結工會是獨立註冊的，但Man哥作為工會的核心成員，在多方勸說下，權衡安危後，決定離開香港和這個「親生仔」。Man稱：「臨行前已做好交接工作，不過當時工會已處於最低度運作狀態，會員人數亦僅剩個位數，只能維持基本註冊要求。工會只保留基本執委，亦再無選舉。」談及工會現況，Man哥不勝唏噓：「今年(2024年)年中，CIC亦通知不會再和紮鐵團結工會合作，這意味著連技能提升課程也不再舉辦。最近得知，工會的會員更有意結束工會。」

「經濟疲弱，加上外勞競爭。如今的紮鐵業前景堪憂。」失去了一個由下而上的工會，工人們的未來和工運的發展，越發難以預測。



Steel and Sweat: Persistence and Dilemmas on the Road of Labour Movement

Interviewer: Rae Lai & Fong Chang

The inception of labour activism: The struggle at a Tsuen Wan mill

In the summer of 2007, bar-benders launched a large-scale strike lasting over two months, demanding the restoration of wages that had been cut during the SARS outbreak in 2003. The strike received widespread media coverage, and many people in Hong Kong were introduced to the trade of “bar-bending” for the first time. At the forefront of the strike, a worker representative appeared frequently in the media, speaking on behalf of the workers—he is Brother Man. However, Man is not a newcomer to the labour movement. As early as the 1980s, the young Man was already involved in labour protests. At that time, he worked at a yarn mill in Tsuen Wan, where workers went on strike due to dissatisfaction with their treatment. His colleagues sought support from the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (FTU). Man recalled, “The FTU was very resourceful at the time. They even brought cooking facilities to the factory to cook ‘big wok rice’ for the striking workers, and they mobilised workers from other factories to donate money in support.” In the end, the workers occupied the factory for three days. After such an intense battle, Man switched to the bar-bending industry and briefly joined the FTU. He said, “But as we got closer to 1997, I started feeling that they were trying to ‘smooth things over,’ so I lost trust in them and gradually distanced myself.”

The Impact of Financial Turmoil and SARS: Standing Together in Times of Hardship

In 1997, the daily wage of bar-benders was HKD\$1,200 for eight hours of work. However, with the impact of the 1997 financial crisis and the 2003 SARS epidemic, bar-benders, like many other workers, were asked to “weather the storm together”. Their daily wages were cut by half to \$600, while their working hours were increased to 8.5 hours, or even longer. At that time, Brother Man preferred to temporarily switch careers. He said, “I was a novice in other industries, so it was only reasonable for me to take a lower wage; but I already had experience in the bar-bending industry, and such a salary was completely

undignified.” Later, as the economy gradually recovered, the daily wage of bar-benders recovered to \$800 in 2005, while working hours remained at 8.5 hours. During the same period, property prices steadily increased, and workers hoped their wages would gradually return to the 1997 level.

Stoking the Flame: The Outbreak of the 2007 Labour Strike

The steel bar industry typically conducts annual wage adjustments, with the union representing the workers and negotiating with the “snakeheads” (foremen). After reaching a consensus, the contractors confirm and implement the agreement. In July 2007, the Bar-Bending Workers Union under FTU worked out the annual salary with the “snakeheads” as usual. The two sides reached an agreement to increase the daily wage to \$950 and restore working hours to 8 hours a day. However, this time, the Bar Bending Contractors Association refused to accept the agreement and instead unilaterally decided on the workers’ wages, disregarding the result of the joint negotiation of the union and “snakeheads”. This became the trigger for the bar-bender labour strike.

On August 7, during a general meeting of the FTU, some workers pointed out that one of the contractors had issued a notice stating that daily wages would only increase by \$30 to \$50, but working hours would be extended to 8 hours and 45 minutes. The workers at the construction site were extremely dissatisfied with this, and they immediately went on strike, requesting FTU to take the lead in negotiations. However, FTU refused and only offered to “show support”,

The workers’ demands were clear: during the financial crisis, when the economy was in downturn, workers were willing to take a pay cut to “weather the storm” along with society. After the economy recovered, workers expected to share in the economic success alongside other sectors of society. Instead, they found that employers ignored their contributions and continued to exploit them. The workers could no longer bear it and were left with no choice but to go on strike as a form of protest.

The next day (August 8), workers gathered at the construction sites on Tin Kwong Road and Kau Pui Lung Road to protest. “There were about 400 people at the time. FTU arrived to show support, and the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (CTU) also began to intervene.” At that time, there were around 3,000 bar-benders registered with the Construction Industry Council, meaning

more than 10% of the workers participated in the strike. Brother Man was also present, assisting in the role of a picket.

The strike entered its third day (August 10), and then Legislative Council member Leung Kwok-hung (Long Hair) came to support, also assisting the workers in applying for permission to stage a demonstration. Man recalled, "We had originally planned to march from Tin Kwong Road to the Star Ferry Pier, then cross the harbour to the Government Headquarters. However, with a typhoon approaching, when we reached the Waterloo Road area in Yau Ma Tei, a large number of police were already on guard. We tried to take the subway to cross the harbour but were blocked by the police and found ourselves stuck, at loss as to whether to advance or retreat. As the No. 8 typhoon signal was about to be hoisted, we postponed the march to the next day."

At that time, someone suggested going to the nearby CTU office to discuss countermeasures, but as soon as they arrived at the building, they found a large number of police had already stationed there, and three CTU executives, including Mung Siu-tat, were arrested on the spot. However, after contacting Legislative Council members such as Long Hair and Leung Yiu-chung for assistance, they were quickly released. The next day, Long Hair applied for a "Notice of No Objection" for the workers, which was approved on the same day, and the workers continued their march.

Blood and Tears: Difficult Negotiations and Compromises

Through strikes, assemblies, and marches, workers successfully gained more bargaining power. The Labour Department also promised the workers that they would be present during negotiations with employers (i.e., a four-party meeting consisting of representatives from the Labour Department, employers, FTU, and striking workers). However, on August 13, FTU suddenly announced to the workers that it had reached a consensus with the Contractors Association and decided to raise the daily wage from \$800 to \$850, and reduce working hours from 8 hours and 30 minutes to 8 hours and 15 minutes. It also claimed that if the workers did not accept this and continued to strike, FTU would no longer be involved in any of their actions.

Man recalled that many workers were very dissatisfied with the outcome. "Many workers questioned why no representatives of the striking workers attended

the meeting. They also felt that the negotiation was a black-box operation and believed they had been betrayed by FTU. Some were so angry that they drove FTU away from the scene."

During the strike, workers formed a "strike picket team" to assist with various tasks throughout the strike. At the same time, Commercial Radio's political discussion program The Tipping Point launched a fundraising campaign, with the proceeds used to support the living expenses of striking workers and provide allowances for the strike pickets. As a spokesperson for the workers, Brother Man was interviewed by the media on multiple occasions to help the public better understand the difficulties faced by the workers and the reasons behind the strike.

The conflict escalates: Confrontation with police

Later, the strike spread to other construction sites, including the one at Tung Lo Wan Hill in Tai Wai. Police in different districts had very different attitudes toward the strike. Among them, the Chief Superintendent of Sha Tin Police District, which Tai Wai falls under, decided to take a tough stance on the strike, deploying a large number of officers to stand guard and confront the workers. However, aren't bar-benders tough guys too? As a result, the two sides reached a stand-off, creating a hard "head-on" situation. Man recalled, "One officer, when facing the striking workers, suddenly became agitated and nearly drew his gun. The situation was tense. Luckily, Lee Cheuk-yan, Chairperson of CTU and a Legislative Council member, arrived in time and told the officer, 'Don't provoke them. I can't stop what happens next.' The officer looked at the large group of muscular workers in front of him, then holstered his weapon and slowly backed off." Later, Lee Cheuk-yan suggested that the workers all gather at Tsuen Wan, where the Bar-Bending Contractors Association is located. Only then did the situation calm down. Ultimately, the labour movement was victorious, and many believed that the physical strength of the bar-bending workers was one of the key factors in their success.

However, for casual workers, a strike means the real pressure of "no work, no income", "Some workers may work secretly but dare not make it public for fear of being blamed; others couldn't strike for long due to heavy family burdens." By September, the number of daily strikers had decreased from the initial 400 to about 200 per day, which also meant that the workers' bargaining power was steadily diminishing. "What would happen next? I really didn't know."

A Glimmer of Hope in the Struggle: A "Pyrrhic Victory" in Fine-Tuning Wages

At this point, the situation took another significant turn. On September 9, when then Chief Executive Donald Tsang traveled to Beijing to report on his work, he was asked by central government officials about the status of the bar-benders' strike. He then publicly expressed his concern. Following this, the Labour and Welfare Bureau (LWB) began actively urging both workers and employers to engage in negotiations. Prior to the official talks on September 12, the LWB arranged a dinner for both sides to "get a feel for the situation first"; "Everyone was very polite at the dinner, and the construction companies even said everything was negotiable. However, when the actual negotiations began, they were very firm on everything." FTU also held a preparatory meeting the day before the negotiations. "They wanted to pre-select representatives to speak, so as to avoid overly radical workers taking the floor, but the workers ignored their arrangements."

On the 12th, workers' representatives and the Contractors Association officially began negotiations. Man knew that if the strike continued, it would become increasingly difficult for workers to make a living, and their bargaining chips would gradually diminish. Therefore, he pushed for a consensus to be reached in this meeting. However, even so, he still stood firm on his bottom line—working hours must be reduced to 8 hours. "The working environment for bar-benders is extremely harsh, especially in the summer. Working beyond 8 hours compromises safety (industrial accidents often occur at dusk, when workers are already very tired or even physically exhausted)." Faced with employers unwilling to make concessions, after prolonged and difficult negotiations, the two sides finally reached a preliminary agreement—daily wages were increased to \$860, and working hours were reduced to 8 hours.

The employers and the Labour and Welfare Bureau wanted to finalise the plan immediately, but Brother Man insisted that the striking workers' consent must be obtained first. So, Man and others rushed to the rally site to consult the workers. "At this point, FTU suddenly jumped in to 'steal the limelight' and set up three ballot boxes for workers to vote, but they did not allow Lee Cheuk-yan and CTU people to enter their area. As a result, the workers were extremely dissatisfied and kept booing them." After a brief commotion, Man and others finally consulted the workers in a non-FTU "territory." Lee Cheuk-yan also suggested that the workers vote by raising hands, instead of using ballot boxes.

The daily wage of \$860 was still far from the original demand of \$950. In his speech, Lee Cheuk-yan apologised for “not being able to fight for the best wage conditions for workers”; However, he analysed the situation for the workers, pointing out that having reached this stage of the strike, the workers had fewer and fewer bargaining chips in their hands. “It’s better to accept it for now and fight for more in the future.” Of course, this remark met with opposition from some workers. Brother Man said, “One worker insisted on opposing it, believing that the eight-hour workday wasn’t a written promise and worried that the contractors would change it unilaterally. I immediately pulled him aside, explained the benefits and constraints, and finally convinced him.” Long Hair and others also did their best to persuade the workers, and ultimately the proposal was passed by a large majority. Lee Cheuk-yan described the strike as a “bitter victory”;

Sweat for Solidarity: The Birth of a New Union

Man had promised to continue fighting for better treatment, and he took action. Immediately after the strike ended, he began preparations to establish a new trade union, the “Bar Bending Industry Workers Solidarity Union”, which was officially founded on November 11 of the same year. “I hope to establish a bottom-up union that maintains open and clear communication with its members.” After the new union was formed, it successfully pushed for the annual wage adjustment to be moved up to May, allowing workers with children to plan the expenses of the new school year earlier, and ensuring their wages would be reasonably raised year by year. Additionally, the union succeeded in securing an extra 15 minutes of rest time for between June and September to reduce the physical burden on workers during the hot summer months.

The new union also collaborated with the Construction Industry Council (CIC) to offer skill upgrading courses. Man always emphasised teaching according to the individual’s abilities. “Passing-on is important. Everyone starts at a different level, and it’s impossible to use one teaching method for all. The key is that the students are eager to learn.” As a result, the Solidarity Union’s course pass rate consistently ranked among the best in the industry.

Facing a Changing Landscape: The Choice under the National Security Law
The Bar-Bending Industry Solidarity Union is Brother Man’s brainchild, and he has treated it with great care, like his own son. However, after the implementation

of the National Security Law, CTU was forced to disband. Although the Bar-Bending Industry Solidarity Union was independently registered, Man, as a core member of the union, decided to leave Hong Kong and his “son” after hearing much persuasion and weighing the risks to his safety. Man said, “Before leaving, the handover was completed, but at that time the union was already operating at the most minimal level, with only a few members remaining, just enough to meet the basic registration requirements. The union kept only the essential executive committee members, and there were no more elections.” Speaking about the current state of the union, Man sighed, “In mid-2024, CIC notified us that it would no longer collaborate with the Solidarity Union, which means that even the skills upgrading courses will no longer be held. Recently, I learned that union members are even considering closing the union down.”

“The weak economy, coupled with competition from imported workers, has made the future of the bar-bending industry bleak.” With the loss of a bottom-up union, the future of the workers and the development of the labour movement is becoming more and more uncertain.



香港史上第一場 大型醫護罷工的組織者 ——羅卓堯

訪問者：Kwong Chung Ting & Horace Wong

「運動中的成敗往往難以衡量，大部份時候結果也是失敗的。很多時候，你未必能夠獲得實際成果，但我覺得，人的轉變是很重要的。」羅卓堯自中學時期便開始關注政治議題，大學時期以學聯代表身份，參與「反國教」、「雨傘運動」等多場社會運動。至2019年香港「反修例運動」後，他以護士身份組織工會——醫管局員工陣線，並發動香港史上第一場醫護罷工行動。工潮持續五天，最終經會員投票決議後結束。多年來，羅卓堯以不同身份參與及組織社運，雖然未能取得預期成果，但他始終心繫人與人之間的連結，相信群眾交流能互相影響，並為日後改變帶來可能性。

以學生身份參與社會運動

羅卓堯生於1992年，中學時期首次接觸政治議題，是由中學老師介紹他閱讀龍應台的文集《野火集》開始，了解到台灣戒嚴時期的歷史，並逐漸認識「六四事件」，了解當年的訴求及其後的事態發展。他說：「屠殺是很嚴重的，這讓我深受觸動。」當時正值2009年末至2010年初，香港先後爆發「反高鐵運動」及「五區公投」。當時，香港特區政府計劃興建廣深港高速鐵路香港段，引發一系列反對行動。同年，5個立法會選區的泛民議員集體辭職，觸發補選，藉此作為變相公投，推動普選及廢除功能組別。當時仍是中六學生的羅卓堯開始留意政治新聞與評論，並思考自己的角色：「『五區公投』的同時，社會上亦存在許多不公，加上『反高鐵運動』，在這樣的時空背景下，我開始思考上大學後是否可以參與更多（社會運動）。」

高考放榜後，他順利升讀香港理工大學（理大）護理系。他坦言：「希望能夠從事幫助別人的工作，而不只是為了賺錢。」這是他當年選讀護理專業的主要原因。雖然沒有選讀政治相關科系，但在大學迎新日，他遇上學生會外務部的攤位，看到一座民主女神像。他心生好奇：「為甚麼這個組織會做這些事？當時其他攤位都是關於玩樂的，我便走過去看看。」

後來，他成為理大學生會外務副會長。任期完結後，他隨即加入學聯，擔任代表會副主席，並以學生組織代表的身份，持續參與一連串社會運動。從2012年的「反國民教育」、2013年的「葵青貨櫃碼頭工潮」，到2014年「反新界東北發展撥款示威」、「佔中預演」、「雨傘運動」，都有他的身影。他回憶道：「當時大部份時間都在參與這些運動，剩餘的時間則在院校內進行組織工作，吸納同學加入，而讀書則只求合格。」

2014年7月1日，學聯與學民思潮發動「佔中」預演行動，於中環遮打道通宵靜坐，以預演和平佔領中環運動，爭取普選。羅卓堯成為五百多位被捕人士之一。同年9月，他參與組織學界大罷課，集會後來移師中環。9月25日，學聯與學民思潮衝入政府總部「公民廣場」，他再次被捕。獲釋後，他看到金鐘街頭已被群眾佔領，不禁慨嘆：「那時覺得好『犀利』，我也下去吃了一點催淚彈。」

走進傘運佔領區

身為學聯代表，羅卓堯最初負責組織物資與一些行政工。後來，隨著群眾開始佔領不同地區的街道，分別於金鐘、銅鑼灣、旺角建立佔領區，他主要在旺角佔領區活動。他說：「當時仍要上課，下課後便回到佔領區，有時會帶些衣物到學聯會址洗澡，然後再到佔領區睡覺。那時沒怎麼回家，我住在大學宿舍，偶爾才會回去洗衣服。」

相較於擅長面對傳媒和與政治人物開會的同儕，他發現自己更享受與群眾交流，建立連結。無論「碼頭工潮」還是「雨傘運動」，他都親自到現場留守夜宿，了解不同背景參加者的想法。他分享道：「我覺得『人』是運動中最重要的東西，所以與人接觸是很好玩的工作。」

在他眼中，佔領區是「多姿多彩」的，許多不同的活動在街頭發生——有人在街頭種植、網台主持在現場直播，甚至有人提出大膽的想法。他笑言：「有許多有趣的想法，例如有人說要佔領IFC（國際金融中心）、港交所，我便聽他們講話。當時佔領運動有幾批不同的人，各自看法也很不一樣，我很想了解他們在想甚麼。」當時，參與者之間對運動的方向有不同立場，網絡上的討論也極為激烈。「A君罵B君是『左膠』，B君又罵別人『極右』。」但身處街頭，他卻發現參加者之間的矛盾遠沒有網絡那麼激烈：「建立連結這回事很奇妙，本來『三語識七』，但透過聊天交流，或許就會產生一些想法，可以互相影響。」

除了出於好奇心，他身為學聯代表，也肩負著了解參與者想法的責任，協助當時被視為運動領導之一的學聯進行決策。他形容，2014年是社會運動的範式轉移。他解釋：「由以往坐下來聽政治明星演說，到更多的自發參與，這是一個轉移過程。」

但他坦言心情始終複雜：「最大的掙扎在於，為甚麼運動仍要採用舊有模式，由數個組織來領導運動？當你每天與參加者討論，最希望的其實是由參加者主導（運動）。然而，那時這個轉移仍未完成，很多人依然坐在那邊聽學聯、學民或『佔中三子』說話。而我，其實也是學聯的一部份。」

不過，到了「雨傘運動」後期，他無法化解人與人之間的不信任，不同立場的參與者圍繞運動方向產生激烈爭論。雖然他認為參加者之間實際上的矛盾其實並沒那麼激烈，但由於立場分歧，雙方仍會不信任對方，甚至將對方貼上負面標籤。羅會因為自己無法調和這種衝突而感到挫敗，並直言這是他多年社運歷程中最大的挫敗之一。

「雨傘運動」後的社區參與

「雨傘運動」結束後，羅繼續投入社區活動，例如協助2015年區議會選舉，並加入「土地正義聯盟」的活動。

其實羅對政制議題沒有特別濃厚的興趣，他反而更關注一些小眾的社會議題。因為他相信為社會中最邊緣的群體賦權，是有意義且能帶來成就感的工作。羅曾與學聯的「自治八樓」成員討論，如何在學聯九樓（各大學會幹事）「斷莊」危機下持續組織學生。「斷莊」泛指學生組織的幹事會因無人參選，無法組成新一屆的幹事會。當時，部分大專院校無法順利換屆，導致由各大學學生會幹事會組成的學聯，面臨運作中斷的風險。即使碩士課業和護理工作皆繁重忙碌，羅仍會抽空參加「自治八樓」的活動，例如關注利東街重建或性少數外籍傭工的講座。

畢業後，羅曾經猶豫是否要全職投入社會運動，還是選擇投身醫護界。最終，羅選擇了醫護工作，原因是擔心自己會與普通人的生活脫節。如果失去與普通人的連結，他認為便很難有效地說服他們支持他的理念。

羅說，應該沒有人能預料到2019年的「反送中運動」會演變成如此大規模的抗爭。最初，羅只是以普通參與者身份走上街頭。6月12日那天，他在現場為兩名頭部受傷的年輕抗爭者包紮處理傷口。隨後，他結識了其他懂急救的抗爭者，更一起組成急救隊，在運動中投入救援工作。

籌備醫護工會

2019年8月5日大罷工後，抗爭者開始探索新的策略和行動方式。羅加入了一個網絡群組，意外發現群組中的許多成員，正是先前籌辦醫護集會的朋友。後來，他們成為了工會的核心成員。與此同時，職工盟的朋友也聯繫羅，希望他能協助一群有意成立醫護工會，但缺乏組織經驗的醫護人員。

在與他們交流後，羅發現他們對媒體應對和組織罷工並不熟悉，因此自然而然地參與了工會的籌備工作。羅直言自己不太喜歡處理工會的個案工作，但這卻是工會的基本職能之一。然而，他當時也在考慮與伴侶移居海外的可能性，因此放棄擔任主席一職。他指出：「主席（余慧明）雖然未必有經驗，但行動力最強。」於是，大家推選余擔任工會主席。

醫護罷工

2019年12月，「醫管局員工陣線」成立，並迅速吸引了大批醫護人員登記成為會員，尤其是在醫院門口設置攤位招募時。醫管局高層關注工會是否會發動罷工，甚至曾私下找羅探聽工會的計劃。他憶述：「我會形容醫護罷工是『時來運到』。」他坦言沒想到罷工在工會成立不久後便發生。隨著香港出現首宗新冠肺炎病例，羅記得工會當時發表的聲明甚至明言「不排除有工業行動」，以逼使政府封關。經傳媒報道後，市民開始期望工會發動罷工，而輿論對罷工更起了推波助瀾的作用。醫護界內部的罷工情緒也迅速升溫，羅工作所在的手術室中，部分同事開始集體請假，導致手術室無法正常運作。這些率先請假的「爛頭卒」認為，罷工頂多只是丟掉工作，顯示當時罷工的情緒已達臨界點。在群情洶湧下，工會成員決定把握時機，利用農曆新年假期籌備罷工。由於時間緊迫，工會僅有一週的準備時間，相較於通常需要一個月的罷工籌備，這次計劃非常匆忙。羅回憶起在罷工前三天，他總共只睡了四個小時。

政府拒絕工會的封關訴求後，工會轉而與醫管局高層進行閉門會議，希望為同事爭取其他成果。然而事後回顧，羅懷疑這些會議的實際成效：「即使會議成功讓高層退讓，但高層也不可能承認這是罷工帶來的成果。」羅直言有些後悔，因為閉門會議無法讓更多會員參與當中的決策。

隨著罷工行動未能帶來實質成果，參與罷工的人數開始下降。此外，由於疫情期間其他行業採取居家工作，工會難以獲得更多支持。最終，工會決定通過會員投票來決定是否延續罷工。當會員投票決定結束罷工時，羅感到非常可惜，並在醫院裏與朋友一同落淚。

初選

罷工結束後，工會轉型為「疫情應對機器」，針對公共衛生議題發聲，例如科興疫苗和全民檢測等政策。雖然罷工未能成功，但工會累積了不少政治能量，讓工會得以參與日後的初選。

主席余慧明被捕後，羅認為余承擔了過多的壓力。而羅當初因為個人考量未擔任主席，讓他對這個決定感到內疚。雖然工會的許多決策來自集體討論，但大部分的

後果卻都由余慧明一人承受。這種內疚感至今仍纏擾著羅，使他難以釋懷。羅曾想過寫信給余，但卻不知該如何表達自己的想法。而今，羅甚至無法回港旁聽她的審訊。

此後，羅曾短暫擔任工會的代主席，在有限的政治空間內，工會繼續抗爭，例如在「六四」和「七一」期間設立街站。在這段時間，羅曾想過採取一些行動來讓政權「斬頭」清算，甚至利用文宣或設街站試探政權的打壓力度。但他認為，即使工會成員因抗爭而被捕，社會也不會掀起太大波瀾。他坦言：「感覺好像對我發射二十槍，（社會）也不會有any反應。」

工會解散

2021年9月，醫管局員工陣線收到勞工處的來信，信中援引一條禁止工會從事政治活動的法例，並詢問工會成員在初選、反對中國產疫苗及全民檢測等議題上扮演的角色。工會判斷，來信主要目的是為了取消工會註冊，並且通過這些問題進行「釣魚式執法」。

收到信件那一刻，羅曾想過政府是否打算取締工會，並拘捕成員（其時，言語治療師工會成員在收到類似信件後便被捕）。羅當時難以判斷這是否一個要拘捕工會成員的訊號。他亦思考，若被捕，會否引發社會迴響？自己被捕會否帶來一些價值？但他擔心，當時社會已經對政治清算變得麻木。當時信件送達羅家中，家人拆開看後感到害怕，更不停勸說他離開香港。最終，羅決定離開。回首細想，他判斷這封信或許並非拘捕工會成員的訊號，更像是政權一個打壓公民社會的時間表和策略。羅認為，除非有人作出一些「自殺」行為，例如在街頭高喊「光時」八字口號，否則政權不一定會清算你的「踩界」行為。

在羅即將離開香港時，工會正討論是否應該解散。當時仍有部分工會成員希望能夠繼續維持下去。然而，公民社會已經陷入全面監控，一些積極參與公民活動的成員甚至遭到親共媒體跟蹤，工會的活動空間極度受限。除了針對第五波疫情發表回應外，工會幾乎沒有其他行動。

最終，工會解散之時，羅已經離開香港，未能參與相關討論。他認為，已經離開香港的人不應再對工會的決定發表意見，因為這樣只會讓仍身處香港的成員承擔更大的政治風險。

離開香港以後

來到英國後，羅壓抑了自己的情緒，但內心依然帶著傷痕，因為許多他曾參與的團體都已經解散。每當看到相關消息，他總會感到無比難過，甚至落淚。如今，最讓他遺憾的是，過去的社運模式已然消亡，他過去十年所累積的經驗和技能，在當下的局勢下似乎已無用武之地。

他目前仍在探索如何為香港貢獻力量。然而，若香港未發生重大政治事件，海外的影響力始終有限。所以，他選擇專注於自身的專業發展，並成為英國最大工會 Unison 的代表之一。Unison 目前擁有超過百萬登記會員，近年來發起多次工業行動，包括2021年醫護人員及教師罷工，以抗議薪資增幅追不上通脹。Unison 亦曾聲援因「初選案」而身陷囹圄的職工盟前主席吳敏兒，以及醫管局員工陣線前主席余慧明。



Law Cheuk-yiu Ivan, Organiser of the First Large-scale Healthcare Strike in Hong Kong's History

Interviewer: Kwong Chung Ting & Horace Wong

"The success or failure of a movement is often difficult to measure, and most of the time the outcome is failure. Many times, you may not achieve tangible results, but I believe that the transformation of people is very important." Law Cheuk-yiu, or Ivan, has been concerned with political issues since secondary school. During his university years, as a representative of the Hong Kong Federation of Students, he participated in numerous social movements, such as the "Anti-National Education" and the "Umbrella Movement". After the "Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement" in 2019, in the capacity as a nurse, he organized a trade union, the Hospital Authority Employees Alliance (HAEA), and initiated the first major medical strike in Hong Kong's history. The strike lasted five days and ended after a vote by the members. Over the years, Law has participated in and organised social movements in different capacities. Although the expected results were not always achieved, he has always been focused on the connection among people, believing that communication within the masses can influence one another and bring possibilities for future change.

Participating in social movements as a student

Law Cheuk-yiu was born in 1992. He first became interested in political issues during secondary school when his teacher introduced him to Long Ying-tai's anthology *The Wildfire Collection*. Through this, he learned about Taiwan's martial law period and gradually came to understand the June 4th Incident, the movement's demands, and the developments that followed. He said, "The massacre was very grave, and it deeply moved me." This was during the period from late 2009 to early 2010, when the "Anti-High-Speed Rail Movement" and the "Five-District Referendum" emerged in Hong Kong. At that time, the Hong Kong SAR government planned to build the Hong Kong section of the Guangzhou–Shenzhen–Hong Kong High-Speed Rail, which sparked a series of opposition actions. In the same year, pan-democratic members of the Legislative Council in five constituencies collectively resigned, triggering by-elections as a de facto

referendum to promote universal suffrage and abolish functional constituencies. At the time, Ivan Law, still a Form 6 student, began to follow political news and commentary, and reflect on his own role. "At the same time as the Five-District Referendum, there were also many injustices in society. And there was the Anti-High-Speed Rail Movement. In this context, I began to think about whether I could participate in more social movements after entering university."

After the release of the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination results, he was admitted to the School of Nursing of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU). He explained, "I wanted to pursue a job that helps others, not just one that focuses on making money." This was the main reason he chose nursing as his field of study. Although he didn't opt for disciplines related to politics, on the university orientation day, he came across the Student Union's External Affairs Department booth, where he saw a statue of the Goddess of Democracy. He became curious and thought, "Why would this organization do something like this? All the other booths were about fun, so I went over to take a look."

Later, he became the Vice President of External Affairs of PolyU Students' Union. After his term ended, he immediately joined the Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) as Vice-Chairman of the Representative Council, continuing his involvement in a series of social movements as a representative of student organizations. From the "Anti-National Education" movement in 2012, the "Kwai Tsing Container Terminal Workers' Strike" in 2013, to the "Anti-Northeast New Territories Development Areas Budget Demonstration", "Occupy Central Rehearsal", and the "Umbrella Movement" in 2014, he was involved in them all. He recalled, "Most of my time was spent participating in these movements, and the rest was spent organizing within the school, recruiting fellow students, while studying just to pass the exams."

On July 1, 2014, HKFS and Scholarism launched a rehearsal for the "Occupy Central" movement, holding an all-night sit-in on Chater Road in Central to rehearse a peaceful occupation of Central and advocate for universal suffrage. Law was one of more than 500 people arrested. In September of the same year, he participated in organizing a general class boycott by the education sector, and the rally later moved to Central. On September 25, HKFS and Scholarism stormed the Government Headquarters' "Civic Square", and he was arrested

again. After being released, he saw that the streets of Admiralty had been occupied by the masses and couldn't help but sigh, "At that moment, I thought it was so 'powerful!' I also went down and got a bit of tear gas."

Entering the Occupation Zones of the Umbrella Movement

As a representative of HKFS, Law was initially responsible for organizing supplies and handling some administrative tasks. Later, as the masses began occupying streets in different areas, occupation zones were set up in Admiralty, Causeway Bay, and Mong Kok, with him primarily active in the Mong Kok occupation zone. He said, "I still had to attend classes at that time. After class, I would return to the occupied area. Sometimes I would bring some clothes to the HKFS headquarters to take a shower, then go back to the occupied area to sleep. I didn't go home much during that time. My accommodation was at the university dormitory, and I would only go back occasionally to do laundry."

Compared to his peers who excelled at handling the media and meeting with politicians, he found that he enjoyed engaging with the people and building connections more. Whether during the "Dockers' Strike" or the "Umbrella Movement", he personally went to the scene and stayed overnight to understand the thoughts of participants from different backgrounds. He shared, "I believe 'people' are the most important aspect of a movement, so interacting with people is a very enjoyable task."

In his eyes, the occupied areas were 'colourful' with many different activities taking place in the streets—some people planted crops on the roads, online radio hosts broadcasted live from the site, and some even proposed bold ideas. He recalled with a smile, "There were many interesting suggestions; for instance, someone said we should occupy IFC (the International Finance Centre) and the Hong Kong Stock Exchange. I listened to them. At that time, there were several distinct groups involved in the Occupy Movement, each with very different perspectives. I really wanted to understand what they were thinking." During that period, participants held varying views on the direction of the movement, and online discussions were extremely heated. "Person A called Person B a 'leftard', and Person B accused others of being 'far-right.'" However, on the streets, he discovered that conflicts between participants were far less intense than they appeared online. "Forming connections is fascinating. Initially, people were complete strangers, but through conversations and exchanges, new ideas might

emerge, allowing mutual influence.”

In addition to curiosity, as a representative of HKFS, he also had the responsibility to understand the participants’ thoughts and to assist the HKFS, considered one of the leaders of the movement, in making decisions. He described 2014 as a paradigm shift for social movements. “It was a transition from simply sitting and listening to speeches by political stars to more spontaneous participation.” Nevertheless, he admitted having mixed feelings: “The greatest struggle was why the movement still had to follow the old model, led by a few organisations. When you’re talking to participants every day, what you actually hope most is for the participants themselves to lead the movement. But at that time, this transition had not yet been completed; many people were still sitting there, listening to the HKFS, Scholarism, or the ‘Occupy Central trio.’ And I was actually part of the HKFS myself.”

However, in the later stages of the Umbrella Movement, he was unable to resolve the mistrust among participants, who engaged in intense arguments due to differing views about the direction of the movement. Although he felt that the real disagreements were not as severe, distrust persisted between opposing sides, who even resorted to negatively labelling each other. Law was frustrated by his inability to reconcile these conflicts, describing it frankly as one of the greatest setbacks in his many years of involvement in social movements.

Community Engagement after the Umbrella Movement

After the Umbrella Movement ended, Law continued to engage in community activities, such as assisting in the 2015 District Council elections and participating in activities organised by the Land Justice League.

In fact, Law does not have a particularly strong interest in political reform issues. Instead, he is more concerned with minority social issues, believing that empowering society’s most marginalised groups is both meaningful and fulfilling. Law once discussed with members of the “Autonomous 8th Floor” of HKFS how to keep organising students amid the “tyun zong” (斷莊) crisis of the HKFS’s 9th Floor (student union executives from various universities). “Tyun zong” refers to situations where student organisations are unable to form a new executive committee due to a lack of candidates. At the time, some university student unions were unable to smoothly transition to new leadership, putting

the HKFS—which comprises executive committees of student unions from various universities—at risk of operational interruption. Despite being busy with his master’s studies and nursing duties, Law still found time to participate in activities organised by “Autonomous 8th Floor”, such as attending talks about the redevelopment of Lee Tung Street and issues affecting sexual-minority foreign domestic workers.

After graduation, Law hesitated over whether to commit full-time to social movements or to enter the healthcare profession. Ultimately, Law chose healthcare because he was worried that he would lose touch with ordinary people. He believed that if he became disconnected from their daily lives, it would become difficult to effectively persuade them to support his ideals.

Law said that no one could have predicted that the 2019 Anti-Extradition Movement would escalate into such a large-scale protest. Initially, Law took to the streets merely as an ordinary participant. On 12th June, he treated two young protesters who had sustained head injuries. Subsequently, he met other protesters skilled in first aid, and together they formed a first aid team, providing medical assistance during the protests.

Organising the Healthcare Workers’ Union

After the general strike on 5th August 2019, protesters began exploring new strategies and forms of action. Law joined an online group and was surprised to find that many members were friends who had previously organised healthcare rallies. Later, they became the core members of the union. Meanwhile, friends from the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTU) contacted Law, asking him to help a group of healthcare workers who were interested in establishing a union but lacked organisational experience.

After interacting with them, Law realised that they were unfamiliar with media communications and organising strikes, so it became natural for him to join the preparatory work for the union. Law admitted frankly that he did not particularly enjoy handling union casework, though it is one of a union’s core functions. At the same time, he was considering the possibility of emigrating overseas with his partner, so he decided not to take up the role of chairperson. He remarked, “The chairperson (Yu Wai-ming Winnie) may not have much experience, but she’s

definitely the most proactive.” Consequently, Yu was elected as chairperson of the union.

The Medical Strike

In December 2019, the Hospital Authority Employees Alliance was established, quickly attracting a large number of healthcare workers to register as members, especially when booths were set up at hospital entrances. Senior management at the Hospital Authority grew concerned about whether the union would call for a strike, and even privately approached Law to inquire about the group’s plans. He recalled, “I would describe the healthcare strike as a matter of fortunate timing.” He admitted he never expected the strike to occur so soon after the Alliance’s formation.

When Hong Kong reported its first COVID-19 case, Law recalled the union’s immediate public statement explicitly stating that it “would not rule out industrial action” in an attempt to pressure the government to close the border. After media coverage, public expectation grew that the union would initiate a strike, with popular opinion further intensifying the momentum. Within the healthcare sector, the mood rapidly escalated. In the operating theatre where Law worked, some colleagues began taking leave simultaneously, causing operations to grind to a halt. These first movers, or “cannon fodder”, felt that the worst consequence was merely losing their jobs, reflecting how the sentiment for a strike had reached a tipping point.

Amid rising public fervour, HAEA members decided to seize the moment, planning the strike during the Lunar New Year holiday. Due to the urgency, they had only one week to prepare—far less than the typical month-long planning required. This plan was very hastily arranged. Law remembered vividly that, in the three days leading up to the strike, he slept a total of just four hours.

After the government rejected the union’s demand to close the border, HAEA turned to closed-door meetings with senior Hospital Authority management, hoping to secure other results for their colleagues. However, looking back, Law questioned the real effectiveness of these meetings. “Even if the meetings succeeded in getting management to concede, they would never openly admit it was because of the strike.” Law admitted frankly that he regretted this approach, as closed-door meetings did not allow more union members to participate in the

decision-making process.

As the strike failed to produce tangible results, the number of participants gradually declined. Moreover, because other industries were adopting work-from-home arrangements during the pandemic, it became increasingly difficult for the Alliance to gain broader support. Ultimately, HAEA decided to let its members vote on whether to continue the strike. When the members voted to end the strike, Law felt deeply saddened and shed tears with his friends at the hospital.

The pro-democracy primaries

After the strike ended, the union transitioned into a “pandemic response machine”, speaking out on public health issues such as the Sinovac vaccine and universal testing policies. Although the strike itself was unsuccessful, HAEA accumulated considerable political momentum, enabling it to participate in the subsequent pro-democracy primaries of the 2020 Legislative Council election.

After the chairperson, Winnie Yu, was arrested, Law felt that she was bearing too much pressure. He felt guilty about his earlier decision not to become chairperson due to personal considerations. Although many of the union’s decisions resulted from collective discussion, Yu alone shouldered most of the consequences. This sense of guilt still haunts Law and remains difficult for him to let go. He has considered writing to Yu but does not know how to express his feelings. Now, Law cannot even return to Hong Kong to attend her trial.

After Yu’s arrest, Law briefly served as HAEA’s acting chairperson. Within the limited political space, the union continued to resist, for instance, by setting up street booths during the 4th June and 1st July anniversaries. During this time, Law considered taking actions to provoke the regime into “decapitating” or purging the union, even contemplating the use of propaganda or street booths to test the regime’s degree of suppression. Yet he believed that even if Alliance members were arrested for their resistance, it would not stir much reaction from society. He admitted, “It feels as though even if I were shot twenty times, society would not respond at all.”

Dissolution of the union

In September 2021, HAEA received a letter from the Labour Department, citing legislation prohibiting trade unions from engaging in political activities. The letter inquired about the union members' roles in issues such as the primary elections, opposition to Chinese-made vaccines, and universal testing. The union concluded that the primary purpose of the letter was to deregister the Alliance, employing these questions as a means of conducting "entrapment" to "fish out" offenders.

At the moment he received the letter, Law wondered whether the government intended to disband HAEA and arrest its members—especially since members of the General Union of Hong Kong Speech Therapists had been arrested after receiving similar correspondence. At the time, he found it difficult to determine whether this was a signal of imminent arrests. He also questioned whether his own arrest would trigger any public response—whether it might carry some meaning or value. But he feared that society had already grown numb to political crackdowns.

When the letter was delivered to his home, his family opened it and, alarmed by its contents, repeatedly urged him to leave Hong Kong. In the end, Law decided to go. Looking back, he believes the letter may not have been a direct signal for arrest, but rather part of the regime's broader timeline and strategy for dismantling civil society. In his view, unless one committed an explicitly "suicidal" act—like shouting the slogan "Liberate Hong Kong, the revolution of our times" on the street—the regime would not necessarily target such "borderline" actions for immediate reprisal.

As Law was about to leave Hong Kong, the union was in the midst of discussions over whether it should disband. At the time, some members still hoped it could carry on. However, civil society had already fallen under comprehensive surveillance—some of the more active participants in civic initiatives were even tailed by pro-Beijing media—and the space for union activities had become severely constrained. Beyond issuing a response to the fifth wave of the pandemic, the union was virtually inactive.

In the end, when HAEA was dissolved, Law had already left Hong Kong and was unable to take part in the discussions. He believed that those who had left

should refrain from commenting on the union's decisions, as doing so would only increase the political risks borne by members who remained in Hong Kong.

After leaving Hong Kong

After arriving in the UK, Law suppressed his emotions, but the scars remained; many of the organisations he had once been part of disbanded. Whenever he came across such news, he would feel a deep sorrow, sometimes even brought to tears. What he regrets most now is that the model of social activism he once knew has vanished, and the experience and skills he spent the past decade building seem to have no place in the present landscape.

He is still exploring ways to contribute to Hong Kong. However, in the absence of major political developments, he recognises that the influence of the overseas community remains limited. As such, he has chosen to focus on his professional development and has become a representative of Unison, the largest trade union in the UK. Unison currently has over a million registered members and has launched multiple industrial actions in recent years, including the 2021 strikes by healthcare workers and teachers protesting pay rises that failed to keep pace with inflation. The union has also expressed solidarity with Ng Man-ye Carol, former chair of HKCTU, and Yu Wai-ming Winnie, former chair of HAEA, both of whom were imprisoned over the “primary election case”







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願榮光長存： Ricker Choi以藝術書寫的 未竟之戰

訪問者：N



藝術為抗爭發聲：演奏會背後的信念

2024年11月2日晚上，北約克市午線藝術中心（Meridian Arts Centre）正準備舉行一場由港裔藝術家 Ricker Choi 發起的表演。此次演出的收益將捐助細葉榕人道支援基金，該基金主要為因參與社運而入獄的港人提供援助。雖然 Ricker 移民加拿大已有三十載，但他對香港流行文化的了解卻絲毫不遜於現居香港的人。除了社運人士的「飲歌」《海闊天空》，他還準備了《發現號》等近年對港人而言別具意義的曲目，期望與同樣離鄉背井、在異地開拓新生活的聽眾分享。然而，事實上，Ricker並非一直如此熱衷關注香港事務

沉默三十年：移民後的冷眼旁觀

「我自1988年便隨家人移民到加拿大。當時，因為1984年中英兩國簽署了《中英聯合聲明》，父母對香港的未來感到擔憂，因此選擇移民。雖然我媽媽自我小時候就告訴我中國共產黨的種種邪惡行徑，但從政治角度來看，我當時認為香港回歸後，早晚會成為中國的一個城市。既然命運早已被寫好，那香港又怎會有希望呢？因此，自移民後，我對香港的關注便漸漸減少。」

「對於中國大陸，我處於有點『精神分裂』的狀態。我知道身處中國共產黨管治的地方，一定要小心說話，心理總是感到不太自在。但同時，我又對西藏、絲綢之路等地擁的深厚歷史底蘊充滿興趣，總想親身見識。而且，過去的我其實並非特別關心『政治』的人，甚至有點所謂『藍絲』的想法，認為自己只是個遊客，不談政治不就行了嗎？所以，在2000年代，我曾經去過中國兩次。」

被喚醒的靈魂：2019年6月12日的震撼

然而，這些想法在2019年6月12日徹底改變了。那一天，超過200萬名香港人走上街頭，要求香港特區政府撤回《逃犯條例》修訂草案。這場運動深深觸動了 Ricker。

「其實早2014年，我就有關注『佔中運動』，但當時仍抱持過去的想法，認為香港早已回歸。對於當時民主派提出爭取民主、雙普選等訴求，我只是覺得香港本來就算是相對自由開放的地方，民主究竟有多麼特別珍貴呢？即使到了2019年6月9日，當100萬人上街，我仍因為林鄭月娥（時任香港特首）表明無論遊行人數多少，都不會撤回，《逃犯條例》修訂草案，而認為香港不會有甚麼大事發生。不料，6月12日竟真的有200萬人走上街頭。那一刻，我真的被深深感動了，才明白原來香港的故事並不是『回歸了，就完結了。』」

由畫入魂：從「721」到「藝術抗爭」的起步

「之後，我一直關注社會發展。直到『721事件』，當我看到『白衣人』的所作所為，第一個反應是很生氣，同時也很傷心。因為我知道，香港的法治開始崩潰，否則怎會目睹警方和黑道如斯勾結。而『721』，也是我創作第一幅與2019年香港社運相關油畫的日子。」

隨著Ricker對香港社運的關注日益加深，他創作的相關畫作也越來越多。從「612大遊行」中夏慤道的一隅，到「831太子站事件」、「中大保衛戰」、「香港警察西灣河開槍事件」，甚至周庭等泛民主派代表人物，都成為Ricker畫布上的主角。

用音樂記錄抗爭：《香港狂想曲》的誕生

同時，「831事件」也成為Ricker開拓以音樂連結社運的轉捩點。「『831』當天，看到警察肆意毆打市民，甚至打死人，我感到無比憤怒。當時，我真心覺得香港可能真的完結了。但矛盾的是，《願榮光歸香港》這首歌正是在那一天誕生，這讓人非常感動。當我聽到這首歌的編曲時，立刻覺得這就是香港的『國歌』。以往，香港具抗爭主題的歌曲多帶時代感，而這次的編曲卻如此古典，深深啟發了我創作鋼琴獨奏。」

「在編寫樂曲的過程中，我發現自己有太多話想表達。例如，《Do You Hear The People Sing》是2014年社運期間，香港人經常唱的歌。而《海闊天空》，我原本只把它當成一首普通的流行曲，但經歷2019年後，它對我來說意義已然不同。雖然對很多香港人來說，這首歌可能已經過時，但對我而言卻非常重要。此外，還有代表我童年的《獅子山下》等，我將這些歌曲全都串連在一起。」於是，《香港狂想曲》誕生了。

Ricker表示，《香港狂想曲》的靈感大部份來自啟蒙他走上抗爭之路的美國作曲家Frederic Rzewski。他的作品《The People United Will Never Be Defeated!》對Ricker影響至深。「這首樂曲長達一小時，蘊藏了36個變奏。它的厲害之處在於，作曲家彷彿把樂曲化作時鐘，每一個變奏都代表不同的抗爭時刻。」

「於是，我仿效這首曲的做法，以《願榮光歸香港》作主題變形，創作了《香港狂想曲》，並在其中加入了幾個不同的變奏，以描繪2019香港發生的各種事件。」Ricker的《香港狂想曲》成為他演奏會的主打作品，隨著靈感源源不絕，這首曲目也不斷延長。與此同時，他畫室裡的作品也日漸增多，堆滿了每個角落。他將自己這些年的行為稱作「藝術抗爭」。雖然Ricker並未親身參與2019至2020年間的遊行，但與港人的緊密連結讓他感覺自己彷彿親歷其中，成為百萬抗爭者之一。

藝術連結社群：畫作與音樂的雙重力量

「當我越來越關注香港局勢的發展，內心積累了更多想要抒發的感受。這些想法也激發了更多創作靈感。隨著越來越多人開始認識我的畫作，甚至有人詢問能否將我的畫作帶到遊行現場，我當時感到非常驚訝——沒想到自己的作品還有這樣的用處。當畫作在遊行中出現，我彷彿置身其中，進一步推動我更加投入創作，並與大家有更多的互動。」

除了創作，Rickerr也不定期舉辦活動，以聲援香港社運人士。最近的一次大型計劃，便是2024年的這場演奏會。這次演出分為三大部份，第一部份Ricker邀請了烏克蘭的歌唱家，以歌聲訴說烏克蘭民眾受戰火摧殘、有家歸不得的離愁別緒；第二部份則邀請了藝術家 Loretta Lau，將舞蹈融合Ricker的音樂和油畫作品，以紀念「八九六四」、香港和世界各地的抗爭運動；最後，是Ricker的獨奏環節。僅此一場的演奏會吸引了超過八百名觀眾到場支持，當中不乏來自烏克蘭和伊朗社區的人士。Ricker認同，在堅持「藝術抗爭」的這些年間，他在社運的角色已逐漸變成了一名社群連結者。

「最初讓我萌生這個感覺的，是因為我的畫作竟不知不覺間被傳到了很遠的地方，甚至我所策劃的很多其他企劃，也傳播至越來越多的地方。就像在我最近的這場演奏會，最後與觀眾大合唱《願榮光歸香港》的一幕——截至我們今天的訪問為止，這段影片已在YouTube獲得27萬次點擊。這讓我深刻感到，流散在世界各地的香港人彷彿依然身在同一個社區，仍然關心著香港。」

談及自己喜歡以音樂還是畫作表達來自我，Ricker認為兩者各具獨特魅力。「畫作可以被傳播得非常遠，也可能被很多人收藏。我畫了一幅畫作，它能透過網絡傳遍世界各地，但卻無法讓很多人在同一時間共享。而音樂則不同，它能讓我的作品被無數人同時聆聽、共同回應，甚至一起合唱。」

面對打壓與標籤：從「小薯」到被黨媒點名

除了推動社區連結並擴展社交圈子，Ricker認為，香港的抗爭也讓他拉近了自己和故鄉與社運的距離。

「因為抗爭，我與香港的距離大大拉近了。起初，當我重新接觸香港的新聞時，真的感到有點吃力。別說甚麼『捉鬼』、『本土派』等在2019年才開始廣泛使用的字詞，就連『泛民』、『建制』等基本的香港政治的詞彙，我當時也不甚了解。後來，通過在網上與更多人交流，不斷發問，我才逐漸釐清這概念。我也多觀看YouTube，了解不同立場的人所拍攝的影片，慢慢掌握了整個大環境的局勢發展。」

不過，有得必有失。隨著知名度的提升，Ricker除了擴展了交際圈外，也開始引來政權的注意。自2022年起，親中媒體如《文匯報》，屢次發文批評Ricker創作和販賣「獨」歌和「獨」畫。面對被標籤為「反中亂港」，Ricker坦言，初時確實感到一絲憂慮：「老實說，當我剛開始寫創作《香港狂想曲》並發布到網絡時，根本沒想到自己會被針對。當時覺得自己不過是畫了一些畫、寫了一些曲，只是個無足輕重的『小薯』，應該不至於『搞到我』的。但大概是《香港狂想曲》發表後，加上《港區國安法》出台，我才意識到，原來自己已經被黨媒定位為『反中亂港』的那一小撮人。那時候，我就知道自己回不去（香港）了。」

「對於被扣上『反中亂港』的帽子，我倒是覺得有些好笑。我知道自己不必害怕中共政府，因為我身處加拿大。他們要找到我的資料何其容易，但充其量也就是找個人跟蹤、恐嚇我，並沒有對我造成實際損失。當然，我現在如此坦然，部份原因是我至今並未遇到很大的危機。如果他朝我真的遭遇『47人案』那般的處境，我會怎樣做呢？我也不太確定。因為目前未有真實出現迫切的危機，所以我也尚未認真思考自己的路。」

質疑與孤獨中的堅持：情感驅動的創作力量

除了來自政權的注視，Ricker提到近年也有不少認識的人向他潑冷水，認為香港人的社運情緒早已冷卻，並不理解他為何仍堅持做這些徒勞無功的事。他坦言：「我一直走『藝術抗爭』這條路，其實最重要的還是自我表述。當初是因為受港人的百萬遊行所感動，我才開始創作。現在還是因為情感上的堅持，才繼續作畫、寫曲，而一路上能找到這麼多的共鳴和支持，其實是意外收穫。事實上，現在還有很多人坐牢，我仍然繼續寫信給他們。所以，對我來說，這件事仍然不算完結。」

在訪談中，Ricker多次形容，這幾年來的創作行為更像是情緒上的自我表達。他認為，無論是否有人賞識，也無阻他繼續以畫作和音樂訴說自己的情感。那這條「藝術抗爭」之路會有終結的一天嗎？「只要我覺得自己還有話要說，我就會一直創作下去。將來除了會因應自己對2019年的回憶創作外，可能也會用不同的方式來懷緬香港那些已經失去的東西吧，比如霓虹燈、珍寶海鮮舫等。或許隨著時間流逝，大家都有自己的生活、各自要忙的事，但我希望自己這些視覺和聽覺的作品可以慢慢喚起大家的回憶，讓大家記得曾經發生的一切。」

For Eternal Glory: Ricker Choi's Unfinished Battle Written in Art

Interviewer: N

Art as a Voice of Resistance: The Belief that Powers the Recital

On the evening of 2nd November 2024, the Meridian Arts Centre in North York was preparing to host a performance initiated by Hong Kong-born artist Ricker Choi. The proceeds from the concert would be donated to the Bonham Tree Aid, which primarily aids Hongkongers imprisoned for their involvement in social movements. Although Ricker moved to Canada over thirty years ago, his grasp of Hong Kong's popular culture is no less acute than that of those still living there. In addition to the protest anthem "Boundless Oceans, Vast Skies" (《海闊天空》), he also prepared pieces such as "Discovery" (《發現號》), which in recent years have taken on particular meaning for Hongkongers. He hoped to share these with an audience who, like him, had left their homeland to forge new lives abroad. Yet in truth, Ricker had not always been so attuned to the affairs of Hong Kong.

Three Decades of Silence: An Emigrant Watching from the Sidelines

"I moved to Canada with my family in 1988. Back then, my parents were worried about Hong Kong's future following the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, so they chose to emigrate. Although my mother had told me from a young age about the various evils of the Chinese Communist Party, politically speaking, I believed that after the handover, Hong Kong would inevitably become just another Chinese city. Since our fate seemed already sealed, how could there be any hope for Hong Kong? As a result, my concern for Hong Kong gradually faded after we emigrated."

"I had something of a 'schizophrenic' mindset when it came to mainland China. I knew that in a place under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party, I had to watch what I said, and there was always a sense of unease. Yet at the same time, I was deeply drawn to the rich historical heritage of places like Tibet and the

Silk Road, and I longed to see them for myself. Back then, I wasn't particularly interested in politics; I even held views somewhat aligned with the so-called 'blue ribbon' camp, thinking of myself simply as a tourist. 'Just don't talk about politics and you'll be fine,' I thought. That's why, during the 2000s, I travelled to China twice."

Awakened Soul: The Jolt of 12th June 2019

However, these thoughts were completely transformed on 12th June 2019. On that day, over two million Hongkongers took to the streets, demanding the withdrawal of the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance amendment bill by the Hong Kong SAR government. The movement deeply moved Ricker.

"In fact, as early as 2014, I was already paying attention to the Occupy Central movement, but I still held on to my old way of thinking, believing that Hong Kong had already returned to China. When the pro-democracy camp called for democracy and universal suffrage, I simply thought—wasn't Hong Kong already a relatively free and open place? Just how precious could democracy be? Even on 9th June 2019, when one million people marched, I thought nothing significant would come of it, especially since Carrie Lam, the Chief Executive at the time, had made it clear she would not withdraw the Extradition Law Amendment Bill, regardless of the number of protesters. But then, on 12th June, two million people really did take to the streets. That moment moved me deeply—I finally realised that Hong Kong's story didn't end with the handover."

From Brushstroke to Spirit: From "7.21" to the Beginnings of Artistic Resistance

"After that, I kept following the developments in society. When the '7.21 incident' happened, and I saw what the white-clad men did, my first reaction was one of anger—and sorrow. Because I knew then that the rule of law in Hong Kong was beginning to unravel; otherwise, how could such blatant collusion between the police and triads be possible? That day—7.21—was also when I painted my first oil painting related to the 2019 Hong Kong protest movement."

As Ricker's engagement with Hong Kong's protest movement deepened, so too did the number of related works he produced. From a quiet corner of Harcourt Road during the 12th June mass march, to the Prince Edward Station incident on 31st August, the battle to defend CUHK, the police shooting in Sai Wan Ho, and even key figures of the pro-democracy camp, such as Agnes Chow, became subjects brought to life on Ricker's canvas.

Recording the Resistance Through Music: The Birth of Hong Kong Rhapsody

At the same time, the “8.31 Incident” marked a turning point for Ricker in exploring how music could connect with social movements. “On the day of 8.31, seeing the police brutally assaulting civilians, even beating them to death, I was overwhelmed with rage. I truly felt that Hong Kong might be finished. And yet, paradoxically, Glory to Hong Kong was born that very day, which was profoundly moving. The moment I heard the arrangement, I felt instantly this was Hong Kong’s ‘national anthem.’ In the past, protest songs from Hong Kong often carried a sense of the times, but this one had such a classical composition. That deeply inspired me to compose a solo piano piece.”

“While composing the piece, I realised I had so much I wanted to express,” Ricker said. “Do You Hear the People Sing? was a song Hongkongers often sang during the 2014 movement. As for Boundless Oceans, Vast Skies, I had always thought of it as just another pop song, but after 2019, it took on a whole new meaning. It might feel dated to some, but for me, it became deeply significant. Then there’s Under the Lion Rock, which represents my childhood. I wove all these songs together.” And so, Hong Kong Rhapsody was born.

Ricker said that much of the inspiration for Hong Kong Rhapsody came from the American composer Frederic Rzewski, who had been instrumental in awakening his commitment to resistance. Rzewski’s *The People United Will Never Be Defeated!* left a lasting impression on him. “The piece is one-hour long, and it contains 36 variations. Its brilliance lies in how the composer transforms the music into something like a clock, each variation marking a different moment of the fight.”

“So I took inspiration from that piece, used Glory to Hong Kong as the basis for thematic transformation, and composed Hong Kong Rhapsody, weaving in several variations to portray the different events that unfolded in Hong Kong throughout 2019.” Hong Kong Rhapsody became the centrepiece of Ricker’s concerts, and as inspiration kept coming, the composition continued to grow in length. Meanwhile, his studio gradually filled with canvases, his artworks occupying every corner of the room. He describes his actions over the past few years as a form of “artistic resistance.” Although Ricker was not physically present at the protests between 2019 and 2020, his deep connection with the people of Hong Kong made him feel as though he had lived through it all, as one among the millions who stood in defiance.

Art Connecting Communities: The Dual Power of Painting and Music

"As I became increasingly engaged with the situation in Hong Kong, I found myself filled with emotions I needed to express. These feelings sparked new waves of creative inspiration. As more people began to discover my artwork, some even asked if they could bring my paintings to the protests. I was genuinely surprised—I hadn't imagined my work could serve such a purpose. Seeing my paintings appear in the marches made me feel as though I were physically present, which in turn spurred me to create even more, and to connect more deeply with the community."

In addition to his creative work, Ricker has also organised events from time to time in support of Hong Kong's pro-democracy activists. His most recent major endeavour was this 2024 concert. The performance was divided into three sections: in the first, Ricker invited a Ukrainian vocalist to give voice to the sorrow and longing of those displaced by war, unable to return to their homeland; the second featured artist Loretta Lau, who wove together dance, Ricker's music, and his oil paintings in tribute to the Tiananmen crackdown, the Hong Kong protests, and resistance movements around the world; the final segment was Ricker's own piano solo. This one-night-only concert drew an audience of over 800 people, including members of the Ukrainian and Iranian communities. Ricker acknowledges that throughout these years of "artistic resistance", his role in activism has gradually evolved into that of a connector within and across communities.

"What first gave me this feeling was realising that my paintings had, without my knowing, been shared far and wide. Even many of the other projects I initiated had quietly made their way to more and more corners of the world. Take the final moment of my recent concert, for instance, when the audience and I sang 'Glory to Hong Kong' together. As of today's interview, that video has garnered 270,000 views on YouTube. It made me feel deeply that Hongkongers scattered across the globe are still part of one community, and that they still care, profoundly, about Hong Kong."

When asked whether he prefers to express himself through music or painting, Ricker believes each medium carries its own distinct appeal. "A painting can travel great distances and may be collected by many people. I might create a piece that is shared across the world online, but it can't be experienced collectively in the same moment. Music, on the other hand, allows my work to be heard, felt, and even sung by countless people all at once."

Repression and Labelling: From “Small Potato” to Party-State Media Spotlight

In addition to fostering community connections and expanding his social circle, Ricker believes that Hong Kong’s protest movement has also drawn him closer to both his homeland and social movements.

“The protests brought me much closer to Hong Kong. In the beginning, when I started following Hong Kong news again, it was honestly a bit overwhelming. I wasn’t familiar even with basic political terms like ‘pan-democrat’ and ‘pro-establishment,’ let alone newer expressions like ‘ghost hunting’ (identifying suspected undercover agents or police informants) or ‘localist,’ which only came into broader use in 2019. Over time, I gradually came to understand these concepts more clearly by engaging with more people online and asking questions. I also started watching more YouTube videos from people across the political spectrum, gradually gaining a clearer picture of the broader landscape.”

However, gains often come with losses. As his profile rose, Ricker not only expanded his social network but also drew the attention of the authorities. Since 2022, pro-Beijing media outlet, Wen Wei Po, has repeatedly published articles attacking him for creating and selling “pro-independence” songs and artworks. Facing the label of being “anti-China and destabilising Hong Kong,” Ricker admitted that at first, he did feel a twinge of anxiety. “To be honest, when I first began composing Hong Kong Rhapsody and sharing it online, I never imagined I’d be singled out. I thought I was just painting a few canvases, writing a few pieces of music—just a nobody, a ‘small potato.’ I didn’t think it would come to this. But after the release of Hong Kong Rhapsody, and with the enactment of the National Security Law, I came to realise that I’d already been placed by the party-state media into that small group labelled as ‘anti-China, destabilising Hong Kong.’ That was when I knew—I could never go back to Hong Kong.”

“I actually find it somewhat amusing to be branded as ‘anti-China’ and ‘destabilising Hong Kong.’ I know I don’t need to fear the Chinese Communist Party, because I’m in Canada. It’s somewhat easy for them to track down my personal details, but the most they could do would be send someone to tail or intimidate me; nothing can cause me any real harm. Of course, my calmness partly stems from the fact that I haven’t faced any serious crisis yet. If, one day, I were to face something like the ‘47 people case’ (persecution of those involved in the pro-democracy primary election), how would I respond? Honestly, I don’t

know. Because I haven't yet encountered a truly immediate threat, I haven't had to seriously confront what path I'd take."

Holding Fast Through Doubt and Solitude: Emotion as the Engine of Creation

In addition to attention from the authorities, Ricker noted that in recent years, many acquaintances have tried to throw cold water on his efforts, believing that the passion of Hongkongers for the movement has long since faded, and questioning why he continues to pursue something so seemingly futile. He said, "I've been walking this path of 'artistic resistance,' and ultimately what matters most is self-expression. It all started because I was deeply moved by the million-strong marches in Hong Kong. It is out of an emotional insistence that I continue to paint and compose. The resonance and support I've received along the way are unexpected gifts. The truth is, many people are still behind bars, and I continue to write to them. So for me, this isn't over, not yet."

In the interview, Ricker repeatedly described his creative work over the past few years as more of a form of emotional self-expression. He believes that, whether or not his work is appreciated, it won't stop him from using painting and music to convey his feelings. Will this path of "artistic resistance" one day come to an end? "As long as I feel I still have something to say, I'll keep creating. In the future, besides making work inspired by my memories of 2019, I might also find ways to reminisce about what Hong Kong has already lost, like the neon lights, or Jumbo Floating Restaurant. Maybe, as time passes, people will move on with their lives, caught up in their own business, but I hope that my visual and auditory works can slowly stir people's memories, and help them remember all that once happened."



燃燭為光，燃身為炬

——李美寶的承擔與信念

訪問者：馮敬恩

海內存知己，天涯若比鄰：背景

李美寶女士在溫哥華的香港及中國社群內廣為人知，這源於她長期投身中國民運、香港民主運動等人權議題。她對加拿大、香港乃至中國的承擔，日月可昭。自1989年「六四屠城」後，李女士便開始參與中國人權運動。其後，她作為自溫哥華支聯會（溫支聯）的義工，並自2017年起當選為溫支聯主席。三十多年來，她始終如一，為中國和香港的人權和民主奔走呼號。在「後《國安法》」及《基本法》廿三條立法後的「新香港」時代，每年在溫哥華舉行的六四悼念晚會顯得尤為珍貴和重要。而李女士，作為核心人員，已經堅持參與和籌備此活動逾三十載。讓我們一起看看她的故事。

此地一為別，孤蓬萬里征：移民的起始

李美寶女士在1979年移民加拿大，第一站落腳於多倫多。這個移民的時間點，甚至早於英國和中國開展有關香港前途問題的談判。她的父親因工作關係，與英治香港政府的上級有所接觸。李女士憶述，早在七十年代，其父親的上級在已坦承表示香港最終會歸還中國。在港生活已久的父親深明共產黨的統治手段，於是希望子女能在一個更好的地方生活與求學。其時，他們一家便開始籌劃移民。當李女士踏上移民之路時，她已經從伊利沙伯醫院護士學校畢業，成為一名專業護士。因此，她順理成章地在多倫多展開她的護士生涯。

初到加國，李女士形容自己是一頭「豬」，意指對社會與政治並不特別關心。然而，她最早期的政治參與，卻與加拿大這片土地密不可分。移民四年後，她首次以公民身分參與加拿大聯邦選舉投票。回想當時的情況，李女士感覺「很奇怪」。奇怪之處在於，這是她第一次拿起選票，親手投入票箱。這是她在香港從來沒有經歷過的經驗，因此她需要「從新學習」民主社會的基本權利。

雖然剛移民時，她形容自己是「豬」，對政治漠不關心，但她的家庭卻給了她充分的學習機會。當時，她的兄長積極參與本地加拿大政治。而她的父親也向她灌輸民主、自由的理念，告訴她遇到不公平的事要敢於發聲。其時，加拿大長壽紀實

節目 W5 播出了一個特輯，提出「校園大拍賣」的概念，指責諸多海外學生霸佔加拿大學位。然而，節目中所拍攝的「亞洲面孔」實際上都是土生土長的加拿大人。這個特輯對亞洲人非常不公平，因而引發他們抗議示威。李女士的兄長也是示威遊行的其中一員。在加拿大民主社會和家庭耳濡目染的薰陶下，李女士漸漸開始關心社會事務，後來更持續投身參與其中，包括中國和香港相關的民主運動。一如杜甫所言：「此地為一別，孤蓬萬里征」離開紮根已久的故鄉，踏上移民的征途，本是如此不捨孤單。然而，李女士即使別過香港，她卻從不感到孤單，也感覺好像不曾離開。何解？

感時花濺淚，恨別鳥驚心：1989「六四屠城」

1989 年4、5 月間，李女士透過收音機的中文電台關注中國民運和香港市民遊行支持北京學生的新聞。她形容，自己已然成人，卻從未見過中國和香港發生如此龐大的場面。至今，每當聽到《血染的風采》這首歌時，她仍然感到熱血沸騰，感觸尤深。天安門廣場發生屠城的當晚，李女士一直守在收音機旁留意中國的局勢發展。持續關注新聞期間，她不慎入睡，直至約兩小時後——正值北京天安門屠城的清晨，她的丈夫突然喚醒她：「快出來看！CNN正在報導六四屠城的事件。」從鴻蒙驚醒的她，因目睹電視機裏的畫面而久久不能言語，至今仍然無法形容當時的感受。就在她怔愣之際，收音機傳來召集大家前往中國領事館示威的呼籲。

李女士憶述，在沒有人指揮和特別的行動下，中國領事館門外竟聚集了兩三千人。每個人都很悲傷卻異常沉默。大家都希望有所作為，卻不知從何入手。不久後，現場有人號召群眾從領事館遊行至唐人街，以示對北京學生的支持。這場遊行後，幾位具有組織能力的遊行人士成立了溫哥華支援民主運動聯合會（溫支聯）。李女士隨後加入，成為義工。

在加拿大的民主實踐，令李女士認為民主其實可以在中國和香港發生。彼時的她有這種投射是因為覺得自己流著中國人的血，希望中國能走向民主社會。然而，在「後《國安法》」的今天，她將這份願景轉向香港，希望香港能擁有加拿大的民主制度。談到香港，李女士回憶起1989 年的情境，想到這些年「口號」上的轉變：「當時我們喊的是『Human Rights for China』，而不是『Human Rights for Hong Kong』。因為當年香港尚存民主制度，雖未能一人一票選特首，但至少可以發聲。我們從沒想過香港會發生甚麼危險的事。所以，那時會高喊『Human Rights for China. Democracy for China』，希望可以『平反六四』，讓中國政府承認屠城責任。」

往事不甚唏噓，但李女士仍堅持參與溫支聯的工作，每年悼念「六四屠城」的死難者，並追究中國政府的屠城責任。談及此處，她不禁哽咽。

精衛銜微木，將以填滄海：港、中民主運動在加拿大的堅持與發展

仰賴溫支聯多年來的貢獻與參與，每年才得以在溫哥華點燃「六四紀念晚會」的燭光，告慰死難者、死難者家屬及所有受政治迫害的人；同時令中國和香港的民主、人權議題在加拿大獲得關注，並廣傳。自溫支聯成立以來，李女士和溫支聯的同仁一直積極與來自於英國、法國、美國、澳洲等地倡議民主、自由的組織聯繫。經年累月的溝通，使他們培養出深厚的默契，更多次共同舉辦跨地域的示威活動。2014 年，李女士與時任溫支聯主席周盛康先生四處奔走，製作六四相關的大型展板，並帶到溫哥華的中學展出，讓加拿大學生了解「六四屠城」的慘劇。周盛康先生甚至出席學校集會，向學生親述「六四屠城」的歷史，李女士也積極參與其中。

2014年，香港爆發「雨傘運動」，李女士亦全力投入其中。翌年，她更赴渥太華出席加拿大國會聽證會，向國會議員講述香港民主運動的情況和訴求。她憶述，當時羅冠聰、周永康亦有現身，而黃之鋒則透過視像方式參與。她認為，這樣的行動能令更多加國國會議員關注「雨傘運動」，並了解這場運動對加拿大的影響。

2017年，周盛康先生猝然病逝，其後李女士接任溫支聯主席。她坦言以為工作主要集中「六四」悼念活動、舉辦展覽和講座，應能應付得來。然而，2019 年香港爆發「反送中活動」開始，一切都不一樣了。2019年適逢「六四」三十週年，李女士當時正全力籌備紀念活動，舉辦了遊行和講座。同時，她亦默默關注香港的局勢，原以為事態會逐漸平息。當她準備在一連串「六四」悼念活動後休息之際，6月9日香港爆發「反送中」大遊行。李女士敲問自己的內心：「那要不要做？當然要做！」於是，她馬上發起支持香港「反送中運動」的示威遊行。她描述，通常只有特別的「六四」週年紀念，例如是五週年、十週年等，才會吸引大批群眾參與遊行。然而，是次溫支聯舉辦的「反送中」遊行竟吸引了有二千人參與，顯示當時在加港人內心火熱，渴望為香港出一分力。憑藉溫支聯與其他地區民運組織的多年聯繫，李女士僅用兩三天就成功聯合其他城市，共同發起「反送中」遊行和示威活動。她說當時匆匆做好標語，就直接上街示威了。隨著香港局勢惡化，立法會通過《逃犯修訂條例》二讀，李女士發起第二場示威活動，那次參與人數更增至三四千人。整個6月，李女士與溫支聯同仁舉辦了超過十場示威活動。

除了組織示威活動，憑藉多年經驗，李女士深知，要真正幫助香港人，必需盡快展開政治遊說，爭取加拿大政府支持香港人，以及協助那些被逼離開香港的手足。於是李女士一邊聯同其他志同道合的人積極遊說國會，一邊在 Go Get Fund 發起募款行動以籌集資金協助那些逃離香港、尋求庇護的香港手足。

後來各地民主組織紛紛響應，接力舉辦「反送中」活動。李女士與溫支聯同仁不僅從旁協助籌備，更積極參與其中。她回憶，雖然各個組織並沒有清晰的規則，但因多年合作累積的默契，大家能互相協調時間、調度資源、協助宣傳，一同為香港出力。這種友好的合作氛圍，有賴李女士及溫支聯忘我的付出和堅持——多年來深耕加拿大社會，連結中國與香港的民主志士，堅持不懈，不問回報。在關鍵時刻，他們為民主運動添柴加火，薪火相傳。

虐政何妨援律令，殺人如草不聞聲：2019 警暴問題以及個人安危

雖遠在加國，但李女士仍然緊貼香港局勢，尤其對2019年「反送中運動」期間的警暴問題，印象最為深刻。她當時密切追蹤仍未停辦（但現已消失）的香港媒體，最記憶猶新的一幕是，有市民跪在警察面前，請求他們不要傷害年輕人，但警察卻無動於衷的畫面。同類型的場面不止出現一次，而是很多次——無論是老人家、家庭主婦，還是普通市民，他們向警察乞求哭喊，而警察依舊冷漠無情。這些畫面常常在李女士的腦海中縈繞不去，她不禁問：「為甚麼香港市民為了民主、自由要這麼慘？」談到此處，李女士也一時無語。

李女士之所以對警暴問題印象特別深刻，不只是因為警察的殘暴行為，更因為這與她記憶中的香港警察大相逕庭。她曾在香港生活二十多年，過去聽到的警察故事並非如此。他們現在突然「變黑」，她實在很難接受。移民加拿大後，她發現當地的警察也不會如此對待人民。她更加確信，這是香港警察集體的問題。雖然可能有些警察卻選擇低調沉默，不做其他同僚的暴戾行為，但她認為，這些警察只是少數。

遠在彼邦，李女士內心的焦急無可避免。耳聞目睹香港日漸嚴重的警暴問題，不禁令人擔心香港政府聲稱具有域外法權的《港區國安法》以及《基本法》廿三條，會否對李女士的人生安全造成威脅？李女士頓了頓，續說：「我沒有遇過任何威脅，或者說，我不希望往這個方向想。」她接觸許多在加拿大的香港人，部分人坦言因為未來有機會回香港，因此行動有所顧忌，會避免做一些事情。然而，李女士認為如果連她也害怕，那甚麼都不用做了。她認為一定要有人不戴口罩站出來，不以口罩遮掩身分。若每個人都戴口罩、隱藏身分，別人會難以相信我們的話。因此需要一批不怕「廿三條」、不怕《國安法》而站出來說公道話的人。李女士願意做這個至關重要的人。她明確表達：「我從來沒有害怕過《基本法》廿三條和《國安法》。」

儘管李女士勇敢無懼，但當問及是否曾感受到壓力時，李女士承認道：「我雖然不怕，但仍擔心會影響家人。」大家深知，共產黨是不理性的。即便是極端手段，只要它想，它都會做。因此，李女士必需保護家人，例如：不公開住址、不讓家人曝光，甚至回家前會先繞路，確保安全，才走進家門。

錦江春色來天地，玉壘浮雲變古今：也許沒有希望了

談到香港的未來，李女士坦言，香港已經沒有甚麼希望了。有這樣的政府、國家，實在難抱希望。除非共產黨不復存在，香港才能迎來轉機。然而，這在短期內恐怕難以實現。面對如此的絕望，李女士安慰自己，也鼓勵他人——不論我們身在何處，只要我們在那裏就是香港。因此，只要努力做好本分，積極參與民主運動，剷除共產黨，搞好民主運動的工作，將共產黨歸邊。

不過，李女士也坦承，她這番言論或許令部分海外港人不悅。她注意到許多被逼無奈離開香港的人對「香港人到了哪裏，就可以將那裏當作香港」這種說法心生反感。惟她補充道，她的意思是：「無論身處何地，只要覺得那裏是好的，就應以平常心生活，並將香港好的東西帶過去，建立香港人的社區，讓更多人知道香港發生的事情，將香港名字和形象宣傳出去。」

當年一別，如今香港已然變樣。然而，李女士多年的堅持不懈，著實令人敬佩。



Burn a Candle for Light, Burn Yourself as a Torch - Mabel Tung's commitment and belief

Interviewer: Billy Jing-en Fung

Kindred spirits transcend distances: The Background

Ms. Mabel Tung is well-known within Vancouver's Hong Kong and Chinese communities due to her long-standing involvement in human rights issues, particularly the Chinese pro-democracy movement and Hong Kong's democratic struggles. Her commitment to Canada, Hong Kong, and even China is clear and undeniable. Since the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre, Ms. Tung has been active in the Chinese human rights movement. Later, she became a volunteer with the Vancouver Society in Support of Democratic Movements (VSSDM), and since 2017, she has served as the chairperson of VSSDM. For over 30 years, she has been unwavering in her advocacy for human rights and democracy in China and Hong Kong.

In the "new Hong Kong" era following the enactment of the National Security Law and Article 23 of the Basic Law, the annual June 4th Memorial Vigil in Vancouver has become particularly significant and precious. As a core member, Ms. Tung has played an active role in organising and participating in this event for over three decades. Let us now take a closer look at her story.

Parting for a thousand-mile journey: The beginning of emigration

Ms. Mabel Tung moved to Canada in 1979, initially settling in Toronto. This moment marked the beginning of her migration journey, even predating the negotiations between Britain and China regarding Hong Kong's future. Her father, through his work, had direct contact with officials from the British Hong Kong government. Ms. Tung recalled that as early as the 1970s, her father's superiors had frankly acknowledged that Hong Kong would eventually be handed back to China. Having lived in Hong Kong for many years, her father, well aware of the Communist Party's governance tactics, hoped for a better life and education for

his children. As a result, the family began making plans to emigrate. By the time Ms. Tung embarked on her journey, she had already graduated from the Queen Elizabeth Hospital Nursing School and became a professional nurse. It was only natural for her to begin her nursing career in Toronto.

Looking back at herself first arriving in Canada, Ms. Tung described herself as a “pig,” indicating her lack of interest in politics or social affairs. However, her early political involvement was closely tied to her new home in Canada. Four years after immigrating, she voted for the first time in a Canadian federal election as a citizen. Reflecting on that experience, she found it “very strange”—it was the first time she had ever picked up a ballot and cast it in the box with her own hand. This was an experience she had never had in Hong Kong, so she had to “relearn” the basic rights of a democratic society.

Although she was initially a “pig” and indifferent to politics, Ms. Tung’s family provided ample opportunities for her to learn. Her older brother was actively involved in local Canadian politics, and her father instilled in her the values of democracy and freedom, teaching her to speak out against injustice. During that time, a special episode of the Canadian documentary program W5 aired, accusing many overseas students of “occupying” Canadian university spots. However, the “Asian faces” featured in the show were actually native Canadians born and raised in Canada. The program was extremely unfair to Asians, and it prompted protests. Ms. Tung’s brother was one of the many participants. Influenced by both Canada’s democratic society and her family’s teachings, Ms. Tung gradually began to care about social issues, eventually becoming deeply involved in causes related to China and Hong Kong.

As the Chinese poet Du Fu once said: “Here we part, and a lone dandelion embarks on its ten-thousand-mile journey.” Leaving behind a homeland where she had been rooted for so long to begin the journey of migration was undoubtedly filled with reluctance and loneliness. Yet, despite leaving Hong Kong, Ms. Tung never felt lonely, as if she had never truly left. Why?

Flowers shed tears and birds turn fearful: The 1989 June 4th Massacre

In April and May of 1989, through Chinese-language radio broadcasts in Canada, Ms. Tung closely followed the Chinese pro-democracy movement and the Hong Kong demonstrations supporting Beijing's students. She said that despite having grown up and seen things in life, she had never witnessed such massive events in China and Hong Kong. To this day, every time she hears the song Bloodstained Glory, her blood boils with deep emotion. On the night of the Tiananmen Square massacre, Ms. Tung stayed by her radio to keep up with the developments. As she continued listening, she unintentionally fell asleep. About two hours later, during the early hours of the massacre, her husband woke her up saying, "Come and watch! CNN is reporting on the June 4th Massacre." Stunned, she struggled to find words to describe the images on the TV screen. As she was still in shock, a call for a demonstration at the Chinese Consulate came over the radio.

Ms. Tung recalled that, without any command or formal plan, two to three thousand people gathered outside the Chinese Consulate. Everyone was deeply saddened, but there was a profound silence among the crowd. Everyone wanted to take action but did not know where to start. Soon after, someone called for the crowd to march from the consulate to Chinatown to show support for the Beijing students. After the march, a few individuals with organisational skills established VSSDM, and Ms. Tung joined as a volunteer.

The practice of democracy in Canada led Ms. Tung to believe that democracy could actually take root in China and Hong Kong. At the time, she felt this way because she believed she had Chinese blood in her veins and hoped that China could move toward a democratic society. However, in the "post-National Security Law" era, she has shifted this vision toward Hong Kong, hoping that Hong Kong can adopt Canada's democratic system. Reflecting on Hong Kong, Ms. Tung recalled the events of 1989 and the changes in the "slogans" over the years: "Back then, we chanted 'Human Rights for China,' not 'Human Rights for Hong Kong.' Because Hong Kong still had a democratic system at that time. Although Hong Kongers couldn't elect the Chief Executive by 'one person, one vote,' at least they could speak out. We never imagined anything dangerous would happen in Hong Kong. So, at that time, we shouted 'Human Rights for

China. Democracy for China,' hoping to 'vindicate June 4th' and have the Chinese government admit its responsibility for the massacre."

Despite the sadness of the past, Ms. Tung continues to actively participate in the work of VSSDM, commemorating the victims of the "June 4th Massacre" every year and holding the Chinese government accountable for the massacre. When talking about this, she couldn't help but choke up.

Filling the ocean with tiny twigs: The persistence and development of the Hong Kong and China democracy movements in Canada

Thanks to the long-term contributions and participation of VSSDM, the candlelight of the June 4th Vigil continues to be lit each year in Vancouver, commemorating the victims, their families, and all those who have been politically persecuted. The issues of democracy and human rights in China and Hong Kong have garnered widespread attention and support throughout Canada. Since VSSDM's inception, Ms. Tung and her colleagues have worked closely with organisations from the UK, France, the US, Australia, and other countries that advocate for democracy and freedom. Years of communication have fostered deep camaraderie, and they have frequently organised joint cross-regional demonstrations.

In 2014, Ms. Tung, along with then-chairperson Mr. Henry Chau, travelled around to create large display boards about the June 4th Incident and displayed them at secondary schools in Vancouver to educate Canadian students about the tragedy. Mr. Chau even attended school assemblies to speak directly to students about the historical significance of the June 4th Massacre, and Ms. Tung actively participated in this effort.

In 2014, the Umbrella Movement erupted in Hong Kong, and Ms. Tung threw herself into supporting it. The following year, she went to Ottawa to attend a Canadian parliamentary hearing, where she explained the situation and demands of the Hong Kong democracy movement to MPs. She recalled that student leaders and young democrats Nathan Law and Alex Chow were present, while Joshua Wong participated via video. She believed that such actions would help draw more attention from Canadian MPs to the Umbrella Movement and help them understand its impact on Canada.

In 2017, after the sudden death of Mr. Chau from an illness, Ms. Tung took over as the chairperson of VSSDM. She admitted that she initially thought her responsibilities would mainly involve organising June 4th memorial activities, exhibitions, and lectures, and she believed she could handle it. However, everything changed with the outbreak of the "Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill" movement in Hong Kong in 2019. The 2019 anniversary marked the 30th year of the June 4th Massacre, and at that time, Ms. Tung was fully engaged in organising commemorative events, including parades and lectures. Meanwhile, she quietly monitored the situation in Hong Kong, originally thinking the situation would gradually subside. Just as she was preparing to take a break after a series of June 4th memorial activities, the massive "anti-extradition" march broke out in Hong Kong on June 9. She asked herself, "Should I act? Of course, I should!" Without hesitation, she immediately launched a demonstration in support of Hong Kong's "Anti-Extradition Movement". She described that usually, only special June 4th anniversaries, such as the fifth or tenth, would attract large crowds. However, this time, the "Anti-Extradition" march organised by VSSDM drew as many as 2,000 participants, demonstrating the strong passion within the Hong Kong community in Canada and their eagerness to support Hong Kong. Thanks to VSSDM's long-standing relationships with other regional democratic organisations, Ms. Tung was able to quickly unite with other cities in just two to three days to jointly launch "anti-extradition" marches and demonstrations. She recalled that she quickly made the protest signs and went straight to the streets. As the situation in Hong Kong deteriorated and the Legislative Council passed the second reading of the Extradition Law Amendment Bill, Ms. Tung launched a second demonstration, which saw the number of participants increase to three to four thousand. Throughout June, Ms. Tung and her colleagues from VSSDM organised over ten demonstrations. As the Hong Kong situation worsened, Ms. Tung launched a second demonstration when the Extradition Law Amendment Bill passed its second reading. This time, the number of participants grew to three to four thousand, and over ten demonstrations were organised throughout June by Ms. Tung and her VSSDM colleagues.

In addition to organising demonstrations, Ms. Tung, drawing on her years of experience, knew that in order to truly help the people of Hong Kong, it was essential to quickly begin political lobbying to secure support from the Canadian government and assist those “brothers and sisters” forced to flee Hong Kong. As a result, Ms. Tung, together with other like-minded individuals, actively lobbied Parliament and launched a fundraising campaign on Go Get Fund to raise money to support Hong Kong protesters who had fled and were seeking asylum.

Later, democratic organisations from around the world responded, holding “Anti-Extradition” activities one after another. Ms. Tung and her colleagues at VSSDM not only assisted in the preparations but also actively participated. She recalled that although the various organisations lacked clear rules, the mutual understanding built over many years of cooperation allowed them to coordinate schedules, allocate resources, help with publicity, and unite in support of Hong Kong. This spirit of collaboration is owed to the selfless dedication and persistence of Ms. Tung and VSSDM—they have been deeply embedded in Canadian society for many years, connecting democratic activists from China and Hong Kong, unwavering and asking for nothing in return. At crucial moments, they fuelled the democratic movement and passed on the torch.

Why bother applying laws if a tyranny kills like plucking grass: Police brutality and personal safety in 2019

Although far away in Canada, Ms. Tung remained closely connected to the situation in Hong Kong, and she was particularly struck by the issue of police brutality during the “Anti-Extradition Law” movement in 2019. She kept track of the Hong Kong media that were still operating at the time (though now they have disappeared), and the scene she remembers most vividly is when citizens knelt in front of police officers, pleading with them not to harm the young people, yet the police remained indifferent. Such scenes were not isolated but occurred repeatedly—whether it was the elderly, housewives, or ordinary citizens, they begged and cried to the police, but the police remained unmoved. These images often linger in Ms. Tung’s mind, and she can’t help but ask: “Why do Hong Kong citizens have to endure so much for democracy and freedom?” At this point, Ms. Tung found herself at a loss for words.

Ms. Tung was particularly struck by the issue of police brutality, not only because of the police's violent actions but also because it starkly contrasted with the Hong Kong police she remembered. Having lived in Hong Kong for over 20 years, the police stories she had heard in the past were not like this. It was difficult for her to accept that they had suddenly "turned dark." After moving to Canada, she observed that local police did not treat citizens that way. She became even more convinced that this issue was a collective problem within the Hong Kong police force. While some officers may have chosen to remain silent and not partake in the violent actions of their colleagues, she believes that these officers are in the minority.

Far away in another country, Ms. Tung's anxiety was inevitable. Hearing about and witnessing the increasingly severe issue of police brutality in Hong Kong, one couldn't help but worry whether the National Security Law for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, which the Hong Kong government claimed had extraterritorial jurisdiction, and Article 23 of the Basic Law, could pose a threat to Ms. Tung's personal safety. Ms. Tung paused and then said, "I haven't encountered any threats, or rather, I don't want to think in that direction." She has come into contact with many Hong Kong people in Canada, some of whom admitted that they are cautious about their actions, as they might return to Hong Kong in the future and want to avoid certain risks. However, Ms. Tung believed that if even she became afraid, then there would be no point in doing anything. She felt that someone must stand up without wearing a mask to conceal their identity. If everyone wears a mask and hides their identity, others would find it difficult to believe what we say. Therefore, she believes a group of people who are not afraid of Article 23 or the National Security Law and are willing to speak out for justice is needed. Ms. Tung is willing to be that crucial person. She made it clear, "I have never been afraid of Article 23 of the Basic Law and the National Security Law."

Although Ms. Tung is fearless, when asked if she has ever felt pressured, she admitted, "Although I am not afraid, I still worry about the impact on my family." Everyone knows that the Communist Party is irrational. Even resorting to extreme measures, if it wants something, it will act on it. Therefore, Ms. Tung must protect

her family. For example, she does not disclose her address, she keeps her family out of the public eye, and she even takes a detour before heading home to ensure safety before entering the house.

Everchanging are the clouds, now and then: Maybe there is no more hope

Talking about the future of Hong Kong, Ms. Tung candidly stated that there is little hope left for Hong Kong. With a government and a country like this, it is difficult to remain hopeful. Hong Kong can only see a turning point if the Communist Party ceases to exist. However, this is unlikely to happen in the short term. Facing such despair, Ms. Tung reassures herself and encourages others—no matter where we are, as long as we are there, it is Hong Kong. Therefore, we must do our best, actively participate in the democratic movement, work to eliminate the Communist Party, and focus on advancing the democratic cause, pushing the Communist Party to the margins.

However, Ms. Tung also acknowledged that her remarks might upset some Hong Kong people living overseas. She noticed that many who were forced to leave Hong Kong were bothered by the idea that “wherever Hong Kong people go, they can consider that place as Hong Kong”. She clarified, however, that what she meant was: “No matter where you are, as long as you think it’s a good place, you should live with an open heart and bring the positive aspects of Hong Kong with you. Build a community of Hong Kong people, let more people know what is happening in Hong Kong, and spread the name and image of Hong Kong.”

Since that farewell years ago, Hong Kong has already changed. However, Ms. Tung’s relentless perseverance over the years is truly admirable.



心繫香港, 初心不改: KK的使命與「家長會」 的守望

訪問者: Alex Fong



新起點:「多倫多香港家長會」的誕生

「多倫多香港家長會」於2020年成立,旨在協助因2019年香港「反對《逃犯條例》修訂草案運動」後離開香港的港人在加拿大定居。作為其中一位創會成員, KK是如何剖析自己在過去香港民主運動中的啟蒙, 以及在其中的角色和參與? 哪一宗政治事件對他影響最為深遠? 而KK又如何界定「香港人」? 「香港社運口述歷史計劃2025」透過訪問不同的人物, 旨在保存香港民主運動及香港離散社群的集體記憶與歷史。KK的故事, 或許也能反映許多香港人身處香港歷史發展的分水嶺時期, 如何以不同角色及身份參與民主運動的集體經歷。

時間回到 1989年 6 月4 日。和許多海外香港人一樣,「天安門事件」促使KK成為移民潮的一員。1992年, 他抵達加拿大展開新生活。然而, 加國相對遜色的工作就業前景、香港於回歸初期尚能保持的經濟優勢, 以及比預期更為穩定的政治情況, 令KK決心在1998年回流香港。回港後, 他致力發展電子電路事業, 甚至於 2002 年到中國大陸設廠。

初涉政治:「港豬」的無知與醒悟

「其實我是『港豬』來的!」當KK被問及是否一直關心香港的社會及政治發展時, 他突然吐出了這句來形容自己。他續稱, 雖然一直在選舉中支持民主派, 但坦言自己當年並不十分關心香港的歷史, 缺乏政治觸覺, 更不在意香港的危機。「我有參與, 例如你叫我(投票)選誰; 總之是民主黨的, 我就會看一下他們有甚麼政績, 然後選一個我覺得比較好的。如果都差不多, 我會選『靚仔啲』那個。」他在讀書時是香港理工大學(理大)學生會成員, 但相比於其他關心保釣議題或參政的同學, 他顯得有些置身事外:「『總之投票日去投票, 我就算盡了我的公民責任』, 這些想法真的很『港豬』!」KK認為, 作為一個只參與投票的公民, 其實自己所做的還遠遠不夠。

對KK來說，中國大陸封鎖新聞而形成的「洗腦」教育，與他在香港所接受的英式教育截然不同。或許是出於做得不夠的歉疚，KK一直希望中國內地的人可以了解「圍牆」外的真實情況。因此，在大陸設廠時，他會特地從香港帶回《蘋果日報》，鼓勵同事在休息時閱讀。由於工廠地點離香港不遠，為了讓大陸同事在瀏覽網站時不受「網絡長城」的阻截隔，KK特意在香港購買數據卡供內地同事在廠房連接香港的網絡，讓他們第一時間接觸到未被封鎖或扭曲的資訊。回想這段經歷，KK自言「手段」成功令部份同事思想更加開放，也讓他們更易察覺中國在共產黨管治下的各種問題。在做生意之餘，KK努力不懈地將「圍牆」外的訊息傳到牆內。他戲謔自己是「港豬」，卻以「教育者」的角色默默地貢獻。

一起舉傘：支持香港年輕一代的勇氣與行動

自「八九民運」後，香港主要的民主政治運動，如每年的「六四維園燭光集會」和「七一遊行」等，都不乏KK的身影。雖然「八九民運」啟發了KK宣傳自由民主的理念，但對他影響最深的，卻是2014年的「雨傘運動」。2014年9月28日，佔領人士聚集在金鐘夏慤道，反對全國人大常委會未對2016年及2017年立法會及行政長官產生辦法作進一步的民主改革。防暴警察當日施放了共87顆催淚彈驅散佔領人士。誠如不少分析所指，警方施放催淚彈的舉動或促使更多市民走上街頭抗議，其中也包括KK。

當時身處國內的KK，在得悉警方施放催淚彈的消息後，即晚由內地趕回香港，隨即出席銅鑼灣的集會。當他目睹年輕人和大學生第一次參與示威，卻被催淚氣體嗆到的痛苦表情時，KK回憶道：「當下我感受很深。你們這群年輕人，那些甚至未曾參與遊行示威的都走出來了，那我們呢？我可以做些甚麼呢？」被年輕人的行為所感動，KK和太太決心要支援他們。除了為佔領人士購買物資，例如黃色雨傘及佔領用的帳篷外，KK不時現身佔領區，親身支援佔領人士。然而，這也讓KK成為「傘運」中遭受警暴的受害者之一。事件發生在旺角佔領區的匯豐銀行門口。某夜，佔領區發生騷亂，在場的警察隨即採取措施分隔人流。混亂中，KK在過馬路時不慎被一名高級督察一拳打中頭部。當KK試圖上前質問對方為何襲擊自己時，卻遭到一名女警喝止：「過馬路！不要講那麼多話！」KK的親身經歷，只是警暴問題的冰山一角。他曾目擊不少懷疑警察濫用私刑的情況：「在2014年，我們多次看到年輕人被拉上警車後，警察關掉車燈，（打到）整輛車都在搖……14年已經很多『黑警』打人了。」

親身經歷警察暴力，也見證民意如何被漠視，KK早已察覺危險正逐步逼近。他自言在內地時也會批評共產黨，所以不願留在一個連言論自由都無法保障的地方。他表示：「我相信，若繼續留在香港，很大機會要坐牢。」KK與太太最終決定再次離開香港。經過兩年的部署，他退出自己有份投資的生意後，KK一家終於在2016年5月重返加拿大定居。

雖然已離開香港，但KK每年仍會回港三四次探望家人及朋友；他同時繼續關注香港的政治及社會情況。2019年，KK正巧於6月回港，親身參與了2019年6月9日民間人權陣線舉行的「守護香港·反送中」大遊行以及7月1日的「七一遊行」。能夠再次親歷香港的民主運動，KK認為香港的年輕人很有勇氣：「有人說他們是暴動、暴亂或暴徒，但我認為他們只是為爭取自由而站出來。」KK直言在「反送中運動」時，經常因為目睹示威人士遭受「警暴」而落淚。他回憶道：「有一次看到一位小朋友，（被警察）猛力推倒在地，當場跌斷了幾顆牙齒，滿地是血；在理大，有人被（警察）拖行下樓梯……『嘍嘍嘍』，整個過程中頭部不斷碰撞地面……我們看在眼裏，痛在心裏……真的很痛！」

從「港人」到「家人」的牽絆

2020年，KK察覺到香港濫捕的情況日益嚴重，越來越多年輕人被逼離開香港。由於他們多是在倉促間離港，如何在無親無故的加拿大安頓，就成為他們亟需解決的問題。有見及此，KK聯同數位已退休的朋友，決意盡一分綿力，協助這群有需要的「手足」。這正是「多倫多香港家長會」成立的源起和初衷。「怎麼辦呢？不如我們就成立一個（組織）叫『家長會』，讓我們在多倫多成為他們（抗爭者）的家長，做他們的爸爸、媽媽。希望他們來到這裏，也能感受到一點『親人』的溫暖。」

「多倫多香港家長會」為因「反修例運動」而離港的人士提供不同的服務，由早期的機場接送、提供臨時住所、協助尋找住屋及工作、搬遷、辦理各種證件申請、開設銀行帳戶及本地電話通訊等；到後期舉辦各類聯誼活動，例如賞楓團、釣冰魚活動、觀賞三文魚回流、滑雪團、聖誕聯歡會等，甚至舉辦協助新移民處理報稅的工作坊等，應有盡有。背後的原因，只為凝聚更多香港人，讓大家可以認識新朋友：「有共同興趣的人，最後都成為了朋友；如果是一男一女，能發展成情侶，甚至結為夫妻，那多開心啊！我們還可以當上『老爺、奶奶』，那就最好不過了！」說罷，KK忍俊不禁，滿臉「成為老爺」的喜悅。作為新移民的「家長」，KK期望新到埠的香港人「不要獨自躲起來，在加拿大，我們都有自己的位置。他們能好好生活，就是我們最希望看到的美事。」KK就像演活「家長」的角色一樣，不忘對「子女」一番叮嚀。

2016年再次回到加拿大時，KK原本的計劃是安享退休生活，並未曾想過會以不同的身份，繼續支持香港的民主運動，甚至支援抗爭者。創立「家長會」更是意料之外的事。然而，回望四年前所作的決定，KK認為整體經驗相當正面。除了協助新移加的港人外，KK坦言在過程中也有不少得著。例如為了舉辦釣魚活動，他最後也考取了漁牌及船牌。現在，他閒時會和太太出海釣魚，成為生活中意想不到的樂趣。此外，KK表示，在策劃「家長會」各樣活動時，他也拓寬了自己的社交圈子，結識了各界人士，包括多倫多市及萬錦市的市議員等，並因而更熟悉加拿大政府的移民政策。

寄語離散港人團結

KK認為，隨著近年抵加的香港新移民大多已有朋友協助適應新生活，「家長會」的責任基本圓滿結束。他寄語移加港人，來到加拿大要開心過新生活，盡量多結交朋友。他尤為期望有香港人願意參政，因為只有當港人的聲音出現在議會中，加拿大政府才會協助港人。他指出，正因為加拿大之所以能推出「救生艇計劃」，全賴「港加聯」、「溫支聯」等政治團體持續發聲及遊說政府。

不過，談及散離港人的未來，KK卻表示情況不甚樂觀。他認為要連結國際的散離港人很艱難。若以多倫多為例，他觀察到不同港人組織之間缺乏有效的溝通橋樑。不同組織像是要爭做「龍頭大佬」般，互相競爭，「搶地盤」。「家長會」相對中立，致力成為在地組織的溝通橋樑。展望將來，KK期望未來最終可以有人能團結不同的港人力量，一同為香港人出力。

在加拿大層面，KK鼓勵新移加的港人應「盡量參與加拿大的政治，影響加拿大政府對中國、香港的政策，從而保護你在香港的家人朋友，甚至是香港的下一代！」這個自嘲是「港豬」的KK，其實一點也不「港豬」。

香港人身份：流動中的堅持

在民主運動的路上，KK的身份萬變，但有一個身份卻是永不改變——香港人。早於2016年已放棄中國國籍的KK，對於「香港人」的身份也自有一番理解：「我是100%的純香港人！」KK認為自己絕對是香港人，因為他在97回歸前已出生，成長於港英殖民地時代，讀書用英文，更不懂國語。他認為香港人就是這樣。那97年後出生的港人呢？KK認為只要有共同理念，就是「自己人」，不論對方是否能操純正廣東話。他強調，「家長會」也不會因對方並非「純正香港人」而拒諸門外——只要對方曾在2019年「反送中運動」付出過、認同自由的生活方式、並以廣東話為主要語言，「家長會」絕對樂意向其伸出援手。KK的「香港人」定義，有一定的流動性。這種對香港身份相對流動的理解，或許能突破以地域為界限而相對狹義的身份認同，讓我們反思離散港人的身份問題。

假如有一天，政權宣稱那些已移居外地的港人，不再是「香港人」，甚至被剝奪其代表香港的合法性，是否就能徹底抹去離散港人的「香港性」？誰是香港人？誰有權力定義香港人？這些問題，也許值得我們，特別是每一位離散的香港人，再三細想。



Hong Kong at Heart, Mission Unshaken: KK's Calling and the Parent Group's Watchful Care

Interviewer: Alex Fong



A New Beginning: The Birth of the Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group

The Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group was founded in 2020 with the aim of supporting Hongkongers who left the city in the wake of the 2019 Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement to settle in Canada. As one of the group's founding members, how does KK reflect on his early political awakening, his role, and his participation in Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement? Which political event left the deepest impact on him? And how does he define what it means to be a "Hongkonger"? The Hong Kong Social Movement Oral History Project 2025 seeks to preserve the collective memory and lived history of Hong Kong's democratic struggle and its diaspora through interviews with people from different walks of life. KK's story perhaps also reflects the shared experience of many Hongkongers who, at a critical turning point in the city's history, took part in the movement in various roles and identities.

Rewinding to 4th June 1989: like many overseas Hongkongers, the Tiananmen Incident prompted KK to join the wave of emigration. He arrived in Canada in 1992 to begin a new life. However, Canada's comparatively limited job prospects, coupled with Hong Kong's continued economic edge and unexpectedly stable political climate in the early years after the Handover, led KK to make the decision to return in 1998. Back in Hong Kong, he focused on building a career in electronic circuits and, by 2002, even went so far as to set up a factory in mainland China.

First Steps into Politics: The Ignorance and Awakening of a "Hong Kong Pig"

"Actually, I was a 'Hong Kong pig!'" KK blurted out with a laugh when asked whether he had always cared about Hong Kong's social and political development. He went on to admit that while he had consistently supported pro-democracy candidates in elections, he hadn't paid much attention to Hong

Kong's history. He lacked political sensitivity and was indifferent to looming crises. "I did take part—like, if you asked me who to vote for, as long as it was a Democratic Party candidate, I'd glance over their track record and pick the one I thought seemed better. If they were all more or less the same, I'd just choose the better-looking one." At university, KK was a member of the student union at Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU), but compared to peers who were engaged in causes like defending the Diaoyu Islands or going for a political career, he remained on the sidelines. "'As long as I vote on election day, I've fulfilled my civic duty'—that kind of thinking is textbook 'Hong Kong pig'!" KK now believes that, as a citizen who only took part by voting, what he did was still far from enough.

For KK, the "brainwashing" education shaped by the news blackout in mainland China stood in stark contrast to the British-style education he received in Hong Kong. Perhaps out of a lingering sense of guilt for not having done enough, KK always hoped that people in mainland China could come to understand the reality beyond the "wall". So, while running a factory there, he would bring copies of Apple Daily from Hong Kong and encourage his colleagues to read them during their breaks. Since the factory was not far from Hong Kong, KK went a step further—he bought Hong Kong SIM cards so that his mainland colleagues could connect to the Hong Kong internet and access unfiltered, unmanipulated information without interference from the Great Firewall. Looking back, KK says these "methods" did manage to open the minds of some colleagues, helping them become more aware of the many problems under Communist Party rule. While running his business, he worked tirelessly to smuggle information from outside the wall to those within it. He jokingly calls himself a "Hong Kong pig", yet he quietly fulfilled the role of an "educator".

Raise an umbrella together:

Supporting the Courage and Actions of Young Hongkongers

Since the 1989 pro-democracy movement, KK has been a regular presence at major democratic rallies in Hong Kong, including the annual 4th June candlelight vigil in Victoria Park and the 1st of July marches. Although the 1989 movement first inspired his advocacy for freedom and democracy, it was the 2014 Umbrella Movement that left the deepest mark on him. On 28th September 2014, protesters occupied Harcourt Road in Admiralty to oppose the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress's refusal to introduce further democratic reforms to the Legislative Council and the Chief Executive elections for 2016 and 2017. That day, riot police fired a total of 87 rounds of tear gas to

disperse the protesters. As many analysts noted, this use of force galvanised even more citizens to take to the streets—including KK himself.

At the time, KK was in mainland China. Upon hearing the news that police had fired tear gas, he rushed back to Hong Kong that very evening and joined the rally in Causeway Bay. He recalls being deeply affected when he saw the pained expressions of young people and university students—many of them protesting for the first time—choking on tear gas. “In that moment, I was profoundly moved. You young people, even those who had never joined a protest before, had stepped out. So what about us? What could I do?” Inspired by the courage of the younger generation, KK and his wife resolved to support them. They purchased supplies for protesters—yellow umbrellas, tents, and other essentials—and KK regularly appeared at the occupied sites to offer help in person. But this commitment also made him one of the many victims of police violence during the Umbrella Movement. The incident happened outside the HSBC branch in Mong Kok’s occupied zone. One night, unrest broke out in the area, prompting police to separate the crowd. Amid the chaos, KK was crossing the street when a senior inspector punched him in the head. When he stepped forward to demand an explanation, a female officer barked, “Cross the road! Stop talking!” KK’s ordeal was merely the tip of the iceberg. He witnessed numerous instances of suspected police brutality. “Back in 2014, we saw many young people dragged into police vans. The officers would turn off the lights, and the whole van would be rocking...There were already many ‘black cops’ beating people then.”

Having personally experienced police brutality and seen how public opinion was routinely ignored, KK had long sensed that danger was drawing near. He recalled how he would criticise the Communist Party even while working on the mainland, and knew he didn’t want to remain somewhere that couldn’t guarantee even the most basic freedom of expression. “I believe that if I had stayed in Hong Kong, I would very likely have ended up in prison,” he said. Eventually, KK and his wife made the decision to leave Hong Kong once again. After two years of careful planning and stepping away from the business he had invested in, the family finally resettled—once again—in Canada in May 2016.

Although KK had left Hong Kong, he continued to return three or four times a year to visit family and friends, all while closely following the city’s political and social developments. In June 2019, he happened to be back in Hong Kong and took part in both the 9th of June “Safeguard Hong Kong—Anti-Extradition Bill”

march organised by the Civil Human Rights Front, and the 1st of July annual pro-democracy rally. Being able to witness and experience Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement again, KK was struck by the courage of Hong Kong's younger generation. "Some call them rioters, rebels, or thugs," he said, "but to me, they are simply standing up for freedom." KK admitted that during the Anti-Extradition Movement, he was often brought to tears by scenes of police violence against protesters. "I remember seeing a child once, shoved violently to the ground by police. Several of his teeth were knocked out on the spot, and the ground was covered in blood. At PolyU, someone was dragged down the stairs—'bang, bang, bang'—his head hitting the steps all the way down. We witnessed it all, and it broke our hearts...it was truly painful."

The bond from "Hong Kong people" to "family"

In 2020, KK became increasingly alarmed by the surge in arbitrary arrests in Hong Kong. More and more young people were being forced into exile, often fleeing at short notice. With no relatives or connections in Canada, how to settle in an unfamiliar land became an urgent challenge. In response, KK and a few retired friends resolved to offer what support they could to these "hands and feet" (手足, i.e., fellow protesters) in need. This was the founding spirit behind the Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group. "What could we do? We thought—why not start a 'Parent Group'? Let us be their parents here in Toronto, their mums and dads. We hoped that, upon arriving here, they might feel at least a trace of familial warmth."

"Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group" provides a wide range of services for those who left Hong Kong due to the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement. In the early days, this included airport pick-up, temporary accommodation, assistance with housing and job searches, moving support, help with applying for documents, opening bank accounts, and setting up local phone services. Later on, the group began hosting all kinds of community events—maple leaf tours, ice fishing trips, watching salmon runs, ski outings, Christmas parties, and even tax workshops to help newcomers navigate Canadian systems. At the heart of all this is a simple goal: to bring Hongkongers together and help them build new connections. "People with shared interests often become friends," KK says. "And if it they end up as couples or even get married—how wonderful would that be! We could even become parents-in-law! That would be the best." He chuckles, his face lighting up with the joy of imagining himself as a cheerful "father-in-law". As a "parent" to new immigrants, KK hopes that newly arrived Hongkongers

won't "hide away alone." "In Canada, there's a place for each of us. Them live well is the best outcome we could ask for." Just like someone truly stepping into the role of a "parent", KK never forgets to offer a few words of advice to his "children".

When KK returned to Canada in 2016, his original plan was to enjoy a quiet retirement. He had never imagined that he would go on to support Hong Kong's democracy movement in a new capacity—let alone end up helping protestors. Founding the Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group was something even more unexpected. Yet looking back on the decision he made four years ago, KK sees the experience as largely positive. Beyond helping newly arrived Hongkongers settle in Canada, KK admits he gained much himself. For example, to organise a fishing trip, he ended up earning both a fishing and boating licence. Now, heading out to sea with his wife has become one of life's unexpected pleasures. He also expanded his social network through planning various activities for the Parent Group, getting to know individuals across different sectors, including city councillors from Toronto and Markham, and, in the process, gaining a better understanding of Canada's immigration policies.

A Message of Unity for the Hong Kong Diaspora

KK believes that as most of the new immigrants from Hong Kong arriving in Canada in recent years already have friends to help them settle, the mission of the Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group has, for the most part, been fulfilled. His message to Hongkongers in Canada is to embrace life here with joy and build friendships whenever possible. He especially hopes more Hongkongers will step into politics, because only when Hong Kong voices are heard in parliament will the Canadian government be moved to act. He pointed out that the creation of the "Lifeboat Scheme" was made possible by the persistent advocacy and lobbying of political groups like the Canada-Hong Kong Link and Vancouver Society In Support of Democratic Movement.

However, when speaking about the future of the Hong Kong diaspora, KK expressed concern. He believes it remains difficult to unite Hongkongers scattered across the globe. In Toronto, for instance, he has observed a lack of effective communication channels among various Hongkonger groups. Many organisations appear to be competing for dominance, jostling for influence as if fighting over territory. By contrast, the Toronto Hong Kong Parent Group has remained relatively neutral, committed to serving as a bridge between local

organisations. Looking ahead, KK hopes that one day, someone will succeed in uniting these diverse Hongkonger forces so they can work together in solidarity for the good of their community.

At the Canadian national level, KK encourages newly arrived Hongkongers in Canada to “participate in Canadian politics as much as possible to influence Canada’s policies towards China and Hong Kong, and in doing so, help protect your family and friends back home, and even the next generation of Hongkongers!” This KK, who playfully refers to himself as a “Hong Kong pig”, is, in truth, anything but.

Hong Kong Identity: Holding Fast in Movement

Along the path of Hong Kong’s democratic movement, KK has assumed many different roles, but one identity has never changed: he is a Hongkonger. Having renounced his Chinese nationality as early as 2016, KK has a clear understanding of what it means to be a “Hongkonger”: “I’m a 100% pure Hongkonger!” he declares. He sees himself as unquestionably a Hongkonger, born before the 1997 Handover, raised during the British colonial era, educated in English, and unable to speak Mandarin. He thinks that’s what being a Hongkonger is. But what about those born after 1997? KK believes that shared values make someone “one of us,” regardless of whether they speak fluent Cantonese. He emphasises that the Parent Group never turns anyone away for not being a “pure” Hongkonger. As long as they took part in the 2019 Anti-Extradition Movement, embrace a lifestyle rooted in freedom, and primarily speak Cantonese, the group will always be ready to lend a hand. KK’s definition of “Hongkonger” carries a degree of fluidity. His relatively mobile understanding of Hong Kong identity could perhaps move beyond narrow, location-based notions of belonging and invite us to reflect on the issue of identity of the Hong Kong diaspora.

If one day the regime were to declare that those who have emigrated are no longer “Hongkongers”, stripping them of the legitimacy to represent Hong Kong, would that truly erase the “Hongkongness” of the diaspora? Who counts as a Hongkonger? And who holds the power to define that identity? These questions are worth deep reflection—especially for every Hongkonger living in exile.

鳴謝

本書得以付梓，我們必須感謝參與「香港社運口述歷史計劃」的所有訪問員和受訪者；她們不辭勞苦，在英國和加拿大進行訪談，坦誠分享經驗，撰作訪問文章，方能令本計劃得以成事。我們亦感謝林蔚文博士為本書撰寫導讀，以及五位編輯小組成員在籌備本計劃和出版的貢獻。我們更感謝Andrew Flinn博士和何曉清博士，在2024年，為本計劃訪問員和編輯們講授民間口述歷史的理念、方法和實踐。最後，我們要向支持本計劃的一眾贊助單位致意。我們希望是次出版並非香港社運口述歷史計劃的終結，而是一個開始：香港離散社群會繼續記錄、傳承香港民主運動的歷史與記憶，承先啟後，致力開創未來香港民主與人權運動的種種可能。

香港社運口述歷史計劃 編輯小組

崔永健、陳啟睿、黃智斌、蔡俊威、黎恩灝（排名以姓氏筆劃順序）

二零二五年五月

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Hong Kong Social Movement Oral History Project Editorial Team
Samuel Chan, Sam Choi, Tony Chui, Eric Lai, Kennedy Wong (On Alphabetical Order)
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Editors: Samuel Chan, Sam Choi, Tony Chui, Eric Lai, Kennedy Wong

Authors: Fong Chang, Tony Chui, Alex Fong, Billy Jing-en Fung, Kwong Chung Ting, Rae Lai, Lui Ngok Hong, Lui Yim, N, RW, Shirley, Horace Wong, Wu Aa Gor

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Contact: hksmoh@proton.me

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編者: 崔永健、陳啟睿、黃智斌、蔡俊威、黎恩瀨

作者: 呂譚懷、烏鴉哥、崔永健、馮敬恩、閻闊、Fong Chang, Alex Fong, Kwong Chung Ting, Rae

Lai, N, RW, Shirley, Horace Wong

翻譯: H, JL

校對: Me, 黃智斌

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