

INDEX

UMBRELLA COUPLES

Additional Material:

Aftermath

The Last British Administration

The Tiananmen Papers

Revolution?

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Author's Note

This is the story of Occupy, a three-month action which took place in Hong Kong in 2014. I saw part of it with my own eyes, watched part on television and online, and part I've read about or heard about. Except for Joshua Wong's, all the characters are invented and their participation imagined. The story centres on the experience of six fresher Hong Kong University students who took part, to name one reason, because their peers on campus under the aegis of the Hong Kong Federation of Students were doing so.

Cantonese is the language of Hong Kong but having only a few words of it I must tell this story in English. I am writing as a well-informed foreigner. Being British, Hong Kong meant something to me before I arrived and then I had six years living and working there. Occupy came towards the end of this, I shared in the wild enthusiasm and I left with a firm intention to re-explore those seventy-nine days of Hong Kong's political history while the memories were still fresh.

ONE

Before the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami reached the coast of Thailand the sea drew back exposing corrals and sands to the curious, who waded out to take advantage of an odd opportunity. In Hong Kong, something similar was happening on a Monday morning in September 2014.

The six-lane carriageway of Queensway, a canyon between international office towers, was uncannily abandoned, no trams, buses or taxis sweeping past as normally they did on a Monday morning. Instead, in sweltering early morning heat under a blue sky, guests from nearby business hotels, having seen the news, came down to walk among the tram lines, their well-shod feet stepping among the tyre husk fragments and burls of rubber flung aside by the traffic.

What they saw was a road blocked at both ends by barricades. These barricades, built overnight, were made of Mills Barriers, wooden pallets, bamboo scaffolding poles and shopping trolleys with lumps of concrete in them, all bound together with plastic ties and wire.

Office workers in the office towers looked on too. Some had experienced delayed journeys because of the disruption to buses and trams. Most had watched the conflict unfolding on the news over the weekend. As they met their colleague friends at the windows and talked excitedly, for action there were just a few wilted young men having their breakfast on their feet – quick noodles – and, beyond the barriers, a few knots of tired police waiting to come off duty.

One young woman stood beside a stack of water bottles on the corner of Queensway and Cotton Tree Drive at the foot of the Lippo Tower in this now emptied arena. The water bottles were in trays of twelve in shrink wrapping with a few already pulled out from the top row. She was a local Chinese Hong Kong woman in her late twenties and she looked tired and slightly ill having been in the tear gas attack of the previous evening. She had a mask and goggles around her neck and was in boots, trousers and a long-sleeved shirt.

The heat thermals were making mirages of some young men on the flyover. This carriageway was silent too – Cotton Tree Road, passing among the towers of international banking and commerce. And three hundred yards up, where the road

began to climb the hill, a group of police vehicles were parked behind their own barricade of newly-laid orange and white blocks. A Mexican Stand-off was taking place between these two parties.

The four teenagers on the flyover had been up all night and were doubly drugged by exhaustion and heat. They were scouts, in touch with the main group around the curve of the flyover in the other direction by phone. Two of these freshers were starting degrees in Physical Exercise, the third was doing Maths, the last was doing Geography.

High in the sky above all this were kites and hawks, gliding around the Citibank Tower and taking a lift from the thermals over the Botanical and Zoological Gardens.

So Admiralty stood on that Monday morning.

At dusk, in a cooling Hong Kong, sixty thousand protestors gathered on Connaught Road two blocks away. This was another six-lane highway like Queensway, it passed next to the Legislative Council (LegCo) complex, and a mushroom field of small adventure tents had already sprouted on it. More tents were on adjoining Tim Mei Avenue next to the entrances to LegCo. These sixty thousand people belonged chiefly to three organisations: Scholarism, Occupy Central with Peace and Love and the Hong Kong Federation of Students.

Connaught Road suited its new purpose as a mass rallying point. The ends rolled up onto flyovers, the middle dipped, making an enclosure like an arena or monster-sized skateboard park. Everybody could see everybody else. And all around was a noodle soup of concrete slip roads and concrete footbridges.

In this mass occupation a double-decker bus had been left behind. It stood on the roadway, stranded and empty, garlanded with protest regalia.

The rows of tents were orderly. From the bigger tents goggles and bottled water were being handed out against a possible new tear gas or pepper spray attack by the police.

As the sunlight dwindled the traffic sodium lamps came on. Welcome coolness replaced the stifling heat. A Mexican Wave started, flowing down one flyover and up the other. The central portion of the crowd took up a chant in Cantonese:

CY LEUNG OUT!

From the footbridge a very large banner was unfurled to much cheering. Figures important and unimportant lined up to give speeches at newly-placed rostrums, aided by loudhailers. There was a pen of television crews in the thick of it.

Just as on Queensway, large barriers now blocked either end of Connaught Road. Beyond the barriers was first a no-man's-land and then the police line, well back behind their own barriers. Behind the police line the twinkling light of the diverted city traffic.

A band of students came out into this dark no-man's with flowers for the police. A pretty girl proffered each officer a flower and, being ignored, bent down and set the flower before his great corps boots.

TWO

In the morning the tents became solar hot. In one lay three freshers of Hong Kong University. Two were doing their best to sleep on the ground-sheet over solid tarmac, sleeping bags kicked down at their knees, the other, Reggie, was lying on his back, a top rolled up for a pillow, reading a black-and-white Japanese Manga comic. He was doing this because his phone was out of battery and he was waiting for the others to wake up.

Reggie had neat, short-clipped hair and a rigid posture and there was something of the police academy or parade ground about him, even lying down. As a Kung-Fu black belt used to a hard regime of training, the solid floor and hot-box interior were little to him, though he did use his comic to shade his eyes from the glowing tent fabric. The footsteps and passing voices of the waking camp outside were leaving him increasingly impatient.

At last the boy next to him, Henry, opened his eyes and felt for his spectacles.

‘Did you sleep?’ said Reggie.

‘A little.’

They had all been up some of the night, among those keeping watch at the north end of Tim Mei Avenue. No one knew when the police would try to move in. From one barricade to another, contact was kept through messaging and it had been a quiet night, the police in small groups threatening nothing. Kelvin, the third of them, had passed the time making up nicknames before suggesting they all go to bed, which they had done.

‘I think our tent is over a road marking,’ said Henry.

‘An army sleeps where it can,’ said Reggie.

‘Is that what we are, an army?’

Reggie gave his own comic a karate chop by way of reply.

Kelvin now rolled over and joined the conversation. ‘The Commander is awake,’ he declared. ‘Good morning, Black Monk and Groaning Lieutenant.’

‘Took your time,’ said Reggie. He was the Black Monk because Kelvin supposed him pious and aggressive; Henry was the Groaning Lieutenant because

he was loyal but a little wet; Kelvin called himself The Commander with the whimsy of somebody who gave everyone nicknames.

‘If you’re going to sleep so late we need a cover over this tent. It shines like a glow-worm’s butt,’ Reggie added.

‘Leave that to me,’ said Henry, who excelled at anything practical.

Term had begun a few weeks ago and the three of them had been allotted rooms in a mixed hall corridor also used by three girls. Campus in those first weeks had been dominated by one topic, the need for activism against the administration. The Hong Kong Federation of Students urged participation and when Occupy began on Sunday afternoon the three of them had followed their leaders and peers down to the action. The first hours had been chaotic and life-changing, standing up to the police who attempted to clear Connaught Road with tear gas. Then the protestors put on a new push in stronger numbers and it was the turn of the police to fall back. Those in occupation spent the whole of Sunday night holding their ground, building barricades, bringing in materials to bolster their foothold. And it had all led to this on a Tuesday morning, this new tent-existence in the middle of the road on the most expensive commercial land in Hong Kong.

‘Boys!’

Fingers were pinching their tent and shaking it, those of the three girls with whom they had been sharing the hall corridor, freshers like themselves.

The girls were sleeping in a separate tent. They had already stood in line for the public wash-room and washed their faces, a line which rippled with chatter reminiscent of the enrolment queues at campus.

‘Come on, boys, we want breakfast.’

The voice was Bettie’s. She was distinctly pretty, compact, athletic, a typical Hong Konger who went about in shorts and a T-shirt. She had come up like the others through Hong Kong’s schooling system and by dint of hard-work and intelligence got her place at HKU, the top university in Hong Kong.

Once the boys were out of the tent there was some dithering. They were still new to each other and new to being undergraduates. For high school students the natural choice would have been a *dai pai dong* cafe for noodle soup or congee. Yet were not the eating habits of undergraduates supposed to be more sophisticated?

Ping decided it, the mainlander among the six, demanding coffee, and the others fell in readily with this sophisticated choice. They made their way out of camp.

Ping was from Shanghai. Enrolled like the others as a fresher, she was doing her best with circumstances very contrary to her. She needed her coffee. For one, she found herself taking part in civil disobedience that was intolerable to the mainland leadership *per se* and, even worse, largely directed against Beijing. Then, sleeping in a tent was far from what she was used to, as were the public washing facilities. The temptation was to bolt to the nearest five-star hotel. But as a mainlander she had persuaded herself she must try and go with the flow. She had a soft, fine-boned, symmetrical face and always wore make-up. She had no casual clothes to speak of, only designer pieces that risked ridicule in camp. She knew her mainlander way of speaking attracted prejudice and for her part she suspected Hong Kong men of being, for all the stubborn commitment of the last twenty-four hours, white-blooded and puny.

Manhattan Coffee, a few blocks outside the camp perimeter, was already packed with camp members. Devices were being charged at a corral-like growth of extension boxes and reedy wiring by the wall sockets. By luck a sofa was free. Red and plush, it was Bettie who sprang on it first. She fingered the vermilion velvet pile and knew she wanted hot chocolate and a Danish Pastry, suddenly and unexpectedly in possession of one of those clear memories, almost visionary in nature, that sometimes arrive in life.

The memory was of a school camping trip in Sai Kung in conditions much the same as now: hard ground, few toilet facilities, routine all new. At the end of the weekend she and her fellow Girl Guides had marched gladly out of the dirty campsite, out of the woods, and, almost back into civilisation, stopping at a roadside store. Here an outside vending machine stood next to a row of ramshackle seating. She remembered sitting down here and drinking a luxurious can of chilled coca cola, so overcome with pleasure as to be convinced that she was intensely simple in nature. Let her basic physical wants be satisfied and she was ok, add a bit of luxury and she was happy plain and simple. The same conviction had returned. Let her have hot chocolate and Danish, that was all that was required and let the others talk politics if they wished. ‘Cryingly soft,’ she

murmured, stroking the arm of the sofa, otherwise keeping her guilty self-knowledge to herself.

‘Good. Enjoy it.’ The nick-name specialist, Kelvin, spoke. The look he gave her was one of definite interest. She was glad. His tallness, fine hands and quiet manner had made an impression on her from the first day of term, especially as underneath there was definitely something of the wolf there, she thought.

All the boys now acted strangely. None would sit. They thought they were newly minted soldiers, indifferent to comfort, morphed into the military. Only the girls were natural.

‘I hope this will all end today,’ said Ping, joining Bettie on the sofa.

‘It will if CY Leung resigns,’ said Henry.

‘What about nicknames for us girls, since you all have them?’ said Bettie, who wanted Kelvin to say more to her.

‘You can have one,’ said Kelvin, ‘choose your own.’

‘I can’t think of my own nickname. I’m too simple. Can’t you choose one for me?’

‘All right,’ he said, ‘but I’ll have to think about it.’

The last of the girls and so far the quietest was Angela, who had only come into camp late the previous night, having volunteer work at the Lutheran Hospice in Kowloon which she was sticking to. In jeans and a T-shirt, she listened attentively and shyly to everyone else, laughed at anything funny and blushed easily.

THREE

The Honourable Albert Yu, so called because he held the Domestic Infrastructure seat, a seat of a functional constituency, came down the sunlight-filled concourse somewhere inside LegCo on the look-out for his aides. He was of medium height, in his mid-sixties and wore a grey suit. He was a congenial man and his wife said he had a comfortable face, but his body had been far from comfortable lately. There were aches and pains only he knew of, a bit of gout in his wrist and indigestion if he over-ate – as all lawmakers tended to. Sometimes he had a definite sense of being unwell.

He found the aides already mustered waiting for him, ready to leave for the weekly sub-committee meeting at the Liaison Office, there to report on the latest progress of the Macau-Hong Kong Bridge.

Yesterday, as civil servants braved the besieged entrance gates, a feeling of profound shock and, in some quarters, fear, gripped LegCo, despite the fact Occupy Central with Peace and Love had been openly planned by a HKU law professor a full year beforehand. Today, having withstood the first twenty-four hours, tensions were somewhat relaxed. Albert, along with other ministers, had just sat with CY Leung, the Chief Executive, for a closed-door morning briefing. CY Leung had stood before his ministers spry and fearless. ‘We’ll let the gossamer-haired kids vent their feelings,’ he told them. ‘No more tear gas for a while.’ Everyone must continue explaining the government position as best they could, that its hands were tied because it would be illegal for the government to try to circumvent the provisions of the Basic Law.

Earlier in the year, reform in the election of future Chief Executives to involve a popular, territory-wide ballot, had reached the political calendar. This reform was intended to bring to fruition the very old Article 45 of the Basic Law, which was drafted in 1990 by Beijing in accordance with the then recently signed Sino-British Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong. As the reform and consultation process began, it was popularly believed that a meaningful democratic methodology would now be instituted, since both Beijing and successive Hong Kong administrations had been promising it over the intervening

years. After all, Article 45 provided for ‘selection of the Chief Executive by universal suffrage’. The devil was in the detail, however, because the same article provided for ‘nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee’ - a more Chinese arrangement. If it was hoped that the power of the nominating committee would somehow be nullified when the final details of the reforms were announced, that proved far from the case. Instead, following CY Leung’s report of local conditions in Hong Kong to the Standing Committee of the People’s Republic of China, Beijing announced the final requirements of the reform and it became clear that far from getting democracy in any meaningful sense, Hong Kong would be getting staged democracy, puppet-show democracy. The nominating committee would control the selection of candidates to stringent Beijing requirements that weeded out local populist candidates. This Beijing announcement, and CY Leung’s inadequate report to Beijing that preceded it, were the reasons for the present action on the streets.

Before the closed-door briefing finished, CY Leung told his ministers he would continue to do his best to explain to Hong Kongers that no promises were being broken. To this purpose he had instructed the Chief Justice to write an article for the popular newspapers explaining what was legally possible and what was not, making it clear that the desire for civil nomination of candidates outside the nominating committee led outside the law.

Impressed with the nerve of his Chief Executive, Albert now had his own subordinates to settle. He was ten minutes late and they had all been standing patiently.

‘Well, business as usual,’ he said cheerfully, ‘let’s go.’

One of the aides opened a side-door and they all went into the innards of the building, bound for the basement car-park where a pool car and chauffeur were waiting for them.

The most senior of the three aides had graduated from an American university and he wore a narrow tie and Oxford brogues. He was good humoured and kept his distance from controversy. He considered himself alike to his boss, whom he never challenged. To him, their purposeful passage along a close staircase, their feet echoing on a concrete floor, reminded him of a computer treasure hunt game.

On they went in a place of heavy concrete walls, an intensifying smell of clutch oil and the hum of electricity from lateral computer stacks.

The second aide, short and wearing a waistcoat beneath his suit vest, was a sharp-tongued, cynical, middle-rank civil servant. In the last few days he had dug up the original spiel of the architect's brochure for the design of the LegCo complex. This was completed only a few years ago on reclaimed land at the waterfront. He found good material. The brochure promised *connectivity with the people, green carpet lawns, a symbolic door-always-open configuration* and especially a glass frontage at the visitor's entrance which showed *the transparency and democratic nature of the administration* inside.

'Look where the vision has got us,' he had been telling the buildings' politicians. 'We've certainly got *connectivity with the people*, sixty thousand of them! The feng shui may be all right but we're an open target for siege.'

Up the rear came the youngest of the group, clutching the pile of copies of the report he'd mainly been left to compile. He was still smarting because his mother had insisted on cutting his hair that morning so he should not be mistaken for a protestor as he went in for work.

The black car waiting for them flashed its lights to show its presence and the four climbed aboard, Albert in the front. The car moved through the underground car-park, up the ramp; the barrier pinged up; the fortified gate slid aside and the vehicle sailed out onto a back road dazzling white in the morning sunlight. Albert was considered a kindly, paternal sort of boss by his aides, not at all formal, and the first aide couldn't help shouting out, 'Sputnik is a launch!'

The Kennedy Town district is an old commercial district of dried-goods shophouses, once commanding the waterfront in the sixties now obscured behind several phases of land reclamation. Here rises the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government among the old mercantile properties, a monolithic skyscraper with a weather-ball-like object at its summit. Though officially a news and media department whose aim is to 'enhance cooperation with Hong Kong in the exchange of information', the Liaison Office is Beijing's parallel government in Hong Kong, as everyone knew.

It was not far in the car. After being dropped off in front of the building, Albert led his team in. They went through revolving doors, past a burly commissioner, on into a large under-lit foyer with a distinctive scrubbed smell.

Albert felt, not for the first time, the uncanny sensation of having left liberal Hong Kong for something more sober and impressed by mainland canons.

It was a complicated relationship – Albert always said as much. China could be like a dictatorial father or like a condescending older brother, but it was always kin, sharing large areas of cultural and philosophical consanguinity. And Beijing’s representatives in Hong Kong were no less ambivalent, as everyone in LegCo saw. For instance there were times when the Liaison Office and LegCo dined together socially, regular events organised by each side in turn. Only the other day, at a LegCo-hosted banquet to taste a range of imported wines, the Liaison Office Chief, by now far from sober after sampling a good twenty vintages, made a joke. Picking out one of the astonished pro-democrat LegCo members he clapped him on the back and heartily confided the following. ‘The fact that you are allowed to stay alive already shows Beijing’s leniency!’

Albert and his aides were now conducted to the fifth floor by three stiff-collared security men and left in the usual meeting room. As usual the room was empty and they were left to stew, a picture of Xi Jinping, Party Chairman and Supreme Leader, staring at them from the wall alongside his State Council of thirty-five members, while on the opposite wall glowered a photograph of the Central Committee, two hundred in number.

The meeting chairman eventually arrived with his aides. Xan Ho-Janquing was fifty-five and kept himself fit in the gym on the thirtieth floor. He wore his hair as the Supreme Leader did, parted to the left in a jet black dyed helmet. These meetings always began with a stern formality befitting the might of imperial China, but today’s was particularly cold and stiff from the beginning as if infused by Beijing’s displeasure at the turmoil on the streets.

As said, this meeting was concerned with the Hong Kong-Macau sea bridge presently under construction. Part of the financing came from China’s Central Government, well-versed in mega projects – the Yangtze dam, the Qingdao bridge – who demanded weekly accounts of every rivet placed and seam welded. Everything reported here was written up and sent to Beijing.

Albert presented the report prepared by his aides and when the meeting was finished Xan took Albert aside. ‘And there’s nothing that can disrupt our bridge?’ he said. ‘The Central Party will not tolerate any interference with the construction.’

‘Nothing at all,’ said Albert.

‘Hong Kong is offered unlimited support, as always. But Beijing must be consulted and, indeed, it may be that Beijing must take the lead.’

‘About the bridge?’

‘Yes, certainly about the bridge.’

Xan gave a quick smile and left the room with his people.

When Albert and his three aides were out of the building in Des Voeux Road the youngest aide let out a sigh of relief which made everyone but the second aide smile. Now it was time for lunch and Albert always treated them to a meal at a nearby Sichuan Restaurant which did very good boiled fish. Crossing the street, the young aide said, ‘We are sorry, Mr Xan Ho-Janquing, that our students are giving you such a headache.’

‘Did we put them out?’ the first aide said.

‘What was that?’ said Albert, always ready for merriment.

‘Boss, we’ll put something together, give them everything they want for next week’s report, don’t you worry,’ said the second aide, getting in on the conversation.

In the restaurant a waitress wearing a long tight scaly skirt suggesting a mermaid’s tail conducted them to a table.

‘What did Mr Xan Ho-Janquing say to you, boss?’ asked the first aide.

‘Eh, he’s a cold fish sometimes, isn’t he?’ said Albert. ‘Nothing much.’

He ordered for the table the mapo tofu, the twice-cooked pork and the Sichuan boiled fish.

FOUR

From the beginning of Occupy, Scholarism was installed in the car park of the Visitor's Entrance at LegCo, just off Tim Mei Avenue. This car-park area was half open and half beneath LegCo. The open-air part was enclosed on two sides by walls which were ramparts to the new lawns which bordered the waterfront; the remaining area was under a concrete ceiling supported by concrete pillars. In another city this car-park, gloomy and urban, might have been a hang-out for skateboard kids and graffiti artists. As it was, Scholarism's tents stood in rows underneath this heavy building of an administration it opposed.

The founder of Scholarism was Joshua Wong. He was seventeen years old. It was he who had galvanised his generation to take part in political protest in such numbers. Two years ago, CY Leung had announced a new Beijing-sponsored national curriculum for primary schools, a curriculum, it quickly became clear, which sanitised Chinese History and sought to inculcate unthinking patriotism. Hong Kongers did not like the idea of being brain-washed as mainland children no doubt were. Wong, fifteen years old at the time, founded Scholarism to stop the new curriculum coming in. He looked like a typical Hong Kong schoolboy: regulation black hair, regulation spectacles – a geeky kid next-door from a Lutheran family. Yet when he appeared on television Hong Kong discovered in him a fearless straight-talker. In interviews and clashes with figures in the administration he excelled. For instance, in one televised open-air discussion forum, he listened to a lady teacher arguing in support of the national curriculum then took to the microphone. 'Saying the Chinese Communist Party is a progressive, selfless, united ruling party is very problematic,' he said. He asked the teacher what her own political ambitions were. Wasn't she intending to stand for political office on the pro-Beijing side? Wong's implication was clear. If that was so, her position now was a betrayal of the students for her advancement. Furiously the lady teacher banged the table. 'That is a question for a future time, ask me at the elections,' she roared. Wong, unabashed, quickly replied, 'I hope the teacher isn't scolding me by banging the table. We're respectful here in this

forum. We don't smack tables.' No youth in Hong Kong, under the cosh of their teachers, could but love every aspect of this exchange.

Wong organised mass vigils around LegCo, packing its waterfront lawns with what seemed to be every secondary school pupil in Hong Kong, until in mid-summer a surprised CY Leung came to the podium before the press, blinked in the sun, his face twitched and he announced that the new national curriculum would not after all be compulsory. In the following year the take-up rate was minimal, restricted to one or two openly Beijingist schools.

In the car park it was nearing the end of the day. Volunteers had gone to buy a large number of orders of pork and rice at Cafe de Corral; Wong and others were sitting in a circle on the car-park floor. Wong was playing a Nintendo game against a friend, taking turns with the console, their clear young faces side by side. His opponent was winning, Wong's energy was turned off. From how badly he was playing he seemed stupid. He had had exhausting interviews and press-conferences all day. He had attended steering meetings with the other factions. 'Wah, you're always so bad,' said his friend in frustration as his avatar killed off Wong's. Wong laughed and put his hands up. 'You win,' he said and forgot the game.

The volunteers returned with supper, individual polystyrene boxes wrapped in elastic bands. Wong balanced his food box on one leg, his tablet on the other, toggling as he ate, consuming news pages, emails and incomings on social media apps. News agencies the world over wanted to talk to Wong and renew their acquaintance with this unlikely force in Hong Kong politics. Wong finished eating, burped and headed off for the wash-room.

The public wash-room was in the street-level ramparts of the LegCo complex at the head of Tim Mei Avenue. The particular genius of Occupy was in evidence inside. Large stocks of donated toothpaste, shampoo, razors and tissues were laid on. In the Gentlemen's, after peeing, Wong went to a basin, carefully put his spectacles on the counter before him and washed first his hands and then his face thoroughly and quickly.

At nine pm a tropical rain-storm arrived and sent people running for cover. Quickly, all that was left of the second evening mass rally was the wet buffeted tents up and down Connaught Road. Squalls ran wild. Campers stood huddled

under the lee of buildings like Antarctic penguins, watching as tents broke free and ballooned airborne.

The squalls ran their course and the rain eased. The rain-washed air rang to fresh conversation. It grew warm and dry again.

FIVE

The next day, 1st October, was National Day, the sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, a day decreed a public holiday across all Chinese territories including Hong Kong. It was the date originally picked by activists to begin Occupy.

Because of Occupy, CY Leung's office cancelled the evening's waterfront fireworks. His only public engagement was to be an early morning flag raising ceremony at Golden Bauhania Square outside the Wanchai Conference Centre and here he found Joshua Wong and his followers wearing yellow arm bands chanting the demand that he resign.

On Connaught Road the campsite came awake again. Occupiers crawled out of tents and stood up to stretch and groan after the uncomfortable night. They retrieved their clothes from the highway railings drying after the storm. What would the day bring? Police stocks of new weapons and tear gas had gone into LegCo. But were the police likely to make a big move on a public holiday? The consensus was no.

In fact this was the day working people who had not yet seen the camp chose to visit and bring their families. By mid-morning, in strong sunlight, Connaught Road was packed; Hong Kong's new democratic village was on show. Two slow thick knots of visitors moved in counter streams through the alleys of tents and stands, one each side of the central reservation. Parents pushed their children in stroller buggies, the malls left empty for once, and submitted to the students who wanted to pin their new emblem, a yellow ribbon, on each visitors' lapel.

Kelvin and Bettie were on station at adjacent HKU canopy tents, she in a team doling out bottles of mineral water, he among those spraying the hot passageway between tents with clouds of cooling water vapour using laboratory squeeze bottles. Three-way tension existed. Bettie's boyish magnetism was the focus of Kelvin's entire attention. And next to him, another fresher, a student on the athletics team by appearance, also had his eye on Bettie. This competition was giving Kelvin, who had fallen for Bettie, deep pain. Bettie was aware of the two

ving for her attention and was enjoying herself. For Kelvin it was so unbearable that at one point he body-checked the jock with his shoulder, forcing him to give slightly. Kelvin was flushed and felt like a dumpling in hot fat, squeezing off a cloud of mist into his own face.

Since she had asked him for a nickname he had been thinking of little but her. He had both a horrible feeling that she could see straight through him and an instinct that, energetic and perfect though she was, she might yet be drawn to his laziness and sloth.

Kelvin had worked as hard as anyone to pass the HKU entrance exams, but he was lazy and liked to be lazy. He had no intention of doing much more of that sort of toil in his life. And he wouldn't need to as his father wanted him to join the family business, a leather goods manufacturing concern, and he had promised to do so after graduation. It was an easy option that would suit him. His father would still be there to run things, he wanted to marry early and have a family. His target was to be just like his grandfather, the founder of the company, an easy-going happy old man in retirement. He wanted to lay up in a grandfather chair as soon as possible and this was part of the source of his inferiority before Bettie, who was clearly much more go-getting. Could he really hope that she wanted him?

At lunchtime yesterday, he, Bettie, Henry and Angela, had gone to Fairwood's, a canteen restaurant across the road in the Admiralty Centre, a pleasant room with benches and tables under large windows overlooking Connaught Road. Bettie had been well-mannered and ate gracefully. He learnt she was the eldest among three, with two younger brothers. An only child himself, Kelvin felt jealous of these two younger brothers. How he would have loved to have had a sister like her.

It seemed every meal was the forum for a political discussion now. The other two, Henry and Angela, were the most talkative and Kelvin realised there was sexual chemistry there as well. Angela, scarily virtuous on account of her hospice volunteer work, came across as both shy and high-spirited. Henry, detached for once from Reggie (the two of them were a sort of Batman and Robbin), was by comparison solid, reliable, geeky, but he too had been unnaturally animated. When Angela asked him, 'Don't you think there should be more provision for social care in Hong Kong for the elderly?' Henry had agreed eagerly, 'Yes, CY Leung's eyes are looking up at Beijing not down on Hong

Kong's poor, that's the trouble.' This struck Kelvin as not the way Henry normally talked. Clearly he was fixated by Angela as he himself was by Bettie.

Kelvin had found his own foot tapping involuntarily under the table. He was keeping his opinions to himself. If a family had a dynasty it had no reliance on social care. He came from a two-generational family business, soon to become three, and no doubt his views followed. His father always said politicians were welcome to whatever social theories they liked just so long as they didn't screw up the economy.

Kelvin noticed Bettie impressed by Angela during the lunch, listening to her every word. 'Kelvin and I are the fish out of water,' Bettie had said suddenly, before giving Kelvin a profound look. It was good she put them in the same category and he had felt better, if a little put out.

So today his nerves were on edge. This was the girl he was going to marry. That was all decided, signed and sealed as far as he was concerned, and he hoped she was getting it.

Bettie was getting it. She felt unsettled. An unquantifiable man-badness in Kelvin was casting a magnetic drag on her female-goodness, or something. She felt weakened and dizzy.

'Any nickname for me yet?' she said across the tent alley.

'No, not yet,' he replied. 'I'll have it by tonight.'

Angela was standing outside Exit A of Admiralty MTR waiting for her boyfriend, William. She had finished her volunteer shift and had promised herself a look at 'The People's Wall'. She felt slightly run down. Arrival at Occupy cheered her up, as did the daylight after the corridors of the night hospice.

She had an eighteen-year-old's life. Her mother was a virago, her father a slightly battered husband, both of them primary school teachers in a small Christian school. Angela did social work to get a sense of self-worth she did not get from her mother. Her hard-fought place at HKU was another way to dodge her mother and go her own way. Brought up a church-goer, Angela thought of her mother as a That's-My-Pew-You're-Sitting-In type, un-Christian before and after mass. For Angela, an ardent need for love was channelled into a love for Jesus Christ. Everyone in her generation had been born after the 1997 Handover, when foreign administration ended, yet the Anglican, Lutheran and Methodist churches

had remained. She was a proud Chinese Christian. She wanted to break out, loose her shyness, talk and talk. Occupy was the best thing that had ever happened, as far as she was concerned, and she was ready to burst with love.

William had a few virtues but punctuality was one of them. He was a newly fledged dentist already accumulating the professional habits of an old man. One of her mother's favourite's at primary school, he was still in her mother's power. He was big, already balding, already growing a paunch, but still Angela had a soft spot for him. She felt she would run rings around him when she was free of her mother and had him to herself. Then she'd make him pay.

Meeting here on the edge of Occupy was at her insistence. He was not friendly to the movement, already pompous in his views. She wanted him to see the protest village and for an end to be put on his sneering. He was particularly patronising about HKU, a sore point because he had graduated from an inferior university.

He arrived and took her by the hand in a proprietorial way. He did understand about her hospice shift and asked her kindly how it had been, while frowning because she was in jeans and a T-shirt and he preferred her in a print dress. Patience over, he delivered a message from her mother. 'She wants you to know you can't mix with these people. And, as you know, I agree with her.'

'Oh yes, it's all too inharmonious for you, of course,' said Angela, quick to sarcasm, 'so *un-Chinese*.'

'At least let's agree it's too hot,' William said. 'Wouldn't you like to be in a cool mall?'

'Not really. I prefer democratic striving to consumerist slumping.'

'What's that supposed to mean?'

'Oh, never mind!'

Angela pulled William by the hand. It was she who was taking him to The People's Wall. She was in charge. She gathered up all the affection she felt for him and hoped he'd be impressed, excited, by what he saw. They encountered the first thick stream of people among the tents. The layout had something of a trade fair about it, except this one was in the middle of a highway. The central reservation defied being crossed. In once place helpers were hauling people over. William waved them away and clambered across by himself. Then, in the next tent alley, a tall student beat a cardboard fan over his head and William yanked

Angela to a stop, the devil in his eyes. ‘That was no use at all. Absurd!’ he expostulated.

‘But you must feel the spirit, the love? Hong Kong loves Hong Kong.’

‘Not at all. Chicken-feathered students. Chicken-shit for brains. No!’

She pulled him on, struggling with tears.

The People’s Wall was on the corner of Tim Mei Avenue and Connaught Road, near the wash-rooms, on the rounded flank of the LegCo complex. The concrete face was papered with Post-it notes, cartoons and political bills. On the pavement a little bed of flowers had been planted by someone in a triangle of soil. One cartoon showed a little boy in a Hong Kong T-shirt standing before an ominous crate marked ‘China’. The lid was opening and Darth Vader walking out announcing, ‘I’m your father!’.

‘Don’t be taken in,’ said William, ‘the mainland is not Darth Vader. We are all of us Chinese. Hong Kong is China.’

Angela felt the spirit of Jesus in all the notes on the wall. She wanted to savour them without William’s objections.

William, looking at one note after another, became increasingly angry.

‘You see how many messages are written in English by foreigners, not Chinese. It’s cultural imperialism.’

‘Yes, of course, because that’s what your biased newspapers say,’ said Angela.

‘And foreign powers write their biased views in other newspapers. This is all illegal. The police and army should act. Don’t be led by foreign ideas not suited to us. Punishment will follow.’

‘What isn’t suited to us? Peace. Love. Democracy – which?’ Angela screamed.

‘Oh, shut up.’

‘You shut up.’

‘What you should worry about is my dumping you.’

‘William, stop for once. Can’t you really appreciate anything here? Isn’t your dentist arrogance – I’m sorry – softened at all?’

He was reading a banner. *You might say I’m a dreamer but I’m not the only one.*

‘He was the one shot dead in the street wasn’t he?’ William said coldly.

Now, equally coldly, Angela said, ‘William, you have turned into a DAB member. Why can’t you admit to sharing the hopes of the students and the public housing estates. You came from a housing estate yourself. Don’t turn your back now you have your great dentist’s certificate.’

He wagged his finger at her, ready to explode, then thought better of it. Pushing people aside he blundered off under the bright sun, like a buffalo bitten in a paddi by a snake.

Angela dried her eyes. She forgot about William. She read the notices and let her heart soar.

‘Universal Suffrage without Civil Nomination is bullshit!’ proclaimed one.

Henry and Reggie had left camp. Seeing the difficulty people were having getting across the carriageway divider, Henry had a plan to get some timber from his father and construct a handrail. This would be a contribution to a problem already calling upon others’ ingenuity. A couple of pallets had been collected by someone from somewhere and placed to offer a climbing place, which was a start.

Reggie had agreed to come along and help carry the wood back.

They took the MTR. Henry felt he would rather not be returning home so soon, a fortnight after enrolment, un-transfigured so far by university, but he liked the fact he was bringing his new friend, the rather impressive Reggie, with him. Then of course there was the boast of being part of Occupy, the chief thing glueing eyes to televisions in the territory.

The MTR ride was oddly normal. Passengers were just the same as ever. Impossible to guess a revolution of love was going on above ground in Admiralty.

Tsing Yi, the place where Henry’s parents lived, is an island between Kowloon and Lantau. The MTR stop is integrated with a large modern mall. Green minibuses venture out through the flat acres of the island on pleasant carriageways lined by paper-bark trees. There are various housing estates, some public some private. On the minibus through these estates Henry and Reggie had to listen to a loud conversation in Mandarin being had by two mainlanders. It was evident these mainlanders were placed here in social housing. Henry was all too aware that once Mandarin was rarely heard in Tsing Yi, now it was heard all the time: all part of the squeeze on Hong Kong from the mainland.

In Cheung Hong House, one of five towers in a public estate, the lift brought them up to the fifteenth floor. The concrete landing, painted green, went off in two directions down wide corridors. Daylight came through interstices in the lattice brickwork next to the lift shaft. Reggie poked his nose through and looked at the territory below white in the sunshine. He followed Henry. Front doors along the corridors were modest, some fortified with metal grill outer doors.

Henry's parents' apartment comprised one large room. To the right of the front door were two decks of bedding where all the family slept. The middle of the room was gloomy and there was a long glassed-in cabinet of his mother's bric a brac, a TV and some easy chairs. At the far wall, kitchen units stood under ancient windowing and piping for gas, water and waste. The family were at the kitchen table there just finishing lunch. They rose and made a great fuss at Henry's arrival. Henry's dad was a cheerful-looking man, sun-tanned in shirt-sleeves, his mother was white as milk, a slim sensible-looking woman who wore ovoid spectacles.

'You're not staying the night are you, elder brother?' said one of Henry's two brothers, worried because he had inherited Henry's sleeping place, having spent his earlier life squashed beside his dad and mum in the shelf below.

'No way.'

Henry introduced Reggie to everyone, conscious of the martial air Reggie's khaki trousers introduced.

'Dressed for business,' said Henry's father. 'Very good.' He was obviously delighted by his son's unexpected visit.

'Sit down both of you,' said Henry's mother. She was equally pleased and flustered by their arrival.

'Put on the TV then, in case there's any news,' said Henry grandly.

'Sit on the sofa where you can see it,' said his mother.

'We can't hang here for long.'

'I'm sure they can spare you for a while.'

Henry used the channel changer to explore the news channels. He liked the feeling of being personally involved in events on the television. Pearl TV was showing a report on CY Leung's flag-raising ceremony, omitting the Joshua Wong protest. ATV had the tail-end of a piece on the bad-tempered scuffles and pushing in Mongkok. Gangs organised among the shop-owners and road hauliers,

aided by Triads, had unsuccessfully tried to shift the suffragists there, who had their own protest site. A third Occupy site was at Causeway Bay. At Admiralty, a channel dedicated to live events had its fixed automated cameras trained on Connaught Road.

‘It’s quiet, but something could happen at any moment,’ said Henry.

‘That’s true,’ said Reggie. ‘We have to return.’

‘Even if the police move in we want to clear our stuff,’ Henry said. ‘Otherwise they will destroy everything.’

‘Will they use real bullets, and the gas again?’ asked the second younger brother.

‘We don’t know.’

‘But why do you have to be there?’ said his mother, afraid for her son.

‘Because our student union says so.’

‘That’s not a reason. Civil disobedience is all we hear. Does it know what it’s doing, this union of yours?’

‘We just follow our social peer group. That’s how we are.’

‘Quite right,’ said Henry’s dad. ‘No time for fear. Just do the right thing.’

‘Well, your social group is run by a seventeen-year-old,’ his mother said in high emotion, meaning Joshua Wong.

‘No, that’s not us, that’s Scholarship,’ said Reggie gently.

The first younger brothers called into the bathroom. ‘Grandma, come out of the bathroom, have some noodles, Henry’s here.’

Grandma came out, enquiry on her withered face, somehow making everyone laugh. She was short enough to sleep on the two-seater sofa. That was a blessing.

‘Is my soap on yet?’ she said and everyone laughed a second time.

‘Mum, come and have some noodles,’ Henry’s mother said.

Henry grabbed his father’s arm. ‘Let’s go to your workshop, dad.’

Out in the green-floor corridor a girl drifted in front of them. She was dressed in the cute Japanese style. Her family was on the corridor too. She and Henry had been to the mall together on occasion. Henry had always been self-conscious before girls, not expecting much success in that area but nursing a dogged hope that good grades at school and hard-work might eventually lead to

reward. He had always found this girl's apathy trying. Now he made an instant comparison between her and Angela and she came out very unfavourably.

'When are you going to take me to the mall?' she asked, apparently not conscious that Henry's life had moved on and he had gone to HKU.

'Not now.'

'Go in and have some noodles. They're on the table,' said Henry's dad kindly.

She did so.

In the lift, Henry's dad filled the silence, 'There are one or two new things in the workshop I'd like your opinion on, son. I've been waiting for your help.'

'Not now, dad, we've no time,' said Henry. Then, realising he'd been too grand, he corrected himself, 'Sure, show me, dad, I'd like to see, if Reggie has time.'

'Sure,' said Reggie.

The workshop belonged in an old shop-house down the road. Lots were occupied by car mechanics, piping suppliers and tyre suppliers, all shut now for National Day. While Henry went in with his father Reggie stayed outside and sat on a tin box in the shade. There were some motionless sweated-out old men also sitting out next to the building and three mongrel dogs, each lying apart from one another in the dust track. Across the track were banana groves and a fringe of palms before a wetland field. The sky was big and blue and there was no traffic to make a noise, only the buzz of insects.

A transistor radio was playing, tuned to the afternoon Cantonese Opera performance in Sha Tin. The shrill feminine recitative, the clanging cymbals, the two-stringed fiddle and all the other instruments sounded to Reggie like an orchestra falling down the stairs, yet somehow also lovely, belonging to grandfathers and to grandmothers, to alleyways, to superseded decades and quarter centuries, to old times in China. Reggie smoked a cigarette and looked at his boots.

After a while Henry came out with some lengths of square cut timber. They said goodbye to Henry's dad and started to walk along the track to the bus stop.

'Your father is a kind man,' said Reggie.

'What's yours like?'

'Don't ask.'

‘All right, I won’t.’

Henry was grateful to have Reggie as a new friend. Reggie was a cheerful human being like his father. They made the reverse journey back to Occupy.

Ping had been handing out towlettes from an ice box inside a HKU canopy tent not far from where Bettie and Kelvin were. She was fed up and fraught and wanted to go up to campus to cool off, wash and lie down. She had been doing this chore just about as long as she could bear.

The students were holding out the towelettes with both hands in the greatest courtesy, Ping understood that well enough. Everyone was a fellow citizen considerate to each other, the whole morning was an exhibition of Hong Kong loves Hong Kong. Ping could not bring herself to follow this courtesy and had been handing out the towelettes offhandedly, while knowing she was acting like a spoilt teenager. Her father was a high official in Shanghai and she had grown up in a mansion-sized apartment over three floors, waited on by three maids, a chauffeur downstairs, all of whom knew their place. Ping found it singular that Occupy had not been crunched by the Chinese People’s Liberation Army whose permanent garrison in Hong Kong was only nearby, or by the Hong Kong Police not seen for dust all day.

At the next tent, speaking through a bullhorn, a plain-looking middle-aged woman began addressing the crowd in Cantonese and Ping was forced to listen. ‘We are good, hard-working people,’ the woman began. ‘We deserve the consideration of politicians. Visitors here won’t hear any bad words. This is a movement of peace and love, of peaceful civil disobedience. Hong Kong cannot share the same path as China. We are ready for, and must insist on, democracy to international standards.’

At this Ping got up and quit.

The flow of traffic was five minutes walk away. It could not get from one side of Admiralty to the other except along Lung Wu Road or by climbing the hill and taking Kennedy Road. Taxi drivers, delivery vehicles, buses, were all affected and resentful. Ping picked up a taxi, an old red Toyota Comfort. The driver was angry at the congestion; his cab reeked of stale cigarette smoke. Ping didn’t care to follow his slang Cantonese and kept silent. The taxi went along Bonham Road. On the left-hand side of the road was colonial walling on which beautiful banyan

trees had put down their roots. The sunlight filtered through the leaves of these trees and made lovely mottled patterns on the road.

The taxi pulled up before the Bonham Road entrance of HKU, buildings distinguished by light sandstone construction. A group of television journalists stood on the pavement and Ping's taxi pulled up just beyond them. Ping paid and got out, failing to notice a woman holding a microphone creeping up behind her, waddling slightly in a tight below-the-knee dress, followed by a full TV crew.

The mainland TV reporter had a deeply pressed look in her eyes, elegantly dressed though she was. It was one mainlander recognising another and for Ping no escape. In a sweet voice the reporter said to Ping in Mandarin, 'You are a student, aren't you? What are your thoughts about the illegal activity in Admiralty?'

Ping went cold. 'The what?' she said, pretending not to understand.

'The civil disobedience – but maybe you have only been out shopping!' The television reporter was quick to change tack seeing Ping's unwillingness to talk. 'How nice to meet a sensible young woman who knows Hong Kong for its shops.' It was true that Ping was wearing an ostentatious Hermes belt around Gucci trousers.

'No, I didn't go shopping and I cannot tell you anything. I'm only a fresher student,' said Ping. She brushed the microphone away and darted into the campus.

In a hollow between campus buildings is a quiet garden with a lily pond. Next to a flowering tree and an ornamental boulder is a life-size bronze of Sun Yat Sen. Although he used to go about in suits of European cut, here he wears a long plain robe and is aided by a simple walking stick, which indicates perhaps the long ascetic walk of his life. Every year, freshers being shown around campus stop at the bronze and the volunteer student giving the tour tells them that Sun Yat Sen was a student here when the university was established. And they are told that after the Republic of China was founded in 1920, Sun Yat Sen came back to Hong Kong and described HKU as his intellectual birthplace.

Sun Yat Sen, a world-travelling Chinese patriot and fund-raiser, believed China must throw out the Manchu regime, modernise and take up democracy if it was ever to compete again with, or raise itself above, foreign powers. At that time, in the 1900s, China had fallen behind the West in technological and military might and its coast was being divvied up among Britain, France, Germany, Russia and

Japan. The Manchu Dynasty did come to an end, as Sun Yat Sen hoped, but it was Communism that succeeded it, not Capitalism. Mao wrote in the *Little Red Book*, 'Capitalism is like a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills. Communism is full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt.'

Ping had the feeling of being pursued, even inside the safety of the campus. She rushed past Sun Yat Sen's statue and made her way up to her hall of residence. Inside, the corridors were quiet and in the communal kitchen four mainland students were eating together and making a lot of noise. None of these mainlanders wanted anything to do with Occupy. The kitchen behind them was filthy after their cooking. On the table was a large plate of fried beef in onion and ginger. There was a rice cooker with the top open and next to it a plate of Chinese cabbage in soy sauce. They were all screaming with laughter, although only talking about China, thinking of their own homes, a little homesick. They knew Hong Kongers considered them loud and uncouth and they didn't care now they had the kitchen to themselves. Ping came in. The food smelled great. 'Eat with us,' they cried. Ping sat down. It was almost like being back in Shanghai among her friends. She ate a little, excused herself, then went to take a shower.

She, Bettie and Angela shared a room. It had three desks, three beds and three cupboards. In the first week of term they had all worn pyjamas, lounged about, told funny or sad stories about their prior love-lives and thoroughly discussed boys. Now the room seemed dead. Ping took a long shower, washed a pair of knickers in the sink and changed into her pyjamas.

In Shanghai, Ping's mother was giving a servant a dressing down for breaking a cup. Beyond the twenty-fourth floor kitchen wall-window was the cityscape of Shanghai. Ping's father was out playing golf. Ping rang home and her mother answered.

'Mum, why am I in Hong Kong?'

'Don't get involved in their politics, darling. Hong Kong is a spoiled brat. It should be more patriotic.'

Her mother's opinion sounded canned, straight from the state broadcaster's shelves. Ping decided couldn't have this conversation and hung up. She texted her father on the golf course, *Bully*, then called her grandmother who lived in another quarter of Shanghai.

‘I miss you, gran. Hong Kong is crazy.’

‘Whatever anyone tells you, Hong Kong is important to China. That’s one reason your father sent you.’

‘But I don’t want to be here.’

What’s up, princess? A reply from her father.

囧, her reply

Ping talked to her grandmother and felt a little better. Then she watched her favourite TV programme online but did not absorb it. She lay down on the clean sheets, the mattress soft, the air-conditioning cool and sweet, yet sleep came with difficulty. More than once she thought of returning to Occupy to rejoin Bettie and Angela.

After dusk the stream of visitors to Occupy ceased and the tent avenues began to empty out. Dusk was hardly a thing in the air-conditioned world of apartments and malls but here it was a pleasurable time and the campers knew it. The sunlight ceased to batter. Sharp light gave way to pastel colour. Nature itself was giving a signal for human beings to slow down and ease up.

After dark student dating games began. Tables were cleared for this at embryonic Study Corner. Freshers took seats on benches for five-minute exchanges in a din of laughter and chatter.

Kelvin had the feeling of wanting to take Bettie away from all this, all this male competition, especially the jock’s, and persuaded her to go for a walk. They walked down the silent flank of LegCo onto the silvery lawns. The waterfront was balmy and romantic.

‘I can’t give you a nickname,’ said Kelvin in a whisper, leaning on the rail overlooking the water.

‘Why not?’

‘People like you don’t have nicknames.’

‘I did have a nickname at school but I didn’t like it. It was Oddhead.’

‘That’s exactly the sort of nickname you would have. Not the truth. There’s nothing out of shape about you – so they called you Oddhead.’

‘But I want a new nickname to make me forget Oddhead.’

‘Miss Congeniality? No, that’s stupid.’

‘Don’t tease me. Or do, I don’t mind.’ Bettie giggled

‘What else don’t you mind?’

‘Let me give you a warning, Kelvin. Girls are holding back until the seventh date these days.’

A certain book, *Seven Dates before Intimacy*, had been doing the rounds in the territory, making a surprising splash.

Kelvin could feel Bettie had amused herself by dropping this information on him and was now looking at his face for a reaction.

‘Why?’

‘It’s in a book.’

‘That’s crazy. How far are we?’

‘Two, at most.’

‘Oh, Mother! Seven’s a prime number, so’s three and five, what’s wrong with them? Can’t we at least say five?’

‘I like seven better, it’s in the book.’

‘Oh, Mother!’

SIX

That night the students again kept watch over their perimeters. They found the police all but withdrawn in favour of surveillance by CCTV. The next morning, again, commuter traffic flowed around the camp at a distance, along its slower, at times heavily-congested, secondary routes.

Kelvin spent part of the night silently bemoaning this book of questionable credentials that Bettie was following. At breakfast he sat on a wall with Henry and Reggie and they consumed crackers and warm coke. Then he found Bettie and invited her to come and meet his mother. Bettie, who had been thinking about Kelvin overnight and had some misgivings about her book, accepted.

Kelvin's home was in a five-year-old building cut into the green flank of the hill on salubrious Kennedy Road. They went by taxi and Kelvin used his own key to let them in on the sixth floor. The apartment was open and modern, the hall giving onto the kitchen, the kitchen the sitting room, the sitting room the balcony. It was all clean and tidy thanks to Mary-Ann, the Filipina domestic helper.

Mary-Ann, who had been with the family when Kelvin was born, was at the kitchen sink cleaning vegetables for a lunch stir-fry, her long raven hair falling down the back of her polo shirt between strong shoulders. Kelvin's mother was talking to her, leaning on the kitchen island and thumbing through a horoscope, dressed in a track-suit because she was about to take Lucky, the West Highland Terrier, out for a walk. The dog skidded over the parquet floor to greet Kelvin. Mary-Ann opened her arms hoping for a hug, didn't get one, and turned back to the sink making a comment about remembering Kelvin in nappies. Kelvin introduced Bettie so matter-of-a-factly to his mother that Bettie wondered how many girls Kelvin had brought home over the years. Kelvin's mother had a symmetrical young face. Her Cantonese had a Guangzhou twang to it and her blingy track suit was a point off what an average Hong Kong Chinese woman might wear. Bettie at once saw in Kelvin's mother the origin of Kelvin's own slightly soft (but wolfish) looks.

Kelvin gave Bettie a trusting look then deserted her to go and take a shower.

‘My younger brother’s just been thrown out by his wife,’ said Kelvin’s mother to Bettie. A moment before she’d been on the phone with her sister-in-law, fanning herself to indicate to Mary-Ann the fiery language she was being subjected to. Her brother, Hex, was married and lived in Guangzhou across the border. Kelvin’s mother’s side of the family originated from there and she had come to Hong Kong only by marriage.

‘An uncle of mine is exactly the same,’ said Bettie, and mentioned her Seven-Date Plan.

‘I don’t think that would take on in Guangzhou.’

They smiled at each other.

‘We’d better have Hex here and he can commute to Guangzhou,’ Kelvin’s mother told Mary-Ann.

‘I’ll make my black bean chicken then,’ Mary-Ann replied. ‘He says he loves it.’

Kelvin did not abandon Bettie for long, returning with wet tousled hair. She found this attractive, just as he liked her centrally-parted lustrous hair. Taking her by the hand, he led her to the other end of the room and showed her a silk thread picture done at great cost of time by his mother. ‘She plays the zimmer in costume too, when we can convince her to,’ he said

His mother came to sit on the sofa with them. Bettie could see mother and son were easy with each other, somehow less than a generation apart.

Kelvin’s instinct was to dominate the conversation and try to make the ladies laugh so he told them a funny story about Occupy. Yesterday a drone thought to be operated from the mainland had become so annoying that a group of boys had dropped their pants, sending the machine vertically up at some speed like a rebuffed maiden aunt. His mother laughed. ‘I’d like to have seen that. But I couldn’t do all the political talk.’

‘No, we can’t either,’ said Bettie. ‘Just being there is enough.’

Again Kelvin noticed Bettie was suggesting he was apolitical yet also putting herself in the same boat.

‘Let’s see what his father says,’ said Kelvin’s mother.

It was Bettie’s turn for a shower. Kelvin’s mother fetched her a towel. Bettie shuddered on finding a few wiry pubes in the tub, Kelvin’s or his father’s. Men

always left such traces behind and a lot of water on the floor. She missed her own washing things and decided to keep her hair dry.

They took a taxi back. In the taxi Bettie clammed up, having cold feet, afraid of being hurt, glad of the protective seven-date buffer.

‘That’s number three,’ said Kelvin.

SEVEN

Reggie's mother and sister were at home. The family apartment was in the New Territories in an old apartment building. The living room was simple and clean. His mother sat in a chair, sleeves rolled up, picking ends off *choi sum* for supper. His sister was on her feet in the centre of the room playing a South Korean ring tone again and again for both their amusement.

Reggie arrived to visit, his first since Occupy. His mother stood up and embraced him, then stood back and fingered his T-shirt. For so many years he had been the white-shirted high school student but now here he was a strong sun-tanned young man in a T-shirt, with the yellow ribbon of Occupy pinned to his breast.

'Hello super-clever brother, who'll one day take us all to America,' said his sister.

'Hello, sister. Don't cling.'

Then father arrived. He put his empty lunch box in the kitchen, washed his upper body at the tap and return to the room wearing a singlet. He was in his fifties, no longer handsome, but still strong. He sat in a hard chair. 'Give us a beer, daughter,' he said.

He was a stevedore, a gang-master at the West Kowloon docks. The docks were owned by Hong Kong's richest entrepreneur, an old man who kept the workforce at arm's length through service contracts. The dockers either did the bidding of their superiors or fared badly.

After tasting his beer he needled his wife a bit.

'Is the *choi sum* from the market or the supermarket, I wonder.'

'Supermarket. Only a few dollars difference.'

'A few dollars from where, I wonder.'

'Not from you.'

'Oh, not from me.'

Then he turned to his daughter. 'And where are your Japanese poster-boy singers?'

‘Far from you.’

‘Because they have no balls.’

‘What’s so great about balls? I like men without balls.’

He laughed, admiring his daughter.

Now he acknowledged Reggie’s presence for the first time. ‘I suppose you are in Admiralty with those other young twits?’ he said.

‘Yes, sir.’

‘You’re likely to strike a policeman, aren’t you, knock him down and end up in prison?’

The two had come to blows in recent years. Reggie had become a match for his father physically. Reggie said nothing.

‘Oh well, let the lad eat his mother’s cooking. When HKU throws you out come to me. There’ll be a job for you – a hard one.’

Again Reggie did not reply.

After eating, Reggie’s sister drew her brother into her room. It was a mess. Japanese boys on the walls, bottles of make up on surfaces.

‘What’s it like? The fighting?’

‘I hate dad’s shit in myself.’

‘You’re not dad. But you do have his same weird, male aggressiveness.’

‘Keep up your school work. Father’s a patriarch. We Chinese overplay duty, obedience. It’s all pride and conceit.’

EIGHT

The HKU students split their time between Occupy and the university campus.

Occupy was ever maturing: insouciant students had carried a sofa up the fly-over between the tents; at People's Corner there was now an Umbrella Man figure crafted in *papier mache*; Study Corner, thanks to practical people like Henry, was roofed-in and supplied with electricity.

At campus, lectures every day.

On Wednesday mornings, Professor Hong took mathematics at ten o'clock and beforehand students massed in the corridor waiting for the doors of the lecture hall to be unlocked.

Henry and Reggie were first up from camp. Henry was engrossed in sharing his thoughts about site developments, the next step for Study Corner, making the roof sturdier against heavy rain. Reggie was half-listening. They joined the gathering knots of students in the nondescript corridor chattering thirteen to the dozen.

Bettie and Angela came along from their shared hall room without Ping, who was running late having trouble with her PC. Bettie and Angela had become friends. They could talk politics softly together away from the boys. As Kelvin had suspected, Bettie did admire Angela, how she was dialled-in to inner city and social service issues. Bettie wanted to join Angela at the Lutheran Hospice for volunteer work but was afraid she was too squeamish. They had been having fun together following 'Alexter' on social media – a fusion of the names Alex Chow and Lester Shum - two stars of Occupy from the Hong Kong Federation of Students whose every smile and frown was being captured and discussed by a hoard of girl-fans.

Kelvin came up alone. Instead of joining Bettie he loosely attached himself to Reggie and Henry and gave her intense, shy looks. Their relationship was in a limbo somewhere beyond three and seven dates. He was over-run by sexual longings and doing his best to be patient and cool. She wanted to sleep with him but was constrained by her book, much of which did make sense. Kelvin's face

fell as he noticed the same jock from National Day nosing in Bettie's direction. This time he felt powerless to intervene.

Ping arrived. 'Wah, my laptop is out of charge. Can't you help me?' She turned on Reggie.

Reggie, short tempered, offered her pen and paper.

'Old-fashioned guy, slow thinker,' Ping said crankily.

'Take his heart instead,' said Bettie. She and Angela giggled.

'Old fashioned, old fashioned,' insisted Ping. 'Seventies martial arts guy.' Huffily she took the pen and paper. Reggie said nothing.

The jock had reached Bettie and was leaning suavely towards her, elbow against the corridor wall, hand in hair, chest almost in her face. 'More Eigen equations, Eigen Vectors, Eigen space,' he said to her with a groan.

'Yes, it won't help you throw a bat or kick a ball, will it?' Bettie replied primly.

'Don't break my balls,' he said. 'Help me get through the next two hours and sit next to me, won't you?'

'What's in it for me?'

Just then the double doors were opened by the attendant and everyone began to pour in. Bettie felt the jock put a hand across her shoulders. She submitted to it, allowing him to lead her to a seat.

Professor Hong stood at the bottom of the twenty tiers of desks ready to begin. Behind him were three blackboards set in wooden panelling. He began without procrastination to chalk up in a careful slow hand the first line of a mathematical derivation.

Professor Hong was old and he was tired of his job. He had long realised he couldn't both serve his students' education and be their friend. Indeed, he was not there to amuse them and was aware of having a reputation as a stiff dry old mathematician. The classes were so large it was difficult to learn names anyway. Some of his colleagues taught using printed handouts. Professor Hong did circulate such handouts at the end of the lecture but he believed it was best for his students to see the derivations being worked out line by line on the board and be prompted to follow suit, scribbling or typing out each step for themselves. After two boards of equations Hong stopped to let the lecture room catch up, saying

conversationally, ‘So how’s that?’ Students one by one looked up as they finished.

‘Eigen a kill myself,’ said a young tortured voice in English. It was the jock, sitting beside Bettie, hoping to make her laugh.

Professor Hong nodded. He replied also in English, ‘I think you should.’ This got a few laughs. Then Hong plunged on with the derivation.

After the lecture the class charged into the canteen, filling up benches along long tables. Carried among people little known to him, Kelvin found himself twenty places away from Bettie, who was still with the jock. He sat down in a funk and hardly heard what was being said around him.

There was ear-splitting conversation. Who was majoring, who taking a double minor? What about the Capstone requirements, what were they? Was maths a foundational course or a core course?

Then Bettie was at Kelvin’s ear. She had climbed out of her seat and come over.

‘Want to come and meet my family?’ she said.

‘Oh, yes,’ said Kelvin, immediately feeling ecstatically happy.

Together, leaving the campus behind, they walked down Western Street from its high end to sea level. The temperature was neutral, the sweating months nearly over. The walk was spacious and quiet, with a colonial building on one corner, a park on another, and down ahead, beyond the busy commercial district, barges and ferries in the water. What with the gradient it was necessary to hold hands.

Then they went down into the MTR system, caught a train and sat side by side in a carriage. Kelvin was as quiet as Bettie had been in the taxi after her visit to his home; he was just keeping his nerve. Bettie was looking forward to being home, to a shower, to cooking for her family, and she had no doubts about Kelvin. He would fit in fine. And he would see that she lived in an older, smaller apartment than his.

Arriving at Quarry Bay, they went in for groceries at ParknShop. Coming out, they held hands and a shopping bag each. Bettie led the way through blocks of estates rising fifty floors, twenty or thirty years old. Bettie’s home was empty and in semi-darkness. Bettie turned on the hall light, put the shopping bags in the kitchen and said she would take a shower.

Kelvin remained in the hallway. He could hear Bettie showering and smell soap and steam in the hall. She had left her clothes in the bedroom on the lower tier of a bunk bed. He went into the bedroom then out again and stood in the hall. He had seen her entire childhood there, ordinary, cosy, orderly. No nanny, her place at HKU the huge effort of a gifted child. He saw himself as the son of a second-generation business owner.

He went into the living room. The apartment buildings outside were like ocean liners, outer landings illuminated decks. On the concrete people were making their way home, taking routes between play-areas, sitting-out areas, paths which went under one building to get to another behind it. Every bollard and bench must be something in Bettie's childhood, he figured. He heard Bettie come out of the bathroom and waited for her to dress.

She came in.

'This is a good place,' he said.

She was dressed. Her wet hair was fanned out down the back of a T-shirt, her breasts without a bra made small points, and she was slowly re-brushing her hair, long and straight, while looking at him. 'My parents want us to move somewhere better, to Chai Wan, but we can't afford it.'

Kelvin looked out of the window again. 'Hong Kong's criticised for the way apartments are built shoulder to shoulder, but in a place like this it feels good, like everyone's living in the same big ants' nest, you know, everyone's a community.'

'I guess,' she said, 'but if you lived here you wouldn't say that. I'll get you a coke. I have to start cooking.'

One by one the family came home. First a seven-year-old character by the name of Russell. 'What are you cooking, Bettie? I want Canadian sauce,' he told her. He sat down beside Kelvin and played with a model airplane. It was involved in a rescue mission over the sea. Then Kiki arrived, fourteen years old, in a secondary school uniform with a school rucksack on her back. She also had instructions for the kitchen. 'Don't forget the spring rolls grandma brought, they're in the fridge.' She stopped once at the threshold to look shyly at Kelvin then went to the bedroom.

Bettie's mum, a teacher, came next. 'What rice are you cooking, Bettie?'

'The round-grain Japanese.'

'That's fine.'

Last of all, Bettie's dad. 'Pour me some rice wine, Bettie – a small glass. How about you, young man?'

'No thank you, sir.'

'Quite right, young man.'

Later, at the playground outside the apartment building, Kelvin took Bettie by the upper arms and pressed her to the bars of the climbing frame. She looked at him calmly. He kissed her, a little roughly, not to be thwarted.

'Your lips are so sweet,' he said, in a passion of kissing.

'You're holding me too tight, wolf man.'

He took her hand and they walked away without saying anything. At the road he stopped a taxi and told the driver to take them to Causeway Bay. 'Don't say no. You can't say no,' he told Bettie in the taxi. He took her to a short-time hotel on the second floor of a musty commercial building. In the corridor next to the lift was a barred counter. Kelvin paid and the pale old man behind the bars handed over a key. Kelvin was acting the man, in charge of every move and Bettie wanted to laugh at everything. In the room there was a queen-sized mattress on the floor with a fitted sheet, at the window, through bars and a nylon fixed curtain, a neon street sign on a gantry casting seedy yellow light.

'Listen,' she said. There was whispering and laughter in the next room, the creak of a mattress.

'Go on then, you can undress me,' she said.

Kelvin began to, with feverish hands, whispering, 'Oh blue and green deities, Bixia and silken immortal goddesses, oh compassionate heaven,' as his fingers fumbled.

'I'm not a virgin,' said Bettie.

'That's ok, nor am I.'

They lowered themselves to the mattress in a clinch

After the deed she sat up on the mattress and folded her hands over her breasts. 'Was I any good?'

'Very good.'

'You came in me.'

'Should I have used a condom?'

'No, my cycle only just started.'

She looked at him gravely. 'You don't want to do anything else to me?'

‘What else is there?’

‘I don’t know. Boys find things.’

Kelvin gave an enormous sigh. ‘I’m happier than a million Manchu emperors. What more could I want? Now let’s talk about the dynasty we’re going to build.’

NINE

The Excelsior Hotel in Causeway Bay is a long-standing five star hotel. The square lobby has white marble pillars supporting the balconies of a mezzanine floor. The traffic flows outside and beyond is the yacht basin. The male staff wear black trousers and white shirts, the female staff, black skirts and white blouses. After the same maths lecture, Ping and Reggie arrived here by taxi. Ping went up to the desk, Reggie stood back.

Their affair had begun a few days before, when Ping was drunk in Lan Kwai Fong. She had called Reggie and asked him to collect her. She was drunk but she was logical. She could have called Henry but she foresaw quite clearly that he and Angela (though Angela had a boyfriend) could easily get together at some point. Kelvin was taken by Bettie so the only boy left was Reggie. Reggie came in a taxi and there she kissed him. She had been clubbing with rich boys, some from the mainland some from Hong Kong. There was a scene akin to the Shanghai party scene. Boys were vain and had lots of money and conversation ignored. She hadn't liked the people she was with so it was old-fashioned, martial-arts guy Reggie who got lucky. They drove to a short-time room. She took her cloths off, knelt down, lowered her head and shoulders to the mattress and raised her bum, looking back at Reggie with out and out confidence in what would happen next. He was both aroused and put off. She was complicated, he said to himself afterwards. She was a capricious headstrong mainland rich girl with no real identity or self-confidence, a teenaged cracked glass. Here was the equivalence because he was cracked glass himself.

Now Ping wanted a five-star hotel for their assignation. The lady behind the reception desk was not for offering Ping a room before two o'clock, not for these teenagers without luggage, but thought better of it as she realised Ping was a mainlander capable of becoming very loud and difficult. Ping got a key after paying full price.

The corridors were plushly carpeted, the walls of fine walnut panelling. Paintings and vases of flowers were placed here and there. It was the sort of place Ping liked, a place where guests could wear good clothes and jewellery with ease.

What sexual liaisons went on in such hotels, she wondered, as they made their way along the corridor. She thought suspiciously of her father. Did men like him have pretty little escorts to take to bed on their business trips in Beijing and elsewhere?

In their room a wall window showed the yacht basin. Construction was going on, in total silence behind the thick glass, plates of iron driven into the mud, cranes and pile drivers at work.

Ping knelt on the floor, on a Wilton rug at the foot of the bed, and rested her head against the bedstead. She opened her mouth and Reggie saw all the way into the soft red interior, down to her tonsils. She pulled his dick out of his clothing and took it in her mouth. He gripped her head, used her mouth and came.

Ping lay on the bed restlessly, going through the twenty channels on the TV. She took the menu from the bedside table and ordered food on the phone.

‘Can’t you get me a new PC lead?’ she said to Reggie.

Her figetiness was annoying him. He was at the window watching the work gang at the yacht basin. They were workers like his father. He couldn’t break his eyes away from watching them from this hotel room.

She was annoyed by his failure to answer her. ‘What are you looking at?’

He didn’t reply. He wouldn’t give her ammunition to mock him, by telling her he had a ganger father who had done nothing for his education. He’d done it all himself, self-financed, and learnt Kung Fu out of necessity.

‘What do you want to do now?’ she said. ‘Do you want me to take a shower then fuck me?’

‘You ordered food. Let’s wait for it.’

‘Who can I pay to do this maths assignment,’ she said, rolling over on the bed and looking up moodily at the ceiling. Reggie didn’t answer. ‘Are you going to Mongkok tonight, to the fighting? Take me.’

When the food came up, on a trolley in silver chafing dishes, they sat at the end of the bed and the waiter turned the trolley into a round table, laying down a white table cloth from a compartment underneath. Reggie took a Sprite from the minibar for himself, a Coca Cola for her. He gave the waiter a tip and shut the door behind him. They ate Singapore fried rice and Japanese fish tempura.

Ping showered. They fucked in a regular way but he pulled her hair as she bade him. They lay together.

‘I wanted to go Peking University,’ Ping said, beginning to cry. ‘My father tricked me here with good shopping.’

‘You don’t need to go to Occupy any more,’ said Reggie.

‘I might not. I might move out of hall too. I’ve a musty old aunt in Stanley. I may live with her and be a recluse.’

TEN

Kelvin took Bettie home for Saturday lunch. His grandparents and his father both wanted to meet her. Mary-Ann cooked a selection of dishes including, for Hex, who had arrived to stay, his favourite black bean chicken. The dishes were laid out on the dining table which stood between the kitchen and the living room. When Kelvin and Bettie arrived, lunch was already under way.

Grandfather Lee and Grandmother Lee lived in Kowloon Bay. He had founded Lee & Man Co. Ltd. in the 1960s, when mainland China was under the supreme leadership of Chairman Mao and Hong Kong still had memories of occupation by the Japanese during the Second World War. In those days ordinary trading people had little to do with the British and did not speak English. To this day Grandfather Lee did not speak a word of English. His business partner, Man, went on to sell up his share, Grandfather bought it and the business kept its name. Goods were sold in Hong Kong and on the mainland and Grandfather Lee had been the one to design the initial range of handbags and leather-wear. Having trouble with gout and heart disease, he had handed over the company to his eldest son, Kelvin's father, some years ago. On retirement he took feverish interest in mercantile newspapers, allowing nothing to slip by, watching affairs like a statesman, until further illness forced him to slip out of the flow completely. Now he took a great interest in his grandchildren. He was the slow, easy grandfather Kelvin admired, who said little but always spoke to the point. And Grandfather Lee was interested in the tall, straight-backed, English-fluent Kelvin. Grandmother Lee was in better health than her husband. She had lived metaphorically a step behind him, propping him up. They were both listening to Kelvin's father who was doing the talking as Kelvin and Bettie slipped into seats at table.

Kelvin's father, Gordon Lee, CEO of Lee Man, sprawled comfortably at the head of the table, his face flushed and sweating, in a suit that looked in need of dry cleaning, tie askew, smoking a cigarette. To his employees and counterparts in business both in Hong Kong and on the mainland, he was a proprietor who carried the destiny of a medium-sized company on his shoulders through bold decision-making and always spoke his mind. To Kelvin, he was a father completely

absorbed in the business, a business Kelvin had got to know early in childhood, often being taken to the workshops in Chung Wan.

‘So, Dad, what about the latest Hang Seng accumulators?’ Kelvin’s father asked Grandfather Lee.

‘A punt from time to time does no harm,’ Grandfather Lee replied. ‘As long as you don’t lose in a day what you’ve spent a lifetime building.’

Kelvin’s dad laughed at the idea. ‘We Lees are too smart for that. I tell the HSBC salesgirls who pester me, don’t ring, I already know how to make money, not unless you have something really good.’

So far at lunch, neither of the two entrepreneurs had had time for a comment on the Umbrella Revolution.

Kelvin’s father rubbed his face, lit another cigarette, eyed his son and smiled at Bettie. Kelvin’s mother had her dog on her lap. Bettie fielded some friendly questions from Grandmother Lee about her own family.

Mary-Ann didn’t eat with the family and was still cooking, bringing new dishes to the table. She wore a scowl because Hex had yet to compliment her on her black bean sauce. If he didn’t soon she wouldn’t allow him to touch her, not a single caress. She had said this to herself in front of the cooker.

Hex knew very well what Mary-Ann’s scowl was about. He was teasing her and would kiss her later. He wore light coloured trousers, shirt-sleeves and had a worn-out handsomeness about him, with discoloured teeth and a balding head. He held a small administrative role in the civil service at the Ministry of Works in Guangzhou, had two children of his own, and was still not welcome at home by his wife, after carrying on with the pretty young filing clerk on the second floor.

Guangzhou is a city of fusty dried-goods shophouses, blue-glass towers, university campuses and endless housing estates and small business premises. Not one of the world’s great cities but it has its place in China’s history. Once it was the sole trading point for foreigners in the whole of the Middle Kingdom, as the cantonments traded with the thirteen hongts. Junks on the Pearl River brought goods to and from Hong Kong and Macau. Guangzhou had been important at the end of the nineteenth century too, in Sun Yat Sen’s campaigns, starting points for fizzled out attempts to install democracy which had ended in executions and flight. Its distance from Beijing meant it had always been self-administered, to a point.

Hex, the hemmed in husband, took his square foot of enjoyment out of life, working for a department more or less powerless to the million problems of a city growing too fast, which would have to sort themselves out while he took female colleagues for a good lunch. They heard little about Occupy in GZ and Hex was the one to ask his nephew about it. ‘Well, Kelvin, what’s this student uproar all about?’

Before Kelvin could answer, Mary-Ann was at Hex’s shoulder with her own opinions. ‘I wish someone would occupy Manila,’ she said, putting some devilled chicken-wings on the table and brushing Hex’s shoulder. She and other maids, who shared their Sunday together in The Botanical Park, shared the same opinion. Employers in Hong Kong might be harsh in their rules but they were usually reliable and fair, while their homeland in the Philippines was a total write off on all counts.

Possibly because he had sex on the brain, Kelvin borrowed something from the world wide web to answer his uncle. ‘The trouble is, China wants to *gang rape* Hong Kong,’ he said.

Gang rape seemed to be an English verb for which there was no Chinese parallel.

‘What is *gang rape*?’ asked Grandmother Lee uncomprehendingly. No one was quite prepared to answer her.

Hex said to Kelvin, ‘Your joke may reflect the Western thinking inherent in the movement. And I don’t think Hong Kong is much of a virgin, by the way. For a start you’re richer than ever – Hong Kong is.’

‘The sooner the students give up, the better,’ said Kelvin’s father. ‘The kids will have learnt to expect nothing from politicians. That will be a good lesson.’

‘Let them fight a little,’ said Grandfather Lee. ‘Their ideas may be good. As long as they leave some time for studying.’

‘The media say we are the destruction camp,’ said Kelvin, ‘and yes, influenced from overseas, Uncle Hex, as you say, but it’s not true. Our leaders think for themselves. But even Alexter more or less admit we can’t win against Beijing.’

‘Alexter, yes,’ said Kelvin’s mother, ‘I’ve heard of them. Two sweet boys.’

In a different room, Hex had Mary-Ann alone for a moment. ‘Your sauce, delicious,’ he said in thick English.

‘About time.’

He kissed her and slid a hand into one of the cups of her large foam brassiere. She touched the crotch of his cotton trousers and said, ‘Oh, my!’

‘You can *gang rape* me,’ said Bettie to Kelvin as they went away in a taxi.

In their one-hour room the light was different in daytime, natural light working in down between buildings, in through the smeared window, through nylon curtains – but not much of it. There were daytime street sounds. A restaurant air extractor somewhere not far was pouring out oily fumes.

‘What is Canada sauce, by the way?’ said Kelvin as they lay side by side.

‘It’s just brown sauce on the tables in Vancouver, that’s why my brother calls it Canada sauce.’

‘What do you like about me?’

‘You’re tall, that’s one thing. You’re neither extrovert nor blocked, like past ex-boyfriends, more middle of the road.’

‘I’m disappointed. I thought I was rampant and dynastic.’

‘Oh, you are, darling.’

‘What about Occupy?’

‘It’s bigger than us, darling, and I’m a bit scared.’

They lay side by side on the mattress in the tawdry room, listening to the click of pipes, the roar of buses, the lady next door making orgasm with her man lover.

ELEVEN

Albert Yu once again went to meet his aides in the concourse of modernist LegCo, for the fortnightly reporting to the Liaison Office on the bridge, and once again he had spent time with CY Leung and the executive cabinet that morning.

A couple of things had gone on in his life. A few days ago he had walked unrecognised and with great curiosity around the protest camp and found much to admire in the cheerful, orderly scene. Occupy had left a wide path for LegCo civil servants to leave and enter their building. A young woman, the very same age as Albert's own daughter, had offered him a bottle of water and respite from the heat on a camp chair in the shade. At home, his actual daughter, who was studying at The Baptist University and who, in an act of forbearance, was not, as she wanted to do, taking part in Occupy, lost her temper at the dinner table. 'Why can't CY Leung fight Beijing? Why does he have to be their puppet?' she had almost screamed at her parents. Taken aback, Albert had answered, lamely he now felt, 'As you get older you have to learn to be a realist.' 'Wahhh!' his daughter had expostulated and stormed out of the apartment, and still they weren't on speaking terms.

At the morning meeting CY Leung announced to the inner circle that a meeting had been agreed between the Occupy leaders of the Hong Kong Federation of Students and Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary for the Administration, assisted by a government panel. Unfortunately these talks had immediately had to be put on hold because Joshua Wong (excluded from the talks being a representative of Scholarism not the student union), was calling for escalation on the ground. Albert came out of the meeting with weary feet. Hong Kong's problems seemed so heavy.

His aides were collected as before in the lobby waiting for him.

The first aide, who modelled himself on his boss, had spent the last fortnight getting along quietly, believing that people like him had simply to continue to do their tasks in the chaos.

The second aide, the cynical man who had made jokes about LegCo's architectural ethos and the failure to forecast an open decade of government

giving way to mainland totalitarianism, had been attracting attention all around the complex. His easy mastery of political jargon, his youth which enabled him to give a credible explanation of the students' thinking to the bemused older members, suggested that by the end of the crisis, whatever the outcome, his career would take a leap forward.

The third aide, the young man whose hair had been cut by his mother so he wouldn't be mistaken for a protestor, had been secretly spending his nights in Occupy, his head in a sock. He had taken longer than normal to put together the early drafts of the report and Albert could read on his face now discontentment.

The chauffeured black limo again swooped out of the basement car-park into the sunlight. With hardly time for the passengers to blink, it was again outside the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China. And again Albert felt the brooding presence inside this institution of The Middle Kingdom where things were done the mainland way.

The committee meeting on the fifteen floor took place as usual for a tedious hour. Then Xan broke early. Refreshments came in and ash trays. Xan began to smoke and took Albert to the window, leaving the two sets of aides to mingle and take tea.

'Congratulations on the spirit of the students,' Xan said unexpectedly. 'We all want to see this end well.'

'Yes, we certainly do.'

'Hong Kong's troubles remind us of the many Chinese living outside the ambit of the mainland, in every corner of the world, in different political climates. Students leave to study abroad and then come back, bringing a part of the Western world with them.'

'Hong Kong has developed its own way of doing things, certainly.'

'It has. We see that. We are pleased there has been no bloodshed.'

Albert understood that Xan had Tiananmen in the back of his mind.

'Our police have learnt it is sometimes wiser to stand off,' Albert said. 'They have been playing *xiangqi* chess with Joshua Wong for two years.'

'And these talks?'

'Perhaps we have student leaders who can articulate the ideas of Occupy, speaking for the majority of those involved. It's right, isn't it, that they be listened

to, so long as they remain respectful and are committed to a course of non-violence?’

‘Yes, why not? Of course, for Beijing, this is a straightforward local affair with none of the complexities of Central Government. Still, although we hardly comprehend the stasis in which things now stand, we are not blind to the fact there has been no unpleasant escalation.’

In the restaurant Albert again treated his aides to lunch. ‘Well, our Hong Kong administration has gained some face with Beijing,’ he told them.

The second aide replied, ‘Let’s not forget this little entrepôt jewel of ours is where mainland officials have been sending suitcases of money for decades. They’ve been buying property and businesses. They like this stable little tax haven, this playground for Asia’s rich. They don’t want to spoil it too quickly.’

‘Yes, there’s something in that,’ said Albert. ‘Have some more fish,’ he added, and served out portions to the second aide and the others.

TWELVE

On Sunday, the Lutheran church at Kowloon held its regular morning service and Joshua Wong joined his parents there. His eighteenth birthday was the next day.

The church, small and unobtrusive, nestled among countless rectilinear tower blocks, is a place of peace and congregational singing. Like other churches in Hong Kong it has many tales to tell about China. A plaque in the nave commemorates the five hundred Lutheran Chinese martyred alongside the Europeans during the 1900 Boxer Uprising, which was a grass-roots attempt to rid China of foreigners. And, during the Cultural Revolution this church, like others in Hong Kong, had been a refuge for the traumatised Christians fleeing China bringing with them terrible stories of suffering and persecution.

At their favourite pew in the church, in whispers, his parents and sister wished Joshua a happy birthday, doing it now as they would not see him the next day. Joshua smiled at his family and whispered endearments to them. During the service he knelt and prayed as the liturgy of the mass was celebrated, his head bowed, his hands together, his eyes closed. Believing in God and Jesus Christ, how could Wong not believe he was engaged in a crusade for good and that God was with him. How could he not think that his precocious gift for embarrassing politicians with pure truth was a divine one. As he prayed, how could he not surrender himself up to God's will, if he could but understand it, feel the terror of what he was attempting and pray for strength to go on as a humble agent of God. And how could his parents and sister beside him not pray with equal intensity for his safety and success.

After mass the family and relatives gave Wong a birthday lunch at a specially picked restaurant. Having much on his mind. Joshua ate quickly and got away as soon as he decently could.

He returned to the car-park camp in a subdued mood and was let be by his friends. No one disturbed him. It was late Sunday afternoon and even now there were visitors: writers and journalists on the Asian circuit, NGO people. Earlier in the day there had been a government infiltrator. Recognising the man as such,

everyone in the car-park had chanted, ‘What are you doing here? What are you doing here?’ until the spy left in disarray.

Wong went quietly to his tent and picked up his text-books. He was enrolled as a fresher at the Open University of Hong Kong, beginning a degree course in Social Sciences and Psychology. Dyslexia had held back his grades at High School, making him a relative low-achiever in school grades.

Later, Sunday Night Meeting was called. The inner group sat in a circle on cement blocks under the car-park structure.

Wong was uneasy. Occupy was becoming protracted and was in jeopardy of losing momentum. Waiting for talks would only lead to a slow slide. There was a need for escalation, robust action, that forced the government’s hand. It was not happening, although numbers living by tent on the street remained high in each of the three separate protest zones.

Everyone at the meeting, his dedicated friends and followers, felt the stress of the fight against the government. They felt uneasy that, for all the support, no concessions had yet been won. Instead, Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary for the Administration, had repeated on Friday the latest government line: no talks while the students occupied the streets. Good news, however, came from the barricades. The police had come forward and tried to dismantle the barricades on Queensway the night before. Occupy was able to retaliate forcefully, reassembling the barricades stronger than ever. Someone even managed to bring in concrete mix and set the legs. This detail about the setting concrete prompted many guffaws and laughs at the meeting. Wong laughed to tears. Everyone wanted to hear about the whole operation of the concrete in the finest detail. They keenly appreciated the matter. ‘It’s useful having engineers in our demonstration, not just radicals,’ someone said. Everyone was very happy about this on that Sunday night. As for the week ahead, no one was so happy.

THIRTEEN

Queensway came under attack again by police. A special force of police armed with wire cutters and chainsaws surged in to tear down the barricades. These were the barricades contested earlier, when students had used setting concrete, so cheering Joshua Wong and his followers. This time the defenders were overwhelmed and had to fall back. By afternoon Queensway was open again to traffic, the first such occasion in eighteen days. Trams clanked again on the lines, scrubbing off the film of rust that had grown over them.

During this battle the whole Occupy perimeter had been on high alert. With no clear chain of command, barricade leaders had to judge the situation for themselves. At the Western Connaught Road barricade some went to render assistance on Queensway while others stayed put. Henry and Reggie spent the whole day at their station. They had a place to sit under the fly-over on a built-up stone kerb. Henry had fiddled nervously with a broken circuit board, Reggie just sat. Behind them was a dusty island of leafy greenery, philodendron and palm.

After the Queensway defeat those who'd lost their sector redistributed themselves around the remaining perimeter. The reversal was felt keenly and everybody was weary. Then, around dusk, whispers started up about a bold counter-move to begin after dark.

Angela finished her shift at the Lutheran Hospice and arrived in Admiralty just as it was getting dark. She had become a member of a small prayer group which met every evening at dusk in the small municipal park abutting Connaught Road. First she went to greet her friend Bettie. Bettie and Kelvin were at the First Aid Station fifty yards inside the barricade that Henry and Reggie were helping to defend, having become regular helpers there.

When Henry saw Angela, he slid off the cement pier. Though he was not a Christian he had been meaning to join her at one of these prayer groups simply to be beside her. Watching her talk to Bettie, her very appearance was a tonic to him after a long, terrifying day. For some days he had felt a brand of strength in her, derived clearly from her religion, which had inundated his thoughts. Now, possibly over-serious and buckling with suppressed desire and a whole book of

love-speeches, he came over to her. 'Great,' she said, full of curiosity and surprise, when he told her he was going to join prayers.

Angela was not indifferent to Henry by any means. He would be about a fifty times improvement on her dentist boyfriend, William. He was clearly geeky and dependable. Not the stolid respectability of the dentist but a more high-flying, high-tech-software-engineer sort of reliability and comforting dullness.

The prayer group gathered just inside the park on a long pathway. It was always a gathering of pleasant intimacy, enclosed by tropical trees, the pathway lights lit, the ambient illumination of the city towers beetling over the trees. Angela liked nothing better than this group. After the taxing work of the hospice, her nerves could ease and she could be again the cheerful optimist she was, here among fellow people who wanted to be good and who believed in the good in others. As the two of them arrived they found things just starting. Without a priest, the group usually settled on singing and an assortment of prayers. Someone always gave a short address. A young man taking religious orders could be relied on for a little leadership.

They joined the circle. Angela wondered if Henry thought her a good person. If only he knew her wild imagination and her fury sometimes. She had avoided both William and her mother since National Day. Really she practically hated them both. And then all her sexual energy. Sometimes she thought herself the most unloving and selfish of all people, capable only of loving her silent father. And even her passion for studies was guilty ambition, escape.

After a prayer and a song it was the turn of the night's speaker. A young man moved shyly to the centre. 'I just want to say, Jesus told us to turn the other cheek. We Chinese, we are too proud, too closed. I think we have to worry less about harmony and more about honesty. That's all I wanted to say.' He stepped back into the circle and the others absorbed his thoughts for a moment as the leaves and branches of the night trees quivered in the night thermals.

'Oh God, give us Queensway back,' someone said less seriously.

'And Jesus, make this city a less crazy place,' someone else said.

'Lord, give us strength tonight, be with us,' someone said to a chorus of agreement. Everyone had heard the rumours and was excited.

Each member made the sign of the cross and the group broke up. Some friends came to talk to Angela but she was interested in talking to Henry. They

walked through the park together. He was embarrassed. In the end all religion was suspect, all the House Gods and joss sticks and spirit worlds, all that sort of thing old people lived by. He told Angela so.

‘Oh no,’ said Angela. ‘We’re principally about love for one another.’

‘Oh, well, in that case . . .’ Henry said, blushing, and Angela giggled.

Then she was embarrassed herself as she had a favour to ask. She wanted to join him and Reggie in whatever the night would bring.

‘Sure,’ said Henry. ‘And don’t worry if Reggie is less than friendly at first, he’s really all right.’

Back at the barricade, Reggie was unfriendly. He was sceptical of Angela as a new recruit, until, that is, she took her kit out of a shoulder bag: goggles, PVC rain suit, hood. He was so equipped himself and couldn’t help but approve.

They waited. It grew into a particularly dark night. People were tight-lipped, occasionally consulting phones for incoming information. Then, at about ten pm, quietly, individuals begin to leave, until it was clear something was beginning. Groups moved down Tim Mei Avenue towards the waterfront. Reggie, Henry and Angela joined the general movement.

The black-and-white traffic camera on the roundabout at the end of Tim Mei Avenue recorded a knot of people arriving carrying Mills Barriers. In short order Lung Wo Road was blocked in both directions by these barriers. Faces were masked by hoods, laboratory glasses, bandit handkerchiefs and caps. Taxi’s coming up out of the underpass tunnel honked and braked to a halt. Drivers left their cars briefly to gesticulate at these masked figures, then made a U-turn and drove back into the orange sodium tunnel. Vehicles coming from the other direction saw the blockage and continued around the roundabout. There were no police at the roundabout.

The masked protestors then carried the barriers down into the tunnel and other protestors streamed in after them, more arriving all the time. People were carrying drainage covers and concrete blocks, anything solid and heavy, to the centre of the tunnel to build a road-block. The tunnel was a short underpass between one side of the LegCo waterfront lawns and the other. Crouched figures began tying one block to the next with plastic ties. Quickly and busily, people worked in the tunnel, coming and going. Policemen at the far end of the tunnel watched at a distance and called in the situation to headquarters. There was much

high spirited shouting and posturing among the protestors towards the policeman ousted from the tunnel.

After an hour a reinforced police contingent made a counter-attack, coming down in a straight front across the tunnel. The discipline was admirable, the officers uniformed in high-vis vests over blue or white shirts depending on seniority, hands in white gloves, the unit displaying unmistakable pride of cadre. Those in front carried circular Plexiglass shields in one hand, canisters of pepper spray in the other. Ahead of the line came officers carrying large placards with admonishments for calm. The protestors, lined up behind the road-block in the centre of the tunnel, unfurled umbrellas to fend off the advancing police.

Reaching the concrete blocks, the police line lost its footing, was unable to get to the protestors and had to fall back. Hundreds of protestors in their medley of protective clothing now ran amok. Journalists and cameramen were in the melee. Feelings ran high and voices boomed in the echoing tunnel. Occupy diehards came down with their own banners, one reading, 'Dear Police, don't use violence, Democracy is good!'

So the tunnel was theirs. But could they hold this new gain? With Connaught Road blocked this hitherto quiet tunnel was the one East-West route remaining in the traffic system, therefore who could doubt the police must mount another counter-offensive. If it could hold its position, Occupy would have its major escalation and perhaps CY Leung would resign in the morning.

Angela and Henry sat down on a ledge inside the tunnel. There was nothing that could have made Henry happier than these shared life-changing hours with Angela. Reggie came and went, often in the thick of the most physical activists. Joshua Wong was a prominent cheerleader in the tunnel.

Close to daylight there were new stirrings from the police end of the tunnel. The police advance that now came was a stronger one than before. The occupiers were this time unable to hold the roadblock and had to fall back to their end of the tunnel.

The police began to remove all material blocking the tunnel. It was patient physical work taking some time. The occupiers formed up in the mouth of the tunnel, legs braced, umbrellas furled. The police now came up in a line towards them. Protestors, hoarse already from a night of shouting, called out at them, 'We

have a right to our protest action. We are the future of Hong Kong.’ On the police came.

Angela had put her goggles on. She was in hooded PVC rain gear. She breathed heavily and gripped her umbrella with determined hands. Henry was beside her.

The police advance was like the inexorable advance of the mainland itself.

‘Take care, Angela,’ said Henry.

‘Christ be with us,’ she said.

The police first ripped the umbrellas to pieces. They grabbed and trampled them as they came through. Occupiers were buffeted with batons and felt their clothes being ripped by strong hands. They were pushed back, falling over each other. Now it was mayhem. Everyone was pushed back, some losing their footing. A young police officer swung his shield at Henry and their faces were inches apart, so Henry was in contact with the sweat and anger on the policeman’s young face, and the sharp gel-smell of his regulation hair. Pepper spray was being used. People were being pushed to the ground by the police and surrounded. Engaged by a female police officer, Angela put up her hands defensively, trying to keep some distance. ‘You filthy student whore,’ the policewoman screamed at her, pointing a can of pepper-spray and spraying Angela straight in the eyes. Two policemen, coming in to support the policewoman, tackled Angela and brought her to the ground. Henry could not get to her. Angela started to scream, her eyes blinded and burning. The three police dragged her towards the line of police vans which had come in and parked at the roundabout. Henry was knocked down. His whole body was tense. He put his hands to his face, expecting similar treatment to Angela’s. He was dragged clear by Reggie in a bandit handkerchief.

Henry found himself among the students who had fallen back over the lawns above the tunnel. Police were all over the roundabout and some were on the lawns, making arrests, working in groups, their torches arcing among the saplings. Students backed away with their hands up or were caught, floored and handcuffed. The arrested were escorted or carried away. The lawn was scattered with exhausted bruised people catching their breath.

Henry and Reggie sat on the grass for a long time. Gradually the sun came up. Henry had no energy to move. Around them were other HKU students, some still in their protective gear, some with opened textbooks as they had a mid-term

exam that morning. On the water, the double-ended Victorian ferries had begun sliding across the straight carrying commuters to work. The early sun sparkled on the faces of the high rises. Traffic was moving on Lung Wo Road again. Some vehicles honked in support of the overnight struggle others drove silently by.

Henry was nauseous. He was a weak fighter, he felt. He was just an engineer who would work in America one day so that his parents and brothers might join him there – the kind of migration seized on by so many Hong Kong Chinese, decade after decade, Hong Kong a transit hall for those looking West.

Hong Kong was in a nasty situation. Henry had learned it now. And the bitterest fight, with no opt-out, would be left to those with no way out of Hong Kong, no way of getting out from under the deterioration in rights and freedoms. That was Joshua Wong, the unemployed, the hard-line life activists. And, on the other side, the police, authorised by their superiors, would go on to the bitter end too. And observing the fight would be all those who made a living in journalism, media and international affairs. But not Henry.

Angela was a force because of her religion. That night she had told him that Christianity and politics were inseparable because both were about the right treatment of fellow human beings. Christians knew that everyone was equal in the eyes of God, thus Democracy.

Henry sobbed and for consolation there was the sweet smell of the grass, the caressing morning breeze, the birds flitting among the saplings planted on the lawns and held up by wooden stakes. How ugly human life was in comparison with nature. He had done his best. Perhaps he would become a Christian. He was in love with Angela and keenly worried about her.

FOURTEEN

Those arrested, forty-five in all, were taken to the Hong Kong Police Headquarters, otherwise known as Wanchai Police Station. It occupies a city block and is a compound of modern concrete buildings; in normal times traffic sweeps past on three sides but today it found itself in the trafficless zone on the margin of Occupy. The large numbers brought in for processing overloaded the night staff who chaotically bundled them down to basement cells for the morning staff to handle. As interested persons began to gather outside, police set up makeshift pens on the pavement, not allowing anyone inside, and the pens filled up with the friends and family of the arrested, and with the media. The Officer in Charge arrived at nine o'clock and the booking and processing began.

Before loading Angela into the police van they had washed her eyes out using the same laboratory squeeze bottles being used in the Occupy camp. Her sight was restored but her eyes burned. She spent the night in a cell with five others. The young student next to her on the bench cried much of the night and Angela comforted her as best she could. In Angela's innermost self, she felt this arrest changed everything. She was gloomy and unable to think but also it seemed she had come to prominence before God. She did not need to pray to feel this prison cell was in divine view.

During the night she watched a prison officer do his sweep every fifteen minutes. Everything about his manner suggested he thought those the other side of the bars belonged there and had revealed themselves for what they were: undesirables. The powerful feeling, in the paint on the walls and in the smell of the police station, was that the capture of the detainees was pre-ordained in some way and correct; that state-sanctioned police action could never be questioned; Angela and the others were the individuals in society who had failed to follow the state programme and had been weeded out. When her turn came, Angela was ordered to stand up, the officer unlocked the door and she was taken upstairs.

The Officer in Charge had lately turned fifty but he looked five years older with a lined, wen-marked face and a bald patch at the crown of thinning hair. Three weeks ago, at the beginning of all this, when the station had used the

eighty-seven canisters of tear gas on Connaught Road, he and his fellow officers, feeling the sting of public criticism, experienced tremors of inner conflict about their role as police. After all, it was a popular uprising and each one of them was a citizen too. But those feelings were long gone. The mainstream media and the government were of one mind that the student presence in Admiralty was nothing but civic disobedience, illegal and harmful to Hong Kong's prosperity and its cherished rule of law. Each year this Officer in Charge spent his annual two-week block holiday cycling in Vietnam with his wife and children. On holiday, by the second week he was always ready to admit to himself and to his wife, after the children were asleep and they talked together on the verandas of the roadside hostels where they stayed, that he hated his job. It made so many claims on him that for long periods he could actually no longer feel he was a real person with coherent feelings, even less a citizen.

Angela came up before him.

'Who's paying you to ferment trouble?'

'No one. I'm a student.'

'Why aren't you wearing a yellow ribbon?'

'I gave mine to a dying old lady who asked for it.'

'Can you pay five hundred Hong Kong dollars?'

'Yes.'

'All right. Next.'

Angela was taken to the cashier's office to pay and was given a summons to return in two months' time. Then she was released into the hall and found herself free to walk outside. She went outside and stood at the top of the steps. She felt strangely blank as well as overwhelmingly thirsty and hungry. It was a brooding day, cool, thunderstorms in the sky.

At the bottom of the steps, in one of the pens, was her mother, indomitable and grey-haired, eyes blazing, and her father, kind and non-combative, stooping a little in an old suit. They were there with William, waiting among the other relatives of the arrested.

Angela's mother had already berated the attendant policemen for penning them in and she had gained some popularity among the group who were all worried and irritated. 'My very own daughter arrested. Wait till I get her home,' she'd said to the woman next to her, who agreed saying, 'The young today are not

obedient.’ Angela’s mother was particularly annoyed as she had left her pupils in the hands of relief staff whom she didn’t trust. As soon as Angela came down to the pen she started on her. ‘Horrible girl. I never thought I’d have to bear such shame. Tell her, William.’

‘Yes, this is dangerous, anti-social behaviour you’re involved in, Angela. It’s got to stop.’

Angela noticed that Bettie, Kelvin, Henry and Reggie, were in the pen too, and could only say, ‘Mum, Dad, these are my friends,’ before beginning to weep.

‘Then they must be wilful like you,’ said her mother. ‘Disobedient, destructive. I don’t wish to meet them.’

There were other students and friends of the arrested in the pen, and other parents, and they all heard this exchange: the regular people of Hong Kong, brought here by the deeds of their children. There was a dowdy woman of yellowish skin, balding, shielding her face from the imaginary sun with an umbrella, another woman the same age in big sunglasses on her bridgeless nose and a large sharp black handbag. There was a workman who wore his belly out from his vest. A man with stained teeth from years of over-iodined water in the nineteen-seventies stood alongside his wife, a woman with post-surgery single-lidded eyes. There was a tall man with a pressed shirt and trousers, feet in brogues, beside his old father in what looked like pyjamas.

‘We are proud to be reformists,’ someone said in the direction of Angela’s mother – a student.

‘Don’t talk in a silly way. Look in the mirror. You are children,’ she returned.

‘Come now,’ said someone else.

There was a stirring of hostility between the two factions in the pen.

Angela had her hair grabbed by her mother who literally intended hauling her away.

Another student spoke up. ‘We know your type, Lady. “Do what I tell you. I’m in charge!”’

‘Decent Chinese listen to their parents and elders,’ said an opposing voice.

‘And you sound very like CY Leung, sir. He doesn’t want us to think for ourselves either.’

‘Oh, this is too much,’ said someone else.

‘Why shouldn’t we learn about the real world now, before our studies end,’ said another student with cold humour. ‘Yes, we openly admit that civil disobedience is outside the curriculum.’

A parent said with real pain, ‘You worked so hard. Don’t do yourself harm now. Some things can’t be changed. You’ll only destroy your own life.’

‘But the world is not static. It’s only your generation who failed,’ said another student with particular coldness.

‘No, nothing is static. That’s the point. We are part of China now and must accept it,’ said the tall man.

‘An outright pro-Beijingist. Congratulations on being on the wrong side, sir,’ said the same student.

Crying in pain, Angela wrestled herself free of her mother and moved into the protective arms of her friends. Her mother, genuinely put out, said ferociously, ‘My daughter has always been disobedient and worthless,’ and began a haughty withdrawal, pulling her husband and William with her. But William had something to impart. He had an overweening desire to put the HKU students in their place, his ego swarming in his chest. He yelled at Angela with all the pomp he could muster, ‘YOU’RE DUMPED!’ Yet her father had something to say too. As his arm was pulled by his wife he had just time to impart these words: ‘Your mother and I will continue paying for your tuition, darling. All love to you, my darling.’

After this, leaving the pen, the students could think of nothing better to do than go and eat so they began to walk to Landale Street. Angela cried steadily, seemingly inconsolable. They were all unsettled and impressed in varying degrees by the street argument. This public brawl between parents and children, this generational clash, felt at the very nub of Occupy. It felt more visceral than the clash with the police even though that had been more violent and inexorable. And it didn’t matter if it was Angela’s parents or theirs, the ideas were the same.

Landale Street, their destination, is a small lane of kitchen restaurants. Parked cars here are forced half on, half off the pavement by its narrowness. Inside the cafes, the serving people shout orders in Cantonese and everything is done roughly and quickly – and well. Already journalists and Student Union leaders had preceded them to the lane, having been in the vicinity of Wanchai police station all morning too.

Somehow Angela managed to signal to the others that she wanted to eat in a particular prawn wonton noodle soup shop, so in they went. Phones were laid down and soon their heads were bowed over identical bowls of noodle soup, elbow to elbow along a table. Overhead, news programmes on televisions replayed the night's clashes. Angela cried and ate. 'Why does she have to be like that?' she moaned between mouthfuls. 'Yes, yes, it has to be her way!' Once Angela had sucked up all the noodles she picked up the bowl to drink off the remaining soup and roundly plonked the bowl back on the table. The others, eating beside her, stopped to watch. 'She doesn't understand Christianity,' Angela said, looking at them, wiping her mouth with the back of her hand and appearing, despite herself, more cheerful, 'only her own pride.'

'I think you're going to be ok,' said Kelvin, arching his eyebrows. For some reason everyone, including Angela herself, began to laugh with complete abandon.

Now they all felt more normal, more in key with the cheerful thing that is Hong Kong at lunch as around them the ordinary workforce of office workers and shop assistants ate nourishing food with good appetite and sent up a sea of chatter.

Ping rolled up, perfectly fresh having had a good night's sleep on campus. She had attended the morning's maths lecture. She sat on an unrolled napkin to keep her dress clean and was careful not to touch the table. 'We've finished Eigen Vectors,' she reported. 'No more Professor Hong. I've copies.'

'Am I going to be expelled because I was arrested?' Angela asked Bettie, looking at her friend with frightened eyes.

Bettie had been up all night at the First Aid tent with Kelvin. 'I don't think the university can just expel everyone who's ever been arrested, that's almost half the intake,' she replied. 'What did the police say to you?'

'I've got a summons to return in two months.'

'So nothing will happen until then. Let's not worry about it for now.'

'You weren't arrested,' Angela remarked to Henry, looking at him with big eyes.

'No,' said Henry a little sheepishly. 'That policewoman who attacked you was a real mad-woman.'

'Ayah! I'm the Christian, why didn't I get the Guardian Angel?' Angela complained.

Everyone found themselves laughing again.

FIFTEEN

A week later the Hong Kong Federation of Students and representatives of the administration talked for two hours before the assembled media at a neutral venue, the conference room of a medical college. Carrie Lam was motherly in pearls and a fitted jacket and the Justice Secretary and Constitution Minister sat alongside her. On the opposite side of the table, in T-shirts, were Alexter and three other spokespersons for the students, all of whom had been living on the streets for a month. Proceedings went out live across Hong Kong. The protest camp in Causeway Bay had the benefit of a large movie screen lent by a film director.

Opening for the students, Alex Chow said, ‘Many people have expected this conversation for a long time. Hong Kong people feel that the society is sinking. They think they must come out to fight. In the past month, they have eaten a lot of pepper spray, suffered the eighty-seven canisters of tear gas. They were forced to come out and fight in the streets in order for their voices to be heard.’ He went on, ‘An unequal nominating committee is no good to the wealth gap in Hong Kong. Should it continue to serve business conglomerates? Won’t it continue to deprive the political rights of the one million people living in poverty?’

In her opening words, Carrie Lam spoke as follows: ‘Hong Kong is not an independent entity but only a Special Administrative Region of China and cannot decide on its own its political development.’ And she said, ‘The 2017 election is not the destination. We can still improve the system for 2022. If all the public opinion being expressed can be recorded and reflected to the Beijing Central Government, it will be good for the democratic development.’ And she also said, ‘There is still ample room under the August 31st decision to work out a nomination procedure and election method for 2017. This will be the goal for the second round of public consultation.’

The moderator invited both sides to make concrete proposals. The students called for the government to accurately reflect public opinion to Beijing and think how to pull society together. Carrie Lam said that a new report would be sent to the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office. She pointed out that while the student

view was one thing, the anti-Occupy group had collected a million signatures of their own.

At the press conference afterwards the students expressed disappointment. The one concession Carrie Lam had made, agreeing to file a new report, seemed worth nothing; no one knew what this Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office was. They told the press that it felt like in those two hours the government panel had acted in a concerted pretence that nothing was wrong.

Much of the same disappointment prevailed among those who watched the discussion in the Occupy camps. They knew they were fighting for something very clear, one person one vote with open candidature rules. Yet the administration just didn't seem to get it, clouding the issue. What next, was the question on students' lips, asked with a certain blankness. When their five spokespeople returned to Admiralty they were cheered. At least they had spoken well and handled the discussion with maturity.

Among the newspapers the next day even the pro-Beijing organs evinced a certain pride in the students. A Hong Kong Baptist University journalism professor said, 'I'm proud of our students. Their credibility was far greater than that of the five people sitting across from them.' A Lingnan University cultural studies professor said, 'I was not disappointed because I had placed no hope in the meeting. But it was not hopeless because our younger generation has matured through days and nights in Umbrella Square.'

Meanwhile the absent CY Leung was in America where he was candid why it was not only Beijing who was not prepared to re-write the law and clear the path for open candidacy in a territory-wide ballot. He told journalists at the New York Times, 'If it's entirely a numbers game and numeric representation, then obviously you'd be talking about half of the people in Hong Kong who earn less than 1,800 USD per month. You would end up with that kind of politics and policies.'

Further days passed. The tents remained, so many hundreds of them, the barricades, the rows of cones outside Occupy re-routing traffic, the strings of police on duty. The government was fighting through the courts for injunctions to clear the Occupy sites and the new stocks of tear gas and rubber bullets remained unused. New art, local and international, sprang up around Connaught Road.

Above People's Corner a lovely, multi-coloured awning floated between footbridges, fabricated from destroyed umbrellas stitched together.

Mark Zuckerberg visited Tsinghua University in Beijing, Tim Cook visited the iPhone manufacturing Foxconn complex in Shenzhen, but the arrival of these two exponents of the free world caused no measurable copy-cat stirrings on the mainland.

Beijing sent papers to Hong Kong explaining mainland Rule of Law with Chinese Characteristics. By this doctrine CY Leung, in the Hong Kong arena, was the Supreme Power above all other authorities, governmental, judicial and administrative. Rule of Law with Chinese Characteristics meant the independence of the judiciary must defer to the ultimate authority of the Supreme Leader and all his agents. It was also widely argued that the students' civil disobedience was undermining Hong Kong's precious Rule of Law. Meanwhile everyone in Occupy knew very well that the Occupy movement was protecting Hong Kong's precious Rule of Law, so absent on the mainland.

Two weeks after the talks, weariness had set in on the ground. The tents on Tim Mei Avenue in their tidy rows alongside the LegCo were yet undisturbed by bailiffs or police but increasingly empty. Focus in all parts of Hong Kong was settling on the harm the students were doing to themselves and the economy. Dr Check, a financial pundit who wrote a square of print each day in *The Standard*, spoke for many when he wrote, 'As a citizen, I wish the students would go back to talking and not ruin our economy.'

On day sixty the police launched an operation to clear the Mongkok Occupy site. Seven thousand policemen were sent in, a hundred arrests made, injuries sustained on both sides. Alexter and Joshua Wong were there and they were among those arrested. The police ripped up the camp and the traffic flowed freely once more.

After the Mongkok clearance new efforts were made in Connaught Road to escalate the movement. Protestors pressed on the LegCo entrances, forcing it into brief lock down. All day there were chaotic scenes. The police used water canon and pepper spray on the crowds.

After dark that day another attempt was made to close Lung Wo Road, with the same conclusion. The students wore yellow hard hats and there were forty more arrests in the early hours. It was not as great an action as the first time. More

of those involved were fully-rigged activist fighters with ties to the National League of Democrats, less evident were the students, no longer the body sixty thousand strong. As the police were rampant, students, picked out by the media cameras and shown on the morning news, appeared as isolated, pensive figures, sitting on walls watching the Lung Wo Road chaos with sorrow.

A few more days and Joshua Wong, released from detention, began a hunger strike at his car-park bastion, as did some of his closest comrades. Before beginning the hunger strike he took interviews. He looked tired and was somehow without his spectacles – they had been lost. He spoke with all his habitual rapid unerring conviction. ‘We will just drink water in an attempt to force the government to relaunch political consultation,’ he told a concerned CNN reporter, ‘because the first report to Beijing did not show that public opinion wants true universal suffrage.’ The CNN reporter asked Wong if his parents knew about the hunger strike or if Wong knew a hunger strike could fatally ruin his health? ‘Yes,’ said Wong.

His hunger strike lasted one hundred hours; that of some of his companions lasted longer. Wong was too young for hunger strikes, he had no body fat, he was as lean as a bamboo scaffolding pole on a barricade.

Then the founder of Occupy Central with Peace and Love, Benny Tai, the HKU law professor who had written the first blueprint of the movement, walked out of the Connaught Road site and handed himself over to the Wanchai police, making an end of it.

SIXTEEN

A December morning, cool on the ground in Admiralty, the sky limp overhead. The bailiffs were coming to clear Connaught Road the next day and students had until then to pack up. Students were arriving on site, saving what they wanted to save and leaving.

By midday the tidy Occupy village had grown ragged and skeletal. Charities had come by to pick up unused stores. The television pens and equipment had long gone. And some things, by common consent, were to be left: the messages on the People's Wall; some of the tents; Study Corner; the carpented steps over the central carriageway; the stylish sofas on the fly-over; much of the artwork. Let all those who arrived with their JCBs, metal-cutting machinery and pressure hoses feel the shame of destruction.

Some were making no plans for departure. Tomorrow at dawn they would lie on the road in front of the wreckers and force the police to carry them away bodily. But they were few.

It had all gone on a long time – seventy-nine days. Resolve, patience, commitment, they had all been called on. The very endurance was a victory of sorts. And at last it was over. No more nights in tents on the asphalt.

'That's not the corner of the groundsheet, my darling, that's the corner of the roof.'

'Well, stretch it out anyway.'

'All right, but don't keep letting go.'

'I'm trying. You are in charge, my love.'

It was Bettie and Kelvin, dismantling a tent. They had become a certain stamp of couple, an Umbrella Couple.

'Once this tent monster is neatly folded it goes in the trash, I take it?' said Kelvin.

'No, it's going to my little brother. He's a scout now,' said Bettie.

At the barricade, Reggie, Henry and Angela were taking a last moment. Henry and Reggie were firm friends. They hoped to both work together in America one day in the same hi-tech engineering firm. And Henry and Angela

were together, a couple, so Henry's cup was full. He looked at the barricade and calculated how long it would take for it all to be torn down.

Ping was not coming. She had left some things behind. Bettie called her to ask if she wanted them. Ping said she didn't care. Bettie made up a bag of Ping's things anyway. When the five of them were packed and ready to leave, Bettie suggested a last walk around.

They walked up the eastern fly-over. From here the site was laid out before them. From here, in the heady first night, exuberant Mexican Waves had run across sixty or a hundred thousand heads, the crowd tasting something entirely new to them and to Hong Kong. The immediate future had been an unknown destination to which they were sailing full of hope. And now a bitter destination had been reached.

'So how many Umbrella Couples are we?' said Kelvin.

'Three, surely,' said Bettie.

Reggie and Ping were still seeing each other. They were talking to each other in a way they had not talked to anybody before, two eighteen-year-olds depressurising from adolescence.

'Let's all join the Umbrella Couples Facebook page,' said Bettie, 'and have Umbrella babies.'

'Steady there, we're still just freshers,' said Kelvin, but really he would have married and had babies tomorrow.

They walked off the flyover, came to Study Corner and the People's Wall and turned into Tim Mei Avenue, going up to the Visitor's Entrance and the orderly bivouac of Scholarship in the car-park half under the building. They were shy here, never part of the hard-core, though they had done their bit. The five did not go in under the half-dark. In one tent possibly was Joshua Wong, in prayer perhaps, and still recovering from the hunger strike.

From here, would the fight be taken on in years to come? Would Joshua Wong ever again call out Hong Kong to the barricades? That was a question for another day. They left the camp with their things.

The End

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

AFTERMATH

In June 2015, six months after Occupy, the reform bill prescribed by Beijing for appointing future Chief Executives of the territory, generally recognised as a reform into fake democracy, came before LegCo. It required a two-thirds majority and in a day of some disarray failed to be carried. The Pro-Democrats voting against the bill said it would be wrong for them to anoint reforms which simply served the vested interests of the very people who were putting them forward. Carrie Lam, remaining then Chief Secretary for the Administration, argued passionately that Hong Kong should take the reform package rather than make no advance at all and be left with nothing. Two years later, Carrie Lam replaced CY Leung as the new Chief Executive under the old, un-reformed, election system.

After Occupy things got worse for Hong Kong. Six booksellers disappeared and the hand of the mainland was immediately suspected. Publishers were free to publish what they liked in Hong Kong and that included political cartoons and skits on Central Party figures. Even the 1991 bestseller, *Wild Swans* by Jung Chang, was still banned in China. The six booksellers finally turned up, in different parts of Asia, with patchy recollections of what had happened to them, clearly afraid to speak. Perhaps even CY Leung was nonplussed. Occupy had been defeated and now with perfect logic Beijing had squeezed harder.

Occupy did not prove to be the end of serious agitation for reform in Hong Kong though. A strong but fragmented localist movement evolved, with a common purpose in Hong Kong's independence or sequestration from Beijing, frequently making the headlines as strategy changed from peaceful protest to open confrontation with the police. In various flare-ups there was property damage and injuries, both to police and to localists.

In 2016 a handful of young reformist candidates, who had cut their teeth in Occupy, won seats at LegCo. Just as these street politicians were set to enter mainstream politics, problems arose over the swearing-in process, which required

an equal pledge of loyalty to China and to Hong Kong. Joshua Wong, perhaps slightly burnt out, had not stood, but joined his triumphant friends on the hustings. He ended Scholarism and founded a new group, Demosisto, targetting the 2020 LegCo elections. He went to prison for his role in Occupy and sits in prison now, banned from holding public office for five years after his release.

Perhaps the big mistake made by Occupy was made by Alexter. They agreed to a format of talks with the government which excluded Wong, their greatest speaker, the most charismatic young leader Hong Kong has ever had. Perhaps they had tried to include him and the government had said no, arguing that the Hong Kong Federation of Students was one thing, Scholarism another. Perhaps they allowed themselves to be flattered by government blandishments into thinking they were a more mature group than Scholarism. Their Hong Kong Federation of Students did not escape fall-out. Within a year, four of the five main universities which comprised it disaffiliated, including HKU and HK Baptist University, citing poor leadership.

Another new squeeze after Occupy involved the universities. Until then they had been free to choose their vice-chancellors without interference. Now government pressure was brought to bear. CY Leung's administration wanted a veto. Such key roles in Hong Kong university life must be filled by pro-Beijingists. This has not doubt ramified through every layer of the university apparatchik, through the teachers, through the students, right down to the course materials, and to the grades to be expected by students in politics or history for writing one thing over another.

THE LAST BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The British Marines planted a flag on Hong Kong in 1841 and two expansions followed, into Kowloon and then into the New Territories, each by lease agreement with China. As Margaret Thatcher's government in London prepared to hand back Kowloon and the New Territories at the end of these ninety-nine year leases, Hong Kong Island was bundled in on the deal.

Hong Kong Island's history is simple, comprising three eras. First it was an uninhabited island, occasionally the stop-over for a fishing boat. Next, through one hundred and fifty six years of British colonial administration, it grew up into a populated island with a significant economy. Lastly, the post 1997 handover era began under a new Fifty Year Agreement whose principles were agreed between China and Britain in the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984, the chief of which was 'one country two systems'. The Occupy generation were all born after the British left and in the current era of the Fifty Year Agreement.

So what of those talks between Britain and China culminating in the Fifty Year Agreement and in the Basic Law? Chris Patten, the last governor, a picture of whose smiling, well-fed face is still pinned outside his favourite egg tart shop in Hong Kong, is a liberal free-market democrat and a Christian. He came to Hong Kong to put Hong Kong on the strongest possible footing to prosper and not to suffer after the handover. He had four years to do this. But China already had a foot in the door, adamant nothing could be done without its consent. The difficulties Patten had pushing through reform are brilliantly told in his book, *East and West*, an excerpt of which I quote.

Chinese officials would accuse me of having broken the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law.

'How have I done so?' I would respond. 'Show me where.'

'You know you have done so,' they would reply. 'You must have done so, or else we wouldn't have said it.'

'But where?'

'It is not for us to say; you must know that you have erred.'

‘Give me a single instance,’ I would argue.

‘Well,’ they would usually claim somewhat lamely, ‘you have at least broken the spirit of the Joint Declaration and Basic Law.’

‘What do you mean by the spirit? Do you mean that you disagree with me? Why not then discuss what I have done? Put forward your own proposals.’

‘We cannot put forward our own proposals until you return to the spirit of the text.’

Patten also writes somewhere.

‘It feels much the same if you are beaten up by a policeman in Britain or Indonesia. The consequences for you and your family are similar wherever you live if you are taken away in the middle of the night and incarcerated without proper legal process. The censorship of the press, openly or by stealth, has the same effects on the health of every society. Forbidding men and women to worship as they wish is an offence against conscience right around the globe. Denying the right to peaceful protest is everywhere unwarranted. No alleged national tradition or cultural standards can make right in one place what is wrong in every place.

The Asian denial of this proposition rests largely on the claim that order and harmony, which may sometimes be translated in practice as repression and intolerance of dissent, have deep roots in the religious, philosophical and cultural traditions of Asia. (One might equally argue that there is a long tradition of authoritarianism in Europe, emanating from belief in the divine right of kings.)’

Surely as apposite a two paragraphs of the Asian-Western divide as any.

TIANANMEN PAPERS

During Occupy there was always the question whether it would all end in a blood-bath like Tiananmen. While researching Umbrella Couples I came across a thick paperback in the library which had been given an additional fortifying second cover of plastic: The Tiananmen Papers. This is a cache of several thousand Chinese documents, leaked anonymously to the outside world some years after Tiananmen. Though unverifiable, the scholars and editors in America who took upon themselves the task of reading and picking over the material, which was exceptional in its range, became convinced they were looking at authentic material and they set about the task of translation and publication. In particular, The Papers contain memos and minutes emanating from the Central Party during the occupation of Tiananmen Square: fly-on-the-wall access to the discussion and decision-making in the corridors of power.

I've prepared a few extracts from The Papers. The Western narrative is familiar: A bloody crackdown took place that shouldn't have happened and there was a failure to yield to reform. The Papers give a slightly different perspective. Nothing was quite so black and white.

The first extract dwells on the scale of the unrest in China during those weeks in 1989:

The movement . . . reached to almost every major Chinese city; to virtually all institutions of higher learning; to nearly half of the professional and technical high schools; to many mines, factories and offices; and into some rural areas. Altogether, nearly a hundred million people participated in one form or another. The movement was autonomous, spontaneous, and disorderly.

The preface to The Tiananmen Papers by Zhang Liang

Next an extract on the make-up of protestors in Beijing:

'They said that they favoured withdrawing but that less-sophisticated students from the provinces, who now formed the majority of those sitting in, were

against it. These students were unwilling to return home without winning the struggle against the government . . . There were now all kinds of people in the Square.'

Report from Hong Kong newspaper Mingbao, based on interviews with two student activists in Tiananmen Square.

Then the role of Deng Xiaoping in the decision-making:

Deng Xiaoping . . . bore ultimate responsibility for the Party's response to the students. . . he emerges from the documents as perhaps a more sympathetic figure than he appeared at the time. . . He was drawn reluctantly into the decision-making . . . and was willing to support Zhao Ziyang's conciliatory line until that line demonstrably failed. . . Deng authorised the use of force but also insisted that no blood be spilled in the square. He ordered the new leaders to continue on the path of economic reform and opening to the West.

So divided were the students that when government negotiators asked their leaders whether they could speak for their constituents, they responded that they could not.

Introduction by

Andrew J Nathan.

A further comment about the handling of the situation by the police and the troops in the same introduction:

What happened next [the massacre] was one of the most common yet preventable kinds of tragedy in the world: demonstrators and troops getting out of control. China paid dearly for a lack of democratic openness, which could have made demonstrations a more routine matter and could have acclimated the government and the police to handling them.

This was very much different to Occupy where the Hong Kong police had had two years experience playing cat-and-mouse with Joshua Wong and his radicals.

Now a comment by Deng on Hong Kong:

I once said we should try to create a few more Hong Kongs, and what I meant by that was that we should still insist on opening, we just can't close up again. We should open up more than before. . . Look at Hong Kong, look at the benefits we get from it. Without Hong Kong we'd have no good information, and that's just for starters

Xiaoping Deng, Party Central Office Secretariat, talk with Li Peng and Yilin, 31 May, 1989

Here is part of a pivotal address by Deng to the core leadership two days before the bloodshed:

Imagine for a moment what could happen if China falls into turmoil. If it happens now it'd be far worse than the Cultural Revolution. . . If the turmoil keeps going, it could continue until Party and state authority are worn away. Then there would be civil war, one faction controlling parts of the army and another faction controlling others. If the so-called democracy fighters were in power, they'd fight among themselves. Once civil war got started blood would flow like a river, and where would human rights be then? . . . refugees would flow out of China not in millions or tens of millions but in hundreds of millions. . . This would be disaster on a global scale. . .

Deng Xiaoping, minutes of inner-circle meeting with Li Peng and Bo Yibo

Now, as a final extract, a description of the bloodiest engagements, which were not in Tiananmen where no shots were fired, but round and about Beijing in outer suburbs. This is a report from the State Security Ministry at 2am on 4 June, regarding the situation at Muxidi (a district of Beijing):

At Muxidi Bridge the troops were stopped once again as citizens and students threw the broken bricks they had prepared in advance. . . Regular troops, row by row, came rushing onto the bridge . . . turning their weapons on the crowd. The soldiers then alternated between shooting into the air and firing into the crowd. People began crumpling to the ground. Each time shots rang out, the citizens hunkered down; but with each lull in the fire they stood up again. Slowly driven back by the troops they stood their ground from time to time shouting, 'Fascists!' 'Hooligan government' and 'Murderers'.

At least a hundred citizens fell to the ground in pools of blood.

This was the massacre that shocked the West.

I think it is interesting to hear that those who occupied Tiananmen Square were so divided amongst themselves. So was Occupy to some extent, try as it might to be united, with at least three clear groups: Scholarism, The Hong Kong Federation of Students, and Occupy Hong Kong with Peace and Love.

To me, the inner circle of the Central Party comes well out of The Papers, burdened by a heavy responsibility, articulate, experienced and well-meaning. It may be that fear of being overthrown, disgraced and humiliated may have played a role in their decision-making, but I think the West over-does it. It seems by no means to have been a corrupt leadership at that moment but one striving to tread the best path for China and not allow it to fall into another era of chaos.

REVOLUTION?

Great nation that China is, one of the earliest and most long-standing of civilisations, the Chinese people might yet agree they have rarely been governed well for long: a few pockets of benign totalitarianism during some of the dynasties, perhaps, but many more abhorrent ones. The economic miracle of the last forty years has happened but China is still governed by the Communist Party, a repressive self-serving organ. Certainly that is our view from the West. 'The tentacles of the party are a clan of interconnected interests not an ideological movement,' writes Patten in *East and West* (1998). 'The Communist Party acts as a state within a state, its members concerned primarily with their positions, influence and rewards within the party system,' writes Osborne in *A History of Democracy* (2006).

We might expect, then, that there will be a day of reckoning for the Communist Party, be it tomorrow, in ten years or in fifty, even if we cannot quite guess in what form. The Communist Party will be toppled.

Such an overthrow might be helped along by international students. China has opened up remarkably in the modern epoch. Today, vast numbers of Chinese students freely go out to study in the US, the UK and elsewhere and return to China. True, they don't necessarily make a lot of Western friends, or debate politics or read censored books when they're abroad. In Hong Kong we once interviewed a young man from the mainland who had lived in California for seven years. His English should therefore have been excellent but it wasn't. He had lived in America entirely among a Chinese clique. This is not unusual. I rented a flat in London to three Chinese students they let me know it had become *part of China*, a home from home, nothing but Chinese heard, eaten or seen there, all their entertainment taken on their laptops from Chinese sources, never the BBC news on the television. At Warwick University I saw Chinese students taking one year postgraduate courses without really being touched by England from beginning to

end. Still, one of the best hopes for change in China must be in this exposure of young Chinese to the West, or so we might hope.

No doubt when the economic boom years are over that is when the Communist Party will face its biggest threat. But if the Communist Party is overthrown, will Democracy surely follow?

From where we stand in the Europe or America, we may well see our own political development as a coherent and inevitable modernising progress towards multi-party Democracy and social equality, and therefore assume there is something inevitable about Democracy, which China will eventually come to, in the natural way of things.

In China they might disagree. For a start, when they think of the West they think of what is wrong with it, not what is right with it, as we do in reverse of China. As Joshua Wong commented, to say that the single party system in China is progressive and harmonious is problematic. That is our own view. And yet the Chinese consider our political systems in Europe and America to be full of destructive party politics harmful to sensible governance. The sense your average Chinese has, as he or she tours the UK on holiday, snapping Westminster Abbey and the Harry Potter studios in NW London, is that the political system here is harmfully antagonistic and gives rise to ineffective leadership and to many society ailments – there is so much crime, open rebellion, confusing messages one at odds with the next. Or worse, multi-party politics is a popularity contest which gives rise to short-termist power-hungry Parties making rash promises. No wonder the East has steadily been pulling past the West.

In our mind, the Communist Party is what it has become, corrupt and self-serving, hanging on to power. In Chinese minds, the Communist Party is what it was, what they learnt at school from patriotic songs and stories, idealistic and beautiful, the system that saved the people.

Another question is, is our very make-up as human beings different? Is that why we have not aligned politically but remain West and East and never the twain shall meet? In my opinion, the history of political change in Europe and America rests on a population willing to make a fuss, a fuss that must be carried to every tier of life: to what is wrong in your own house; to what is wrong in your neighbourhood, in the district, in the province, in the state, and finally, in the

country. This historically is where the Chinese may differ from us in the West. Their quiet long-suffering dignity is their fatal flaw, and they have suffered for it.

Do the Chinese have a predilection for uniformity, being the same, thinking he same, and we a predilection for diversity and individualism? Maybe, yes.

In Chinese History, there was never anything to match the aggression of the white man in the eighteen hundreds, trying to steal Chinese territories, to coerce China into its ways. That's why they tried to keep their borders closed and why they chopped the head off anyone who learnt Chinese.