

Report on Violations of Human Rights and Humanitarian Principles by the Hong Kong Police Force

April 2020 (updated on November 2020)

Introduction

1. This report is made based on the testimonies of the providers of humanitarian aid gathered from individual interviews conducted by Civil Rights Observers as well as media reports. All the ten incidents included in this report happened in or after June 2019 in Hong Kong. Civil Rights Observer interviewed four first aiders and one social worker. We consider that social workers who attend the site of protests to mediate the situation and to facilitate legal assistance, in order to protect vulnerable persons (for example, children and people with disabilities) from severe injuries are humanitarian aid workers.¹
2. We also consider human rights observers who monitor assemblies independently by observing and recording the process important in terms of preventing human rights violations that may take place. They should be respected and protected in accordance with human rights and humanitarian principles.
3. The first aiders and social worker signed up for the individual interviews in response to our calls online. We have not taken any steps, such as providing counselling services, to assist them to recollect their experiences or corroborate their testimonies. The first aiders and social worker have shown us their first aid or social worker card to prove their identity.²
4. The names used in this report, except in cases reported by the press, are not real. This is to protect the privacy of the individuals.

¹ For example, in the assemblies in Hong Kong, social workers try to collect the names and emergency contacts of arrested persons, to arrange for lawyers and notify their families.

² Their personal information may be redacted when they showed us their card.

5. For the convenience of the reader, the unreasonable treatment received by the humanitarian aid workers set out in this report is summarised in this table:

Unreasonable treatment	Case 1, Timothy	Case 2, Peter	Case 3, Charles	Case 4, Alex	Case 5, Kyle	Case 6, Harry	Case 7, Key Luk	Case 8, Jackie Chen
Targeted assault by the police	✓	✓				✓	✓ ³	✓ ⁴
Indiscriminate assault by the police			✓					
Damage of medical supplies			Reported by a first aider friend					
Mass stop and search			✓					
Threat of mass arrests			✓					
Arbitrary arrests and charges	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓
Enforced witnessing of use of force on others				✓				
Delayed access to medical care while in police custody	✓				✓			
Delayed access to the lawyer while in police custody					✓			
Verbal humiliation	✓		✓	✓				
Apparent death threat	✓							
Confiscation of first aider card				✓				
Obstruction to humanitarian aid workers		✓	✓		✓			✓
Warrant cards hidden			✓		✓			
Searching of rescue cars			✓					
Secondary injury			✓					
Criticisms from first aid instructor		✓						

³ The police had a conversation with Key Luk and Jackie Chen immediately before the assault and we infer that the police probably knew they were social workers at time of the assault. See CitizenNews, 2019. "The police hit and injured a social worker in his head with the baton, and argues 'they bumped him' when chasing a suspect. Hong Kong Social Workers' General Union: Police officers who are out of control should not possess weapons when they are on duty." (警亂棍扑穿社工頭 辯稱「追捕疑犯時撞到你」社總：警員失控不適宜手持武器執勤). Available at:

<https://www.hkcnews.com/article/24589/%E7%A4%BE%E5%B7%A5%E6%89%91%E7%A9%BF%E9%A0%AD-1031%E6%97%BA%E8%A7%92%E8%A1%9D%E7%AA%81-%E9%99%A3%E5%9C%B0%E7%A4%BE%E5%B7%A5-24589/%E9%99%A3%E5%9C%B0%E7%A4%BE%E5%B7%A5>

⁴ Same as above.

Case 1 – Timothy (interviewed by Civil Rights Observer)

Targeted assault by the police and arbitrary arrest

6. On 11 August 2019, the night when a first aider was shot in the eye by a police officer, a volunteer first aider Timothy, together with two other first aiders and two journalists, were in Tsim Sha Tsui, near the police station. Timothy saw the police shot tear gas canisters horizontally at themselves. There was no one else near them; the protestors were about 100 to 150 meters away.
7. Timothy was wearing a reflective vest and a helmet that identified him as a first aider. A group of police tactical squad unit officers was subduing a group of protestors and Timothy got subdued in the same action. The police tore his respirator off his face and tied his wrists with a cable tie while the other police officers were deploying tear gas, making Timothy lose consciousness partly and vomit.

Delayed access to medical care while in police custody

8. While Timothy was in the police station after the arrest, he was given the notice to persons in custody (Pol. 153), which lists the rights of detainees included seeking legal assistance and medical attention. However, the police told the arrestees that they could only choose either one. Timothy chose to go to the hospital. The officer said he and the other arrested persons would only be sent to the hospital after taking the statement. However, after Timothy did so, the police did not send him to the hospital.
9. Timothy was sent to the hospital after seeing his lawyer and 12 hours after his arrest. The medical staff requested Timothy to change, but the police refused to unlock the restraints on his body, so Timothy had to stay in his dirty clothes
10. After the incident, Timothy had nausea easily and could only take liquid food for a month. The doctor had mentioned that he could only take in food properly when there are fewer tear gas residues in his stomach.

Verbal humiliation while in police custody

11. During the detention in the police station, Timothy requested to see the doctor several times as he kept vomiting but was ignored. While he was resting his head and arms on the table, a police officer asked whether he wanted to become a floating corpse. (Note: some members of the public in Hong Kong suspect some dead bodies floating in the sea are persons killed by the police.) This made Timothy felt that he was going to be killed.
12. Timothy had his first aider identification card with him on that night

Case 2 – Peter (interviewed by Civil Rights Observer)

Targeted assault by the police

13. In November 2019, volunteer first aider Peter saw that there was some altercation between the police and citizens near his home. He went to the site, wearing reflective first aid badges on his arm and backpack.

14. At the site, he saw a woman who had been pepper-sprayed. He helped her wash her eyes. About 15 seconds into the treatment, a team of about 20 riot police officers walked up to him, and one of them pushed him with his/her baton held horizontally. Peter had shown his first aider cards to the police and asked if the police could wait while he was treating the woman. Peter felt the police officer was not communicating; he/she would just repeat his/her own words whatever Peter said. Peter could not see any identification number on the police officer's uniform.
15. When the police officer pushed for the third time, as self-defence, Peter tried to stop the officer from pushing further by holding the baton. The police officer yelled and said, "Are you assaulting a police officer?" Peter thought they might be going to arrest him. At this point, another police officer came up and asked Peter to leave. Peter then left with the woman he was treating.
16. This happened in Peter's neighbourhood, which is mostly residential and quite mundane to Peter. He thinks the police escalated the conflict. Peter did not understand such a strategy.

Obstruction to humanitarian aid workers

17. On 12 June 2019, Peter saw a man who was about 16 to 20 years old being subdued by the police on the floor. His body was covered with tear gas or pepper spray for at least ten minutes before he was taken onto an ambulance. All the time the police prohibited any first aiders from treating the young man.
18. Peter has been reminding himself to keep calm as he does not want any of his actions to stigmatise first aiders either.

"I think Hong Kong people are in a worse situation than war captives or prisoners of war. Prisoners of war are protected by the Geneva Conventions. People in Hong Kong are not."

Criticisms from first aid instructor

19. The instructor of a first aid training course that Peter attended knew that Peter had been at protest sites. The instructor regularly criticized protestors, calling them "cockroaches", and although no one was named, Peter felt that the criticisms were targeted at him, based on the demeanor of the instructor. As Peter understood, some instructors of that course worked for disciplinary forces in Hong Kong. Peter worried that this will affect his prospect of getting further first aid accreditation.

Case 3 – Charles (interviewed by Civil Rights Observer)

Indiscriminate assault by the police and damage of supplies

20. Charles, a volunteer first aider, was at a protest site and shot near the eye by what he suspected to be a rubber bullet. His goggles blocked the bullet but his head moved backward due to the force. Another volunteer first aider walking by his side was hit by something similar in the abdomen, an area which happened to be protected by some clothing or gear. Charles was in a white helmet and a reflective vest and the other first aider in a reflective vest with

the letters “EMS” on it. Since the air was filled with fumes at that time and the shot probably came from police officers about two blocks away, Charles could not judge whether the police targeted him and the other first aider or not.

21. On another occasion, Charles’ first aider teammate was splashed by a police water cannon. His teammate had seen the water cannon coming and tried to shield another person, thinking the police might not splash at a first aider, as he was in a reflective vest. However, the police shot water at him, nevertheless. His whole body was soaked and extremely irritated with water dyed in blue. His supplies were splashed as well and had to be discarded.

Mass stop and search

22. On 1 January 2020, after a rally organized by Civil Human Rights Front was cut short by the police, about 400 persons, including journalists and volunteer first aiders were stopped by the police outside the Sogo department store in Causeway Bay according to the media⁵.
23. Charles was stopped together with about 20 other first aiders as he could observe. The police asked all the journalists there to leave. The police called Charles and some others “so-called ‘first aiders’”. Charles recalled that a District Councillor who was also being detained asked the police for the reason for the stop and search, and some police officers responded, “We are now arresting you, don’t you ask more questions.”
24. Charles was asked by the police to hold his identity card in front of his chest and shout his own name while the police was shooting videos.
25. The police searched Charles and many others on the street. Charles’ bag was also searched. Charles observed that some female first aiders were searched by male police officers on the street.
26. Charles had to wait for three hours for the search. He did not understand why it took so long, as he observed some police officers had always been stationed there and could have conducted the search earlier. He requested to go to the washroom but was told by the police that someone was there and only one person could go at a time, although he did not see anyone going. Some others who requested going to the washroom were searched first and let go.

Indiscriminate assault by the police and damage of supplies

27. During the police’s containment of the Polytechnic University of Hong Kong on 17 November 2019, Charles was on campus and received a message from a Legislative Councillor that the police would arrest people on the premises for rioting, the maximum sentence for which is ten years. Charles managed to leave but the police pointed their guns at a group behind him. That group could not leave and their identity card information was recorded by the police. Charles learned that some in that group was/were charged with rioting afterwards.

⁵ Chan, H., 2020. A million attend pro-democracy demo, say organisers, as Hong Kong police halt protest early amid vandalism, tear gas. Hong Kong Free Press. Available at: <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/01/01/million-attend-pro-democracy-demo-say-organisers-hong-kongpolice-halt-protest-early-amid-vandalism-tear-gas/>.

Verbal humiliation

28. Charles was repeatedly humiliated by the police with profanities and terms like “cockroach”. The police often mocked him and other first aiders, saying they were deployed for nothing. One time, his teammate, who had sprained his ankle and was in a blue vest with the letters “EMS” and identifiable as a first aider, was humiliated by the police with profanities, saying that he was “crippled but still came out”. The police also once said to Charles, “Do you think the reflective vest gives you any immunity?”

Searching of rescue cars

29. Some citizens in Hong Kong mobilise themselves to assist participants of protests, especially the younger ones, for example by driving them home or to the hospital. These are commonly called the “parent cars”. Charles has heard from his friends that the police would stop these “parent cars” at roadblocks and sometimes ask everyone on the cars to get off the car and take photos and identity card information of them. The police would then intimidate the driver and the passengers verbally, telling them they would be in trouble if the police saw them again. It appears to Charles that the police may have kept the licence plate numbers of suspected “parent cars”.

Secondary injury

30. Charles treated people who had been splashed by police water cannons on multiple occasions. Every time, he would feel irritated when washing and wiping the chemicals off people’s bodies. The irritation was the most severe when he treated people splashed at the Chinese University of Hong Kong on 12 November 2019, the night the police shot more than 1,000 tear gas canisters at the campus.

Obstruction to humanitarian aid workers

31. Charles have seen injured persons not having timely treatment, especially in Admiralty, many times.

“The police claimed they did not need my help as they themselves have first aid qualifications. I know they are qualified; the problem is they are not treating the injured!”

Warrant cards hidden

32. Charles had not seen a warrant card with information fully shown or proper police identification number on any police officer at protest sites.

Case 4 – Alex (interviewed by Civil Rights Observer)

Arbitrary arrest and enforced witnessing of the use of force on others

33. During the above-mentioned containment of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, the police demanded everyone to leave the campus before 10pm, or else they would be arrested for rioting. Alex, a volunteer first aider, left the campus with the last group of journalists and volunteer first aiders ten minutes before the “deadline”. He was wearing a reflective vest and a helmet, clearly identifiable as a first aider. While they were leaving, police pointed what appeared to be AR-15 semi-automatic rifles at them from a high level about 150 meters away. Police claimed the group were suspected of rioting, and asked them to wait for a body search

before leaving the area. Although Alex and the other volunteer first aiders and journalists had left the campus before 10pm, the police arrested them after 10pm, allowing only journalists from mainstream media agencies to leave. During the arrest, the police forcefully pulled Alex, spraining his waist and thigh.

34. During the arrest, police also forced the group to witness how they fired what appeared to be flares at Core Y of the campus. Alex believes the police wanted to cause casualties by shooting flares directly at Core Y, where many people who were trying to leave the campus gathered, and that the police wanted to scare him and others by forcing them to watch the scene. He also thinks that police had no power to force them to witness the scene. Such action was much more violent than confiscating Alex's first aid card.

35. After the incident, Alex got extremely anxious and restless. After the arrest, Alex experienced recurrent nightmares of the scenes. He has been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder and bipolar disorder by a psychiatrist and a psychologist.

Verbal humiliation while in police custody and confiscation of first aider card

36. While in the police station after the arrest, the police verbally insulted Alex and asked him to unlock his phone. Alex complied. Police also confiscated his first aid card, which had the effect of hindering him from providing humanitarian aid in the protests. Charles separately reported that the police would ask first aiders to present their first aid cards at protest sites.

Case 5 – Kyle (interviewed by Civil Rights Observer)

Arbitrary arrest

37. On the day of his arrest, Kyle was stopped and searched by the police with no reason given, while he was wearing a reflective vest and a helmet that identified him as a first aider. After the search, the police officer seemed to plan to let him go, but the commander instructed the officers to arrest him. Kyle was then handcuffed in cable ties. Kyle was not informed of the offences he had been arrested for until he got the statement right before his release from police custody.

Delayed access to medical care while in police custody

38. While being detained in the police station, Kyle kept requesting medical care, but was only sent to the hospital about 15 hours after his arrest. He was restrained by shackles while being sent to the hospital.

Delayed access to the lawyer while in police custody

39. After Kyle was sent to the police station, he and the other arrested persons were verbally humiliated by the police. Kyle requested to be accompanied by a lawyer while taking the statement but the police yelled at him and said it was not needed. In the end, he took the statement without a lawyer present. Kyle requested the police to state how they had treated him in the statement but the police refused. He only saw his lawyer after 45 hours, when he had been released on bail.

Obstruction to humanitarian aid workers.

40. While waiting to be taken to the police station, Kyle also requested to treat an injured person there but the police refused. At the time of Kyle's arrest, another arrestee nearby seemed to be losing consciousness. Kyle told the police officers that he could assist that person but was yelled at by the police with profanities. He still could not see any ambulance coming for that arrestee by the time Kyle was taken to the police station.

Warrant card hidden

41. The police officer(s) who arrested Kyle did not wear their warrant card.

Case 6 – Harry (interviewed by Civil Rights Observer)

Arbitrary arrest and targeted assault

42. Harry, a social worker, was trying to mediate between the police and protestors on the day of his arrest. While the police officers were dispersing the crowds, Harry shouted, "They were leaving, slow down." He also displayed his social worker identification card to show he had no malicious intention but was ignored. A police officer suddenly charged forward and hit Harry with the shield. He/she then pulled him into the cordoned area. Harry felt he was surrounded by a group of police officers and his head, arms, body and back were beaten by their fists and elbows for around ten to 20 seconds. Harry was then subdued on the ground by three to four police officers. The police kept asking Harry not to resist. Harry reiterated he was a social worker and did not resist. The police kicked him and hit him with their baton/batons.
43. Harry thought this was an arbitrary arrest, as he was clearly identifiable as a social worker without obstructing police action. Also, the beatings happened after he had come under the police control and were totally unnecessary.

Case 7 and 8 – Key Luk and Jackie Chen (according to media reports)

Assault by the police

44. According to a news report, on 31 October 2019, during a protest in Mong Kok, Key Luk, a social worker, said he saw some police officers grabbing an elderly woman where there was no confrontation nearby. He asked the police not to hurt that woman. Suddenly he was pushed by other police officers and repeatedly beaten with hard objects. Key later said in a press conference that the police hit his head five times with the baton, leaving him with a seven-centimetre wound that required five stitches. He said the police involved were all masked and did not wear any warrant card, so he could not lodge a specific complaint.⁶

⁶ Cheng, K., 2019. Hong Kong social workers complain of mistreatment by riot police. South China Morning Post. Available at: <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2019/11/02/hong-kong-social-workers-complain-mistreatment-riot-police/>; Hong Kong Economic Journal, 2019. Hong Kong Social Workers' General Union condemns the increase in the level of police violence and the indiscriminate assault on social workers and journalists. Available at: <https://www1.hkej.com/features/article?q=%23%E5%8F%8D%E4%BF%AE%E4%BE%8B%E6%9C%80%E6%96%B0%E7%99%BC%E5%B1%95%23&suid=1456923765>.

45. Jackie Chen Hung-sau, another social worker, was also assaulted by the police that night. When she asked the police for the reasons for their treatment of Key, she was pepper-sprayed at close range by a police officer.⁷

Arbitrary arrest and charge

46. On 31 August 2019, the police charged 16 people with rioting, including two social workers. Any charge with rioting faces a maximum sentence of 10 years' imprisonment. One of them was Jackie Chen; she was arrested for unlawful assembly, but was later charged with rioting. She often carried a loudspeaker in the front lines to ease the tensions between the police and the participants of the protests. She was later released on bail.⁸

Obstruction to humanitarian aid workers

47. In August 2019, a 12-year-old protestor was arrested on suspicion of taking part in an unlawful assembly. He was then sent to the Tsuen Wan police station. Jackie Chen said she had asked if she could accompany the boy to the police station but was refused, although Chapter 49 of the Police General Orders requires the presence of an appropriate adult for detained persons under the age of 16.⁹

Arrests of human rights observers

Civil Rights Observer (1 January 2020)

Arbitrary and indiscriminate mass arrests

48. On 1 January 2020, three human rights observers of Civil Rights Observers were arrested in Causeway Bay while monitoring and recording the procession and assembly organised by the Civil Human Rights Front. Together with a large crowd of other citizens, three observers were detained outside the Sogo Department Store for around four hours until they were eventually arrested.
49. The three observers were arrested for taking part in an unlawful assembly, even though they did nothing violent and were wearing uniforms and cards which clearly identified them as "Human Rights Observers", and they had explained their role and work to the police.

Verbal abuse and delayed access to legal assistance

50. During the detention, the three observers were verbally abused by police officers, especially in relation to their role as human rights observers. One observer had to wait for more than 36 hours to seek legal assistance after being arrested, another for more than 20 hours to meet the lawyer. The police confiscated their clothes, observer uniforms, observer cards, protective gear, mobile phones and cameras, which were used to document police actions. Their

⁷ Ting, V., 2019. Hong Kong welfare minister refuses lawmaker's call to condemn alleged police violence on social workers. South China Morning Post. Available at: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hongkong/politics/article/3036008/hong-kong-welfare-minister-refuses-lawmakers-call-condemn>.

⁸ Chui, A., 2019. Police arrest more than 1,000 during HK protests. Asia Times. Available at: <https://asiatimes.com/2019/09/police-arrest-more-than-1000-during-hk-protests/>.

⁹ Hong Kong Police Force, 2019. Police General Orders, chapter 49, paragraph 24. Available at: <https://www.police.gov.hk/info/doc/pgo/en/Eppo049.pdf>.

belongings are still held by the police although they have been released and the bail conditions no longer apply to them.

Rights Exposure (18 November 2019)

51. On the morning of 18 November 2019, two members of Rights Exposure, Robert Godden and Jennifer Wang, were arrested for rioting as they attempted to exit a police cordon set up around protests at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. They were wearing vests and work identification cards, clearly identifiable as human rights observers.

Verbal abuse and confiscation of belongings

52. While Godden and Wang were in police custody, they were verbally abused by a police officer that specifically referenced their role as human rights observers. Their lawyers had waited at the police station for over three hours before they were able to meet.
53. They were later released on bail after 15 and 27 hours of detention respectively. The police confiscated their vests, protective gear, public transport cards and mobile phones. Their belongings were held by the police despite them no longer being under bail conditions.¹⁰

Conclusions and Recommendations

54. The reported assault on first aiders and social workers, mass stop and search of first aiders, apparent death threat to one first aider, arbitrary arrests and the unreasonable treatment after arrest would violate Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) on the right to liberty and security as it relates to these humanitarian aid workers. In the cases mentioned above, nothing points to the necessity of such assault, threat and search.
55. The police's verbal humiliation of citizens, including humanitarian aid workers, would amount to degrading treatment, violating Article 7 of the ICCPR. Such humiliation has been repeatedly documented by the media and citizens¹¹, but the Hong Kong Government has failed to take steps to stop it, violating Article 16 of the Convention against Torture (CAT).
56. The reported assault on first aiders and social workers, mass stop and search of first aiders, apparent death threat to one first aider, arbitrary arrests and the unreasonable treatment after arrest would also violate the principle of humanity as well as the spirit of Article 11 of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II). Moreover, it shows instances where the police did not distinguish between those that may have been considered to be "combatants" by them and humanitarian aid workers.

¹⁰ For more about the arrests of human rights observers, see Civil Rights Observer, Amnesty International Hong Kong, Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor, Rights Exposure, 2020. Open letter: Arrest of human rights monitors in breach of the Hong Kong government's international obligations. Available at: <https://www.hkcro.org/en/2020/03/27/%E3%80%90open-letter%E3%80%91arrest-of-human-rights-monitors-in-breach-of-the-hong-kong-governments-international-obligations/>

¹¹ See, for example, Cheng, L., 2019. Can the term 'cockroach' actually be a compliment for Hong Kong protesters? Officers from police's public relations unit contradict each other on pesky issue. South China Morning Post. Available at: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/law-and-crime/article/3043306/can-term-cockroach-actually-be-compliment-hong-kong>.

57. In relation to the participants of assemblies and the public at large, such police actions may deter citizens from attending assemblies as humanitarian aid workers. The chilling effect of such actions have been documented. For example, in France, Amnesty International has found that individuals who provided humanitarian aid to migrants felt anxiety and pressure to stop their activities in face of risks of arrest and prosecution. They are torn between their sense of duty to provide humanitarian and the hostility towards their work.¹²
58. In a context where the Hong Kong Police Force has repeatedly been observed to assault and afterwards delay access medical treatment for the participants of assemblies, such deterrence may violate the right to life under Article 2 of the ICCPR, the right not to be subjected to torture and other cruel and inhuman treatment under Article 7 of the ICCPR and Article 16 of CAT, the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health under Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, of the participants of assemblies and the public at large.
59. As pointed out by Darren Mann, a Hong Kong-based doctor who was part of a medical team that provided humanitarian assistance at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University when the Hong Kong Police Force was going to contain the university, the principle of humanity justifies the presence of any suitably qualified person to attend to the wounded; the police does not have monopoly on the provision of first aid.¹³
60. The widespread hiding of the warrant cards and police identification numbers also makes it difficult for the victims and the public at large to hold the police accountable.
61. The availability of humanitarian aid is one of the fundamental characteristics of civilized society and is essential to public trust in the government. Such actions of the police would erode confidence in law enforcement and are at least partly responsible for the further escalation of the tension in Hong Kong. As pointed out by the International Committee of the Red Cross when discussing internal disturbances and tensions generally, unlawful, arbitrary and discriminatory action can erode confidence in law enforcement, further endanger public safety and be at least partly responsible for the further escalation of a situation.¹⁴
62. The above-mentioned actions of the police may also breach Article 3(5) of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on rights and freedoms, particularly the freedom of expression and assembly.

About Civil Rights Observer

Established in 2014, the Civil Rights Observer works to protect and promote civil and political rights in Hong Kong, with a focus on police abuse of powers. The four pillars of our work are: human rights

¹² Amnesty International, 2019. Targeting Solidarity: Criminalization and Harassment of People Defending Refugee and Migrant Rights in Northern France. Available at:

<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR2103562019ENGLISH.PDF>, p.23.

¹³ Mann, D., 2020. International humanitarian norms in Hong Kong. *The Lancet*, 395, p.869. Available at: <https://www.thelancet.com/action/showPdf?pii=S0140-6736%2820%2930369-X>

¹⁴ International Committee of the Red Cross, 2011. Violence and the Use of Force. Available at: https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/icrc_002_0943.pdf, p.21.

education, police power monitoring, policy advocacy, and emergency human rights support. More information available at: <https://www.hkcro.org/>.