

# MINUS 8

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(8 YEARS TO 1984)

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Emperor Hirohito

Emperor Hirohito as "the No 1 War Criminal" and "The Biggest Murderer of Asians"

the 75-year-old Emperor is an "A-class war criminal" and "murderer of Asians."

Dear Friends,

We are writing you in great haste about a matter of grave concern to 100 million Japanese (and, we hope, no less directly and urgently to the people of Asia and the whole world). This is the attempt by the Japanese reactionary forces to reinvest in the emperor the pre-eminent powers that he held decades ago when, as the apex and figurehead of the fascist, militarist power structure, he led the Japanese nation into the misery and tragedy of a war encompassing the whole of Asia. The most specific, concrete and deliberate manifestation of this attempt was made official a little over a week ago: that is the decision to hold ceremonies on November 10th to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Hirohito's ascension to the throne as emperor of Japan.

On 25 December, 1926, Yoshihito, then the emperor of Japan, died and his son, the crown prince Hirohito, took his place on the throne. Two years later (after the appropriate period of mourning), the ascension was made official on November 10th. During the half-century of his reign, the Japanese people have lived through the fascist repressions of the 30s, the take-over of state power by the military and the headlong rush into the Pacific War of the 40s - all fueled by a growing messianic chauvinism whose

central expression was the ideological fixation on the emperor as authority mandated by heaven. Soon this messianic chauvinism took a terrible toll not only in Japan, but throughout all of Asia. Banzais to the Japanese emperor came to be the enforced daily ritual of millions of Asians, as the Japanese military juggernaut continued without let-up. Eventually the "Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" came to include Korea, most of China, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and nearly all of the South Pacific. Even Americans, Australians or other peoples who never experienced atrocities and massacres in their own homelands like those suffered by the people of Nanking (200,000 dead in a week of beatial blood-letting) still harbor vivid memories of the war – such as the "kamikaze" ("divine wind") pilots diving to their deaths with banzais to the emperor the last words off their lips. All these war crimes and many more were perpetrated with the explicit blessings of the emperor.

It is not our wish, out of a spirit of vindictiveness, to try Hirohito for his past crimes. The war is over and, terrible as it was, his crimes should be forgiven, just as the crimes of many other Japanese whose self-righteous fanaticism brought on such tragic consequences. Our job is rather to learn from the past and prevent the same mass psychology from developing again. It is this same fascist psychology which is now rearing its ugly head and now threatens to take on the overt, state-sanctioned form of obeisance to an authority beyond question or challenge. With the recent decision to officially commemorate the 50th anniversary of Hirohito's accession, no longer are these right-wing designs but a vague, indistinct tendency. No longer must we sit and wait, wondering when they will make their move. They are making it!

In the mass media today Hirohito is not mentioned by name; he is always referred to as "His Majesty The Emperor" (ask many Japanese the name of their present emperor and they simply don't know). So far removed from us ordinary mortals is he that only rarely does he appear outside the walls of his official palace, with its staff of hundreds. Only once since the war has he granted a press conference (and it was on that occasion that he denied any responsibility for the War). So feared is the threat of right-wing reprisals that manuscripts calling for an end of the emperor system cannot find publishers (the first thorough historical analysis of Hirohito's part in the execution of the military conquest of Asia was written a few years ago – by a foreigner, and it was published abroad; only in the last three years, after Bergamini's study crediting Hirohito with much of the responsibility for the War appeared in translation, have critical works begun appearing in the Japanese language.)

Alert to what the right wing is up to, some of us Japanese have prepared leaflets and political literature throwing light on these sinister moves. We have explained how and why the established forces of reaction hope to reinvest in the emperor his former power, and how they plan to use him as a vehicle for their own return to power. Because of the threat to our own safety, we cannot do this as openly as we would like, so much of our literature does not carry a contact address. That way we can avoid the risk of bombings and knifings by gangsters and right-wing elements.

Friends, please help us defeat them. Please help us defeat these moves towards a revival of emperor-ism, totalitarian control and rearmament for war. Please join us in a common struggle to overcome non-violently the organized violence of the state.

In struggle,

ARU NAKAMA

## The Social Personality in Chinese Communist Society

The author of this article is Sau Choi who fled to Hongkong in 1973. Sau Choi was a prominent Red Guard in the Canton area during the Cultural Revolution.

..... China is a single-party state. A social personality has been moulded through political pressure to sustain the whole society. In modern societies, the social personality has internalised external needs. The peculiarity of Chinese communist society lies in the fact that within the single party state, the social personality has been forcefully generated and moulded by the regime whilst it evolved more often from the internal dynamics in other societies. As a successor to Lenin, Mao has made tremendous contributions in this aspect. He seeks to change the social personality according to his personal view and the needs of society, so that it will correspond to the political and economic needs of a single dictatorial party state. The following are the characteristics of the social personality in communist China:

### 1. The Religious personality

Why is it essential for the rulers to develop religious properties in the social personality? Religion makes one feel that one is carrying the cross; and with this spiritual support, man would accept the dehumanised society, or even explain and beautify the situation in which man finds himself. At the same time, religion can divert people's anger and hatred for the rulers into their own self-examinations. Religion turns men into sinners. Religion turns the rebellious masses who have immense hatred for the rulers into dependant, worshipping slaves of the latter. The more authoritarian society is, the more successful a religious personality may be moulded. How is this religious social personality created out of people's life? The suffering masses, in their resistance and reaction to the miseries of their social life, come to a feeling of utter hopelessness in such an autocratic society and so they would rather depend on religion. Man would rise and rebel when society is less autocratic. When the Chinese communists first set up their regime, people thought that they would bring an ideal society. But the Chinese communists never realise their promises and the people feel that after all those bloodshed and struggles, they have simply left one hell and plunged into another slightly better hell. They are totally disappointed and feel that rebelling against the rulers provide no solutions. The only way then is to embrace it, and in doing so will have to rely on religion for support in the controlled society.

The religious personality is highly idealistic. They believe that the society is progressing to be a better world, but they do not know what is it that they want. All they have is faith in themselves, and in sayings that 'Communism is heaven, socialism is the Jacob's ladder', that 'Chairman Mao waves and I come forward'. No one really knows, or cares to find out what is true socialism. The Idealism of this generation is a transformation of the spirit of the people brought about by Mao Tse-tung.

To the West, idealism means humanism and something that is desirable. On account of their experience, they have no idea of totalitarian idealism which can be characterised by the believer's passionlessness and dependence on the figure head. [This kind of idealism defies the will of pursuit and refutes knowledge of self. This is the situation of China in the Mao Tse-tung era. In a spring Trade Fair, a man from another province saw a display of tomatoes in the Canton Market, and asked to buy a catty. The

seller replied that the tomatoes, which 'acclaimed the glory of Chairman Mao and were the pride of the society' were not for sale. From this common and yet so uncommon reply, the blindness of the people under the great idealism is well demonstrated. What have the people become? The reaction of the intellectual youths to this great idealism is blind fervour and blind sacrifice. Before the Cultural Revolution, they thought it was worthwhile and glorifying to suffer and sacrifice for their motherland. They gave up their studentship even after they had been admitted, to work in the rural community. But how had the farmers educated them? A 14-15 year old girl, having graduated from junior high, refused to attend senior high but to follow older youths to work in the countryside. She said her teacher had told her that going up the mountain & down to the countryside is as courageous as the Red Guards who crossed the mountain in indomitable strength. In her enthusiasm, unswayed by her family's objection she left for a small Hakka mountain village. The villagers all thought that she did not understand the dialect, but before long she had learnt it. She found out that the farmers, appearing to welcome her, actually resented her - a city dweller who had the best of everything, coming to the village to take a share of what little they had. The farmers had not intended to torture the girl, but it was only the realism of life. In another instance, a group of young people who came from different backgrounds, went to a village commune with the intention of building up the village. They found that in introducing socialism to the villagers, the policies set by the regime could not meet their needs. They wanted to show the farmers a paradise, but the farmers did not want it. The village community thought they were trouble-makers. They were cruelly beaten and were looked upon as counter-revolutionaries. Their conclusion was: in this society, even though idealism is advocated, the higher the ideal the greater the pressure.

The numbness in the people did not exist when communism first took over the country. In the early years, many intellectual youths came forward to express their views on an ideal society. The people were prepared to seek and experiment. Mao Tse-tung, for the first time, utilized political power to create a totalitarian idealism. Those raising objections were looked upon as Counter-revolutionaries. After numerous suppressions, the people became unfeeling. Idealism became a supportive slogan. Till now, Chinese people cannot even maintain self-respect, not to say personal ideals. Intellectuals Kuo Muo-jo are held in contempt by the literary circle. Have they no ideals? It is not that they are so degraded as to give away their self respect, but that the society has not allowed them to keep it.

Those living outside of China often adopt an attitude of objectivity and apathy when they criticise China. They refer to those youths who escaped to Hong Kong as 'scum'. It cannot be denied that some of them has had bad habits, yet should they be held responsible for it? In Hong Kong, the behaviour of the people is accredited to the influence of society, yet why is it that the so-called 'scum' of mainland China are held responsible for themselves? One should therefore speak from the point of view of a human being when discussing the affairs of China or criticising the people, instead of that of an apathetic spectator.

Another characteristic of the religious personality is hero-worship. If the basic structure of society is collectivism in which the uniting force is power, it will shatter many people. It is this feeling of incompetence that give rise to hero-worship. Only the embracing of a hero can give direction and support in the people's lives. Under these circumstances, Mao Tse-tung on his pedestal, very successfully became the god of the

people.

A good example will be Mui Hsien-teh who, in carrying out his duties in Hainan, was badly injured. He could not recognize his parents, but he would cry out 'Long live Chairman Mao' when a portrait of Mao Tse-tung was brought near. On this account, Yeh Chin-ying paid him a visit, was impressed and spread word around to tell people to learn from him. Everyone praised him. Should not a free man, or Mao Tse-tung himself, hearing of such an incident from 7 billion people, feel ashamed? Is it not a tragic incident?

There was another student who in a high fever, recited the writings of Mao. He was admired by everyone and was looked upon as a model countryman. The hospital diagnosed him to be an acute case of schizophrenia. An analysis of his social background showed that he was born of an intellectual family. His parents were school teachers, which was slightly better than landowners and capitalists. From the psychological point of view, he broke down under the pressure.

One other characteristic of the religious personality is 'selflessness'. Anything that suppresses the self, the id, forms the core of Mao Tse-tung's standard of ethical values. This mode of ethics manifests itself in a 'selfless personality'. This is not the sublime state reached through 'religiousness', but a cruel suppression of desires brought about by force. Mao Tse-tung exemplifies it with 'firstly, fear not suffering, secondly, fear not death'. During the Cultural Revolution, a newsletter from a high school recorded the following: A pot of soup served at lunch had a small piece of meat floating in it. Students were attracted but all conscientiously avoided this little morsel when they filled their bowls. The officer from the Branch of the League was watching the proceedings till one student unintentionally ladled it into his bowl. The student instantly became pale with fear, while the officer glared at him. This student unavoidably became the object of attack. He was boycotted and later went into a stupor. The intention of the newsletter was to point out the officer's lack of concern for people. Viewed from the present, it belied the spirit of the times. How shall the question of material needs be handled? The indulgence of the West undoubtedly merits criticism. But similarly, suppression of desires for material needs, resulting in psychological abnormality then considered normal, is equally obnoxious, meriting criticism.

Formulation of emotional ties is a normal need in human interaction. In the existing Chinese society, these emotional ties are suppressed all but one, that between the people and the ruler, the people and the state. This tactic was not invented by Mao Tse-tung for any dictator would use it. The more the people are suppressed, the more they turn to worship and depend upon their great leader. Mao Tse-tung has been very successful in strangling the emotions of the people. A model figure, Lu Feng, had said, 'My parents gave me a heart only, the light of the party shines on it,' and 'Chairman Mao waves and I come forward' etc.. These models show that they had inhibited all emotions but that for the leader.

There was a very 'red' high school student who wrote an article entitled 'My Beloved Father'. But when the article was discovered, this student was criticised by 'big-character' posters. He fell from his esteemed radical position to that of a common one. It was because he displayed values unentertained by society - love of his parent, while only the great ruler was considered worthy of such sentiments.

During the 'reign' of Mao Tse-tung, China can be called a moral society. Suppression of sex seems to be an answer. But on closer observation, are Chinese people special? Do they need the opposite sex, or are they puritans or moralists, according to the

Western society? The inhibition China has shown towards sex is as abnormal as the licentiousness of the West. The policies and the advocate of a dictatorship has strangled the need for emotional interaction between the sexes. For the whole generation, sex has become fearful and guilty feelings. A group of youths were assigned to work in a village in Hainan. One of them chanced to see the naked body of a girl when he passed the dormitory and was strangely excited. After this incident, unaware of what was happening to him, he had sexual relations with the girl. She got pregnant and out of fear, she confessed to her supervisor and generated a hatred for the young man. These incidents are very common. The sexual awakening that comes with maturity usually gives the young people a feeling of guilt. Those with strong self-discipline usually become mentally disturbed, and in behaviour, become stupidified; those who are of a nervous disposition become slaves of guilt feelings.

On the other hand, does society need to punish these 'amoralists'? The method employed by the masses was as gross as was unnecessary.

There were two students who were from intellectual families. Both liked Western classical literature. They often talked to each other. As their thinking was more open, they were criticized by their classmates. They became the target of attack in a social struggle, and were paraded along the streets with black placards hung around their necks. The crowd was gleeful when the two were made to demonstrate their intimacy. The psychology of the masses showed that they condemned 'immoral' behaviour, yet in their own behaviour they were vulgar.

## 2. The Political personality

China has been celebrated for her traditional style of rule by a hero or a virtuous man. The introduction of dictatorship from the West has given rise to the present day single party rule in China. The Chinese society lay emphasis on leadership, which controlled the thinking and running of the whole society including personal lives. The effect on society was the evolving of a type of personality termed 'political personality'. The sense of right and wrong, and morality has been made political. A man's income, daily needs, interpersonal relationships etc. is evaluated by the views of the man in the highest authority. To the common man, life itself is politics; those who are not proletarians are capitalists. Ethics means the unceasing criticism and struggle against self and the others.

There was a radical high school student who came from the family of a cadre. In her daily life she tried to hide the fact that she was well-off by cutting up her new clothes, putting patches on them, and piercing holes in new shoes. One day she noticed the hairstyle of one of the players at a table-tennis match. She thought it might be cool and cut a similar hairstyle. It happened that the Socialist Education Campaign was being launched, and she was greatly embarrassed. The result was she was criticized severely and punished.

The journal 'Chinese Youth' had recorded an incident in which a young man complained of a recurrent headache. He went to the secretary of the Branch of the League to evaluate himself. The secretary after hearing what he had to say, blew him up with: how could a young man catch a brain disease, and isn't that a capitalist illness? It can be seen that even illness has become political. Another young man suffered from psychosis to the stage of committing suicide. His brother found his diary, and thought he was poisoned by Western capitalistic values, and tried to help him by turning in the diary to the supervisor. What was not expected was that the sick brother was criticised, aggravating his

illness. The above two examples illustrated the outward manifestations of a political life, in which, following the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, politics covers almost anything.

The political personality is also internalised. One student was assigned to work in a village and during one mealtime, he found a worm in his rice. After looking around, he did not notice anyone spitting out worms and he thought: why was it that other people had not seen any worm but him? He felt it was feelings of class distinction involving his political standpoint, therefore he closed his eyes and swallowed the worm. The minds of the people are in this way controlled by politics.

Another example appeared in the People's Daily. A committee officer, who frequently visited the production team of a village, was invited to dine at a farmer's house. Although it was a show customary friendliness of the Chinese, the officer did not touch his chopsticks. He had often thought that eating and taking from others weakens personal discipline. Should he fail to up keep this principle he would be going against the principle of the party. The intention of publishing this incident was to praise the man, but it revealed a neurotic sensitivity towards politics. The formation of this sensitivity was brought about by numerous complex political struggles while at the same time the people were terrorized so that everyone was enveloped by a veil of fear.

A team captain once disclosed to his close friends that during the period of the 'four clean-ups' no one knew whether he was the target and no one spoke to each other, in case the other person might be found guilty of crime against the party. Everyone confessed of corruption, of having capitalistic thoughts whether it be true or false. The team captain was then the leader of a small production team where they made just enough and there was nothing to take. But under the veil of fear, he made up enough falsehoods on himself to reach a certain point so that the work team might stop the interrogation. He had to return all that he claimed to have taken, and it was a considerable sum. He could not make up the sum and in desperation tried to tear pieces off his house to be sold to pay the debt. It was the dead of Winter and his family cried and pleaded, and only after some persuasion did he stop tearing down his house. It was not without a tremor that the farmers mention the 'four clean-ups'.

There are other examples illustrating the horror of excessive politicisation. Towards the latter part of the Cultural Revolution, the leaders of the Red Guards were tried, hung upside down and beaten. Under this pressure a less radical student who had been idealistic and 'free-floating' in the Cultural Revolution, took a small rusted knife and plunged it several times into his own neck. He bled profusely but made not a sound. If it were not under intense terror why would a person behave as he did?

Another characteristic of the political personality is the spirit of struggle evolving from Mao's theory on class struggle. The dictator would create a society in which man goes against his own family, against himself, against other people. The independence of individuals is destroyed and in its place a reliance on the dictator is cultivated. In the Chinese communist society, the person who goes against his family, the self, and other people is proclaimed the model countryman. Such mentality is moulded under a political model through terrorisation. In other words any man can be the victim of a political struggle. Only by adopting such mentality the people live up to this cruel phenomenon of the society, cover up their fear and acquire a sense of security. Naturally the people who live in mainland China are not aware of their own state of mind. They deceive themselves with heroic illusions like 'righteousness transcends filial relationship'. Personal respect and

individual personality are strangers to most people. Any slight emphasis on either of the above qualities by any person will bring forth contempt from others and from society.

How shall a society be evaluated? The problems China faces are new to the world. What is the right attitude to take? One attitude is to look at Chinese people as human beings, not articles or experimental tools. Another is employing the basic values that come from your own thinking. It is not a right attitude to use set values and a rigid mode of thinking in trying to understand. For example it is common practice for people to look at things from the official point of view but this is not the right attitude.

Putting aside 'royalist journalists' and businessmen who in their position have to publicise propaganda for Chinese communists, if a person praises Chinese communists through his own limited understanding of the situation, and later history proves him to be wrong, will he not feel guilty? The society of Chinese communists will come to be condemned by the whole world like the fascist society of Hitler. You would be speaking against your conscience should you, on shallow grounds give praise.

The three articles below on Mao Tse-tung have been written by three Chinese anarchists and first appeared in issue no. 1 of *Underground*, the new anarchist magazine in Hong Kong. Readers who wish to receive copies or future issues of *Underground* (in Chinese), please write to the *Underground* c/o APS Asia/Pacific, 180 Lockhart Road, 1st floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong.

## THE GREATNESS OF MAO TSE TUNG

BY YU SAU

### **Mao Tse-tung was a great Leader**

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China."<sup>1</sup>

However the time that the human race still needs leader has long passed.

The task facing all revolutionaries today is to smash the myth that human liberation can be brought about by leaders.

The party of Mao Tse-tung is a bureaucratic privileged party of the red capitalists.

The army of Mao Tse-tung is a tool for the domination and control of the people.

The state of Mao Tse-tung is a machine that oppresses and exploits the people.

The liberation of the working class is to be carried out by the workers themselves.

Let the myth of leaders be buried and destroyed.

### **Mao Tse-tung was a Great Poet/Writer**

"The poetry of Mao Tse-tung started the new style of a whole generation. His poems belonged to the category which was strong and expansive and so with the appearance of such poems, those soft and restrained poetry were found no more in the mainland. People writing soft and restrained poetry hid their flags and stopped beating their drums."<sup>2</sup>

Chinese famous poetry critic Chong Hak Ka also said, "... Chairman Mao combined revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in his creative activities ... reaching ... the highest peak of revolutionary art ..."<sup>3</sup>

Chairman Mao had published thirty odd old styled poems and according to Kuo Muo-jo, this "had added immeasurable contribution to the treasure house of Chinese literature."<sup>4</sup>

Yet the literary and-art policies of Mao Tse-tung had suppressed the freedom of art and literature. All artists and writers have become screws and bolts of the party and state machines. That is to say, cultural and literary workers other than Mao cannot be realistic, nor can they be romantic. And so on one has managed to reach the high peak of revolutionary art as Mao has managed.

As for the other works of Mao — essays, reports and others, the quantity printed, circulated and translated was so enormous that any best-selling books of today cannot compete with. Mao Tse-tung then was indeed a great writer. What is regrettable, however, is the fact that the officially published works of Mao Tse-tung are not quite the same as the original versions. Furthermore, a substantial quantity of Mao's writings has been hidden away and put into oblivion deliberately. Although the Chinese Communist Party has announced that soon the fifth volume of Mao's selected works and the complete works of Mao will be published, what can be predicted is that certain articles and history would have been changed, distorted and destroyed as usual in order to give an impression that the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung have always been consistent, faultless and correct.

#### **Mao Tse-tung was a Great Patriot**

Mao Tse-tung led the anti-Japanese movement opposing imperialistic exploitation of China.

Mao Tse-tung loved China. He set up a powerful China.

Chinese patriots all over the world said unanimously that China had stood up.

Yet, in order to make China powerful, he ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the working and peasant masses internally. Externally he has aligned with the imperialists and reactionary governments all over the world and become the enemy of the oppressed masses of the world.

The China which has been set up by Mao is a powerful China, but not a socialist China.

Patriotism is a reactionary passion running into direct contradiction with socialist internationalism.

In the world of today, successful patriotic or nationalistic movements will only bring another oppressive, repressive and exploitative state machine.

#### **Mao Tse-tung was a Great Permanent Revolution Theorist**

The Trotskyists like to identify Mao-Tse-tung as a half-baked permanent revolution theorist.

Trotskyist Mao Lan Yau had written, "Mao Tse-tung with his theory of New Democracy was basically supporting the idea of revolution by stages. But in practice, Mao Tse-tung obviously was moving along the road of permanent revolution."<sup>5</sup>

The Trotskyists in China only preached the theory of permanent revolution.

Mao Tse-tung put the theory into practice. He must be considered the greatest Chinese Trotskyist in practice (although still a half baked one).

Mao has been dubbed a permanent revolutionary theorist because Mao had substantiated this Trotskyist theory: the dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly placed before tasks that are bound up with deep inroads into rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over immediately into socialist, and thereby becomes a

permanent revolution."<sup>6</sup>

The Trotskyists believe that encroachment on the private ownership of the bourgeoisie is the socialist revolution and such encroachment constitutes the formation of the socialist economic base of society. However, the nationalization of the private property of the bourgeoisie signifies only the transformation of society from one of private individual capitalism to state capitalism.

The theory of permanent revolution is a theory of state capitalism.

The Trotskyists are but a state capitalist political sect.

**Mao Tse-tung was a Great Machiavellian**

Mao said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."<sup>7</sup>

"Without a people's army the people have nothing."<sup>8</sup>

"Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."<sup>9</sup>

"China's problems cannot be settled without armed force."<sup>10</sup>

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."<sup>11</sup>

And so said Machiavelli, "The chief foundations of all states, new as well as old or composite, are good laws and good arms; and as there cannot be good laws where the state is not well armed, it follows that where they are well armed they have good laws."<sup>12</sup>

"The wise prince, therefore, has always . . . . . turned to his own (arms)."<sup>13</sup>

" . . . no principality is secure without having its own forces; on the contrary, it is entirely dependent on good fortune . . . . . "<sup>14</sup>

"A prince ought to have no other aim or thought, nor select anything else for his study, than war and its rules and discipline."<sup>15</sup>

"He (a prince) ought never, therefore, to have out of his thoughts this subject of war, and in peace he should addict himself more to its exercise than in war . . . "<sup>16</sup>

" . . . it is that all armed prophets have conquered and the unarmed ones have been destroyed."<sup>17</sup>

If one substitutes the words "principalities" and "the Prince" with "the State" and "the people" respectively, the Machiavellian quotations would immediately become quotations of Chairman Mao. As to the Mao quotations cited, it might be more appropriate if the word "people" is replaced by "Chairman Mao"!

What a great Machiavellian Mao is!

To Mao Tse-tung, military force is revolution; war is revolution; the seizure of political power by the communist party is the communist revolution.

However, political or violent activities led by a party with the purpose of seizing ruling power is not a communist social revolution.

Revolution is not the seizure of political power but the dissolution of power. Revolution is when the majority in society rise to control their own destiny, to establish a new society, to set up new forms of self-management. Revolutionary struggle is more than military confrontation. It is also rebellion on the economic, spiritual, cultural and moral levels.

When Mao Tse-tung had seized political power, he did have a design as to how "socialism and communism" is to be built according to his own conception. In the last twenty odd years, Mao Tse-tung initiated many movements to "transform man". He knew that if he could not mould a new "social personality" according to his ideal plans, his ideals would have been in vain.

The methods Mao used to create the "new man" were Machiavellian.

The following are a few more quotations of Machiavelli:

"Though the first person to give Rome a constitution was Romulus, to whom, as a daughter, it owed its birth and its education, yet, since heaven did not deem the institutions of Romulus adequate for so great an empire, it inspired the Roman senate to choose Numa Pompilius as Romulus's successor, so that the things which he had left undone, might be instituted by Numa. Numa, finding the people ferocious and desiring to reduce them to civic obedience conjoined with the arts of peace, turned to religion as the instrument necessary above all others for the maintenance of a civilised state, and so constituted it that there was never for so many centuries so great a fear of God as there was in this republic. It was religion that facilitated whatever enterprise the senate and the great men of Rome designed to undertake."<sup>18</sup>

"It will also be seen by those who pay attention to Roman history, how much religion help in controlling of armies, in encouraging the plebs, in producing good men, and in shaming the bad. So that if it were a question of the prince to whom Rome was more indebted, Romulus or Numa, Numa, I think should easily obtain the first place. For where there is religion, it is easy to teach men to use arms, but where there are arms, but no religion, it is with difficulty that it can be introduced. . . . ."<sup>19</sup>

"Nor in fact was there ever a legislator, who, in introducing extraordinary laws to a people, did not have recourse to God, for otherwise they would not have been accepted . . . ."<sup>20</sup>

" . . . . as the observance of divine worship is the cause of greatness in republics, so the neglect of it is the cause of their ruin. Because, where the fear of God is wanting, it comes about either that a kingdom is ruined, or that it is kept going by the fear of a prince, which makes up for the lack of religion."<sup>21</sup>

And so Mao Tse-tung created the "personal cult of the great leader", and other myths including "the invincible thoughts of Mao Tse-tung", "the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party" etc. Mao Tse-tung was almost a god. The "new man" of Chinese society would act in accordance with the directives of Chairman Mao and follow the bureaucratic communist party unreluctantly.

#### **Mao Tse-tung was a Great Swimmer**

Mao Tse-tung swam across the Yangtze River in 1966 and his speed broke the world record. He was already 73.

Ten years later today, perhaps we have timing equipment which can provide more accurate time measurement?

#### **Notes:**

1. "message to the whole Party, the whole Army and the People of all nationalities throughout the Country."
2. Tam Sik Wing, "An Assessment of the 39 Poems of Mao Tse-tung", issue 130 of *Ming Pao Monthly*.
3. "Viewing the World from Ching Kangshan", quoted by Tam Sik Wing.
4. Kuo Muo-fo, "Romanticism and Realism" in *Red Flag* magazine.
5. Ie Ting, "Several Important Contributions of Mao Tse-tung", issue 130 of *Ming Pao Monthly*; and Mao Lan Yau, "Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution", issue 6 of *Combat Bulletin*.
6. Trotsky, *What is the Permanent Revolution*, Thesis 8.
7. Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Works*, vol 2, p.224.

8. *Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", Selected Works, vol 3, pp296-97.*
9. *Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", op. cit. P225.*
10. *Ibid., p222.*
11. *Ibid., p219*
12. *Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince, Chapter 12.*
13. *Ibid., Chapter 13.*
14. *Ibid., Chapter 13.*
15. *Ibid., Chapter 14.*
16. *Ibid., Chapter 14.*
17. *Ibid., Chapter 6.*
18. *Niccolo Machiavelli, The Discourses, Book 1, Discourse 11.*
19. *Ibid., Discourse II.*
20. *Ibid., Discourse 11.*
21. *Ibid., Discourse 11.*

## Some Thoughts on the Death of Mao Tse-tung

by S.T. Sze

The successful struggle of the Chinese people against feudalism and imperialism cannot be attributed to Mao Tse-tung or the Chinese Communist Party alone.

Undoubtedly, the success was the result of the enormous sacrifice of life and blood on the part of the working people who deeply believed and recognised that to arrest themselves from descending further into misery, and to realise a truly free and just society, they must effect a fundamental transformation of society.

After the Opium War, there were reformist movements like the One Hundred Days Reforms etc. which proved to be no answers. Then came the 1911 revolution which eliminated the Ching Empire but instituted warlordism.

At the same time, the Japanese and other imperialists stepped up their ruthless aggression. Under such conditions, another revolution became the only solution.

The eruption of a social revolution will only occur when the majority of the oppressed in society become conscious of the need to transform it and are prepared to struggle for such transformations. The success of the revolution will depend on the total loss of confidence in the existing system by the majority of the people and their conscious attack on and elimination of the old order. It cannot be attained as a result of someone's genius or the military actions of a certain party. To take the opposite view of the above will lead one into an idealistic individual heroic interpretation of history. The victory of 1949, therefore, would have been won with or without Mao Tse-tung and the communist party. The Chinese revolution would have erupted; it was only a matter of time.

Of course, it is undeniable that Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party had played a remarkable role in the war of national independence. However, this should not be taken to mean that China has been liberated by him. China was politically, economically and socially degenerating: the confused and internecine conflicts of the warlords; its currency devalued to such an extent that a bag of banknotes could not buy even a catty of rice; in the countryside many peasants were conscripted to fight in the wars. To finance such wars, in some areas, taxes for five years had to be paid in advance. With the lack of manpower in the countryside and the destruction brought about by the wars, and owing to the damages to the irrigation system and natural calamities, the

peasants generally went bankrupt. Under such circumstances, the preconditions for a revolutionary upheaval were met. Mao and the Communist Party seized upon the opportunity to manipulate the strength of the people arising from a desperate desire for changes, and eventually monopolised the fruits gained in 1949. In this revolutionary upheaval, the outstanding performance and ability of the people were not to be doubted.

After 1949, certain changes were taking place, eg., large private enterprises were being nationalised. In the countryside, land reforms were carried out and the setting up of co-operatives were encouraged. However the fundamental problems of capitalism had not been resolved, eg., the management and control of production and society . . . . . The demands of the people had run ahead of the Chinese Communist Party – society rejected the monopolisation of the revolution by the party as well as the domineering leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

The first outbreak of massive discontent with the state of affairs occurred in 1956. The Chinese Communist Party on the one hand felt the tremendous pressure of dissatisfaction but on the other hand, it mistakenly estimated the strength of the people. It initiated the Hundred Flowers Campaign. The Campaign developed on a massive scale: the high officials and the little man voiced their criticisms. A formidable current of discontent was formed, the strength of which horrified Mao Tse-tung and the Party. At the same time, the Hungarian workers' revolt which demanded workers' direct control of production and a socialist revolution, occurred in Eastern Europe. In order to protect the party's rule and interests, Mao Tse-tung and the party started the "anti-rightist campaign", suppressing all the people who had expressed discontent. This "anti-rightist campaign" signalled the end of the era of the communist party.

Subsequently numerous social movements were organised eg. the three-red-banners, the Cultural Revolution, the criticising Lin criticising Confucius Campaign, the criticising Teng Campaign etc. etc. were all attempts to hold down people's discontent or to divert people's attention. But no matter how hard Mao Tse-tung tried, "the current of history cannot be resisted." During the 1966 Cultural Revolution, Mao has to use the barrel of the gun to suppress the revolution which was a pseudo one turning real. As a result, the myth of the Mao Tse-tung era also ended. During the ten years after the Cultural Revolution, Mao Tse-tung repeatedly tried to use the influence he once wielded, initiating the various campaigns to "criticise Confucius", "study the dictatorship of the proletariat" . . . in order to maintain his ruling position. However the responses of the rank and file members of the party and the masses were cool. All such developments eventually culminated into the "5th April Incident" at Tienanmen. The riot and massive demonstration of one hundred thousand people in Peking in April this year shook the world and openly challenged the authority of Mao Tse-tung. Once again, Mao and the Party tore down their own masks and stood nakedly on the opposite side of the masses and the suppression was executed with brute force.

In the last twenty-seven years, Mao Tse-tung carried out "land reforms", "the suppressing counter-revolutionary campaign", "the anti-rightist campaign", "three antis five antis", "the socialist education campaign", "the Cultural Revolution" . . . . . such numerous mass movements were supposed to be struggles against the capitalists. At the beginning, Mao found that the capitalists existed outside the party. Later he found them inside the party. After one lot of capitalist roaders had been dragged down the horse, Mao found another lot soon to appear in the party and the new lot were much worse than the

former. After Kao Kang, there was Peng Teh-huai.

After Peng was Liu Shao-chi.

After Liu, came Lin Piao.

Following Liu was Teng Hsiao-peng.

Mao saw the appearance and destruction of these capitalist roaders one after another. Yet Mao refused to understand or admit that such capitalist roaders had their origins in the whole political economic system. They belonged to a bureaucratic class which was very firmly established and entrenched. Thus wrote Li I Che, " . . . . . some leaders . . . . . extended them (the political and economic privileges) boundlessly to their families and clansmen, relatives and friends, even to the degree of exchanging special privileges (among themselves), of obtaining for their children factual inheritance of political and economic positions through such channels as taking the back door, and of changing the socialist direction of the enterprise in favour of their private interests in order to practice cliquism and cultivate an upstart faction and force which is differential and opposed to the interests of the people. More important is that they must, to maintain their vested privileges and obtain more preferential treatment, attack the upright revolutionary comrades who insist on principles, suppress the masses who rise to oppose their special privileges, and illegally deprive these comrades and masses of their political rights and economic interests. Thus they have completed the qualitative change from 'public servants of the people' to 'masters of the people'."

The evolution of the bureaucratic class was closely connected with Bolshevism and the Bolshevik type of "dictatorship of the proletariat".

In the first place, Bolshevism was based on a capitalist ideology. In a capitalist society, the ruling class consciously promotes a social psychology which contends that the masses are stupid, incapable of controlling their own destinies, and are incompetent in handling the affairs of their society; such affairs can only be managed and decided by those who have been specially trained and have special knowledge. Bolshevism inherited such an ideology, believing that only the central committee of the party should decide, that the lower rank party members should obey their leaders absolutely. When the party has seized political power, such an ideology ensures the absolute obedience of the people to the leadership of the party.

Furthermore, Bolshevism believed that the replacement of the capitalist political system can only be brought about by a political party with centralised power. The centralised power of the capitalist class is based on violence and high repression, the separation of the people from all decision-making and the suppression of freedom of thoughts. The Bolsheviks achieve the same by imposing a system of "democratic centralism". The people and the rank and file of the party were trained to be inert, and to accept orders of the leadership.

With such reactionary ideas and mode of organisation, when the Bolsheviks seized political power, they announced the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead of abolishing the state machine, the party replaced the old state machine and because of the centralisation of economic, political and military power, the party's domination of the state machine and society had become unprecedented. The party became the new masters, new employers and new rulers of the people. The bureaucratic party grew out of the party. The bureaucrats thus arose, were the "capitalist roaders" mentioned by Mao Tse-tung. And Mao himself was one of them.

When Mao Tse-tung proceeded to carry out the "socialist revolution" and

"socialist construction", the most important concept which formed the basis of his actions was "from nothing to something". Mao himself went through the following experience: during the civil war, the masses utilised only very primitive weapons but they were agitated and stirred by revolutionary ideas, the victory was won in combat against an enemy equipped with superior weapons. Political power was seized and Mao Tse-tung successfully monopolised the fruits of the revolution. In the process of "socialist construction", Mao tried to use the same formula: the masses would utilise primitive tools of production and be stirred by revolutionary ideas, a kind of subjective initiative would be generated and bring about a human paradise.

Until his death, Mao might not have understood why such a formula led to victories after victories in the civil war, yet in the case of "socialist construction", the exact opposite results were obtained. For example, although clothed in very idealistic slogans, the "people's communes" with collective farming and communal dining halls, the "education revolution" for both redness and expertise, the campaign "to go up the mountains and down to the countryside" which would reduce the differences between the cities and the rural areas, not only lacked support from party members, but were resisted strongly by the masses.

In reality, Mao resembled an average communist and held rather simplistic views of socialism, believing that the implementation of socialism required only the transfer of political power from the capitalists to one's own hands with the help of the armed might of the masses. Socialism would then be achieved simply by issuing a few orders from the party, nationalizing private wealth to be following by state control and state planning. The people only wanted an increase in the productive forces and consumption goods. However, socialism implies the transformation of man from being a thing, a commodity, a small screw in a large machine back to man; the replacement of alienation between man and nature by harmony. In other words, socialism means the power of the people to decide and manage affairs which vitally affect them. This means the socialisation of wealth and the means of production; the right of every member of society to decide on production and distribution; and the substitution of a hierarchical society by direct democracy.

Mao Tse-tung had not pursued real socialism. He was only concerned with the party interests. Therefore, coloured by idealistic slogans as the case might be, Mao's subjective wishes were inevitably doomed.

Now, Mao Tse-tung is dead after so much "hard work". The socialist aspirations of the people inevitably clash with the interests of the bureaucratic class. The life and death struggle between the two currents would not end with Mao's passing away. On the contrary, this struggle will only intensify.

Before and after 1949, Mao Tse-tung was like what Bakunin described: "on the day before the successful revolution, he was a revolutionary. But on the next day after the success of the revolution, he became a counter-revolutionary."

\*Li I Che Big Character Poster, "The Revolution is Dead; Long Live the Revolution" edited by the 70s. pp 253-254.

## THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER MYTH!

Lee Ching

It seems that all things in the universe need to be controlled by a god who is omniscient and almighty. The Chinese Communist Party is no exception. The godly image of today is said to have been created in Yanan 1937. He is the only survivor of the struggles

and is the Party's only correct brain. All that lives inside his brain can be analogised to a living buddha and in fact, his living buddha like power is in no way inferior to that of a Tibetan Lamma priest.

Shedding tears for the dead is one of the traditional practices of the Chinese, just as some nations like holding commemorating parties for the dead. The development of a state is dependent on the people who in turn need to be consoled by the Saviour. "The great leader and great saviour, you shine no less brightly than the Jesus Christ who has died two thousand years ago."

For the great saviour who shines forever and whose glory is eternal to appear, there must necessarily be many miracles and novel-like stories to accompany them. I love reading these stories because they are interesting. Many people have to create these stories because they have to console men's mind and lust. They use life and death, original sin and everlasting life, heaven and hell to create myths for which many are enchanted – so may you and I.

There goes in Europe a myth which everybody must be very familiar with – Hitler. In 1924 he initiated the Munich riot and became the headliner in the newspaper. Knowing well some of the weaknesses of men's thought, he accomplished his "Mein Keimph" to reign over others. In 1933, when Germany was confronted by a serious post-war economic crisis, Hitler managed to reap massive support and finally ascended to the throne of Prime Minister. Before long, his persecution of the undesirable members inside his National Socialist Party (Nazi Party) resulted in another historical Bloody Sunday. Workers and students alike took pride in the black swastika they wore on the sleeves and they all held honour in following this sort of nihilistic selflessness.

Hitler told himself that his expansion of the armed forces was for the prevention of invasion by the savages. For the "balance of strength" he even went into a treaty agreement with Russia, who then claimed herself to be the only "communist" country. (This treaty not only led to the shedding of much more blood by the Spanish people who were then already suffering from fascist suppression, but also caused the people of Poland and of the whole of the western part of The Soviet Union to bleed. These blood were shed because of those two invincible leaders! How does one, on behalf of one's friend and lover, claim back the blood and tear shed?)

Hitler of Germany, Stalin of Russia, together with Mussolini of Italy, Hirohito of Japan, Roosevelt of the United States, Churchill of Great Britain, Chiang-Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung of China coalesced into a force which bewildered and yet commanded the obedience of many.

Like the other battles in history, the Second World War provided the best opportunity for the struggle for power. The yearn for victory alone justified all wars. Those who wanted to live not only had to say little and demand little, but must also know how to display their loyalty to the authority which was in control of the guns. Had you ever thought of roving about the corpse-laden battlefield? Maybe it was only after death that you and your 'whoever-you-are' enemy could recover friendship and peace.

Histories are stories made up by historians. We must therefore accustom ourselves to understand the dramatic nature of such stories, as demonstrated by the contrast of sorrowful tears and sweet smiles. Revolution is a powerful word which hits at one's heartstring. It is a word which is much talked of by people in the past, present and future. I like talking about it too, only that it is accompanied by greater worries. I have not much

interest in the question of whether Mao is dead or alive, because he loves too much inviting guests to dine at Peking.

That notorious president of the Philippines, Marcos, can no doubt be called fascist of his political manouverings. Yet to commemorate Mao, he said, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the last great man of this century." This is what he thinks. This is also what those autocratic rulers whom we must have known think.

My most sublime revolutionary salute to the people of China and the Philippines who are engaging in struggles!



#### Letters

Dear Comrades:

I wrote several weeks ago to the address given for Percy Fung, but have not heard anything. Since then a comrade in New York has loaned me copies of MINUS 8 and I have your new address.

I am enclosing a copy of ROOTS magazine, a libertarian ecology magazine put out by Ecology Action East, a collective associated with Freespace Alternate U.

Also enclosed is a check for \$10 to cover expenses for a copy of HUANG HO and for "The Revolution Is Dead Long Live the Revolution." The extra dollar can be for your postage expenses or for the cost of any other material you want to send me. I read Chinese, although very slowly.

The special information I am interested in is on the prisons and labor camps in China. The last information I have is from the end of the Cultural Revolution. How many prisoners are there in China today? Where are the camps? Are there fewer prisoners than — let us say — ten years ago. Do you know of a 1969 Central Committee directive that said "not to send your contradictions up" and as a result was supposed to have cleared out some of the prison population? Any information in English or Chinese that you could send me on the prison population or on experiences of prisoners in China since the

Cultural Revolution would be of great help. I am scheduled to give a lecture on China in January and have also been asked to write an article.

Hoping to hear from you by return mail,

In solidarity,

Bob Palmer

Dear comrades,

We were very pleased to receive your publication "Minus 8".

Unfortunately, the 'Centro Iberico' has now closed. We are looking for alternative premises, but in the meantime you should address any correspondence to "M. Garcia" at the above address. Please do not put Centro Iberico on the envelope as this is my private address.

If you have any Spanish comrades in your part of the world we can send you libertarian literature in Spanish, and can also send you anything in English that you need. Are you receiving "BLACK FLAG"? I am sending you copies, and some other things which you may find interesting, anyway. I hope you will find them useful.

At present, we have a big problem over here. Two of our comrades in Ireland, Marie and Noel Murray, have been sentenced to hang by the Eire Government. They are charged with killing a policeman following a bank robbery in Dublin last year, but their trial was a farce. They did not have a jury (only three judges), there were no witnesses, and the only "evidence" to their guilt has been statements extracted from them under torture. Since then they have been kept in solitary confinement and denied the usual privileges allowed to condemned prisoners. They are allowed no mail, have nothing to read, and their only visitors are Noel's parents who are both over 70 years old and find it very difficult to travel the long distance to the prison. It is very important to build up international solidarity if these comrades are not to be murdered by the Irish Government. You can get more information from the Murray Defence Group (London) c/o Box 2, Rising Free, 138 Drummond Street, London NW1. England. Any acts of solidarity you could organise would be very appreciated. Letters of protest to the Irish authorities, demonstrations at local Irish Offices (Aer Lingus, Irish Banks, etc) would be very useful. The last issue of "BLACK FLAG" will explain the case more fully.

Anyway, good luck with your work. You are doing a good job. If we can help in any way, or if we can send you any literature please contact us.

fraternally,

Miguel Garcia.

Dear friends in Minus 8,

Your publication (the May 1976 issue) arrived at the offices of "Gateavisa" (The Street Paper), a Norwegian APS member, and we found it interesting reading, indeed. Our paper has been publishing irregularly since 1970, but in 1977 we will be going monthly. Our circulation is now 5-6000, it will rise to about 10-12000, we hope, due to more efficient distribution.

As a result of increasing frequency, we need more material, and one of the things we will be working on, is an article on China. And surely, you should have some things... You mention your book "The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution", we would be very grateful to receive a copy. As we indeed would be grateful to receive all material on China from a libertarian/ultra-left perspective in the languages we understand (English,

French, German, Spanish). And send us some copies of Chinese ultra-left publications, I'll try to distribute them at the East Asian Institute at the University of Oslo (to confuse the would-be True Believers...).

If you have published more issues of Minus 8 than the May one, please send them as well...

Well, the most interesting things I've read about China, is the "Theses on the Chinese Revolution" by Cajo Brendel (Daad & Gedachte, the Dutch group), "Le Tigre du Papier" by Charles Reeves (Spartacus), plus some Situationist material, anarchist etc.

Some things about the "left" situation in Norway: The most active group is the Maoists, AKP (m-1), most influential among students, but with some worker support; then the Socialist Left Party, a motley crowd ranging from social-democrats to revolutionaries. Of course there exists a Moscovite Party, a Trotskyite group, etc. The libertarians are at the moment rather confused, and studying and discussing (mostly Marx), the two papers aimed at workers (I believe they each had a circulation of about 4000), have both folded. . . But something will undoubtedly be formed from the study groups, eventually. The "Gateavisa" has been a mixture of "counter-culture", culture in general and libertarian politics; I believe and hope we shall be able to shed the counter-cultural illusions, but we'll see. . .

Hope you are able to send us some material, if your financial situation is critical, we may contribute toward the costs, write and specify. . . If you wish to exchange papers, it is O.K.

Well, I realize this letter is somewhat messy, hope you excuse, it is written in extreme haste, rather improvised. . .

Good luck, friends, send the publications to:

R.B. Myklebust,  
GATEAVISA,  
Hjelmsgt. 3  
OLSO 4,  
NORWAY

Dear Comrades,

We have just received the May issue of Minus 8 and we thank you very much. We hope you will send us, as soon as is possible, ten (10) more copies. We will distribute these. I am sending under separate cover a donation and materials from our movement here.

I have corresponded with Percy Fung in the past. I am pleased to see that your group still exists.

I am interested in corresponding with someone in your group regularly. We are a small group of anarcho-syndicalists and libertarian communists. I'd like to know about the situation there in Hong Kong and also within China.

We will send you money and materials as frequently as possible if you will send us materials from your movement.

I trust that you are all well and I hope to hear from you soon.

Fraternally,

Tony Pestalozzi  
U.S.A.

Dear Comrades,

I was delighted to receive the May issue of Minus 8. I'm enclosing \$10.00 in U.S. currency for a personal subscription.

I particularly hope you're planning a lot of coverage of your own organizing activities, like the Victoria Park forum. It was very encouraging to see that you all are getting our ideas out to large numbers of people (and it's something that too many libertarians in this country have yet to understand the necessity of doing!).

Enclosed are two documents that may be of interest to you in evaluating the ultra-left in the United States.

Down with All Bosses!

Ed Clark

U.S.A.

Thanks for your letter and the two more issues of Minus 8; you all really have a remarkably well-done little magazine. If the handful of anarcho-communist publications in this country have any sense at all, they will reprint heavily from your paper. It's the only thing about China I've read that makes any sense at all.

Enclosed is the mailing list I promised. I hope it will help. Have you all tried ultra-left contacts in Canada, Britain, Australia?

On the distribution of your book, I would suggest you contact:

Black & Red

P.O. Box 9546

Detroit MI 48202

(It is kind of ironic that the one area where the U.S. ultra-left can hold up its head is book publishing & distribution.)

Comradely,

Ed Clark

U.S.A.

(P.S.: Enclosed is a copy of an article by one of the people on the mailing list I'm sending you; you may find it of interest.)

We enjoyed reading the material you sent us, and are looking forward to using some of it in a future issue of the Open Road. Please keep us on your mailing list.

In solidarity,

Betty Noir

for The Open Road Collective

*Minus 8 is edited by members and friends of the 70s Biweekly, a libertarian socialist group in Hong Kong. Please note that Percy Fung and Li Ching are no longer connected with the editing of Minus 8. Percy is now working on radical film-making and Li Ching has gone into publication of anarchist literature. Li's publication plan includes the re-issue of George Orwell's 1984 in Chinese. (Eight years to 1984 is the meaning of Minus 8). Note that our permanent address is 180 Lockhart Road, 1st floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong.*

Next Issue:

1. More on Mao
2. On the Gang of Four