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Mud Child

The picture of four lovely children. They are brothers and sisters. There are actually five of them. They are all dead. They were among the eighteen killed and buried under tons of mud and debris of a landslip at the Sau Mau Ping housing estate. Many others were injured. The dead and the injured were on the ground floor of Block 9 at Sau Mau Ping which was almost completely buried.

The Sau Mau Ping housing estate is one of those slums built by the Hong Kong government which it so often boasts about.

The Hong Kong government blamed the disaster on a "freak combination of rain, its duration, intensity and the soil on the slope" which brought the landslip on Wednesday 25th August 1976. But just three blocks away from the Wednesday landslip, sixty seven people were killed in a landslide in June 1972.

Saumauping children, brown as the mud
Surrounding the bodies of the little ones of Mrs. Cheng,
Surrounded by cubicles which they say are better than huts,
On an allowance of 24 square feet per person —
Twice the area of a grave;
Surrounded by civil servants who reply to complaints with simple okays.
Are they not brave when now they say,
Oh Lord, your responsibility, not mine!
THE TRAGIC STORY OF A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CHINA

The following report on the tragedy of a political prisoner in China originally appeared in the first issue of Huang Ho and is translated by H.M.B.

The Verdict

A pronouncement issued by the district's public-security-bureau listed twenty-four names: eight were sentenced to death, the rest from seven years of imprisonment to life in jail.

Down the verdict a red chop, the symbol of authority, was found. The date was November 1972 when the "one strike three antis" campaign was being vigorously launched throughout Mainland China.

The verdict was short and precise. Only in less than a hundred words a criminal's life was described and judged. An example is given below:

"Tang Ching-sin, 26, male, bad element in terms of family heritage, a student, living in ....... Yuen, ....... Commune, ....... Team, before his arrest.

"The criminal harboured reactionary thoughts all along; extremely discontented with the party and socialism, extremely revengeful to our great leader Chairman Mao. The criminal had during the period 1967 to 1969 made several malicious attacks on Chairman Mao, arousing wide public resentment.

"Having considered that he had given a confession candidly, the authority passed a lenient sentence that he be imprisoned for fifteen years, after which his political rights would be deprived for another three years".

Tang Ching-sin — A Brief History

Tang Ching-sin was only four when China was just liberated. His mother died early. He was born an introvert, silent and inward, honest and slow-witted.

The five-stars red flag had brought him a happy childhood. His father was a grass root-figure during land reform. An active participant in the struggle against the landlords, he was highly thought of by the working team and admired by the villagers. Tang Ching-sin was proud to have a father like that. He often joined the chorus of the village children, singing, "Fire is red, stoves are red, for generations my family was poor farm-workers".

Eliminating floating property, sharing out land, moving to new houses — a series of incidents brought a series of joy. Father always told him to bow to Chairman Mao's portrait, saying garrulously: "It's all for Chairman Mao's blessings!". It was the first time that Chairman Mao impressed him deep in the mind.

Very soon, his only elder brother was sent to fight in the Korean War. Then his father died of illness. The people's government unquestionably accepted the responsibility of rearing the child.

It was all smooth sailing while he was educated, joined the League, and was elected the chairman of the student union. People kept reminding Tang Ching-sin: "You are what you are today for the caring of the Communist Party". He himself also thought that the party was to him the protector of his fortune and that following the party, he would have a splendid future.

But in the year when he applied for the university, an unbearable shock happened to him. The brother returning from Korea had gone too far to claim credit for his achieve-
ment. He had repeatedly disobeyed orders from superiors. Later he committed the offence of cutting up woods in the hills and his superior labelled him “a bad element” for his destruction to conservation. From then on, Tang Ching-sin was no longer looked upon as the son of hired farm-worker, but the younger brother of an “element of the four categories”. Tang Ching-sin was still honest and slow-witted, hard-working, and silent. Who can tell whether it was not a form of disguise? There were thousands and thousands of people with wonderful background. It was quite unnecessary for the Party to vest him with an important position again.

So, Tang Ching-sin failed to gain admission into the university. Back to his village he became a substitute-teacher in a primary school for half a year, but was also displaced soon. He silently accepted everything. Back to the fields he worked like his ancestors from spring to autumn.

In the field, Tang Ching-sin was as honest, slow-witted and hard-working but more silent. He lived on calmly and temperlessly, till the day he was sent to the jails erected by the Party.

Selecting the Object

Aimed to eradicate the newly emerged class enemy, the “one strike three antis” movement spread rapidly throughout the country. Like many other movements in the past, this one naturally became the central concern of all units.

Not willing to admit oneself as “lacking the concept of class struggle” and to tail “behind the revolutionary situation”, the leaders of all units were in painful thoughts: who was to be struggled against? Who? The branch secretary of the Party in the brigade to which Tang Ching-sin belonged was facing the same difficulty.

Documents from the Central Committee editorials of the “Southern Daily” and the directives from superiors all emphasized that the “One strike three antis” movement aimed to attack the current ongoing destructive activities of the counter-revolutionaries, and to uncover the deeply hidden class enemy. Obviously it would not meet the desire of the authority if the objects being struggled against were again those four categories who had already lost their destructive capacity. But where were the new enemies? Even the branch secretary himself could not tell for certain.

To seek for the struggling target, the brigade called a meeting of core members for struggling against the enemy. The active members from the villages and cadres from all units gathered together.

A group of people who used to speak witty words, loaf on jobs, and receive high profits from the private plots were listed out by the core members. It was yet a pity that their behavior was far from the standard necessary to be qualified as the enemy, and their backgrounds too good to make the label of “enemy” convincing.

Perhaps the enemy was too crafty, or the members too insensitive. A few days later, the core members were still unable to find any clue of the enemy. Someone began to feel envy at the reactionary slogans which appeared in the other production brigades. Failure to accomplish the assigned task engendered an apprehensive feeling which was torturing every cadre. They engaged in deep thoughts, searching. Only if they could get somebody to be struggled against and to create an atmosphere of class struggle! When the movement was over, the verdict might be reversed. Even so, it would still be more desirable than having nothing to do at all.

At last, it was due to the inspiration of the brigade’s branch secretary that the
object to be struggled against finally appeared. He said in his analysis: "Tang Ching-sin has sailed smoothly in the past. Now he is up against the odds; he must be discontented with the reality; he must have lots of complaints; he must have spoken some reactionary words". The core members awoke from their dreams: "right, right, it must be him".

The meeting ended satisfactorily. The core members, with the will and determination so characteristic of a communist, went deep into the mass to gather materials.

At this moment, Tang Ching-sin was not told anything on the matter. He was still ploughing in the fields, and reading Mao's quotations under the lamp.

Mobilizing the masses

The brigade had decided on the object to be struggled against, yet they had not obtained any evidence of Tang Ching-sin's evil deeds. Whether Tang Ching-sin could be pushed on the stage to be struggled against was a matter concerned with how the masses were mobilized and whether the masses could provide an adequate amount of evidence of the brigade.

The work proceeded silently yet vigorously in Tang Ching-sin's production team. The branch secretary's bicycle anchored in front of the door of the unit office twice a day. Activists and those grass root-figures in the days of land reform were told to report to the office one after another.

The bed-sheets of the brigade's security officer were moved into the food-store of the unit. Groups of members from the Public Security Bureau and militia cadres always came in and out.

Party members from other villages also came over and chatted with one another. Experiences in the past told the commune members that struggle was about to start. Nervously they went about hunting for information. Very soon, the matter concerned with Tang Ching-sin spread widely throughout the village though the news was not yet officially publicized. Everyone was haunted with fear; they were afraid to be associated. During leisure time, the usual noisiness at the places where people used to play a game of chess and chat was found no more. The men all stayed at home and smoked, apparently bored. Tang Ching-sin was like a leper: everybody tried to get out of his way . . . The harmony of the old days was destroyed. The atmosphere of the impending struggle pressed upon every member of the commune.

After a few days' silent attack, the branch secretary decided that the time had come. He posted up a series of slogan: "Drag out the deeply hidden class-enemy", "if the enemies do not surrender, we will kill them", "be lenient to those who frankly confess, be strict to those who resist, the leading conspirator must be dealt with", "the accomplices will not be charged". These slogans could be found everywhere in the village. Young redguards of the village had grouped themselves into shouting teams for three times a day: in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening, they went along every street shouting the slogans. Some other core members having good struggle experience were also sent to the village to join the commune member in working hours. Afterwards, they would talk about the significance of struggle and confession to the people.

The commune members were now extremely nervous. What they heard and saw were all concerned with "the enemy", "death", "struggle" and "confession". There was definitely no way they could escape now so that if they did not expose the crime of others, they would either be suspected to be the accomplices of the enemy or at least they would be accused of lacking a firm stand, or being sympathetic to the enemies.
Only in a situation like this, when everybody was anxious over one's own safety that one turned irrational; people in the village were going to expose and to criticize others, to clarify that they themselves were innocent.

Therefore, the masses were being mobilized. There were only seventy three shares of labour unit in the production team, yet there were eighty one copies of reports candidly exposing the crime of others being handed out.

"Dig this way!".

Eighty one copies of material, consisting of over ten thousand untidily written words, outlined the different profiles of Tang Ching-sin, the end result of which was nothing but the sketch of an ordinary peasant.

He seldom spoke, never escaped from work and was ready always to do people favours. The biggest crime he had ever committed was concerned with his having bought food from the "black market" but this was far from being "counter-revolutionary".

Having read the materials, some of the core members were disappointed and suggested that the target of struggle be changed.

Some old grass root land reformers taking advantage of their clean background even came to speak for Tang Ching-sin in front of the branch secretary: "the young man has been hard-working, has originally had a good background. Moreover he is honest and timid. How can he be counter revolutionary?"

Neither the materials obtained nor the public opinion agreed with the branch secretary's postulation. But it was impossible for the unit to let go of Tang Ching-sin.

The cadres would not like their dignity be hurt. They were unwilling to let the commune members think that the unit was doing things without principles.

For the sake of the party, of accomplishing the duty assigned by the party and of self-dignity, the cadres had to proceed on this round of class struggle until the end.

"Dig this way!". Having got another inspiration, the branch secretary made such an analysis: Tang Ching-sin seldom spoke, indicating that he must have something evil hidden inside his mind. To dig out his counter revolutionary soul, we must turn to some of his closest friends to whom he would have poured our everything.

From the materials, it was soon discovered that there were five young men who had close interactions with Tang Ching-sin. For a moment, they became the target of struggle. The cadres were busy once more. Even the commune members were involved in this new struggle. The deepening of the struggle and the widening of the scope of contact increased the fear of the commune members. The materials exposed were more detail and more complete.

The branch secretary was more satisfied with this second set of materials which embodied much provocative facts. For example, among the five, one had the experience of getting into "a confused jungle of sexual relations". Another had told the story on "Tan-chi making fun of Emperor Chui", which must clearly be an allegorical attack on comrade Chiang-ching and Chairman Mao: likening comrade Chiang-ching to the wanton Tan-chi, and Chairman Mao the tyrant Emperor Chui.

The branch secretary was pleased, so were the core-members. The several days of hard work had not been wasted after all!

In order to save themselves from being prosecuted, these five young men would surely disclose all of Tang Ching-sin's secrets.

Studying Sessions on Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts
Hence, the cadres utilised their major weapon: holding study sessions on Mao Tse Tung's thought.

Study sessions were advocated by Chairman Mao, but nobody knew his original intention. The people only knew that it was fearful. Generally speaking, there were two kinds of study sessions, the "soft" ones and the "hard" ones. The soft ones would adopt the "mushroom" tactics used by Chairman Mao in guerrilla wars. Once started, the sessions would last for months: "the fat becoming thin, the thin becoming sick" in the end everybody surrendered. The hard ones would be where the principle of "be strict to those who resist" applied: those who failed to explain were considered acting against the party and should therefore deserve no mercy at all. After the sessions, they would be arrested and labelled as "bad elements". Sometimes, people would take pleasure in witnessing the misfortune of others. When they saw their enemies were being caught to join the study sessions, they would say to themselves "Ha! Ha!". Even if their lives were preserved, they would surely be in great troubles. If unfortunately they themselves were summoned instead, they would be trembling in fear all day long, hoping to be released soon.

The five youths who used to have associations with Tang Ching-sin brought their red books and inattentively joined the sessions held by the brigade. Now they would probably be willing to do anything to get themselves safely out of the study sessions.

In the study sessions, the cadres were using materials they obtained to deceive as well as to threaten the five young men, who were already very frightened and who simply did not know what to do. They thought hard, strained their memory and tried to recall all that had happened the time they began to learn about things in the world till the moment they were called to join the sessions. Yet, they could not make out what things they did were sinful, and what meritorious. They could just try their best to tell everything and let the party judge.

The one who had told the story about Tan-Chi and Emperor Tsui, having realised the implications of the story, was very scared. He tried his best to push the blame away, saying "I learned the story from Tang Ching-sin. I knew nothing about the attack on Comrade Chiang-ching and Chairman Mao".

The young man who was fond of sexual pursuits, threatened by the branch secretary that he would probably be judged as "bad element" if he did not atone for his mistakes by meritorious services, began to cry. He shouted "I'll be honest, I'll perform meritorious service". According to his words, Tang Ching-sin had once said after Chairman Mao swam across Yangtze River in 1967, "Chairman Mao is a snake personified who needs to shed its skin once every few years. Therefore he needs to swim often, to shed off the skin in water".

These two crimes were soon confirmed by the other several young men who were anxious to establish their merit. Inspired by the core members, these several young men further elaborated the story so that in the end, Tang Ching-sin was having a lot of evidence against him. The unit needed more witnesses. Therefore, the materials concerned with Tang Ching-sin's behavior were compiled and sent to the commune members for discussion. People who claimed to have learned of the story about "shedding skin" increased from five to twenty, including party members and grass-root land reformers and cadres. The place where Tang was said to have told such a story was no longer confined to his house, as confessed by the five young men, but included also the fields, the village and any other places where there were human activities. The materials, such elaborated, were now most complete and well-proven.
In this pile of data, Tang Ching-sin appeared to be no longer a silent person. He told his two stories slandering Chairman Mao, to whoever he met in such blatant manners that he appeared completely different from the one portrayed in the original materials.

Under the guidance of the party, the exposure of the crime of others by the Commune members had a deeper implication and a more outstanding political bearing than before.

At this point, no matter Tang Ching-sin confessed or not, he had absolutely no chance of escape.

The evidence was accurate. Tang Ching-sin was caught and shut off in the jail erected by the team, which was also called the "sheds". Materials on Tang Ching-sin's counter-revolutionary behavior and the application for the arrest of counter-revolutionary element Tang Ching-sin were well prepared. They could be sent to the superior for scrutiny at any moment.

According to procedure, Tang Ching-sin should write either the word "admit" or "false" on the sheet listing his crimes.

But these two crimes were no trifles at all since conviction for either one of them would probably carry death sentence. Tang was stunned. He was very sure that he hadn't spoken any of the words written down on the materials, yet he could not testify that the masses were all telling lies. The only persons who could help him to refute the accusation were now the chief witnesses of the prosecutor.

He did not dare to write "admit" for the consequence was too horrible to be thought of.

But he did not dare to write "false" either for the court only trusted the people and the people only listened to the party. No one would ever think of using the words "false" to negate the absolute authority of the party and the powerful masses for this would mean "resistance" which would be treated more harshly. This was something even worse than admitting the crime.

So, when the core members told Tang Ching-sin to sign his name, he could only murmur to himself "I have not spoken that, I have not".

"Then you can write "I have not spoken so"! Nobody is forcing you, you have the right not to sign!" The core members answered him light-heartedly.

The core members knew clearly that it made no difference whatever Tang Ching-sin would sign on the sheet for his fate was already sealed. Tang Ching-sin also understood the point, hence he did not have the courage to sign anything.

To persuade him to sign, the brigade called a "struggle meeting of all commune members". In the meeting, the masses were extremely excited. The five young friends of Tang Ching-sin were particularly helpful. There were more than ten people coming out in turn to prove Tang's guilt. Tang got no chance to defend himself at all. He could only beg his friends in silence to do things in accordance with their conscience.

Down the stage, those who declared to be faithful to Chairman Mao were much infuriated. They shouted loudly. Some of them jumped onto the stage, holding the hair of Tang Ching-sin in their hands and slapped him on the face. The others who stayed down the stage applauded. Tang Ching-sin was caught by the dictatorship of the masses. Under such a situation, nobody dared to come up to speak for him. He could say nothing either. All acts to deny the criminal title were futile.

Tang Ching-sin knew clearly that nothing could save him now, but he was still
unwilling to sign.

The branch secretary finally showed his last trump card, saying "as he does not sign, the poor lower-middle peasants will sign", Write: Poor attitude, resist to the end!". That was more horrible than signing himself. There was nothing he could do now, so reluctantly, Tang Ching-sin put down: "admit, Criminal Tang Ching-sin".

Up and Down: Three times

The judicial organizations of the communist party were very careful to ensure that no good man is being victimized and no criminal can escape. They must investigate for at least three times before convicting a criminal. Security cadres called such reinvestigations as "up and down: three times".

The case of Tang Ching-sin had also undergone three careful investigations. Description of Tang Ching-sin's evil deed and the application for his arrest were sent to the leading organizations of the three in one alliance of three different security units. The first investigation began. The commune decided that the materials were accurate, and the man would be held arrested. The application was referred to the detention center of the Yuen. Security cadres from the yuen security bureau then started the second investigation.

The procedure of the first two investigations was comparatively simple. The security officer would start by reciting a passage from Chairman Mao's quotations "We should trust the people, we should trust the party". All the testimony made earlier were read once again. The witnesses would be asked whether their statements were true. The witnesses would sign their name on their testimonies after answering "yes". The investigation would be over when they put down their fingerprints onto the sheets.

The last investigation was done by comrades of the District Public Security Bureau. The passing of judgement would be based on the materials collected here. Therefore the public security cadre would not read the previous copies once again. Instead they would ask into every detail and traced along some of the very small points. In order not to frighten the witness, they would always explain "we trust the root-level-organization of the party, we trust the people. Reinvestigation does not imply that we are doubtful about the truth of the decided case, we only want to make use of this case in reality to attack our class enemy more severely. We will stand on the side of the poor lower middle peasants forever".

After such explanation, the witnesses all felt much better. Their memories became better as well. Inspired by the comrades of the public security bureau, many small details which they had forgotten in the past were recalled and added onto the material. Some logical errors found in the testimony were also corrected.

After reading the new testimony compiled by the comrades of the district's Public Security Bureau, the branch secretary admiringly said: "they did it even better!".

All the investigations were over, a counter revolutionary element under the three in one alliance of the party, the people, and the public security bureau, was being drawn out at last.

The Dictatorship is dictatorship of the People.

Chairman Mao once gave a very popular foot note on the dictatorship of the proletariat practised by the Chinese communists: dictatorship belongs to the people. Therefore, the party had always been holding firmly the principle of "trust the people, depend on the people". After the Cultural Revolution, the judiciary had further widened the right of the people to participate in the dictatorship, on the bases that the masses
should take part in handling cases and in passing sentence.

The written documents of the case of Tang Ching-sin were distributed to all sub-units. The material started with the description of the criminal acts of Tang Ching-sin, leaving two blank spaces for the general public and the rank and file branch office of the party. The sheet was undersigned by the “x” district public security bureau investigation unit on special cases; stamped on the sheet was also the red chop of the revolutionary committee of the public security bureau.

According to some sources, the court would consider the opinion of the people and of the party’s branch office when convicting the criminal. Therefore, the comrades from the public security bureau asking for public opinions particularly stressed that they should not write such often reiterated words like “firmly support superior’s judgement” on the blank spaces.

The matter became difficult for the people. Although they knew that there was something called “law” in the world, they hadn’t even seen a single item of it. No wonder someone was asking “what are the criteria of judgment? What if such utterances were repeated for several times?”

The comrades had not shown them the law. They only told the people “Dictatorship is dictatorship of the people, we respect the judgement made by the people”.

The commune members still did not know how to judge Tang Ching-sin. They were all quiet, waiting for someone else to make the judgment.

Indeed, what did it matter for them if Tang was to be imprisoned? They had their land to be cultivated and their children to be reared anyway. They were only anxious to know how they were not to commit any crime and how to avoid the tragedy of Tang Ching-sin being repeated to them.

The matter was thereby becoming clearer: the courts trusted the prosecution of the people; they listened to the people’s testimony; they respected the judgment of the people. The people was the mother of the judicial court. But only those who obeyed the words of the party would be accepted as member of the people. It was when the party had abandoned Tang Ching-sin, that he received his cruel verdict. The fate of Tang Ching-sin was exactly that of those who did not follow the party.

So, somebody got the clue. They should at this moment display their absolute faith in the party, and what was more important, their gravest abhorrence towards the enemies. They shouted “people insulting Chairman Mao should die! Shoot him”. What else other than such shouts could be more indicative of one’s class position? Henceforth, everybody joined in the chorus: “shoot him! kill him!”

After such shouting and clamouring, the masses wrote on the opinion section, “strongly demand the execution of counter-revolutionary element Tang Ching-sin”.

Before the masses made their judgement, the branch secretary, who had been planning hard for the whole struggle, in an endeavour to alleviate the uneasiness of his conscience, wrote: “has given a candid confession; can be treated leniently” as the opinion of the rank and file branch office of the party.

The public security bureau made a compromise between the two opinions and decided upon a sentence of fifteen years of imprisonment. Following the imprisonment of Tang Ching-sin, the case was over. So was this class struggle.

“Launch the class struggle and victory for sure!”

The masses had beaten down Tang Ching-sin, yet they were badly scared as well.
Obviously, the court trusted the words of the people. The people listened to the words of the party. Without the trust of the party, one would not be qualified as “the people” and would be considered like Tang Ching-sin the target of public attack. Not wanting to become the second Tang Ching-sin, everybody turned acquiescent.

Thereafter, there were great changes in the appearance of the brigade. New terraces were built on the previously hillside which were previously thought to be uncultivable; water drainage was improved by carrying out the large scale project which had been suspended for years; small highways which were previously considered as uneconomical for their occupation of so vast a space were also built.

To whom should all the credit go? The commune members had not thought of this question. They only realized that life had been more difficult than before and nothing could be said of it. The cadres spoke privately among themselves, “it’s all for the work done upon Tang Ching-sin. It was because the commune members were scared and being scared that they were obedient”

Therefore, the branch secretary wrote in his report on the work “our brigade had fiercely grasped the class struggle and had drawn out the counter-revolutionary element Tang Ching-sin. Class consciousness among our members was greatly promoted; our enthusiasm to labour was stimulated. A radical change has happened in our brigade. All these have once again testified the truth of the words of Chairman Mao, "Launch the class struggle and victory for sure!"

Since struggle and conviction can promote production for the future China, it is perhaps right for Tang Ching-sin to be sent to jail, or is it not?

The Politics of 70s Front

The last several issues of the Minus 8 have been produced by members of 70s Front and their friends. Readers may be interested in the politics of 70s Front. The following is a statement of the libertarian socialist organisation entitled “Our Position” which was formulated almost two years ago. Although many members of the group feel that much of the views expressed in the statement need to be further explained, developed and even modified, the reproduction of the document should be of interests to libertarian friends and comrades overseas. Minus 8 will publish the new and expanded version of “Our Position” when it is ready.

The translation of the following statement is mainly done by the comrades at Libero International, a libertarian quarterly, a member of APS – Asia/Pacific. The quarterly magazine may be obtained from

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An active organization carrying out the social revolution, the “70s Front” is naturally ready to confront many questions, such as: What are your beliefs and ideals? How do you see the future Hong Kong revolution? And so on. Such questions are, honestly, hard to answer, but nonetheless demand thorough analysis, lest our action comes to lose all its vitality, our words and deeds become rootless and our blindness laughable. The below can be said to be our first, tentative attitudes toward the above questions.
OUR IDEALS

In certain cases people ordinarily say “I’m an xxx-ist.” Likewise, we are often asked, “What ism are you?” Questions such as these put us in a predicament – which doesn’t mean that we’ve no ideals nor beliefs, only that we’ve yet to come upon the perfect banner representing our thoughts. Those whose heads hanker after worn-out ways, treading the straight and narrow of rigid self-restraint; who, without a shred of principle, take the teachings of the prophets and priests and call them their own ideas – they represent the flight from freedom. The aim of revolution is to change society, not to register the correctness of this or that ism. With an open attitude, we therefore recognize, criticize and welcome all progressive thought. Any “pure xxx-ism” is absolutely meaningless. So, to answer the questions above, usually all we can say is: “We are socialists.” Socialism is a tide in which we find many currents, some of them mutually opposed. Those who insist on classifying the ultimate aim of socialism according to two distinct higher and lower stages, communist and socialist, bring up the “transition question,” a theoretical basis advanced so as to perpetuate the state machine, oppress the people, and secure the advantage of a small elite after the elimination of capitalism.

In general, socialist currents and sects share one point: they all favor the abolition of private ownership and the return of the means of production to the public ownership of society. They seek to remake society on an egalitarian base so as to establish an ideal society which meets people’s needs. Since we too share these concepts, we too call ourselves “socialists.” But compared to all the other socialist strands, we especially stress the humanist spirit to be found in socialism. As Marx stressed in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, if communism lacks humanism then it isn’t communism, and humanism lacking communism isn’t humanism. One who seeks complete independence and freedom can only exist in society both rational and affluent. And a rational and affluent society’s existence, in turn, depends on whether the individual character is to fully develop. All economic or political revolutions which do not respect individual’s dignity and freedom are but transfers of power. Such transfers of power are meaningless and are not related to the main current of human liberation but constitute a vicious circle in history. “I’ll do whatever Chairman Mao says” is a kind of “cog and screw” mentality which is not only absurd and reactionary to the extreme, but also against human nature. The most fundamental aspect of a revolutionary lies precisely in his/her independence and freedom. Come the day our individuality is wiped out, we’re robbed of our freedom, and all is done at the direction of a solitary authority, leader or party, then we’ll have reached the ideal society – if this isn’t the biggest joke the world has ever seen, then it has got to be the most beautiful!

We are resolutely against all authority: authority suggests suppression. And against all power, no matter its shape or form. We affirm that, under freedom and equality, a socialist life is founded on mutual cooperation and free association. But unlike the proverbial thief who covers his ears that the ringing of the bell he’s stealing won’t give him away, we don’t deceive ourselves by denying the existence of the class struggle in the society before us. We are, however, resolutely against encouraging class hatred as the driving power of the revolution. Hatred will only bring in its wake retribution, suppression, stripping of the people’s rights and the distortion of the people’s humanity making the history of today and tomorrow a “book of bloodshed”. The prime motivating force for revolution originates from the passionate love of life and man himself. Violence per-
petuates the slavery and robbery of the masses – precisely this principle serves as the foundation of contemporary society. A violent socialist revolution is necessary, and if we are to radically transform society and construct in its place one of free workers, there is no way for us to accomplish this save by a violent socialist revolution. But naturally we cannot encourage and sing the praises of violence. Rather than saying violence inevitably and logically proceeds from revolution, better to say that we are forced to resort to violence because, in order to secure their own profits, the counter-revolutionaries suppress us with violence.

Our Attitude Towards the Chinese Communist Regime

Being in a high materialistic capitalist society, we witness and experience the sense of emptiness and alienation arising from being dominated by material – men are alienated from their fellow men, men are alienated from things, from work, from nature and from their own selves. Under these circumstances, it is only inevitable that many seek to find an alternative society and an alternative life-style. Today, there are many countries which claim to be socialist and they represent a different social system and a different lifestyle. But has this social system and lifestyle brought freedom, equality, fraternity and a bright future for mankind? This is an important question especially now many overseas Chinese speak of a “return” – returning to the “socialist” motherland. In the last analysis is the Chinese social structure under the communist regime socialism? This, more than all else, calls for urgent analysis.

First the economic side. The Chinese communists are stuck as ever in the rut of capitalism. The essence of the capitalist mode of production is accumulation of capital through exploitation of labour. In other words, in order to destroy the capitalist system and to substitute it by the socialist system, capital must be destroyed. The economic system under the Chinese communists is simply one where the means of production have been nationalised, domestic markets brought under state control and nationally-operated enterprises come to replace private ones. But nationalizing the means of production has little to do with socializing the means of production, and even less to do with realizing a socialist economy . . . . In China, nationalizing the means of production, means only that the state has become the general capitalist; and its control powers are all concentrated in the hands of a small clique of party bureaucrats. Thus have the party bureaucrats, in turn, metamorphosed to where they’ve taken “possession” of the means of production.

As ever before, the industrial workers are wage labor, people plundered and repressed. Having failed to eliminate capitalism, the Chinese communists have driven the capitalist system to the extreme. Under state-ownership, individual capitalists have been eliminated. The economy is regulated by political power and is not conditioned by the laws of supply and demand. Wages and prices are strictly controlled by the central government. Not only do wages not reflect the value of labor itself, but are low compared to other capitalist countries. Not only are wages not subject to supply and demand, likewise neither is return on investment regulated, so that the push for attainment of the highest rate of return on investment has been rendered into the guideline of the People’s Economic Plan. This kind of policy is reflected in the universal low wages and shortage of consumer goods, and is reflected all the more in the flow of goods from the mainland to Hong Kong. The application of political force to the suppression of labor, to the increase in expropriation of value, and to the extracting of the highest return on invest-
ment all leave any traditional capitalist system trailing far behind in a cloud of dust. When social production, economic needs and national investment are controlled and implemented by the party through compulsive political force and not determined by the consumption needs of the people, such an economic system cannot be a planned economy of the socialist nature.

The socialist economy we seek:

1) is not the nationalization but the socialization of production resources. In areas of production control, all responsibility for coordination and control will lie with Workers' Committees, comprising representatives chosen by the workers. As for the form of production, the division-of-labor system will be abolished – including the division between industrial and agricultural labor, between mental and physical labor, between that of managers and producers, and between dissimilar production processes, thereby ensuring that every last worker becomes the embodiment of creative power;

2) abolishes money and commodity

3) abolishes the wage labor system;

4) determines social production according to mass consumption, and plans an economy where need determines supply.

As for the political aspect in China, the party directs everything, and the Chinese Communist Party has been influenced by the foul weed of the Leninist vanguard party organized as a high-level, concentrated formation, founded on the principle of "democratic centralism." Theoretically, policy formulation involves a democratic-style discussion by standing party members or their proxies, thereafter to be centralised and implemented. And should there be an opposing view, once the matter is put to a vote, the majority will must be obeyed absolutely. On the surface this appears both democratic and centralised; actual circumstances are quite the contrary. In this case ample democracy means nothing more than the opportunity for those attending the meeting to understand opposing views. But it does not necessarily follow that this will solve the problems, because a policy's correctness can only be tested in the crucible of actual implementation. Under centralism, minority opinions lose all chance of being tried and tested, and naturally which way is right cannot be determined. Therefore, when events reveal majority decisions and consequent policy to have been in error, the people must go on believing that that was the only way. As far as those who hold democratic centralism sacred are concerned, to allow any chance of implementation to dissimilar ideas or policies represents the path of adventurism or the stupid dissipation of "actual energies." But we'd like to point out that the opinion of the majority is not necessarily the correct one. If it is majority opinion that serves as the refuge for all policies, is not this too a kind of adventurism? Rather, wouldn't it be far safer to allow different policies a chance at experimentation and actualization, so as to provide mutually complementary, supportive policies? And as for the line that this would mean a dissipation of actual energies, there's even less of a leg to stand on. For the concrete expression of actualized energies is to be found in the efficient application of all resources, and the quick – and accurate – attaining of projected targets. Different policies could be implemented together, supplementing and inspiring one another and this is the most effective way to promote strength and increase actualized energies. Supporting the majority opinion in full force, being rootless and groundless, leads in fact to a weakening of strength and diminished actualized energies.

Democratic centralization suffers from one serious defect: it becomes a warm bed to bureaucrats. This is the result of high-level centralization of power as well as infor-
Information and materials. Consider the case of an ordinary party member: though s/he is legally entitled to criticize and review the policies of his/her superiors, yet, unable to obtain the relevant data, how is s/he to conduct a vigorous criticism or an effective review? In such cases where decisions flow top-down and not bottom-up, the slow development of absolute submissiveness to one's superiors is the result. At the same time, the objective conditions for personal cults are established.

"Without the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, without CCP members serving as the mainstream pillars of the people, the independence and liberation of China would have been impossible, as would the industrialization of China and the modernization of its agriculture." – Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III, “On Coalition Government.” This passage fully reflects a reactionary mentality toward the interests of the revolution, the masses, and the party, etc. And it is with just such attitudes that a small group of bureaucrats, regarding the interest of the party as that of the revolution, see their own interests and their only as the interests of the party. And whenever they meet opponents of different mind, they immediately attack them as “counter-revolutionaries” or a “conspiracy party.” Under the pretext of dictatorship of the proletariat, gradually all become subject to a progressively unscrupulous repression. Not only is this true for extra-party affairs, but also within the party too – as demonstrated in the reactionary line, “No party outside the party, no faction within the party.” If such a dictatorship is meant to protect the fruits of the revolution, and to bring the passage to communism, then it amounts to the most colossal absurdity. We must understand that dictatorship is only meant to maintain the special class interests of the ruling class, and the proletariat hasn’t its own class property interests. So there’s no such thing as a so-called class dictatorship. The entire process of stripping the bourgeoisie of all its capital should be a revolution involving the whole of humanity. To set up, at any point in this process, a controlling party dictatorship under the fine-sounding name of “dictatorship of the proletariat” is simply a dirty insult to, and shameless deceit of, the proletariat. No matter whose hands hold the reins of the state, the result is still suppression of the people. In a nutshell, “Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

Therefore we resolutely oppose the vanguard party concept, instead advocating a myriad of mass organizations, each producing its own ideas and policies. At the same time this assures a consciousness-raising struggle of the people on the broadest possible scale. The consciousness of the people is the main condition for the fruition of the true socialist revolution. A revolution directed by a party or a few “heroes” cannot possibly be a revolution liberating humankind. Simultaneously, we oppose using the pretext of dictatorship of the proletariat to strengthen the instrument of the state. Simply put, we oppose all dictatorships, all governments, all forms of statism, and all authority. We stand for endlessly-evolving freedom, for we sense that individual freedom is the prior condition for the freedom of all, and that once the individual is robbed of his/her freedom, freedom for all cannot possibly exist. Likewise, when the collective good ignores or suppresses individual interest, that spells the end of the collective good.

Political diplomacy is a continuation of internal politics; it is also the reflection of the social structure of the country. China, under our analysis, is no socialist country.

In Ceylon, Bandaranaike was aided by China to suppress uprisings. In Bangla-Desh Yahya Khan was supplied ammunition to by China to slaughter the Bengali people.

When the people of Vietnam were fighting flesh-and-blood against the ruthless
raidings of the B52s, Chairman Mao, Chou En Lai and Nixon were having a toast of drink!

China refused to grant sanctuary to the political refugees when the Allende govern­ment was sabotaged by the CIA.

These and many others are not surprising to us. Because such foreign pursuits are the reflections of the internal politics of China. The reactionary nature of the 'revolutionary diplomatic line' of China can be explicitly diagnosed by her policy towards Hong Kong In order to preserve the 'friendly' relationship with Britain, China seeks to dampen the workers' movement through the labour unions.

WHITHER CHINA?

In China, the true meaning of socialism has been distorted and corrupted. A cruel, relentless dictatorship, ubiquitous security agents, the impersonal concepts of the murky religion of "socialism"... made people feel dark and secretive. Just when all hope was lost, the "Great Cultural Revolution" burst forth in a shower of sparks, penetrating the darkness with a gleaming light, illuminating for China the road ahead, whereon performed those socialist fighters who, for the sake of truth, would not submit, but would fight back, struggle, and ultimately seize the victory. The Great Cultural Revolution, beginning with a top-to-bottom pseudo revolution, was transformed into a bottom-to-top genuine revolution. The masses would never again be made fools of, never again let themselves be led by the nose into bringing down those designated as the so-called enemy. They wanted to be their own masters. They wanted to destroy their oppressors and "all leading cadres must stand aside." On their own, they organized and took control, and they discovered that even without the bureaucrats and supreme directives, their factories could maintain and even increase production. And they found that their lives were fuller than ever before, the gap between people closed. In order to thoroughly smash the bureaucratic structure - the "revolutionary committees" - mass revolutionary organizations appeared. This spontaneous mass movement was diametrically opposed to the religious socialism of Mao Tse-tung; the authority of the "pope" lost its glamor. When pression failed time and again, ideology momentarily came to life, and for the first time the people came into contact with the tide of true socialism. The mass vanguards who had come to a socialist awareness, began to emerge in the ranks of the ultra-left. Their growth heralded the death of Mao Tse-tung Thought. The fear-stricken bureaucrats shed their masks, revealing their ferocious features, and mobilized the state apparatus to lord it over the people. Then the military fired its guns, and the revolutionary generation became a generation ground underfoot. The revolution died. Long live the revolution! The flesh may disappear, but the idea will stand strong in the face of armed repression.

The ultra-left factions of the Great Cultural Revolution symbolized the dawn of the Chinese revolution, but we must point out that, though they consciously opposed the bureaucrats and though they sincerely struggled for socialism, yet over 20 years of authoritarian control has forged an authoritarian character in a great majority of the people. Hence, even within the ranks of the ultra-left, not a few of the anti-bureaucrat fighters still subconsciously fashioned themselves after their rulers. This is history's tragedy, the poisoned legacy of the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship - and will become a great obstacle to the coming revolution. To mitigate this disaster, it is precisely here that we revolutionaries overseas who, taking advantage of our relatively free contacts with all the
new trends in revolutionary thought throughout the world, should apply our energy.

CONCLUSION

The future of the Chinese revolution is tied up with the question of whether or not the ultra-leftists can spark off an all-encompassing socialist revolution; and that for Hong Kong with its success or failure. This does not mean that we in Hong Kong must wait by the stump for the hare* in anticipation of the arrival of the Chinese revolution. On the contrary, we must fight to oppose all irrational systems and let the mass movement in Hong Kong serve as catalyst for the Chinese revolution. To prevent the Hong Kong mass movement from falling into the ruts of the toppled cart of Kronstadt, the Chinese revolution remains the only effective assurance.

*an old Chinese proverb which means to wait in vain, or to passively wait instead of taking constructive action.

Indonesia’s Political Prisoners

Indonesia is ruled by its military and its rulers are subsidized by the American taxpayer. It is one of the most repressive governments in the world. Time Magazine (12/17/65) described those bloody days in 1965 when the generals took over:

Communists, red sympathizers and their families are being massacred by the thousands. Backlands army units are reported to have executed thousands of Communists after interrogation in remote jails. Armed with wide-bladed knives called parangs, Moslem bands crept at night into the homes of Communists, killing entire families and burying the bodies in shallow graves. The murder campaign became so brazen in parts of rural East Java, that Moslem bands placed the heads of victims on poles and paraded them through villages. The killings have been on such a scale that the disposal of the corpses has created a serious sanitation problem in East Java and Northern Sumatra where the humid air bears the reek of decaying flesh. Travelers from those areas tell of small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies. *

A million Indonesians were killed and hundreds of thousands arrested. Twelve years later many of those arrested are still waiting for their trials. Robert J. McClosky, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations of the United States noted in a letter of January 14, 1976, that “several hundred thousand were arrested on suspicion of complicity in the coup” and that “about 35,000 are still in detention.”

The US State Department admits that most of these prisoners have not been tried because of lack of evidence against them, claiming that it is “unfortunate but understandable.” The administration excuses the repression to less “efficient” juridical procedures. The lack of concern for the rights of these people is reflected in the letter from the Assistant Secretary of State of the US.

... a total of about 35,000 are still in detention. Most of them are persons whom the Indonesian Government is convinced were PKI/Indonesian Communist Party/members implicated in the 1965 coup attempt but lacks sufficient evidence to bring to trial. There is no question that their prolonged detention without trial has created a serious human rights problem...

Indonesia’s slow progress in dealing with this situation is unfortunate but understandable. As a developing country, Indonesia faces many serious managerial and adminis-
trative problems... As a consequence, the Indonesian administrative, investigative and judicial structures are far less efficient than those we are accustomed to in the West. The judicial system, which has a huge backlog for the handful of trained judges available, is especially inadequate to deal with the thousands of cases involved.

Indonesia has, however, made recent progress in this problem. The Indonesian Government announced in the fall of 1975 that some 1,300 of the detainees were being released. In July 1976, a further 2,000 were said to be released.

The release of 3,300 detainees, if it actually happened, is indeed good news. It should be pointed out, however, that it will take over 20 years at this rate to bring about the release of the 35,000—if there are no other arrests. Unfortunately, estimates by most other sources, such as Amnesty International, indicate that there are closer to 100,000 Indonesia political prisoners at present.

Almost all political opposition to the Indonesia military regime has been forced underground or put into jail. Who are the people in the jails? What's happening to them? Here are the names and short biographies of four:

Sri Ambar is the former head of the Women's Department of the All-Indonesia Trade Union Federation. She was arrested at the end of 1966 and accused of involvement in underground activities. She was subjected to severe torture including deep dagger gashes which required her hospitalization, and blows to the head which impaired her hearing. She was forced to watch her daughters being beaten in an attempt to extract information from her. One of her daughters has since disappeared. In 1975, she was tried together with three other women for subversion and sentenced to 15 years. At the time of her trial she was held at the Bukit Duri Women's Prison in Jakarta, but it is not known whether she was returned to that prison after her trial. Her husband, Tohir, a trade unionist, is also in prison.

Primoseya Ananta Toer is internationally recognized as Indonesia's best contemporary writer. His novels have a strong social and historical orientation. An outspoken and independent thinker, he was arrested several times during the Dutch regime and by Sukarno. He was last arrested in 1965 and is in Buru Island Detention Camp. As an international celebrity, his case has received more attention than others, compelling the authorities to permit him to write. However, his first manuscript written in detention was confiscated when half-finished, and a second one is now in the hands of the military authorities.

Sugiyah was a 14-year-old school girl when she was arrested in 1965. She is alleged to have joined a group of students who went to the Lubang Buaya Training as part of confrontation with Malaysia. This was the place used by the abortive coup leaders, and those who happened to be there at the time are automatically regarded as "serious" cases. Sugiyah has been held first in Bukit Duri Women's Prison, Jakarta, then in the Plantungan Women's Detention Camp, Central Java. She has never been tried or charged.

Charlotte Salawati is now nearly 70 years old. Her first protest actions were when she objected as a young girl to segregation in churches in her native Snagir Talaud. After being banned as a teacher under a repressive Dutch law, she moved to Makassar and became a prominent nationalist while pursuing a profession as a midwife. She became Indonesia's first woman mayor in the 1950's when she was elected Mayor of Makassar. She later joined the PKI and its women's organization, GERWANI. She has never
been charged or tried and is held in Bukit Duri Women's Prison, Jakarta.

Adapted from an article published in WIN 26.2.76.

1,000 UNTRIED PRISONERS SENT TO INDONESIA's BURU PENAL COLONY

More than 1,000 political prisoners have been shipped this year to Indonesia's notorious penal colony on Buru Island. The military command of the island now holds more than 11,000 political prisoners. Those prisoners already there had been transported to Buru between 1969 and 1971.

Indonesia's total political prisoner population is somewhere between 55,000 and 100,000. Most were detained for alleged involvement with an abortive military coup attempt in October 1956.

Most of the prisoners sent to Buru in the latest series of secret transportations have already been held without trial for more than 10 years. Most of them have not been charged. They include people who were children when first arrested.

Conditions on Buru are harsh. Prisoners are required to work every day in the fields to produce all their own food. Hardly any medicines are provided to combat infectious diseases.

The island is 2,000 kilometers away from the country's capital, Jakarta, and prisoners are unable to receive visits from their families.

Source: Amnesty International

Amnesty International, the Human Rights organization is waging an international campaign to secure the release of Indonesian women political prisoners. There will be world-wide actions in October. Hong Kong readers interested in the campaign are asked to contact the Amnesty International Support group in Hong Kong. Write to H.K.A.I. GPO Box 15108, HONG KONG.

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.
Radical Films in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is one of the major film producers of the world; but there are very few films produced in Hong Kong which are of redeeming value or artistic merits. Very few "good" films are shown commercially in Hong Kong and the "good" ones that are shown, are usually box-office failures. So most of the "arty" stuff get screened only by the local film societies. Studio One, the largest, oldest and most established of them all, is run by expatriates, professionals, high ranking civil servants etc. and is of course extremely elitist. Seeing "good" films shown by film societies is basically an activity of the elite in Hong Kong: to be a member of a film society is a costly business; to see a film put on by a film society costs two or three times more than an ordinary movie; to see such films one needs to have a good grasp of the English language (film societies get their films from UK or USA which either have English dialogue or English subtitles but no Chinese subtitles). One does get the opportunities to see representative works of the third world cinema, political cinema of the west, the cinema of intervention ........ The new film group, Cactus, is one that specialises on radical films. Since April this year, the group has shown Kazan's On the Waterfront and Viva Zapata! (Is Kazan a traitor of the cause or is he a libertarian socialist?), Ousmane Sembene's Emitai, Faraldo's Themroc and BOF, Blood of the Condor from Bolivia, The Guns of Brazil and Godard's Wind From the East. One, however, wonders how long the Cactus will or should exist. So far the Cactus Film Society has had little trouble from the authorities with the exception of the Censors who cut the long sequence of "pig"-roasting in Themroc and who demanded thirteen cuts in Wind From the East - any mention of Stalin and Mao with shots of a poster of the two wanted for murder was not allowed. But another film society had been refused Police permits to hold its activities because it was associated with some known radicals in Hong Kong. As a result, the film society folded. But perhaps more worrying to the Cactus organisers should be the fact that their films are seen mainly by a petty bourgeois audience who consider cinema-going a favourite pastime and a kind of intellectual minuet. As such, the films, revolutionary they may be overseas, cease to be subversive. But can films, no matter how important they are, which are not Chinese subtitled, be popularised?

Deep Inside the Heart of a Trotskyite is a Maoist

While the Maoists in Hong Kong equate a Trotskyite to be a Russian revisionist and a Kuomintang supporter, the anarchists/libertarian socialists know very well that there is very little difference between the Maoist brand and the Trotskyist brand of totalitarian socialism. It is rather unusual however to find the Trotskyists themselves claiming to be Maoists! At a sit-in strike recently (at the Overseas Textile Ltd. reported in the last issue of Minus 8), members of Rive Gauche, a local Trotskyist magazine, told the sit-in workers that they were from the Maoist Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions. On being asked to show their identification, they had to admit that they were from Rive Gauche. Subsequently, they had to apologise and were driven away. Just another example to show how the Trots treat workers!

What's in a Name?

The British administration of Hong Kong is headed by the Governor who is appointed by the Queen of England. The Chief advisor of the Governor is the Colonial Secretary. The institutions of the colonial government are those of a nineteenth century mould. Now finally, there is an effort to make the colonial government more in tune with the twentieth century - the Colonial Secretary will have its title changed to the Chief Secretary!
Alternative Press Syndicate

The Alternative Press Syndicate is a non-profit association of alternative newspapers and magazines begun as the Underground Press Syndicate in 1966. As such, it is the oldest alternative news organization in existence. The original five members—the East Village Other, L.A. Free Press, Berkeley Barb, San Francisco Oracle, and the Paper (East Lansing) — had a combined circulation of about 50,000. Since then APS has grown to over 200 papers with a readership of over 20 million around the world.

APS has always been an anarchistic organization with an extremely diverse membership. Because of this diversity, APS has concentrated mainly on seeing that the papers come out, via money, publicity, legal defense and helping papers start and continue through providing information and reprint material. APS also does things which require all the papers to work together—advertising representation, a directory, microfilming, exchange of papers, etc.

A main purpose of APS is to increase awareness of the alternative press. APS constantly seeks and handles publicity for the alternative press in daily newspapers and national magazines and on TV and radio, to keep the alternative press in the public view.

APS is also a clearinghouse for information on the alternative press. We answer letters and phone calls and personal visits from reporters, authors, scholars, students, librarians, historians and people who want to subscribe or advertise. We give them the information they need, or tell them where to get it.

APS members have automatic free reprint rights from all other APS members. To make this work, all members are requested to mail each edition to each other.

APS puts out a list of all members with up-to-date addresses, which goes out to members for their exchange lists, librarians, and the general public, as well as advertisers.

APS publishes the monthly Minus 8 for and about the alternative press with news of interest, news of what APS is doing and how we can work together, etc.

APS publishes the Alternatives Press Directory annually, containing complete information on all members—ad rates, mechanical specifications, publishing schedule, bulk distributor prices; editor, address, subscription rates, founding date, etc. The Directory is sent to all members free, and given away to numerous places where it will do the most good. It is also sold to libraries and the general public to help finance APS.

APS will help with legal defense when an alternative paper or one of its workers is harassed, arrested, seized. It compiles case histories of repression and harassment of the alternative press to document the evidence and attempts at every conceivable opportunity to broaden the freedom of expression and the freedom of publication.

The rules in APS are traditional rather than statutory. They are:

1. All members agree to free exchange of material. If any APS member does not want another member, for some reason, to reprint its material, that member merely notifies the other member and APS. Specific articles may also be exempted from reprinting (as when copyright conflicts) by a simple notice, but this is very rare.

2. $25 initiation fee paid with application for membership. Members may be objected to and brought to a general vote. If vetoed, they are ejected.

3. Members are requested to send eight (8) copies of each issue to APS in Hong Kong (for advertising sales, publicity, library, etc.), and one to each other member's paper.

4. APS members should list on their masthead that they are members of APS.

5. When reprinting an article from another APS member, it must be credited—e.g., Iconoclash (APS). This is not only fair but protects the other paper's copyright.