

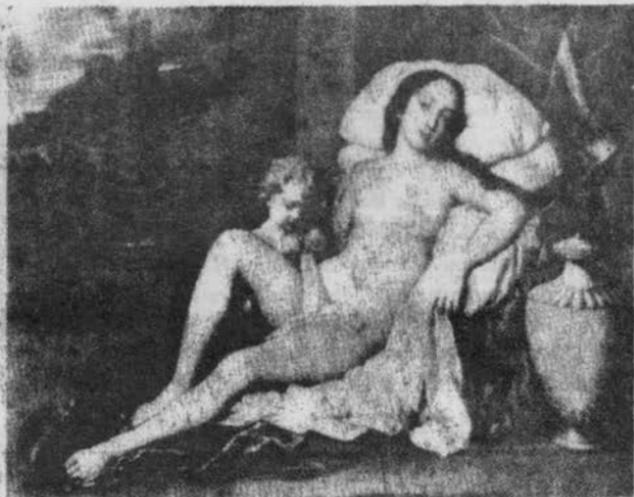
*Minus 8 is a monthly publication published under the auspices of the Alternative Press Syndicate (Asia-Pacific) which is the co-ordinating body for the underground and alternative press in the Asian-Pacific region. Minus 8 is distributed free of charge to all members of the APS. Subscription rate for individuals or institutions is \$10 US including postage. Minus 8 will publish news and news analysis of the Asian Pacific region particularly those connected with China and Hong Kong. We welcome contributions from friends overseas. All articles may be reproduced by member-newspapers*

## MISS UNIVERSE CONTEST IN HONGKONG

The Miss Universe contest was held in July 1976 in Hong Kong. Millions of people watched Paris awarding the apple to the woman he finds most beautiful. Beauty has long become competitive. Those who are not judged beautiful are *not beautiful*. Those who are, are given the prize.

The prize is to be owned by a judge that is to say to be available for him. Charles the Second commissioned a ~~secret~~ painting from Lely. It is a highly typical image of the tradition. Nominally it might be a Venus and Cupid. In fact it is a portrait of one of the King's mistresses, Nell Gwynne. It shows her passively looking at the spectator staring at her naked.

NELL GWYNNE BY LELY 1618-1680



This nakedness is not, however, an expression of her own feelings; it is a sign of her submission to the owner's feelings or demands. (The owner of both woman and painting.) The painting, when the King showed it to others, demonstrated this submission and his guests envied him

## THE 'SAVE KIM CHI HA SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN'

The HK support group of the Amnesty International has recently initiated a signature campaign in support of Kim Chi Ha.

Kim Chi Ha, aged 35, is a famous South Korean poet and writer. An outspoken critic of President Park Chung Hee's authoritarian regime, he has spent many of the past 14 years in prison.

Kim Chi Ha was born on 4th February, 1941 in Mokpo, located in South Korea's southern province. He entered Seoul National University's College of Liberal Art & Sciences in 1959. In 1964, he took part in the student movement against talks being conducted for the normalisation of relations between Japan and South Korea. As a result, he was imprisoned and tortured. Nevertheless, after his release, he at once participated in the 1965 movement against the Japan-Korea normalisation treaty.

After graduating from the university in 1966, he started working at odd jobs and writing. Due to chronic tuberculosis, he was forced to spend the next two years in a sanatorium. Leaving the hospital in 1969, he started to work at a movie script, continuing all the while to write poetry. In 1970, he published "Five Bandits" in a popular intellectual literary magazine. Interpreted as condemning various aspects of misused power in modern Korea, the poem was well received and was reprinted by the opposition in its party organ. The newspaper was then confiscated by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and the poet, the magazine's publishers, as well as other figures were all arrested under the Anti-Communist Law. After a lengthy imprisonment (where Kim was again tortured) and court proceedings, the defendants were freed on bail, with charges still hanging over their heads.

In April 1972, Kim Chi Ha published "Groundless Rumours", another poem critical of the Establishment, this time in the Catholic magazine "CREATION". The magazine's publisher and American Priest Editor were interrogated by the KCIA and the magazine was allowed to survive only on condition that the editor be removed. The poet, who had been leading a semi-nomadic existence in the Korean countryside in order to avoid further police and KCIA interference, was tracked down, arrested and sent to a sanatorium and was eventually charged on May 31st with "having made remarks slandering the incumbent govt."

In early May, campaigns were mounted in Japan to secure the Poet's release. The international campaign organised for the poet from Tokyo included such luminaries as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simon de Beauvoir, Herbert Marcuse, Costa Garvas and many others. Through such efforts, Kim Chi Ha was subsequently released in July 18, 1972.

After publication of his "CRY OF THE PEOPLE", Kim was arrested again in April 1974, for supporting student demonstration as Park escalated his campaign to silence mounting criticism of his police state. He was sentenced to death, and only immense international pressure brought to bear on behalf of Kim and other political prisoners in South Korea forced the Korean Govt. to back down and commute the poet's sentence to life imprisonment.

Under amnesty, Kim Chi Ha was released in Feb. 1975 but was rearrested on 14 March under the Anti-Communist Law after publishing an article describing the torture of fellow prisoners and accusing the Government of fabricating a "communist conspiracy" to justify a series of mass arrests in 1974. His life sentence was re-imposed.

He was held in solitary confinement and in an unheated cell, despite the extreme cold of the Korean winter. He was denied visits from his family and lawyer and was

kept under constant surveillance. He who was a writer and a Roman Catholic was even denied of all writing material and a bible.

In June, the poet wrote a "Declaration of Conscience" to disavow his confession that he was a communist and managed to smuggle the 12,000 word manuscript out of prison in August. The document described how the KCIA had subjected him to enormous pressure to make him confess to being a communist. This document became a prohibited article in South Korea, and at least 6 to 7 students had been convicted for distributing copies of it.

At present, Kim Chi Ha was under trial for alleged violations of South Korea's Anti-Communist Law. Conviction under this law could carry death penalty. |  
Send letters of protest indicating your sympathy with the innocent poet to the Korean Consulate in your own area.

For further information about this campaign on Kim Chi Ha, please write to A.I. Hong Kong, G.P.O. Box 15108,

**SAVE KIM CHI HA! FIGHT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS!**

### **GOTEMBA DECLARATION**

Amnesty International, the human rights organization campaigning for the release of political prisoners and against torture all over the world, organised the first Pacific Regional Conference in Tozanso, Japan in early June.

The Conference unanimously adopted the following declaration known as the Gotemba Declaration:

WE, as participants to the first Pacific Regional Conference of Amnesty International, meeting in Tozanso, Japan/

**AFFIRM** that the struggle for respect and protection of human rights is an international endeavour and that implementation of the principles of human rights is essential to the development of a just and democratic society;

**DEPLORE** the fact that, wherever we look in our region, we witness gross violations of human rights, arbitrary detention and torture, suspension of such fundamental rights as freedom of speech and association and the right to dissent, as well as the imposition of severe restrictions on the free flow of information both inside countries and to the outside world, particularly by governments invoking emergency powers, martial law and other extraordinary measures, constitutional or extra-constitutional;

**MAINTAIN** that the use of such repressive measures for the curtailment of basic human rights creates a situation in which the use of violence by the oppressed becomes inevitable and believe that the consistent resort to institutional violence in order to crush dissent and deprive the people of their freedom creates an explosive situation for any state;

**CALL** upon the peoples and upon the governments in our region to prepare the way towards the creation of a truly just and humane society by:

1. Working for the ratification of the United Nations International Covenants on human rights and, wherever these Covenants are ratified, to ensure the implementation of their provisions in the life of each country and the introduction of the necessary legislation for the protection of human rights;
2. Developing a regional appeal machinery for defendants who believe that their rights have not been properly protected by the existing legal structures in their own countries;

3. Ensuring the independence and impartiality of the judiciary and the freedom of the legal profession;
4. Abolishing the use of torture and the imposition of the death penalty in all cases and without reservation.

CALL on Amnesty International to:

1. Concern itself not only with the release of prisoners of conscience but also with the systems that create such prisoners;
2. Realize that an understanding of human rights must be seen in the socio-economic, cultural and religious context of the region;
3. Recognize that in order to raise the level of awareness of human rights and thereby channel the people's consciousness toward the development of a truly just and democratic society, it must be a high priority in the region to develop regional, national and local programs of education about human rights designed to raise the level of awareness in the region, particularly among the majority, grass-roots population of each and every country;
4. Assist us, within the context of our region, to formulate a just definition and set the criteria for the application of terms such as "national security", "public order", "national stability", and "national development" and to indicate clearly the cases where these terms have been abused by authoritarian governments for the curtailment of human rights;
5. Create a regional consultative body linked to Amnesty International, so as to strengthen us in our struggles for human rights in the region and the establishment of just and democratic societies for our peoples.

Adopted 5 June 1976

The participants seem to be putting too much confidence in Amnesty International. Do they not?

**Open Road:** In case you or your group has not received a copy of the first issue of Open Road, a libertarian publication produced by a collective of politically-active people based in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, write to The Open Road, Box 6135, Station G. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. They will be most glad to hear from you and send you a copy. Issue One of The Open Road consists of an interview with Martin Sostre, articles on the American Indian Movement, Phil Ochs who recently committed suicide, events in Chile, Argentina, Timor, etc., etc. All anarchists/libertarian communists should welcome this magazine.

Here's a list of the addresses of some other libertarian anti-establishment publications in North America:

Black Star, Box 90159, Milwaukee 53202, USA

Fifth Estate, 4403, 2nd Detroit, M.I. 48201 USA

Industrial Defense Bulletin, P.O. Box 306, Station E, Toronto 4, Canada

Solidarity Newsletter, GPR Box 13011, Phila., PA 19101, USA

League for Economic Democracy, P.O. Box 1858, San Pedro, C.A. 90733, USA

Our Generation, 3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal 131, Canada.

## An Account of the Tien An Men Incident

On April 5 this year, 100,000 people rioted at Tienanmen in Peking. The upheaval was mercilessly suppressed and subsequently the Chinese authorities presented their version of the riot in the People's Daily, which consists of half-truths and straight out lies. The following is a translation of an article in Huang Ho (or "Yellow River") a magazine in Chinese published by a group of ex-Red Guards who had become disillusioned with the maoist regime and fled to Hongkong. Although they are in Hong Kong they are most concerned with political developments in China and still maintain close contacts with their friends, comrades and relatives back home. Members of APS Asia-Pacific maintain fraternal relationship with the Huang Ho group and are in no hesitation to say that what follows is a much truer version of what actually took place early April in Peking.

Author's note: This essay is written by compiling the data obtained from letters of eyewitnesses of the incident, releases by foreign correspondents and the Renmen Ribao. We shall not depict the origins one by one in the essay.

**WREATHS! WREATHS!**

For many days, people all felt that the atmosphere in Peking was being "charged with electricity", but no one knew exactly how it all began. Nevertheless, everybody noticed that on 28th March, the Shanghai Wen Wui Pao published an article which was highly suspected of being an attack on Premier Chou En Lai. From then on, people began feeling uneasy. Someone pasted big slogans on the carriages of the trains on the Sin-Pu route to counter-attack Wen Wui Pao and although these slogans were immediately rubbed off by the authority, this news spread around Peking very quickly. Fraught with anxiety and excitement, people started discussing this with one another.

But everybody was certain of one thing: that electric current came from their hearts. For so many years, they had been longing for a change that would improve their lives and bring about a loosening of control in the political as well as cultural sphere. When Premier Chou mentioned the "Four Modernisations" in the Fourth National People's Congress, they felt that the day they had been longing for had finally arrived. Their spirits were elated and Premier Chou became more and more a symbol of their hope. Yet not long after the death of Premier Chou, the "Anti right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdict" movement was launched. They accused the four modernisations scheme of having a "revisionist plot" behind it and the people were asked to criticise it vigorously. As the movement developed to a higher stage, not only Teng Hsiao-ping was criticised, but even Chou En Lai was brought into concern and questioned. Was this not similar to saying to the people that the last hope which they had entrusted to their symbol, Premier Chou, had to be totally smash? They could finally tolerate no longer ....

Wreaths! A week before the Ching Ming Festival, wreaths commemorating Premier Chou started appearing in front of the Monument of the People's Heroes!

These wreaths were actually sent by certain members of the Headquarters of the Second Artillery of the People's Liberation Army and by Cadres of the State Council's Seventh, Sixth and Fifth Ministries of Machine Building.

The incident was thereby initiated by these people. As to what in fact was the meaning of such an action, they would not tell. But sending the wreaths at so early a time was itself a very unusual phenomenon already.

At once, all the masses simultaneously felt that they could speak now through the wreaths!

The sacred undefilable wreaths! People who were like aggrieved soldiers were the most difficult to resist!

On April 1st, more and more wreaths were accumulated. Words of condolence inscribed on the wreaths read: "Beloved and venerated Premier Chou, we think of you day and night." On the side of the Monument facing the north, there hung a black banner on which were these bold white characters: "Eternal Glory to our Beloved and Venerated Premier Chou!"

This is an act to defend both Premier Chou and their hopes.

On April 2nd, Tien An Men was flooded with people. The monument was already crowded with wreaths and tens of Chou En Lai's portraits. Words of Condolence inscribed on the wreaths read: "We will protect your heroic image and accomplish your glorious plans."

This is an open declaration of their support of Chou's line, and what is the same, a manifestation of their disapproval of the "anti-right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts" movement.

On April 3rd, wreaths and slogans, with words like "Beware of conspirators inside the party, Down with all traitors who oppose Premier Chou" appeared. In the meantime, hundreds of thousands of people assembled in front of Tien An Men and the wreaths at the Monument piled up to fifteen metres high.

This is an assault on those who initiated the "Anti-right deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts" movement.

On April 4th, which was the Ching Ming Festival, words like "Down with Empress Dowager", "Down with Indira Ghandi", "Down with all reactionaries who wanted to attack Premier Chou" were strikingly in sight.

This is to direct the spearhead of attack right at Chiang Ching, the forerunner of the "Anti-right deviationists attempts to reverse correct verdicts" movement.

The incident gathered momentum according to an internal logic, which was the will of the people. The wreaths became a kind of big character poster used by the people for expressing their own viewpoints on their country's political life. The people cared for their wreaths. The wreaths mobilised the people. The masses in front of Tien An Men, filled with zealous fervour, copied the words on the wreaths and made speeches. The tide of wreaths, which had just surged up, showed no signs of retreating.

For the first time in these twenty-six years, the people stood out to voice their own selves!

#### **EVERY STEP WAS WRONG**

Needless to say, this was the first time that there did occur in Chungnanhai\* such profound convulsions.

"The dictatorship of Proletariat" must have its absolute power and authority. The independence of the action alone may well suffice to defy the establishment, not to mention the fact that the action had now become so blatant. It occurred amidst the "Anti-right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdict" movement and pointed directly at the "Headquarters of the Proletariat". Compared with the other political powers of the world, that of Chungnanhai is already one which has a relatively better

\*Translator's note Chungnanhai is the place where Mao resides.

understanding of the people's power for it knows that it is the people who has enthroned it. For twenty-six years, it has never forgotten to claim that it belongs to the people. Yet today, the people have apparently become a threat to its rule - is there anything more horrible than this?

It can be decided at once that their actions must be smashed!

Having received the directive, the Peking Public Security Bureau acted swiftly.

As soon as the wreaths appeared, the various bureau branches hurriedly strengthened the "Residents' Committee"'s job of maintaining law and order. All those who were qualified to be called "class enemies" were kept under strict surveillance and were forbidden to go to the Tien An Men Square. Groups of plain clothes policemen were dispatched to engage in dodging.

At first, the authority was quite cautious in doing so, but geared by a kind of self-confidence, it tended to assess the people in the same way as it did in the past: it thought that by merely tapping its fingers, it could silence the people.

But the crowd grew larger and larger; the wreaths piled up higher and higher; and the words turned more and more radical. The presence of plain clothes policemen proved to be not effective at all for they were not worthy of even a glance. Moreover, the people had an additional advantage: they could now be certain that there were no "class enemies" among themselves so that they could speak out, now with justice on their side, more courageously.

The authority started hesitating for solving the problem was not as easy as it first seemed to be but immediate suppression was obviously not a wise decision. Courtesy should be preferably put ahead of brute force. Hence in the morning of April 3rd, the Public Security Bureau decided to stop the crowd by "persuasion".

The plain clothes policemen went about warning people, "Comrades, beware of being used by class enemies!"

What? Was sending in wreaths analogous to being used by class enemies? For all these years, those threadbare and hackneyed words used to frighten people had been enough to incite the anger of the people, and now they even came to offend this sacred act of wreath sending! And in front of them were exactly those plain clothes policemen who were known for their indulgence in unscrupulous doings.

"You are the class enemies!" howling with rage, the people raised their fists to fight.

Many plain clothes policemen were beaten to bleed from the nose. One even fainted away and might have died if Yang Min-jui, Wang Pei-chin and the other militia-women of Western District's Plastic Material Factory had not saved him in time.

The authority did not realise that the people, who had been silenced for so many years, and who had now just got the chance to speak, could not stand even the slightest bit of provocation.

The cadres of the Chinese Science Academy put up a big character poster declaring, "Some people want to stop us from going to Tien An Men to mourn for the Premier, but nothing can stop us from doing so!" The masses acclaimed - how good the poster was: nothing could stop us!

The Public Security Bureau must use force now - Shoot down the leaders, disperse the crowd.

On April fourth, the cadre of Public Security Bureau, Tien Jiu-shan and his several hundred colleagues merged into the crowd, and waited for the opportune moment to arrest the active elements there

A youth put up a small character poster on the Monument and shouted to the crowd. "Oppose all pseudo Marxist-Leninists! Whoever opposes Premier Chou, we will beat him down!"

The masses, captivated by his bearing, at once applauded with shouts of "Repeat that once more! Repeat that once more!"

Tien Jiu-shan hurried back to report to the Bureau and the order that he subsequently received was "Arrest!"

"You have made counter-revolutionary speeches and have put up counter-revolutionary posters!"

Tien Jiu-shan rushed forward to grab at that youth, who immediately jumped onto his bike and fled. Tien Jiu-shan shouted, "Hold up that scoundrel!" In the past, this shout could surely rally assistance from the masses but now, the opposite happened they surrounded him [Tien Jiu-shan] instead! Tien cried aloud, "I am from the Public Security Bureau. He is making counter-revolutionary speeches. "

"You are the scoundrel!" With his body wavering after beaten up by the masses, he murmured, "Arrest arrest " and then turned unconscious.

The masses had their hearts all united now. The "Leader" had become their hero. Moreover, it was alright when the authority had not yet arrested anyone, but once it started arresting, peace could hardly be restored. Their anger grew rapidly and the use of violence became a publicly approved and legitimate means. The situation of the riot had already manifested itself before the riot did actually occur.

Every step taken by the authority turned out to be wrong. This was an indispensable factor propelling the whole incident forward. Doubtlessly it [the authority] appeared stupid in front of the people now.

Nevertheless, it would be better to just call it stupid for it was in fact its basic stance of suppressing people that predetermined its stupidity.

Then it made another new decision - a decision which finally led the incident to take a great leap forward.

In the meantime, the office of Public Security Bureau was still brightly lit up. The acting Secretary of the Party Committee, Ma Yung-shun, was smoking and waiting beside several hot line telephones for news concerned with the development of the events occurring at Tien An Men.

Ma Yung-shun was responsible for the law and order of Tien An Men. He knew that the wreaths there had made some of the leading comrades in the Center very furious and unhappy. He had not closed his eyes for wholly thirty-two hours!

For these several days, he had been haunted with fear. Means which had proved successful in the past did not work any more. Yet now, he smiled. So it was most appropriate to remove the wreaths for this was the best indication of the Center's attitude, which wielded immense power in securing the obedience of the people. He believed that the masses would surely retreat tomorrow, in accordance with the expectation of the decision makers.

"Tomorrow is the crux!" Ma Yung-shun told his staff and absent-mindedly tore off a sheet from the calendar, unfolding the brand new page of April Fifth.

#### A BRAND NEW PAGE

This was the brand new page of April Fifth the Tien An Men Incident which shook the world was exploded!

Early in the morning, police guard Yuan Chi-feng, together with a group of policemen and militiamen stood guard before the Monument. Their mission was to

protect the solemnity, orderliness and cleanliness of the Monument and to forbid anymore sending in of wreaths. Yuan Chi-feng, watching the approaching crowd, estimated that they already numbered thirty thousand or more.

The masses howled at them: "Where are our wreaths?" "Where have they gone?" "On what count are you removing our wreaths?" They did not answer, for they could not: nobody knew where the wreaths were.

Was this not saying clearly that they had to oppose Premier Chou? Was this not saying clearly that they had to have their last hope pulverised? Oh! Everything was so clear without a word!

But the one deciding the removal of wreaths must surely be no nonentity, and who could that be?

Whoever he was, the wreaths were embodiment of the will of all the people there! Was this not more important than anything else?

Give us back our wreaths!

For a very short moment, maybe only a few seconds, a frightening shadow descended upon the hearts of the thousands of people but it passed away quickly. When the long subdued and only recently pent-up desire was once again obstructed, there led to a sudden awakening of the people's pride. This pride, which could be detected from all the thousands of people there, made them suddenly aware of their own power and significance which were not a bit less than those of the power holders! They must make decisions themselves and they were not afraid of doing so. They were even prepared to fight with their lives for the right of making decisions! That was the most important moment in history.

The decisions made by the authority turned out to be wrong altogether. It had neglected the fact that the masses were also human beings who should have their own dignity and rights for which ultimately they were prepared to fight, and who wielded power immense as the oceans. The authority's decision was in fact the fuse of the Tien An Men incident!

The riot began!

At 7:30 am, a group of people, carrying a huge portrait of Chou En Lai, entered the square from West Cheng An Street and rushed towards the monument. The masses, mad with ecstatic delight, made way for them and then immediately crowded behind the portrait. A current of people was formed and surged towards the monument.

The line of defense of the militiamen was soon broken through. The portrait of Chou En Lai was being erected at the side of the monument facing the north, looking at Tien An Men's Mao Tse Tung portrait at a distance. The masses thundered with applause and cheers.

A short while later, students of Peking's 173 Secondary School also dashed forward and presented their wreaths in the morning sun. Cries of joy rippled along.

The guards in front of the monument lost their defence power entirely in the face of the tens of thousands of angry and gleeful masses. Yuan Chi-feng received several blows amidst the commotion.

At this moment, his comrade in the same company Seong Hai-ping was standing guard in front of the national flag at the Tien An Men Square. Seeing the aura of the crowd rushing towards the monument, he was stunned and did not know what to do. Yesterday, a group of workers had asked him to fly the flag at half mast "to mourn for the Premier". Another group of youths climbed up the balusters fencing the flag and attempted to fly the flag at half-mast by force for the same reason, and they only

backed down after a long hard persuasion by Seong H. i-ping and by the others. But now, the situation was entirely different. Obvious enough, the masses were afraid of nothing now so that if they wanted to fly the flag at half mast, nobody could stop them. Fortunately, the people were busily preoccupied with the war of wreaths.

At 7:45 am, more than 50,000 people had gathered on the square and the traffic at Chang An St. was being obstructed.

At 8:00 am, the Public Security Bureau sent a traffic propaganda car here to ask the people to disperse so as "not to obstruct the traffic". The high pitched voice of Tien Lan-yu and Liu Jsin-fei, two civilian policewomen, amplified by the loudspeaker, formed a rasping soundwave. When the car reached the eastern side of the Great Hall of the People, it was at once surrounded by the masses. With their howling and scolding being drowned by the noise of the loudspeaker, the masses thus dragged away the driver and jumped onto the car and struck at it violently. Then someone gave out a cry, "Overturn the car!" and immediately, the car was overturned. Tien Lan-yu and the others were also turned feet over head like the inversely planted leeks, but she could still vaguely felt that someone was jumping up and down on the car. Cries of joy of the people resounded at the square.

At 8:30 am, the masses and the guards at the monument entered into a big clash at last. Seeing that the guards were removing the wreaths in their face, the masses surged forward to seize them back, hence resulting in a fight in which both sides suffered casualties.

Later, someone in the crowd cried out, "Workers don't fight against workers!" and the fight gradually petered out. The masses started to discuss and concluded that they should inquire after the one who had directed the removal of wreaths. So they all rushed towards the Great Hall of the People, where they thought those responsible for the removal of wreaths were located.

"Open the door!" "Come out! The Officer-in-charge!" The Great Hall of the People was trapped in by a whirlpool.

### THE ANGRY PEOPLE

The event, now reaching its climax, continued to develop at the hastiest rhythm.

Wu Yuan-fu, Deputy of the Fourth National People's Congress and a cadre of the militia, together with some other militiamen of Peking's Sixth Construction Company were responsible for safe-guarding the Great Hall of the People. They turned up to stand guard on April 4th.

When the masses reached the eastern gate, Wu Yuan-fu had already told the militiamen to have the gate firmly locked.

The masses began shouting outside the gate. Not bothering to lend a ear, Wu Yuan-fu ordered the militiamen to double lock the gate. Outside the glass door, some of the violent and enraged people kicked, some knocked and some gathered their strength to try to force open the door. The time was 9:00 am in the morning.

At this very same moment, the district command of Chiu Yang's militia and one of Peking's Guarding Districts received an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: "Enter the square at once empty-handed, to safe-guard the Great Hall of the People."

Several hundred members of the armed forces from the guarding district were the first to enter the square. They lay down a line of defense in front of the flight of steps leading to the Great Hall, hence separating the masses at the gate from those on the square.

But at once there spread from the masses at the square the words that "The wreaths were inside the Great Hall of the People." Calling out the name of Chou En Lai, the masses rushed towards the Great Hall but only to be barred off by the army. Together, they seized the army's caps, insignia and had them thrown into the air. Fighter Hze-hsu fought against the masses. He was dragged to the monument and was ordered to kneel down and confess his crime to the Premier.

A short while after the army had entered the square, the vice commander of Chiu Yang District's militia Liu Tsin-lung led six hundred militiamen to rescue. They wanted to lay down the ambush in front of the Great Hall but before they reached the main gate, they were broken up into sections. Another chaotic skirmish started, in which a hundred or more militiamen were wounded and twelve seriously wounded. The casualty at the side of the masses could not be even estimated.

At 10:00 am, the masses surrounding the Great Hall of the People numbered nearly one hundred thousand. They demanded the wreaths be returned to them and they be given the right to commemorate Chou En Lai.

One man who called himself student of Tsinghua University stood out and made speeches assailing Chou En Lai, alleging that Chou was the backstage supporter of the right deviationist wind. The masses, extremely infuriated, cried out in unison to have that man beaten up and forced him to kneel down to beg for forgiveness. Several plain clothed policemen among the masses were also beaten up and wounded.

At 11:00 am thinking that the Museum of Chinese History and the barracks at the southeastern corner of the square may be where those responsible for the removal of wreaths were located, the masses rushed towards these two buildings in different directions.

The Museum of Chinese History was already packed with soldiers so that the masses could not get close to it. The Ninth Company's Barrack at the eastern corner was however broken into by the masses. Several young people with crew cuts shouted in turn through the transistor magaphone which was probably seized from the barrack: "The people have the right to comemorate the Premier. It is right for them to claim back their wreaths!"

At 12:00, a group of people inaugurated the "Committee of the People of the Capital for Commemorating the Premier". The Committee issued a decree, insisting that the authority should put the wreaths back to where they were. A youth wearing spectacles announced that if the Public Security Bureau did not reply in ten minutes, they would smash the Bureau.

At 12:30 pm, a large troop of PLA fighters filed in to help guard the barracks. The masses shouted, "The People's Army should stand on the side of the people!" Paying no heed to the call of the people, the army started driving the people out of the barrack.

The masses, not able to find their wreaths and with their demand being rejected without a word, boiled up in ever-increasing anger. They overturned a cadres' sedan car and set it on fire.

At 12:40 pm, a fire engine which was driving from the front gate towards the site was stopped half-way by the masses. Several youths pulled out the driver, several others pierced the tyres with their knives and also cut off the hose. Fireman Wang Ai-hsiu was dragged to a spot far away from the fire engine by the masses and when he was released, he was warned "Don't ever suppress the people!"

At 12:45 pm the police set out to put out the fire, only to be blocked by the masses who had the policemen's caps thrown all over the ground.

The flames of the burning car which symbolised the anger of the people could not be put out by anyone. It continued burning until the small sedan car was turned to ashes.

While the militiamen and the Army had their attention focussed on the fire site, some of the masses took the opportunity to send in more wreaths to the monument. On the wreaths were words like "Our beloved Premier Chou, we are extremely sorry to be disturbing you with this confusion at Tien An Men" and "We will smash those who want to emasculate genuine Marxism-Leninism".

Tien An Men Square had long been the place where the Chinese people demonstrated their steel-like discipline but now, driven by a strong current of force in their heart, they were to erupt.

Looking at the rolling black tumes of smoke, one can imagine the situation at Chungnanhai. Removing the wreaths had been thought of as a very wise act but unexpectedly, it ignited a riot instead--at the Tien An Men Square! The authority was both shocked and infuriated. This was the biggest counter-revolutionary incident in these twenty six years! No wonder it had to be suppressed!

But there were so many people, who were all seething with anger. And it was still daytime, a whole afternoon before sunset!

Immediate suppression? No, impossible! One got to cool down and waited for the opportune moment.

The authority had great power of suppression and the fact that the masses were gathered together in only a morning gave it space to employ the art of struggle.

But during this period, it must not show any sign of weakness or an unbearable situation would surely follow. The rioters would acclaim joyously at their victory, sweeping away all its authority.

Got to remove the wreaths again!

### *ADDING FUEL TO THE FIRE*

At noon, as many people had gone home for lunch, the masses at the square grew smaller and smaller in number. There were more and more militiamen however, and they even came to set up a provisional militia command quarter here..

Ma Hsiao-lu, vice chief commander of the capital's Militia battalion, together with Jang Si-jung and Sao Lien-shung, two PLA officers-in-charge gazed afar from the barrack building, where the provisional militia command quarters was located. The building was three storied high and had an area of 1300 or more square metres. One could get a very clear picture of the whole situation at Tien An Men by having a glance from here. It was once occupied by the masses in the morning but it was expected that this would never happen again.

Just as Ma Hsiao-lu walked up the building, a small commotion occurred at the Tien An Men Square. Several youths who were identified as students of Tsing hua and Peking University tried to take the opportunity that there were fewer people now to remove the wreaths which the masses had sent in to the monument in the morning.

The masses, on finding out the attempt to remove the wreaths, immediately chased after to seize them back. The PLA guards at the monument were also warned that they must carry out the order of the people and not to let anyone remove the wreaths.

But at 2:30pm, when the crowd was smallest, the wreaths and portraits were ultimately removed by the militiamen.

The situation underwent a sharp turn! The news that "the wreaths were once again removed" spread at an unexpectedly high speed throughout Peking. The masses who had been talking enthusiastically about their action of the morning at once grew dismayed.

The fact that the authority had time and again ignored the people's rights forced them to become the most "dangerous" people. Needing no summoning up, they surged towards Tien An Men again.

Several youths who had been staying at the site all along separately told the people the whole story about the removal of wreaths. While talking, they grew more and more indignant and finally burst into tears. They all cried aloud that those who removed the wreaths could never shed their guilt. All of a sudden, their long subdued anger which could find no way out was directed towards the militiamen and the police. At 3:00 pm, three motor vehicles bringing water and food to the militiamen and one police car were burnt up. The afternoon opened with a riot.

The people rushed here and there, trying to find out those who were responsible for the removal of wreaths.

At 4:40 pm, the masses, having discovered that the officer-in-charge of the militiamen was inside the barrack, at once encircled the barrack. At 5:00 pm, the guards in front of the barrack were split up by the masses. The masses broke into the barrack, besieged the barrack building and demanded a meeting with the officer-in-charge. Ma Hsiao-lu and the others dared not show themselves. The masses started smashing the militiamen's bicycles, using the fragmented parts of the bikes to knock down the barrack's doors and windows.

At 5:05 pm, Ma Hsiao-lu still insisted not to meet the masses. The masses had then managed to knock down the doors and windows of the ground floor and had the bed sheets and books all thrown out into the fire. Ma Hsiao-lu was hiding himself when the masses set the barrack on fire. A youth wearing spectacles shouted, "See if they come down or not!"

The first who came to put out the fire was the "Chin Hsin Teng Heroic Company", which was then on duty at the Tien An Men. Wu Jiu-hsoi, fighter of that Company, broke into the building with the hose in his hands but was at once drowned by the masses and the hose was snatched away by a youth.

The fire was engulfing the first floor. Ma Hsiao-lu and the others, though being choked to tears, were still unwilling to meet the masses. When they were on the verge of being burnt to death in the barrack, there appeared fortunately a female cooker, Liu Yi-wa from the Peking Post Office, which was just next to the barrack. She had a three meter long wooden pole sent upstairs making a bridge by which Ma Hsiao-lu managed to escape hurriedly from the masses and the site.

At 6:00 pm a large group of soldiers arrived to help put out the fire. The people who set the fire were forced to retreat, some to the rooftop opposite the barrack to throw tiles and stones at the soldiers.

Chungnanhai did not want to show its weakness. The people did not want to either. The removal of wreaths was retaliated with a big fire. Both sides were left in a stalemate in the afternoon while at the same time, the fire burnt away the authority of Chungnanhai.

Nevertheless, the situation was changing quietly with time. The militia guards at the monument were gradually discharged and the area round the monument was thus left vacant. At that time, the masses were still in the area round the barrack so that no one had taken notice of this change, nor of its significance.

#### SUNSET

AT sunset, faint rays of sunlight still lingered over the angry masses and the rolling fumes of black smoke, as if being reluctant to go.

At about 6:00 pm. there were still fifty to sixty thousand people at the square

watching the fire. Let it burn! It was furious and violent, but whatever ways were there to express their protest? But as it was getting dark and it was again time for dinner, many began to think of leaving.

The long awaited opportunity had arrived at last!

At 6:15 pm, the order of Chungnanhai had finally come down. The capital's militia headquarters had all their directing lines connected to the tens of units. "Bring your weapons and assemble to wait for further instructions."

At 6:30 pm Wu Geh broadcast a speech at the Tien An Men Square: "Today, there are bad elements carrying out disruption and disturbances and engaging in counter-revolutionary sabotage at Tien An Men Square. Revolutionary masses must leave the square at once and not to be duped by them." The speech stressed that the centre thought that the incident, overtly rallying support for Teng Hsiao-ping, had its spearhead directed towards Chairman Mao.

Up till now, after a day's struggle, the masses could clearly see that they could never have the right of presenting wreaths to commemorate Premier Chou and of expressing their opinions. The authority had made it clear that it would mobilise great forces for suppression which the masses could never successfully resist. A feeling of utter helplessness spread among the masses and many gradually dispersed.

But at 8:00 pm there were still three thousand people or more who insisted on staying, and gathered around the Monument. They did not realise that this place was now specially arranged for them by the authority. They knew only of safeguarding the remaining wreaths and for the sake of their struggle, they were willing to make a great decision: they were willing to receive the cruellest verdict. The night breeze blew over. Together they sang the "Internationale", a song which their late revolutionaries had sung while fighting to death for justice. "This is the last conflict, be united for tomorrow. . ." The singers had tomorrow in their minds. They had in the mind also a long night which existed before tomorrow really arrived and which was at present right before their eyes! Their singing, loud and melancholy, deep and strong, flew far away over the silent ground.

Amidst the singing, they presented the last lots of wreaths and posted up their poems, one of which read:

'Devils howl as we pour out our grief, we weep but the wolves laugh  
We spill our blood in memory of the hero.  
Raising our brows, we unsheathe our swords.  
China is no longer the China of yore.  
and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance;  
Gone for good is Chin Shih Huang's feudal society  
We believe in Marxism-Leninism! What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism,  
To hell with those scholars who emasculate Marxism-Leninism!  
For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism, we fear not shedding our blood and  
laying down our lives;  
The day modernisation in four fields is realised, we will come back to offer  
libations and sacrifices.'

This poem though unpolished, had an air of naturalness and grandeur in it. Fought with stern tenor and accomplished at one stroke, this was a style written at a critical moment of life and death. The poem was a very good portrait of the present day China, the Chinese people and the day April Fifth. Its author may remain anonymous forever but his spirit would remain locked in the heartstrings of the awakening and inevitably fully awakened Chinese people.

After the militia Command had ascertained the number of people around the Monument, tens of thousands of militiamen were dispatched to the area round the Tien An Men Square. They assembled at ten different spots and were preparing to launch a major attack at 9:30 pm. The time was well chosen for in the dark, the people could never see the blood.

The time was approaching nearer and nearer. The five thousand militiamen of Peking's Twenty-sixth Machine-Car Factory who had been waiting in ambush outside the square scanned their target attentively. Those people had been nearly all swallowed up by darkness but they continued their singing which pricked at one's heartstring. Some of the militiamen were moved. All people in Peking understood that what these people wanted to fight for, even with their lives, was exactly what all Chinese people hoped for!

At 9:30 pm, Ma Yung-shun and Ma Hsiao-lu issued to the leaders at the various assembling spots the order: GO

Tens of thousands of militiamen, carrying big clubs, approached Tien An Men from ten different directions. They were followed by PLA soldiers carrying guns loaded with bullets, the police, then finally the prison-cars of the Public Security Bureau.

The awaited fate finally arrived! The dark shadows of the militiamen were getting nearer and nearer. The singing of the masses was getting louder and louder. In the last tens of seconds, it was like mountains tumbling down and earth cracking up.

The first to break into the square were the forty militiamen of Peking's Second Factory. Just as they arrived, they hit the masses' heads with their clubs, instantly causing a lot of bloodshed. A youth wriggled and wriggled on the ground, unable to get up again forever. A large group of militiamen also arrived soon after and in a moment, the area round the Monument was filled with the sound of hitting, falling and groaning.

One empty handed person had to deal with over ten big clubs and then guns. In the beginning, the masses joined their hands together but very soon, they were split up in the fight.

Then immediately, they were driven by the clubs to the Old Palace.

Some youth in the face of clubs, took out their knives to resist, but only to be beaten to death under the clubs.

Another lots who refused to go into the Old Palace were pushed onto the prison-cars. "Are you going or not? If not, you are transforming the contradiction!" Those who refused to go onto the prison-car were also beaten to death by the militiamen and the police.

As to how many were beaten to death, the Renmin Ribao had given no "truthful account" of. It had even avoided using the word "death", using a beautiful phrase "Duly punished" instead. How hypocritical and fearful it was to have people beaten to death and then fussing over the word "death"! The weapons which they had so luridly described turned out to be just small knives among the big clubs! And some who were beaten to death did not even have the knives!

There was a day when there were people going to The Monument of People's Heroes to lay down their lives! There was also a day when there were people killed at Tien An Men for its defense!

Wreaths Blood!

With these, the Chinese people wrote their page of April Fifth!

### THE BIG ARREST

After the April Fifth suppression, the Renmin Ribao also published some "revolutionary poems", one of which read

April Fifth

Let us  
Lock it in our heart strings!  
Remember this day,  
We have to take up the carver  
And engrave every stone at the Square."

These poems, written by bloodless people were apparently much outshone by those profound and energetic poems poured out from the hearts of those long repressed people during the past several days. Nevertheless, these poems may well show the authority's utmost abhorrence for those days that it would not rest in peace until it could eradicate all suspected elements entirely.

Ma Yung-shun had not closed his eyes for wholly seventy-two hours. After directing the suppression, he then studied the piles of data. His red eyes seemed to be saying, "I have to watch and arrest them, even if I will work my eyes blind!"

In these several days, many more were arrested in addition to those arrested on the night of April Fifth.

For several days in early April, the police quarters of the Streets issued an order to the cadres of "Residents' Committee" and members of "Xiang-yang-Yuan's Managing Committee", telling them to watch over the activities of their own street and their neighbours and reported to it immediately once anybody was discovered to have gone to Tien An Men.

One day, when the street cadres of New Street were patrolling in the street, they discovered that a young worker living with them in the same street had gone to Tien An Men, carrying with him wreaths too. They at once reported to the police quarters and mobilised more than ten active persons to encircle the worker's apartment and set up guarding posts too. At 7:00 pm, that young worker was arrested just as he stepped into his apartment.

There were many more who were arrested in similar ways.

And the police did fulfill their mission of arresting splendidly.

In those several days, nearly all of the twenty six policemen of Tien An Men's Police quarters had gone about searching in the masses, leaving behind only three to four to station.

When the barracks were on fire, they saw a youth with spectacles hailing and immediately jotted down the particulars of his features, trailed after him, found out his working unit and had him arrested.

A worker who had participated in overturning the sedan car was dodged by the police who took down his bike number. He had not managed to escape from the malignant control of the dictatorship.

Several speakers had their addresses all discovered and were then arrested. In only a few days' time, the police quarters of Tien An Men had submitted to the Public Security Bureau over hundreds of copies of data and won the Public Security Bureau's commendation which read: "Had grasped the new tendency of class struggless on time and made an important contribution in smashing the counter-revolutionary incident at Tien An Men."

The Tien An Men police quarter was only one among the hundreds of police quarters in Peking.

At noon of the Fifth, just as a Fifth route people's automobile was about to start off at the midway station, a middle-aged man who was about forty showed his identification to the driver, "Peking Public Security Bureau - the First Patrol - Wu Tsin-shan."

and coldly commanded, "Drive the car to the police quarters."

At the door of the police quarters a youth was dragged out. Later the driver heard that that youth had once jumped on the overturned propaganda car.

In the evening of the Fifth, policeman Jia Jin-hsi spotted a youth who had set fire to the barrack. When the youth left Tien An Men Square and walked to a place with fewer people around Jia Jin-hsi pounded forward and had this youth arrested.

Five days later, the situation went even more crazy.

When the masses' united-security team of the Eastern Fourth North Street was patrolling, they suddenly caught sight of a youth who had broken into the Great Hall several days ago. The united-security team members immediately encircled him, beat him and then carried this bleeding youth to the police quarters.

The militia patrolling team of Jong Shu District, seeing that there were several youths talking in low voices in the street, immediately sent somebody over to eavesdrop. When they found out that the youths were talking about what they heard and saw at the Tien An Men Square, they all rushed forward and had them arrested.

When a worker was talking about the Tien An Men incident with his family at home, his impulsive voice leaked out of the door. Very quickly, his door was blocked up by the Street Residents' Committee and worker-militiamen. . . .

But the authority was not yet contented because these were only individual arrests. It has to dig out all the one hundred thousand people who had been to the Tien An Men.

The various factories, hospitals, shops, sections of the P.L.A, departments and streets received an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: "Depend on the masses, Mobilise the masses. Take advantage of the present victory to proceed further. Thoroughly investigate the counter-revolution, disclose the conspiracy of counter-revolutionary elements and seek out the backstage director of the counterrevolutionary incident."

More than one hundred thousand people went registering. Those who had presented wreaths had to explain their motives clearly.

During that period, numerous criticising meetings were called and everyone had to show clearly his attitude towards this "counter-revolutionary" incident. Mass processions were summoned all over the country. Not only "counter-revolutionary elements" in Peking were to be arrested but those in other places too – they had already been emerging in Cheng Chau, Kunming, Nanking etc.

"Depend on the Masses. Mobilise the masses." – so it was still bragging about with such slogans. One hundred thousand people who depended on themselves and mobilised themselves were the real masses. The suppression before and after April Fifth had torn off such a brag in front of the one hundred thousand people and the masses all over the country!

In fact both sides sensed that the situation in China had entered an unprecedented epoch. The society was quietly liquidating, and the rule could be maintained only by strengthening the dictatorship. . . .

#### THE PURPLE TIEN AN MEN

Darkness enveloped the ground. The red walls of Tien An Men were dyed to purple.

The Monument of the People's Heroes was pointing directly to the deep blue sky.

Militiamen carrying big clubs were patrolling the square, which now appeared quite deserted.

Once in a while, there were also some passers-by who just could not resist to throw Tien An Men a glance. All that was so familiar then became so strange now!

Changed!

The change actually happened long ago. April Fifth only made it more explicit to the people!

For twenty-six years, Mao Tse-tung has been saying that the people enjoy the greatest freedom, a genuine freedom which is far better than that of capitalism. Dictatorship is only directed against class enemies.

Surely, people have once been very contented with that freedom, for which some even gratefully shed their tears. But especially in the ten years since the "Cultural Revolution", from among the innumerable hypocritical, ludicrous and farcical facts which could be refuted simply with common sense; and from among the unending repressive situation which was intolerable even in the eyes of those with just modest demands, the people gradually discovered what that freedom has finally brought to them! What sort of freedom that is? That is a sort of freedom which requires the people to accept a certain lot of people totally and which gives one person the right to exercise his power without any constraint. Moreover, if they continue to recognise it this unbearable way of life will only deteriorate, and if they do not express their own opinions, there is in fact no freedom at all. How nice that poem is! The people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance! Twenty-six years have lapsed and the people have finally grown up. They start to know how to criticise and imagine. They must speak out their own choices for future!

"What does the Tien An Men Counter-revolutionary incident show?" It shows all these!

At first, the dictatorship looks like as if it is really directed against some past enemies. But since power is being monopolised by a minority of people, it corrupts inevitably. In the extreme case, it has become one man's dictatorship after a continual internal power struggle, just as what the ten years after the "Cultural Revolution" have shown. Situating in a position even higher than that of the ancient emperors, this man thinks that he is almighty. He wants to "remould" the total societal life of all the eight billion people in accordance with his own will and his limited understanding, and at the same time using this kind of "revolution" to consolidate his supreme position. The lust for maintaining absolute power and the arrogance which has resulted from possession of such absolute power make it possible for him to regard anyone as enemy. How nice that poem is! It has pinpointed the emergence of this new Chin Huang! Today, when the people have finally transcended his realm of "Doing things as you are told", he at once tears off his over-coat of dictatorship and openly exercises his "feudalistic-fascist dictatorship"!

The day of April Fifth marks off the Chinese people's awakening consciousness with regard to socialist democracy and the total bankruptcy of Mao Tse-tung's "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". This is a revolutionary change for the fate of China in future. Although it is now suppressed and slandered, it is indisputably the most important starting point for the process of struggle for the realisation of a genuine socialism which is really democratic and libertarian.

After such confrontation, the dictatorship has its iron-claws gripped even tighter on the people, yet, can this save anything? Now it is best to quote a paragraph from one of the letters we have received:

"Our unit called a meeting to criticise the "Tien An Men counter-revolutionary incident" but except for a few cadres, nobody was willing to speak out on his own initiative. A kind of formidable silence overcast the meeting. Even when people raised

their hands and shouted slogans, they did that expressionlessly. At present, even the private chatters among the people in Peking are full of wry and the popular saying is: the bandits are having their way!"

Such a "respectful title" renders all analysis superfluous. The people are now certain of their own demand. What's more, they are now more determined, to the extent that they no longer cherish any expectation or passion for that man, who has in fact met his decisive failure, only that the people have still to wait for the day when this fact is publicly announced.

The night grew darker. Tien An Men looked like a purple monster. That was a kind of purple which was red in its most extreme form; a kind of purple which was formed by painting black onto red, and which would ultimately turn into black – Tien An Men had descended into darkness.

Yet, tomorrow – a tomorrow which has been perpetually sought after for so many long nights and which is gradually approaching nearer in these twenty years or so, a tomorrow which is firstly manifested by the April Fifth and which embraces a libertarian and democratic form of genuine socialism – is coming.

At that time, the people will offer new wreaths to the Monument of the People's Heroes to commemorate you in silence – Bravo April Fifth!

#### **Kropotkin Reprinted in Taiwan & Hong Kong**

Kropotkin's works appeared in Chinese for the first time more than fifty years ago. Those books were in the main translated by writer/novelist Pa Chin and his fellow anarchists. For a long time during the past twenty years only a few of them might be found in the university libraries in Hong Kong. Two years ago the libertarian communist/anarchist publisher, Dwarf, reprinted the *Conquest of Bread and Modern Science & Anarchism* in Hong Kong (Dwarf incidentally has also reprinted Spanish artist Castelao's drawings of Galicia Maritir and Atilia en Galicia, also first published in China by Pa Chin). Now another publisher in Hong Kong has reprinted the Chinese translations of five of Kropotkin's works: *The Conquest of Bread*, *Mutual Aid*, *The Great French Revolution*, *Memories of a Revolutionist*, and *Ethics*. Of great interest is the fact that the reprints of the five books are recent editions put out by a publisher in Taiwan which were almost immediately banned. It is rather unfortunate that only a few copies were sold before the ban was imposed.

#### **The Maximization of Profits Led to Sacking of 1000 workers.**

The Overseas Textile Ltd. had existed for 24 years. At the beginning, it was just a small factory employing 30 workers. Gradually it had grown to a large enterprise with more than 1000 workers, making half a million Hong Kong dollars or so every month. The workers, on returning to the factory on 3rd June, the day after the statutory holiday of the Dragon Boat Festival, discovered that all spinning and weaving operations were to be stopped. The factory gates were closed and heavily guarded by private security men. A new syndicate had taken over the company and is more interested in redeveloping the mill site – 180,000 sq. ft. of prime real estate; despite of the fact that existing orders could not be fulfilled until February next year.

As long as profits are maximized, to hell with the workers.

Next Issue: (1) *A Revolutionary Tourist Guide to Hong Kong*  
(2) *The Tragic Story of a Political Prisoner in China*

Compare the expressions of these four women

LA GRANDE ODALISQUE  
BY INGRES 1780-1867



one the model for a famous painting by Ingres, the other a model for a photograph in a girlie magazine, the third is Miss Hong Kong and the fourth Miss Universe.



Is not the expression remarkably similar in each case? It is the expression of a woman responding with calculated charm to the man whom she imagines looking at her – although she doesn't know him. She is offering up her femininity as the surveyed.

*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.*