

PRESSE-CLEARING
THE PILLAR
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In Beijing: 'Thanks for reminding me, I'd forgotten,' Zhu jokes about 10th anniversary

In Hong Kong: 70,000 attend only rally in China to commemorate crackdown's victims

Tiananmen light undimmed





Shining on

The Goddess of Democracy is silhouetted against the crowd of 70,000 at last night's vigil. Activist Szeto Wah told them: "We believe a democratic China will not simply fall from heaven. It must be created with blood and sweat, fearlessness and persev

Agence Fran

**CHRIS YEUNG and
KONG LAI-FAN**

Tens of thousands of people last night mourned the dead of Tiananmen Square 10 years ago with a pledge to fight for democracy down the generations.

In a show of dissent at remarks by Premier Zhu Rongji that he had forgotten the 10th anniversary, more than 70,000 people turned up at the Victoria Park to show they had not.

Filling all six football pitches of Victoria Park with lighted candles, the participants sang pro-democracy and memorial songs and chanted slogans in a markedly calm mood.

At the centre of the crowd stood the Pillar of Shame, splashed with red paint by a self-proclaimed artist, and a column emblazoned with: "The spirit of democracy martyrs will live forever."

The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Demo-

cratic Movement in China, formed to spearhead the local campaign, put the turnout at 70,000, the highest since 1993.

Police said they did not have an estimate. About 40,000 people took part in last year's rally in a rainstorm.

Alliance chairman Szeto Wah said the turnout showed "people's hearts were not dead".

In Beijing, Premier Zhu said he had forgotten the anniversary. Asked how the central Government would pacify families of June 4 victims, he said: "Thanks for reminding me. I'd forgotten."

A participant, John Tong, 46, said: "No Chinese will forget. I'm greatly disappointed by Zhu. He shouldn't have said this."

Crowds began to converge at the football pitches after dusk for the annual vigil, which began with a 15-minute drama recalling the traumatic events leading to the bloodbath.

Mr Szeto mourned the dead:

"Do you hear our cries? May your heroic souls descend here - the only piece of Chinese soil where we can gather to remember you in public.

"The next 10 years of perseverance and struggle has begun. We have no fantasy. We believe a democratic China will not simply fall from heaven. It must be created with blood and sweat, fearlessness and perseverance.

"We have to educate our next generation to prepare for the fight one after another."

A manifesto read at the end of the 100-minute rally says: "Raise our candlelights. Farewell to the old century. Welcome the new one and the day when June 4 verdict will be reversed. Welcome democracy, freedom, human rights and rule of law."

Wang Lingyun, mother of Wang Dan, spoke to the crowd from a mobile phone after her line at home was cut off at 5pm.

She said: "I hope the younger generations have a sense of his-

torical commitment and social responsibility. They should all pursue democracy, freedom and learn well."

From San Francisco, Wang Dan said: "One thing we shouldn't forget is that the dead have paved the way for democracy." A dissident group, China Spring, said Wang Dan would not attend a seminar in Macau today because his flight booking via Taipei had been cancelled.

Despite blanket security in Beijing, at least two protesters staged demonstrations in Tiananmen Square before being hauled away by police.

One youth scattered pamphlets urging faster democracy and an end to corruption. A middle-aged man unfurled an umbrella bearing the slogan "Remember the student movement". At least seven dissidents in other provinces were arrested.

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Letters to the editor

Open sky good for HK

WE are a group of ex-Cathay Pacific Airways staff. Based on our average 20 years airline experience, knowledge and training, we honestly and confidently believe that an open-sky policy will benefit the economy of Hong Kong and dramatically reduce the cost of air travel.

The average price of a 30 flying-hour Hong Kong-Los Angeles round trip ticket is only \$6,000, while the average price of a two flying-hour Hong Kong-Taipei round trip ticket is \$2,000.

The former route is under fierce competition from United States airlines which had its airline industry deregulated by the Carter administration. The latter route is being operated by government-protected airlines.

Protecting Cathay by the one-route-one-airline policy prohibits it from developing its ability to compete in the global market.

In the recent incident Cathay has admitted that it has been paying half of its pilots much higher than market-value wages. How can Cathay afford to do that and still remain the first or second most profitable airline on earth?

The most valuable asset of an airline is its traffic rights (the right to fly a route). Traffic rights are a scarce resource and belong to the public.

Those high-demand routes are gold mines if monopolised. They should

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be distributed to the operators by market use, instead of grandfather's right. An open sky would be a step in the right direction.

In 1998 we witnessed the deregulation of the telecommunication market and its consequence — significant price reductions in IDD calls.

Why can't the airline industry be deregulated as well?

We have left the airline industry and our expertise is wasted, mainly because there is only one local player — Cathay.

We see that there is room for expansion in the airline market, especially the relatively less prominent air cargo and express cargo markets.

If the Hong Kong SAR can deregulate the airline industry, not only will jobs in the travel industry be increased, but also the competitiveness of Hong Kong.

David Yu, Edward Leung,
Eric Tam, K C Tang, K K Lee, Ray Yuen, Peter Li,
William Chan

'Crusading artist'

REGARDING your article, "Artist adds 'personal touch' to Pillar" of 5 June 1999 by Prisca Chu and Mandy Luk, I wish to make some clarifications.

To report and say that I am a "self-proclaimed artist" is, really, to say that I am a fraud or, at any rate, not a "real" artist who has patiently and silently waited in obscurity until some lowbrow-reporters-aspiring-to-be-highbrow-art-critics decide to confer the grand title of "artist" upon the — usually by now — very old or dead artist.

In any event, my press release stated that I am the "People's Artist" or a "Performance Artist"; that is not the same thing nor as pretentious as declaring that I am the "National Poet".

God forbid, I would never dare call myself an "artist" for fear of offending the highly literate and culturally enlightened elite of Hong Kong.

The comparison between the other "self-proclaimed mainland artist who poured two cans of paint over the statue of Queen Victoria" and myself is superficial and specious.

That poor man was eventually convicted of vandalism and sadder still, had to endure and undergo psychiatric assessment and therapy as part of his sentencing.

The most damnable — my act of pouring paint symbolic-of-the-people's-blood over the Pillar of Shame is dismissed as a

mindless and whimsical gesture, if it was not indeed an act of desecration of a real work of art by a real artist — a conclusion based perhaps on an offhand remark I made to the reporters.

Finally, I did what I did because I am on a crusade against corruption, cronyism and censorship — the same crusade, if I am not mistaken, as the students who were slaughtered at Tiananmen Square on 4 June 1989.

Andy Kwong
Lantau

Mindless actions

WITHOUT KY Tsui's eye-opener (12 June) about hard-to-believe human copycats, I would never have learned about the rulings by courts that punish the purveyors of criminal, behavioural patterns on TV, that, like everything else, viewers can take or leave.

I never read that an author of a "Who-done-it" was punished by crippling fines for his imagined, anti-social plots and fool-proof murder-designs, which drench his tome in blood.

Do people nowadays need seeing-eye dogs or wardens to keep them on the straight-and-narrow, and from blindly following dreadful suggestions?

Being offered copy-watches a dozen times during a 10-minute-stroll through TST, would that create an urge in me to partake in a commercial crime? Would I jump into a crocodile-filled lake if a TV-presenter invited me to?

Rudolf Voll
Tsim Sha Tsui

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Campus war of words over pillar

THE squabble over the installation of the Pillar of Shame at the University of Hong Kong continued as university officials expressed regret and students refused to hold talks with them.

The Hong Kong University Students' Union put up the statue on campus early yesterday morning without the university's approval, after it was displayed at the candlelight vigil at Victoria Park on Friday.

The university said it "deeply regretted" the union's apparent disregard for public safety by erecting and leaving the statue unattended on campus as a typhoon approaches.

But student union president Chris Chan King-chi said they would resume talks with the university authorities only if they apologised for removing the slogans by the students, which were put up on campus in 1996 to condemn the June 4 crackdown.

In a letter to university officials, Mr Chan said his group would consider seeking approval only if the university officially recognised the slogans.

He also denied that the statue would threaten public safety. "We had put up the Pillar of Shame on the same spot in 1997, and nothing happened despite several typhoons."

did not advocate either violence or subversion. Its members had all visited or lived in China.

Mr Liu said he "could be one of the criminals" cited by China since he had been jailed twice, spending nearly 11 years in prison for organising a journal containing statements critical of the government.

The debate was thrown into disarray and suspended for a while after the chairman, Wahid Ben Amor of Tunisia, said a cameraman had been filming the proceedings without permission. He later said he was ordering an inquiry into the incident.

The cameraman was said to work for the Chinese Television Network, with headquarters in Hong Kong and offices in New York, Washington and Los Angeles.

After the vote, US representative Seth Winnick lamented that the committee chose to overlook

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Artist Andy Kwong throws paint symbolising the blood of the victims over the Pillar of Shame.

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LAST WEEK

I N R E A L I T Y

MAY

29 Yet more time and money are wasted on the "new name" project for Government House. While Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa favors *chi lo*, with *chi* meaning "bauhinia flower" or "purple air from the East" and *lo* meaning "humble cottage or workplace." A new lobbying group headed by the Liberal Party wants to call it *chin kong duk fu*, or "former Government House," and turn it into a tourist attraction.

30 The weekend ends with a report of a police constable being disarmed while on duty—and it's believed that he was asleep when his gun and six rounds of ammunition were stolen. The theft apparently occurred on Friday evening at the airport police station, and the gun and bullets were found in the toilet tank of another station block on Saturday afternoon.

31 A \$5 billion government fund for better education in Hong Kong posts a \$197 million loss because of "poor stock returns," according to a report from the auditing office. The fund lost roughly 5 percent of its value during the period between Jan. 2 and Aug. 31, 1998. "The cut-off date [for the report] happened to be almost the worst period for the stock market," says Assistant Director of Audit David Moon-tong. "A 10 percent loss is not that bad when compared to the overall performance of the Hang Seng."

JUNE

1 The name of our former airport, "Kai Tak," is picked by the Typhoon Committee to be the name for the fourth storm of the year 2000, according to Observatory senior scientific officer Chan Chik-cheung.

The names for next year's tropical cyclones were contributed by 14 countries, territories and regions, including Hong Kong.

2 In a bizarre turn of legal events, a senior civil servant's wife convicted of beating her maid has her fine increased from \$500 to \$3,500, but the Indonesian victim of the assault won't get the \$3,000 in compensation promised to her in an earlier hearing. Eastern Court magistrate James Lee Chung-yin negated maid Rukiyah's compensation, which the magistrate said was designed to spare her time to pursue civil claims against Mui. Lee did not give a full explanation as to why Rukiyah would not receive the \$3,000.

3 In preparation for the June 4 ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square killings, the Pillar of Shame is erected in Victoria Park, the People's Armed Police take to the streets of Beijing, and dissident Wang Dan's reservations to fly to Macau are canceled by the airline he was flying. Wang had already been denied a visa to enter Macau; he was planning to attend a seminar marking the anniversary of the crackdown.

4 Illegal ferries are blamed for stealing 3,000 fares to Cheung Chau daily, the Hong Kong & Yaumatei Ferry Co. (HYF) says. HYF reports losses of around \$45,000 daily, according to Rayman Yuen Chi-ming, deputy general manager, and accuses the government of dragging its feet to stop the illegal ferry operations. "It seems to take [the government] ages before they decide to do something about the situation," Yuen says.

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Height of shame

Onlookers and workers watch as the finishing touches are put to the Pillar of Shame in Victoria Park, Causeway Bay. Work will be completed in time for the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown on June 4, 1989.

PICTURE BY JOHN WESTHROP

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'Test of autonomy'
Thousands expected to attend park vigil

By staff reporters

THOUSANDS of people are expected at the candlelight vigil in Victoria Park tonight to mark the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen crackdown.

The annual rally has been held since 1989 by the Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China.

Before the vigil, a forum to review and forecast the direction of democratic movements will be held on the football pitch.

Alliance chairman Szeto Wah said that these vigils tested Beijing's commitment to Hong Kong's promised 50 years of autonomy.

Dissident Wang Dan will address the gathering live via telephone, said Mak Hoi-wah of the Alliance.

The event will feature a one-minute silent tribute, songs, speeches and videos.

Huge signs were seen in streets inviting people to join in the commemoration event.

Last year, about 40,000 people attended despite heavy rain, but it was less than in 1997 when the number was 55,000. In 1990, the vigil in Victoria Park drew 150,000 people.

"I think there will be less people this year even though it's the 10th anniversary," said Apple Chan, 23, one of the organisers.

"Youths nowadays wouldn't know much about June 4 because the government has refused to let this be included in textbooks," said Albert Ho, a spokesman for the alliance.

A recent survey by Hong Kong University indicated that the number of people who believed the mainland government was wrong to call in the troops in 1989 had dropped from 77 per cent in 1993 to 57 per cent this year.

social science research centre.

In 1989, Hong Kong staged its biggest ever demonstration with 1.5 million people marching in support of the Tiananmen students.

On Sunday, about 2,200 demonstrated in remembrance of the crackdown.

The candlelight vigil tonight will be joined by students from local tertiary institutions.

The student union of Chinese University of Hong Kong will distribute 6,000 special issues on the June 4 incident at the venue, said its vice-president, Ken Yau Tze-ken.

University of Hong Kong students will again paint a June 4 slogan on the bridge outside Swire Building, as was done in 1989.

The 20-character message reads "Spirit of the heroes in the massacre will last forever, democracy will never die".

Chris Chan King-chi, president of HKU students' union, said this was one of the ways students commemorated the incident on campus.

But students will not march, as they did last year, from Pok Fu Lam to Victoria Park.

The alliance, funded mainly by donations, reported \$759,000 in reserves for the financial year ended 30 June, 1998.

The HKU students' union will place the eight-metre high, 1,800-kilogram copper sculpture Pillar of Shame on the university's Haking Podium tonight after the vigil.

The students had a meeting with the university authorities yesterday and informed them of their intention to give the sculpture a permanent home.

They were told they

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Hong Kong still allowed to mark day of massacre

Reuters 9

HONG KONG — Hong Kong geared up Thursday to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, with the territory the only place in China where protests against Beijing's bloody crackdown are openly planned.

Huge signs around this capitalist outpost invite people to join a candlelight vigil today to mourn hundreds, maybe thousands, who died June 4, 1989, when China sent soldiers to crush a student-led democracy movement.

Lee Cheuk-yan, spokesman for the Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China, said it was especially important for Hong Kong to publicly remember the event because mainland dissidents were silenced.

China has rounded up almost 100 dissidents in recent weeks, but this former British colony, which reverted to China in 1997, has a high degree of autonomy and commemorates the event.

In 1998, in its first year under Chinese rule, 40,000 people braved heavy rain to attend the vigil, and Lee expected even more to turn up today.

Alliance chairman Szeto Wah said Wednesday that open remembrances of the Beijing bloodbath tested China's commitment to Hong Kong's promised 50 years of autonomy.

Activists have moved a 25-foot high pillar of twisted human bodies and contorted faces from a university to Hong Kong's downtown Victoria Park, where the vigil will be held.

The "Pillar of Shame," by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, was brought to Hong Kong in May 1997 and is a centerpiece of the Tiananmen commemorative activities.

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Moving memorial

Robert Ng

A worker helps to erect the Pillar of Shame at Victoria Park for tomorrow's candlelight vigil for the Tiananmen massacre victims.

Wang Dan set for Macau touchdown

KONG LAI-FAN

Dissident Wang Dan plans to arrive in Macau on Saturday to attend a seminar as part of events marking the 10th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre.

Mr Wang did not have a visa, but

As a Chinese passport holder, he was entitled to apply for a visa at the airport immigration office.

Mr Wang applied for a visit from the Portuguese embassy in Canada on Friday, but was told he submitted the application too late.

Mr Ng said embassy officials

► Activists yesterday erected the Pillar of Shame sculpture in Victoria Park.

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China committee member Leung Kwok-wah said: "The statue was erected to remind people of the

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Students to erect Pillar of Shame permanently

RHONDA LAM WAN

Students at University of Hong Kong have decided to erect the Pillar of Shame permanently despite a warning from the university council.

The Student Union said it would not seek permission before erecting the sculpture permanently to mark the

10th anniversary of the June 4 massacre. The date and place had yet to be decided.

"An opinion poll conducted last year had shown overwhelming support from staff and students," said union president Chris Chan King-chi.

"We believe public opinion is more important than

anything including the university council which is formed by an undemocratic mechanism."

The two-tonne, eight-metre statue has been housed temporarily on the Haking Wong Building's covered podium in the union management area since last December.

A poll conducted last year indicated 1,629 out of 2,190 had voted in favour of its permanent installation.

But a university official warned that a formal application should be filed before any move.

"The campus is a public resource. We should not only be answerable to staff and

students but also the community. The students should give sufficient justification for the decision," university spokesman Rupert Chan Kwan-yun said.

He said the university council had disciplinary mechanisms for those breaching rules and regulations.

But Chris Chan King-chi said: "The union could not threaten to take disciplinary action against individual students because it was a collective decision of the student union."

The sculpture, by Jens Galschiort, is in memory of those killed in the massacre on June 4, 1989.

Students present Pillar of Shame challenge

By Zoe Chan

UNIVERSITY of Hong Kong (HKU) students have decided to openly challenge campus regulations in an attempt to give the Pillar of Shame a permanent home.

The eight-metre high, 1,800-kilogram copper memorial to the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown has been left on the campus — but it's currently lying on the

ground. Student union president Chris Chan King-chi said members planned to erect the sculpture in the university's Haking Podium after this year's annual candlelit vigil at Victoria Park on 4 June.

"We will do so even if the university council and the chancellor reject us or do not reply to us," Mr Chan said.

University regulations require that everything dis-

played on the campus — from notices to works of art — be first approved by the authorities.

Mr Chan said students had written a letter to the authorities informing them of the union's plan.

"We have the right to place the Pillar of Shame anywhere on the campus because the campus is 'owned' by all students and teachers," he said. "And a referendum (in deciding

the fate of the Pillar) held at the university last September showed that the majority of students and teachers agreed to the erection of the Pillar."

Of the 2,200 people who voted in the referendum, 73 per cent said the university should give the sculpture a permanent home on the campus.

Only 19 per cent said "no" while the rest abstained.

"The union, of course, hopes no conflict will arise when we put up the sculpture on 4 June right after the 10th anniversary candlelight vigil," Mr Chan said.

A university spokesman was not available for comment yesterday.

In 1997, tension arose when the university authorities prevented a lorry carrying the sculpture from entering the campus.

Since then, the Pillar of Shame — a sculpture showing twisted human faces representing the anguish of those who perished in Tiananmen Square on 4 June, 1989, has been passed from one campus to another.

As in the past two years, the sculpture will be carried to Victoria Park to serve as the centrepiece for the annual commemorative event on 4 June.

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ARTS BRIEFING

Shame of it

► *The Pillar of Shame* has become an object of shame. According to a representative of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement, the human rights-inspired sculpture - which shows people writhing in agony - has gone from Victoria Park to a container park since its last public appearance on June 4.

Its exact - or even inexact - location, however, cannot be revealed because the owner of the facility made it a condition that no one should know where it was.

The fate of the piece now rests partly on the shoulders of more than 10,000 members of the University of Hong Kong Students' Union who will carry out a poll on September 24 and 25 to decide whether the much-criticised statue carries enough artistic merit to be housed permanently on the campus.

The decision is in the students' hands... until it isn't. A university representative explained the poll would not necessarily determine the outcome of the issue - although its result will carry some weight - since the final decision will be made by university boards and panels.

- Han-Tao Lau

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Students vote for permanent Pillar display

ANGELA LI

An overwhelming majority of University of Hong Kong students have voted to permanently install the controversial *Pillar of Shame*.

Danny Tsui Wai-hung, external vice-president of its student union, said 2,190 of the 9,000 eligible voters had cast ballots during a two-day referendum.

Of those, 1,629 had voted in favour of a permanent installation of the eight-metre-tall, two-tonne sculpture.

Mr Tsui said the low turnout was not surprising, but the number of votes cast in favour of permanent installation were "even better than expected".

Mr Tsui said although students did not believe they needed permission from the university to install the sculpture permanently, they would apply to the university's vice-chancellor next week.

Early on June 5 last year, scuffles involving security guards, police and students started when students tried to force a gate open to allow a truck carrying the statue on to the campus.

The sculpture by Dane Jens Galschiot, in memory of those killed in the June 4 massacre, is now in storage in the New Territories.

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Students vote to give Pillar home

By Chloe Lai

MORE than 70 per cent of University of Hong Kong students have voted to urge the university to provide a permanent home on the campus for the *Pillar of Shame*.

A referendum has been held at the university in the last two days to decide the fate of the homeless pillar.

Of the 2,200 who voted, 73 per cent said the university should give the statue a permanent home on the campus. Only 19 per cent said "no", while the rest abstained.

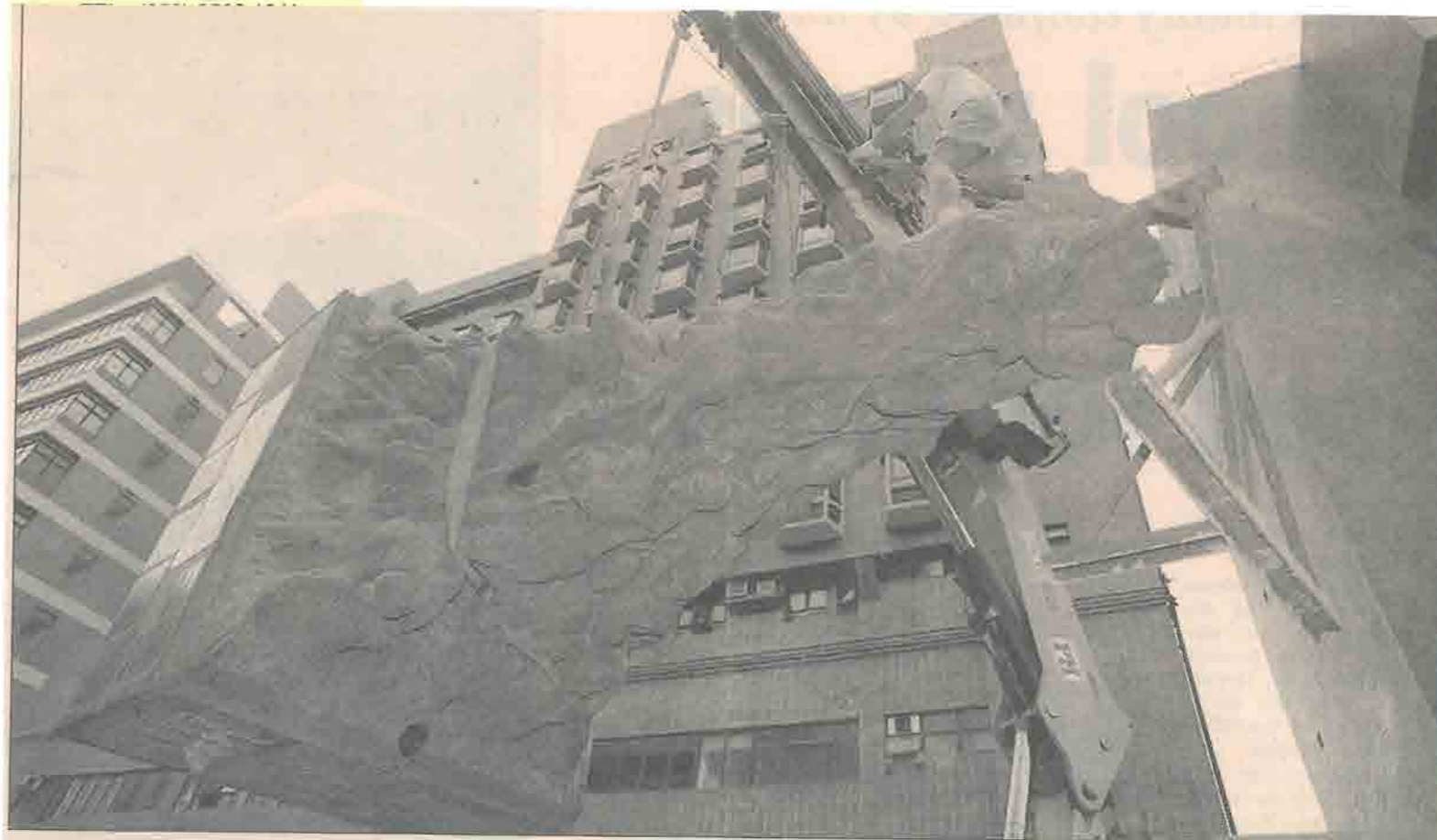
Students' Union vice-president of external affairs Chui Wai-hang said the students' wish would be notified to the university administration. "This shows just how much the students want to express their freedom of speech."

Mr Chui described as satisfactory the 2,200 turnout of the 9,000 university population. "The turnout is comparable to other previous referendums."

The Students' Union will put the issue on the University Council agenda. "If everything goes well, the Pillar can settle down at the Haking Podium," Mr Chui said.

The 8-metre high copper sculpture of 50 bodies and anguished faces piled one on top of another was made to commemorate the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown on students in Beijing.

The two municipal councils and authorities of the seven tertiary institutions have refused to give the statue a home, a move portrayed by pro-democracy activists, including legislators, as a way to avoid offending Beijing.



Moving the pillar

The much-travelled *Pillar of Shame*, which commemorates the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, was moved back yesterday to the Haking Wong podium in the University of Hong Kong. The pillar had been passed around the campuses of seven universities since its arrival in May last year. A spokesman for Hong Kong University Students' Union said they wanted the controversial statue permanently displayed on the campus.

PICTURE BY AGNES CHEN

Schandmal im Dammpark erinnert an Menschenrechte

Zusammenarbeit zwischen Foltercenter und Odenseer Künstler Jens Galschiøt ermöglichte Ausstellung berühmter Skulptur, die weltweit zum Symbol wurde

HADERSLEBEN. Weltweit Aufsehen erregte eine Skulptur von Jens Galschiøt, Odense, die zum Andenken an die Opfer der niedergeschlagenen Demokratiebestrebungen auf dem Platz des Himmlischen Friedens in Peking vor einem Jahr in Hongkong erstmals gezeigt wurde und zu heftigen Kontroversen führte. Eine originalgetreue Kopie des sogenannten Schandmals stellte der Odenseer Bildhauer, der bekannt ist für sein Eintreten für elementare Menschenrechte, gestern im Haderslebener Dammpark vor.

Das seltene Ereignis kam durch die enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Leiter des Haderslebener Rehabilitationscenters für Folteropfer (RCT), Niels Krustrup, und dem Bildhauer zustande. Beide verbindet das große Engagement für die Folteropfer dieser Welt, wie Karl Erik Olesen, Leiter der Unterrichts- und Kulturverwaltung der Kommune Hadersleben, im Zuge einer kleinen Eröffnungsfeier sagte. Für die Kommune Hadersleben sei es alles andere als eine Schande, solch ein Mahnmal aufzustellen, das gleichzeitig abschreckend und beeindruckend wirke. Die Domstadt, wo im RCT täglich Menschen behandelt werden, die schlimmste Folterungen am eigenen Leib überlebt

haben, sei bestens geeignet für die Aufstellung eines solchen Schandmals, das auch zum Touristenziel dieses Sommers werden könnte.

»The old cannot kill the young forever« - steht auf dem Sockel der Skulptur von Jens Galschiøt zu lesen, der sich 1997 durch seine Skulptur 'Jugend im Glas' maßgeblich an der Jugendpolitikdebatte der Regierung beteiligt hat«, so Karl Erik Olesen weiter, der hervorhob, auch die Tatsache, daß die Domstadtkommune von der Regierung zur Jugendkommune ernannt worden sei, habe dazu beigetragen, daß Galschiøt das Monument in Hadersleben ausstellt. Olesen hielt es auch im Hinblick auf die im kommenden Jahr in Hadersleben stattfindende Jahresversammlung der »Federal Union of National Ethnic Minorities« - deren Vizepräsident der Haderslebener Tierarzt Hans Heinrich Hansen ist - für überaus passend, das Mahnmal hier aufzustellen, das Olesen am liebsten bis dahin in der Stadt behalten würde.

Der Künstler hingegen will jedoch vorläufig sein Werk der Stadt nur für einen Zeitraum von drei Monate überlassen. Ende August wird Jens Galschiøt erneut für Gesprächsstoff sorgen, wenn er in Verbindung mit der Sport- und Kulturnacht vier mit Wasser und menschi-

chen Objekten gefüllte Glaskästen in der Fußgängerzone aufstellt, wie er gegenüber dem NORDSCHLESWIGER erwähnte.

Obwohl es heute 50 Jahre her ist, daß die Menschenrechtserklärungen unterzeichnet worden sind, finden nach wie vor auf der ganzen Welt Übergriffe auf Menschen statt. Diese Tatsache hatte den 44jährigen Bildhauer Jens Galschiøt veranlaßt, seine acht Meter hohe Skulptur zu konzipieren, die das Leid gefolterter Menschen verdeutlicht. Im November 1996 erregte die Skulptur Aufsehen, als sie der Weltöffentlichkeit im Zuge einer Konferenz in Rom präsentiert wurde. Zu Auseinandersetzungen mit der chinesischen Polizei führte am 4. Juni 1997 Galschiøts Schandmal bei einem Gedenken zum achten Jahrestag des Massakers auf dem Platz des Himmlischen Friedens.

Seitdem hat Jens Galschiøt - mit Hilfe seiner 15 Mitarbeiter - etliche Kopien der Statue produziert und weltweit plaziert, u.a. in Mexiko und Brasilien. Das Mahnmal, das jetzt in Hadersleben zum Nachdenken anregt, war zuletzt auf einer Ausstellung von Amnesty International beim Roskilde Festivals zu sehen.



An das Massaker auf dem Platz des Himmlischen Friedens in Peking soll dieser Monolith erinnern, den Jens Galschiøts fast acht Meter hoch gestaltet hat (Foto: Karin Riggelsen)

PRESSE-CLEARING

Client: THE PILLAR OF SHAME

Publication: HK MAGAZINE (HK)

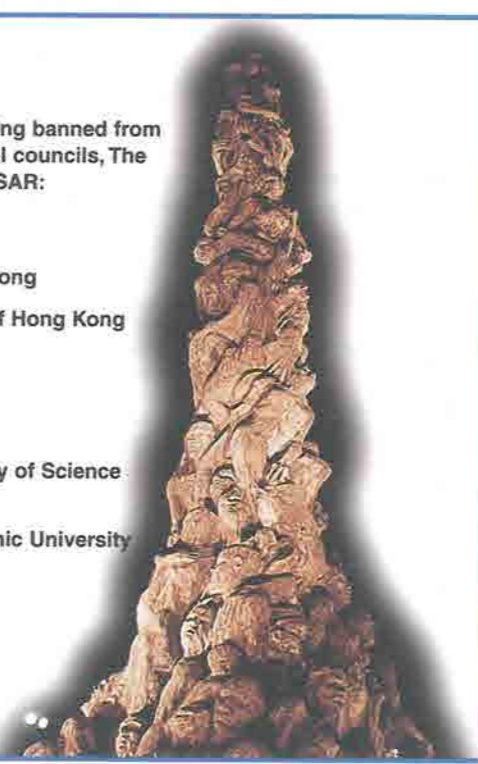
Date: 12 DEC 1997

Circulation: 25,000

Tour of Shame

Unable to find a permanent home since being banned from Shatin Park and Kowloon Park by municipal councils, The Pillar of Shame embarked on a tour of the SAR:

4 June 1997	Victoria Park
5 June-August	University of Hong Kong
September-October	Chinese University of Hong Kong
November	Lingnan College
December	Baptist University
January 1998-February	Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
March	Hong Kong Polytechnic University
April-May	City University
4 June	Victoria Park
5 June	???



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JUNE
AN EPIDEMIC OF ETHICS

Our leaders came down with a case of principle-itis in June. Chief Secretary Anson Chan Fang On-sang hinted that after the handover, she might just quit if repeatedly asked to enforce decisions that go against her principles and conscience. A week later, chief-executive designate Tung Chee-hwa—in an act of me-too moralism—said he'd also quit if his principles were compromised after July 1. While entrepreneur David Tang lit a Cuban cigar and held forth on why businessmen should not be expected to stand up for human rights, Tung asserted that defending our current freedoms and way of life was "very, very important." He must have caught the bug shortly after telling Hong Kongers that it was time to drop "the baggage of June 4."

By the time the anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown rolled around, principle-itis had become a welcome epidemic. About 55,000 mourners flocked to the Victoria Park vigil, despite fears that Beijing was taking pictures. They were joined around the Pillar of Shame by 11 democratic urban councillors, who charged "political censorship" over the statue's permanent public display being voted down by the council. Meanwhile, busybody pager companies were told by the government to stop censoring people's messages—no matter how insulting they were to Beijing—because that was their job! Principles even outweighed paychecks for eight local police inspectors

who quit the force before the handover. Saying they would not serve the SAR government because of "political, legal and personal beliefs," they also refused to abandon their vow of allegiance to the Queen.

This widespread outbreak of ethics didn't make it as far the executive offices of the *Hong Kong Standard*, where six members of its uppermost echelons were arrested by ICAC investigators. The newspaper faced allegations of artificially inflating circulation figures to deceive an independent audit company and dupe local advertising clients. Up to 23,000 copies a day were allegedly being sold directly to a waste paper company, and thus robbed of their opportunity to wrap fish.



Lyrecor, PP 318.519

The Pillar of Shame faces a test of opinion

The university is set to vote on the politically charged artwork, write **Lau Han-cao** and **Helen Luk**

Unwanted by the Urban Council, declined by the Arts Centre, rejected by the Regional Council. Is *The Pillar of Shame* – that eight-metre tall, two-tonne lump of political controversy – about to find a permanent home at last?

Sentiment at the University of Hong Kong suggests the 10,000-strong student body will vote tomorrow by an overwhelming majority to display *The Pillar of Shame* permanently on their campus.

But a random survey of 50 students conducted by the *South China Morning Post* at the end of last week also suggests the majority believe this poll, organised by the Students' Union, is just a placatory gesture, and their voices will not be heard.

It also shows that some students, though enthusiastic that the university should house the grotesque statue, have no idea when and where the exercise will take place.

So, just how much is the statue's fate in the hands of the students?

Of those surveyed, 45 recognised the sculpture created by Danish artist Jens Galschiot Christophersen instantly, and were able to name it, when they saw its photograph.

Of that figure, 32 students, or more than 70 per cent, wanted to see it installed on university grounds as a permanent loan. But the survey also suggests that even a minority of those may not vote tomorrow because they just don't care enough about its fate.

And only four students out of 50 knew which day the voting would take place, with only half of those surveyed knowing there was a vote at all.

Nevertheless, a union awareness campaign this week, and a seminar on Monday with Szeto Wah, chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, should ensure that a large majority will at least be aware of the poll by tomorrow morning.

This is not the first time this sculpture has caused a debate at the University.

A year and three months ago, at about 3am on June 5, scuffles involving security guards, the police and students broke out when the students tried to force a gate open to allow a truck carrying the statue on to the campus.

According to hiring regulations by the Urban Council, the statue was removed from Victoria Park, which the municipal council controlled, after it was lit up at the centre of the candlelight vigil the night before.

However, the gist of the controversy tomorrow appears to lie not in the content of the pillar – a graphic representation of a pile of suffering people, labelled with the words "the Tiananmen Massacre" – but the fact that the students' vote is not the final one.

The poll results will later be submitted to the University Council. It will either set up an arts committee to evaluate the sculpture's artistic merits or consult the nine faculty boards before reaching a final decision, according to Students' Union external vice-chairman Danny Tsui Wai-hung.

Given there are only one or two student representatives on the faculty boards and none on the arts committee, Mr Tsui fears their voices will not be heard in either group.



Art-rageous... the display of *The Pillar of Shame* is more than an artistic debate for many students who see the statue as a political symbol. Photo: Tony Aw

Still, Mr Tsui hopes the council will discuss the issue through the faculty boards which, he describes, would be a "gesture displaying sincerity".

"If the issue goes through an arts committee, the university is reducing it to merely an artistic debate," he says. "The union itself regards the statue not only as a piece of art, but a political symbol as well."

"But the final decision is solely that of the university. They can choose to disregard the polling results as they have done before."

Whatever the authorities may think, the students believe this should be their decision.

Three out of five surveyed objected to any formal body playing a more dominant role than the students in deciding the statue's fate.

Faculty of arts student Wong Shun-cheong, 24, said: "It's unfair. If they are going to set up a committee to decide, we might as well not vote."

Some thought other perspectives, apart from simply judging the statue on

artistic value, should be taken into account.

Environmental science student Wong Hoi-kin, 19, said: "This is a political issue. *The Pillar of Shame* should not be evaluated from an artistic perspective." He represented those who thought the political value of the statue overwhelmed its artistic merit, even to the extent of ruling out the latter's role.

Although nine students – seven of whom were in the science faculty – placed artistic merit above political values, most believed the former to be more important.

On a scale of one to 10, artistic merit was given an average score of 5.9, while political merit scored 6.8.

This is a curious replay of events at the Urban Council before the handover. An application in May 1997 to place the sculpture in Statue Square was rejected by the council on "artistic grounds".

This reasoning was mocked by 11 councillors who left the chamber in disgust, wearing masks with "political censorship" written on them.

The issue is an interesting example of how agit-prop art creates a debate between the artistic and political. If the University Council in Hong Kong can agree on whether artistic merit can or should be separated from political symbolism in such a work, then they will be achieving more than three generations of arts critics in the rest of the world.

As Arts Centre exhibition director Oscar Ho Hing-kay said at the time of the Urban Council controversy last year:

"*The Pillar of Shame* is an artwork which I don't feel is terribly strong: the images do not offer a new way of showing political ideas."

The pillar has, however, taken on an artistic life of its own, Mr Ho added. "I regard it more as action art, a piece to contemplate, a sort of deliberate trap. And the Urban Council was silly and fell right into it."

It will be interesting to see if the university chooses to follow a similar path.

PRESSE-CLEARING

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NORDSCHLESWIGER 11/9-98 HADERSLEBEN



Mit einiger Erleichterung haben gestern Expeditiionssekretär Bent Therkelsen (links) und der Leiter des Haderslebener Centers für Folteropfer, Hans Kristrup, den abgetrennten Kopf des geschändeten Galschiot-Kunstwerks geborgen. (Foto: K. Riggelsen)

»Kopffjäger« bekamen kalte Füße

HADERSLEBEN. Mit großer Erleichterung konnte überraschend gestern nachmittag der Odenseer Künstler Jens Galschiot dem **NORDSCHLESWIGER** die Mitteilung machen, daß der abgetrennte Kopf seines Kunstwerks wieder auftaucht ist.

«Ich habe soeben telefonisch erfahren, daß die Kommune einen mysteriösen Plastikbeutel aus dem wassergefüllten Glasgefäß, worin sich die Silikon-Figur befindet, hirt. Ich hoffe ja nur, daß sich darin der Frauenkopf befindet», so der Odenseer Künstler, der nicht ertäuscht wurde.

Als der Mitarbeiter der Unterrichts- und Kulturverwaltung der Domstadtkommune, Bent Therkelsen, unter großer Aufmerksamkeit der Passanten den weißen Plastikbeutel aus dem Wassertank gefischt hatte, wurde das in der Nacht zum 29. August abgetrennte Haupt der Frauenstatue ans Tageslicht befördert. «Die Türe lag so versteckt, daß sie fast nicht zu sehen war. Sie könnte bereits mehrere Tage dort gelegen haben», meinte Bent Therkelsen.

Wie bereits mehrfach berichtet, war die Skulptur in der »Kultur- und Sport-

nacht in Hadersleben, nur wenige Stunde nachdem Jens Galschiot persönlich die Aufstellung des Kunstwerks überwacht hatte, von bislang unbekanntem »Kopffägern« entfernt worden. Nach über einwöchigem Warten war Galschiot vergangenen Freitag der Geduldsladen gerissen, und er brachte den Vorfall bei der Haderslebener Polizei zur Anzeige. Immerhin belief sich die Sachbeschädigung auf rund 30.000 Kronen.

Was jetzt mit dem Corpus delicti und den bislang unbekanntem Tätern passieren soll, steht noch nicht ganz fest. Sicher ist aber, daß Gal-

schiot kommenden Montag wieder nach Hadersleben kommt, um seiner Figur wieder einen Kopf zu verpassen. «Ich hatte nicht mehr zu hoffen gewagt, daß die Täter den Kopf wieder zurückliefern würden. Deswegen habe ich einen neuen produziert. Das ist zwar sehr ärgerlich, Ändern kann ich es aber nicht», bedauerte Galschiot gegenüber unserer Zeitung.

Der entwendete Frauenkopf hat jedenfalls unter der Diebesaktion sein Haar eingehüßt und ist nur noch bedingt wiederverwendbar.

Artists in Defense of Human rights

Jens Galschiøt Chirstophersen says about himself that he is a frustrated man, just like most other people today. He used to work as a locksmith but his frustrations about the society made him change his life and he became a sculptor.

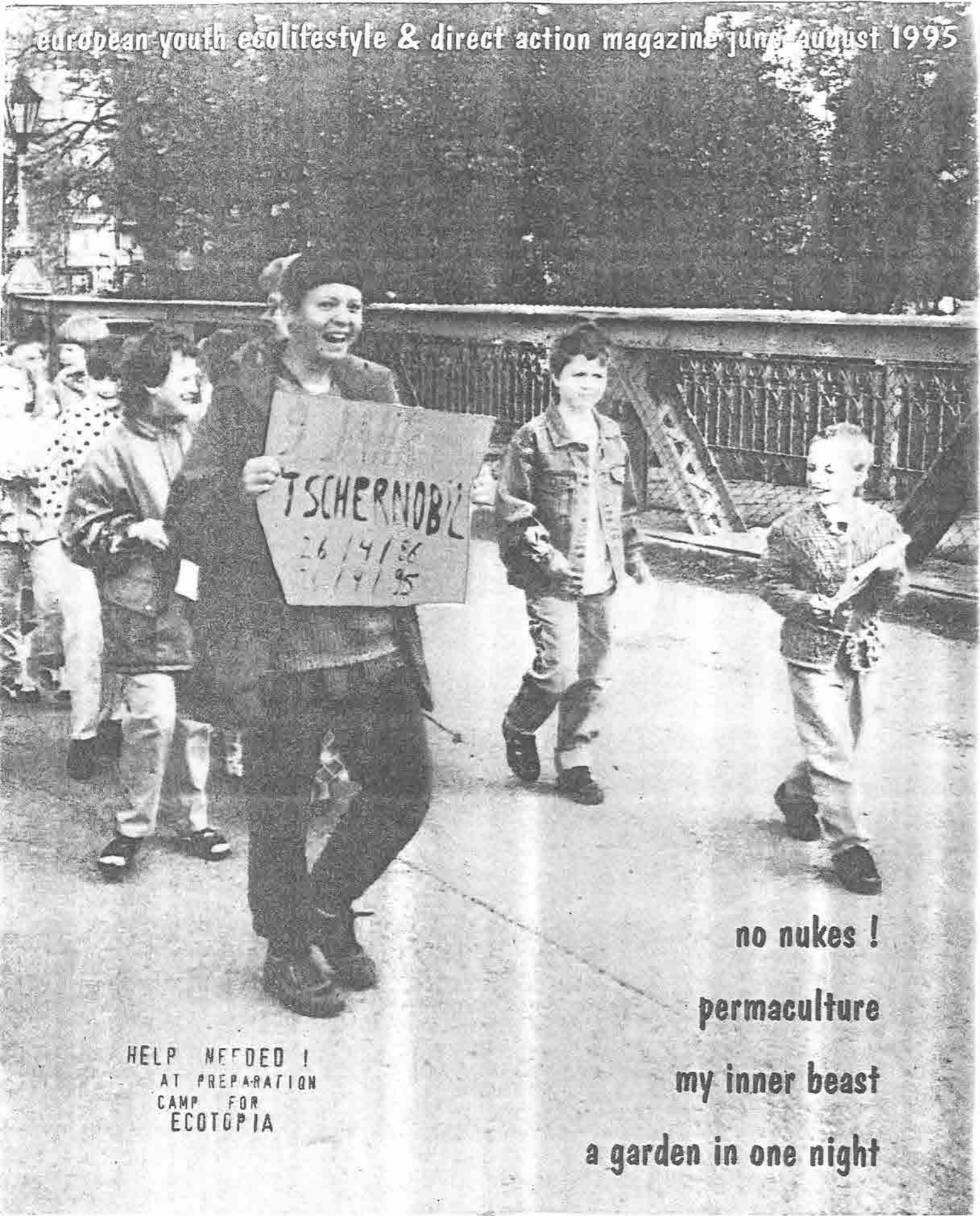
Most of the time however he makes sculptures and jewelry just for the purpose of selling it to earn money for his real activities; he makes happenings - big political international art-happenings.

He manages to canalize his frustrations into his work, and through two big art-happenings "My inner Beast" in 1993 and "15.000 human lives" during the Social Summit in Copenhagen this year.

During four days in november 1993, twenty big sculptors in black concrete of a pig dressed as a man in a coat, were without warning erected at a central place in 20 cities in 11



representing 300 children. They represented 225.000 children that would die during the week of talking at the summit of hunger and illness. At the same time there were 13 million small banknotes everywhere with a little reminder on each one of them. There was one for each pers that will die during 1995.



HELP NEEDED!
AT PREPARATION
CAMP FOR
ECOTOPIA

no nukes!
permaculture
my inner beast
a garden in one night

"MY INNER BEAST"
AN ARTHAPPENING IN EUROPE

SPECIES: ANIMAL WITH THE LOWEST INSTINCTS.

RESIDENCE: IN YOU AND ME; IN EVERY HOMOSAPIAN INDIVIDUAL.

CONDITIONS OF GROWTH: DEVELOPS WHEN PEOPLE ARE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE, DEGRADATION AND DISRESPECTFUL TREATMENT.

BEHAVIOUR: ATTACKS THE FOUNDATIONS OF ONE'S ETHICAL VALUES, SO THAT RACISM, XENOPHOBIA AND INTOLERANCE TAKE OVER.

PROPAGATION: CAN TAKE COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE SINGLE INDIVIDUAL, SOCIAL GROUPS AND IN EXTREME INSTANCES THE WHOLE POPULATION.

DO NOT FEED!

That is the kind of art that Jens Galschiøt likes to create. A new happening is about to be prepared for the moment, "Pill of Shame" which will be a kind alternative nobel-prize; a 6m high statue given to countries that do not respect the human rights. It will be an ugly pillar of strange looking people crawlin in and out of each other suffering.

countries. At a little brass plate it stood: Three trucks with people dressed as workmen drove down through Europe and put the sculptures in the twenty cities. It was an action to make people think about the potential of racism that we all carry inside.

Canvas dolls
During the social summit in Copenhagen this year suddenly 750 canvas dolls lay everywhere in the streets each one of them

The tactic is that the pillar must be big and heavy, difficult to move, and expensive so that it will be taken seriously. It will be made out of bronze. It will be put without anybody knowing about it in advance, just like the inner beast. This is a huge project. As a help the network AIDOH - Artists In Defense Of Human-rights, has been started. AIDOH will be a world-wide web for people who see connection between art and Human Rights issues. For that purpose a host on Internet has been opened. Here you can log in if you are interested in helping with the events or if you are just curious.

-)Mads Eskesen

AIDOH, Banevænget 22, 5270 Odense N. ph (+45) 66 18 40 58, fax (+45) 66 18 41 58 e-mail: adh@pip.dknet.dk. Url: http://www.aidoh.dk/aic

13.000.000

In 1995, 13 million children will die because of unimproved condition of life.

13 million securities are printed, each representing the life of one children. Do not treat the security as a human life, do not throw it to the ground.

10 Thirteen Million

adh@pip.dknet.dk Fax +45 66 18 41 58

Tyrecy PP 318.519

來，到明天，英特納雄耐爾就一定要實現。從來就沒有

In search of history and identity

在六四裏尋找歷史

It came as a shock to many when, in the summer of 1989, almost a million people demonstrated against the Communist regime's suppression of the student movement in Beijing. What were the forces that moved these Hong Kong people who had long been regarded as politically apathetic?

It would not simply have been out of humanitarian reasons. Thousands of protests and demonstrations were held all over the world as people could not bear to see lives of young people being taken away mercilessly. Nevertheless, none of these protests could compare with those in Hong Kong, not only in terms of intensity but, more importantly, in the way Hong Kong people remember the incident. Hong Kong, despite its status as a Special Administrative Region of China, is the only place on earth to have large-scale activities in commemoration of the incident each and every year.

It must then, people argue, be because of the ethnic connection. This sounds reasonable enough, and we certainly cannot downplay this factor. One of the most often shouted slogans during the demonstrations (and subsequent mainland events such as appeals on behalf of the flood refugees of eastern China in 1991) was "blood is thicker than water".

But what about, say, Taiwan, where the entire population is basically made up of ethnic Chinese? Responses in other places with a large ethnic Chinese population were slow and less vigorous compared with those in Hong Kong. What makes things more puzzling is the fact that Hong Kong was under British colonial rule for more than 150 years. Are there not many accusations that a British education system and a carefully-controlled syllabus have successfully eliminated the nationalistic feelings among young people in Hong Kong?

Hong Kong has had its share of social unrest. The most important being the General Canton-Hong Kong Strike-boycott in 1925 which paralysed the then-colony for 16 months; and the 1967 riots that resulted in heavy casualties.

June 4 in Hong Kong was, of course, not characterised by social unrest. Demonstrations were staged in a most orderly and dignified manner. But what makes it entirely different from those previous events is the attitude of the participants towards mainland China. Almost without exception, previous disturbances were anti-imperialistic in nature, the target of the attack being the British colonialists. The participants were pro-China and the agitators were secretly, or even openly, supported by the Chinese Government of the time. From the Chinese point of view, such movements were nationalistic - the people loved the country and acted in support of the country.

However, the 1989 movement was self-motivated, independent of any political forces and, most important of all, against the Chinese regime of the time. We heard loud cries in slogans such as "Down with Deng [Xiaoping], Li [Peng] and Yang [Shangkun]" and "Oppose one-party dictatorship". For this reason, the Chinese leadership labelled Hong Kong, at least for a short period, a subversive base. To them, Hong Kong people, in this event, were not nationalistic or patriotic at all.

Of course, we can easily dispute this accusation. One loves one's country. But it does not necessarily follow that one loves and supports a certain ruling regime. One fights for the downfall of a certain regime exactly because one loves the country. This has happened in history and all over the world. But in places where there is one-party dictatorship, criticism against the ruling party is taken to be subversive.

It is absurd to say that Chinese in Hong Kong do not care about the mainland. It is true that British rule attempted to wash away the "Chineseness" of Hong Kong people. However, for many reasons, that process has never been completely successful. Hong Kong has always been closely linked to the mainland, geographically, culturally and, most important of all, sentimentally.

On the other hand, most unfortunately, it was communist rule in China after 1949 that effectively alienated the Hong Kong Chinese. Already, a large portion of the population in the 50s and 60s was made up of "refugees" who did not accept communist rule in the mainland.

What made things worse was the series of political movements and purges throughout the period, culminating in the Cultural Revolution. The 1967 riots in Hong Kong had close connections with the ultra-leftist party line and the Cultural Revolution. However, as one historian, the late John Young, puts it: "For the first time in Hong Kong's recent history, the inhabitants believed that the British-Hong Kong Government was 'their' government".

People in Hong Kong would have rather identified with foreign imperialist rule than to a brutal Chinese regime. A somewhat different identity of the Hong Kong Chinese began to emerge in the early 1970s, especially after the British-Hong Kong Government grasped this opportunity to put out a series of heart-winning policies, such as the introduction of new labour laws and education policies.

A generation of young people, who were either born in Hong Kong or brought here by their parents when very young, have grown up. Statistics showed that more people began to think of themselves as "Hong Kongese", although they still related to China culturally and sentimentally.

It was with this new identity and feeling that the Hong Kong Chinese reacted with such vigour to the Tiananmen incident. On the one hand, they felt a close link with China; and this explains why so many people in Hong Kong felt a strong concern. This is the nationalistic or patriotic part. On the other hand, they saw themselves as somewhat different from the mainland Chinese. Hence, there was such a quick and ready denunciation of the regime.

What made things more complicated was the return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule in less than 10 years. One appealing slogan was "Beijing today, Hong Kong tomorrow". The subsequent migration in the early 1990s demonstrated the readiness among some to dissociate themselves from Chinese rule.

However, neither nationalistic feeling nor the Hong Kong identity was solidly grounded. Hong Kong Chinese, because of the education and administrative policy of the British-Hong Kong Government, had little idea of the concept of nationhood. Until recently, they knew little about Chinese history and read little Chinese literature.

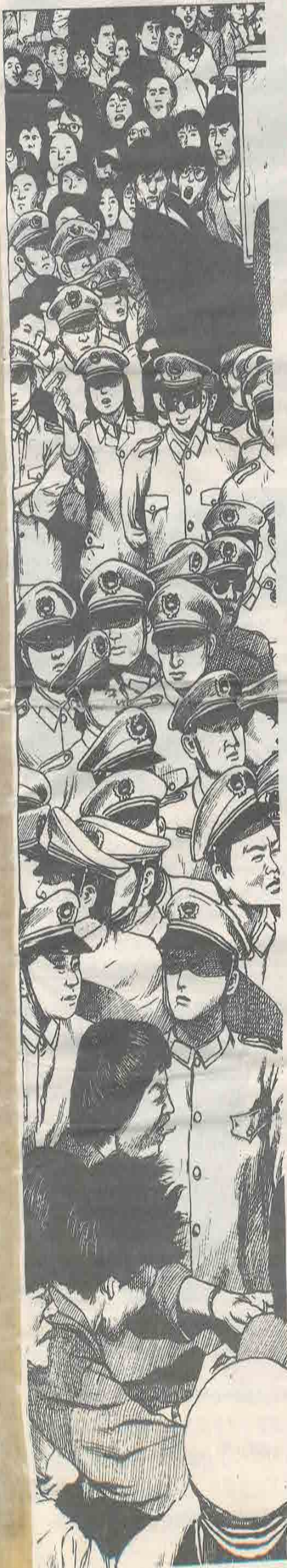
We cannot expect a real and deep nationalistic sentiment among the Hong Kong Chinese. On the other hand, the Hong Kong identity has been under severe pressure since the handover. With the changing education and administrative policies of the SAR, the "local" identity will gradually be eroded. More Hong Kong people will very likely soon become "nationalistic".

Deng Xiaoping gave the clear directive that "one country, two systems" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" would be the ruling principles for the Hong Kong SAR. While Deng would not easily be forgiven by the part he played in the June 4 incident, such a directive is vital to the survival of Hong Kong.

But some qualifications have to be made. First, "systems" should not refer only to economic systems. It should mean complete sets of value systems; so that Hong Kong should retain a special value system of its own.

To be honest, I cannot yet figure out very clearly what values are treasured by the Hong Kongese. But I trust that there is something unique in Hong Kong. Second, "Hong Kong people" should adopt the special Hong Kong value system. A mere length of stay is no guarantee for such qualifications.

Judging from the readiness of the Hong Kong Government to "solicit assistance" from the mainland "authorities" to stop the large influx of mainlanders for family reunions following the Court of Final Appeal's ruling (and other issues, such as not granting entrance to Wang Dan and others), I am afraid this interpretation of "one country, two systems" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" does not seem to have been in force over the past 23 months. This is truly regretful for Hong Kong.



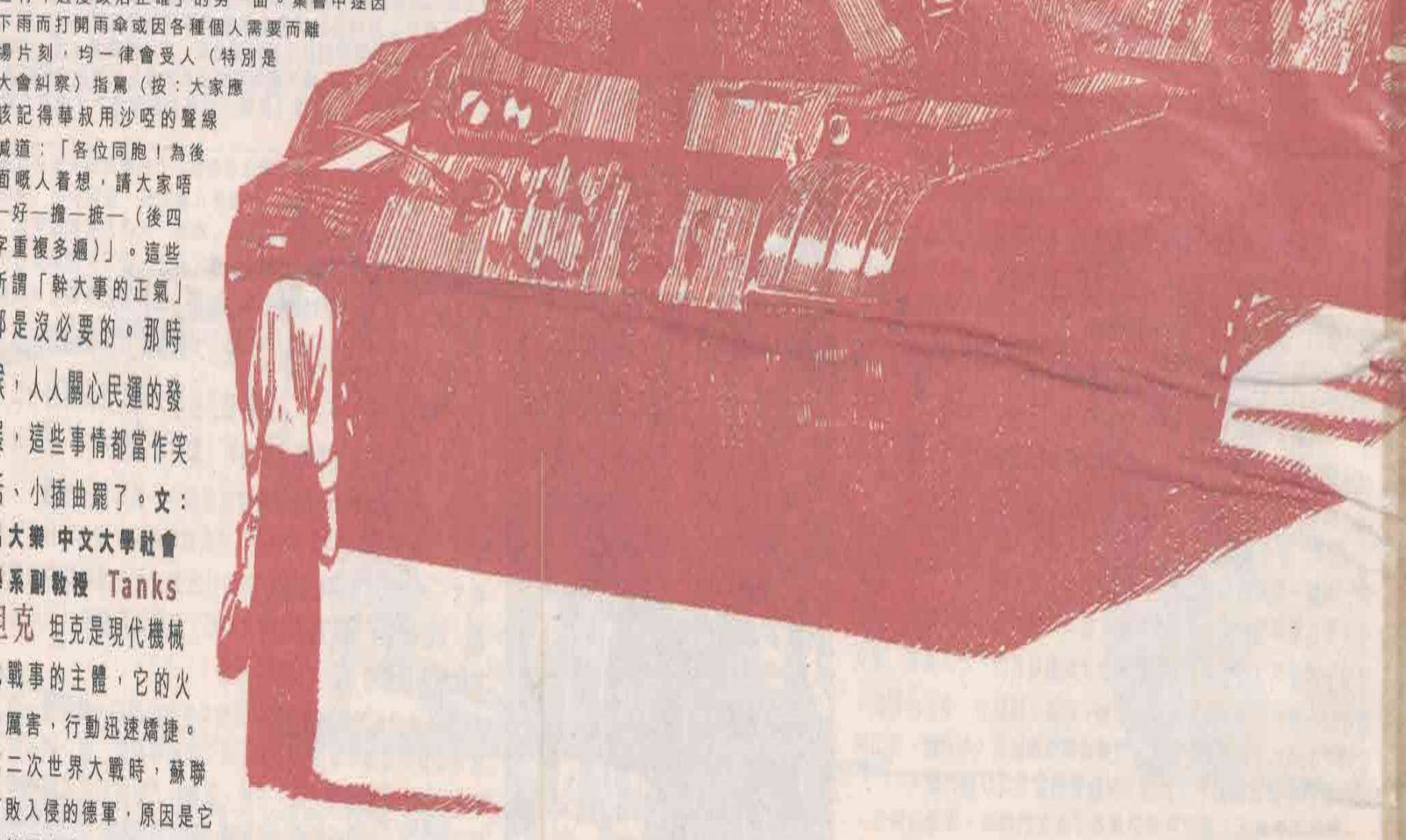
把那爐火燒得通紅趁熱打鐵才能成功！這是最

Tiananmen Square 天安門廣場 Bullet holes in the monument in memory of people's heroes, flying five-star flags, flying long staircases at the Great Hall of the People, dozens of onlookers waiting for the flag-raising ceremony in the early morning. Wearing sunglasses and a T-shirt inscribed with Chinese characters "anti-martial law". **Chang'an Avenue 長安大街** Circled by tanks left over by wheels of tanks while making turns on June 4, hawkers selling ice cream, white orchids outside Peking Hotel. **People's Square 人民大會堂** A book on the 1989 democratic movement published by 64 local journalists. **Xinhua at Queen's Road East 新華社** National flag at half mast. **Internationale 國際歌** "This is the last struggle. United for tomorrow." Text: Chris Yeung

chapter will go down in the history of crowd control: In 1999, armed with immovable determination to combat flood, the people of Hong Kong rushed into the SAR. It is said that the uncivilised and unskilled crowd will cause Hong Kong to efficient rule. Therefore, the people of Hong Kong choose to erect strong flood barriers at all costs. Ten years ago, in Beijing, there was a crowd control. Thousands of students and civilians occupied the sacred Square for more than a month. In the end, it took tanks and bullets to disperse the naughty crowd. It was said that these unlawful reactionary elements had already destabilised the situation in the Country. Text: Sze Pang Cheung **AHKCUS 美國香港華人聯會** 六四前後，香港人心動盪，香港人在美國，亦如是，以留美學生為骨幹的民運聲援組織風起雲湧，各立山頭：八九年底，百川匯流，在芝加哥大學開會，宣布成立「美國香港華人聯會」(Alliance of Hong Kong Chinese in the United States)，簡稱 AHKCUS。當時我在芝大讀書，擔任秘書長，主席是居於華盛頓的陳永華博士，執委會每周透過電話會議，電子郵件討論國事，推動會務。十年了，AHKCUS 仍在，現任主席居於夏威夷，繼續集合美國港人之力量聲援民運人。至於我的昔日戰友，先後學成返港，或政或學或商，透過不同方式貢獻社會。每年六四維園，黑夜裏，燭光中，我知道人群裏面必有着 AHKCUS 的名字。文：馬家輝 **Newspaper clippings 剪報** 90 年和 89 年的暑假。我做着相同的事——剪報，但題目和心情都不一樣。我不算愛看足球，為 90 世界盃作剪報特輯，很難理解。假若剪報是為了留紀錄，保留記憶，那麼我忘了那本特輯放到那裏和我把「捧盃」的是哪一隊忘掉都是不合情理。巧合地，我也忘了 89 年的剪報放到哪裏。我斷定剪報是一項為了「記憶」進行的儀式，而「遺忘」則是一項潛意識的反動。十年前的一輪狂熱在一夜間被急速冷卻，冷藏了 5 月的記憶，熱心卻保不住，掉進谷底，進入冰封年代。自那年起，我讓那傷痛延續，原來又是一場防止「遺忘」的儀式。文：Eliza Ho 藝評人 **Vigra for the Democrats 民主派偉哥** 六四是民主派的政治資本，眾人耳熟能詳。六四催生了港同盟，成為打正旗號的民主派政黨，九一一直選將左派打得落花流水。但六四也催生了早熟的政黨政治。政黨霸佔了議席，民主運動變成「三例牌」：例牌簽名、示威、抗議。選舉機器吸納了社會政治資源，但在議會內卻無所為。六四等如民主派被人餵了一粒政治「偉哥」，但 timing 有差錯，食早了。十年後真正要展開民主運動時，已欲振乏力。文：司徒噯！ **Head scarves 頭巾** 與腳巾相反。常言讀書人有一氣，恐乃太久未加清洗所致，故保持一之衛生，不可不注意。【頭巾之亂】東漢末年太學生糾黨作亂，朝廷令戴一者格殺勿論，有太學生李屈，好儀容，兵過之時，適大風亂，摘而整理之，避過一劫。文：董啟章 **Wang Dan & Diana Peng Dan 王丹與彭丹** 「阿牛」曾建

成經常掛在口邊的一句笑話「釋放彭丹」，第一次聽時心忖王丹與彭丹究竟有什麼淵源？抓破頭也想不到，除了「食字 gag」之外，忽然想起了靈魂與肉體雖然被囚禁，但靈魂仍然是自由。彭丹也好像說過大家不要只注視我的肉體，請欣賞我的靈魂。王丹與彭丹同樣曾經處身肉體被禁錮的時候，一個是政治，一個是傳媒。最近都同獲自由。傳媒不再禁錮彭丹肉體，她毋需再拱橋，「E」字馬、露股時，她的名字消失了。王丹的肉體不

再受政權禁錮時……文：司徒噯！ **Victoria Park 維園** 八九年五、六月的維園是一個沒有陌生人的世界——素未謀面的人都要因為共同的感召而來到維園。在當日回應北京實施戒嚴，在香港刮起颱風情況下於維園舉行的集會上，最有這種感覺。那可能是最少大會發言的集會，卻一切盡在不言之中。當然，當年維園的氣氛也有「過度政治正確」的另一面。集會中途因下雨而打開雨傘或因各種個人需要而離場片刻，均一律會受人（特別是大會糾察）指罵（按：大家應該記得華叔用沙啞的聲線喊道：「各位同胞！為後面嘅人着想，請大家唔一好一擔一擔」（後四字重複多遍）」。這些所謂「幹大事的正氣」都是沒必要的。那時候，人人關心民運的發展，這些事情都當作笑話、小插曲罷了。文：呂大樂 **中文大學社會學系副教授 Tanks 坦克** 坦克是現代機械化戰事的主體，它的火力厲害，行動迅速矯捷。第二次世界大戰時，蘇聯打敗入侵的德軍，原因是它



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中央圖書館方案，在去年曾引起議會及民間廣泛討論。(資料圖片)

文化黑暗時代局面已成

官僚權力 無遠弗屆

文：胡志偉

在顧問報告中，並沒有為已受重重官僚制約的文化體系帶來新的契機。顧問建議，在兩局解散後，有關職能由官僚機構全面接管，政策制訂權落在民政事務局長手上，政策執行權則留在新成立的「康樂及文化事務署」。這種安排，是政府擴充權力的象徵，文化界希望藉着區域組織的改革，會帶來一個新的文化局面，到頭來這個理想非但沒有達到，反而更進一步落在官僚體系的羅網之中。

由民政事務局長委託林志釗先生進行的《文化藝術及康樂體育服務顧問報告》，最近終於與政府就報告的初步回應一同公布。

文化界一直希望，兩個市政局解散之後，可以有空間為僵化的文化體系注入新動力，不過，筆者極之相信，現時政府建議的架構，絕對是與文化界的意願背道而馳的。

現時政府建議的架構，絕對是與文化界的意願背道而馳的。

獨攬大權

製造「文化花瓶」

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顧問建議，在兩局解散後，有關職能由官僚機構全面接管，政策制訂權落在民政事務局長手上，政策執行權則留在新成立的「康樂及文化事務署」。這種安排，是政府擴充權力的象徵，文化界希望藉着區域組織的改革，會帶來一個新的文化局面，到頭

來這個理想非但沒有達到，反而更進一步落在官僚體系的羅網之中。雖然顧問報告內建議成立「文化委員會」，但它卻是一個沒有實權的諮詢架構，更可惜的是，報告中只是建議由政府為它制訂職權範圍，亦沒有釐清它與藝術發展局的分工，在權責不明、理念不清的情況下，委員會純屬一個「文化花瓶」。

收回權力

黑暗時代開始

在兩個市政局尚存在時，它們所負責的文化政策或許受文化界多所非議及質疑，但起碼在議會的高透明度運作之下，仍有監察的空間，而議會的民意代表亦可以公開就一些受社會關注的文化課題作出決定，「國殤之柱」、「中央圖書館」是一些明顯例子。日後一旦有關政策制訂權落在官僚之手，還會有今天在議會內這般公開嗎？

就算日後有團體要求擺放類似「國殤之柱」的藝術展品，相信其申請也會在官僚的系統內推來搡去，而「文化委員會」一旦正如顧問所想的，是做效「教育統籌委員會」或「交通諮詢委員會」的運作模式的話，相信其會議也是一樣的閉門進行，二十一世紀的香港文化政策，只會是一個黑暗時代，一切在非公開的層次下進行。

筆者擔心，日後的文化空間將比現在受到更多的制約，全面文化控制的日子也會悄悄地來臨。

架構臃腫

緊抱既得利益

在顧問研究中，所建議的文化康體事務所需要的官僚數目，多達九千多人，亦建議由新的康樂及文化事務署吸納該等員工，換言之，現時兩局有關職系的人員幾乎原封不動轉移至新的官僚架構內，政府對此亦表示接納。這個建議徹底地維護官僚架構的利益，完全無視民間要求公務員架構減肥及文化康體事務權力下放的索求。

雖然，在政府回應中已承諾會積極研究將文化康體服務分階段私營化，但是範圍只觸及場地及藝術團體的管理方面，並無真正改變文化康體政策由官僚主導的事實。

筆者認為，政府在這等範圍訂下承諾，只是一種「糖衣毒藥」，只不過希望拋下磚頭，以減少文化界反抗官辦文化的阻力。

總結來說，在這份揭示未來新架構的報告下，「新」不只未見其新，背後所呈現的觀念，是一種官僚權力擴張的意識在作祟，當政府連面對文化政策也要做一個強而有力「有兵司令」時，文化被控制的日子還會遠嗎？

(作者胡志偉為民主黨文康政策副發言人)

遮遮掩掩的政府回應

政府上月底公布了區域組織檢討的結果，並定下在文化發展及服務上的新架構安排，然而，政府委託顧問進行的研究報告及政府的回應，帶出的只是更多的問題。問題意指的，既是報告及回應中有很多不清楚、不明白的地方，亦指當中有很多不妥當的地方，而很多不妥當的地方，是產生自不清楚。

在過去一兩星期，很多人已指出了很多不清楚因而不安的地方，如目前兩個市政局既是決策又是監察兩個市政總署工作的機制，新的機制雖有一個名「文化委員會」的組織，但這組織如何組成，究竟職權如何，是否具監察職能？

又如政府的回應中，訂出文化委員會「將就整體文化政策」及「整體撥款優先次序

上」向政府提出建議，而在藝術發展局的一段就提到「藝術發展局現時運作的一些未盡完善之處，這包括耗用大量時間審批撥款申請，以至無暇處理政策問題」，隱瞞字面之下的，是否意味着藝展局將遭削權？藝術局無法在政策制訂上多發揮作用，有先天性的問題，新架構沒有想法完善藝展局的功能，反而將藝展局一項重要職能由這個有民選委員參與的機構，轉往由全由委任產生的「文化委員會」，其中一個可以確定的後果，就是在政策制訂上，政府又進一步集權。

還有一項不屬政策層面決定，就是市政局轄下的地、圖書館和博物館等服務外判的問題。政府已接納但到底如何落實這些措施，局轄下的三個藝團香港話和中樂團，據了解，政府定之前完全沒有諮詢這些藝團，對這些藝團將來的運作，亦完全未作安排。在管理方式下，藝術總監受到很大的制肘，作為本團的主事人，我們從來不本港文化發展、政策制訂共開的言論，為什麼？這問題。而面對革命性的改革，應該主動邀請藝團提出最的建議，而藝術總監是否與承擔，站出來為藝團發聲？

新架構在二〇〇〇年實施，距今還有九個月，屆時對於所有未解決的問題，給我一年時間。即一個月，便什麼都塵埃落定，政府究竟會如何回答的問題，過程中，公眾解政府的決定，對政府見，以避免那些不妥當事實？

文：夏輝

若重新面對「國殤之柱」，官僚機構將如何運作？

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港大學生會擬永久擺校內 國殤之柱 去留再興波

立柱風波



國殤之柱之去留預料再惹爭議！港大學生會擬將國殤之柱永久停放校內黃克競有蓋平台，並表示由於早前已在校園進行投票活動，有千多名的學生支持此項做法，故已具效力執行有關動議，是以只會循例事先「知會」校方，不需再作申請。

港大學生會準備將目前橫放在校內國殤之柱稍後永久豎立校園內。——何振強攝



國殤之柱目前擺放在香港大學黃克競有蓋平台。由於「六四」十周年活動將至，故此國殤之柱也會隨有關活動移送至其他場地，而港大學生會正是擬定在紀念「六四」的重點活動「十周年晚會」過後，隨即將國殤之柱運送回黃克競有蓋平台，永久擺放。

港大學生會代表崔偉恒表示，暫時不知道此項行動，會否獲得校方的支持，也未有預計此

項行動會否導致一如上次般，遭到校方的阻撓。

另外，支聯會主席司徒華昨晚赴日內瓦出席聯合國人權會議。

司徒華表示，今次是支聯會首次委派代表出席聯合國人權會議，作為中國境內最大民運組織的代表，他會在席上譴責中國政府違反人權及提出四項要求，包括成立獨立調查團追究八九民運的法律責任。



支聯會主席司徒華將於十四日在日內瓦向聯合國提交中國人權狀況報告。——關永權攝

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【本報特訊】支聯會主席司徒華昨晚啟程赴日內瓦出席聯合國人權會議，並首次提交中國人權狀況報告。司徒華表示會在會議上爭取各國支持「譴責」中國政府在草簽了兩個國際公約後，人權狀況沒有改善。司徒華今日抵埗後，即聯同其他亞洲團體與聯合國人權委員會高級人權專員羅賓遜夫人會晤。明日下午司徒華會與魏京生等在當地舉行記者會。十四日下午與魏京生、李柱銘及羅漢傑在聯合國會場舉行非政府組織簡報會，講述中國人權問題。他本人在聯合國人權委員會上發言暫定在十五日。

司徒華赴聯合國人權會議 爭取各國支持譴責中國未改善人權

失，追究事件法律責任；(二)釋放政治犯(據估計目前國內尚有二千名政治犯被囚獄中)；(三)全國人民代表大會盡速通過《公民權利及政治權利國際公約》及《經濟、社會及文化權利國際公約》(目前中國政府只草簽有關公約，在正式簽署前毋須每

年向聯合國提交報告)；(四)確保人民在憲法內賦予的權利及自由得以落實。對於近日有關中國加入世貿組織的討論，有意見指會促使中國政府改善人權狀況，但司徒華認為兩者並無必然關係，不過他同意若中國經濟若得以進一步發展，對促進民主有一定幫助。此外，支聯會在下月初聯同多個團體舉行紀念「五四」及「六四」國際研討會，目前已向特區政府申請逾十名講者入境出席講座，當中包括王丹、魏京生等著名異見人士，支聯會秘書何俊仁指若部分人士不獲准到港，到時會以錄音、代讀或派發他們的講稿代替。

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國殤之柱「姊妹篇」：暴行之柱
塑造「國殤之柱」的丹麥藝術家高爾舍特的另一件「暴行之柱」(Columns of Infamy)周二運抵墨西哥的爾，該作品高達八米，是為了紀念在九七年十二月在南帕斯社區，被親政府軍屠殺的四十五名印度人。該村落對左翼分離分子表示同情。整件作品以痛苦扭曲的表情題，與「國殤之柱」有異曲同工之妙。——美聯

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國殤之柱今移維園



橫放於港大校園的「國殤之柱」，今日會運往維園豎立。 胡錦威攝

【太陽訊】暫時橫放於香港大學黃克競平台的國殤之柱，今日會移到維多利亞公園擺放，在六四燭光集會當晚展出；之後將會再次運到港大「寄居」。

雖然港大學生會兩年前已向校方申請豎立國殤之柱，但校方一直未有答覆；學生會正考慮自行將國殤之柱豎立。

港大學生會會長陳敬慈表示，有關豎立國殤之柱的問題，兩年前已向校方申請，其間亦進行過問卷調查，結果絕大部分師生都認為，國殤之柱應在港大校園內豎立。

不過，校方卻以沒有地方擺放為理由，只讓它橫放一旁。陳說，學生會沒有履行師生意願將國殤之柱豎立亦需要負上責任。

或豎立港大

他現時正研究，是否不理會校方，由學生會自行將國殤之柱豎立於黃克競露天平台。不過，於何時豎立，現時仍未有決定。

國殤之柱九七年運往香港後，一直也未有容身之所。九七年六四燭光晚會後，港大學生會將它運到港大時，曾與校方引起衝突。去年巡迴各大專院校擺放後，最終又放回港大；不過校方不容許將它豎立，而只能打橫擺放。

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國殤之柱



不久前行山，下山時迷了路，走進了香港大學，在快到般咸道（再下四層電梯便是）時，一座深灰色的大樓出現眼前，我來到了久違的國殤之柱旁，她分成兩段，躺在地面上。

今天，竟不期然遇見她，裸躺在地上，那幾十張同憤，怒扭曲的嘴臉，似乎更憤怒，怪怪地淨淨般，垂泣着躺在石灰的地面，彷彿在咆哮：起來，起來，讓我站起來，讓我面對這個世界！雕塑是藝術品，是一個時代一個事件的結晶，一個藝術品竟然感得找不到安身立命之處，豈不是太過悲哀。

「六四」又來了，海外的學運領袖民主陣營為着領袖控制權打得頭破血流，四分五裂。你說你的，我說我的，集會遊行都弄不到一塊兒。真令人嘆氣，真不如這些泥土的雕塑，風吹雨打，十年，還是緊緊地擁在一起，傲然處之。



仍橫臥在港大校園的國殤之柱，將於今日運往維園展出。

（尚有相關新聞刊B13版）

【記者湯樂平報導】現時仍橫放於香港大學黃克競樓有蓋平台一角的「國殤之柱」將在維多利亞公園「六四」紀念活動展出，而港大學生會表示會繼續爭取把「國殤之柱」在校園內豎立。

另外，港大學生會和與以往紀念「六四」活動一樣，在六月四日當天在港大校園內的太古橋重新漆上「六四」標語。

港大學生會會長陳敬慈表示，「國殤之柱」今日會從港大黃克競樓平台運往維園展出，至六四悼念集會完結後，當晚隨即運返港大校園。由於仍未獲校務委員會批准，「國殤之柱」至今仍然橫放於屬學生會管理的黃克競樓平台有蓋部分。陳敬慈指會繼續堅持在校園內豎立「國殤之柱」的方向，但憂慮校方在行政程序上有所阻撓，把擺放的事宜一拖再拖。

港大學生會昨午在黃克競平台舉行「六四分享會」，有學生在會上批評「國殤之柱」長期橫臥於平台一角已失去原來的意義，並指展品與中國國事有關因而應受尊重，在校園內外都應公開地豎立擺放。

國殤之柱「六四」豎維園

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●國殤之柱在維園擺放紀念「六四」十周年。(記者陳錦輝攝)

國殤之柱再矗立維園

九七回歸前被放在香港紀念六四的丹麥雕刻家作品《國殤之柱》，於過去一年被橫放港大校園後，昨日由一批工作人員從香港大學搬運到維園裝置，預備明天舉行六十四周年燭光晚會時，供市民參觀。國殤之柱於燭光晚會後會再度送回港大長期擺放，港大學生會已將此安排，知會校方。
負責裝置國殤之柱的支聯會常委梁國華說，國殤之柱有多處損毀，顯示該座雕刻品無長期容身之所，經多次搬運卒出現磨損。 ■本報記者



●多名支持民選人士昨在港召開記者會。(記者何端兒攝)

國殤柱六四後聳港大平台

學生會未作申請 校方不刻意戒備

港大學生的意願，而學生會在去年九月廿四、廿五兩日進行的全體投票，共有二千二百一十四名同學參與，當中百分之七十四贊成「國殤之柱」長期豎立於校園內，故豎立「國殤之柱」乃是民主的體現。
和往年一樣，學生會在今早在太古橋會重新上標語，紀念六四事件。另外，學生會今晚亦會在校園內舉行通宵集會。

學生會會長陳敬慈表示，不相信校方會再次拒絕「國殤之柱」進入校園；或在日後把其拆卸，指如一旦發生這事情，會呼籲學生進行和平抗爭。「國殤之柱」曾於九七年六四維園紀念集會後運往港大，當時曾遭校方阻撓。事件導致五百多位學生及市民到場增援的警員發生推撞。
昨天亦有和學生會開會的港大外務處長陳鈞潤解釋，若學生希望港大永久豎立「國殤之柱」，必須先向校方申請，並由校務委員會批准，期間「國殤之柱」必須橫臥於黃克競平台。
另一方法則是學生會直接於平台豎立「國殤之柱」三個月，校長即時批准後，他們可再申請作永久擺放。
陳鈞潤又表示，希望學生會能合法地作出申請，但明日凌晨「國殤之柱」運往校園時，校方將不會刻意加強保安。

上年申請未批覆

九七年曾釀事故



「國殤之柱」運返校園時，不會刻意加強保安。港大學生會昨召開幹事會，決定在今晚維園六四燭光晚會結束後，把「國殤之柱」運返港大，在黃克競露天平台永久豎立「國殤之柱」，並且不會向校方作出任何申請。
學生會昨午和港大副校長黃紹倫教授開會，通知校方有關的決定。

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在港大平放了很長一段時間的「國殤之柱」，昨日在維園豎立時，竟然掉出了「眼淚」。雖然這是積貯在柱內的存水，但還是讓在場的人不勝感慨。 梁文輝攝

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國殤之柱流淚了

「國殤之柱」昨日由港大校園運到維園展覽，與大眾一起共度「六四」十周年。支聯會常委梁國華指出，國殤之柱可令人回憶起十年前的六四慘劇，並提醒大眾繼續爭取民主。
另外，昨天國殤之柱豎立於維園時出現一個奇景——國殤之柱流淚了，其實原來只是積存在柱內的水流出來所致，但一時之間，令人有特別的感覺。
國殤之柱「民主烈士永垂不朽」紀念碑以及「民主女神石壁」會於今明日豎立於維園足球場。六四晚會後國殤之柱會運返港大校園待學生會豎立，而紀念碑及石壁則會交由支聯會收藏。
國殤之柱可算是多災多難。於九七年六四晚會後，曾巡迴在七所大專院校擺放，而於運送到理工大學時，就曾經在裝嵌時被撞脫一小部分。國殤之柱最後於去年十一月廿一日被運到港大校園長期擺放，然而一直只能橫臥於學生會管理的平台上。

港大學生會於去年七月曾就「國殤之柱」應長期豎立於香港大學進行了全民投票，約七成投票的同學贊成。學生會表示他們有充分理由執行同學的決定。將國殤之柱豎立，因為學生是學校的主人翁，雖然黃克競平台乃校方管轄，但校方應尊重民意，批准擺放。
港大外務處處長陳鈞潤則稱，自從去年批准學生會正式申請要求延期擺放。
結果，在去屆學生會於去年底卸任後，新幹事會未有繼續就這個問題繼續和校方磋商。港大學生會時時秘書陳家健表示這還是因為學生會上任以來有不少問題，如居港權的問題需要處理，以致暫把國殤之柱豎立一事擱置。結果國殤之柱就一直橫臥而導致積水，台階更出現裂痕。港大學生會強調，基於對大學理想的追求，學生會會爭取將國殤之柱豎立於港大校園，但具體的日期及時間則暫未有定案。

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象徵著民主精神的民主女神壁，又在維園豎立起來。(張煒儀攝)



「六四」十周年活動 王丹李祿被拒入境

國殤之柱女神壁豎維園

【天天訊】「六四」十周年前夕，前八九學運領袖王丹在紐約批評香港政府拒發入境簽證，令他不能來港參與紀念「六四」活動。他強調，希望中國發展得更好的香港市民，要真正捍衛香港的民主和法治。

每年舉辦紀念活動

王丹對於今次不能來港參與有關「六四」的悼念活動，表示非常失望，並認為這樣會打擊很多人的信心，會對香港不利，同時更顯示中央政府及香港特區政府對統治缺乏信心。

對於香港人每年均舉辦「六四」紀念活動，他說，每年舉辦下去很重要。

另一名身在美國的前八九學運領袖李祿亦對港府拒發簽證一事表示遺憾，他稱，如果特區政府要落實一國兩制，就應該像九七前一樣，允許海外民運人士入境。

他續稱，倘若港人日後仍然能夠捍衛民主、自由、開放、法制，香港前途仍然有希望，而目前他反而擔心香港傳媒出現自我審查。

港大校園燭光晚會

另一方面，本港支聯會昨開始在維園布置「六四」十周年燭光晚會場地，將放置於港大黃克競大樓平台的「國殤之柱」移往維園，且豎立民主女神壁。負責



支聯會主席司徒華(右)及前北京工自聯主席韓東方(左)，昨在「六四」十周年記者會上宣稱，八九年「六四」受害者首次聯袂向包括李鵬等高級領導人訴訟，追究屠城責任。(潘達文攝)



港大學生昨晚在校園舉辦燭光晚會悼念「六四」。(法新社)



國殤之柱昨午運抵維園球場中央擺放，為「六四」燭光晚會作準備。(張煒儀攝)

今次搬運行動的支聯會人員表示，在這個時期將「國殤之柱」豎立在維園，目的是提醒市民、政府，不要忘記「六四」屠城事件，「日未平反「六四」，支聯會都會爭取到底。

「國殤之柱」的搬運行動，由昨日下午二時開始，在港大黃克競大樓平台吊上貨車，一小時後已往運到維園。而整個重新豎立「國殤之柱」的過程，只花半個小時左右，十分順利。

此外，香港大學學生昨晚在校園內地舉行燭光晚會，悼念「六四」事件的死難者。

【天天訊】對於首次有「六四」天安門事件死難者家屬及受害者向北京最高人民檢察院提出控告書，要求對包括向前總理李鵬等高級領導人提出訴訟，支聯會主席司徒華認為雖然訴訟未必被接納，但由民間循合法途徑提出起訴，是平反「六四」的第一步。

司徒華指百餘死難者家屬提控

平反「六四」第一步

【天天訊】對於首次有「六四」天安門事件死難者家屬及受害者向北京最高人民檢察院提出控告書，要求對包括向前總理李鵬等高級領導人提出訴訟，支聯會主席司徒華認為雖然訴訟未必被接納，但由民間循合法途徑提出起訴，是平反「六四」的第一步。

司徒華昨日出席中國人權在香港舉行的「六四」十周年記者會時指出，一百零五名「六四」死難者家屬及受害者雖然在種種困難下仍然搜集證據，並提出證據向中國政府提出正式控訴，是一件很有意義的事情，雖然單從這個訴訟很難平反「六四」，但也要有人肯站出來，才能表達到他們的意見，這在中國是非常難得。

司徒華承認，在現時中國的政治環境下，相信訴訟很難成功，不過，最重要是有人肯站出來，將「六四」事件中有人死亡，有

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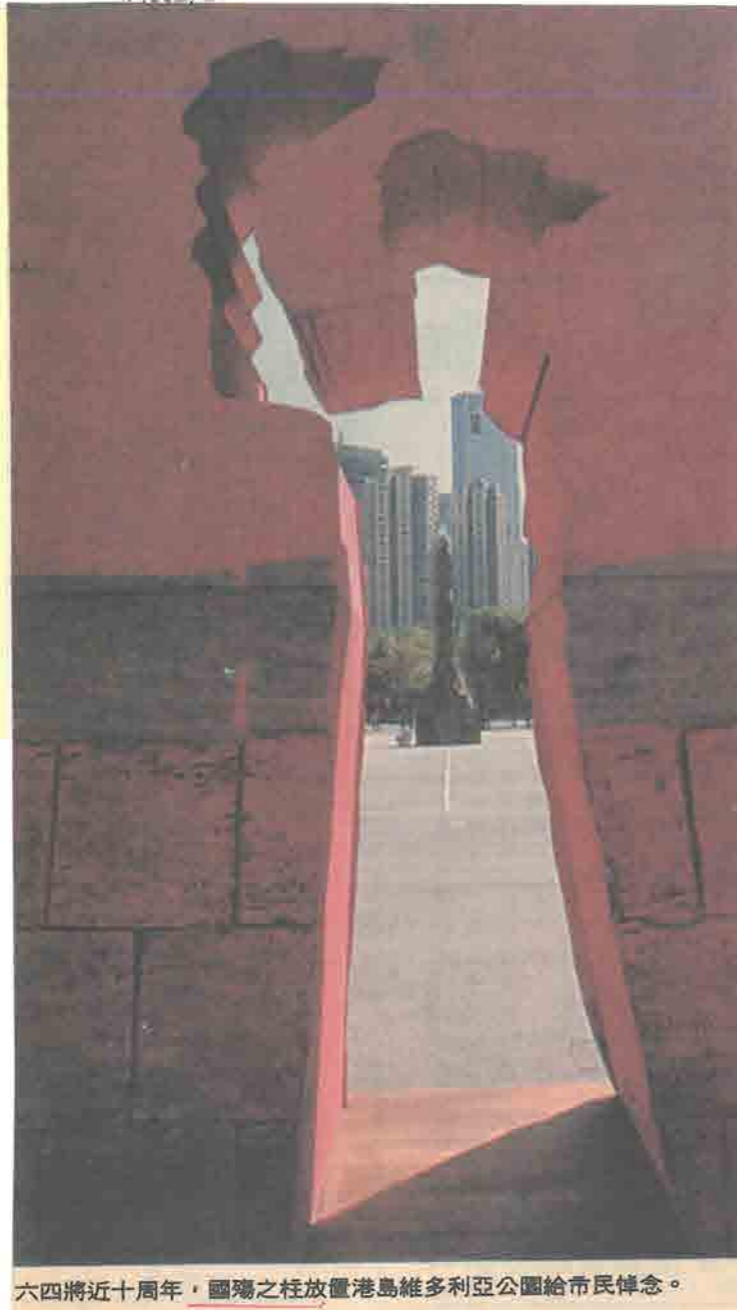
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六四將近十周年，國殤之柱放置香港維多利亞公園給市民悼念。

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明天就是「六四」十周年，國殤之柱昨日由港大黃克競平台移至維多利亞公園四號球場，告別在港大近半年的長臥狀態而重新豎立，整個搬運及接合程序尚算暢順，但經歷多次遷移的國殤之柱已呈「用皮甩骨」狀態。

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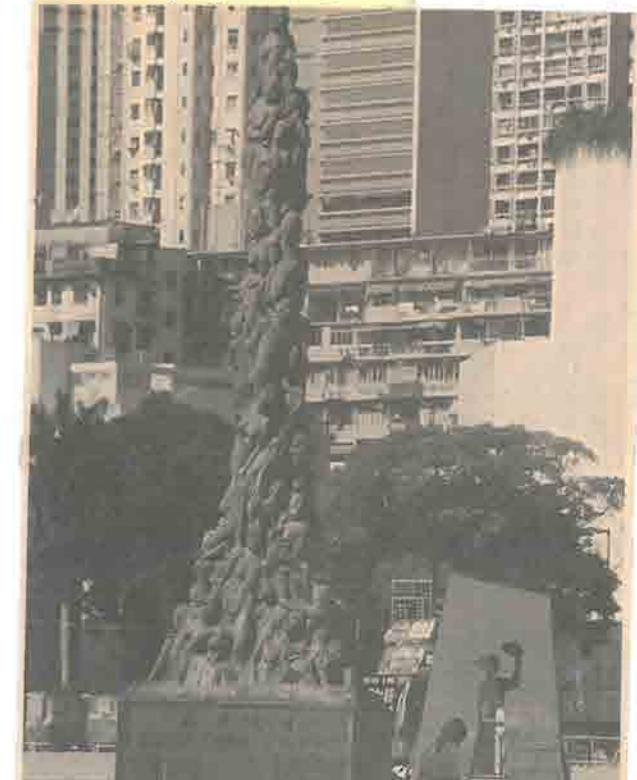
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支聯會布置六四悼念晚會場地，順利把國殤之柱及民主女神石壁擺放在維園。國殤之柱原本在港大學生會門外擺放，待悼念晚會結束將運返原處。

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維園燭光晚會規模勝去年

【本報訊】今日是「六四」十周年，支聯會於昨日開始已在維園舉辦展覽及座談會，今晚的燭光晚會是紀念「六四」活動的高潮，支聯會估計今晚參加燭光晚會的人數，將較去年為多。

該會已租用六個籃球場以便容納市民參加，二百名義工負責維持場內秩序。

去年估計有四萬人至五萬人參加燭光晚會。

三個要求平反「六四」的團體，昨日前往新華社請願，抗議北京政府拘捕多名異見人士，要求中央立即釋放所有異見人士。

本報昨晚以音頻電話成功訪問二百

七十六名十五歲以上人士，對於會否於今日參與紀念「六四」十周年的活動，近一成八（四十九人）表示會出席，六成九受訪者則無此打算。

不參與有關活動的原因指無時間或要返工、返學，佔五成八，亦有一成七被訪者認為此類活動不太重要。



●國殤之柱豎立維園，路過市民可會有一番感想？

「六四」十周年今日活動

時間	地點	活動內容	主辦單位/人士
上午9:00	維園	開放「國殤之柱」、「民主女神石壁」及「民主烈士永垂不朽紀念碑」供市民獻花	支聯會
10:00	藝術中心畫廊	「八九日子」攝影展	香港藝術中心
10:30	香港大學	再塗太古橋	港大學生
下午5:00	維園	「民運十年的回顧與前瞻」座談會	支聯會
8:00	維園	「六四」燭光晚會	支聯會

自由戰士

一個多小時的交談中，我反覆的探詢銅像背後，故以獻花跟「六四」的關係；凱撒並沒有將銅像跟「六四」扯上關係，只是含蓄的說道：「這是我自己的笑話：這是我自己的笑話：這是我自己的笑話。」

不知道是否由女神像。但他並沒對市政局的安排表示不滿！這也許是他能夠說得最「盡」的說話了——在中英爭拗最激烈的九二年，把一尊「自由女神像」樹立在香港很可能成為政治事件，銅像能否繼續保存也是問題；可以想像，假如說得更明了，這作品的結果不外是另一件「國殤之柱」，無地安身。所以我事後並沒有把銅像揭幕後，凱撒來過香

一群藝術家工作者擬於昨天晚上到文化中心前的一「翱翔的法國人」銅像前獻花，他們懷疑此像原稱「自由戰士」，被市政局竄改了，故以獻花行動讓市民知道該像背後的真正意義。

不知道是否由女神像。但他並沒對市政局的安排表示不滿！這也許是他能夠說得最「盡」的說話了——在中英爭拗最激烈的九二年，把一尊「自由女神像」樹立在香港很可能成為政治事件，銅像能否繼續保存也是問題；可以想像，假如說得更明了，這作品的結果不外是另一件「國殤之柱」，無地安身。所以我事後並沒有把銅像揭幕後，凱撒來過香

跟凱撒的談話寫出來，反而寫了一篇「文章」，批評市政局缺乏公共藝術品審批政策，對待外來藝術家跟本地藝術家有雙重標準。市政局未必有意樹立一尊「六四」紀念銅像，但因崇拜國際名氣，令這像不審而批；待知道銅像有自由的含義仍改一個名讓它存在下去，也不算太壞。銅像是一「暗渡陳倉」了，現在是繼續豐富其意義的時候。

此時此刻
劉健威

PRESSE-CLEARING
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維園今舉行燭光悼念會

歷年支聯會 「六四」周年紀念集會出席人數

1998	40,000
1997	55,000
1996	45,000
1995	30,000
1994	40,000
1993	40,000
1992	80,000
1991	100,000
1990	150,000

【太陽訊】今日是六、四十年，支聯會亦會連續第十年在維園足球場舉行燭光晚會，哀悼六四事件死難者。學生領袖王丹會透過越洋電話與參加晚會的市民對話。

大會晚上八時開始，內容與以往多次集會差不多，包括致悼詞、獻花、默哀等。另外，兩度申請來港被拒的學運領袖王丹，雖然不能親身到現場，但會透過越洋電話與市民對話。另外大會亦製作了一段六、四十年錄影帶在會上播出。

並舉行公眾論壇。

另外，支聯會開放從香港大學移往維園豎立的「國殤之柱」及日前臨時搭建的「民主烈士永垂不朽」紀念碑及「民主女神石壁」，供市民獻花。

另外，四五行動及「六四」十周年全球簽名運動籌委會代表，昨午將較早前在互聯網收集到支持平反六四的二萬五千多個簽名及聲明，製成電腦軟碟交到新華社，新華社並無派人接收，有關人士將軟碟放在門外後離開。



大專生多認同民運

【太陽訊】一項大專生對「六四」認知的調查指出，近六成被訪者認同「八九民運」是一場民主運動，並相信中央政府曾在六四清晨血洗天安門。六成認為中央當時處理手法不恰當。

調查也顯示，在接近五成的大專生認為「有人」要負起最大責任當中，最多有三成五的學生認為當時任總理的李鵬應對此事負起最大責任，其次有二成五人將責任歸咎鄧小平。

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Democrats raise statue fears

A SCULPTURE based on the June 4 crackdown at Tiananmen Square could be banned from parks. Democrats raised this fear at a meeting of the Bills Committee to discuss the Provision of Municipal Services (Reorganisation) Bill, which includes an amendment to the Pleasure Grounds (Regional Council) by-laws proposed by the administration earlier this year. Lawmaker Lee Wing-tat, noting that "statue or other sculpture" had been added to items that could not be allowed on pleasure grounds, said the move seemed aimed at preventing the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China from erecting the "Pillar of Shame" at Victoria Park. — May Tam

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Artist adds 'personal touch' to Pillar

By Prisca Chu and Mandy Luk

A SELF-PROCLAIMED artist yesterday splashed two buckets of red paint on the Pillar of Shame, moved to Victoria Park for the crackdown anniversary.

Andy Kwong On-chu, 39, was caught "red-handed and red-headed" — with the paint he had used — as police arrested him while he was explaining his act to journalists.

Kwong, who was wearing a grey Mao suit, said he added a few drops of his blood in the paint.

"My blood is mixed with the people's blood. I am the people," he said.

He defended his act, saying it was not vandalism but an act of respect for the statue — a copper sculpture by Danish artist Jens Galschiot — to give it his "personal touch".

"The statue is bland and grey, it's more appropriate now," he said, explaining that "because I'm an artist, I can do that".

Kwong said he was born in Hong Kong and studied art in the United States and Canada. He also claimed to have joined the student movement in 1989 and was in Beijing when the crackdown occurred.

Kwong was released on \$1,000 bail last night.

A similar incident happened in September 1996 when self-proclaimed mainland artist Poon Sing-lui poured two cans of red paint over the statue of Queen Victoria and smashed a hammer against its nose.

Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic



Seeing red: Self-proclaimed artist Andy Kwong On-chu douses the Pillar of Shame with red paint during the Victoria Park commemoration of June 4.

PICTURE BY SING TAO

Democratic Movements of China chairman Szeto Wah described the incident as "a small episode".

Meanwhile, the Pillar of Shame is still having a hard time finding a home.

University of Hong Kong students and officials have failed to agree on how the controversial statue can be installed publicly and permanently on the campus.

Since its arrival in Hong Kong two years ago, the statue has been moved to various locations.

After going on a tour of the tertiary institutions, the statue found a temporary shelter at HKU — "reclining" on a covered podium.

Student Union chairman Chris Chan King-chi accused the school of not respecting the statue's

request to accept the statue by imposing an "unreasonable condition".

University director for external relations Rupert Chan Kwan-yun explained the letter the students wrote to the school council earlier was "too brief".

"We encourage and support freedom of expression but we equally support the

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Bylaw equals protest clamp, says lawmaker

QUINTON CHAN

Officials denied yesterday they were trying to tighten controls on demonstrations by amending a minor law.

The Government plans to change the Pleasure Grounds (Urban Council) By-laws to ensure approval must be obtained for the display of any sculpture in municipal council venues.

A pro-democracy politician believes the amendment is aimed at preventing the *Pillar of Shame*, marking the 1989 Beijing massacre, from being erected in Victoria Park each year.

A Constitutional Affairs Bureau spokesman said the change was not targeted at any particular group.

"The amendment only aims to clear some ambiguity in the existing legislation," the spokesman said.

Democratic Party legislator Albert Ho Chun-yan, vice-chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China, said he would propose that the clause be deleted.

The two-tonne *Pillar* — by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot — has been at the University of Hong Kong since December. Activists have yet to find a permanent home for the sculpture, which the university has tried to remove.

1 ud of 2

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七萬人燭光會紀念六四



三
研
討
會。
（法新社傳真）

●七萬名市民昨晚
席維園的六四燭光
會。（記者鄭志良攝）

Lyreco, PP 310.519

約七萬名香港市民昨晚到維園參加六十四周年的燭光晚會，以點點燭光，表達六四哀思。流亡美國的前學運領袖王丹表示，六十四周年，最不應忘記的，是當年的死難者。

去年的六四燭光晚會，滂沱大雨，昨日卻驕陽似火，市民於昨晚仍要抵受攝氏三十度高溫，坐在仍散發熱浪的足球場石屎地，出席燭光晚會。

人數打破九三年來紀錄

根據支聯會估計，共有七萬多名市民出席晚會，坐滿了六個足球場，打破九三年以來紀錄，警方則不肯估計參加人數。

由於六四已發生十年，有見市民悼念熱情逐漸冷卻，支聯會昨晚除了繼續高喊「平反八九民運，追究屠城責任」的口號外，還不斷提出「戰鬥到底，堅持下去」的口號。

支聯會昨晚又以長途電話，同時聯

絡身在美國的王丹及在北京的王凌雲，讓分隔兩地的母子，與香港人一同分享此刻感受，三方通話了十多分鐘。

王凌雲表示非常感謝香港人視王丹為「香港之子」，她回憶十年前六月三日晚上，王丹被捕前最後一次回家吃晚飯，之後便生死不明，也開始了十年來一家人聚少離多的生活，她期望中國下一代有共同信念，追求民主及自由。

王丹透過長途電話向母親問好，不過王凌雲表示，近日家裏所有電話都被截斷，反映生活仍受到嚴密監視，王丹則說，六四事件雖已發生十年，但絕不應忘記當年的死難者，王丹與王凌雲最後表示，希望有一日可在香港及北京一起悼念六四。

王丹母子隔洋真情對話

此外，王丹接受美國有線電視新聞網絡訪問時，批評此刻中國自由、民權比八九年為之倒退，因為學生已不容許在校園公開論政，他更透露一位朋友數日前因收集抗議簽名，被拘捕及毆打。

支聯會則透露，原本約定與六四死難者家屬丁子霖通電話，但昨日線路整日不通，懷疑已遭截線。

昨晚的燭光晚會由約八時半開始，至十時結束，整體氣氛平靜，但當大會重播六四片段時，不少與會者感觸落淚，大會又安排「阿牛」曾健成的兒子，與支聯會主席司徒華一起燃點大會的火炬，象徵紀念六四薪火相傳。

另一方面，以王丹作召集人的全球悼念六四簽名運動，共收集了三十多萬個簽名，主辦機構會把簽名運動延長至十月一日國慶五十周年才結束。

六四周年燭光集會出席人數

年份	支聯會公布人數	警方估計人數
99	70,000	不作估計
98	40,000	未有估計
97	55,000	未有估計
96	45,000	16,000
95	35,000	16,000
94	45,000	12,000
93	40,000	12,000
92	80,000	28,000
91	100,000	60,000
90	150,000	80,000

澳門研討會被迫改場地

【本報訊】原定於今明兩日舉行，紀念「六四」十周年的澳門「一國兩制」國際研討會，由於研討會的場地被酒店單方面臨時拒絕租用，主辦機構將要易地舉行。而答應出席該研討會的前學運領袖王丹，至今仍然留在美國，因為他乘搭的長榮航空公司已拒絕讓他登機。昨晚有三百人出席燭光晚會。

研討會主辦單位《中國之春》雜誌社董事長伍凡及澳門民主發展聯委會理事長吳國昌，昨日下午召開記者會向傳媒講述有關情況。

由於他們租用的會議場地突然被皇

都酒店單方面取消預訂，記者會轉到酒店內的餐廳進行，他估計今次被迫更改研討會的場地，是酒店方面受到來自北京及澳葡政府的壓力。他們正四處尋找願意租出場地的酒店。

伍凡表示，前學運領袖王丹原定出席研討會及發表論文，但由於王丹較早前已訂購到的機票出現問題，將不能如期抵澳。不過，長榮航空公司昨日發表聲明說，王丹的機位依然有效，電腦上並無任何被取消機位的情況，只要王丹持齊全的旅遊證件，亦可如一般旅客依預定行程出發。

國殤之柱遭淋紅漆

【本報訊】香港回歸前專誠從丹麥送到香港，供支聯會在「六·四」前後豎立在維園的國殤之柱，昨日在燭光晚會舉行前，被一名自稱「人民的畫家」的男子潑了兩桶紅色液體，支聯會雖不認同其行為，但表示不會追究責任。警方已帶走該名男子問話。

寓意人民鮮血

潑紅色液體的男子鄭安柱，昨日下午五時多到達維園，向傳媒聲稱要舉行一項「相互作用的生活表演藝術」，在國殤之柱三鞠躬後，把隨身帶着的兩桶紅色液體潑向國殤之柱，把下半截柱身、基座和地面均染成一片鮮紅，襯托柱上扭曲的人頭雕像，更增添幾分鬼魅。淋潑紅色液體後，鄭安柱雙手及皮鞋亦被弄

污，他表示，作出此行為藝術家前，並未徵得支聯會同意及通知支聯會，他希望支聯會原諒其行為，又說願意事後清理。

鄭安柱指出，人民鮮血已流了十年，他在國殤之柱上潑上紅色液體是要反映香港現狀，充斥貪污腐敗，就如十年前的中國，為了表達「切膚之痛」，在行動前，他已割破指頭，在紅色液體上混上自己的血液，以中英語高呼：「這是人民的血，也是我的血。」

雖然支聯會表示不會追究，但事後警方仍把鄭安柱帶走及搜身，支聯會主席司徒華說：「即使是藝術家，亦不可以這樣做。」支聯會發言人李卓人說，他尊重個人發表意見的自由，但這自由不能用來破壞他人的藝術作品，這是對作品的原創者不尊重。

國殤之柱是由一位丹麥藝術家創作，九七年「六·四」紀念前運抵香港，但兩個市政局均拒絕提供永久的擺放場地，使國殤之柱一度無家可歸，及後，在本港七所大專院校巡迴展覽後，暫居於香港大學，港大學生亦決定不理校方態度，決定把國殤之柱永久放在校園的黃克競平台上。

肇事者多官非

鄭安柱在回歸前後曾兩度入稟法院控告香港藝術發展局及該局成員，最近一次興訟在今年四月中，鄭指藝展局十年來花掉一億元撥款推動本港藝術創作，卻成效不彰，故此他認為藝展局違反《基本法》，壓制市民的藝術創作自由，要求索償一億元；他又控告該局委員林漢堅及身兼藝穗會總監的委員謝俊興對他誹謗。



行為藝術家鄭安柱以紅色液體潑向國殤之柱。(記者林暉攝)



朱總理：忘記了

●國務院總理朱鎔基被記者追問六四感想時，神情訝異地稱忘記昨日是六四。(記者何端兒北京傳真)



的答案總是以忘記昨日是六四作回應。陪同曾蔭權訪京的港府官員或是內地的接待單位，早於前天當赴京採訪的香港傳媒抵達後，已多番提示朱曾二人會面時的採訪安排純粹是拍照時間，不要提問，以免令領導人不悅。事實上，

國務院總理朱鎔基昨日在「六四」十周年的日子，在人民大會堂接見訪京的港府財政司司長曾蔭權，朱鎔基被兩番問及對六四的看法時，他每次的答案總是以忘記昨日是六四作回應。陪同曾蔭權訪京的港府官員或是內地的接待單位，早於前天當赴京採訪的香港傳媒抵達後，已多番提示朱曾二人會面時的採訪安排純粹是拍照時間，不要提問，以免令領導人不悅。事實上，部分香港傳媒更聲稱在北京期間，一直有被便衣公安跟蹤，可見北京方面對六四這個敏感時刻仍相當在意。朱鎔基與曾蔭權的見面延後了半小時，當他看見曾蔭權步入人民大會堂時，當他熱情地拍曾的膊頭且言笑着讓記者拍照，當記者問及曾對六四死難者家屬作一點表示時，他改以一貫的鐵面回應：「你提醒了我，我都忘記了(特別提高聲調)。」而站在朱鎔基身邊的曾蔭權則木無表情，過了約兩秒鐘，四周才傳來陣陣乾笑聲。當記者追問中，央對六四的態度會否改變時，朱則依然回答道：「差點忘記了。」

●香港大學大批學生重聚太古橋上的字句，紀念六四。(記者黃勁輝攝)



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參加晚會人士不禁熱淚盈眶。



「六四」晚會，小朋友燃起燭光連綿整個維園。



與會者燃點逾萬「六四」責任的大字報。

10周年

四

七萬人悼念

燭光照徹維園

王丹母子越洋對話



七萬名市民，出席維園的「六四」十周年燭光晚會。

連續十年舉行「六四」燭光晚會的維多利亞公園足球 四」十周年回顧錄影帶，重溫當日的歷

Tyrecor 318.519

場，昨晚坐了七萬多名市民，佔滿六個租用的足球場，是自九三年以來，最多人出席「六四」紀念活動的一年。

踏入「六四」十周年，支聯會亦叫出新口號，表示要繼續戰鬥到底，迎接新世紀的來臨，大會又指摘中國政府最近利用南斯拉夫大使館被炸事件，希望激起民族情緒打壓「六四」十周年，以及再次藉口外國勢力插手「六四」，污衊這場十年前的愛國運動。

支聯會主席司徒華說，繼續戰鬥的道路是漫長曲折和崎嶇，支聯會從來沒存幻想，以為民主可以從天而降。他相信，民主是用血和汗、無畏和堅忍去創造；司徒華並呼籲，要好好教育下一代，準備一代一代鬥爭下去，有一日可以平反「六四」。

丁子霖失聯絡

一直表示親來港出席「六四」十周年的前學運領袖王丹，雖然被港府拒絕入境，但透過大會安排，利用長途電話，與司徒華及在北京的母親王凌雲三人對話。

王丹母子第一句話，便是北京家裏

用的電話線都給切斷了，現在只借朋友家的電話打到大會來。王丹說，「六四」最值得紀念的，是為這場運動流了血的犧牲者，王凌雲亦表示，希望這一代年輕人可繼續追求民主和自由，對歷史要有使命感，作為父母，亦要支持子女追求正義。

最後，大家以總有這一天，王丹母子可以來港，一嘗紀念「六四」結束這段三地越洋對話，大會原來亦安排另一位民運死難者母親丁子霖對話，但結果昨日一整天都聯絡不上。

儀式十年如一

燭光晚會昨晚八時左右開始，警方一早亦派駐人手維持秩序，但警方發言人不肯透露到底派了多少警員，表示香港有新聞自由，記者可自行在現場查察。而據記者現場所見，警方派了起碼七架載滿警員的大卡車駐守。

一片燭光亮起，晚會正式開始，首先由義工演出歌劇，重演十年前學生運動的始末。另外，大會又製作一輯「六

更片段。

在支聯會主席司徒華帶領下，各常委一如往年獻花燃點火炬等儀式。並與市民齊唱當年六四的「民主歌曲」，不知是不是一時感觸，當司徒華在唱「血染的風采」時，悲從中來，與另一常委岑建勳相擁而泣。

晚會於十時結束，七萬多人有秩序散去，並無不愉快事件發生，而從港大移往維園豎立的「國殤之柱」，亦於稍後運回港大，結束今次十周年紀念集會。

廿多人續請願

在維園燭光晚會後，一批為數二十多人的隊伍遊行到新華社請願示威，要求平反「六四」。他們在新華社門前掛起「審判屠夫政權」的標語，並在門前上香及默哀，悼念死難同胞，集會一直和平進行，其間並未發生衝突。

另外，澳門民主發展聯委會昨晚八時半在議事亭前地近玫瑰堂地段舉行「六四」燭光集會，大約有四百人參加，同多年來一樣，澳門市政廳將議事亭前地的表演廣場給予大陸少年藝術團作表演，用歌舞昇平淡化「六四」集會氣氛。



■ 蔡平安攝

畫家紅彩當血潑國殤柱

【太陽訊】「我是中國人，我愛中國人，人民的血是我的血。」自稱人民畫家的視覺藝術家鄭安柱，昨日把兩盤紅色水彩，一舉潑向國殤之柱，使黑沉沉的國殤之柱，驟然添上一片血紅，象徵人民不要忘記學生所流的血，代價是被警方帶走，協助調查，至晚上准以一千元保釋，本月二十一日再報到。

「我是一個藝術家，我要用文化藝術的力量替社會做有意義的事情。」鄭安柱說「六四」民運是否獲得平反並不重要，因為歷史不會忘記這件壯烈的事。他指出，最重要的是把當年的反貪污精神繼續下去。

港大生再鬆悼念字句

鄭安柱在潑完紅彩後隨即被警方拘留，協助調查。擺放國殤之柱的支聯會常委李卓人表示，鄭安柱事前並未通知主辦大會，但主辦大會暫時不會處理這宗事件。他個人雖然不反對藝術家自由表達意見，但認為他不應該對第二個藝術家的成品作出破壞。

另外，香港大學學生會昨晨在校園內的太古橋，重新鬆上悼念「六四」事件的字句。自八九年「六四」事件發生後，香港大學學生會在校園內太古橋上，寫上二十個悼念「六四」的字句，並且每年翻新。今年也不例外，學生會代表翻鬆「冷血屠城，烈士英雄不朽，誓殲豺狼，民主星火不滅」二十個大字。



◎港大學生為太古橋上的紀念「六四」字句鬆上白漆翻新。 ■ 鄭寬欣攝

◎畫家鄭安柱潑紅彩的一刻。



Temporary display sought Urbco votes down Pillar of Shame park home

GENEVIEVE KU

An attempt to put the *Pillar of Shame* on permanent display in an Urban Council park was rejected yesterday by one vote.

Democrat Szeto Wah said he would now apply to the Provisional Urban Council for temporary displays in public areas.

"If we really can't find a place for the *Pillar of Shame* after June 4, we may rent a container to store it for the time being," said Mr Szeto, chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China.

Councillors opposing the statue, which commemorates the victims of the June 4 massacre, cited consultants' views that it was of low artistic value.

And Ip Kwok-chung, of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong, said the council should not agree to display objects which were controversial.

Non-affiliated Annie Wu Suk-ching, appointed to the council on July 1 last year, said the June 4 crackdown was not a matter for Hong Kong.

"This incident happened in Beijing and we don't need to focus so much on events happening in Beijing as we are under 'one country, two systems'," she said.

Acting deputy director of the Urban Services Department Tony Ma Kai-long pointed out that a footnote introducing the statue said: "Any place that accepts the statue

consents that it is a city of injustice."

But Democrat Lai Hok-lim said public libraries had books which were anti-Chinese or anti-communist.

Statues should not be banned because of an introductory footnote, he said.

Colleague Chan Kwok-leung accused the administration of political censorship.

"A country as big as China cannot accommodate Wang Dan, Wei Jingsheng, or a little bit of dissent. Now Urbco, which manages so many public areas, doesn't have the capacity to hold the *Pillar of Shame*."

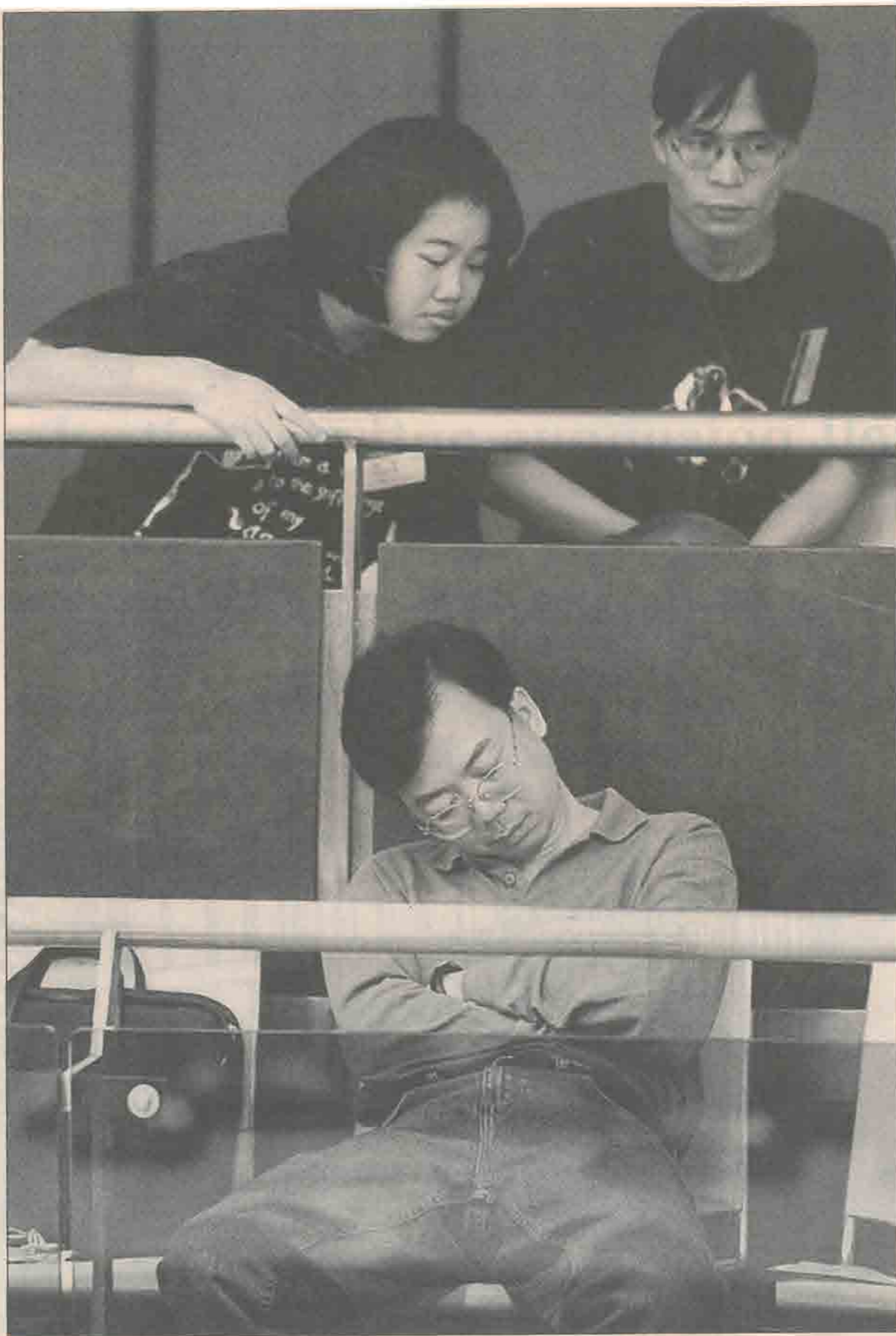
"When Mr Ma asked councillors to take note of the footnote it showed that considerations have been based on political factors," Mr Chan said.

Ada Wong Ying-kay of the Liberal Party, who called for criteria for the display of public art to be determined before deciding on permanent display, abstained.

Mok Ying-fan, from the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood, which supported the display, left before the vote was held.

Eighteen members voted for the motion to approve the display at public areas managed by the council, 19 objected and four abstained.

The Federation of Students protested outside the meeting and said it had collected 2,222 signatures in favour of the public display of the statue.



Tiring debate

Garrige Ho

Federation of Students members check on Democrat Cheung Man-kwong as Urbco debates the *Pillar of Shame* issue.

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臨時市政局一票之差 否決轄下場地永久擺放國殤之柱

臨時市政局昨天以一票之差，否決支聯會申請把國殤之柱永久擺放在臨時市政局轄下的場地。雖然有臨時市政局議員認為，讓國殤之柱永久擺放在臨時市政局轄下的場地，可以代表香港在一國兩制下，有表達自由的胸襟，但有議員及署方均認為，綜合考慮意見，國殤之柱藝術水平不高。處理市政總署副署長（文化）馬啓濃提醒議員注意，國殤之柱資料介紹稱，若某一地方接納這件作品的矗立，便代表默認當

地有不義之事。民主黨議員黎學廉質疑，市政局轄下圖書館內，亦有不少反華、反共書，為何只別人講話便要注意。民建聯議員鍾樹根則反駁，

時放置國殤之柱，並會繼續向臨時市政局申請，改為要求短期在臨時市政局轄下場地擺放。支聯會在去年已向兩個市政局申請在其轄下場地擺放國殤之柱，但被否決，其後由七間大專院校學生會爭取在公園擺放。香港專上學生聯合會昨天發表聲明，指巡迴擺放已到尾聲，而國殤之柱在六月四日後在香港擺放的安排仍未有定案，兩個臨時市政局應無條件讓國殤之柱擺放在公共地方及停止一切政治審查。

「六四」十周年



十年陰陽路，步步驚鬼神。
冤魂何時散？無語問蒼天！

國殤之柱被紅漆淋身誌哀

「這是六四死難者的血！」



國殤之柱象徵一段「血染的歷史」，它屬於大家；自稱人民藝術家的鄭安柱，自以相互作用生活表演藝術之名，用紅油漆意噴灑，立維國殤廣場的國殤之柱。然而，有藝術家對他的行為不以為然。香港藝術中心展覽部總監何慶基指，鄭安柱是誰，本地文化圈中無人識，但日前鄭安柱傳真至各文化機構，指自己是人民代言人，人民畫家。對於鄭採取上述表現形式，何認為不論那一種藝術表現形式，背後有何思維才最重要。他說：「我覺得鄭安柱以破壞人民的符號，去激起人們反思，是個人宣洩情緒的一種方式多過藝術表現。」——記者 曹曉迎

行為藝術 眾說紛紜

(本報記者報道)六十四周年，市民以不同方式紀念這個日子，但一名男子昨天向擺放在維園的國殤之柱潑紅漆，以行動表達對六四的哀悼。雖然該男子稱並非要破壞國殤之柱，但警方指他涉嫌刑事破壞而將他帶走調查。

警指刑事破壞拉人

昨天下午六時左右，一名蓄短髮、戴太陽眼鏡及身穿灰色中山裝的中年男子，帶着兩個盛載紅漆的膠桶走向國殤之柱，行三鞠躬禮。他對圍觀國殤之柱的市民高呼：「這是我血，也是六四死難者的血！」然後以英文重複一遍，便把紅漆潑向國殤之柱。半支國殤之柱被染成紅色，要勞煩支聯會工作人員清理。經清洗，國殤之柱回復本來面目。

該名男子叫鄭安柱，現年三十九歲，自稱是「人民的畫家」。他說他曾留學美國及加拿大，修讀藝術和建築，六四時在北京唸書，但未知他曾否參與民運。

他稱兩桶用水彩開成的紅漆做「血」，當中混了三、四滴他的血，向國殤

之柱「淋血」代表他與六四死難者一同流血。他又說不是想惡意破壞國殤之柱，只希望藉行動表達對六四的感受，提醒大家紀念「六四」。

他認為中國現時仍存在許多不公平的事，如貪污腐敗日益嚴重；不消除貪污，中國便沒有希望。他更說不介意清潔國殤之柱。

該名男子與在場記者談了十分鐘左右，便被兩名警員帶回警署接受調查。

司徒華無意追究責任

支聯會常委李卓人對事件表示遺憾，他說他尊重每個藝術者的創作自由，但該男子不應破壞其他藝術家的創作。

支聯會主席司徒華表示不會追究事件，他認為這是藝術行為，表達行動者的不滿，不算破壞，所以他並不介意。

燭光晚會結束後，國殤之柱將運回香港大學黃克競平台，繼續由港大學生會保存，港大學生會亦將舉行通宵的討論會，反省「六四」十年以來所發生的事。學生把國殤之柱運回港大，並沒有向校方申請。

曾幾何時

深刻。第一次燭光晚會



不想

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心回憶！未敢忘記！

特稿

九年前第一次燭光晚會所拍的一張相，可見當年支聯會的中堅分子，手持蠟燭，穿上「不想回憶，未敢忘記」的黑衣，為當時天安門的學生獻出一切。

六十四周年的今日，翻看舊照，雖然大部分常委仍在支聯會的核心中，但是相中的岑建勳、李柱銘，已經淡出了支聯會。要再重拾相中的情境，似乎沒有可能。

十年人事幾番新，百萬港人上街遊行，此情難復再。八九年帶着四名香港學生，負責運送港人所收集物資到天安門的陳清華，在「民運十年的回顧與前瞻」座談上，憶述當年的險境。

十年人事幾番新

然而，十年後，陳清華感到心痛，那四個學生，有兩個現在已經從商，曾經有傳媒訪問他們，只答：「不想再說，就由歷史去定斷！」陳清華面對兩個親身經歷六四的人，竟然會選擇忘記六四，他不敢相信。

支聯會常委張文光表示，六十四周年是香港人值得驕傲的日子，能夠堅持至今，相當之難得。香港人的執着，是平反六四的起點，而整個中國，只有香港能堅守悼念六四的日子，顯示若有不平事，市民會繼續抗爭下去。

專程由台灣抵港參加悼念活動的前支聯會常委岑建勳表示，氣氛較往年激烈，但最重要是市民不要忘記六四的死難者，繼續為爭取民主而奮鬥。記者 蔡銘邦



十四歲的小關心繫中國。

陳偉能攝

(記者霍曉迎報道)縱使年青一代大都不明六四意義何在，但依然有不少青少年心繫中國！十年前六四的種籽撒落在年紀小小的關梓謙心田。他今年十四歲，唸中二，知道民主對中國來說很重要。「民主在中國，好像我，會一天一天的成長下去。」

儘管發生六四事件的那一年，他僅知道，電視機不時傳來「霹靂啪喇」的聲響，卻又不是電視壞了；但自五年級開始，他父母已告知六四是甚麼，民主是「乜東東」，加上他就讀的大埔聖公會莫壽增會督中學，日前因應悼念六四，給全校學生播放有關新聞片段，昨天，他由母親陪同，下午五時許已到維園足球場席地而坐，悼念六十四周年。

「我有看王丹的新聞，但無翻閱他的專欄文章。我怕太深，不懂。如果他來港，便可找他簽名和拍照，還有，要跟他握手。」小關指，若十年前，他也是北京學生的一分子，亦會參加當年天安門廣場的絕食行動，為爭取民主。

談到支聯會，提及華叔，小關感到中國政府不大理會他們，但仍做這麼多爭取民主的事情，正正因為民主是要追求下去；他說：「我長大後，都會參加民運組織，做同樣的事。為要明白歷史多一點，唸大學之時，我會選擇文、史、哲的科目。」

民主在中國會一天天成長



血染的風采

鄭安柱以紅漆潑國殤之柱，以表達對六四的哀悼。

郭紫珊攝



路漫漫

香港大學學生會廿多名學生，昨早在校園的太古堂行人路上，以白漆重新漆上八九年前師兄們留下的紀念「六四」標語。校方在事件中並無干預。十年前的「六四」翌日凌晨，港大太古堂有宿生在俗稱「太古橋」的行人路上，以白漆漆上標語「冷血屠城，烈士英魂不朽，誓殲豺狼，民主星火不滅」。此後每年「六四」均有港大學生為褪色的標語重掃白漆，直至九六年校方突然以學生會沒作正式申請為由擦去標語。此事引起學生會極大反感，每年都派人重新上漆。

文：黃雅麗 圖：黃偉強

花絮

萬人聚會 盛況空前

★「六四」十周年燭光晚會，不再單是港人的晚會，也是國際性盛事，昨晚的萬人聚會中，有不少「座上客」均是外國人，數目明顯較去年增多，他們雖聽不懂廣東話，但都被現場氣氛所感染。與此同時，採訪的外國傳媒亦明顯較過去鼎盛，鬧烘烘的採訪氣氛有如回到九七回歸時的盛況。

闔家同往 有憂有嬉

★不少的家庭都帶同子女參加燭光晚會，希望子女能了解「六四」這段血寫的歷史。然而，子女總是「不爭氣」居多，在父母拿着蠟燭唱着歌，悼念六四的亡魂時，小孩們則流露天真愛玩的性格，一齊在大人身邊追逐玩樂，傳出陣陣嬉笑聲，砌出一幅「有人歡笑有人愁」的畫面。

聲浪轟炸 頭痛不已

★維園已成為每年港人悼念六四的場地，不過亦有人為此「頭痛不已」。支聯會主席司徒華昨晨出席一個電台節目訪問時，便有一位居於維園附近的居民投訴，他指出每年的晚會期間均受到巨大聲浪「轟炸」，關上所有窗戶也毫無幫助，他希望支聯會能體恤居民苦況，找出解決辦法。

表達感受 心願足矣

★有七、八名十多歲學生背上花園，花園上掛上寫有「鎮壓民運」、「要求李鵬、江澤民下台」等字句的黑布條，他們不斷在會場中走來走去，並表示這樣做並無特別原因，只是表達感受而已。

國殤之柱 再顯神威

★民主女神像及國殤之柱，近年都因為政治氣氛而甚少可以「挺起腰站起來」，因此昨日在維園豎立後便成為「主角」，很多市民及路經維園的遊客，都紛紛拍照留念，甚至在晚會過後，參加者仍在黑麻麻環境下留倩影，其熱情猶如歌迷影迷般。

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國殤紅柱

●「六四」十周年維園集會，有自稱藝術家者向「國殤之柱」潑紅漆，潑漆人說：「國殤之柱應該是紅色的，紅色代表人民的血和他自己的血。」

說得對！十年前的天安門廣場，早就應該改名為「紅場」。

「I am the people, the blood is my blood」鄭安柱在昨日傍晚時份，帶同兩桶紅油到維園，桶上寫上「人民的血」的字句，他向「國殤之柱」鞠躬後，隨即大呼：「人民的血，也是我的血！」並將紅油直潑向柱身，在場並沒有人阻止，該名男子又再將另一桶紅油潑去，結果令柱身下半截被染紅。

自稱是藝術家的鄭安柱，事後對記者表示

支聯會常委李卓人回應稱，他並不反對每個人有其創作自由，但却不認同將個人的創作去破壞別人的創作，對於另一個藝術家的創作是應該加以尊重。

向「國殤之柱」淋潑紅油的藝術家鄭安柱，於九七年回歸前，曾向藝術發展局申請資助以舉辦一項回歸展覽，但遭拒絕，他其後於四月份入稟法庭，向藝展局追討一億元賠償。

■本報記者 王明瑜

苦無立錐地 昨遭淋紅油 國殤之柱「命途多舛」

藝術家「命途多舛」

「國殤之柱」，再逢不幸。自稱藝術家的鄭安柱，昨日在六四燭光晚會開始前，向「國殤之柱」淋潑紅油，柱身下半截全被染紅，他事後被警方帶走，支聯會對事件表示遺憾。

命途多舛的雕塑「國殤之柱」，只是希望藉行動表達對「六四」的感覺，說畢便被警方帶走。

不應破壞別人創作

支聯會常委李卓人回應稱，他並不反對每個人有其創作自由，但却不認同將個人的創作去破壞別人的創作，對於另一個藝術家的創作是應該加以尊重。

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六四「塗漆」



▲國殤之柱被潑紅油後，更覺觸目。(王嘉昌攝)



▲有父母帶同子女參加，但六四事件對他們來說，可能只是書本上的歷史。

(王嘉昌攝)



▶一名市民向民主烈士紀念碑叩頭。(王嘉昌攝)

六·四10周年

新聞界

燭光不滅

總理已忘記 港人不放棄

七萬市民悼念六四



大約七萬名市民參加在維多利亞公園舉行的「六四」十周年燭光悼念晚會

(張木喜攝)

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新論

jiangxiaojie@hotmail.com

記着慘痛歷史，開創美好將來

昨天是「六四」十周年的紀念日，強烈要求平反「六四」的人認為，忘記歷史的民族，是不會強大的。這句話任何人也得不得不完全同意，但是另一方面，我們也得補充一句：死抱着歷史，活在過去的民族，也不會強大。相信也不會有反對這句話的。

是的，十年過去了，這十年來，邪惡帝國蘇聯瓦解了，美國變成了世界唯一的霸權，鄧小平死了，中國和美國先是在「六四」後化為友敵，漸漸又化為敵友，現在又變回了敵人。而中國內部從經濟乃至人民的思維，也出現了極大的變化。

轉軌無罪 改變有理

因為現在是過去的延續，所以我們要記得歷史，因為世事常變，現在必然不會相同。

於過去，所以我們也不能死抱歷史，記着過去的錯，以達到將來的成功，才是正確的態度。

正因如此，隨着時間的過去，一些人的思想有了轉變，也是絕不出奇的事。如果十年如一日，才值得奇怪。曾鈺成、程介南、馮華健被指搞轉軌，叫人從中資銀行提走款項的陳文鴻更成為眾矢之的。然而回心一想，轉軌有何值得非議之處？軌的設計，本來就是用來轉的，如果死不轉軌，車子不是撞山，便是飛下懸崖，車毀人亡。正如梁啟超所說：「不惜以今日之我，打到昨日之我。」政壇老將司徒華本來是左派分子，魏京生本來是紅衛兵中最左最兇狠的聯動分子，他們不轉軌，又哪裏有今日的成就？只要是真心誠意的擁護自己的想法，轉軌並不可恥。

未敢忘記

昨日是八九民運、六四事件「十周年」，國務院總理朱鎔基昨在北京公開表示「我都忘記了（六四）」；而香港的支聯會昨晚則舉行燭光悼念晚會，共吸引七萬市民參加，大會呼籲眾人今後繼續毋忘六四，直至事件得到平反為止。

曾公開表明中央不會改變「六四事件」結論的朱鎔基昨在北京接見訪京的財政司司長曾蔭權時，被記者問及中央怎安撫六四死難者家屬時，朱隨即稱：「謝謝你提醒我，我都忘記了。」然後就不願再作正面回應。

而支聯會在維園舉辦的燭光晚會，則吸引了逾七萬名市民參加，這是九二年以來人數最多的一次，並坐滿了維園六個足球場。支聯會主席司徒華對逾七萬人參加今晚會表鼓舞，並認為港人對民主運動訴求是「人心所向」。晚會準時在八時開始，一幕描寫胡耀邦身故後六四演變過程的話劇，為晚會揭開序幕，接著是一幕幕八九年六月四日血腥鎮壓片段。

市民默哀紀念烈士

支聯會主席司徒華率領一眾常委向民主烈士碑獻過花圈，隨即上台燃點起寓意民主希望的熊熊火炬。司徒華致悼詞時強調追求民主運動須以血以汗，無畏及堅忍維持下去，隨後帶領市民高喊「平反八九民運」、「毋忘六四」、「結束一黨專政」等口號。然後，一眾市民默哀一分鐘，為十年前的死難者致哀。

而大會安排因「六四」現今分離的王丹及王

凌雲兩母子，與司徒華三人一齊透過電話對話，掀起了整個晚會的高潮，場面感人。司徒華讚賞王凌雲是好媽媽，教出王丹這個好孩子；而王凌雲則向王丹訴說近日家中電話全被切斷情況，司徒華則寄語兩母子可早日重逢及生活在一起。

不獲平反誓不罷休

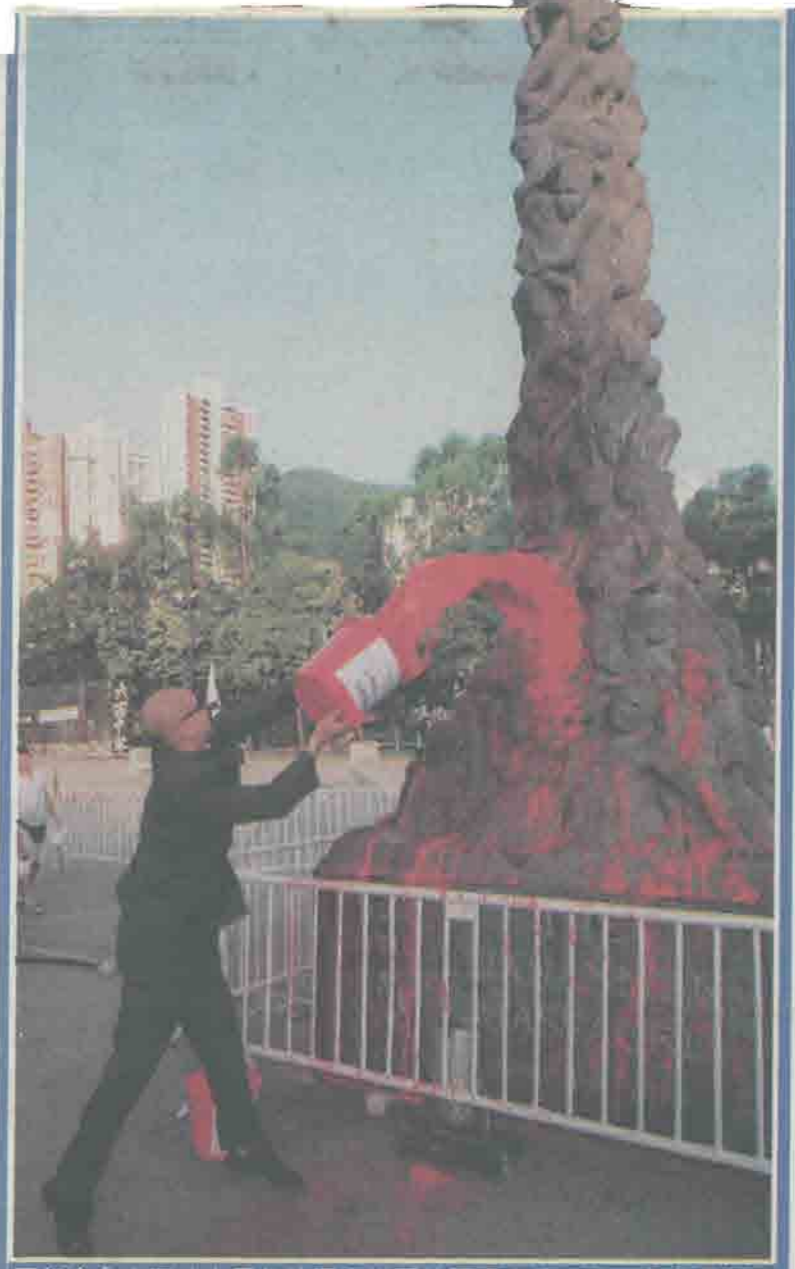
司徒華在通話完畢後，指自己未能聯絡身在北京的丁子霖，感到非常遺憾，言談間又說到王丹兩母子分離，自己又擔心丁及其他死難者家屬的人身安全，一時感觸灑下男兒淚來，在旁的岑建勳亦不禁哭起來，在台上與司徒華抱頭痛哭，台下不少市民亦受感染，為這場八九民運的命運默默流淚。

最後，在晚會結束前，支聯會帶領群眾高歌民運歌曲，並表示八九民運一日未平反，支聯會每年都會舉辦悼念晚會，昨日過後，二〇〇〇年再見。

晚會結束後，港大學生獲校方接納，把擺放在場內的國殤之柱搬返港大黃克競大樓平台，校方表明長期擺放國殤之柱，須得到校方批准才可。四五行動十多名成員於晚會結束後，遊行至新華社請願，他們逗留了一會便和平散去。

本報記者報道

1999年	70,000人
1998年	40,000人
1997年	55,000人
1996年	45,000人
1995年	30,000人
1994年	40,000人
1993年	40,000人
1992年	80,000人
1991年	100,000人
1990年	150,000人



紀念「六四」十周年放區在維園的國殤之柱，連一名自稱行為藝術家的人潑上紅油。

國殤之柱遭潑紅油 行為藝術家自稱表達感受

「本報消息」昨日是「六四」十周年的大日子，支聯會在維園舉行大型燭光晚會悼念六四死難者，集會未開始之際，卻來了一名不速之客，令國殤之柱「染血」。

支聯會對此表遺憾

昨日傍晚六時許，一名穿中山裝，架上墨鏡自稱是行為藝術家的光頭男子逕自拿來兩桶紅油，向放區會場內的國殤之柱，一句「人民的血也是我」後便向國殤之柱潑上紅油，他向記者指自己舉動不是惡意破壞，只是表達感受。但支聯會對這舉動則表遺憾，指稱不反對人有創作自由，但不可破壞丹麥藝術家國殤之柱的創作，而支聯會決定不會對此追究。警方事後把這名男子帶往警署扣留調查。



十年前的「六四」慘劇，這名男童尚未出世，在悼念這個日子時手持燭光，天真的眼神流露哀傷的神情。（何天成攝）



連續十年參加六、四集會的張伯沉痛地表示，要使他來的是內心那忘不掉的記憶。已經六十七歲的他說，當年的慘劇至今仍浮現在眼前。他認為中國近年並沒有邁向民主的跡象，故此他每年都來，風雨不改的來，為的是希望中國早日實現民主。



維園舉行「六四」十周年燭光悼念會。

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支聯會續搞燭光晚會

【商報訊】支聯會昨晚在維多利亞公園舉行六四事件十周年燭光晚會。支聯會聲稱有七萬人參加晚會，但警方則未有透露他們估計的人數有多少。但據過去經驗，警方的統計，大約為支聯會公布人數的不足一半。

另外，在昨日下午六時左右，一名男子手挽兩桶紅漆油，在擺放在維園「國殤之柱」前高呼幾句口號後，隨即將兩桶紅漆油潑向該柱，將其下半截淋成紅色一片。警員其後接報到場，將該名男子帶返警署調查。

該名男子聲稱是「行為藝術家」，表示潑紅漆油行動是藝術表現。

國殤之柱豎港大校園

學生未辦申請 校方深表遺憾

【本報訊】香港大學學生會昨日將國殤之柱豎立在大學黃克競平台，學生會決定不會就永久擺放該雕塑向校方提出申請。校方對事件深表遺憾，促請學生會與校方恢復對話及盡快補辦擺放申請。大學保留採取任何適當行動移走雕塑的權利。

平台範圍暫封閉

校方批評學生會在颶風瑪姬逼近時在平台豎立雕塑不顧而去，是不負責任行為，為策安全，校方已將平台範圍暫時封閉。在未獲校方許可下，校方不會對此行為引致的事件負責。

香港大學外務處處長陳鈞潤昨日強調校方對國殤之柱在校內豎立完全沒有既定立場，校方支持學生發表演論自由，但亦要維持法治，必經申請才能擺放。學生會只在去年提交非正式申請，校方從未接獲學生會正式申請信。上星期四即六四前夕，校方與學生會開會，重提申請事宜，並提出有限期展覽方案，大學對學生會豎立雕塑前未有先行回覆校方的行為深表遺憾。

港大學生會會長陳敬慈回覆本報查詢時表示，前日已去信校長要求確保國殤之柱可永久在校園豎立，及校方就九六年刷去寫在太古橋上的六四屠城標語道歉，學生會才會提交豎立國殤之柱申請。

不會將紅漆洗去

陳敬慈稱國殤之柱已買了保險，日後學生會亦會在柱旁加設圍欄。他又表示不會將淋在國殤之柱上的紅漆洗去，紅漆豐富了雕塑的意義可以接受。支聯會主席司徒華昨日在電台節目中表示，六四事件可能要二十、三十年後才獲得平反，他認為



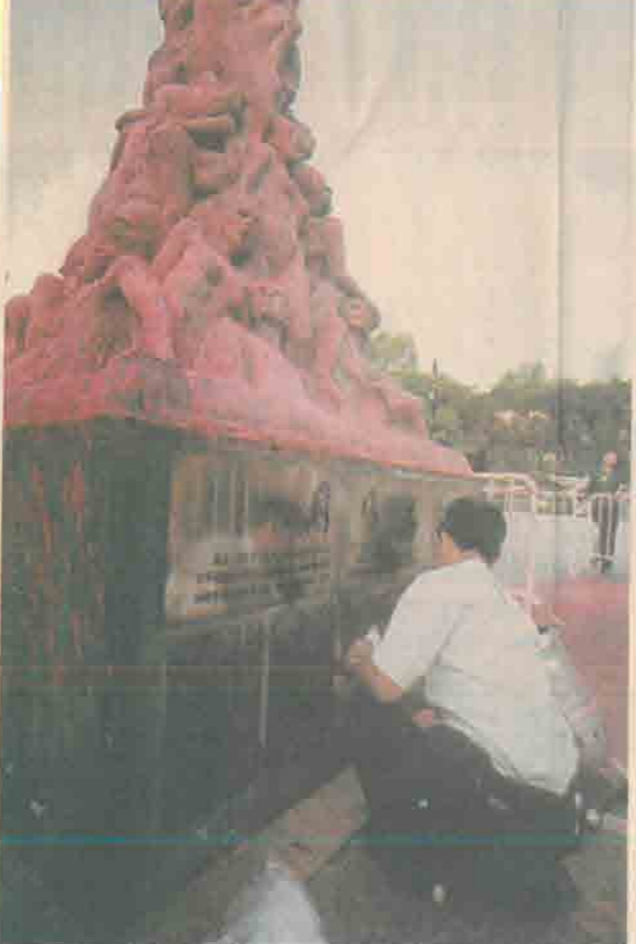
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國殤之柱遭「人民畫家」潑紅色液體

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「六四」晚會昨舉行「泥柱」曾被潑紅漆
【本報訊】「支聯會」昨晚在維多利亞公園舉行「六四」十周年燭光晚會，警方不肯估計出席人數，但主辦單位則指有約七萬人參加。晚會的內容包括歌劇、回顧十周年錄影帶、獻花、致詞等。大會發言人表示，「支聯會」戰鬥了整整十年，已做好準備再戰鬥十年、二十年，一直戰鬥下去云云。
而在會前，「支聯會」擺放在維園的「國殤之柱」，被一名三十九歲的男子，淋潑紅色顏料，隨即被警方帶走，而「支聯會」表示對該名男子的行動暫不追究，但會考慮稍後採取法律行動。
又訊：對於王丹在美國指稱長榮航空公司取消紀念活動，使他無法前往澳門參加「六四」十周年紀念活動，長榮航空公司昨日發表聲明，表示對於有關指稱「感到非常驚訝，並且鄭重否認該不實傳聞」。
該公司指出，「自五月中旬接獲該旅客訂位後，即按照一般正常旅客作業方式處理，該訂位記錄至目前皆為確認之機位，旅客並已開立機票，如果旅遊證件齊全，王君將可如同一般旅客，依其預定行程出發，電腦紀錄上並無任何被取消訂位之情況。」

香港大學學生會決定在未取得校方同意下，將紀念六四的雕塑國殤之柱永久豎立於港大校園內。
港大學生會會長陳敬慈表示，學生會較早前已透過全民大會通過「接收」國殤之柱，但校方多次拖延他們的申請，所以他們決定強行將它豎立。
另外，在運走前豎立於維園球場中央的國殤之柱，昨午被一名自稱為「人民的畫家」的中年男子淋上紅色液體，他

之後主動與記者交談，其後被警方帶走，昨晚獲保釋外出。
該名男子名鄭安柱，他說這次行動是一種行為藝術，紅色液體代表了人民的鮮血，他表示加了自己的鮮血在內。

國殤之柱昨晚於維園展出後，在約二百名學生及市民陪同下運往港大校園，期間並沒有遇到阻礙，但由於技術問題，昨晚只能橫放在校園內。
「國殤之柱」日前由港大移送往銅鑼灣維園擺放，以配合支聯會昨晚舉行的六四事件十周年紀念晚會，但昨日傍晚六時許，一名光頭及身穿中山裝的「黑超」男子掩至，他手持兩桶紅漆油在「國殤之柱」前高喊：「這不是漆油，這混了我的血，我是來悼念六四的。」說罷，即把紅漆油潑向「國殤之柱」，在旁圍觀者紛紛走避。
事後他被在場警方制服，但仍高喊：「我是來悼念同胞的，這（紅漆）就是同胞的血。」經警方調查後，該名男子鄭安柱，三十九歲，他自稱是一名人民畫家，稍後相信會遭警方落案控以刑事毀壞罪。
經過這名藝術家的破壞，「國殤之柱」由中段至基座被染成通紅，支聯會工作人員隨即上前清洗基座上寫有悼念六四字句，及雕塑作者姓名的銅牌。
支聯會常委李卓人表示，「國殤之柱」遭人刑毀，令人感到非常遺憾，因為無論如何悼念六四事件，也要用和平的手段，雖然進行破壞的男子自稱是藝術家，但也絕不應以自己的藝術去破壞別人的藝術。
支聯會方面，暫時未決定如何維修「國殤之柱」。

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藝術家所為 李卓人表遺憾

國殤之柱被潑紅漆

日以兩種名稱混有自己鮮血的紅漆潑向「國殤之柱」，以悼念六四事件死難同胞。他旋即被在場警員拘捕，稍後相信會被控以刑事毀壞罪名。
「國殤之柱」日前由港大移送往銅鑼灣維園擺放，以配合支聯會昨晚舉行的六四事件十周年紀念晚會，但昨日傍晚六時許，一名光頭及身穿中山裝的「黑超」男子掩至，他手持兩桶紅漆油在「國殤之柱」前高喊：「這不是漆油，這混了我的血，我是來悼念六四的。」說罷，即把紅漆油潑向「國殤之柱」，在旁圍觀者紛紛走避。
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支聯會方面，暫時未決定如何維修「國殤之柱」。

Tyreco, PP, 318,519

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井水集

香港大學校方昨日發表聲明，對學生會未經申請、批准便強行將所謂「國殤之柱」擺放在校內平台的「無禮行動」深表遺憾和驚訝。

港大校方此舉絕對有必要。作為大學管理當局，如果對一些公然蔑視校規、而且明顯帶有政治色彩的偏激行為不予及時批評及制止，而是聽之任之，則不但校方威信蕩然，而且會嚴重損害大學作為學術機構的嚴肅形象，後果嚴重。

少數把持港大學生會的學生，聲稱擺放「國殤之柱」是港大師生「全民投票」的決定，因此無須向校方作出申請；又指申請是「政治審查」，還要校方就日前清洗校內「六四屠城」標語向學生會「道歉」。

港大學生會這種橫暴、狂妄的態度，令人吃驚。首先，所謂「全民投票」，港大師生員工有萬多二萬人，「全民投票」到底有多少人投了票？就算有幾百人投票贊成擺放，其他而且是絕大部分未投票的師生，他們的意願就不需要考慮、尊重？他們是否同意把這麼一支醜惡、侮辱中國人的政治宣傳品擺放在大學校園，同意把大學變成一個政治場所，把港大變成

港大不可變「六四基地」

關照

「六四活動基地」？學生會聲稱「全民投票」決定擺放，是對全體港大師生員工政治立場和意願的最大歪曲。對此，廣大師生員工不能保持沉默，應該站出來反對學生會這種「亂竊民意」的做法。

此外，港大學生會的所謂「全民投票」決定擺放，亦是一種法理上的歪曲。香港大學不是政黨團體，而是公帑支持的學府，一切舉措均要通過嚴謹的校規、程序去決定，校董會、校長就是最高的決策者，而不是什麼「全民投票」，由少數人去搞這些民意花招來決定。學生會喜歡可以在他們的幹事會內天天搞「全民投票」，但在大學校園內公然擺放物品，而且具有強烈色彩的政治宣傳品，絕不可以由少數人任意妄為，視校方、校規如無物。

「六四」事件已過去十年。今天的中國，外有霸權「軟硬」威脅，內有大量經濟民生、民主法治的工作需要從正面去建設。再糾纏於十年前的事，於事無補、於國無益。有清醒頭腦和責任感的中國人包括港人今日都不應再去作一些徒令外國反華勢力高興的事。大專學生在納稅人支持下求學，當前國家、特區面對的困難都亟需要知識、科技的投入與貢獻。少數大學生熱中於無聊的政治把戲，令人失望。

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時事評論員 王



藝術品變成政治家手中工具。

這幾年，在「六四」的活動上，來了一件本來與「六四」毫無關係的東西，就是那條本來叫作羞恥之柱、支聯會將之稱為國殤之柱的藝術品。

這件東西，藝術水平其實談不上怎樣高，創作上更複製了數十件，分別送給不同的國家及地區，接受者自認國家違反人權，不接受者默認心中有一樣鬼，一樣違反人權。

於是這件東西就像天上的雲一樣，你以甚麼心情看就會聯想出甚麼，到了政治家手中，就更加花樣百出，一件在「六四」事件發生後七年才生產出來的東西，成為香港紀念「六四」活動的重要圖騰。幾年來支聯會每年迎送之下，煞有介事，這還只是一件複製品！是不是有點黑色幽默？

兩年前，這條柱先為市政局帶來風波，之後巡迴於七大院校。

只是，一波三折，有理不敢說，有民主決定不敢認，不得不和稀泥的情況下，不留不留還是留下了，不知留到何年，何月，何時。

這條柱不但反映了港大官僚的恥，亦反映了支聯會只知搞悼念，不敢與專政者正面對抗之恥，反映了港人對「六四」只知悲情悼念，對民主的追求十年來全無行動之恥。說國殤之柱嘲諷了專政者？筆者倒不怎樣覺得。

不留不留還得留下

其他院校不敢造次，這條柱得以順利巡迴展出，一年後再在風雨之夜回到維園，藝術品成了政治家的工具，成了維繫港人回憶「六四」的祭品，甚而上升為悲情的寄託。

之後，這件複製品無處容身，藝術家恐怕也沒有想到這件東西有如此魔力，其他的複製品早已不知身在何處。作者本來建議將之長埋地下，但政治家不肯，沒有了柱，沒有圖騰，「六四」怎麼辦？這條柱的歷史任務愈來愈大，放在貨倉一年之後，這條柱又來了。

那港，香港大學前日已經有全民投票，決定這柱要永久樹立。但校方不肯，以官僚手法拖拖拉拉，學生利用「六四」之夜的悲憤氣氛，這根柱在校方吸取教訓不敢阻擋的情況下，順利「永久」樹立於港大校園。至於是否每年都要搬到維園一次為政治服務，已是後話。

校方聲明，指備學生不負責任，「保留」移走這條柱的權利云云。校長鄭耀忠的政治手段也算高明，被迫接柱，對港府對中央都好交代，留柱證明港大還是眾大學的老大哥，能夠留人所不留也。

港大責學生擅豎國殤柱

指罔顧颱風逼近是不負責任



學校風雲

（記者劉美顏報道）就國殤之柱的豎立問題，港大學生會及校方再起爭端。港大學生會會長陳敬慈回應稱，黃克競平台向來是學生的活動空間，加之學生全民投票亦顯示大部分同學同意將國殤之柱在校內豎立，故該雕塑有充分理據豎立該平台之上，他批評校方不准豎立雕塑是政治審查。

另學生會對物業處將國殤之柱封上圍欄表示歡迎，但他否認學生會不負責任將該柱隨意擺放，因不管理風來臨與否，學生會也會留意安全措施。

陳同學補充，學生會於六月四日已正式書面去信正副校長鄭耀宗及黃紹倫等，提出要校方確保保留太古橋「六四」屠城標語及就九六年清洗上述標語的行動作出道歉。他指出學生會申請漆上六四屠城標語已有三年，其間校內民意調查結果亦支持學生會決定，但校方卻未有理會，故校方不作上述兩項妥協，學生會對校方產生信心，也不會就豎立國殤之柱而提出申請。

大學生會於日前六四周年燭光晚會後，將該雕塑運返校內黃克競平台，並有意永久豎立，但昨日港大校方作出遺憾聲明，譴責學生會在颱風逼近之時任由雕塑豎立，是不負責任行為，另此舉亦未經校方批准，故保留移走國殤之柱的權利；學生會則表示要校方作出兩項妥協方會考慮提出正式申請。

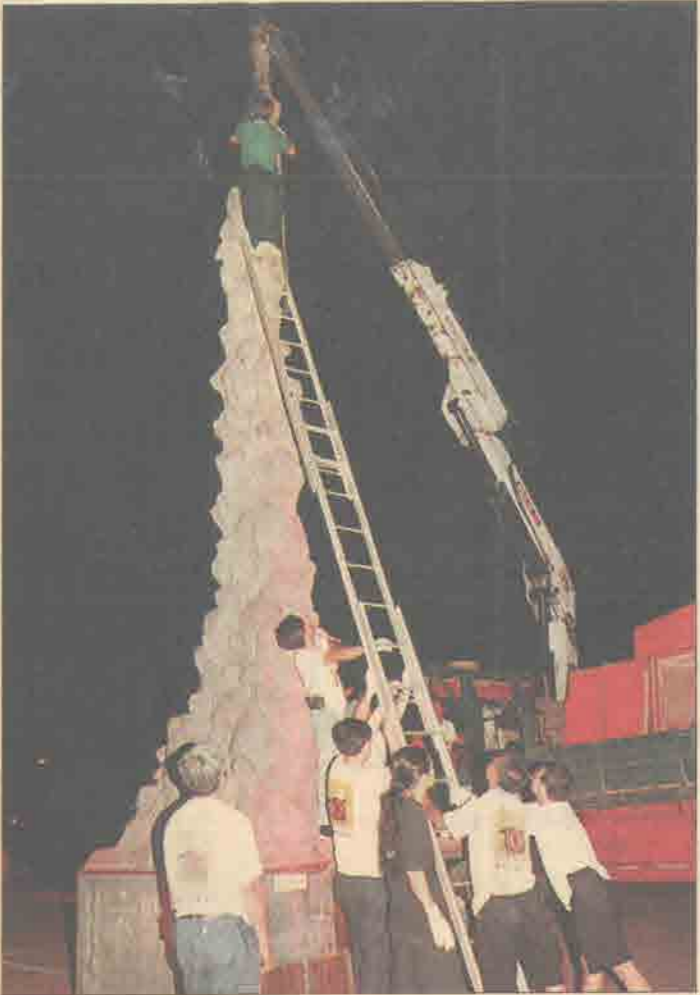
國殤之柱早前一直橫放於港大黃克競平台，其後該校學生決定於前晚維園燭光晚會結束後，把該雕塑重新運返港大，並永久豎立在黃克競平台上。昨日上午十一時許，大學物業處聯絡學生會幹事，指因颱風關係，可協助學生會將國殤之柱圍欄，並將之封閉。

未經申請 校方遺憾

此外，校方昨日下午發出聲明，指學生會未經校方許可下豎立該雕塑，加之颱風逼近之時任由雕塑豎立於平台於不願，是不負責任行為，故深表遺憾。校方又希望學生會與校方恢復對話及盡快補辦申請及保

不滿清洗太古橋標語

校方與學生會爭端源於九七年六四維園紀念集會後，學生會決定把國殤之柱運往港大，當時遭校方阻撓。事件導致五百多位學生及市民到場增援的警察



搬返港大

國殤之柱前晚在六四周年燭光晚會舉行後，運返港大黃克競平台豎立。

資料圖片

關於公共藝術的幾點沉思

粗略地看，公共藝術是指陳置於公共空間的藝術，所以在談論公共藝術之前，最好先釐清什麼是公共空間。明顯地，一個家庭的生活空間和一個城市的廣場十分不同——前者的成員以血緣關係維繫對方，互相認識，而空間的使用者也僅限於固定的成員；城市空間相對地公開，沒關係的成員可以自由進出。由此看去，教堂、圍村、學校以至辦公室這類空間究竟屬公共屬私人？要決定某種空間的公共程度，我認為主要取決於兩點：一) 成員的流動性；二) 成員的多寡。首先，當空間成員的流動性大，成員間的共通點愈少，空間為了容納較大差異性而趨於中性。其次，同樣道理，當空間成員眾多，空間成員的同質性亦會因變數的增大而減少。以上的看法是假設空間成員擁有自由意志、自由行動和來自多元化社會而推想的。由此看來，納粹時期的德國或文革時期的中國算是私人空間還是公共空

間？按前所述，較能容許異質性存在的便是公共空間，傾向同質性文化的空間便是私人空間。故此，公共空間和私人空間僅為一種相對的關係。從文化的角度看空間，幾乎沒有空間是絕對公共的。

從一般公眾對公共空間的理解來看，沒有鎖上或不能鎖上的都算是公共空間，由於不同的人可以自由進出，所以它必須在文化上相對地中性。然而，這種「中性」的空間文化其實也由當地活動的人士的意識形態、道德標準、歷史以至信念所構成，所以亦具相對的排他性。公共藝術所引起的爭論，例如早前的「新人」事件、雕塑作品《國殤之柱》、以至新近引起命名爭論的《翔翔的法國人》等都是空間文化和作品意涵衝突的例子。

如果現代藝術是個人主義的產品的話，藝術和公共空間之間實際上是個別性和普遍性的對立。藝術家或公眾之間總有一方退讓，從藝術家的角度來看，藝術品標識着文化和文明的成就。好的藝術品應具原創性，所以即使一般群眾不全然明白。藝術也有着教育和帶領民眾品味的意味；有時為維護創作的自由與尊嚴，大眾亦應盡量接受即使具挑釁性的藝術品。可是，大部分人會認為公共藝術不過是一種裝飾，它的基本功能是美化環境，進一步而言，它也能標識着該地的文化特徵和期望。因此，當兩種條件都符合的話，我們不難預見成品將會類似一種立體商標的設計。以香港的投機文化而言，我們不難發現很多以「8」字為基本形狀的雕塑。

九龍公園的雕塑廊是一個在商業委約模式中維護創作獨立的例子。但仍不免有一種隔離意味——當藝術家的創意的獨立性受到保護，群眾的既有價值也受到保護；但當藝術不能直接介入社區，我們不禁要問為什麼需要公共藝術？為什麼不索性把藝術關在家中？

舉一個例子，一八八四年卡萊(Calais)市長欲委約羅丹製作一座卡萊市英雄 Eustache de Saint-Pierre 的雕像，但經羅丹查核發生於十四世紀的個案中，其中英雄不只一位，而是六位。羅丹花了很多努力去說服市長來促成心中的形象，事件到了評審委員會手中，又曾因設計中的人物表情過於悲慘，不符合評審員心中的英雄形象而遭阻力，最後亦因財政困難而遭擱置。十年後，《卡萊市民》才正式重見天日，成為羅丹最重要的公共雕塑作品之一。

公共藝術向來都不是自然而然的事，個案的成功不在於一開始時的妥協，如藝術家妥協，只會出現一座實際上由客戶設計的立體「商標」。公共藝術的意義其實是藝術家和公眾互動的結果，負責任的藝術家努力在權權制肘中找尋創作的空間——羅丹的例子說明了市長與評審團不過要一種簡單方便即食的形象來標識城市之光——一個英雄形象可能最簡單不過。羅丹卻堅持化一為六，並暗示光榮須從苦難中獲得——當市民接受並認同此一雕像，他們實際上已上了寶貴的一課。我常奇怪，羅浮宮的金字塔入口、西班牙的古根漢美術館，橫看豎看都和週遭古樸建築格格不入，甚至有點兀突，可是，當我想到那裏的市民因此而擴展了寬容度和想象力；世界上的其他人亦因此符號而開拓了新的視野，我想，這就是公共藝術的力量了。

公共藝術在香港，正處於起步階段，私人機構的委約創作仍離不開實用主義的藩籬，大多是商標式設計或無傷大雅的裝飾功能。真正能鼓動公共藝術風氣的，政府恐怕還是最大的贊助人，她現時所做的角色有二：一) 鼓勵及發掘藝術家參與公共文化建設；二) 鼓勵公眾接觸文化藝術。如前所述，藝術家和公眾對公共藝術的期望有異，要符合兩者利益而又公平省事的便是由藝術家們提交建議，再由公眾代表進行遴選。這種情況在文化藝術上較開明成熟的地區還不致太差，因為藝術家和公眾之意見距離不致太遠。反觀香港，藝術和社會基本上脫節的情況下，大眾能有多大耐性和同情去看他們所不了解的作品頗成疑問。

以香港的特殊情況而言，具經驗的公共藝術

製作人並不多，他們在類型和風格上都往往顯得保守，其實這種情況源自構成這種專業的工作方式——他們大多懂得從實際環境和技術來考慮作品，但亦往往缺乏靈活的想象。

從委約人的角度而言，「專業」的公共藝術工作者省卻了他們的憂慮（例如安全問題、耐久性和文化衝突），但亦無可避免地接受一拼而來的種種限制——雙方省事而結果因循。在此，我必須申明我並不抹殺這類型藝術家的貢獻，只是希望指出，這種工作方式和合作關係已行之有年，並開始建立某種不經意的排他性。

展望將來的公共藝術政策，可考慮於多元化和深度化兩種方向來進行：首先，擴闊公共藝術的定義。長期以來，一談起公共藝術即令人想起以耐久性物料製作而陳置於戶外的大型藝術品，它經常以雕塑和壁畫的形式出現。隨着藝術媒介定義的擴闊，我們應引入更多可在公共地方發生的媒體，甚至不必要求它的永久性，例如短期有階段性的裝置作品，一如櫥窗裝飾，可按時替換，規模可大可小。在空間方面，作品所安放的空間也不一定是一種專供展示用的空間，例如不妨礙日常活動的空間——事實上，藝術是可以介入日常的活動，改變人們對日常生活的慣性感受。這亦正是公共藝術的目的，設想一條以藝術角度來設計而又具實用功能的樓梯，換作一件可遠觀不可褻瀆的藝術品，何者會帶來更真切的感受？當然，如此一來，平時慣用那種委約方式看來要滲入某種彈性了。

要加強製作作品過程的深度，如傳統的比賽方式進行實在難以推展。如果我們先認同某一藝術家的水平，給予某種財政上的限制和監察，然後讓他多方搜集資料，他的方案必定可更具彈性和深度，因為至少不須面對比賽對作品的一種無形規範和壓力，例如根據評審和空間成員的背景而揣摩其品味，以及傾向將精力放在視覺吸引力上。

近年香港政府對文化建設的投資不算少，無論在硬件或軟件都和過去不可同日而語，然而，能真正投入創作和消費的藝術家和公眾卻不成比例；在這種情況下，推動公共藝術實在是改善這種情況的上佳契機——藝術進入公共空間除了可引起公眾興趣，增加來自民間的投資和消費外；公共藝術在技術上的嚴格要求亦可催生專業藝術家，在市場的支持下，全職藝術家也變成可能。公共藝術作為整個藝術生態環境的重要一環不可或免。

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紅油再現
繼潘星磊之後，又有藝術家出動淋紅油呢招。6月4日下午5點，藝術家鄺安柱在維園集會場地用兩桶紅油淋向《國殤之柱》，隨即被警方帶走。有人報料他就是前一陣子狀告藝展局，又四圍出信聲討謝俊興、林漢堅，還要搞「反貪污反腐敗藝展」的那位仁兄。據知鄺安柱曾在美國住過一段日子，九七前回港想搞「回歸藝展」，請董建華主持開幕不果。最近搖身一變，在新聞稿上自稱「人民的畫家」，「緊急地邀請」新聞界在六四當日晚上8點去看他的「生活表演藝術」，以參與「歷史的見證」云云。怎料他提前3小時發功，記者們紛紛為無緣見證歷史扼腕。不過同行說起，都覺得他淋油時那句「人民的血也是我的血」好型，有耶穌嘅感覺。

事後，支聯會的李卓仁表示遺憾，認為一個藝術家不該破壞另一個人的作品。其實，支聯會又何必勞氣。李老哥大概忘了《國殤之柱》原作者本就歡迎大家任意處置其作品。



生會指出會議文件中有多項失實、誤導和扭曲的資料
內容，顯示校方意圖加強壓制校園政治表達的權利。
港大學生會昨日發表聲明，逐項反駁校方在文件
內提出的「理據」，要點如下：
* 回應校方指責學生會沒有「申請」擺放「國殤之柱」：學生會指在行政當局提交給校務會的文件內，當局並未就所謂「申請」，是指學生會擺放物品在自己管理的物業時需要「申請」，還是沒有申請暨立就連橫臥也可以而自圓其說。
* 回應校方提出只有「申請」擺放才能顧及大學全體成員的「方便」：學生會指黃克敏平台向來是學生活動的自主空間，而「國殤之柱」乃由學生經民主機制決定，「方便」與否，學生在投票時已作考慮，校務會並不是適當的角色代表學生會詮釋何謂「方便」。
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* 指出在決定「暫不考慮申請」擺放「國殤之柱」時已將有關信件利用傳真和內部郵遞兩種途徑通知校長鄭耀宗、副校長黃紹倫及管理學生事務主任楊紫芝，但校務會的文件內卻再次讓管理學生會沒有回應校方的建議，這是校方蓄意利用「莫須有」的藉口抹黑學生的另一表現。

港大學生會駁國殤柱報告

校務委員會今始討論

全職成員的「方便」：學生會指黃克敏平台向來是學生活動的自主空間，而「國殤之柱」乃由學生經民主機制決定，「方便」與否，學生在投票時已作考慮，校務會並不是適當的角色代表學生會詮釋何謂「方便」。
* 指出在決定「暫不考慮申請」擺放「國殤之柱」時已將有關信件利用傳真和內部郵遞兩種途徑通知校長鄭耀宗、副校長黃紹倫及管理學生事務主任楊紫芝，但校務會的文件內卻再次讓管理學生會沒有回應校方的建議，這是校方蓄意利用「莫須有」的藉口抹黑學生的另一表現。

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民主黨責港府加新條文 阻支聯會擺放國殤之柱

【本報特訊】民主黨立法會議員猛烈批評政府針對支聯會，在有關重組兩個市政局的條例草案上加入條款，阻止支聯會舉辦活動時，擺放國殤之柱。但政府否認存在政治考慮。最後政府表示現有條文已足以規範，會考慮取消新的條款。
目前兩個市政局的《遊樂場地規例》訂明任何人除非獲市政局批准，否則不得在轄下場地豎立「構築物」。但在審議中的《提供市政服務（重組）條例草案》上，政府則清楚訂明在豎立柱子、雕塑和雕像前，必須事先獲得許可。
民主黨議員均認為政府的修改是針對支聯會每次活動中均會擺放的國殤之柱。李永達表示，政府在草案上的一貫政策，是盡量對現有條例不作改動，待新成立政策局處理，他對政府這次的改動感到不滿：「根本就係雞食放光蟲，心知肚明，如果話唔係針對支聯會，你啱我個頭出來啦！」涂謹申亦批評政府「心裏面有鬼」。
政制事務局首席助理局長梁志仁解釋，新的改動是希望把「構築物」的定義清晰，並無其他動機，不過他承認即使沒有加進新條文，舊有條文仍可引用在雕塑和雕像上。他表示，若議員認為現有條文已足夠，政府可考慮不加入新的條文。

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李永達憂「國殤之柱」難立足

【本報專訊】身兼支聯會常委的民主黨議員李永達擔心，港府趁取消兩個市政局，收緊在市政場地豎立「雕像或其他雕塑」的規定，針對支聯會每年六四在維園燭光晚會展示的「國殤之柱」。
立法會一個委員會昨日繼續審議有關取消兩個市政局的《提供市政服務（重組）條例草案》，在修訂附例中把現行字眼「構築物」改為「雕像或其他雕塑」。李永達卻指出，若採用新的字眼，支聯會日後在維園六四燭光晚會，必須得到當局書面許可，才可豎立「國殤之柱」，否則有可能被檢控。
政制事務局首席助理局長梁志仁回應，政府無意針對某些團體或個案或有任何隱藏目的，更不受特首的指示，而只為了在字眼上有更清晰的表達。該附例只適用於永久性的擺設，支聯會的集會乃短期性質，不受此限。政制事務局副局長陳梁夢蓮同意再研究，或會撤回上述字眼修訂。

當局輕輕改動殺局附例加入新條文 支聯會認為針對國殤柱民主女神像

專責「殺局」的《提供市政服務（重組）條例草案》規定，將規管在兩個市政局轄下遊樂場地豎立建築物的法例範圍，擴闊至包括雕像和雕塑，而有關的核准權力將由民選議會轉交到政府手中。支聯會認為有關改動，是要阻礙他們在六四悼念活動中豎立「國殤之柱」和「民主女神像」。
《遊樂場地（市政局）附例》和《遊樂場地（區域市政局）附例》第二十條規定，任何人在未獲市政局和區局書面批准前，不得在兩局轄下遊樂場地豎立柱子、欄杆帳幕或攤檔等建築物。除了因應「殺局」就該兩條條文作出必須的技術性修改外，負責處理《市政（重組）條例》的政制事務局亦建議，將「雕像或其他雕塑」的字眼加入新條文之內。
支聯會常委張文光批評，有關改動是政府透過法律去審查政治藝術的第一步，明顯針對支聯會每年將「國殤之柱」和「民主女神像」豎立於維多利亞公園的行為。他說，支聯會過往向市政局申請租用場地舉辦六四悼念活動，只須向警方解釋活動詳情，毋須另外為擺放的物品作出申請。
代表市政局的立法會議員張永森表示，過住市局審批有關申請，都要求申請團體列明會否搭建或豎立大型建築物，有關修改的最大問題，是將核准權力由民選的議會轉交行政機關。根據《市政（重組）條例》，兩局在文化康樂事務的權力，在「殺局」後將移交新設的康樂及文化事務署署長。
政制事務局首席助理局長梁志仁表示，將有關改動視作政治陰謀，是想像力太豐富。他強調加入「雕像和雕塑」字眼，並非要加強管制，現有法例已就遊樂場地的使用作出規管，政府只希望寫得更清晰。至於有關改動是由政制局、將來接管文康事務的民政事務局，還是現時負責管理場地的市政總署提出，他就記不起了。

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國殤之柱

國殤柱皇后像淋漆 鮮明案例不敢提 美術教科書出現自我審查

兩大涉及政治問題的社會藝術

由丹麥雕塑家高志活設計高八米的國殤之柱，由五十張痛苦的臉孔和扭曲了的身體堆砌而成，柱身刻有「六四屠城」和「將死不能殺方生」字樣，以及八九六四事件的詳情，由於設計的目的為紀念及悼念六四事件，《大公報》曾刊載專欄文章，指斥為「反華之柱」。支聯會於九七回歸後舉行的六四燭光晚會上於維園首次豎立「國殤之柱」，其後向兩個臨時市政局申請在公眾地方擺放但被否決，「國殤之柱」至今仍流離失所，現暫放於香港大學。



國殤之柱

豎立於維園的維多利亞女皇銅像已有超過一百年歷史，是目前本港四座富有殖民地色彩的銅像之一。九六年底，青年藝術家潘星磊向銅像淋滿紅色油漆，又用大鐵錘將女皇銅像的鼻子打歪；由於銅像背後的政治含意，隨即引起廣泛關注。雖然潘星磊解釋這只是行為藝術，而紅色則代表「他對熱血蒸騰的強烈認同」，但警方其後拘捕潘星磊控以刑事毀壞，潘最後被法院判即時入獄廿八日。



維多利亞女皇銅像被淋紅油事件

圖：本報美術部



又言

香港才藝界最近「才四事件」的國殤之柱，以及殖民地色彩的維多利亞女皇銅像被人淋紅漆事件列入書內，作為講解社會藝術的例子。但由於擔心兩項例子背後的政治含意在政府審書機制下難以「過關」而自行刪除。有書商指事件暴露現時完全由政府把持的審書制度，扼殺出版空間自由。

明知難過關無謂玩

立法會教育界議員張文光對「無禁區」的藝術領域出現自我約束感到遺憾。而香港美術教育協會會長蕭競聰則建議政府由市場自然淘汰機制的來評審美術教科書，而非現時由教署評審。

今年共有三個出版社分別出版首套的初中美術教科書，據知，其中由導師出版社出版，由黃素蘭編撰的名為「美術世界」的教科書，曾一度計畫將發生於九六年，富殖民地色彩的維多利亞女皇銅像被青年藝術家潘星磊淋紅漆的事件列入書內，作為講解藝術的社會意義。該書作者黃素蘭對本報表示，該構思在腦中確實「閃而過」，但最終無列入書內，主要由於該例子牽涉政治因素，「明知（有關題材）牽涉政治，過不到關（教署審批的），未得悉有關教科書欲加入國殤之柱等例子的意圖。教署發言人則表示，就如何增加評審教科書機制的透明度及讓市場機制評審課本，署方未有何具體建議。」

據了解，另一本美術教科書則計畫將「國殤之柱」放入書內，作為學生較切身的本土例子。該書其中一位作者雖承認寫書時確實放多本地例子，但否認這些例子中包含國殤之柱。至於出版社市場總監則對有關消息表示「不清楚」，並拒絕向作者或其他方面求證，他又謂：「不講嘢（指國殤之柱），可以用另一件嘢講，唔使鑽牛角尖。」

立法會教育界議員張文光則表示，雖然同意現時評審課本機制不應由政府代表參與，但有關教科書未試過向教署提交便因政治憂慮而自行刪除，實不應該，他認為應該堅持一試。

有份參與美術教科書評審的教署高級課程主任盧小顏表示，未得悉有關教科書欲加入國殤之柱等例子的意圖。教署發言人則表示，就如何增加評審教科書機制的透明度及讓市場機制評審課本，署方未有何具體建議。」



黃素蘭表示：「明知女皇銅像被人淋紅漆事件牽涉政治，過不到關，無謂玩！」



圖曾構思列入維多利亞女皇銅像被人淋紅漆事件的美術教科書。

生活化題材更引發思考

小學老師陳珮玲授課勇當前鋒

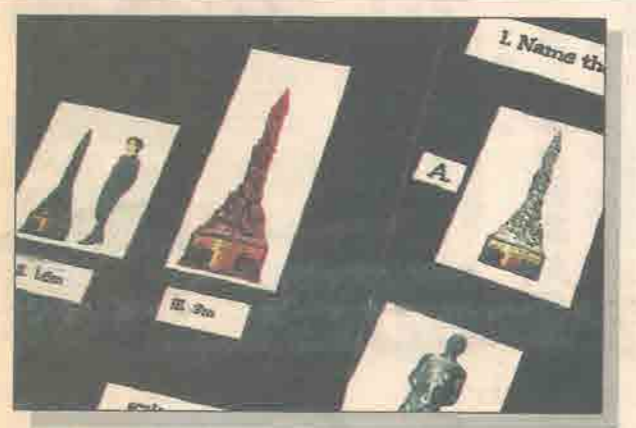
「我贊成將「國殤之柱」列入中學美術科的教科書內，因為撤除政治因素，這些生活題材對學生了解一些美術概念很有幫助。」有八年小學美術教學經驗的陳珮玲老師說。她於去年更身兼力行，在任教的聖公會偉倫小學利用講授「國殤之柱」向五及小六學生教授美術中「身分認同」的問題，而且連「國殤之柱」擺放地點等議題，亦在課堂上大膽地讓學生討論。

完全呼應教署須要

陳珮玲老師表示，在美術課中使用「國殤之柱」作為教授題材，除了呼應教署的課程綱要多引用生活化題材外，還可以讓學生藉此作自我探索，了解自己和環境關係等「身分認同」的美術問題。

現時除了「國殤之柱」外，陳珮玲老師還利用富殖民地色彩的「維多利亞女皇銅像」、全裸人像「新人」等切身題材引發學生美術思考，所有教材均為自製。陳珮玲老師表示，由於這些題材為學生身邊題材，學生反應不俗。因此她認為「國殤之柱」等題材應撤除政治考慮，放於中學教科書內。其實除了一些小學外，本港大專界亦已有教師「不避嫌疑」，在課堂上利用一些政治敏感題材（如國殤之柱）教授。

理工大學設計系副教授蕭競聰表示，系內有「政治與風格」一科，往往會用不少以藝術手段表達政治觀點的作品教授，在強調多角度思維中，有時用「新人」、「國殤之柱」等具爭議性題材可謂見慣不怪。



圖不願上鏡的陳珮玲老師展示自製以「國殤之柱」為主題的美術教材，她表示透過就近生活取材，學生較有興趣學習。

審查機制欠上訴及透明度 出版商盼委員有非官方代表



多位不願透露姓名的出版商批評，現時教育署評審教科書的機制缺乏公開及透明度，又缺乏審書的上訴機制，應該改善。

首先，負責審書的三位評審委員雖然只有一位為教署官員，但其餘兩位前綫教育工作者亦由教署委任，無形中令評審機制受官方因素影響的機會大增，署方應考慮加入例如教科書出版商商會或學校議會等非官方團體代表。

其次署方只願透過一般性的評審準則，但對

於各科目各項具體評審標準，甚至評審委員姓名皆不願公開，容易產生不公平情況。

再者，評審後被擴出局或需要再行修正的出版商，並無上訴機制，不服評審結果的書商「有冤無路訴」，若不遵從，指令修改必定無法出書，對書商構成不少壓力。

現時書商若不將出版的教科書送交教署評審，便不能列入署方每年發給學校的「推薦課本書目表」，由於所有學校只會從該書目表挑選合適課本供學生使用，因此雖無法例規定，但不送交教署評審的教科書變相無任何銷售市場。

本報記者

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