

Phoebe Wong

Recalcitrantly Yours: Histories, Truths, and Myths of the 1967 Disturbances



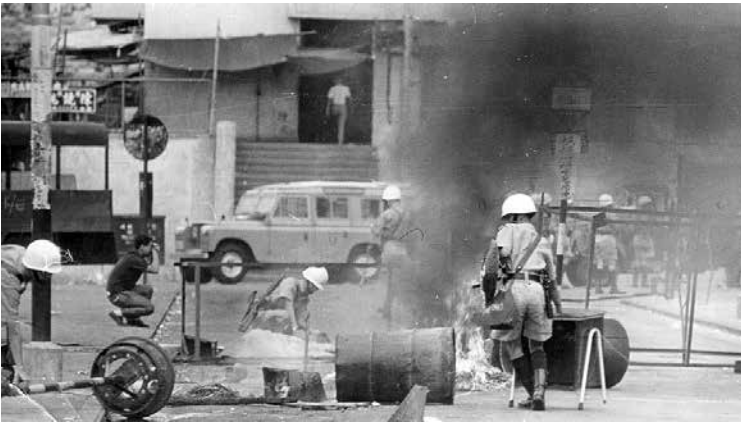
Demonstrators marching at the 1967 riots, Hong Kong. Courtesy of South China Morning Post, Hong Kong.

Five decades ago, during the hot, humid summer of 1967, a year after the nationwide Cultural Revolution (1966–76) broke out in mainland China, a blizzard of anti-colonial riots led by the local communist-leftists erupted in Hong Kong.¹ What began as a strike due to a labour dispute in a factory producing artificial flowers in Sun Po Kong on May 6 soon escalated into a full-scale anti-British campaign accompanied by protests, with outbreaks of city-wide strikes and bomb attacks occurring in the following months, and eventually waning in early December. The bloody disturbances claimed fifty-one lives and resulted in as many as 4,500 arrests and almost 2,000 convictions.² In post-riots Hong Kong, the colonial administration immediately introduced “sweeping social reforms in labour rights, education, public housing, and social welfare,” and thus the event was widely regarded as a watershed in the postwar history of Hong Kong.³

From the Hong Kong colonial government’s point of view, the 1967 riots were a “communist-initiated confrontation during which communist organizations in Hong Kong sought to impose their will on the people by intimidating workers and fomenting work stoppages, riots, and indiscriminate violence.”⁴ These confrontations were commonly called riots, and the leftist protestors and sympathizers saw this as stigma, staunchly believing in the righteousness of their resistance to colonial rule and describing their movement *fanying kangbao* (“anti-British and

anti-violence campaign”). In this essay, I will use the terms confrontation, storm, movement, disturbances, riots, and events interchangeably to include various interpretations.

In reality, not only was the general sentiment of the Chinese public on the side of the colonial administration as the confrontation unfolded during 1967, but “the events of 1967 alienated the left wing from the local society and drove it into marginality.”⁵ On one hand, Hong Kong at that time was fundamentally a refugee society for those who had escaped communist China and who desired stability. On the other hand, it was also largely a result of how the colonial administration had handled the crisis. The Hong Kong colonial government set up the Publicity Committee as early as May 16, ten days after the first conflict occurred in Sun Po Kong, and the Special Publicity Unit was established under the Government Information Services to execute the plans. To the colonial ruler, it was “a matter of winning the battles of hearts and minds.”⁶



Arson scene during the 1967 riots, Hong Kong. Courtesy of Mingpao Photo, Hong Kong.

If Hong Kong recovered from the riots swiftly upon the colonial government’s improvement in its administration, and the rapid economic growth in 1970s made Hong Kong a comfortable home for its people, the entrenched divide between the local left-wing and mainstream society still exists today. For instance, produced by a leftist cinema company on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Hong Kong’s handover to mainland China and the fortieth anniversary of the 1967 storm, the film *Mr. Cinema* (2007), directed by Samson Chiu, tells “a Hong Kong story from the perspective of the leftists for the first time.”⁷ The movie’s Chinese title, *Laozuo zhengzhuan*—addressing the old left wing—has been reportedly changed to *Laogang zhengzhuan*—“the old Hongkonger”—as the original title seemed too sensitive, politically speaking. Though the movie was an attempt to change people’s perceptions of the pro-communist leftists, it simply failed. Simon Shen, a young, renowned scholar on international relations who came from a left wing, elite family, opined that the movie, as a soft power, failed to highlight the glorious moments that local progressive leftists enjoyed in the 1950s in Hong Kong (instead, the film portrays a working class, left wing family similar to any other working class family that went through ups and downs), nor could it face the siege mentality of the old left wing—believing that they are being misunderstood, and isolated

by the rest of the society, and thus it avoided momentous events such as the Cultural Revolution and the June Fourth Incident (1989) and their relationship to the history of Hong Kong.⁸

Analyzing the siege mentality of the communist left wing, scholar and political commentator Law Wing-sang calls them “the manic-depressive left wing,” writing, “the ‘old left wing’ of Hong Kong has long been wounded and scarred, tracing back to its error in being extremely leftist during the Cultural Revolution, as well as its failure to request an early handover of Hong Kong during the 1967 riots. However, these old wounds were never properly treated. Lost dreams, false ambitions, and wasted times; history has yet to come to a sound conclusion.”⁹ Curiously enough, in his new book on Hong Kong’s national history and recent rise of localism, Eric Tsui, a localist and historian, uses the same wording to describe Hong Kong as being tyrannized by the authoritarian China: a manic-depressive polis.¹⁰

Local leftists protesting outside of Government House during the 1967 riots, Hong Kong. Courtesy of Mingpao Photo, Hong Kong.



Given the sense of disavowal and that the traumatic “history has yet to come to a sound conclusion,” perhaps it is no surprise that in government museums the public representation of these months of conflict is sanitized. For instance, in the presentation of the 1967 confrontation at the “Hong Kong Story,” a permanent display about local history at the Hong Kong Museum of History, this watershed event was given only a short, silent film clip, focusing on crowds and crowds of people in the street in Central with no confrontational scenes included. In a similar vein, in the section showcasing the development of the Hong Kong police force at the Police Museum, there is only one photo, a rare depiction of a night scene with a riot platoon on guard at Nathan Road, Kowloon, out of the more or less 1,200 objects on display.

Despite the lack of public representation, there has been a renewed interest in those 1967 events since the time of the 1997 Hong Kong handover. An independent researcher, Gary Cheung, ex-editor of political pages at *South China Morning Post*, has authored a number of books on the subject by conducting interviews with some key players in both camps—the local left-wing organizations and the ex-colonial government officials—and digging up materials from the British National Archives.¹¹ His journalistic

accounts have laid the foundation for later, local research on the subject. Over the past decade, there were at least two academic conferences on the subject that took place in Hong Kong.¹² The year 2012 marked the forty-fifth anniversary of the event and resulted in a mini-boom in publications on the subject.¹³ In 2013, a documentary entitled *Liuqi Huiwang* (*Looking Back at 1967*) was produced by the 67 Synergy Group, formed by protesters of the 1967 storm, many of whom ended up in prison.¹⁴ It is perhaps necessary to point out that one figure has been the main force behind these recent efforts. Apart from authoring his personal experience during the 1967 storm,¹⁵ Shek Chung-ying (a pseudonym), once a young prisoner (he was an English secondary school student imbued with patriotism, and was arrested for distributing propaganda prints) and subsequently a successful businessman, has financially supported a larger number of projects on the subject that include oral history interviews, book publishing, documentary films, and even a documentary theatre production. Shek Chung-ying is also part of the 67 Synergy group. His determination to make this slice of Hong Kong history known to younger generations is a kind of therapeutic deed for himself to, as he often says when being interviewed, “recall in order to forget, seek in order to let go.”

On the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, two feature films dedicated to the 1967 storm are in production with Shek Chung-ying’s support and will be released later this year. Yet the anniversary year was unofficially kicked off by the premiere and an array of community screenings of the documentary titled *Vanished Archives* (2017) this past spring. A veteran television documentary producer dubious about the leftist 67 Synergy Group, Connie Lo Yan-wai, toiled independently for four years to make the film with the intention to “fill in the blanks in this chapter of our history.”¹⁶ The result is a two-hour, textbook-like documentary that chronicles the 1967 riots—its background, the unfolding of key moments during the months of confrontation, and the afterthoughts of the leftists critical of the impetuous and locally organized mobilization. It is a judicious production, and a highlight of the film lies in the unearthing of Ng Tik-chow’s 1960s work notes. Ng Tik-chow, a senior communist official who worked under then Chinese premier Zhou Enlai on Hong Kong matters during the riots, together tried to ensure that the Hong Kong local leftists were running their cause “on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint.” The notes also revealed that they eventually stopped a sinister plan to smuggle 700 dozen sickles from Shenzhen to Hong Kong and saved Hong Kong from more bloodshed. Ng Tik-chow’s notes have settled many of the rumours and conspiracies that abounded during the period.

While the mainstream historical discourses constantly put truth-seeking as the ultimate goal by piecing together the fragments or filling in the blanks in history, some visual artists may practice their trade from a different perspective. Instead of pursuing a so-called truth (a myth itself?), especially in history, they may question very notion of truth or happily take on an anachronistic reading of history to destabilize grand narratives.

Historical truth is not the core interest of young artist Lee Kai-chung, who has created a series of artworks surrounding the 1967 confrontation. Lee Kai-chung's *The History of Riots* series (2013–ongoing) consists of eleven works to date, varying from performance and objects to mapping and video, and was featured prominently at the 2015 Asian Art Biennial, held at the Taiwan National Museum of Fine Arts in Taichung.¹⁷

Lee Kai-chung, *The History of Riots (Table)*, 2013, installation. Courtesy of the artist.



Lee Kai-chung's first piece from this series is a table fabricated to resemble one that appeared in a news photo illustrating how the police disposed of a bomb. To monger fear, the police found ways to visualize the “danger” of the bombs. In explaining the piece, *The History of Riots (The Table)* (2013), he says:

Every time the colonial British government found a suspected bomb, it made a big show of dispatching bomb disposal experts, who placed the bomb on a table in the middle of street and removed the detonator. In fact, bringing suspected bombs closer to large crowd goes against bomb disposal procedures. The entire process was part of the Hong Kong government's strategy to strike back at local leftists, so that table was a stage for “performances.”¹⁸

Home made bomb attacks, both real bombs and decoys, were used when various forms of strikes—massive workers' strikes, boycotts of classes, and the ceasing of trade—were in vain. These attacks were not necessarily organized under centralized control by the local communists, and Qi Feng, then a deputy director of the Xinhua News Agency's Hong Kong branch, was complacent about the campaign of bomb attacks as new urban tactics in their revolutionary struggle.¹⁹ From mid-July to December 1967, 1,420 out of the 8,352 “bombs” were reportedly real.²⁰ The waves of real and fake home made bombs created fear and chaos and obfuscated the leftists' cause, a resistance to colonialism. People were, and still are today, bewildered by these bombings as they were not strategically placed in proximity to police or government premises, but, rather, indiscriminately found in streets, cinemas, premises of transport facilities, and the like.



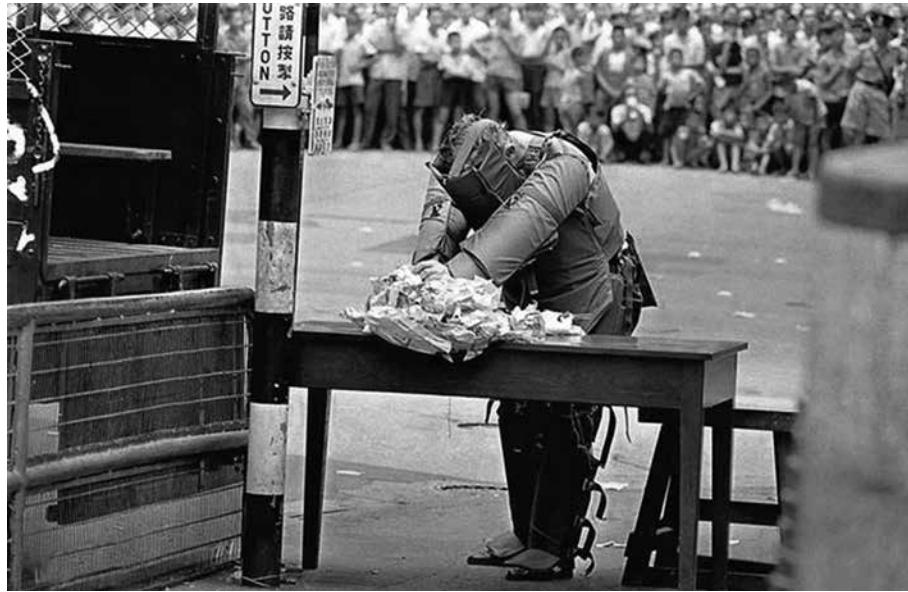
Ex-prisoner Shek Chung-ying criticizes popular accounts of the 1967 storm as being inadvertently limited to the bomb attacks and the murder of Lam Bun, a well known radio personality. Admittedly, the images of home made bombs and the death of the radio DJ have formed a prominent part of the collective memory among Hongkongers of the 1967 riots.

Lee Kai-chung, *The History of Riots (Table)*, 2013, installation. Courtesy of the artist.

Xi Xi's seminal novel *My City*, written in mid-1970s and known for its child-like literary style, includes a scene of a field of anthropomorphized pineapples protesting against the abuse of their name as bombs:

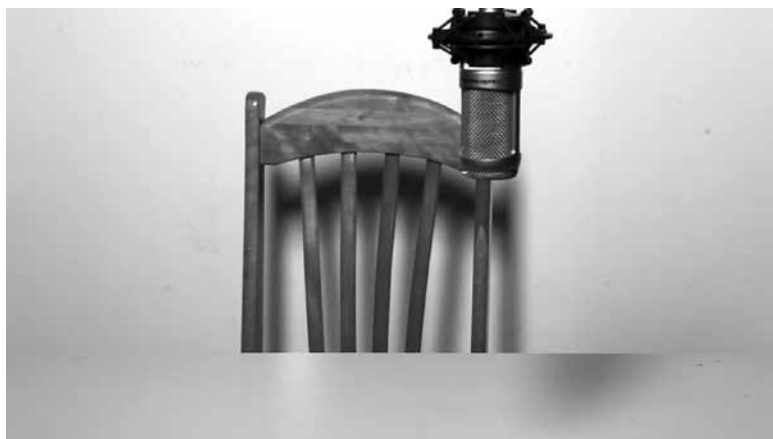
On this night there is a great hustle and bustle in the pineapple field. It turns out that the pineapples are holding an Extraordinary General Meeting on the issue of applying to patent the word “Pineapple” so that on one will be able to take it in vain. . . . There was this time when people in the streets all shouted: “There’s a pineapple over there.” A few kids who heard this said at once: We like pineapples, let’s go and have some. And so they all ran towards the pineapple. Strangely enough, this peculiar pineapple ended up eating the kids’ mouths as well as the kids’ fingers.²¹

Lee Kai-chung, *The History of Riots (Table)*, 2013, source image. Courtesy of the artist.



Bombs are nicknamed “pineapple” in Cantonese. If Xi Xi’s frisky, literary twist is somehow like a secret code, or, as a synecdoche, a part representing the whole; another Hong Kong writer Chan Ho-kei’s full-length novel *13.67* (2014) has devoted an entire section to the 1967 riots, which centres around the cracking of a thick plot of bomb attack (with diversions from feigned attacks) against the colonial government’s high-ranking officials. *13.67*,²² referring to the years 2013 and 1967, an award-winning crime novel telling the story of a local police detective whose career spans half a century, was written at a time when Hong Kong’s politics turned radical²³ and the city increasingly resembled a police state (the novel was released in 2014 before the Umbrella Movement). Composed in six sections in reverse chronology going through the various milestones of Hong Kong history, including the 1997 Handover, the Tian’anmen Square Massacre of 1989 (the June Fourth Incident), the conflict between the Hong Kong Police and ICAC (Independent Commission Against Corruption) in 1977, leftist riots in 1967, and so on, Chan Ho-kei’s epic hinges on the end-beginning or present-past loop to “reveal just how closely everything is connected, how history always repeats itself, and how we have come full circle to repeat the political upheaval and societal unrest of the past.”²⁴

The story of the 1967 riots seems incomplete without mentioning the case of Lam Bun especially as it was reported in mass media television programs.



Lee Kai-chung, *The History of Riots (The DJ)*, 2013, video, 6 mins., 43 secs. Courtesy of the artist.



Lee Kai-chung, *The History of Riots (The DJ)*, 2013, video, 6 mins., 43 secs. Courtesy of the artist.

Lam Bun, a popular DJ who worked for a commercial radio station, was, presumably due to his outspoken commentaries about the leftists on his radio programs, killed when someone set his car on fire when he was on his way to work in the morning of August 24.²⁵ Considered a public execution, the incident shocked Hong Kong society. Lee Kai-chung's work *The History of Riots (The DJ)* (2013) is a simple, neat performance video with the artist acting as Lam Bun. It features him trying to speak into a broadcasting microphone, yet the words stick in his throat, and he repeatedly leaves and returns to the scene. In the black-and-white, slow-motion video, hand gestures and high-pitched sonic interference embody the tensions of the moment during the 1967 riots. In Lee Kai-chung's words, "[T]his piece is a tribute/re-enactment of Lam Bun, who dares to speak out under social and political pressure."²⁶ His portrayal of the intangible violence of silencing found strong resonance even among Taiwan audiences who had no prior knowledge of the Lam Bun story.

Indeed, psychological wars were a major part of the 1967 confrontation. On the whole, I find the artworks that surround the war of nerves are the more successful ones in Lee Kai-chung's series on the subject through their creation of a sense of suspense: *The History of Riots (The Pen Pals)* (2013), *The History of Riots (The Stalker)* (2013), and *The History of Riots (Dates and Nights)* (2015). For instance, *The Pen Pals* was a re-enactment—consisting of a set of framed blank letters, and envelopes with addresses—of sending a blank letter (with only an engraved logo) to the *Ta Kung Pao* and Information Services Department respectively. The story goes that *Ta*

Lee Kai-chung, *The History of Riots (The Pen Pals)*, 2013, photographic documentation. Courtesy of the artist.



Kung Pao, a leftist newspaper accused the British Hong Kong Government Information Services (GIS; now Information Services Department) of sending a blackmail letter to them, and the GIS denied and declared the accusation political defamation.

Lee Kai-chung’s encounter with the 1967 disturbances as a historical incident was somewhat fortuitous: he turned to the intermediary nature of the archive for his research. It is pertinent to note that his point of departure is the archives and archiving, and he searched them through using generic terms such as “riot,” “disturbance,” or “movement” instead of specifically looking up the 1967 riots.²⁷

To continue his interest in archiving, Lee Kai-chung gradually turned one of his own projects, *Archive of the People*, which was first presented by Para Site Art Space in 2014, into a collective effort with other artists and further explored the politics of archives and archiving, such as on the power politics in archival setup, the interstitial nature of archives—especially about omissions and gaps in archives, and relationship between archives and historical accounts.²⁸ The name *Archive of the People* comes from the motto “one for all, all for one,” which promotes solidarity and mutual support especially during a period of hardship. The Chinese version of this motto was made popular by a Cantonese film *In the Face of Demolition* (1953) produced by the Hong Kong film company Union Film.²⁹ By employing the spirit of “one for all, all for one,” any citizen can participate in the process of archiving, and the writing of histories.

Artist Warren Leung Chi Wo, also exercising an investigative urge, has examined the events of 1967 by taking an approach different to that of Lee Kai-chung. Known for his interest in personal history and individual



memory as an alternative to official history, Leung Chi Wo focuses on the wider context by looking into parallel universes connected to a historical event, and he has come up with a small body of work surrounding the subject of the 1967 riots.

Lee Kai-chung, *Archive of the People*, 2014, installation view at Para Site Art Space, Hong Kong. Courtesy of the artist.



Frater (2015), a commissioned work shown in *Leung Chi Wo: Tracing Some Places*, organized as The Mills inaugural exhibition in 2016, is a sculptural object made with a Brother brand of sewing machine. This work addresses aspects of the artist's family history that intersect with the grand history of Hong Kong.³⁰ Both of Leung Chi Wo's parents were connected to the garment industry in Hong Kong, and he bought this second-hand sewing machine in the industrial area where the worker's strike that marked the outbreak of the riots took place. Instead of sewing garments, however, Leung Chi Wo set the machine to punch holes on a strip of negatives with images of plastic roses, in reference to the strike at the Hong Kong Artificial

Leung Chi Wo, *Frater*, 2015, sewing machine, black-and-white negative film, 1967 Hong Kong fifty-cent coins, low-speed motor, steel frame, 55 x 65 x 146.5 cm. Courtesy of the artist.



Leung Chi Wo, *Frater* (detail), 2015, sewing machine, black-and-white negative film, 1967 Hong Kong fifty-cent coins, low-speed motor, steel frame, 55 x 65 x 146.5 cm. Courtesy of the artist.

Flower Works that triggered the riots³¹ and denotes the British Empire as the rose is England's national flower. Leung Chi Wo is meticulous in his

Leung Chi Wo, *Frater* (detail), 2015, sewing machine, black-and-white negative film, 1967 Hong Kong fifty-cent coins, low-speed motor, steel frame, 55 x 65 x 146.5 cm. Courtesy of the artist.



selection of motifs, and, as he put it, “this was a project tracing important historical moments hidden in otherwise common materials and symbols. Starting from searching for possible connotations of a household object, it was a process to contextualize seemingly random signs for a micro narrative that adapted broader socio-political discourse into the relevance for individuals.”³²

This notion of serendipity is indeed embedded in this body of work. In 2016, Leung Chi Wo expanded his project to include the pop music of the 1960s as a key demonstration of the youth culture and at best a mode of cultural resistance to the mainstream. The inclusion of music is probably inspired by what became known as the sonic propaganda war in the early stages of the 1967 confrontation between the communists and the colonial authority. The sonic propaganda war, which earned Premier Zhou Enlai’s remark about it as “virtually ludicrous,”³³ is an intriguing story in itself. To provide a background to the artwork *Silent Music Plane 1967* (2016), Leung Chi Wo retells the story:

Leung Chi Wo, *Silent Music Plane 1967*, 2016, *LIFE* magazine cover (June 2, 1967), 1967 five-cent Hong Kong coins, sound recordings *Long Life Chairman Mao* (Central Ensemble of Songs and Dances, 1966) and *Yesterday* (The Beatles, 1965), variable-speed motor, media player, earphones, electronic controller, tripod. Courtesy of the artist.



Lots of Chinese propaganda slogans and music were broadcast from loudspeakers at the Bank of China Building in Central, Hong Kong. It was loud and could be heard everywhere in Central. Then the Hong Kong government installed six large military speakers on the roof of the nearby

Government Information Services office building, playing loudly the jazz and western pop music including The Beatles to counteract the propaganda.³⁴

Based on the story of the sonic propaganda wars and the fleeing of Chinese during times of turmoil, Leung Chi Wo assembled a kinetic installation that



Leung Chi Wo, *Silent Music Plane 1967* (details), 2016, *LIFE* magazine cover (June 2, 1967), 1967 five-cent Hong Kong coins, sound recordings *Long Live Chairman Mao* (Central Ensemble of Songs and Dances, 1966) and *Yesterday* (The Beatles, 1965), variable-speed motor, media player, earphones, electronic controller, tripod. Courtesy of the artist.



functions as a visual icon of that particular moment. *Silent Music Plane 1967* consists of a paper plane that was made from the magazine cover of *LIFE* (June 2, 1967), which ran the story of the famous violinist and composer Ma Sitson, who fled communist China. The paper plane

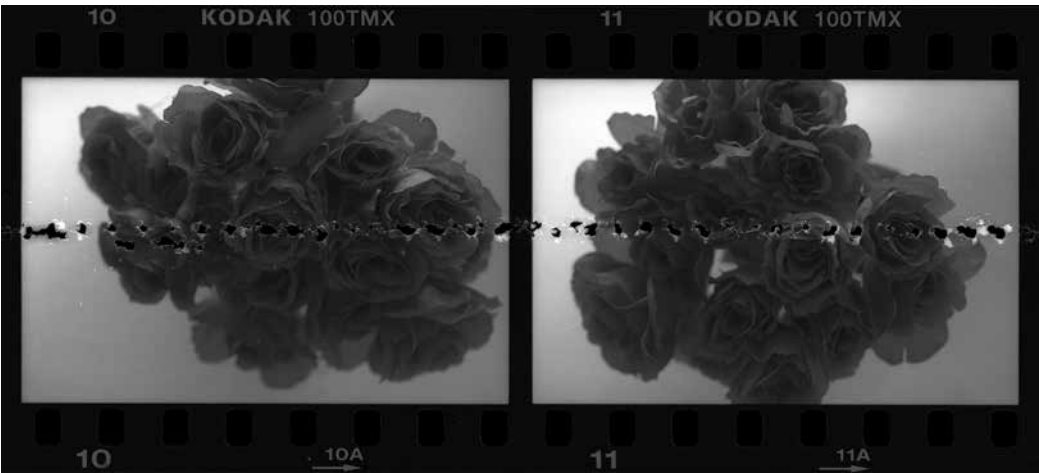
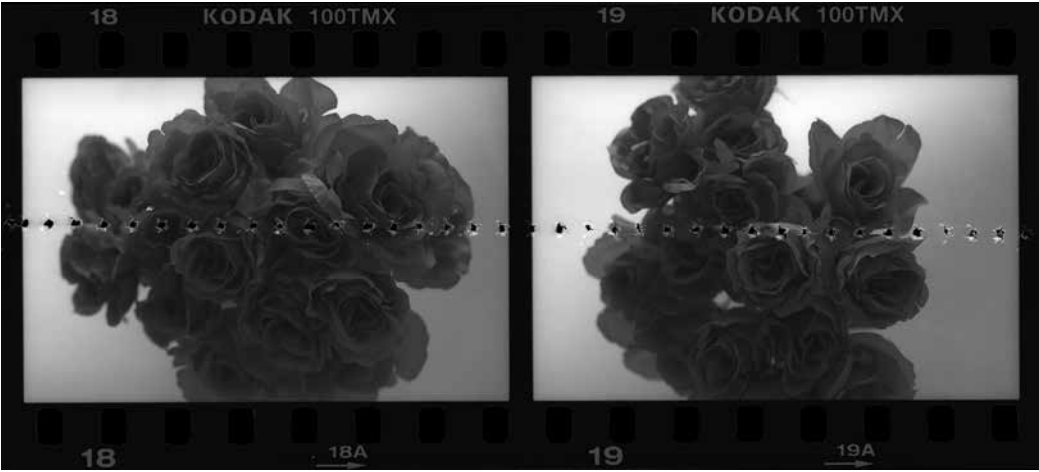
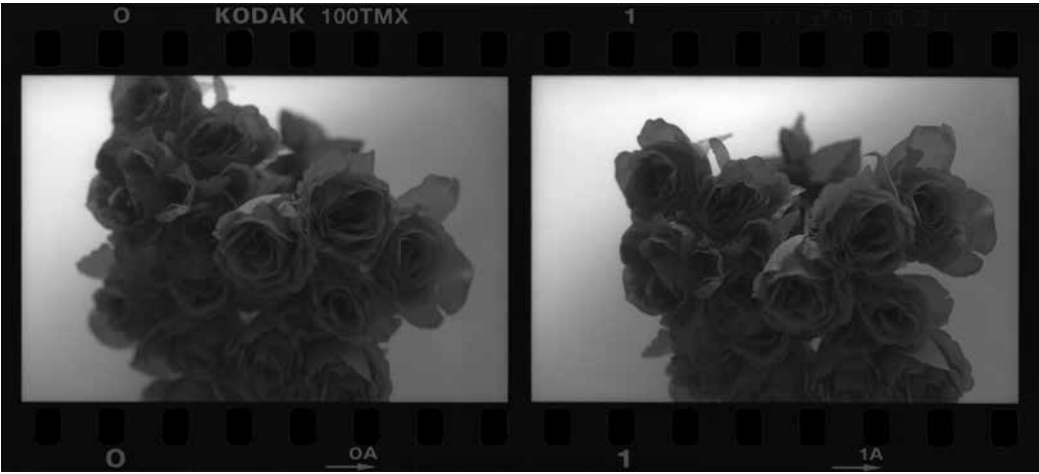
Leung Chi Wo, *Silent Music Plane 1967* (details), 2016, *LIFE* magazine cover (June 2, 1967), 1967 five-cent Hong Kong coins, sound recordings *Long Live Chairman Mao* (Central Ensemble of Songs and Dances, 1966) and *Yesterday* (The Beatles, 1965), variable-speed motor, media player, earphones, electronic controller, tripod. Courtesy of the artist.

flies on strings in circles at variable speeds synced to the tempo of two songs played at a level that is barely audible: “Long Live Chairman Mao” (Central Ensemble of Songs and Dances, 1966) and “Yesterday” (The Beatles, 1965). The plane when in flight is balanced with two tiny five-cent coins as weights; Leung Chi Wo uses those coins in reference to the 1966 Star Ferry Riot, a prelude to the 1967 events, which was dubbed the “five cent riot” because it was triggered by the markup of five cents in the ferry fare.

As another playful response to the sonic propaganda war, Leung Chi Wo created a text piece called *Wyndham March 1967* (2016). The piece, in vinyl text that is adaptable to specific site on the floor, was featured in the *Great Crescent* exhibition in 2016. The *Great Crescent: Art and Agitation in the 1960s—Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan* was conceived by Para Site Art Space to revisit the art history of the region under the cold war era.³⁵ The piece reads as:

Imagine you were an anti-colonial proletarian.
Imagine you were angry.
Imagine you were in a protest against authority.
Play Beatles’ A Hard Day’s Night at relatively low volume
pretending it is from the military speakers 200m away.³⁶

If Lee Kai-chung tries to zoom in on particular incidents or moments of the 1967 riots with his archival impulse, Leung Chi Wo’s zoom-out approach from the storm itself foregrounds a possible parallel reality in the year 1967, and, in turn, possibly provides a “thick description” of the events—



Leung Chi Wo, *Untitled (Roses)*, 2015, 3 inkjet prints, each 40.6 x 90 cm. Courtesy of the artist.



Previous page: Leung Chi Wo, *So, love, this is my song . . .*, 2016, soundtrack in an audio cassette tape with case, 10.9 x 6.9 x 1.7 cm. Courtesy of the artist and Rokeby, London.



Leung Chi Wo, *Public School*, 2016, engraving in aluminium, Mattel plastic doll (1967), steel clip, Wills's Cigarettes Card (1934), 22 x 11 x 17 cm. Courtesy of the artist and Rokeby, London.



Leung Chi Wo, *Extremely Recalcitrant*, 2016, archival ink prints, engraving on Plexiglas, wooden frame, set of 2, 45.8 x 30.3 cm. Courtesy of the artist and Rokeby, London.



Leung Chi Wo, *Music in 1967—A Hard Day's Night*, 2016, inkjet print, speaker, music, Plexiglas, steel frame, 40.5 x 51 x 8 cm. Source image: Demonstrators marching to Central pass through Wyndham Street during the 1967 riots, May 22, 1967, staff photographer of the *South China Morning Post*. Courtesy of the artist and Blindspot Gallery, Hong Kong.

Leung Chi Wo, *Ominous Ultimatum*, 2016, Duratrans, LED lightbox, engraving on Plexiglas, steel frame, 38.5 x 56 x 8 cm. Source image: *Star Ferry Pier* by Robert Dive, April 1967. Courtesy of the artist and Blindspot Gallery, Hong Kong.



expanded interpretations resulted from diverse contextualization.³⁷ *Music in 1967* (2016) combines texts and photographs to show another side of the year 1967, as found in photos from that year, and they illustrated a peaceful if also mundane 1967. And in the same spirit, *This Is My Song* (2016) is a four-part series³⁸ that superimposes disparate elements or realities,

including a 1967 love song, a 1967 British comedy film referencing Hong Kong’s status as a depot for refugees, a plastic doll-body made in Hong Kong that denotes Hong Kong’s prosperous toy manufacturing industry, a 1919 photograph of the hockey team of the King’s School, the soundtrack of a fireworks performance, and news about the 1967 riots—all to create an alternative narration about the year 1967.

Following cultural luminary Chip Tsao’s proposal to set up a “museum for unusual events in the Hong Kong cold war era,”³⁹ we need a distinct type of institution to revisit this complicated and convoluted chapter of Hong Kong history. Perhaps the artistic practices that contribute to foregrounding possible interpretations of historical events can help to shed new light on this endeavour. And, in the spirit of anachronism, if there would be such a museum, how I wish I could watch Jean-Luc Godard’s unorthodox political film *La Chinoise* (1967) along side with other multifarious exhibits.

Notes

1. In Hong Kong, the pro-communist left wing was, and still is, in a different camp from the ideological left wing that came of age in the late 1960s and was active in the 1970s.
2. Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong’s Watershed: The 1967 Riots* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 3; and “Introduction,” in *May Days in Hong Kong: Riot and Emergency in 1967*, eds. Robert Bickers and Ray Yep (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 1.
3. Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong’s Watershed*, 3.
4. *Hong Kong 1967* (Hong Kong Government Printer), 1–20, as quoted in Gary Cheung, “Souji lishi, yanjiu liuqi,” in *1967: Guoji shiye de fansi*, ed. Simon Shen (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2015), 10. Jin Yaoru, a local communist boss in charge of propaganda work in the 1960s, admitted in his book on the Chinese Communist Party’s Hong Kong policy (published three decades later) that “the anxiety of the local party leadership to prove its loyalty to the radical movement in Beijing was the main impetus behind the campaign.” (See Bickers and Yep, eds., *May Days in Hong Kong*, 1.)
5. Bickers and Yep, eds., *May Days in Hong Kong*, 4.
6. Cheung, “Souji lishi, yanjiu liuqi,” 17.
7. Vivienne Chow, “Mr. Cinema,” *Muse* 6 (July 2007), 88–89. The movie’s English title (not a back-to-back translation from that of the Chinese) takes on the clue that the protagonist is a projectionist in a cinema.
8. Simon Shen, “Zuopai weishenmo buneng xiang xifang bo chugui?,” 2010, <http://www.roundtable.com.hk/news/detail/type/ecom/id/56/>.
9. Law Wing-sang, “Zuopai de zaokuang yu youyu,” in *Zhimin jiaguo wai* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2014), 396.
10. Eric Tsui, *Yuzao de chengbang: Xianggang minzu yuanliushi* (Hong Kong: Hong chuban, 2015).

11. Gary Cheung, *Xianggang liuqi baodong neiqing* (Hong Kong: Taipingyang shiji chubanshe youxian gongsi), 2000. Gary Ka-wai Cheung, *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots*. The Chinese translation and expanded revision of the book, titled *Liuqi baodong*, was published in 2012.
12. Bickers and Yep, eds., *May Days in Hong Kong*. The book was published after a workshop on the subject held at City University of Hong Kong on May 26, 2007. Simon Shen, ed., *1967: Guoji shiye de fansi* (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books Ltd., 2015). This publication contains the proceedings of a symposium held in 2012.
13. Yu Ruxin, *Hong Kong, 1967* (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2012). Yu Ruxin was a red guard in Guangzhou and subsequently relocated to Hong Kong. Qu Yingyan, *Huoshu feihua: 67 nian naxieren* (Hong Kong: Flintstone Culture, 2012). The Chinese translation and expanded revision of Gary Cheung's *Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots* was also published in 2012.
14. See <http://www.hk1967.org/>.
15. Shek Chung-ying, *Ode to the Autumn Wind* (Hong Kong: Flintstone Culture Limited, 2016). A Chinese version of the book first appeared in mid 1970s, and the 2016 edition is a bilingual production.
16. Joyce Ng and Jeffie Lam, "Struggle to get documentary on Hong Kong's 1967 riots on screen," *South China Morning Post*, January 7, 2017, <http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/2060228/struggle-get-documentary-hong-kongs-1967-riots-screen/>.
17. It is worth noting that a private preview of *Vanished Archives* was run (the film was still in its final editing stage) back in August 2016 in Taipei before any screening organized in Hong Kong.
18. See Lee Kai-chung, "The History of United Front," at the Asian Art Biennial 2015 website: http://www.asianartbiennial.org/2015/content/EN/ArtistWork.aspx?enc=EQRzXWhe0iRhuaZSLs7FvA=.
19. Gary Cheung, *Liuqi baodong*, 135.
20. *Hong Kong 1967*, 45, as quoted in Cheung, *Liuqi baodong*, 136.
21. Xi Xi, *My City: A Hongkong Story*, trans. Eva Hung (Hong Kong: Research Centre for translation, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993), 122–23.
22. Chan Ho-kei, *13.67* (Taipei: Huangguan wenhua chuban youxiangongsi, 2014). The English version of *13.67* was named *The Borrowed*, the title comes from journalist Richard Hughes's book, *Hong Kong, Borrowed Place, Borrowed Time*, which was released the year following the leftist riots.
23. 2012 was a year that Hong Kong began to turn radical, politically speaking; see Joseph Cheng Yu-shek, "The Emergence of Radical Politics in Hong Kong: Causes and Impact," *China Review* 14, no. 1 (2014), 199–232; and Ma Ngok, "The Rise of 'Anti-China' in Hong Kong and the 2012 Legislative Council Elections," *China Review* 15, no. 1 (2015), 39–66.
24. From the book description, Chan Ho-kei, *The Borrowed*, trans. Jeremy Tiang (New York: Black Cat, an imprint of Grove Atlantic, 2017).
25. Lam was critically burnt and died about a week later.
26. See the artist's page on Lee Kai-chung at Asian Art Biennial 2015 website: http://www.asianartbiennial.org/2015/content/EN/ArtistWork.aspx?enc=EQRzXWhe0iRhuaZSLs7FvA=.
27. Interview by the author with Lee Kai-chung on December 29, 2016.
28. Ibid.
29. The Union Film Enterprises Ltd. (1952–67), founded as a collective by twenty-one progressive leftist film stars and practitioners, has been instrumental in promoting Cantonese language films and the humanistic dimension and social responsibility of movies.
30. *Frater* is not Leung Chi Wo's first piece on the subject. The first piece was a vinyl graphic text that simply reads, "Demonstrators marching to Central pass through Wyndham Street during the 1967 riots, 22 MAY 67." It is the caption of a news photo from the *South China Morning Post* and was placed on the floor of the Mori Art Museum in a 2015 exhibition. E-mail communication with Leung Chi Wo, dated February 22, 2017.
31. An urban myth goes that the Hong Kong Artificial Flower Works was owned by Li Ka-shing later turned property tycoon. Gary Cheung confirmed that the concerned factory was indeed run by a Tang family (Gary Cheung, *Liuqi baodong*, 39).
32. See Leung Chi Wo's website, <http://www.leungchiwo.com/Frater/Frater.html/>.
33. Gary Cheung, *Liuqi baodong*, 76.
34. See Leung Chi Wo's website, http://www.leungchiwo.com/Silent_Music_Plane/SilentMusicPlane.html/. Leung Chi Wo's story is based on Gary Cheung's research. In Gary Cheung's account, it sounds even more bizarre, as the government's sonic combinations also included Cantonese opera (Gary Cheung, *Liuqi baodong*, 74).
35. The exhibition was first mounted in Hong Kong in 2014, and toured to Tokyo (2015) and Mexico City (2016). As a participating artist, in each iteration, Leung has presented a different work.
36. E-mail communication with between the author and Leung Chi Wo, dated February 22, 2017.
37. The notion of "thick description," as a form of ethnographic writing that integrates description with interpretation through giving attention to contexts, was made popularized by cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who adopted the term from philosopher Gilbert Ryle. See: Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30.
38. *This Is My Song* (Petula Clark's hit song is the work's umbrella title) includes four parts, namely, "A Countess from Hong Kong," "Extremely Recalcitrant," "Public Schools," and "So, love, this is my song. . . ."
39. Simon Shen, ed., *1967: Guoji shiye de fansi* (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 2015), 231. Chip Tsao does not shy away from his elite-leftist origins (and he later received education in the UK), and he has confessed to his participation in the 1967 disturbances as a kid of eight or nine by disseminating propaganda prints without being caught.