

## Visible Voices of Asylum Seekers – the Art of Vietnamese Boatpeople in Hong Kong

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### Abstract

*Art, as a kind of visual language, can substitute what language is unsuited. This is particular true for people who are undoing extreme adversity. In the late 1980s, there were as many as 50,000 Vietnamese asylum seekers living in detention camps in Hong Kong. These people lived in a prison-like environment with a bleak sense of hope, bearing various fears and tragic memories. The psychological and physical sufferings of these asylum seekers were so complex and indescribable that the voices of their inner world often got muted. Between 1989 and 1991, a 3-year art project funded by UN was conducted in these detention camps. Over 800 pieces of works done by the inmates of all ages were collected. This paper examines selected images from this collection for the muted voices of these people. It demonstrates how these images can act as visual testimonies of asylum seekers.*

**Key words:** asylum seekers    refugee art    detention camps    image writing visual testimony    collective memories

### Introduction

Language expresses and communicates. Yet for people who are undertaking extreme adversity, language is often inadequate to speak for their complex inner emotions. Asylum seekers, like refugees, are individuals who have no choice but to leave their homelands in order to escape from persecution or abuse.<sup>1</sup> Before their request for refuge is granted, they are referred as asylum seekers rather than refugees. These people, right after some horrific fleeing journey from their homelands, are usually gathered in refugee camps waiting for a screening process to justify their refugee claims. The screening process is always harsh and can take incredibly long years to complete. According to a study, the average length of remaining in a protracted displacement situation for asylum seekers was nine years in the early 1990s, and is getting even worse these days (Loescher & Milner, 2009). Asylum seekers face substantial difficulties in proving their refugee claim as they often lack documents or witnesses to prove who they are, why they left home and what threats and dangers awaits them upon return. Once their refugee status is denied, they are subject to repatriation. As one can imagine, asylum seekers as well as refugees are dealing with extreme adversity so complex that is difficult to express in simple terms.

In the late 1980s, there were as many as 50,000 Vietnamese asylum seekers living in detention camps in Hong Kong. These people lived in a prison-like environment with a bleak sense of hope, bearing various fears and tragic memories. The psychological and physical sufferings of these Vietnamese were so complex and indescribable that the voices of their inner world often got muted. Between 1989 and 1991, a 3-year art project funded by the United Nations was conducted in these detention camps. Over 800 pieces of works done by the inmates of all ages were collected. By studying selected images from this collection, this paper aims to visualize the complicated, if not totally unspeakable, collective memories of the Vietnamese asylum seekers in Hong Kong two decades ago. These expressions not only reveal the inner voices of these displaced people, but also demonstrate how art, as a form of visual language can make the muted be heard.

### Vietnamese boatpeople in Hong Kong

The fall of Saigon in April 1975 marked the beginning of one of the biggest forced human migrations in modern history. Millions of Vietnamese risked their lives in a bid for freedom by fleeing the country by sea using small fishing boats. The scale of the escape was massive starting from the very beginning and these Vietnamese were referred as the “boatpeople”. It is estimated that at the peak of the crisis, an average of 5,000 to 6,000 boatpeople left Vietnam each month to seek asylum in other countries in the late 1970s (Hughes, 1985). A report issued by the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR) in 2000 indicated that the accumulated number of boatpeople reach 250,000 including men, women and children, and many of them were believed to have died at sea as a result of storms, illness, starvation, or at the hands of pirates active in South China Sea (UNHCR, 2000).

Due its geographic location and unique political situation, Hong Kong took up as many as 223,302 Vietnamese boatpeople in the two decades between 1975 and 1995 (HKG, 1996). The first wave of 3,743 Vietnamese boatpeople arrived on 4 May 1974. The number drastically increased to 68,748 in 1978 (HKG, 1979).<sup>ii</sup> In order to deal with the large influx of the boatpeople, temporary military sites and factories were converted into refugee camps. Government departments such as the Harcourt Road Fire Station, Tai Lam Prison, and Victoria Prison were also used for short periods of time for transit purposes. In a report to the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the United States Congress House, the United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, Richard Clark (1979) described the situation as an “absolute explosion”. Western countries targeted for resettlements started to take the refugee intake as an additional financial burden, a new ethnicity, a fear of political infiltration and unsuccessful resettlements (Hitchcox, 1990a), and many of these countries began to slow down the Vietnamese refugee resettlements acceptance process. In addition, the United Nations funding was cut approaching the end of 1970s. As a result, Vietnamese boatpeople became a real pressing issue for Hong Kong. Local communities started to question the policy of receiving Vietnamese boatpeople.

To deter a further influx of Vietnamese boatpeople, the Hong Kong government adopted a closed camp policy on 2 July 1982. Boatpeople who arrived and those born after that date were segregated from the local community. The first few closed camps were set up in far-reaching islands such as Chi Ma Wan and Hei Ling Chau. The closed camp policy was only effective for a very short period, and the number of annual Vietnamese boatpeople arrivals spiked again approaching the end of the decade. 18,323 new arrivals was a marked record in 1988, followed by another 34,112 in the next year. The number remained high in 1991 at 20,206 (HKG, 1988-1997). On 16 June 1988 the Hong Kong government started a screening policy for all Vietnamese asylum seekers to differentiate legitimate refugees from economic migrants. All boatpeople arriving in Hong Kong on or after that day were immediately transferred to detention camps to await screening. A year later in June 1989, another policy, the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) for Indochinese Refugees, was formulated at the international conference held in Geneva in June 1989. The policy acknowledged the legitimacy of the controversial screening process in separating economic migrants from those with a legitimate claim to refugee status. Only the latter were accepted as asylum seekers eligible for resettlement in a third country. Individuals whose refugee status was denied were repatriated, either through clandestine departures or as part of regular departure programmes. And a Forced Repatriation Scheme was implemented in Hong Kong in December 1989.

The Vietnamese boatpeople in Hong Kong needed to deal with various threats, both physically and psychologically, in their daily lives. From the moment they arrived in Hong Kong, each of them was given a 5-digit number which symbolically marked the beginning of their status as an asylum seeker. This, as taken by the Refugee Action (1986), was a systematic method in dehumanizing the Vietnamese. The number was their identity and it would be used and called upon in place of their original name in all documents and procedures inside the camps. The demoralizing effect of the assigned numbers could be reflected by signatures signed in the form of 5-digit numbers found on the numerous paintings done by the artists in the detentions camps. The living environment of closed and detention camps resembled that of a prison enclosed by bars and wires. Lord Ennals (1983), Chairman of British Refugee Council, in his visit to study the problems of Vietnamese refugees in 1983, described the camps as a form of obtrusive security. High metal walls topped by barbed wires concealed the scenes inside the camps from the outsiders, and at the same time withheld the outside world from the inmates of the camps. Most of these camps consisted of Nissen or Quonset huts that housed roughly 120 families or 300 detainees each. The physical condition in these camps was concisely and vividly described by an ex-refugee as follows: “Behind the wire, inside a cage, within a hut, stuffed in a box” (*The Correspondent*, 2005: 22).

The “box” here refers to a partition of an 8’x 6’x 3’ cubicle derived from each level of a 3-level bunk bed. Each cubicle was defined as a unit allocated to a family, a couple, or a single man or woman accordingly to their arrival status. A cubicle of bottom levels was often the entire home space of a family of four. So called partition was just coarsely-made thin plywood board and draperies. Privacy was an unrealistic luxury for these boatpeople as daily activities such as dining, bathing, and sleeping were all subject to public exposure. Single women and children without parents easily became victims of various abuses and harassments (Mayer-Rieckh, 1993). Food and material supplies were minimal. Pregnant women and young children whose health relied on extra nutrition and better health care were prone to illnesses. Compared to the physical sufferings that can still be described in terms as above, the psychological sufferings of Vietnamese boatpeople living in detention camps are in many ways indescribable.

These include traumatic memories of their past, guilt feelings of their loss, anger and anxiety evoked by a sense of imprisonment, and fear of repatriation etc. In addition, the unknown years of waiting for the screening process was the most distressing. According to a report published on a local newspaper in 1988, two brothers had already lived in Chi Ma Wan closed camp for six years at that time and were still living with an unknown future (*SCMP* 23.6.1988[1]). Given the poor physical condition inside the camps, agitation, anxiety, and frustration were easily ignited and turned into violence. As the number of inmates increased, the management staff inside the camps was stretched to an extreme. A local newspaper reported that the detention camps were seriously understaffed (*Mingpao* 8.8.1988[3]). Riots and crimes were common inside the camps.<sup>iii</sup> As one can imagine, the inner feelings of these boatpeople whether men or women, old or young, had to be very complex and confused. One requires an expertise in language before these mixed and complicated emotions can be expressed in words. Therefore, for most of the Vietnamese asylum seekers, their inner voices could only be muted and never got heard.

### Art as image writing

Clinical and scientific findings indicate that human process verbal, textual, and visual materials in two different mechanisms (Penfield & Perot, 1963). Unlike language that is structural and acquired by learning, art is a form of writing in images that is more innate, direct and intuitive. Scholar like Gregory Bateson (1973) evinces that iconic communication serves functions for which verbal language is unsuited. When language fails, image making such as drawing and painting can facilitate emotional expression. In fact, art, with its basic characteristic of communication as language, has been the most accessible and natural form of articulation and dissemination of thoughts on the human experience since Paleolithic times. It appeared and functioned much earlier than verbal languages. Most of all, it applies not only to those who are literate and talented, but also to humans of all ages and backgrounds.

Susanne Langer (1967) states that art plays a significant role in the emergence of human emotions and consciousness. A distinct feature of art-making is that it involves visual thinking and imagery rather than words for the construction, articulation and expression of thoughts and inner feelings. In his book *Descartes' Error: Emotions, Reason, and the Human Brain*, Antonio Damasio (1994) elucidates in detail the significant and vibrant role played by our visual perception in relation to cognition and emotion. According to Damasio,

Both words and arbitrary symbols are based on topographically organised representations and can become images. Most of the words we use in our inner speech, before speaking or writing a sentence, exist as auditory or visual images in our consciousness (p. 106).

In short, our knowledge and feelings come to mind mostly in the form of images. For very complex emotions that are difficult to articulate in words, image writing is often useful and powerful.

Between 1998 and 1991, Garden Streams, a non-profit making organization founded by a group of Christian artists in Hong Kong, ran a 3-year art project called *Art in the Camps* for the Vietnamese boatpeople with a main focus at the Whitehead Detention Camp. The purpose of various artistic creativities including drawing, painting and women crafts was to provide the inmates a means to release their inner emotions. Over 800 pieces of works done by the boatpeople of all ages were collected. They were the inner voices made visible and recorded at the time.

### Freedom or Death

Among hundreds of works collected by *Art in the Camps*, “urge of freedom” is an unmistakable message voiced by the Vietnamese boatpeople living in Hong Kong detention camps back in the late 1980s. It has to be an irony for these Vietnamese to find themselves facing a prison-like situation after all the ordeals they had risked for freedom to start with. Freedom was both the cause and effect for the Vietnamese boatpeople. “Freedom” in Vietnamese is *tu do*. The painting *Tu Do* (Fig.1) serves as a rational statement announced to the world. The image displays a globe with the five Continents all mapped in shape. The two words, *Tu Do*, are inscribed squarely, clearly and unshakably on top of the globe. Behind the globe are wires with sharp-pointed fringes in red and white, radiating outwards into the eight directions towards the edge of the painting. The sense of sharpness, the symbolic colour of red, and the radiating pattern are knitted altogether to provoke a thought of danger and pains in a subtle way. The message is clear: this is a plea for justice for the Vietnamese asylum seekers’ rights to freedom to the world. As declared by the Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.” (UN website)<sup>iv</sup> The situation in which the boatpeople was located was against the universal value we declare.

Vietnamese boatpeople's determination of urging for freedom is shared and successfully conveyed by another two paintings *Feet to Freedom* (Fig. 2) and *Freedom or Death* (Fig. 3). The first is dominated by a pair of soles facing outwards with "freedom or death" inscribed on the two soles in English and Vietnamese. The background is a grayish wall with a grid-like structure on the top. A word "camp" is written at the left upper corner of the wall, and two alphabets H-K is printed at the centre below the grid. These clues as well as the title indicate that the image speaks the voices of the Vietnamese boatpeople against the controversial screening policy commencing on 16 August 1988. The grey tone and cage-like structure of the wall narrate the sense of distressing imprisonment undertaken by the boatpeople. The position of the soles confronts the audience as a person who is lying completely on his back, like a deceased in his coffin. The determination of willing to trade death for freedom is vividly illustrated by this simple image. Likewise, *Freedom or Death* (Fig. 3) provokes the same kind of thoughts, only with a stronger sense of despondency. Instead of using an image of soles, the painter depicts a skull-like head with blue tears overflowing from the eyes.

The two hands below the head are chained by two strong interlocking chains extending towards the two sides of the painting. In between the head and the hands is a pair of wings in red stretching from behind in the same direction as the chains. In compared to the bold lines used for the chains, the lines for the wings which symbolize freedom are much weaker and insignificant. To the Vietnamese boatpeople, loss of freedom was the vivid reality while real freedom could only remain as a faint hope. The thought of "freedom or death" was later put into real action by some boatpeople. In July 1989, International Social Service staff member Adrie Van Gelderen noticed that the psychological state of many inmates of the detention camps of the time had been stretched to an extreme, and he warned of the possibility of mass suicides among Vietnamese boatpeople (*Mingpao* 4.9.1989[4]). And in February 1991, a male inmate attempted suicide in the camp but was rescued and hospitalized.

The controversial screening policy and the effect of long years of waiting inside the camps induced tremendous despair and frustration to the Vietnamese boatpeople. *Where are You? Liberty!* (Fig. 4) depicts a couple and a mother with her child in arm set in a prison-like interior. All the figures, including the baby, express a kind of helplessness and hopelessness on their faces. On the wall, there is the inscription: "Where are you? Liberty! Give back of us refugees status rights." Although the English is not correctly written, the message is crystal clear. What could be more distressing for parents to see their children being treated as prisoners? In another painting titled *Hopeless* (Fig. 5), a family of three is shown in their desperate gesture of reaching the globe up above their heads surrounded by wires with pointed fringes. In their long years of staying in the camps, many Vietnamese women gave birth to their children. It was estimated that about 8,000 babies were born by these asylum-seeker mothers in Hong Kong between 1975 and 2000. Their babies were born to be imprisoned. Fig. 6 and Fig. 7 are two paintings illustrating the ridicule of such situation. In the first painting, a baby is sitting behind a barred fence; in the second work, a naked baby is in a swirl made of circles of wire with sharp fringes. The injustice and shame of imposing bars and wires on vulnerable newborns and babies is self explanatory. The mood evoked by the two presentations is complicated with lamentation, anger, frustration, and pain.

### Tragic memories

Aside from the distress and frustration arising from their present asylum seeking situation, many of the Vietnamese boatpeople were at the same time suffering from tragic memories of their past. Many images in the collection narrate the miseries endured by the Vietnamese in their homeland under the Communist government. These include sufferings from hunger, injustice persecution, imprisonment, hardship labouring, and no freedom of speech. The painting *Like hard labours in Vietnam under Communist regime* (Fig. 8) reveals a dreadful scene of men working in a labouring camp. Two skinny men shouldering a weighty and angular rock in the centre of the painting catch our instant attention. A sense of unbearable harshness imposed onto the men is successfully conveyed, not only by their skeletal body structures, but also by their shaky and unstable gait. The sky is drawn in broken lines and fragmented forms, further inducing a sense of restlessness. The dreadful memory of the labouring camp was only one of the many traumatic memories bearing by Vietnamese. *Look at the Communist, Don't screen us more* (Fig. 9) is a skillful work that comprehensively concludes the many miseries experienced by the Vietnamese. The female figure at the centre of the painting utters a grievous expression with her head down, eyes closed, arms holding together, and tears in red shedding over the left side of her body. Around the figure are lots of signs and symbols signifying the terror brought by the communists – a hanging stage, a skull-like prison, series of cross hinting death and cemetery, a crying face behind a scene of persecution, and groups of figures performing harsh labour etc..

An image like this is powerful as it puts a very complex message involving facts, emotions, and plea into one single informative illustration. It tells the tragedy, vexation and frustration that the Vietnamese boatpeople pleaded to be understood by others. In compared to the miseries abided by the Vietnamese back in their homeland, the horror of their fleeing sojourn at sea imprinted them with even more tragic and terrifying memories of a crisis of life and death. The seas of Southeast Asia are ruthless and devastating during the typhoon season. Most Vietnamese boatpeople took on small fishing boats which usually measured 3 by 10 metres. These small boats could take up as many as 100 boatpeople jammed together like sardines on deck. Any thunderstorm could overturn the boats and drowned their refugee passengers. Besides, there were Thai pirates in the area decades ago who killed, robbed, and kidnapped young women on board.<sup>v</sup> For boatpeople who died at sea, the horror was forever buried along with their death; but for those who survived, the horror would forever live with them as some ineradicable tragic memories. *S.O.S.* (Fig. 10) is a drawing of such memory. It shows a profiled head in tears. Below the head are two boats surrounded by strong lines of waves in circular motion. Tiny figures are seen on board. Three large alphabets, SOS, in red are arranged vertically on the left. The extraordinary large scale of the three letters appears to be amplifying the cry for rescue screamed by the tiny boat people. Who would hear their cry at the time they screamed?

The moment of a total despair of a tragic destiny is visualized by another painting titled *Free Free* (Fig. 11). It shows a windy sky in the upper portion and a wavy sea in the lower part. A pair of brownish-yellow hands stands out vividly against the blue of the ocean. It freezes the very moment of drowning to death of a person. The five fully stretched fingers of the right hand frantically reach upward, and yet such effort appears to be in vain, too feeble to counteract the fast and vigorous swirling waves gripping around the wrist. Death is the only destiny. The terror of witnessing such drama of death is recorded in a Vietnamese boatpeople's diary which reads:

June 18, day five. .... The wind was blowing forcefully today, making high waves. Four unrecognizable bodies floated past us; they were probably other Vietnamese boat people. It was frightening to think that this seemingly infinite sea could at any time so easily swallow our tiny boat" (Do, 2000).

Like this piece of diary, *Free Free* is a visual testimony of a tragedy at sea witnessed by a Vietnamese boatpeople. As suggested by the title, death was perhaps the ultimate freedom for those did not survive the horrifying sojourn.

Survivors of a tragedy are bounded to live with two kinds of crises: a crisis of death and a correlative crisis of life. Both the nature of the tragic event itself and the survival of the event are unbearable to many survivors (Caruth, 1996). They often bear a sense of guilt in memorizing the loss of their loved ones and easily suffer from melancholy and depression. As pointed out by Julia Kristeva (1989), mourning for the melancholic and depressed is often incomplete and loaded with affects that are ambiguous and or sometimes nonsensical. With "the excess of affect" in melancholy and depression, language "becomes alien to itself" as there are too many instances of "the unnameable" (p. 42). Fig. 12 is a drawing that exhibits such utterly unspeakable feeling of melancholy. It displays the upper torso of a young man lying on his back with his arms crossed behind his head supporting it. His fixed gaze into the air eludes a sense of indescribable pessimism suffusing his mind. It sounds as if some muted voice is heard. Another painting titled *Whitehead Sunset* (Fig. 13) expresses similar mood of melancholy. In the painting, the sunset flares beyond the high wired-barred fence. Figures are presented in sketchy and un-orderly patches of red and orange forms. It presents no usual sense of beauty of a sunset but chaos. Moreover, the ghostly shadows of the figures in the middle ground and the two rough turnkey figures sitting in the foreground invite no appreciation but apprehension. This was the asylum seekers' sunset. For asylum seekers, any emotional trigger could turn into sadness, agony and pain.

### Support and hope

Identity, a sense of belonging to a particular group or nation, is a basic ground for confidence and self-esteem. For asylum seekers whose national identity is subjected to be granted by a third country, their need of a national identity will naturally be fulfilled by the memories of their original country. There are quite a few images about Vietnam among works collected by *Art in the Camps*. These images (Fig. 14 and 15) often reveal a fishing or agricultural village in Vietnam set in a natural, quiet and peaceful environment. They were some good memories of the boatpeople about their home towns. If there was anything positive and supportive in the detention camps, these images probably evoked some meaning and comfort to the boatpeople. In dealing with adversity, one might be benefited from nostalgia of good old days but certainly one relies on a sense of hope.

The sense of hope shared by the Vietnamese boatpeople decades ago is demonstrated by three paintings. The first two, *For the future of our children* (Fig. 16) and *Please convey my wish for freedom*, (Fig. 17) are well designed poster-like paintings created by the same artist. The style and composition of the two works are quite similar. Both depict a girl holding something in her hands, a child in the first and a pigeon in the latter, in an uplifting manner. Vibrant patterns in warm colours are used significantly in both works evoking a definite sense of a vision – a hope for freedom. The white grid-structure in the upper part of the first painting and the white wired-fence structure in the lower part of the second work symbolize the undesirable situation the asylum seekers were situated. The sense of misery, however, is overridden by the sense of hope as these two areas are painted in cool and neutral colours of blue, white and black. The third painting, *The dream from the inside of the cage* (Fig. 18) is also about hope, but presented in a romantic and fairytale mood. Two figures holding hand in hand are flying in a ray of light leading toward a full moon which shines upon a sea with a small boat sailing in the distance. Around the moon are misty white clouds that glow through the dark sky. The symbol of a cage is represented by a wired-fence in white against a series of brownish mountains at the lower left corner of the painting. The title of the painting is written on the right in a form of musical notes, infusing the painting with a sense of rhythm and harmony. The painting skill is obviously non-sophisticated but this does not affect the power of the image. On the contrary, it provokes a kind of child-like sincerity that makes the image more touching.

The ability to express and release inner feelings is fundamental and necessary to personality development and psychological health. As illustrated by the images selected as above, the complexity of what are expressed in these images could easily be muted given the chance for the Vietnamese boatpeople to tell in words. Drawing and painting is another form of writing in images. Clinical cases in art therapy affirm that engagement with artistic creativity provides a safe and non-verbal channel through which hidden emotions such as repression and grief can be revealed' (Stember & Halpert, 1980). In the spontaneous process of art making, the images produced often reveal thoughts, intense feelings, and conflicts that cannot be easily expressed in language. The expressive power of using images to substitute for language is rectified by the personal experience of a physician, Claudia Osborn (1998), who suffered a traumatic head injury that impaired her ability to speak. In the account of her rehabilitation, she says:

These acts of creating images pierced small holes in my sense of isolation. The joy I once had in spoken language, the release in confiding and sharing, the pleasure in intellectual exchanges with others, might now have other expressions, however inchoate and primitive. If I could not speak what I felt, I would draw and write it (p.127).

Images selected in this article speak the collective memories and sufferings of the Vietnamese boatpeople living in Hong Kong detention camps decades ago. The very complex emotions that these people suffered give us an insight to understand the inner world of asylum seekers in general. A recent report on population under the category of "forced migration" indicates that the number of existing asylum seekers and refugees around the world today is astonishing. Millions of people are still living in displaced situations without a national identity and the rights to life, liberty and security of person. This paper demonstrates how image writing can help visualize the muted voices of Vietnamese asylum seekers and has documented a page of collective history decades ago. May all the muted voices of those unfortunate people experiencing forced migration be heard so that their miseries can be shared and supports be given.

## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> The definition of refugees is stated by the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and later modified by the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

[http://www.unhcr.se/SE/Protect\\_refugees/pdf/magazine.pdf](http://www.unhcr.se/SE/Protect_refugees/pdf/magazine.pdf) (accessed in Jan 2010)

<sup>ii</sup> This dramatic increase in the number of Vietnamese boatpeople landing in Hong Kong at the end of the decade was a consequence of a variety of factors including natural disasters of droughts and floods in Vietnam, outbreaks of crop diseases leading to famine, and political persecution imposed by the Vietnamese Communist government. The reference for the outbreaks of crop diseases and illnesses affecting Vietnam in 1977 and 1978 can be found on the following Website: <http://ocha-gwapps1.unog.ch/rw/rwb.nsf/doc106?OpenForm&view=rwlusppublished&po=0&rc=3&cc=vnm&offset=1500&hits=100&sortBy=rwpubdate&sortdirection=descending> (accessed in Oct 2009)

- <sup>iii</sup> Riots and fighting were common inside the refugee camps in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, serial fighting broke out in Kai Tak North camp which housed 7,000 refugees in early May 1982. The two riots ended up with 19 injuries, including a Chinese reporter and a European policeman, and 6 refugees were ultimately arrested. Details can be found on *Mingpao* (1982.5.4[8]). In the 1990s, at least 10 incidents, some of which turned into serious riots, occurred in camps at Shek Kong, Shum Shui Po, Whitehead, Tuen Mun and Tai A Chau.
- <sup>iv</sup> Details of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be found on the website of the United Nations. <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> (accessed in Jan 2010)
- <sup>v</sup> “The Trauma Caused by the Vietnam War,” retrieved from the website Vietka.com. See “Archives of Vietnamese Boat People” at: [http://www.vietka.com/Vietnamese\\_Boat\\_People/VietnamWar.htm](http://www.vietka.com/Vietnamese_Boat_People/VietnamWar.htm) (accessed in September 2007).

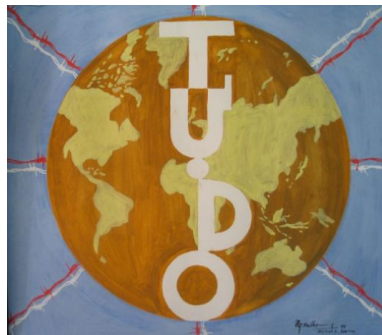
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- 27. *Mingpao* on 4 September 1989[4].



**Fig 1 Tudo**

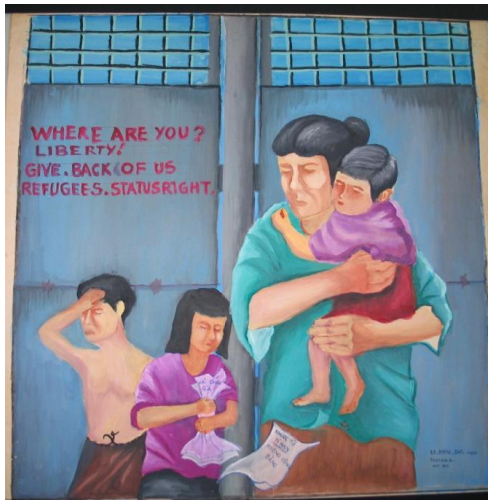


**Fig 2 Feet to Freedom**

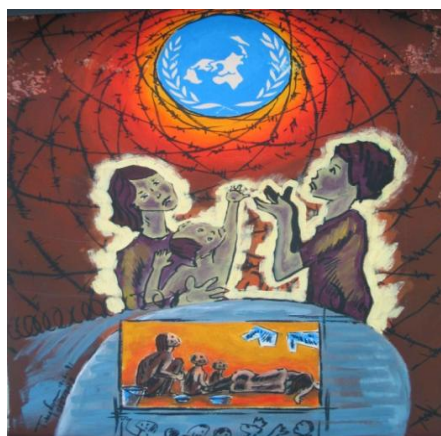


**Fig 3 Freedom or Death**





**Fig 4 Where are you Liberty?**



**Fig 5 Hopelessness**



**Fig 6 Baby behind the Bars**



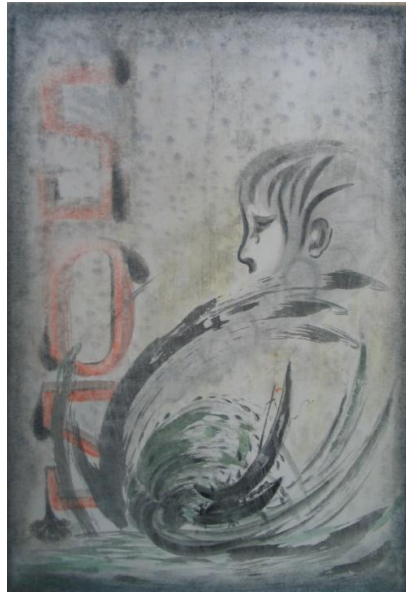
**Fig 7 Baby Caught in Wires**



**Fig 8 Like Hard Labour in Vietnam under Communist Regime**



**Fig 9 Look at the Communist, Don't Screen Us More**



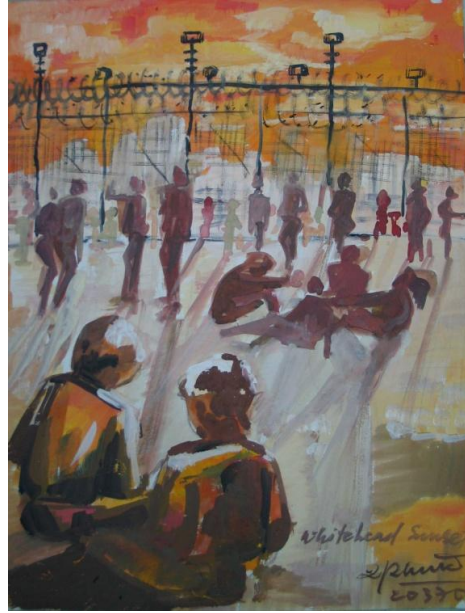
**Fig 10 S.O.S.**



**Fig 11 Free Free**



**Fig 12 Drawing of a Boy**



**Fig 13 Whitehead Sunset**



**Fig 14 Fishing Village**



**Fig 14 A Village**



Fig 16 For the Future of Our Children



Fig 17 Convey My Wish for Freedom



Fig 18 The Dream From Inside of the Cage