



香港浸會大學
HONG KONG BAPTIST UNIVERSITY

THE
SOPA
AWARDS

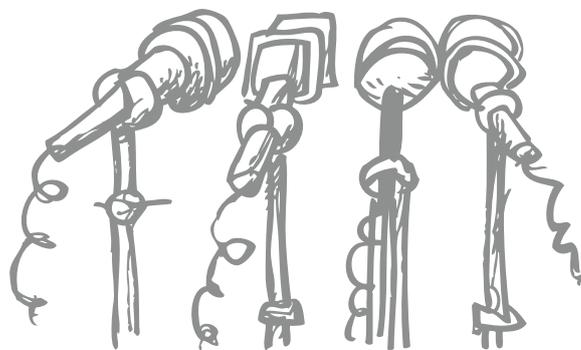


HKBU-SOPA

AWARD WINNERS FORUM

香港浸會大學－亞洲出版業協會
卓越新聞獎得主論壇

2015



INTRODUCTION

The **HKBU-SOPA Award Winners Forum 2015** aims to enhance the standard of journalism education and journalistic practice in Hong Kong and the Greater China region by inviting a panel of SOPA award winners to participate in lectures and discussions on the journalism profession. The topic of the forum this year is “Framing a story – The journalistic challenge to put issues in context”.

The Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA) is a not-for-profit organization based in Hong Kong and represents international, regional and local media companies in Hong Kong and around Asia. It hosts the prestigious annual SOPA Awards for Editorial Excellence to set world-class benchmarks for journalism in Asia. The SOPA Awards were established in 1999 as a tribute to editorial excellence in both traditional and new media and were designed to encourage editorial vitality throughout the region. The awards cover a broad range of categories reflecting Asia’s diverse geo-political environment and vibrant editorial scene.

The Department of Journalism of Hong Kong Baptist University was founded under the School of Communication in 1968. One of the leading journalism schools in Asia, the department offers undergraduate studies in Chinese Journalism, Financial Journalism and International Journalism as well as the MA in International Journalism Studies Programme (MAIJS) offering a Master of Arts in International Journalism and a Master of Arts in Business and Financial Journalism.

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AWARD RECEIVED

TITLE OF ENTRY

Hannah Beech

East Asia Bureau Chief
TIME Asia



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2012 Excellence in Reporting on the Environment (Honorable Mention)	Killing Fields
2011 Journalist of the Year	-
2010 Excellence in Business Reporting (Award for Excellence)	The World of China Inc.
2010 Excellence in Human Rights Reporting (Honorable Mention)	The New Great Game
2009 Excellence in Feature Writing (Award of Excellence)	Crazy for Gold
2009 Excellence in Reporting Breaking News (Honorable Mention)	Saving Burma
2007 Excellence in Opinion Writing (Honorable Mention)	Blind Justice
2006 The Scoop Award (Honorable Mention)	Enemies of the State

Nancy C. Carvajal

Reporter
Philippine Daily Inquirer



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Yi-Shan Chen

Deputy Editor
CommonWealth Magazine



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2015 Excellence in Information Graphics (Honorable Mention)	
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2014 Excellence in Business Reporting (Award for Excellence)	The Two Faces of China
2010 Excellence in Business Reporting (Award for Excellence)	人民幣來了！

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AWARD RECEIVED

TITLE OF ENTRY

Harry Harrison

Cartoonist

South China Morning Post



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2015 Excellence in Editorial Cartooning
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Occupy (according to Harry)

2012 Excellence in Editorial Cartooning
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Beijing spring

Didi Kirsten Tatlow

Correspondent

International New York Times



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2011 Excellence in Opinion Writing
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Column: Letter from China
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2008 Journalist of the Year

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2008 Excellence in Reporting on the
Environment (Award for Excellence)

Xiamen's Chemical Reaction
(South China Morning Post)

2006 Excellence in Reporting of Breaking News
(Honorable Mention)

Riots in Huaxi Village
(South China Morning Post)

2005 Excellence in Feature Writing
(Award for Excellence)

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2010 Excellence in Human Rights Reporting
(Award for Excellence)

Thailand's secret refugees
(South China Morning Post)

2009 The Scoop Award
(Award for Excellence)

Oil Territory
(South China Morning Post)

2009 Journalist of the Year

-

Hannah Beech

The Great Scrawl
of China



HANNAH BEECH

East Asia Bureau Chief
TIME Asia

Hannah Beech is TIME's East Asia Bureau Chief and China Bureau Chief based in Shanghai. In 1997, Beech joined TIME in Hong Kong and has also been stationed in Bangkok and Beijing. During her tenure at TIME, Beech has reported across Asia, from Afghanistan and Papua New Guinea to East Timor and Tajikistan. She has won numerous reporting honors, including several Amnesty Human Rights Press Awards, the Henry Luce Award and multiple Society of Publishers in Asia prizes. In 2011 she was named Journalist of the Year by the Society of Publishers in Asia. Beech, who is half-Japanese and half-American, was born in Hong Kong and speaks Japanese, Mandarin and French.



WORLD

THE GREAT SCRAWL OF CHINA

The nation that invented paper is now in the midst of an online-publishing boom that is making fortunes, changing lives and creating a truly populist literature of the first time

BY HANNAH BEECN

Photographs by Gilles Sahrle for Time

The letters of the law

His online writing means that police officer Li gets barely four hour's sleep a night, but it nets him three times his official salary

A

AS LI KE TELLS IT, THE POLICE STATION IN the steel-mill county of Xiangyuan is like any other in central China. The air is heavy with industrial dust. Steam rises from mugs of tea. At their desks, idling officers, cell phones in hand, scroll absently through the latest installments of their favorite online novels. Huddled with them is Li, a shy, chubby policeman with a schoolboy buzz cut. Unbeknownst to his colleagues, the 29-year-old also happens to be a prize-winning Internet author whose

latest tale features a cop with superpowers who leads a double life. Once, a fellow officer asked Li whether he had ever heard of a writer named Red Eyes, the pen name Li uses online. "Yes," he replied, with a grin. "I've heard he's very handsome."

Web publishing is booming in China, more than anywhere else in the world. For the first time in the People's Republic's history, there is literature of the people by the people. After all, despite its economic transformation, China is still an authoritarian nation, where the government places more emphasis on molding public opinion than embracing a diversity of voices. Yet with more than 510 million Chinese tethered to the Internet, the online arena is the freest space in China today, even if the Great Firewall blocks some sensitive information. Anyone with an Internet connection can write a serialized novel by logging on to one of hundreds of self-publishing websites. Millions of Chinese—from migrant workers and officials to housewives and the odd cop—have tried their hands at what is known in Mandarin as *wangluo wenxue*, or "network literature." "The Internet is where Chinese can truly express themselves," says Zhang Yunfan, CEO of Zongheng, an on-

line-publishing website that gets 35 million page views per day. "If you want to know what Chinese are thinking and feeling, read online novels."

It's a big business too. In a society in which economic advancement is seen not just as an ambition but as an imperative, hundreds of thousands of amateur writers are making decent money by posting serialized fiction online. Yu Xiaoming, for instance, was working as a gastroenterologist in Shanghai and in his spare time posted novels inspired by the online game *World of Warcraft*. Last December, the 30-year-old quit his day job because he makes double his old \$1,600 monthly salary by posting daily updates of his fantasy fiction. An online novel can sell for as little as 30¢, with readers often paying only for later chapters of a book. But with more than 200 million Chinese reading e-fiction on cell phones, tablets and computers, the money adds up. Clouday Corp., which owns six user-generated literary websites, reported net revenues of \$48 million in the first half of 2011; each day, an average of 58 million Chinese characters are uploaded onto its sites. "It's a grassroots movement," says Chen Aiyang, a 26-year-old chemis-



Grave importance Xu's antique-collecting family helped inspire his tomb-raider novels

try graduate whose fantasy novels generate tens of millions of hits each. “Chinese want entertainment, and the Internet is the best place to deliver it.”

The impact of e-publishing resonates far beyond the virtual world. Successful e-novels have sparked a frenzy of print versions and related record-breaking TV shows, movies and video games. Famed director Zhang Yimou's 2010 offering, *Under the Hawthorn Tree*, originated from an online novel. “We're always looking for new stories, and the Internet is one of the best places to find them,” says Lee Kwok-lap, a Hong Kong director who brought to the TV screen *Every Step Surprises Your Heart*—an e-novel that had garnered 100 million hits with its tale about a modern-day woman who time-travels to the Qing dynasty. “Online, people just write from their imaginations and there are no boundaries or restrictions.”

The success of online publishing is directly related to the failures of China's straightjacketed book business. The Middle Kingdom may have invented paper, but the communist state has long regarded

books with suspicion. During the Cultural Revolution, Chinese classics and foreign fiction alike were tossed onto bonfires and burned. Today, some state-run publishing houses still see literature as a propaganda, educational or self-improvement tool, not a vehicle for something as crass as entertainment. Although a thriving trade now exists in online novels turned into paper books, many of the juicy tales that lure online readers, like risqué campus romances or brawny detective stories, would have little chance of making it to print first. In the offline world, a manuscript can only be published after censors scour each page for hidden references to sex, politics or other taboo topics. If for some reason a sensitive passage gets printed, a publishing house can be fined or even shut down.

Chinese websites that publish fiction enjoy far greater liberties. Of course, certain things can't be said, like direct criticism of the Communist Party or examples of central government corruption. Websites are still monitored by the Culture Ministry, the Public Security Bureau, the Internet police and company censorship committees. Nevertheless, the volume of words—Zongheng, for instance, has published 100,000 novels

that are often triple the length of regular print books—makes it nearly impossible for censors to scrutinize everything in real time. Literary websites can also take advantage of the authorities' skewed perceptions. “I think the government still thinks that network literature is not as influential as paper publishing,” says Zongheng's Zhang. “So there is more freedom given to us to publish what we want.”

The Fiction Factory

IT'S A REMARKABLE EVOLUTION FOR A literary form that grew out of bursts of creativity on online bulletin boards in the 1990s. Back then, people would post poems or short stories and pass them nationwide through online community forums that were set up by companies, universities and media groups. “When I first went online and saw all these little essays posted, I felt such a thrill,” says Xu Lei, one of the most popular online novelists in China, who writes stories of swashbuckling tomb raiders under the pen name of Nanpai Sanshu. “I figured, Why can't I realize my dream too? Who can stop me?”

Even in a nation where fortunes are made at warp speed, Xu's trajectory is

WORLD | CHINA

'When I first went online and saw all these little essays posted, I felt such a thrill. I figured, Why can't I realize my dream too? Who can stop me?'

—XU LEI, AUTHOR

astounding. Back in 2007, he worked at a gambling-supplies company in eastern Zhejiang province when the global financial crisis hit. Demand for poker chips and roulette wheels plummeted. With time on his hands, the then 25-year-old began posting fanciful stories about tomb raiders, inspired by anecdotes from his antique-collecting family. Xu hoped a few friends might check them out. Instead, millions of fans materialized across China. *Secrets of a Grave Robber* now boasts eight volumes. Even before he finished his first online book, Xu was fielding calls from publishing houses. His first printed novel sold 600,000 copies in a month. Last year he was one of China's highest-grossing novelists, although he jokes: "I don't fly a private jet like Stephen King does."

Online fiction in China is now dictating the direction of print publishing. Many of the novels on best-seller lists were originally published online. Bookstores have sections dedicated to online novels, and e-publishing firms make a good portion of their profits from hard-copy titles. Often books are cleansed of sensitive material, but at other times outré topics make their way into print. Xu's tomb-raiding tales are none-too-subtle allegories of the destruction of the nation's cultural heritage as a result of communist political excesses. There's even a thriving subset of books about naughty officials and their naughtier mistresses. With state-owned publishers being exposed to market forces, even the most conservative firms are looking for their own *Harry Potter* or *Sex and the City*. Online novels that have proved themselves commercially and haven't tangled with the censors are ideal candidates.

While there's plenty of bodice-ripping and fantasy fluff floating about on the Web, serious literature also exists. After all, if Charles Dickens could produce *Great Expectations* through cliff-hanger journal serials in 19th century Britain, why should anyone be surprised that 2008 Man Asian

Literary Prize nominee Hao Qun (who goes by the pen name Murong Xuecun) wrote *Leave Me Alone: A Novel of Chengdu* in online installments? Even the government has tacitly admitted the importance of online fiction. Last year, the state-run Chinese Writers' Association began including online novels in its annual awards—the first time it had done so.

Still, there's no question that fantasy and love stories are the biggest online draws for Chinese men and women, respectively. Most of the romance novels in Chinese bookstores today started life online, with a particularly popular variety being maiden-meets-prince sagas set in imperial times. Ren Xin, a 31-year-old tai chi instructor in eastern Jiangsu province, noticed that female protagonists were missing from print *wuxia* novels, a historical martial-arts genre with the same escapist lure as medieval knight tales or western shoot-'em-ups. So in 2009, she logged on to Qidian, China's largest user-generated publishing platform, which is owned by Clouday. "Readers like my female characters because they are independent and strong," says the woman whose pen name is White Feathered Swallow. Ren's books now garner around 1 million clicks each, and she has secured a contract with a print publishing firm to write a modern romance. "It's so hard for a new writer to get published in China," she says. "There's no way I could have gotten a contract if I hadn't started writing online first."

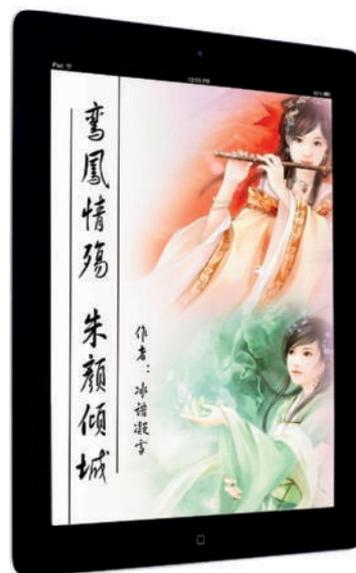
But popularity can be dangerous. Most best-selling online titles are pirated—a systemic problem that plagues all forms of Chinese media. And if novelists are late in posting a new chapter, frustrated readers often will write their own. "There's a whole different ending out there for one of my books, and there's nothing I can do about it," says tomb-raider novelist Xu. "Sometimes I struggle to convince people that's not what I really wrote."

But the biggest danger with recognition is triggering attention from the authorities. The unpredictability of official interference is wearying, even within the looser filaments binding the Web. Successful writers have been charged with pornography, and time-travel shows have elicited a surprise scolding from China's media czars, who on occasion have effectively banned such programs for "treating serious history in a frivolous way." Thus, while the TV version of *Every Step*, which aired late last year, was a huge hit and even spawned copycat programs, the show was never rebroadcast during prime time in China, as most top-rated shows are.

"You never know what's going to be censored," sighs Zongheng's Zhang. "It could just be anything." Xu says even the most innocuous character could be forbidden. "You know how in *X-Men*, the Wolverine helps American soldiers out in different wars?" he asks, using a Hollywood example. "In China, you could never have such a character because then you'd be getting into sensitive history and wars. I'd love to develop a character like him, but I know where the line is, and I'm not going to cross it."

'The Internet is where Chinese can truly express themselves. If you want to know what Chinese are thinking and feeling, read online novels.'

—ZHANG YUNFAN,
ONLINE PUBLISHER



Buzz words More than 200 million Chinese read novels on tablets, phones and computers

Those lines are hardening. Last year, the Communist Party announced a campaign to strengthen “cultural security” and promote “socialist core values.” In January, entertainment programming on satellite TV, including shows based on online novels, was slashed to make way for content emphasizing “social responsibility.” Movie studios have been told to get in on the socialist-values act. Could online novels and their print analogs be next? “I don’t know what those government scholars are thinking every day,” says police novelist Li. “If they were to ban the kinds of topics I write about, then it would be a very sad situation because I could do nothing about it.”

In the end, though, the biggest demands facing the online-writing business may not come from above but below. Grave-ropper writer Xu makes a chopping motion against his neck when talking about the pressure from insatiable readers. Fiction websites say twice-daily updates are needed to keep readers hooked. Three times is even better. Once readers lose interest in a novel, it’s almost impossible to lure them back since there are so many engaging stories out there. “Some writers can spend 10 years working on one book,” Xu says enviously. “But on the Internet, you sometimes have to produce 10,000 characters a day because it’s all about the money. Can you really call yourself a writer in that circumstance, or are you just a worker who happens to use words?”

Back in Xiangyuan, Li hunches over a keyboard in his monastic cell of a bedroom, determined to churn out 8,000 Chinese characters a day to appease his 20,000-strong fan base. Chain-smoking to keep himself awake, he rarely falls asleep before 4 in the morning before reporting for duty at the police station by 8. “The work load is unimaginable,” he says. Li makes triple his police salary with his online writing. But he won’t quit his day job. Xiangyuan is a conservative place where Chairman Mao’s portrait still hangs in the main square. His family isn’t convinced that a job sending words into the ether is a proper career. “They think that only working for the government or a coal mine is a serious pursuit,” says Li. “To them, my writing is just a game.” For millions of Chinese—including the authorities—it’s already much more.

—WITH REPORTING BY CHENGCHENG JIANG AND JESSIE JIANG/BEIJING ■



Nancy C. Carvajal

Complete records
of Benhur Luy bared



NANCY C. CARVAJAL

Reporter
Philippine Daily Inquirer

Nancy C. Carvajal has been a reporter for the Philippine Daily Inquirer, the leading newspaper in the Philippines, since 1992.

She was named Journalist of the Year at the 2015 Awards for Editorial Excellence of the Society of Publishers in Asia for “courageous and excellent work in exposing official corruption.”

She studied Economics in college and is currently on leave from her graduate studies in Journalism.

Philippine Daily Inquirer | May 12, 2014



Complete records of Benhur Luy bared

20,000 digital files contain names, details of pork deals

By Nancy C. Carvajal
First of a series



LUY: Main whistle-blower of pork racket.
INQUIRER PHOTO

WHEN they came to the INQUIRER on April 27, 2013, the parents of Benhur Luy—Gertrudes and Arturo—gave us a hard drive containing the complete files of their son while in the employ of their cousin Janet Lim-Napoles as her finance officer.

The Luys, together with Benhur’s siblings Arthur and Annabel, came to the INQUIRER to ask for help for their son to expose the plunder of people’s money by Napoles and her highly placed clients in the government.

The INQUIRER copied the contents of the hard drive that had 20,103 files held in 2,156 folders during the period 2002 to 2012.



Napoles knew that Benhur kept complete records of her transactions upon her strict instructions.

Surrendering the laptop containing the business transactions of JLN Corp., where Benhur was finance officer, was the condition set by Napoles and her brother Reynald Lim for his family to be allowed to see Benhur after they allegedly illegally detained him on Dec. 19, 2012.

On March 22, agents of the National Bureau of Investigation's Special Task Force rescued Benhur from the Napoles condominium unit in Pacific Plaza Towers in Taguig City.

What Napoles did not know then was that Benhur had made a backup file on the hard drive where amounts of kickbacks given to lawmakers and other government officials were recorded in detail.

Benhur's parents were accompanied to the INQUIRER by another JLN employee, Merlina Suñas, who also turned whistle-blower, his longtime friend Flor Villanueva and Benhur's former lawyer Levito Baligod.

The INQUIRER discovered that close to 200 people, including lawmakers, department heads, a former Supreme Court justice, popular media personalities, heads of government-owned and-controlled corporations, government employees of various agencies, local government officials, lawyers, military officials, show biz personalities, employees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and private individuals received money from Napoles based on the records of Benhur.

Benhur's records showed that transactions of lawmakers were of two categories. One, there were legislators who repeatedly funneled huge funds to Napoles organizations and personally received kickbacks from her. Two, there were legislators who allocated a minimal amount of their pork barrel funds through agents and representatives.

Kickback deliveries

Kickbacks were handed out using various methods—through bank fund transfers, checks, cash delivered to their houses or picked up at the JLN office in Discovery Center in Ortigas, Pasig City, the Benhur records also showed.

Other places indicated as venues for deliveries of kickbacks were hotels, restaurants and coffee shops.

Some legislators received kickbacks in foreign currency, the files showed.

The INQUIRER found in the computer files records of financial transactions, bank documents, bank transfers, cash and check disbursements, letters of endorsements, memorandums of agreement, acceptance letters, list of properties, money transfers, auditor's reports, private letters, insurance policies, prayers, photographs, project proposals, check disbursements, bank placements, bank deposits, drafts of various communications, special allocation release order numbers, guests lists and payrolls of JLN employees, including Benhur's.

The hard drive contained JLN Corp. bank account numbers and balances. The records also showed that Napoles controlled 21 foundations—not 20 as earlier reported—and a publishing company, Golden Publishing Corp.

The records further showed that Napoles knew some of the personalities of other equally questionable organizations, which were also beneficiaries of hundreds of millions of pesos from some legislators.

Benhur's records were among the evidence submitted by the National Bureau of Investigation to the Office of the Ombudsman as part of the evidence in plunder cases filed against Senators Juan Ponce Enrile, Ramon "Bong" Revilla Jr., Jinggoy Estrada and 74 others.



BENHUR Luy and the other whistle-blowers (right) in the pork scam; his mother Gertrudes (top) is shown in file photo when she appeared during a Senate hearing. INQUIRER PHOTOS



Other sources of scams

Benhur's records showed that apart from the estimated P10-billion Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) allocations and the Malampaya Fund, other public funds were also sources of kickbacks for the lawmakers through Napoles.

The other sources were budget insertions, allocations for hard projects like farm-to-market roads, appropriation funds for calamity, nationwide equipment enhancement programs and department savings.

Budget for members of the Commission on Appointments and media blitz of some government organizations were also financed by Napoles.

It also contained records of Napoles' properties and houses, payments of club shares, bank accounts, security and treasury bonds, and the JLN Corp. minimal payments made to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The records also have detailed information on how much and when and how Napoles sent millions of dollars to the United States to purchase properties and finance the lifestyle of her daughter abroad.

The hard drive also contained names of guest lists for Napoles parties like the JLN office anniversary, wedding anniversary and other family celebrations.

It also contained songs for Mass and photos of Benhur with friends.

Apart from the hard drive, Benhur also provided additional documents to the INQUIRER to support the information retrieved from the hard drive.

Benhur, speaking through his lawyer Raji Mendoza, explained that those who transacted with Napoles involved "rebates or commission."

Benhur, through Mendoza, was informed of the INQUIRER'S decision to release the content of the hard drive.

"We hope that the release of the records of my client will be the catalyst that will challenge public officials to be more circumspect in the use of public funds," Mendoza said.

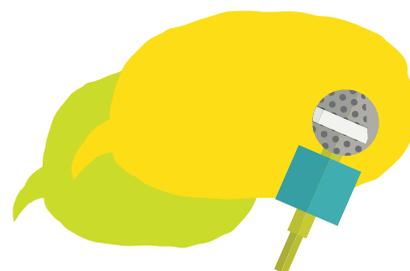
Philippine Daily Inquirer | May 13, 2014



Luy's records at a glance

Even P3,000 lanzones entered in pork books

By Nancy C. Carvajal
Second of a series



BY THE TIME the pork barrel scam was exposed last year, the public funds described in the digital records of Benhur Luy as proceeds of “sales” far exceeded the estimated P10 billion that allegedly landed in the various bank accounts of Janet Lim-Napoles, her companies and their subsidiaries.

The amount was culled by the INQUIRER from more than 500 special allotment release orders (Saros) for more than 100 lawmakers, including former and current members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, on the hard disk drive (HDD) containing records of Napoles' business transactions.

The funds were from projects for the Department of Transportation and Communications, Department of Agriculture (DA), Department of Agrarian Reforms, fertilizer projects, GMA rice inputs, insertions, farm-to-market road projects and the Malampaya gas fund intended for typhoon victims.

The digital records of Benhur Luy, Napoles' finance officer before he turned whistle-blower, were made available to the INQUIRER when his family visited the INQUIRER on

April 27, 2013. The records showed Napoles had access to not less than P1 billion kept in placements, foreign currency and savings accounts.

Napoles' husband, Jaime, a former Marine major, contrary to reports that he was not a part of his wife's activities, received a commission of P200,000 from a DA project in 2005.

The records were so meticulous they covered anywhere from purchases of lanzones and McDonald burgers to a car for boxing icon Manny Pacquiao's rumored girlfriend.

The Benhur Luy files also showed:

- Napoles purchased \$4.1 million in one day in 2006 and sent it abroad to buy properties and finance activities of her daughter who was residing overseas.
- The money used to purchase the foreign currency, including British pounds, was withdrawn from bank accounts of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) controlled by Napoles, which were depositories of projects funded by the congressional Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF).
- JLN Corp. paid P11,852.50 in annual income tax for 2005; Jo-Chris Trading, P3,450; and JC World Travel P5,345.

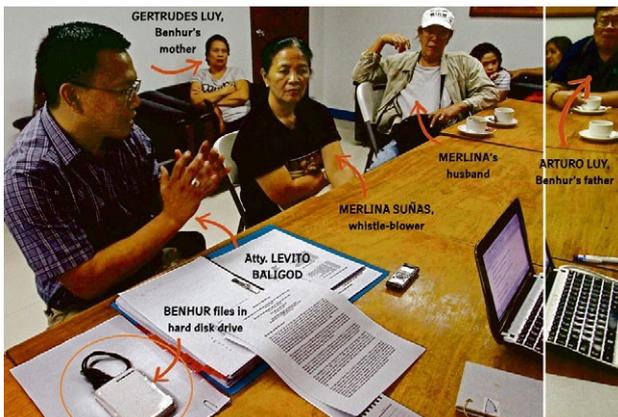
- Napoles paid for the Mazda car of Krista Ranillo, rumored ex-girlfriend of Sarangani Rep. Manny Pacquiao and daughter of former actor Mat Ranillo.
- For every inspection of the Department of Transportation and Communications, which sometimes happened twice a month from 2004 to 2006, the inspector received P20,000 "SOP."
- Energy and Regulatory Commission Chair Zenaida Ducut, before and after she was appointed as ERC head by then President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, served as the top agent of Napoles both in the Senate and the House.
- Ducut's media blitz when she was appointed as ERC chief was paid for by Napoles.
- Lawmakers asked Napoles for kickback advances charged to future projects
- Napoles gave a check for P345,000 to Mario Lim as donation for a classroom in China.
- Napoles' transactions were a family affair for some lawmakers. Regular clients were father and son, mother and son, wife and husband, siblings, brothers, cousins and in-laws.
- Pauline Labayen, a senior staff member of Sen. Jinggoy Estrada, signed communications to regional directors of the Department of Public Works and Highways informing them of allocations for farm-to-market roads funded by PDAF.
- Local government units (LGUs) were regular conduits of PDAF projects chosen by lawmakers.
- Favored heads of LGUs also repeatedly designated Napoles NGOs as beneficiaries.
- A P3,000 purchase of lanzones by Catherine May Santos, a member of the staff of Sen. Ferdinand Marcos Jr., was entered in the pork books.
- Livelihood starter kits like beauty kits, soap and costume jewelry making modules, dressmaking, hairdressing, silk screen printing, security, technical, medical and farm kits were the favorite products of the Napoles NGOs for ghost deliveries.
- P1 million birthday gift for "Sexy" on March 16, 2012.
- Napoles owns Gintong Aral Publishing House, also used as conduit for party-list A Teacher Ikaw at Ako Foundation also owned by Napoles.
- Napoles employees used code names for lawmakers according to their personality or advocacy: Kuryente, Gerera, Khulit, Bulaklak, Bonjing, Tuna, Inay, Tanda, Dahon, Sexy and Pogi, Jessica Daan, Olga Tossan.
- Napoles allocated P275,000 SOP for the Commission on Audit and the Ombudsman given through her lawyer Freddie Villamor on Jan. 30, 2006.
- Cash of P202,000 for Lucy Gomez for the purchase of lot.
- P2 million worth of shares for 20 percent of Commander Shoppers Drug care of Alice Villanueva.
- Napoles' payment for the purchase of jewelry in hundreds of thousands of pesos also came from bank accounts of NGOs that were depositories of PDAF funds.
- Napoles also owned Nutri-Growth company as a supplier of fertilizer products.
- P72,000 for the purchase of McDonald's products on April 5, 2006.



Luy confirms PDI files

Benhur issues statement through his new lawyer

By Nancy C. Carvajal
Thirteenth of a series



THE VISIT Composite photo shows lawyer Levito Baligod, whistle-blower Merlina Suñas and her husband, and Benhur Luy's parents, Arturo and Gertrudes, during their visit to the INQUIRER on April 27, 2013. The hard disk drive containing Luy's files is on the table (lower left).

RAFFY LERMA

BENHUR Luy, the principal whistle-blower in the P10-billion pork barrel scam, has confirmed the INQUIRER reports based on his accounting files published by the paper for the past 12 days.

He also confirmed the INQUIRER'S account of how it came into possession of the hard disk drive containing his files.

More than a month after Luy was rescued by the special task force unit of the National Bureau of Investigation, late in the evening on April 27, 2013, the parents of Luy, Gertrudes and Arturo, his siblings, Annabel and Arthur, accompanied by their former lawyer Levito Baligod came to the INQUIRER for the first time to ask for help to expose the racket of their employer and relative, JLN Corp. head Janet Lim-Napoles.

Also with them were another former Napoles employee turned whistle-blower, Merlina Suñas, and her husband.

Luy's childhood friend Flor Villanueva, the wife of Arthur, was also present.

Benhur visits Inquirer

Benhur was not present during that first meeting. He, however, came to the INQUIRER before the publication of the six-part series on the massive corruption allegedly engineered by Napoles.

Baligod, as lawyer of the Luys at that time, offered to the INQUIRER the contents of the hard drive as additional proof of their allegations about Napoles and her highly placed clients.

The INQUIRER copied the hard drive of Luy, that contained at least 20,000 files covering the JLN Corp. transactions for 2002-2012.



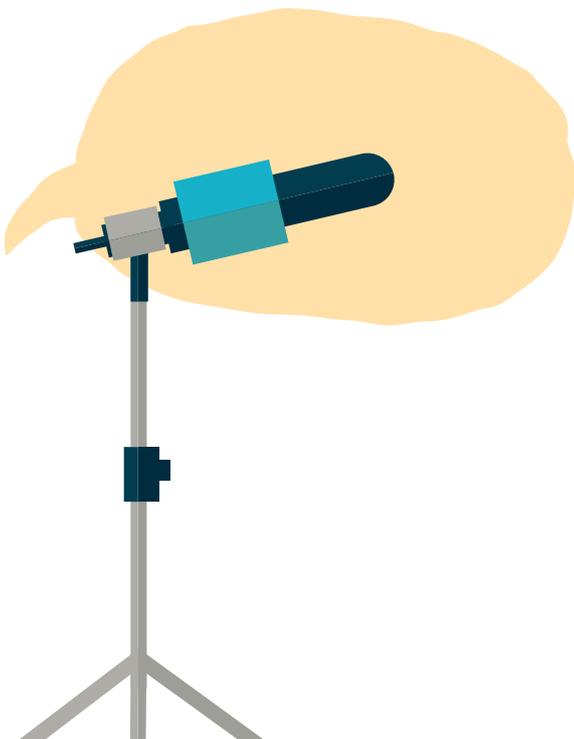
THE STORY Baligod discloses and explains the workings of the pork barrel scam to the INQUIRER. Beside him is Benhur Luy's brother Arthur.

RAFFY LERMA



THE FIRST TIME Luy's parents, Arturo (right) and Gertrudes (in background, second from left), ask the INQUIRER for help in exposing the activities of Janet Lim-Napoles while Benhur was in hiding after his rescue from the Napoles condo unit in BGC by the NBI.

RAFFY LERMA



The INQUIRER during that first meeting asked for additional evidence from the whistle-blowers apart from the sworn affidavits submitted by Luy, his parents and the other whistle-blowers to the NBI and the Department of Justice in connection with the illegal detention case Luy filed against Napoles and her brother, Reynald Lim, who remains at large.

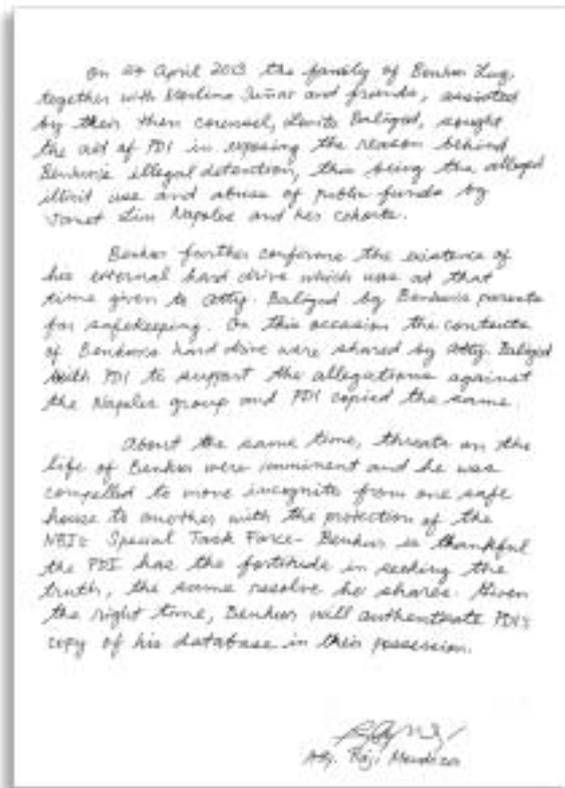
Thanks, PDI

Luy, in an earlier interview, told the INQUIRER that his parents had no knowledge of the explosive contents of his files.

On Thursday afternoon, Raji Mendoza, the new lead counsel, came to the INQUIRER office to personally hand a statement of support from Luy.

The letter was handwritten and signed by Mendoza.

The INQUIRER is reproducing the statement in full.

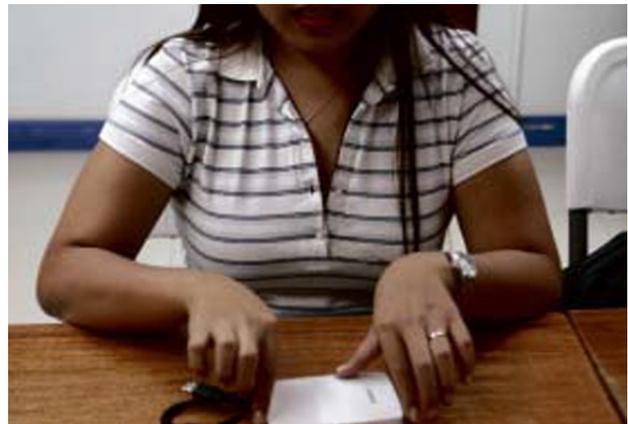


STATEMENT of Benhur Luy through lawyer Raji Mendoza

On April 27, 2013, the family of Benhur Luy, together with Merlina Suñas and friends, assisted by their then counsel, Levito Baligod, sought the aid of PDI in exposing the reason behind Benhur’s illegal detention, this being the alleged illicit use and abuse of public funds by Janet Napoles and her cohorts.

Benhur further confirms the existence of his external hard drive which was at that time given to Atty. Baligod by Benhur’s parents for safekeeping.

On this occasion, the contents of Benhur’s hard drive were shared by Atty. Baligod with the INQUIRER to support the



THE HARD DRIVE Benhur Luy’s hard disk drive contains 20,000 files detailing the alleged transactions of Janet Lim-Napoles with lawmakers and government officials from 2002 to 2012.

RAFFY LERMA

allegations against the Napoles group and the INQUIRER copied the same.

About the same time, threats on the life of Benhur were imminent and he was compelled to move incognito from one safe house to another with the protection of the NBI’s special task force.

Benhur is thankful the INQUIRER has the fortitude in seeking the truth, the same resolve he shares.



LIKE LONDON'S MAZE GARDEN An aerial view of the 350-hectare agriculture estate in Rosario, Batangas province, that has a garden patterned after London's Kew Gardens. Former Makati City Vice Mayor Ernesto Mercado was on a helicopter to shoot this photo last week. The estate consists of a piggery, cock farm, swimming pool, manmade lagoon, 2 rest houses, a main ranch-style home and an orchid farm.

CONTRIBUTED PHOTO BY ERNESTO MERCADO

Binay farm 350-ha estate'

Mercado: Batangas property in dummies' names

By Nancy C. Carvajal

NOT NINE but 350 hectares.

A 350-hectare agricultural estate in Barangay Maligaya, Rosario town, Batangas province, that has a piggery, a flower orchard and a cock farm is currently owned by a corporation whose shareholders are reportedly dummies of Vice President Jejomar Binay, according to former Makati City Vice Mayor Ernesto Mercado.

Mercado, a geodetic engineer by profession, said he had proof the farm in Batangas measured 350 hectares and was owned by the Vice President's family.

He promised to present at the Senate blue ribbon committee hearing today not only the proof of Binay's ownership of the property but also of photos of other Binay assets, such as three properties in Tagaytay City.

Mercado, who showed the INQUIRER aerial photos of the agriculture estate in Batangas, described the property as a "high-end hacienda."

The farm has "an air-conditioned piggery and a flower farm that grows orchids of the imported variety," he said.

Kew Gardens

It also has a cock farm, a man-made lagoon, a swimming pool and a huge house.

The former vice mayor added that it also had a "maze garden" patterned after the Kew Gardens in London, one of the city's top attractions.

Mercado said that when he traveled to London in 2007 with the Vice President and Dr. Elenita Binay to attend the 100th Boy Scouts Jamboree, they went to the Kew Gardens in consideration of the Vice President's wife, who likes orchids and gardens.

Mercado said the Binays visited the Kew Gardens between July 27 and Aug. 8, 2007.

The farm is six times the size of the 58-hectare Rizal Park in Manila and is 14 times bigger than the 25-hectare Quezon Memorial Circle in Quezon City.

Citing records of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Mercado told the INQUIRER that among the shareholders of Agrifortuna Inc., the registered owner of the estate, were Gerardo S. Limlingan, longtime aide of the Vice President, and Tomas B. Lopez, president of University of Makati.

Mercado earlier declared in a Senate hearing on the allegedly overpriced P2.3-billion Makati City Hall Building II that Limlingan was also a shareholder of Meriras Realty and Development Corp., owner of the 8,877-square-meter property on J.P. Rizal Extension and Sampaguita Street in Makati.



VP BINAY INMARIKINA Vice President Jejomar Binay at the awarding of titles for 596 family beneficiaries of the Community Mortgage Program at Nangka Del Covered Court, Balubad Settlement Phase 2 in Marikina City.

RAFFY LERMA

The property was once part of the Philippine Army’s headquarters in Fort Bonifacio.

The shareholders of Meriras are fronts of Binay, according to Mercado.

Helicopter survey

Mercado yesterday said it was he who was on board the helicopter that flew around the Binay property in Batangas on Thursday last week and took photos and video footage of the farm.

“I’m glad the spokesperson of the Vice President admitted that the farm is owned by the Vice President, but the whole farm is 350 hectares and not 9 hectares as they claimed,” Mercado said.

Joey Salgado, Binay’s spokesperson and head of his media office, said in a statement issued on Monday that a helicopter flew over a piggery and a flower farm in Rosario, Batangas, which, he said, was formerly owned by the Vice President.

When he won the vice presidency in 2010, Binay divested himself of his interest in JCB Farms, a lessee of the 9-hectare property, according to Salgado.

The spokesperson, however, did not disclose who bought the stake of the Vice President.

“We will not be surprised that if in the coming days, video footage or photos of the property will be circulated in media and perhaps even presented in the Senate subcommittee hearing alleging that Vice President Binay is the owner of the said property,” Salgado said.

Mercado said the farm referred to by Salgado as JCB Farms was registered in the SEC as Agrifortuna that was established in 1993.

Based in Davao City

A check with the SEC shows that a certain JCB Development Corp. is based in Davao City.

SEC records of Agrifortuna show that in 1994 Binay and his wife Elenita of No. 8514 Kaong St. in San Antonio Village, Makati; Ruben Balane of E. Abada Loyola Heights, Quezon City; Victor Gelia of Sgt. Bumatay, Plainview Mandaluyong City; and Nestor D. Alampay Jr. of South Greenpark in Parañaque City were the board of directors of the corporation classified as an agricultural company.

The SEC records also show that the Binays were no longer incorporators of the agricultural company since 2008.

The current incorporators of Agrifortuna Inc. are:

- Gerardo S. Limlingan of 2125 A. Luna Street, Pasay City
- Tomas B. Lopez of Chateau Verde Condo Gate 2 in Valle Verde 1, Pasig City
- Laureano R. Gregorio Jr. of Quirino Roxas Street in Xavierville Loyola Heights, Quezon City
- Mindanila Barlis of Valle Verde Bliss 1 at E. Rodriguez Avenue in Pasig City
- Mitzi O. Sedillo of Makati Homes on Milkwood Street, Barangay Rizal, Makati City

Agrifortuna has its principal office on the 7th floor Alpap 1 Building on Alfaro Street in Salcedo Village, Makati.

The company has assets valued at P29.75 million, based on its 2013 audited financial statements.



THE OTHER VIEW Aerial view of the Sunchamp agriculture park in Rosario, Batangas, patterned after London’s Kew Gardens. The photo that appeared in the INQUIRER on Sept. 28 shows facilities like a greenhouse and farms for fruit trees and vegetables, which its owners hope would not only yield produce at lower costs but also bring a new take on tourism—awareness of agricultural processes.

Purpose of Agrifortuna

Agrifortuna was set up “to develop, manage, own, lease and operate agricultural lands, farms, pasture lands, ranches, fish pens, foreshore lands and fishing rights or concessions; to engage in the planting and cultivation of coffee, cocoa, pepper, rice corn and other farm products,” said its articles of incorporation.

The corporation can also engage in the raising, breeding and fattening of cattle, goats, sheep, chicken, pigs and similar stocks.



DREAM GARDEN Dr. Elenita Binay lives her dream of having a beautiful garden in Alfonso, Cavite, in this file photo taken sometime in January 2000.

INQUIRER PHOTO

“In general, undertake or carry on all kinds of studies, experiments in the cultivation, storage, and trading of all kinds of agricultural livestock, and fishery products and its byproducts in the Philippines or elsewhere,” its incorporation papers showed.

Real character

“The high-end hacienda of the Binays show the real character of the couple, who posed as a poor couple,” he said.

The Vice President said he was willing to undergo a lifestyle check amid speculations that he had amassed massive wealth during his stint as mayor.

In his statement, Salgado said Binay went into the piggery business in 1994 as a sole proprietor under the name JCB Farms.

He said the business was duly registered in the Bureau of Internal Revenue’s office in Rosario, Batangas.

Salgado said JCB Farms brought additional income of P44,350,921.99 to Binay from 1994 to 2010 for which he paid taxes amounting to P15.88 million.

Sunchamp park

Last night, Salgado said the piggery farm in a leased property in Batangas was operated by Sunchamp Agri-Tourism Park.

“Based on records we have gathered, the lessor of the property is Sunchamp Real Estate Development Corp., operator of Sunchamp Agri-Tourism Park,” he said in a statement.

Salgado said the INQUIRER had featured Sunchamp Park on Sept. 28.

“The PDI article even has an aerial shot of the park and it would most likely be no different from the photos to be peddled by the Vice President’s detractors in the subcommittee hearing,” he said.

He said that Sunchamp had photos of the park on its website and that most likely these would be presented to the Senate by Mercado.

Salgado reiterated that JCB Farms was just a lessee of the 9-hectare property.

“It is unfortunate that legitimate businesses of private individuals are being dragged into this political circus,” he said.

At press time last night, Salgado was still inquiring from Binay’s lawyers to whom the Vice President sold his stake in the piggery farm in 2010.

With a report from Christine O. Avendaño

Philippine Daily Inquirer | October 11, 2014



‘P4B shared by Makati execs’

Mercado says 13% kickback from 10 Hilmarc’s projects went to city mayor

By Nancy C. Carvajal

AT LEAST P4 billion from 10 infrastructure projects that the Makati City government awarded to a favored contractor between 1999 and 2014 went to city officials and resident auditors as kickbacks, according to former Makati Vice Mayor Ernesto Mercado.

The 10 projects awarded to Hilmarc’s Construction Corp. cost the taxpayers of Makati at least P15 billion, said Mercado, a witness in a Senate blue ribbon subcommittee investigation of alleged irregularities in the Makati government during the term of Vice President Jejomar Binay as city mayor.

“Twenty-eight percent from every project was shared by the mayor down to the lowest official in the web involved in the conspiracy,” Mercado told the INQUIRER in an interview in his office in Makati.

Mercado said 13 percent of the 28-percent kickback went to Binay while he was mayor of Makati.

The remaining 15 percent went to others—the vice mayor, 16 members of the city council, the city council secretary, members of the the bids and awards committee (BAC), the city engineer, members of the technical working group

(TWG), department heads, two sectoral representatives (a barangay chair and the Sangguninang Kabataan chair) and resident Commission on Audit (COA) auditors.

Mercado admitted accepting a share of the kickbacks when he was a city councilor and then vice mayor.

Another building contractor, who agreed to talk to the INQUIRER on condition of anonymity, confirmed Mercado’s allegations, saying the Vice President’s son, current Makati Mayor Jejomar Erwin “Junjun” Binay Jr., asked for a “little more.”

“The rate has actually gone up. It’s actually higher now,” the contractor said.

Junjun Binay served as a sectoral representative and later as councilor before he took over the reins from his father in 2010.

Makati’s big-budget infrastructure projects in the past decade handled by Hilmarc’s were the following:

- The 22-story Makati City Hall building, worth P6.5 billion.
- Phase 2 of the Ospital ng Makati District 1 (P2 billion).
- Phases 1 and 4 of the University of Makati Nursing School building (P804 million).
- Makati police headquarters (P183.63 million).

WHO POCKETS HOW MUCH OF 28% KICKBACK?

Actual cost of construction from the total amount bid

6% divided by 20 among

- 1 vice mayor
- 16 city councilors
- 2 sectoral representatives
- city council secretary & city council "commissioner"

3% COA representatives

- 2% resident auditor
- 1% technical audit specialist

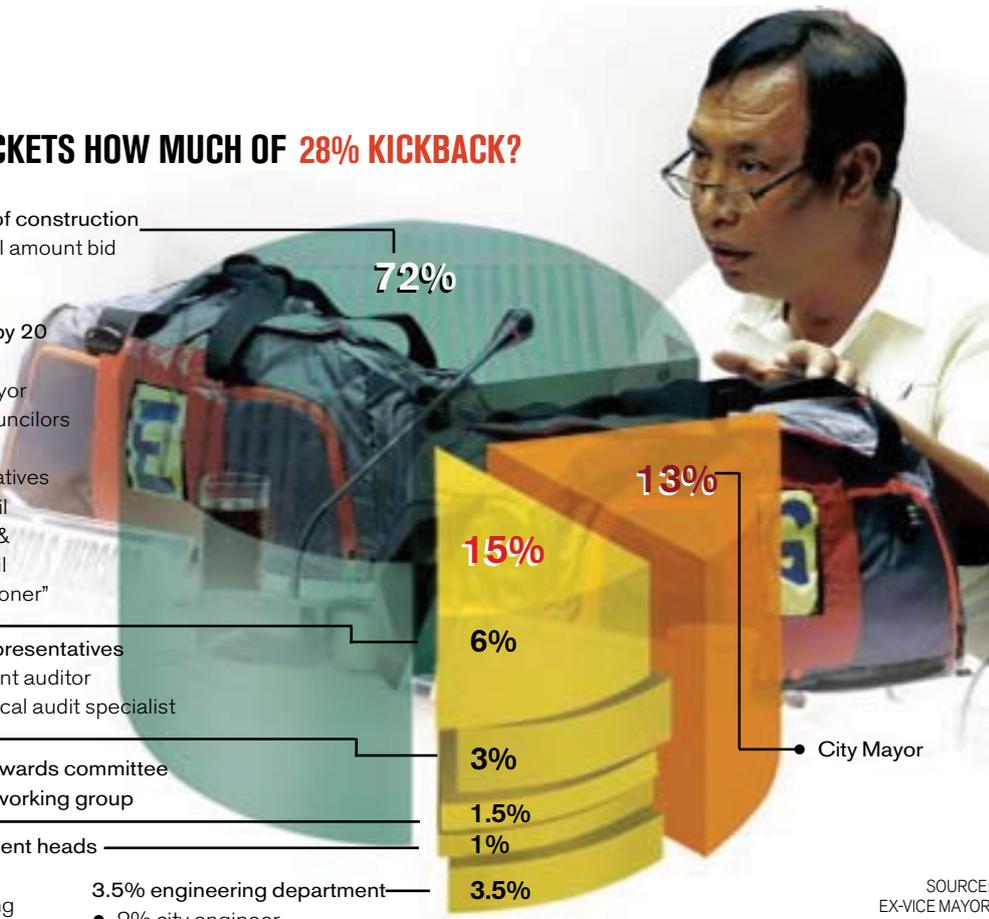
1.5%

- bids and awards committee
- technical working group

1% department heads

- Budget
- Accounting
- Treasury

- 3.5% engineering department
 - 2% city engineer
 - 1% engineering staff



SOURCE: EX-VICE MAYOR ERNESTO MERCADO

INFOGRAPHIC RESEARCH: N.CARVAJAL / DESIGN: LA.VILLARIBA / ART: E. SAMBO



MAKATI CITY HALL BUILDING II: P2.3 billion

- Phases 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Makati University Administrative and Auditorium (P332 million).
- Makati City Hall Building II, or parking building (P2.3 billion).
- Renovation of treasury building for Makati police station on F. Zobel Street, Barangay Poblacion (P4.98 million).
- University of Makati school buildings (no available budget).

Documents obtained by the INQUIRER showed these projects were implemented during the administrations of the Vice President when he was the mayor (1986-1998; 2001-2010) and his wife, Elenita Binay, who succeeded him (1998-2001) and his son (2010 to present), who, Mercado said, continued the business with Hilmarc's.

- Phase 1 of the swimming pool in the Makati Garden Park (P31 million).
- Phases 1 to 6 of Makati Science High School (P1.34 billion).



OSPITAL NG MAKATI District 1 under construction along Malugay Street in Makati City: P2 billion

Dividing the pie

Mercado said 6 percent of the kickback from every project was divided into 20 slices, which went to the vice mayor, the 16 members of the city council, the two sectoral representatives and the city council secretary.

Half of the share of the city council secretary went to a “commissioner” to the council, he said.

Mercado said the “commissioner” kept track of all infrastructure projects of the city and received the shares and allocations for all the members of the city council.

“The commissioner is someone who lost an election and had no current government position, but is given an office in the City Hall. His job was to keep track of all the cash flow of all infrastructure projects and the share of the kickbacks of the city council,” Mercado said.

The resident COA auditor and the technical audit specialists got 3 percent, he said.

“The resident auditor gets 1 percent because she signed the clearance document, while the remaining 2 percent is shared by the COA technical audit specialists,” he said.

Auditor turns down bribe

But COA resident auditor Celia Cagaanan turned down the money offered to her as her share for signing the clearance for the P2.3-billion Makati City Hall Building II, Mercado said.

The city’s BAC and TWG received 1.5 percent, he said.

Mercado said the payoff for the BAC and TWG members was paid in advance to ensure that the favored contractor got the project.

He said 1 percent went to the heads of departments, where the infrastructure papers went through.

The engineering department, he said, got 3.5 percent—2 percent for the city engineer and 1.5 percent for members of the engineering department.

Documents obtained by the INQUIRER showed that from 2007 to 2013, the members of the BAC remained the same, even the observers from the nongovernment organization and the private sector, identified in documents obtained by the INQUIRER as Charito Go of Bayani ng Bagong Ina and Edwin Nombrado of the Philippine Institute of Civil Engineers Makati City chapter.

The BAC chair from 2007 to 2013 was Marjorie de Veyra and the members were Nelson Morales, Mario Hechanova, Lorenza Amores, Pio Kenneth Dasal, Giovanni Condes, Gerardo K. San Gabriel and Ulysses Orienza. Manolito Uyaco was the head of the BAC secretariat.



MAKATI POLICE HEADQUARTERS: P183.63 million

PHOTOS BY ARNOLD ALMACEN

De Veyra, who served as city administrator during the past decade, ran for vice mayor in 2013 but lost to Romeo Peña, who is not an ally of the Binays.

The TWG was composed of Line de la Peña, Carmelita Morales, Febronia Ambrosio, Rodel Nayve and Vissia Marie Aldon.

Invited as observers during biddings were resident COA auditors Gabriel Espina and Danny Rodriguez (now deceased).

Process violated

Espina is now assigned to the Pasay City Hall, according to the COA personnel division.

Nelson Morales, who resigned in 2012, was shot dead in Albay province last year.

The documents obtained by the INQUIRER also showed that the bidding process was violated.

The documents indicated that the Binays approved and signed all the documents despite obvious violations such as lack of important details like the date of preparation, source of funds and description of projects.

Invitation to bid was published in the Filipino tabloid Balita for just one day, instead of in a newspaper of general circulation for 14 days, as required by the procurement law.

The INQUIRER obtained a copy of a certificate of publication issued by Balita vice president for classified advertising Lyne Alano-Abanilla to the city government of Makati.

Public announcements of biddings were posted only in the city public library instead of conspicuous places such as elevators and bulletin boards at the entrance of buildings.

A certificate of posting issued by Manolito Uyaco, head of the BAC secretariat, showed that an invitation to apply for eligibility and bid was posted "in conspicuous places, such as the second floor of the old Makati City Hall public library and the new city hall building."

The suppression of the invitation was intended to limit the bidding to Hilmarc's, Mercado said.

"Having no other bids to be read and clarification to be made, the bid opening adjourned at 2:35 in the afternoon," the BAC said in the minutes of a meeting called on July 28, 2011. Then BAC chair De Veyra adjourned the meeting after just 20 minutes.

A Hilmarc's employee, identified in one of the documents obtained by the INQUIRER as Grace Araza, represented the company in bid conferences.

She was the representative of the company authorized to receive payments for the projects from City Hall, the document showed.

A City Hall source who requested anonymity said he delivered a total of P56 million to the house of the Vice President. The source said he knew how much he carried because the amount was written on a piece of paper attached to the bag.

Bagmen

Mercado said Nelson Morales was assigned by the Vice President from 2007 to 2012 as the repository of the kickbacks from contractors, including Hilmarc's.

"Morales was also the one in charge of the allocation and the distribution of shares," Mercado said.

He said that aside from him, another official who was a department head was present whenever Morales was counting money for the Binays.

"A trusted friend and assistant of Morales helps prepare the money for distribution and delivery, including the money for the Vice President," Mercado said.

Mercado said he was a frequent visitor to Morales' office, which occupied half of the sixth floor of the main City Hall building, and he saw the bagman receive money, placed either in bags or in brown envelopes.

"I have personally witnessed Morales receiving the cash from contractor's representatives and count the money," he said.

Mercado said Morales personally counted and tied the money in bundles.

"If the amount to be apportioned is big—more than P50 million—the money was placed on the long table in his conference room. If it's only a few millions and would fit the round table, they did it (counting and allocation) there," Mercado said.

Mercado said Morales replaced another former ally and trusted friend of Binay, Nelson Irasga, who resigned after he and the Vice President had a falling out when Irasga ran for mayor but lost to Binay's wife, Elenita Binay, in 1998.

"Like me, Irasga was also promised by Binay to succeed him, but did not honor his word and let his wife ran as mayor against Irasga," Mercado said.

He said Morales was designated by Binay to receive all the kickbacks because he had direct contact with the contractors in his capacity as Irasga's deputy.

Deliveries

Deliveries to the house of the Vice President on Caong Street in Barangay San Antonio in Makati City was "usually on Friday," Mercado said.

He said the duffle bags containing the money were received by one of the children of the Vice President. Somebody must have been snitching money from the bags because later, the bags were provided with locks, Mercado said.

"That was when the Vice President said that the bags be entrusted to the current mayor, Junjun," Mercado said.

He said only the Binays knew the combinations for opening the locks.

In his testimony in the Senate, Mercado said the snitch was one of Binay's daughters.

Other contractors

Documents obtained by the INQUIRER showed that the city government dealt with other construction companies but the juiciest projects were always awarded to Hilmarc's.

The other companies that were awarded projects between 1990 and 2014 were HIS construction Inc., Jojalie Construction, ITP construction, R. E. Orlina Const. Corp., Meca builders, Powerprime Const. and Realty Corp., Freeport Shipyard and Eng'g Corp., Skyborne Const. Corp., Twin leaf Group Inc., AKH Const. Corp., R.M. Gomez, E. F Antonio Construction, F.P.G. Construction Corp., Viray Construction, Ichi Const., RAR Builders, Power Prime Const., MJ Den Construction, R. P. Maliwat, O.M Aguilar, Roadworks Inc., FNR Construction Corp., Zali Construction, 3 A's and E Construction, Tranzonic Construction and Polangui Construction.

The projects were worth more than P10 billion.



Yi-Shan Chen

經濟有解



YI-SHAN CHEN

Deputy Editor

Taiwan's CommonWealth magazine 天下雜誌

Yi-Shan Chen is deputy editor at Taiwan's CommonWealth magazine (天下雜誌) and an instructor at National Taiwan University's School of Journalism. With a background in economics, Yi-Shan began her career in 1996 at CommonWealth before later joining the China Times. As a financial reporter, she covered financial reform, the privatization of state-owned enterprises and tax issues.

She is interested in stories on reform during the democratic transformation of a nation, as well as crony capitalism and the fraud of financial systems. Together with her colleagues, she won several SOPAs since 2009.



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朱敬一、胡勝正的薪資解凍術

台灣低薪魔咒 如何解？



起薪水準如自由落體，輸給日、韓、星。
實質月薪如陷冰河期，凍漲15年。
台灣成為人才外流最嚴重的國家之一。
中央研究院院士朱敬一與胡勝正，提出他們的解方。

文/ 陳暉詒、陳一姍 繪圖/ 江小A

「我們那個時代，二十二K都沒有，二K好不好！」六十歲、台灣搖滾教父羅大佑才一句，就是批評年輕人被寵壞。

一位七十一歲的企業界大老，又一句，「有理念，半K也沒有關係，可以生活下去。」

成長於台灣經濟起飛的上一代，認為現在的台灣年輕人抱怨太多、努力太少。

但低薪真的只是年輕人的態度問題嗎？年輕人不問收穫、專注耕耘，就能解救低薪魔咒嗎？

三個數字顯示，台灣的低薪問題恐怕已經超過羅大佑的經驗法則。

超越羅大佑的三大真相

羅大佑的第一張專輯《之乎者也》發行於一九八二年。扣除物價因素，那時的工作者實質月薪為一萬八五八一元；九年後，增加一倍到三萬七二五七元。

但過去十年，台灣實質薪資累積負成長四·八%。（見表真相一）

台灣的凍薪，最大的惡果由年輕人來嘗。根據勞動部最新統計，去年大學生畢業起薪約兩萬七千元，雖是第五年回升，卻依舊低於十五年前水準。

三十歲以下年輕人，超過半數，每月主要工作收入低於三萬元。跟鄰國比，經購買力調整，台灣大學生起薪還是最低，比韓國低兩成，比新加坡低四成。（見表真相二、三）

「低薪的結果就是，讓好的人才出走，或不願意出來工作，繼續惡化下去。台灣老闆只能找到『能力剛好符合低薪水』的人，老闆又會一直抱怨勞工素質變差，」台灣經濟研究院副院長龔明鑫直言，台灣勞動市場已進入惡性循環。

年輕人起薪水準如自由落體，整個社會薪資如進入冰河期。台灣低薪現象的背後，是勞動、產業與教育市場三大結構失靈的複合症。

病因一：

老闆有錢，只是沒分給你

過去十年，台灣GDP並非沒有成長，勞動生產力也並非沒有增加。關鍵是，成長果實分給勞工的份量少了。

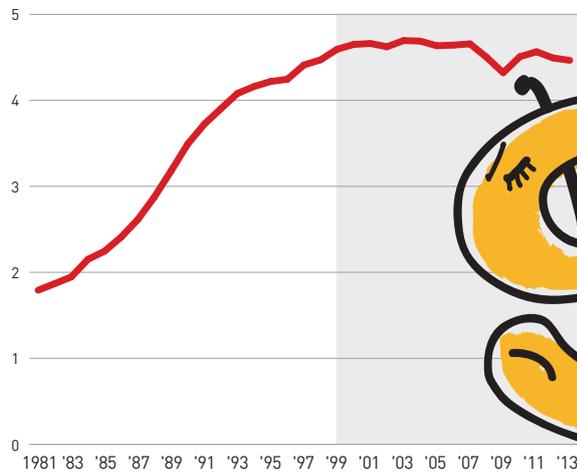
一九九一年時，台灣經濟大餅的五一·六%隸屬於受雇員工報酬，但到二〇一二年只剩四六·二%。老闆不是沒有錢，只是不分給你。（見表病因一）

「台灣的薪資說穿了，就是老闆說了算，」龔明鑫直言。不像日本每年有「春鬥」傳統，勞團與企業主有個集體談判的機制，雖然近幾年的全球化讓勞團談判能力減弱，但仍比台灣強。

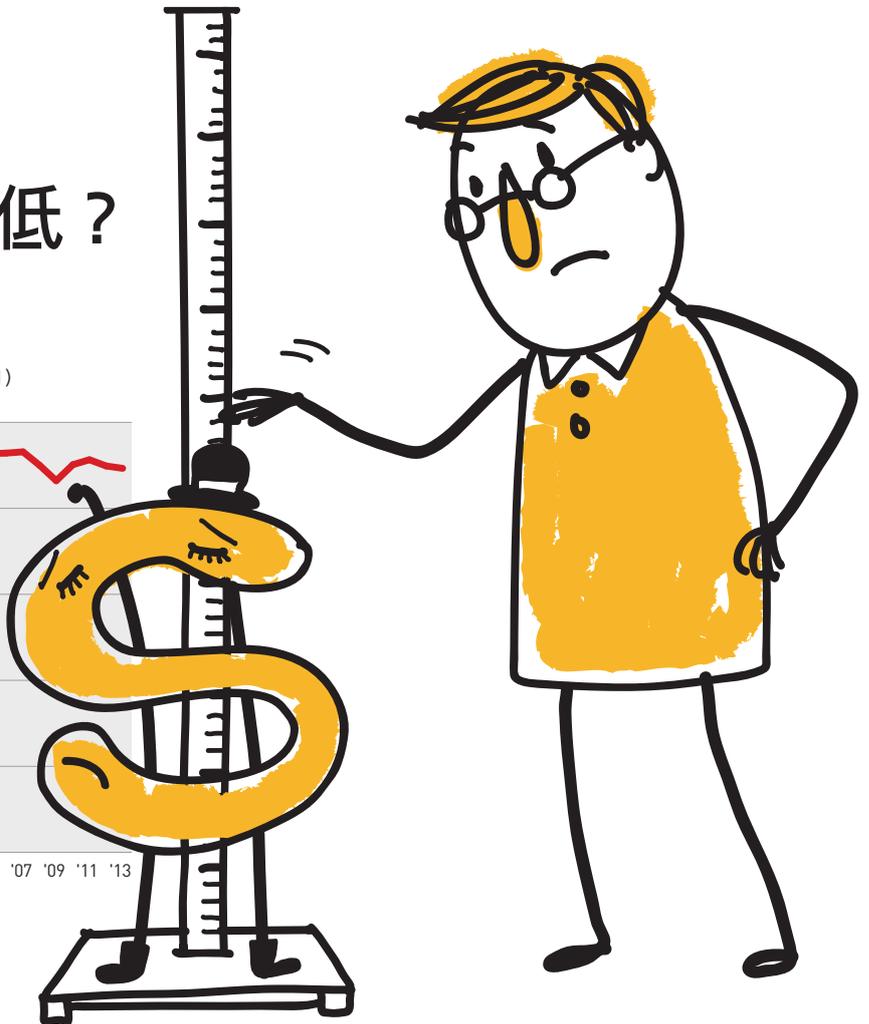
3分鐘看懂低薪真相

薪水到底有多低？

真相 1 薪資凍！15年不漲
1981-2013年台灣實質薪資（萬台幣/月）



資料來源：主計處
註：實質薪資是以2011年價格衡量

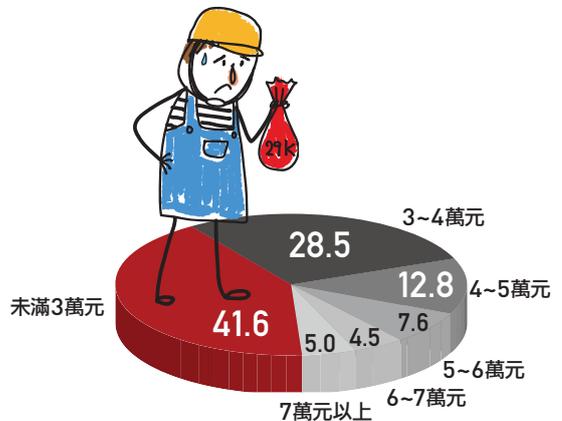


真相 2 起薪低！輸給星韓日
購買力平價後，2012年台日韓星大學畢業生起薪（萬台幣/月）



資料來源：台經院助理研究員方俊德，日本厚生勞動省、韓國雇傭勞動部、新加坡人力運用統計年報
註：經購買力平價調整後，去除物價因素，比較正職工作的起薪，不包括派遣等非典型就業，另日本的統計只有男性

真相 3 低產者多！四成勞工月入不到三萬
2013年台灣每月主要工作收入階層勞工佔比（%）



資料來源：主計處

台經院研究顯示，台灣的低薪的確與台商往大陸、越南等低薪資國家設廠投資，密切相關。龔明鑫指出，實證研究顯示，即使是服務業，台商海外投資到已開發國家，多半是為了獲取技術或授權，提高服務與生產水準，有利於提高母公司員工的薪水。但投資到落後國，反而拉低薪資。可悲的是，長期以來，台商投資對象都在低薪資國。

二、病因二：

三角貿易 無助就業和薪水

過去台灣的產業特性是「規模經濟」，以薄利多銷取勝，逐低成本而居。龔明鑫指出，全球化「要素價格均等化」的緣故，使得企業移到薪資低的國家設廠，投資外移至中國、東南亞等新興國家。

產業外移後，除了研發，台灣總部就只剩下接单、財務調度等「三角貿易」。主計處調查顯示，三角貿易已佔整體製造業營收的三成六，但「三角貿易對國內就業和薪水，幫助沒有那麼大，」台經院助理研究員方俊德指出，三角貿易的獲利歸企業主，台灣就業機會沒有增加，勞工分不到報酬。（見表病因二）

三、病因三：

服務業陷入低成本陷阱

製造業出走，留在國內的服務業蓬勃。目前，台灣服務業佔GDP七成，雇用近六成人口。

但中研院社會所副研究員林宗弘等人合著的《崩世代》卻明指，台灣就業市場出現「成本弊病」。意指服務業常以壓低工資，或雇用契約工、派遣員工來面對競爭，以致服務業愈發達，多數勞工卻面臨薪資降低的困境。（見表病因三）

服務業陷入成本弊病，不光在台灣。也是所有已開發國家的通病。

英國《展望》(Prospect)雜誌分析美國和其他先進經濟體發現，很難將提高製造業生產力的方式套用在服務業上。我們可以很簡單地就增加汽車製造的生產力，但是營運一家醫院卻不是這麼一回事。

四、病因四：

過度教育，大學文憑不值錢

大學生起薪低，是讓全台凍薪的一個關鍵因素。更弔詭的是，起薪低的趨勢，讓台、清、交等老牌國立大學畢業生的起薪水準都被拉低。「台灣文憑的『放訊』(signaling)功能變差了，」龔明鑫分析。

過往雇主看到大學文憑，心中自有一個薪資對照表。但台灣從一九九四年教改前的二十三家大學，如今暴增到一二二家，畢業生成長兩倍多，每年二十二萬人大學畢業。人人有大學文憑，等於人人沒有大學文憑。（見表病因四）

在日本，不論是大學或者是專門學校（相當於技術學院），都會公佈「就業率」，來吸引學生就讀。但台灣中學標榜升學率，高教的「就業率」資訊卻付之闕如。學生在訊息不明的情況下選系、付學費，各校設立系所不需考慮學生就業，只考慮成本、招生行銷。

訊息對等是市場競爭最基本的條件，但台灣高教市場完全失靈，讓學生受苦，學用落差也持續擴大。

以從業人數變化來看，廣設大學的政策，想像台灣經濟發展需要「專業人員」。但台灣過去十年，專業人員員工數並無顯著成長，成長最快的反而是低技術的「操作及組裝人員」。

「當企業主對應徵者的生產力不夠瞭解，會過度依賴市場上既有的參考資訊，」中研院經濟研究所副研究員陳香如指出，最好的例子就是「二十二K」的出現。

陳香如解釋，〇九年當政府提出「畢業生實習計劃」，以俗稱二十二K的兩萬兩千元作為企業的補貼薪資。在失業率高、大學生能力無法判斷的時候，彷彿成了畢業生隱性的基本工資，產生了心理學說的「定錨效果」。

「三十年前，我媽媽領三萬三千，現在的我，三萬不到，」二十七歲的洪子晴（化名），前年自日本法政大學碩士畢業，回到台灣進入出版業，起薪兩萬九千元。

3分鐘看懂低薪真相

薪水為什麼會這麼低？

病因 1

老闆沒分享 2002年後 企業盈餘超越薪資佔比

1981-2012年台灣企業盈餘、
薪資所得佔GDP比例(%)

勞工分到的 (受雇人員報酬/GDP)

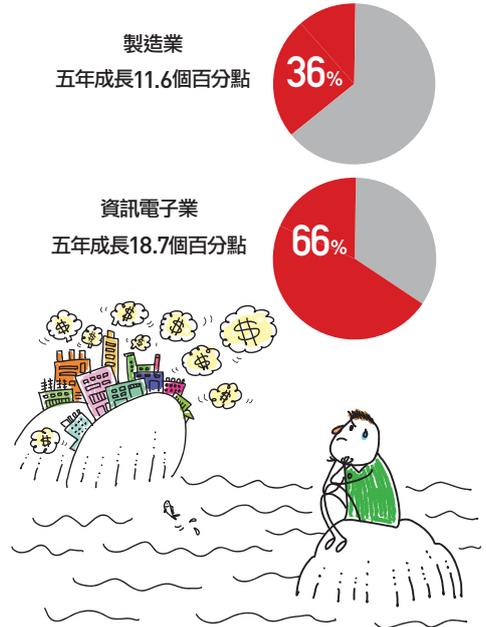
資本家拿到的 (固定資本消耗+營業盈餘/GDP)



病因 2

經濟虛胖 無益國內就業、 薪資的「三角貿易」激增

2011年三角貿易銷售收入佔營收比重(%)



病因 3

服務業壓工資 2006年後 服務業低薪問題比製造業更嚴重

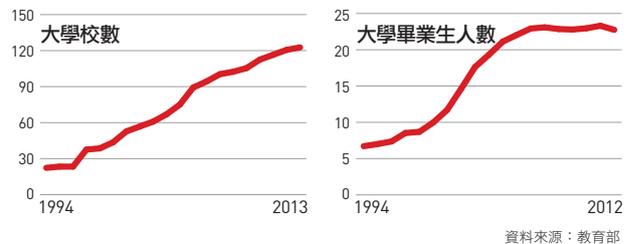
1996-2011年製造業與服務業
平均每人全年勞動報酬(萬台幣/年)



病因 4

文憑貶值 20年暴增99所大學、 16萬大學畢業生

大學校數(所)、大學畢業生人數(萬人)



政府應停止強調「自由化、國際化是解決薪資凍漲的解方」。

台灣的確不能不融入全球化，但這絕不是一帖藥。

扣掉每月一萬元的房租，她規定自己，每天包括通勤費加三餐，不能超過一五〇元，希望每月至少存五千元。中午自己帶飯，因為同事訂的八十五元便當實在太貴。

月薪不到三萬元。依內政部估算，臺北市每人每月最低生活費為一萬四七九四元。如果要養一個家，以平均扶養人口二·一人估算，薪水得三萬一千元才夠。

當低薪與凍薪已成為台灣人民憤怒的主要來源，與國際相較，不具吸引力的起薪，讓台灣成為人才外流最嚴重的國家，人才市場陷入惡性循環。到底要如何突破困境？

《天下》特別邀請中央研究院院士朱敬一與胡勝正，提出他們的解方。朱敬一曾任行政院政務委員與國科會主委；胡勝正曾任經建會與金管會主委，以下為專訪摘要：

陳添枝破解自經區迷思

「自由經濟示範區」有效嗎？

加入TPP，是藍綠兩黨少見的共識；但如何踏出第一步，朝野卻陷入殊死戰場。誰還記得當初提出「自由經濟示範區」政策的根本目的是什麼？成分包山包海之後，這會是一包經濟解藥？還是毒藥？前經建會主委陳添枝，提出他的看法。

文/ 陳一姍 繪圖/ 江小A

不只一次，總統馬英九宣示拚經濟，對內力推「自由經濟示範區」；對外積極爭取參與「跨太平洋經濟伙伴協定」(TPP) 與「區域全面經濟伙伴關係」(RCEP)。自經區就是為加入TPP做準備。「這是一條非走不可的路，」他總是加重語氣。

「加入TPP，是朝野唯一有共識的政策，」多次參與民進黨研究的中央大學經濟系教授邱俊榮說。

最終戰略有共識，但被馬政府喻為TPP前哨戰的自由經濟示範區，卻成為朝野的殊死戰場。從前經建會主委尹啟銘到前經濟部長張家祝，自規劃到審查，這個戰場上已經捐軀了兩位部長。去年底，法案送入立法院，召開五場公聽會後，仍有八十二個版本需要整合。

為何標榜小規模試點的自經區，會引起這麼大的爭議？到底，這是台灣經濟的一帖解方？還是毒藥？

爭議關鍵

一帖藥，要治太多病

前經建會主委、熟悉整個法案演進歷程的台大經濟系教授陳添枝直言，自經區法案最大的問題，就是這一帖藥包了太多的東西、想做太多事情，脫離了原始的架構，導致失焦、產生疑慮。

自經區最早的發想者是前副總統蕭萬長，他提出，台灣未來經濟定位應該是融入世界貿易體系，貨暢其流的「自由經濟島」。為了讓整個社會習慣開放，降低阻力，二〇一一年底，行政團隊決定先做局部性的開放，在自經區先試先行。這是自經區的由來。

總統大選後，經建會委託中華經濟研究院做政策規劃。陳添枝直言，中經院的版本非常簡單，就是只做服務業的先試先行，根本不需設實體自經區。「製造業部份，『自由貿易港區設置管理條例』、『加工出口區設置管理條例』早就有了，只要在原先法案加強即可，」陳添枝指出。

中經院比對美僑、歐僑商會歷年白皮書，研究韓歐、韓美的自由貿易協定，並參考韓國松島、新加坡的經驗，推測出台灣可能會被要求開放，且具有發展潛力的服務業，選出「金融」、「國際醫療」與「教育」三個被高度管制的產業，為鬆綁嘗試的重點。

問題出在進入經建會後。負責自經區規劃的第一任經建會主委尹啟銘，總是對外說，自經區是ECFA前進版，使得自經區沾染了兩岸色彩。

「許多人因此誤會自經區是為了擴大兩岸(交流)，」陳添枝直言。

3分鐘看懂「自由經濟示範區」

自經區 統包5大產業

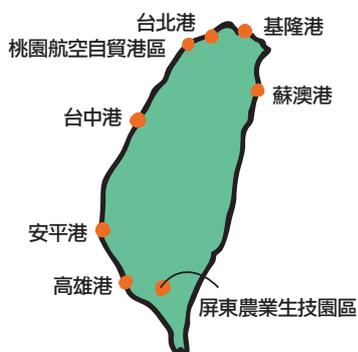
以「境內關外」為核心概念。因為視作關外，所以自經區可以豁免許多國內的法規。

目前規劃的自經區有實體和虛擬2種，

要示範5種產業：農業加值、智慧物流、金融服務、國際醫療、教育創新。



「自由經濟示範區」有2種



實體
自經區

「6港1空1農技園區」共8區。
在這8區裡，將示範2種產業：「農業加值」、「智慧物流」。

虛擬
自經區

不一定要在機場或港口，
而是在政府指定的銀行、醫院、學校，透過法規鬆綁，
原地示範3種服務業：「金融服務」、「國際醫療」、「教育創新」。

陰錯陽差的TPP任務

尹啟銘去職，現任國發會主委管中閔接手後，行政院又將製造業、農業包進來，指定了六港一空與現行各類加工出口區、科學園區、工業區改制，變成要設實體自經區。甚至，開放地方政府申請設立，訂出土地徵收條款，增添「土地炒作」的疑慮。

「遍地開花式的自由經濟示範，會不會讓台灣對外談判籌碼流失？」民進黨黨主席蔡英文在〈錯誤的自由經濟邏輯對台灣有害無益〉一文中質疑。

一路演進，馬總統宣布，台灣將全速爭取加入TPP，自經區突然又轉身一變，成為加入TPP前哨戰的標兵。

不過，「自經區規劃時，就不是完全以加入TPP作為標的，」陳添枝說。

邱俊榮比對加入TPP與自經區條例的邏輯謬誤，包括：五大示範產業（農業增值、智慧物流、金融服務、國際醫療、教育創新）並非TPP的要求；另外，TPP是美國主導的經貿協定，美國為了保護本國產業，在一邊降低關稅、開放市場的同時，也會要求簽約國提高勞動條件、拉高環保標準、規範國營事業競爭等，來拉高貿易對手國的產業成本。

「台灣應該做的，是開始準備面對更高的法規要求；而不是減稅、給優惠，」邱俊榮說，「自經區完全看不到接軌TPP的規劃。」

「外界對TPP本來就還是用猜的，」國發會綜合規劃處處長張惠娟說的是事實。她強調，自經區正在做的法規鬆綁，符合TPP的方向。

五大產業的真正需求

針對外界疑慮，四月三十日，國發會透過國民黨黨團提出修正版本，刪除與修改十五條爭議條款。包括：土地徵收、環評、排除「野生動物保育法」等。

實質面來看，特別條例內，有關五大示範產業的鬆綁都正中靶心。這些產業也的確能帶入，台灣現階段最需要的經濟活水。

以「教育創新」為例，距離小港機場不用半小時的高雄餐旅大學，就正在進行一項創舉。

去年簽約，預計明年一月招生，高雄餐旅大學與法國藍帶餐飲學校（Le Cordon Bleu）合資成立的卓越中心，將成為全台第一個與國際知名教育機構合作開設課程、學程的國立大學。

「藍帶希望以台灣為亞洲華人圈的中心，這裡會提供法國藍帶廚藝最正統的課程，」高雄餐旅大學校長容繼業說。

目前，外國大學可以公司型態來台灣投資「推廣部」，大餐大與藍帶合資，走出了第一步。但若真的要真的招收學籍生，真正成為法國藍帶在華人地區的分校，就需要進一步修法。

已經成立十一年的屏東農業生技園區，自從去年中，傳出要納入自經區，廠商詢問與進駐率就開始飛速提升。過往一年進駐不到十家，但今年第一季進駐八家，第二季進駐六家。

「如果自經區條例能過，廠商可進口的觀賞魚，就會從四百種變成兩千種。台灣有世界級的養殖與農業技術，這樣就不會把亞洲觀賞魚中心拱手讓給新加坡，」農委會國際處副處長蕭榕瓊舉例。

遍地開花怎麼辦？

總結來看，政府原先期待透過一個特別法，畢其工於一役：既要發展農業生技的加工與觀賞魚行業、國際醫療、吸引國外頂尖大學來台、金融產品多元化、推動海關電子帳冊、擴大自由貿易港區，還要夾帶鼓勵台商回流、解決白領人才流失等困境，最後還要對外展示加入TPP的決心。

許多廠商因此殷殷期待。

但現在的狀況卻變成，減稅與原版的土地徵收優惠，讓各地方政府將其視為招商利器，競相表態歡迎。

小規模示範可能變成遍地開花，引發國內各項產業將全面遭到波及的疑慮。

自由經濟示範區的僵局到底要如何解？《天下》特別請前經建會主委陳添枝提出解方，以下為專訪摘要：

3分鐘看懂「自由經濟示範區」

5大產業在自經區裡做什麼？

在自經區法案規劃下，將同步鬆綁物流、人流、金流、資訊流，接軌國際，助台灣產業突圍與創新。



產業 1 農業加值：

善用台灣的加工、安全檢測技術、農業技術，更自由地進口農業原料，以MIT品牌行銷全球市場。自經區廠商可在區內生產，或將半成品運往區外的工業區，進行委外加工。最終產品需全數外銷出口，只有少數特許的產品補完關稅後，才能進口台灣本地。

產業 2 智慧物流：

進口的農業原料透過海關電子帳冊與條碼追蹤，確保原料與產品流向。這一套物流，可透過雲端變成智慧物流產業。



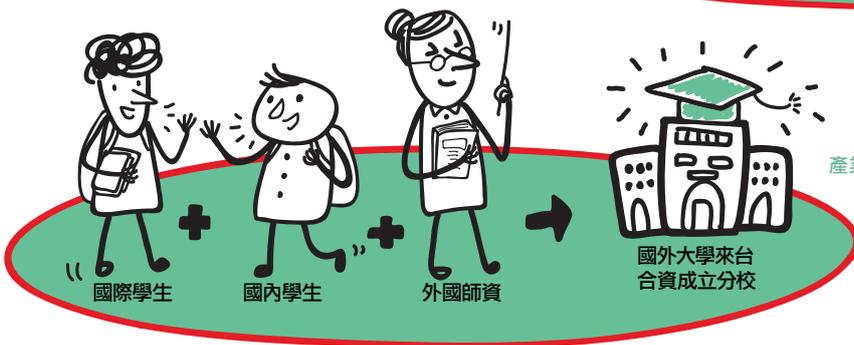
產業 3 金融服務：

銀行設立國際金融業務分行，為境外客戶提供與新台幣無關的各類境外金融服務。

*目前金管會已通過

產業 4 國際醫療：

想治療國際病人的醫院，經衛福部指定後，可引進外國醫療人才，專收不用健保的國內外病人，並透過觀光、保險、生技醫材等異業結合，擴大效益。不受「醫事法」的相關規範（如病床數）。



產業 5 教育創新：

國內大學與知名國外大學合資設立分校，可引進外國師資，分校不受「大學法」的各項規範（學費、教授資格、校地大小等），畢業可取得學位。招生對象可含國內外。

林全解析「房地合一、實價課稅」改革步驟

房地產稅制如何改？

台灣房地產稅制獨步全球，衍生六大怪像，民怨高漲，社運團體即將夜宿帝寶門口。針對建商、投機客等「肥鵝」，鵝毛該拔多少、怎麼拔，才算公平正義？研擬中的「房地合一、實價課稅」，又該如何避免胎死腹中？

文/ 陳一姍、張翔一 繪圖/ 江小A

高房價成為民怨之首，已經多年。

台灣最落後的房地產稅制，也成為眾矢之的，民間怒火一點即燃。

正在研擬房屋、土地交易所得合併課稅「房地合一、實價課稅」的財政部長張盛和，不過說了一句基本課稅原則，「希望拔到最多鵝毛，聽到最少鵝叫聲。」

隔週，多個社運團體組成的「巢運」馬上到財政部表態，要求張盛和「拔鵝毛，就要讓鵝痛」。尤其是建商、投機客，這些囤房、囤地的「肥鵝」。

這一廂，建商、地主已急得直跳腳。商業總會理事長、鄉林建設董事長賴正鎰就說，「房地合一、實價課稅」是台灣的「災難」。更批評政府在房地產實價登錄上路時，強調短期內不會用來課稅，現在卻出爾反爾，「沒有誠信。」立委更搬出憲法，堅持土地增值稅要另外課，不能合一課稅。

前財政部長、現任民進黨智庫新境界文教基金會執行長林全提醒，「二〇一二年證所稅改革失敗了，下次要再改革，就要等十幾、二十年。房地產稅制改革也是，每次失敗，就會加深下次改革的難度。」

只許成功，不能失敗，到底台灣的房地產稅制該如何改革？在避免「鵝叫」形成阻力，要讓「鵝痛」追求公平、抑制房價的兩難中，「房地合一、實價課稅」要怎麼跨出一步？

獨步全球的房地產稅制

房地產稅的事權，切分在中央、地方，內政部與財政部間。加上，稅基脫離現實，已讓房地產成為台灣投機炒作，規避遺產稅、贈與稅的神器，造就貧富差距、階級流動停滯的惡果。

「台灣的房地產稅制是全球出了名的複雜，彼此又環環相扣，成為稅改很大的阻力，」前財政部長、成大副校長何志欽坦言。

台灣獨步全球的房地產稅制，第一就是「房地分離課稅」。由於三民主義主張，土地漲價歸公，以至於土地增值稅被寫進憲法裡，變成牢不可改的稅改絆腳石。

房與地分開計價課稅，完全悖離真實世界的交易習慣。

為了課稅方便，加上早年市價查察難度高，長期以來，台灣房地產全是用政府公告的公告地價、公告現值、房屋評定現值來課稅。課稅價完全悖離市價，造就台灣獨步全球的第二個特色。（見表怪像二）

為避免土地囤積，地盡其利，各國都對持有房地產者課稅。擁有高價財產者多繳稅，天經地義。

但在台灣，持有房屋時，地價稅是用只有市價兩成的公告地價課稅；房屋稅是用市價兩成以下的房屋評定現值課稅。買賣時，房屋獲利也是用房屋評定現值計算，併入所得稅；土地差價以土地公告現值課徵土地增值稅。

儘管內政部公佈的數字，這幾年地方政府逐步調高公告現值，已達市價七成。但實際上，地方政府認定的市價偏低。

根據財政學者黃耀輝實證研究，臺北市土地公告現值最高只有市價四〇%。

稅基偏低，導致持有一棟兩千萬元房子，每年房屋稅加地價稅約九千三百元；但養一台兩千CC、約一百萬元的車，牌照稅加燃料稅要一萬七千元。（見表怪像五）

3分鐘看懂「房地合一、實價課稅」的必要

台灣房地產稅6怪象

怪象 1 房地整組買賣，課稅卻分開

房屋交易時，是以一個價格買賣房屋和房屋所在的土地，但最後地方政府在課徵房地產稅時，房屋的賣方，在當年度要繳交兩種交易稅：（房屋買賣所產生的）所得稅、土地增值稅；持有房屋的買方，每年要繳交兩種持有稅：房屋稅、地價稅。



怪象 2 房屋課稅價遠低於市價 課稅價佔市價比

房屋評定現值

地方政府依據房屋構造單價訂定，許多縣市已30年沒修訂

佔市價* **18~30%**

→以此課徵「房屋稅」、房屋買賣時所產生的「所得稅」**

公告地價

由地方政府自行籌組的「地價評議委員會」決定

佔市價 **20%**

→以此課徵「地價稅」

公告現值

由地方政府籌組的「地價評議委員會」決定，用來課徵土地增值稅、契稅，以及政府徵收土地時的補償金標準

佔市價 **12~40%**

→以此課徵房屋買賣時所產生的「土地增值稅」**

*依據不動產估價師公會營造或施工費標準，但實際交易價格可能更高

**並以此課徵房屋移轉時所產生的「贈與稅」、「遺產稅」

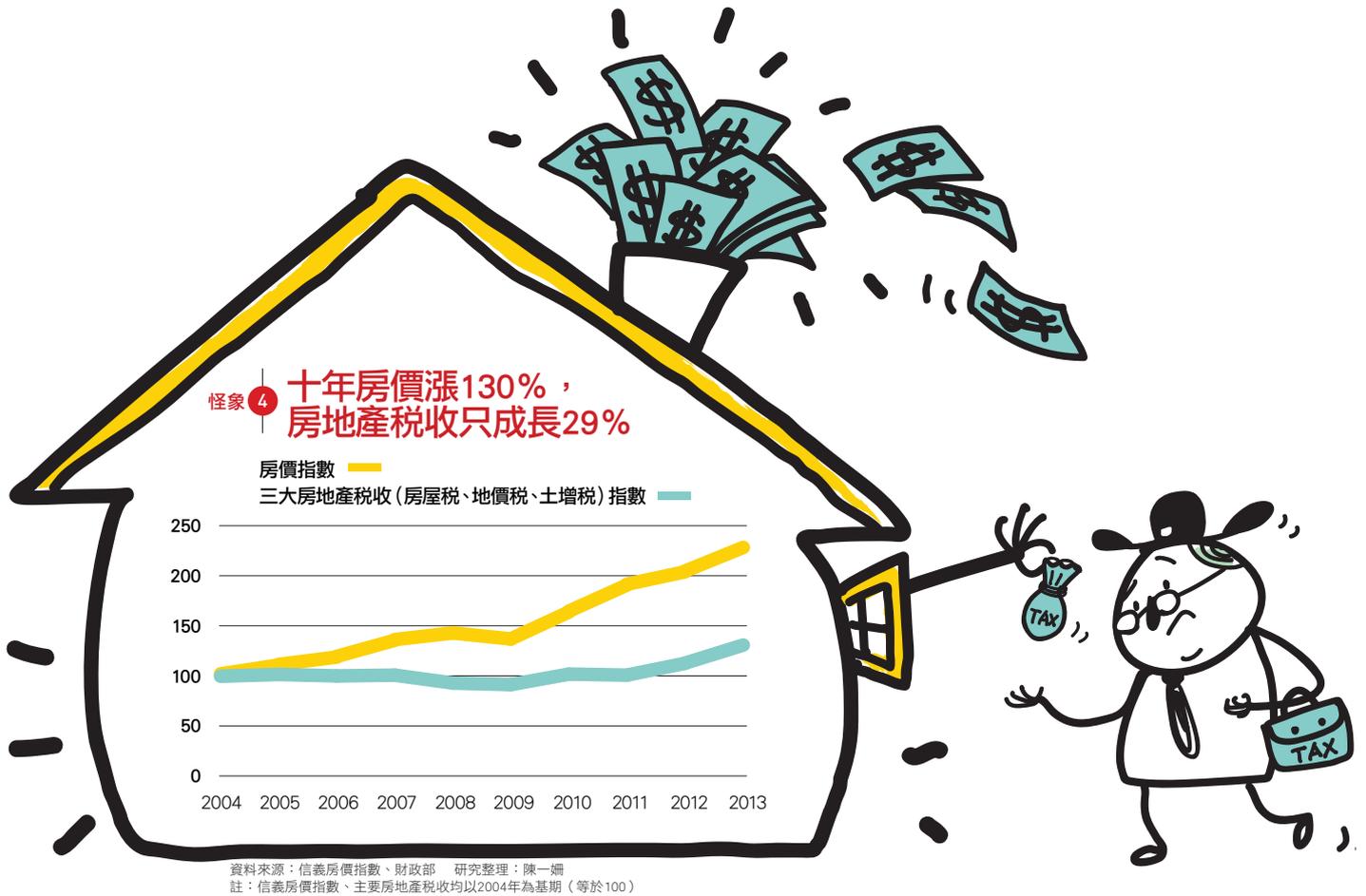
怪象 3 地方政府想便宜徵地，不想多課稅！



比起充實稅基、賦稅公平，地方政府更重視地方發展。為了以便宜的價格徵收土地，地方政府也不願意調高據以課徵房地產稅的公告地價、公告現值、房屋評定現值。

3分鐘看懂「房地合一、實價課稅」的必要

台灣房地產稅收有多低？



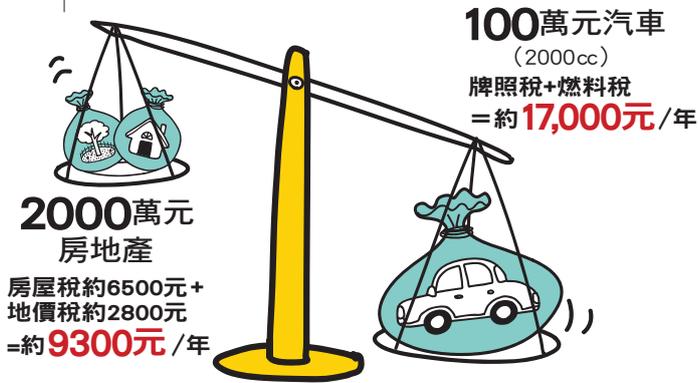
台灣高房價在全球僅次於香港，但房地產持有稅佔GDP比例，卻遠低於OECD平均。(見表怪像六)

調高公告地價、公告現值與房屋評定現值是地方政府的職權。但奇怪的是，這種對地方財政有利的事，各縣市長並不想做，反而不斷向中央哭窮，形成台灣獨有的第三大特色。

三大特色交織，讓房地產成為貧富差距惡化的源頭之一。

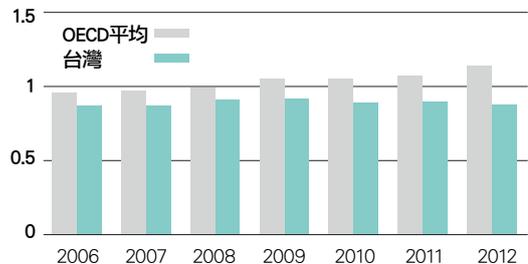
舉例來說，五月，台灣的指標性豪宅建案帝寶，有一戶一六〇坪，每坪成交價二六六萬元，總價高達四·二億元的房屋成交。

怪象 5 房屋稅+地價稅 < 牌照稅+燃料稅



怪象 6 台灣房地產稅收佔比低於國際

台灣與OECD國家的房屋持有稅（地價稅+房屋稅）佔GDP比較（%）



資料來源：中研院賦稅改革政策建議書

但在現行稅制下，這一戶帝寶的土地價值僅有五〇六八萬元，房屋價值更不到兩千萬元。這戶帝寶如果是爸爸送給小孩的禮物，就等於有三·五億元，不必課贈與稅。

一位房地產仲介業者透露，今年初成交一戶大安區豪宅，屋主獲利近億元，實際繳稅率僅有四·五六%，比個人所得稅最低級距五%還低。

今年七月，行政院長江宜樺在中研院院士會議座談時，首度宣示，台灣將推動「房地合一、實價課稅」的方向改革，真正有效抑止房價飆漲，讓土地獲得公平正義。

財政部年底需送出草案，下會期送立法院審議，如果順利，民國一〇五年新制就會上路。

整理江宜樺與財政部長張盛和已確立的稅改方向：

第一，土地增值稅保留，不會推動修憲。

第二，實價課稅將採分離課稅（指房地產交易所得與綜合所得分開課稅），可能採取累進稅率（將房屋實價分級，實價愈高的房屋，稅率愈高）。

第三，自有房屋重購退稅的優惠保留。但訂定排富條款。

第四，長期持有房屋者有優惠。

第五，農民持有的農地、農舍等，政府會盡量排除影響。

張盛和強調，此次稅改目標是：公平、經濟發展、稅收與簡政。實價課稅是踏出困難的第一步。

針對財政部的方案，與公平稅改聯盟、無殼蝸牛聯盟關係密切的德明財經科技大學副教授花敬群表示，「我們很支持財政部推動稅改的決定，但（房地產稅制改革）這是牽一髮動全身的問題。目前看來，財政部只想就自己權責內可控制的部份進行改革，這沒辦法徹底改變房地產稅制不公的現況。」

花敬群指出，台灣房地產稅制的權責分屬中央和地方不同機關，要全盤改革，根本不是財政部一個部會的力量可以完成。譬如，土地的公告地價、公告現值，和房屋評定現值，都是由地方政府制定。

「中央和地方政府的考量往往不同，財政部要充實稅基、賦稅公平；地方政府最在乎的，卻可能是地方發展，」花敬群直言，若缺乏配套措施，來增加地方政府調高公告地價、公告現值和房屋評定現值，符合市價的誘因，改革就只是「做半套」。

房仲、建商、富人的反撲？

社運團體、學者與會計師紛紛提醒財政部，不要低估利益勢力反撲、富人避稅規劃的力量，否則很可能重蹈證所稅失敗的覆轍。

第一個擔心是，只有房屋買賣時才實價課稅，房屋稅與地價稅仍舊偏低，會讓屋主惜售，房地產交易驟減。房市交易一旦窒息，房仲、建商等業者就會反撲，整個改革會變得四不像。「持有成本一定也要提高，才不會扭曲行為，」臺北大學不動產與城鄉環境學系教授彭建文強烈主張。

花敬群提醒，持有成本要提高，必須設法讓地方政府調高公告地價、公告現值與房屋評定現值，這不是單一會財政部能做的事，需要行政院層級指揮協調。例如，主管地價與土地政策的內政部地政司，及提供縣市政府誘因工具、統籌分配稅款的行政院主計總處。

第二個擔心是，富人針對租稅漏洞做避稅規劃。巢運發言人彭揚凱指出，財政部必須把預售屋、農地納入課稅，否則炒房資金會轉向。

勤業眾信會計師莊瑜敏舉例，如果只修個人買賣房地產的稅制，卻不修改海外法人買賣房地產的稅則，富人極有可能將名下房地產交由境外公司所有。炒房境外化，稅收流失得更厲害。

截至目前為止，財政部的初步規劃都未攤牌。張盛和只強調，房地產稅制的改革時機到了，改革政策不會轉彎。

盤根錯節、攪動龐大利益的房地產稅制該如何改？改革要怎麼避免胎死腹中？請看前財政部長林全，提出的解方：

打破20年環評僵局

環境與錢包的戰爭何時了？

走過20個年頭的台灣環評制度，把「經濟發展」與「環境保護」推向天平的兩端，只見「對立」，不見「對話」。兩者到底該如何找到平衡？

文/ 陳崢詒 繪圖/ 江小A

3分鐘看懂環評流程

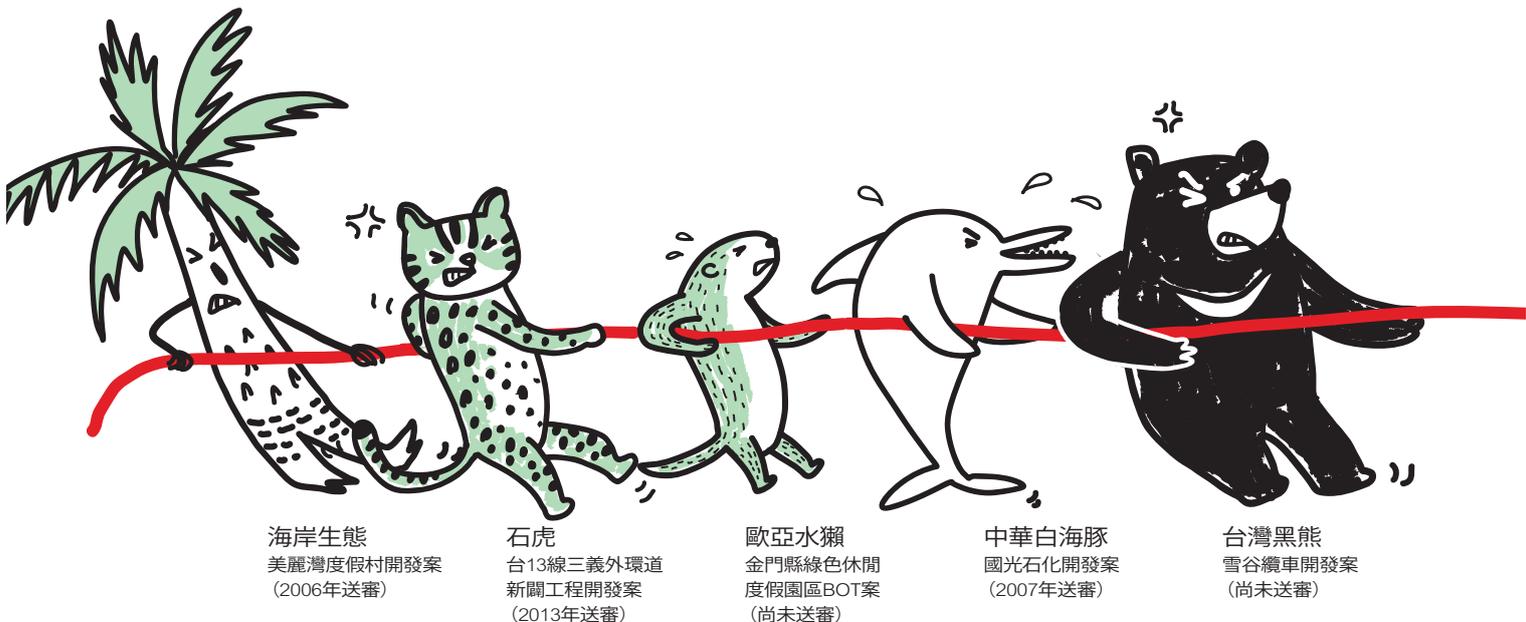
環評VS.經濟 是誰卡住誰？

研究製表：陳崢詒

開發單位：
提出開發計劃，
聘請顧問公司撰寫
「環境影響說明書」。



目的事業主管機關：
核發開發許可的單位，針對開發計劃的區位、經濟、人文、民生等影響，進行決策。
轉送「環境影響說明書」，給環保機關。



很少有一個政策，像環境影響評估一樣，被一方視為天使，一方視為惡魔，冰與火，毫無妥協。

十月二十八日，行政法院認定台東美麗灣度假村BOT案先施工後環評，二度撤銷台東縣政府給的環評決議。除非重做環評或再上訴，否則美麗灣十二億元的投資，必須拆除。「改變，就從拆了美麗灣開始，」律師詹順貴說。

美麗灣是企業用巧門規避事先環評的惡例。更指標的案件是，投資金額超過九千億元的國光石化。國光石化分別在二〇〇五年、二〇〇八年民進黨、國民黨執政時，都名列行政院重大投資。卻在開了無數環評會議後，因為爭議太大，馬總統表態反對，國光石化大股東——中油撤資，整個投資案胎死腹中。

「國、民兩黨都列為重大建設的案子都過不了，台灣還有什麼投資能做？這是國光石化投資失敗，傳遞給全世界的訊息，」為此案花了多年心血的前國光石化董事長、現任台塑石化董事長陳寶郎說。

今年八月高雄氣爆後，許多人拋出設置石化專區的解決方案。陳寶郎無限感慨地說，「那不就是國光石化嗎？」國光當初興建，部份原因就是因應高雄五輕即將關廠。

國光石化的股東之一長春石化，後來搬到新加坡裕廊島石化專區設廠，前後只花了四個月。「新加坡人口密集、又是白海豚的棲息地，但政府出錢填海造陸、海水淡化、辦石化專業的訓練學校，因為他們政策堅定，要做亞洲的石化基地，」陳寶郎說。

環保機關：
審核開發決策的「環境因素」，可以否決對環境可能有不良影響的開發案件。

一階環評：

共21位環評委員，14位專家學者是由遴選委員會（包括政府機關5人，專家學者5人），推薦具備環評相關學術專長及實務經驗的，例如民間團體、學校教授等。最後由環保署長決定，另外7位則是政府代表。

通過

有重大影響之虞

二階環評：

提出「環境影響評估報告書」。

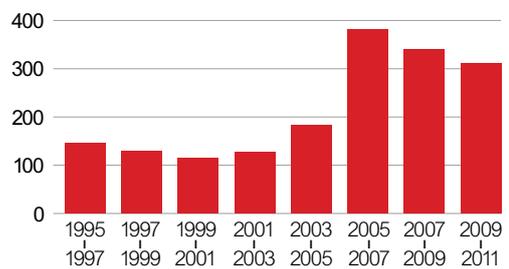
通過

不應開發



怪象 1 審查耗時：環評送審平均300天

1995-2011 平均環評送審天數



註：時間係以每屆環評委員的審查時程做統計，環評委員每兩年一任
資料來源：環保署

怪象 2 開發停滯：近半數開發案卡關

2013年環境評估案共40件



資料來源：環保署

台灣獨步全球的環評制度

環評制度4大爭議

獨步全球1：由環保署做審查，而非評估開發的主管機關

別的國家是「自己的環境自己審」，由評估開發的主管單位，一併考量環境、經濟、人文等各項因素。我們是把「環境」抽出來，由環保機關獨立做審查。這樣「好像很厲害」，卻讓「開發決策」，與「環境評估」站上天平的兩端，愈離愈遠。

獨步全球2：環保署具有否決權

為了怕核發開發許可的主管單位，不理會環保署這個小官署，就給了一把「尚方寶劍」——否決權，讓環評會有權力可以否決對環境可能有不良影響的開發案件。這也使得環評成了民眾與開發商角力的戰場。



至於台灣，一一年，國光石化投資中止，不用再擔心台灣的溫室氣體排放爆量，中華白海豚也不用轉彎了，只是隨著明年五輕關廠、二〇一八年高雄大社工業區石化廠商面臨遷廠，政府喊出朝高值化發展的石化產業要蓋在哪？

「不是說做不到（環境影響評估），而是這時間拖得太長，」前經濟部長張家祝說。

問題一

環評拖太久，商機稍縱即逝

根據最新的法院見解，有爭議的案件在一階環評時，若是採取「有條件式通過」，最後通常會被法院撤銷環評結論。只要對環境有「重大影響之虞」，就需進行「二階環評」。（見前頁流程圖）

**爭議三：
誰該做評估？**

公民團體：	政府：
把環評責任推到目的事業主管機關，會讓官商勾結更嚴重	發許可的部門除了當郵差轉送公文，決策應該要考量更多環境因素

**爭議四：
是否該具有否決權？**

公民團體：	政府：
拿掉否決權，等於是自廢武功	如何把「環境考量」內化到決策過程，更為重要



根據統計，環評審查時間平均大約半年。但自二〇〇五年第六屆環評委員開始，時間拉長到一年（見前頁表怪像一）。而這只是在環保機關的審查時間，還不包括來來回回、退掉重來的書件往返補件。「三、五年通過（環評）很正常，」工業局副局長連錦漳直言。

以去年為例，環保署四十件完成審查的案子中，只有十一件通過環評、十件有條件通過環評。剩下的，不是被認定不應開發、其他處置，就是應該繼續進行二階環評。（見前頁表怪像二）

對照投資佔 GNP（國民生產毛額）的比例，投資率長期呈現下滑的趨勢。

二〇〇八年到一三年底，進入二階環評的案子預計投資金額超過一、二兆元，幾乎是台灣年投資額的一半。

即使憲法明訂「經濟及科學技術發展，應與環境及生態保護兼籌並顧」，環評是不是影響企業的投資意願，甚至卡住了台灣經濟發展的疑慮，始終存在。

國光石化的故事，最能具體而微呈現，台灣大型投資案的困境。

根據「環評法」，申請單位必須提出「環境影響說明書」。召開「範疇界定會議」，界定環評大會審查的範圍。如果進入二階環評，申請單位要再提出「環境影響評估報告書」。

國光石化經過四次「範疇界定會議」，確定評估內容。但之後每次開會，議題卻不斷新增，超過原先的要求。

二 問題二

失控的環評會議

最早的範疇界定會議，陳寶郎就被要求針對「海岸地形」、「中華白海豚」、「水源供給」、「溫室氣體」，以及「健康風險評估」，廣泛蒐集專案小組與當地居民、相關團體的意見，共計三百多項。

例如，被要求做濁水溪百年水量研究，甚至被要求做一六六二年鄭成功來台以來的海岸歷史資料，以評估填海造陸會不會影響台灣本島的海岸線。

因為每個議題都涉及評估的工程模式，國光石化前前後後召開了五次專案小組初審會、十七場專家會議。陳寶郎回憶，因為是世紀大案，場子上常見立委、環保團體發表意見，全程網路直播，外頭還會有抗議者。

他認為，這對環評委員造成很大的壓力，因為一旦跟環團態度不一，就很容易被攻擊。審查會到後來，國光石化這一方根本找不到願意出面的專家學者。

陳寶郎說，壓死國光石化的最後一根稻草，就是「健康風險評估」的爭議。陳寶郎僱請的工程專家採用美國慣用的電腦模型，環保團體則引用台灣學者自己發明的電腦模型，其結論差距頗大。又經過媒體大肆報導，中研院院士也跳入連署反對。

「說實話，到現在我也不知道誰對，」陳寶郎直言，「因為專家會議並沒有先談定，用哪一套預測模式。」「環評意見，沒辦法一次講清楚；問題有時天馬行空，或者涉及到其他單位的範疇；又或者沒考慮成本問題，提出做不到的條件，」工業局副局長連錦濤，也表達了開發單位的共同無奈。

但是，政府通過了重大建設決策，才來做環評，「對居民而言，是先射箭再畫靶，」立委田秋堇認為，百姓沒有資源，只能先懷疑、先反對，人民提出的質疑再多，政府和開發單位都有責任好好回應。激化開發者與環保團體的，其實是台灣的制度。

台灣的「環評法」抄自美國。一九七〇年，美國創設環評制度，帶動了日後全球預防性環境法令的立法。

美國的環評是政府進行開發決策時，不能逃避的「參考」程式。與經濟利益、民生、社會文化等各種因素，同樣是整體考量時需要被評估的其中一環。

只是到了台灣，「當時立法院擔心，核發開發許可的目的事業主管機關，不會客觀考慮環境因素，所以把環評制度，抽到環保單位審查，」環保署綜合計劃處處長葉俊宏說明。

三 問題三

制度設計激化對立

環境評估由環保機關「集中審查」，再加上環評大會的「否決權」，使得「環境決策」從整體決策中抽離出來。「『經濟發展』跟『環境保護』因此被放在兩個極端去做考慮，」葉俊宏說。

「又怕這麼小的環保署做審查，其他機關會不理它，最後就給它環評沒通過就不能開發的『否決權』，」引進環評制度的台大法律系教授葉俊榮，解釋當時的時空背景，造就了台灣獨步全球的環評制度。

至高無上的否決權，「就像是給小孩子一把關刀，」葉俊榮形容，讓環評會得以否決複雜的開發決策，讓「開發」與「環境」站上天平的兩端，只見「對立」，不見「對話」。

專長環境經濟的中央研究院院士蕭代基認為，「其實是缺點，」反而造成「不敢做決定」的顧慮。

不像美國，發投資與營業許可執照的政府機關，也必須評估環境。葉俊巨集形容，台灣的目的事業主管機關就只扮演類似「郵差」的角色，工作就是把環說書轉送到環保機關。

「他們讓開發單位矇著頭去做，環評也花了那麼多錢，才提到環保署來，結果發現那個區位是一個非常差的地方，各個部會都不會贊成。這不是白花錢，也浪費時間嗎？」葉俊宏舉某開礦申請案為例，涉及林班地（依天然地形分割而成的永久性森林區劃單位）解編，農委會有顧忌，開發者後來才知道。最後的戰場就是環評大會。

一次又一次的對立，也激化了彼此的不信任感。環境爭議的戰線延燒到司法體系，讓問題更顯棘手。

自三年前，法院撤銷中科三期環評之後，法院就成為環團的延伸戰場。例如，淡北道路、北投纜車、中科三期、四期、桃科二期等，人民不服就提起訴訟，許多環評結果被法院撤銷。

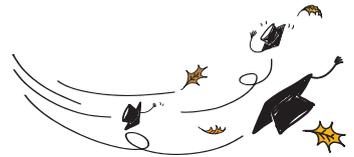
「不是單純看到案子被停掉才是勝利，」葉俊榮提醒大家重新思考環評的用意，「沒那麼笨的，專門弄一個制度來讓經濟受損。」

在經濟成長的焦慮，與環境保護的永續兩端擺盪，如何找到平衡？走過二十個年頭，台灣環評制度要往哪個方向前進？台大法律系教授葉俊榮，與環境法律師詹順貴，提出解方：

搶救失落世代

青年失業潮何時退？

台灣的青年失業問題持續惡化，與OECD十國相比，僅次義大利。
失業彷彿烙印，讓青年陷入長期工作不穩定的惡性循環。
台青高失業率的背後，是沒有伯樂，還是沒有千里馬？



文/ 陳淨詒 繪圖/ 江小A

長髮紮成馬尾，面露疲態，這位名叫小杏的女孩，十一月被迫離開從事近一年的客服工作。

月薪雖僅一萬九千元，但對總是斷斷續續失業的她，仍是不少的收入。「我需要這份工作，」在找到客服工作前曾失業長達半年的小杏氣憤地說。

她眼神裡的憤怒和迷惘，同時也是台灣這一代十一萬六千名失業青年的縮影。

一直以來，台灣社會普遍印象停留在，台灣的青年失業跟外國相比並不嚴重。但細究數字，真相恐怕不如大家想得樂觀。

一 真相一

「國際級」的青年失業率

根據國際勞工組織 (International Labor Organization) 統計，二〇一三年全球十五到二十四歲的年輕人，有七四五〇萬人失業。青年失業率 (見小辭典) 一三%，是全球平均失業率的兩倍。

台灣去年的青年失業率一三·一七%，這個數字遠高於韓國青年的九·七五%，與日本青年的六·七%。(見表真相一之一)

其實，青年失業率一直以來都比平均失業率高。因為，剛剛進入職場的年輕人還在摸索自己的志趣，離職率本來就高。另一方面，多數企業不願花時間教育新鮮人，年輕人求職門檻本來就高。

台灣的問題在於，不僅求職困難度高，而且青年失業率持續惡化。根據國際勞工組織的統計，跟OECD十國相比，

去年台灣青年失業率是全國失業率的三·二倍，僅次於義大利。台灣更是十一個國家中，惡化最快的國家。(見表真相一之二)

小辭典

什麼是「青年失業率」？

根據OECD標準，青年指的是介於15到24歲的年輕人。主計總處對失業率的定義中，認為失業必須符合三種條件：目前沒有工作、有意願找工作，以及可以立刻工作。換句話說，失業人口已排除在學學生或正在準備國家考試的青年。

二 真相二

景氣好轉，大學文憑續貶

根據主計總處統計，台灣青年失業率在二十一世紀初突破八%，之後一路攀升。〇九年全球金融海嘯，衝至高峰一四%，今年也仍在一二%以上。這表示，每十個想工作、且正在找工作的年輕人中，就有一·二人在失落中。

中央研究院院士、前經建會主委胡勝正對於青年失業特別關心。他指出，一個人出社會約二十多歲，踏出第一步如果受到重大阻礙，將影響他之後四十到六十年的人生。

失業一旦超過一年，新鮮人就必須面對新一波畢業生的挑戰。一批一批青年失業累計下來的結果，將成為國家、社

會、家庭很大的負擔。「我認為，不論如何一定要想辦法讓年輕人就業，」他說。

台灣青年失業率相較其他國家為什麼特別嚴重？又該如何面對？

一 病因一

高教失策消滅技職變大學

中華經濟研究院第三研究所副研究員杜英儀直指，台灣青年失業問題比國際嚴重，與一九九五年後錯誤的高等教育政策有絕對關係。

從數字看，台灣青年失業率超過八%是在二〇〇一年，正好是教改廣設大學政策後的五年。

從教育程度別的失業率來看，大學以上學歷的失業率，在〇六年首度與高中（職）學歷者交叉，成為失業率最高的族群。「二〇〇〇年後，不論景氣好壞，唯獨大學失業率一直沒降下來，」杜英儀說，兩個證據顯示，青年失業絕對與錯誤的高教政策有關。（見表真相二）

杜英儀直言，一九九五年啟動的教改，許多技術學院與專科升級為大學。讓台灣的大學數量從二十年前的二十三所，暴增到今年的一二二所。大學生也從二十四、五萬人增到一二四、五萬人，即增加了四倍。大學文憑的貶值速度驚人。

同期，韓國與日本大學生人數分別增加七〇%與一二%。三國相比，台灣的大學生增加速度最快，青年失業問題也最嚴重。

大學畢業生大量「生產」的結果，導致台灣的勞動力結構轉為倒三角形。高學歷人口多，高中職學歷者少，跟產業的實際需求脫節。

技職院校不斷升格為大學，改變了台灣人力的訓練方式。技職教師面臨評鑑升等的問題，研究的方向與市場脫鉤，更導致台灣青年有學歷，卻沒有市場所需的技能，造成學用落差。

大學文憑普遍的另一個副作用是，許多家長成長在大學還是窄門的時代，認為「大學生」應該可以找到不錯的工作。

二 病因二

職場與預期落差寧願失業

政治大學勞工研究所教授成之約就發現，台灣高學歷青年找工作的時候，多受父母和同儕影響，對於工作待遇有既定想法。但在台灣學歷貶值的情況下，工作條件或薪資會與原本的期待產生預期落差。

「一旦工作條件與原本的設定有落差，年輕人寧願失業，也不願低就，」成之約指出。

根據勞動部「青年勞工就業狀況調查」，過去八年，失業的青年中，八八%是自願性失業，且仍在找工作中。主計總處的人力資源調查報告也指出，青年離職的原因，五〇%以上是對工作感到不滿意。

期待落差，是台大商研所碩士畢業的連之樺（化名）失業的主因。

連之樺因為錯過每年一次的金融業儲備幹部招募機會，而失業三個月。雖然待業中，他憑著漂亮的履歷通過不少知名企業的面試。但這些都不是他想要的。

「說實話，我們比上一代多很多選擇，也沒有生存的壓力，所以可以找自己喜歡的（工作），」連之樺聳聳肩，攤一攤手，他還是選擇等待每年僅招募一次，心目中月薪兩百萬元的工作。

為什麼大學生理想的工作與現實有這麼大的落差？

台灣大學國家發展研究所副教授辛炳隆認為，是因為台灣勞動市場的就業資訊不夠透明。「年輕人第一次找工作，容易承受資訊不對稱的風險，」他說，大學畢業生不知道在自己的專業領域或產業應該拿多少薪水才合理，不知道自己的定位，也沒有討價還價的能力。

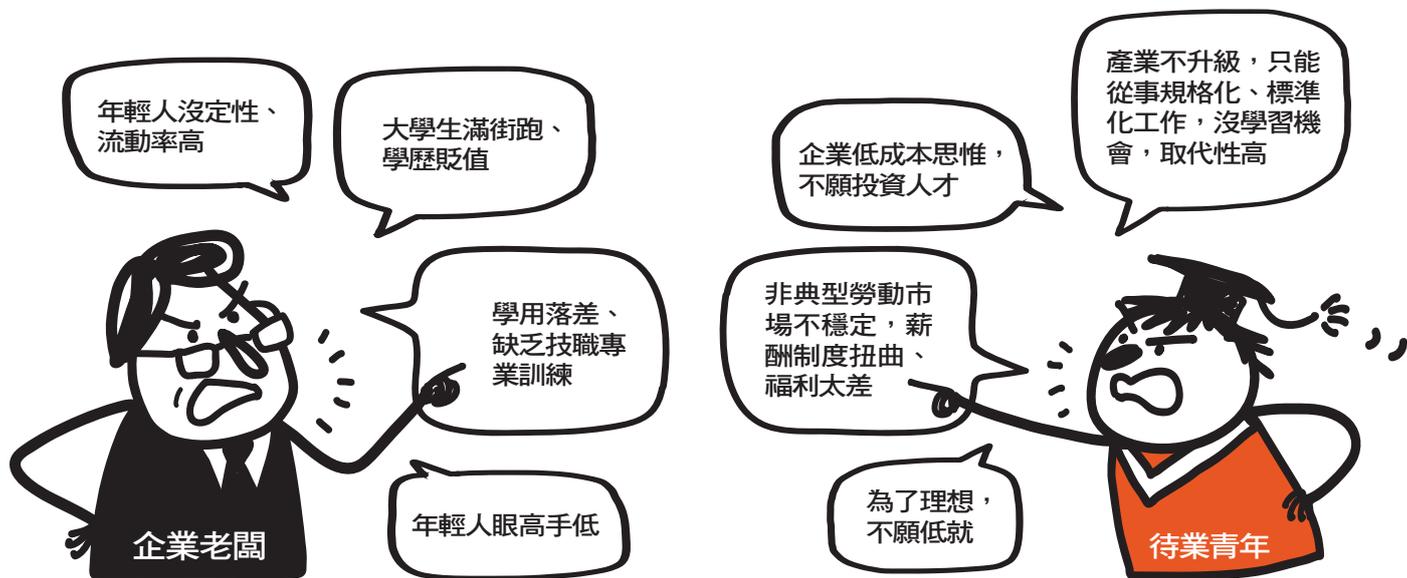
資訊不透明的結果，讓年輕人無法判斷，也不知要不要「屈就」一份工作，以致延長了失業時間。根據勞動部統計，長期失業（見小辭典）人口中，有一二%即近一萬人是十五到二十四歲的年輕人。

不過，文化大學勞工關係所副教授李健鴻認為，青年失業不能全怪年輕人。因為台灣很多公司沒有勞、健保，工作環境不好，職涯的發展也不夠健全。每年只有一二%的企業願意投入資源培訓員工。

年輕人流入低薪與不穩定的派遣市場，就是一例。

企業老闆vs.待業青年

青年失業是誰的問題？



三 病因三

「派遣工」缺乏保障

根據統計，台灣有七十六萬六千人從事「非典型勞動」（見小辭典），四分之一是年輕人。

但不同於日本、韓國與美國有「勞動派遣法」與「長雇型派遣契約」的保障，台灣迄今沒有派遣法。事實上，台灣九成以上的派遣公司跟派遣勞工簽訂的是短期雇用契約，階段性工作結束，就被迫進入長期失業與就業的惡性循環。

像小杏從某科技大學畢業後，因為找不到工作，就先進入派遣市場，但工作不穩定，薪水不到二十二K。斷斷續續

就業兩年多，有勞、健保的連續就業期間僅十個月，讓小杏連申請失業津貼，也因為沒有累積足夠的年資而被退件。

「剛畢業就進入派遣，像一種烙印，可能導致派遣長期化，」李健鴻語重心長。

辛炳隆指出，青年失業的問題並不像外界所認為，只要青年探索期結束，就能夠自動找到自己的位置，而是將隨著世代效果往下遞移。換句話說，十年後，曾經的青年進入中年，卻仍可能繼續深陷非典型勞動市場的惡性循環。「青年貧窮可能演變為中年貧窮，」辛炳隆擔心地表示。

失落世代怎麼救？台大國發所副教授辛炳隆與上銀科技董事卓永財，從制度與職訓角度提出解方：

小辭典

什麼是「長期失業」？

指連續失業期間達一年以上，且辦理勞工保險退保當日前三年內，保險年資合計滿六個月以上，並於最近一個月內有向公立就業服務機構辦理求職登記者。

什麼是「非典型勞動」？

非典型勞動是非專任（全職）薪資的工作，主要利用定期契約規範勞雇關係，通常薪資低於一般行情，也不容易有升遷機會。非典型勞動的主要工作型態有：勞務派遣、承攬外包、臨時工、候召勞工（on call workers），以及部份工時勞工（part-time workers）。

Harry Harrison

Occupy (according
to Harry)



HARRY HARRISON

Cartoonist
South China Morning Post

Harry Harrison is a freelance illustrator/cartoonist originally from London. Having worked in London and Sydney, he arrived in Hong Kong as a backpacker in 1994. For the past 21 years he has been freelancing in Hong Kong for various publications such as: SCMP, AWSJ, Time, IFR, The Guardian, FEER, and various children's books. He lives on Lamma Island with his wife and two teenage kids.

A14 Tuesday, September 30, 2014

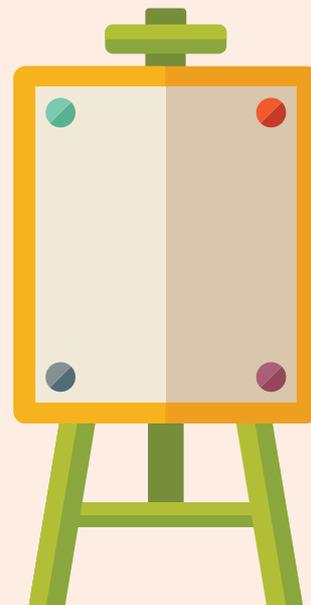
South China Morning Post



A14 Thursday, October 7, 2014

South China Morning Post





Didi Kirsten Tatlow

Column: Letter
from China



DIDI KIRSTEN TATLOW

Correspondent
International New York Times

Didi was born and raised in Hong Kong and has worked in media in Europe and Asia, including The Associated Press and Die Welt. She is a correspondent for the New York Times in Beijing and is married with two children and two boxer dogs. She has won more than a dozen prizes.

International New York Times

Education as a Path to Conformity

By DIDI KIRSTEN TATLOW JAN. 26, 2010

BEIJING — It's known among a small circle of scholars in China as "the Qian Xuesen question." Four years ago Mr. Qian, the rocket scientist and genius architect of China's space and missile programs who died in October at the age of 97, asked a prominent visitor a troubling question: "Why does China produce so many clever people, but so few geniuses?"

Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's answer isn't recorded, but my friend Bai Hua thinks she knows.

"Our education system is like ancient Sparta. Not physically, but mentally," she said over coffee in a Beijing mall, where white marble sparkled under powerful lights. "Our children learn to calculate fast, play the piano, to do everything well. They have a lot of skills. But when they grow up they are lost, because no one ever asked them to think about what they want."

The agoge of Sparta took 7-year-old boys and molded them into an elite corps of disciplined warriors loyal to the state. At Chinese school a powerful blend of Communist and Confucian ideologies demands obedience to hierarchy, bone-hard study and uncritical thinking.

Starting at 6, children are buried under an avalanche of studies until they graduate from high school. Twelve-hour days (less on weekends, but no days off) are common among first-graders. For his first Chinese New Year semester break, my 6-year-old son was given 42 pages of math and 42 pages of Chinese homework to complete in four weeks. The goal? Entrance to an elite college like Peking or Tsinghua University.

Yet once there, laziness can set in. Many students kick back, relying on their elite network to smooth a path through life. After the slog of the previous 12 years they feel they deserve a break. Perhaps they do. But it's no incentive for academic brilliance.

Hua, a financial sector I.T. specialist who took the unusual step in China of giving up her job to raise her family, also has a son at elementary school.

She is part of a tiny minority that worries about the implications of all this for her child and her country. People overseas might worry what a highly skilled, ambitious and uncritical Chinese population means for the world. But here, most parents think things are working just fine and, if they follow the formula, their single child will emerge an honor to the family and not a dreaded deadbeat.

To justify a study routine Hua calls "miserable," parents have begun framing the system as imparting "kangya nengli," or the ability to resist pressure. Tough is good, runs the logic. Only wimps can't cope. At the bottom lies an intense fear of failure, often expressed thus: "He won't even be able to find a wife." There is no equivalent for a girl, but in a deeply patriarchal society that doesn't matter.

Hua sees only mediocrity. "We don't produce Bill Gates, or the Google guys, or Steve Jobs, because we don't let these people grow. We don't even come close. Everyone says Chinese people are clever. But where's the evidence?"

When I was growing up in the colony of Hong Kong, my British headmistress would glare when we asked to learn Chinese, and hiss: "If you want to learn Chinese, go onto the streets!" I learned later, at college. Writing, especially, was years of hard graft, and the process is never-ending. Even Chinese who don't regularly read and write forget how. So for me, raising two children here, learning the language was nonnegotiable. We chose the local state school.

Yet there is a price. The penny dropped one day when I heard my son sitting on the toilet. “Piping! Wo piping ni!” (“Criticize! I criticize you!”) he trilled in his boyish soprano.

I rushed over to ask what was up. “Oh, nothing, Mom, just that’s what teacher says,” he answered, little legs kicking. Hurling at class enemies for decades after the 1949 Communist revolution, the phrase drips moral and political censure. It’s a part of the deep psychological and linguistic fabric of the nation. Coupled with regular scolding (“ma”) and, in the worse kind of schools, a slap or shove (“da”) it is a powerful weapon in a teacher’s arsenal of instruction. “If teachers don’t scold, people think they aren’t doing their job,” Hua said.

Every autumn, China frets that once again it hasn’t produced a Nobel laureate. The 2009 physics laureate, Charles Kao, was duly noted as the sixth China-born laureate, though all became foreign citizens and only Gao Xingjian, the free-thinking 2000 Nobel literature laureate whom the party despises, was entirely educated in China.

There is little pressure to change. After all, isn’t this system producing a superficially impressive generation of people? Retail clerks memorize 11-digit mobile phone numbers in a flash and can recite orders faultlessly; perhaps they play the piano quite well, too. Yet, young Chinese struggle to think for themselves.

“I’d sit there in tutorials and tell myself, ‘Don’t just write it down, think about what the professor is saying,’” said a Chinese friend who studied at the London School of Economics. She found the experience daunting but deeply rewarding.

The obedience system also produces a herd instinct. Once, the nation’s elite wanted to be scientists and build their country. Today they want to be bankers, or stick with safe state jobs.

“They don’t know what they want, but they hear bankers make the most money and everyone else is doing it, so that’s what they want to do,” Hua said.

This year, too, 130,000 university graduates applied for jobs with the People’s Liberation Army. In a politically controlled society without access to independent justice, where freedom exists only around profit-making and personal

consumer choice, money is more than king – it is the biggest determiner of destiny. A job in the state sector guarantees guanxi, or personal contacts, which can protect your family from an unpredictable system.

Creativity is a nuisance and China doesn’t need a Bill Gates, runs the thinking. What it needs is cheap labor and factories, and no one to rock the boat. That Qian Xuesen’s exceptional genius grew during his two decades in the United States, where he did a Ph.D. and experimented widely, is forgotten.

Though not by everybody. Prominent educators like Zhu Qingshi, first president of Shenzhen’s new South University of Science and Technology, long to set up more liberal universities where academics, not party members, are in charge, and students can think and experiment freely.

As for my son, it’s not all bad. His teacher is personally kind, his times-tables are impressive and he can already write hundreds of characters. I’m counting on a more democratic, Athenian-style of thinking at home to balance Sparta. Then hopefully, by 18, he’ll have some idea what his passion is, and how to follow it.

E-MAIL pagetwo@iht.com

A version of this article appears in print on January 27, 2010, in *The International Herald Tribune*.

Greg Torode

Beijing's stealthy
advance towards
Greater China



GREG TORODE

Special Correspondent
Reuters

Reuters' Special Correspondent Greg Torode has reported on politics and security across Asia for the last two decades. Torode, 46, joined Reuters two years ago after a long reporting career with the South China Morning Post in Hong Kong, which included postings in Hanoi, Bangkok and Washington.

His extensive work on rising tensions in the South China Sea and human rights abuses in Myanmar has won several regional press awards.

Torode was born and educated in New Zealand, where he started work as a reporter on The Dominion newspaper in Wellington.

HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL



HONG KONG /BEIJING, JULY 1, 2014

Since Britain handed back colonial Hong Kong in 1997, retired primary school teacher and Falun Gong devotee Lau Wai-hing has fully exercised the freedoms China promised this city of 7.2 million.

Lau and fellow believers regularly staged protests to explain the teachings of their spiritual movement and draw attention to the persecution of followers on the mainland, where the sect is banned. Until about a year ago, their protests were uneventful. That changed when a noisy rival group set up their placards and banners on the same pavement in the busy shopping area of Causeway Bay.

The 63-year-old Lau and her fellow protesters said they've been punched, shoved and sworn at since the newcomers from the "Care for the Youth Group Association Hong Kong" arrived with their blaring loudspeakers. Each protest is now a battle to be heard. "It is much more difficult now given these attacks, this external pressure, these forces from China," said Lau amid the amplified din on Sogo Corner, Hong Kong's neon-lit version of New York's Times Square.

1,200

The number of people currently on Hong Kong's election committee, which selects the Hong Kong Chief Executive. Source: Hong Kong government

For critics of the pro-Beijing government in Hong Kong, groups like the Care for the Youth Group Association are part of a campaign from the mainland to tighten control over China's most freewheeling city. Increasingly, they say, Beijing is raising its voice. In the streets, boardrooms, newsrooms, churches and local government offices, individuals and organisations with links to the state and China's Communist Party are playing a bigger role in civil and political life, well-placed sources in Hong Kong and Beijing say.



VOTING TO VOTE: "Occupy Central" organizers (L-R) Chan Kinman, Benny Tai and Reverend Chu Yiuming announcing results of an unofficial referendum for full democracy. REUTERS/TYRONE SIU

Creeping controls

Since Hong Kong returned to Chinese rule in 1997, Beijing has gradually increased control over the territory even though Beijing promised wide-ranging freedoms and autonomy under the formula of "one country, two systems", along with an undated promise of universal suffrage.



July 1997

Hong Kong is handed back to China after more than 150 years of British rule. Tung Chee-hwa, a Shanghai-born former shipping tycoon, is hand-picked by Beijing to rule the territory.

February 2001

Hong Kong's number two official, Chief Secretary Anson Chan, who opposed Chinese interference in the territory's affairs, resigns under pressure from Beijing.

June 2002

Trial of 16 members of the Falun Gong spiritual movement arrested during a protest outside Beijing's Liaison Office in the territory. The 16 are found guilty of causing a public obstruction.

HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL



CRITIC AND CHIEF: Anson Chan (L) and Hong Kong Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying. REUTERS/BOBBY YIP AND TYRONE SIU

Whenever there are anti-government public protests, a pro-Beijing counter movement invariably appears. This year's 25th anniversary commemoration of the protests centred on Beijing's Tiananmen Square drew a rival demonstration to defend China's bloody crackdown on June 4, 1989.

Mainland officials based in Hong Kong now routinely seek to influence local media coverage.

Catholic priests in Hong Kong report that agents from China's security service have stepped up their monitoring of prominent clergy.

And, Beijing's official representative body, the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in Hong Kong, now is able to shape policy in the office of city chief executive Leung Chun-ying, say two sources close to the city's leader.

“Leung Chun-ying is just a puppet for Beijing's interests.

Anson Chan
Former head of Hong Kong's Civil Service

Residents of this global financial centre could not help noticing a more overt sign of China's rule in the former British colony: Huge Chinese characters spelling out “People's Liberation Army” in a blaze of neon alongside the military's waterfront headquarters that suddenly appeared at the beginning of June.

For Beijing's critics in Hong Kong, the 1997 handover is feeling more like a takeover.

“Blatant interference is increasing,” says Anson Chan, who led Hong Kong's 160,000-strong civil service in the last years of British rule and continued in that role for several years after the handover.

Chan cited as examples pressures on Hong Kong companies not to advertise in pro-democratic newspapers, attempts to limit debate about democratic reform, and the higher profile increasingly being taken by Beijing's official representatives in the city.

“It's not another Chinese city and it shouldn't become one. Hong Kong is unique,” said Chan.

XI'S TOUGHER LINE

In China's opaque political system, it is impossible to determine whether the party's growing clout in the territory is entirely the result of a campaign organised from on high, or partly the doing of mainland and local officials eager to please Beijing. Still, a tougher line on Hong Kong is coming from the top.

Despite promises that post-handover Hong Kong should enjoy a high degree of autonomy, China's President Xi Jinping, is said to have decided that Beijing has been too lenient.

- July 2003**
Half a million people protest in the city against proposed anti-subversion laws. The proposed laws were shelved.
- April 2004**
China rules that its approval must be sought for any changes to Hong Kong's election laws, giving Beijing the right to veto any moves towards more democracy.
- December 2007**
Beijing says it will allow the people of Hong Kong to directly elect their own leader in 2017 and their legislators by 2020.

HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL



COUNTER-PROTEST: Hung Wai-shing, chairman of a pro-Beijing group called “Care for the Youth Group Association Hong Kong”. The group has been countering the protests of the Falun Gong spiritual group in Hong Kong, which is banned in the mainland. **REUTERS/BOBBY YIP**

“Xi Jinping has rectified (China’s) policy for governing Hong Kong,” a source close to the Chinese leader told Reuters in Beijing, requesting anonymity. “In the past, the mainland compromised toward Hong Kong too much and was perceived to be weak.”

This tightening grip has fuelled resentment and sparked a civil disobedience movement called “Occupy Central”, which threatens to blockade part of Hong Kong’s main business district.

Mass protests can paralyse this high-density city. Business leaders have warned that Occupy could damage businesses: Four of the largest multinational accounting firms placed advertisements in local newspapers warning against the movement, which has been branded illegal by Chinese authorities. Occupy’s primary aim is to pressure China into allowing a truly democratic election in 2017.

Beijing says Hong Kong can go ahead with a vote in 2017 for the city’s top leader. But mainland officials stress that Hong Kong’s mini-constitution, the Basic Law, specifies that only a nominating committee can pick leadership candidates. Prodemocracy activists demand changes that would allow the public to directly nominate candidates.

Nearly 800,000 people voted in an unofficial referendum that ended on Sunday, which called for Beijing to allow open

nominations of candidates for the 2017 poll – a vote China’s State Council, or cabinet, called “illegal and invalid”, said the state Xinhua news agency.

Fears that the screws are tightening were heightened when Beijing published an unprecedented cabinet-level White Paper in June on Hong Kong. It bluntly reminded Hong Kong that China holds supreme authority over the city.

“The high degree of autonomy of (Hong Kong) is not an inherent power, but one that comes solely from the authorisation by the central leadership,” it says.

The policy document took about a year to prepare and was approved by the 25-member, decision-making Communist Party Politburo around a month ago, a second source close to Xi told Reuters in Beijing.

It’s a tricky issue for China’s new leadership. Hong Kong’s democratic experiment is seen as a litmus test of Beijing’s tolerance for eventual political reforms on the mainland, where calls for greater civil liberties and grassroots democracy have been growing, experts say.

President Xi, who has swiftly consolidated power in China since taking office by taking a hard line on domestic and foreign affairs, is unlikely to compromise on Hong Kong, the sources close to the leader said.

- December 2009**
Hong Kong unveils proposals for political reform in response to pressure for greater democracy, including an enlarged Legislative Council; critics say the moves do not go far enough.
- July 2012**
Leung Chun-ying takes office as chief executive, succeeding Donald Tsang whose last months in office were dogged by controversy over his links with wealthy businessmen.
- June 2014**
Nearly 800,000 people cast votes in an unofficial referendum on democratic reforms in Hong Kong, part of a civil campaign branded illegal by the Hong Kong and Chinese governments.

HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL

"Hong Kong is no different," the second source with ties to China's leadership said. "Pushing for democracy in Hong Kong is tantamount to asking the tiger for its skin."

SHADOW CABINET

China's Liaison Office in Hong Kong is housed in a skyscraper stacked with surveillance cameras, ringed by steel barricades and topped by a reinforced glass globe. Soaring above streets filled with dried fish shops and small traders, it is known in Cantonese slang as "Sai Wan", a reference to the gritty western end of Hong Kong Island where it is located. Each day, hundreds of staff, mostly mainland Chinese, stream into the matte-grey building and its marble lobby with a large Chinese screen painting of pine trees.

Hong Kong is both part of China and outside of it as defined in the 1984 Joint Declaration, the treaty under which Britain handed over its former colony.

"One country, two systems" - conceived by China's then-paramount leader Deng Xiaoping and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher - let Hong Kong keep its free-market economy and internationally-respected legal system, with the exception of foreign affairs and defence.

As China's on-the-ground presence in Hong Kong, the Liaison Office's formal role is described in China's recent White Paper as helping to manage the Chinese government's ties with the city, as well as "communication with personages from all sectors of Hong Kong society".

Two high-level sources with close ties to Leung, the Hong Kong Chief Executive, say the Liaison Office does much more than that: It helps shape strategically significant government policies.

"The real cabinet is the shadow cabinet," said one source close to Leung. "The chief executive's office can't do without the Liaison Office's help on certain matters."

The Chief Executive's office did not directly respond to questions on the extent of its ties with the Liaison office. It said in an emailed response that China and Hong Kong shared a close relationship on multiple fronts, including at "government-to-government level". The office stressed Hong Kong's autonomy and noted that the Basic Law says no Chinese government body may interfere in Hong Kong affairs.

China's Liaison Office did not respond to faxes and phone calls seeking comment. The Hong Kong and Macau Affairs



THREATS TO PRESS: Kevin Lau (above), former chief editor of the Ming Pao newspaper, was stabbed in February amidst a string of recent attacks and threats against journalists in Hong Kong. **REUTERS/STRINGER**

Office in Beijing, which has Cabinet-level authority over the territory from Beijing, did not respond to faxed questions.

The Liaison Office uses its broad networks, spanning grassroots associations, businessmen and politicians, to help the Hong Kong government push through policies needing approval from a largely pro-Beijing legislature. These have included the debate over democratic reforms in Hong Kong and a multi-billion-dollar high-speed rail link to China, one source said.

Liaison Office chiefs were once rarely seen. But the current director, Zhang Xiaoming, has taken on a far more public role since taking office 18 months ago - around the same time that Xi Jinping became China's leader and Leung Chunying became chief executive in Hong Kong. Zhang has lunched with legislators and also attends society gatherings alongside local tycoons and business leaders. Zhang did not respond to requests for comment.

Liaison Office staff, including some from the propaganda department, regularly phone editors and senior journalists at Hong Kong media outlets.

Sometimes, these officials give what are known as "soft warnings" not to report sensitive topics, according to media sources and a report by the Hong Kong Journalists Association in 2013.

In one case, a television journalist was called by a Beijing official who mentioned an interview the journalist was planning. The journalist "learned that this was a warning



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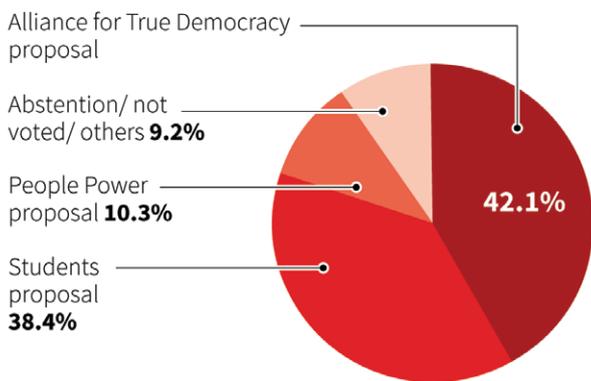
HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL

Hong Kong referendum

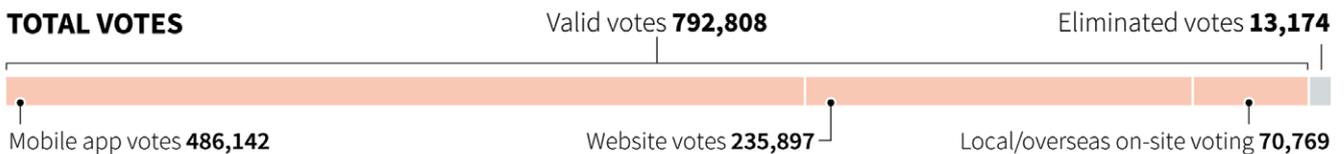
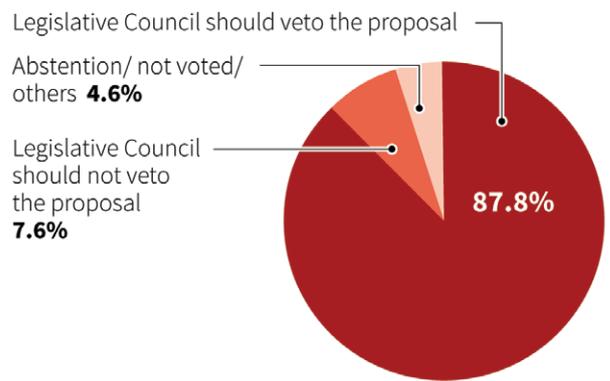
More than 780,000 votes were cast by June 29 in Hong Kong, as part of a civil campaign that has been branded illegal by local and mainland Chinese authorities.

REFERENDUM RESULTS

“For Chief Executive Election 2017, I support Occupy Central to submit this proposal to the government:”



“If the government proposal cannot satisfy international standards allowing genuine choices by electors, my stance is:”



Source: Public Opinion Programme of the University of Hong Kong

meaning that he was ‘being watched’ and that he should not conduct sensitive interviews,” the report said.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION

Foreign diplomats and local academics believe the Liaison Office coordinates and implements the strategy of the Communist Party inside Hong Kong, although the hierarchy, membership and structure of the party in Hong Kong remain a secret. (See related story)

Before the 1997 handover, the Chinese Communist Party focused on courting businessmen, academics and activists to secure influence and loyalty. It has now become more assertive, attempting to isolate party enemies, silence critics, and deliver votes, Hong Kong scholars and a source close to the Liaison Office say.

The vehicle for this strategy is a Beijingbased entity called the United Front Work Department, an organ of the Communist Party’s Central Committee, whose mission is to propagate the goals of the Party across non-party elites.

The Liaison Office’s Coordination and Social Group Liaison departments report directly to Beijing’s United Front Work Department, according to a source in frequent touch with Liaison Office staff, who declined to be named.

“There is deeper penetration by the United Front in Hong Kong in recent years,” said Sonny Lo, an academic and author of a book on China’s underground control of Hong Kong. “In part, the United Front is working to counter and adapt to the rise of democratic populism and as a result we are seeing these new groups take to the streets.

“United Front groups are being more heavily mobilized to not just support government policy but to counter rival forces.”

A legacy of the earliest days of Leninist communist revolutionary theory, the United Front Work Department’s mission is to influence and ultimately control a range of non-party groups, luring some into cooperation and isolating and denouncing others, according to scholars of Communist history.

HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL

“The tactics and techniques of the United Front have been refined and perfected over the decades and we are seeing a very modern articulation of it in Hong Kong,” says Frank Dikotter, a Hong Kong University historian and author of nine books on Chinese history.

The United Front - like the Communist Party itself - doesn't exist as a registered body in Hong Kong. There is no publicly available information about its network or structure. Neither the United Front Work Department in Beijing, nor the Liaison Office in Hong Kong, responded to questions from Reuters about the purported activities of the Front in Hong Kong.

But it is possible to trace links from some grassroots groups to mainland-owned businesses and the Liaison office.

A Reuters examination of the societies registration documents for the Care for the Youth Group Association obtained from Hong Kong police show that the group's chairman is Hung Wai-shing and the vice chairman is Lam Kwok-on.



See the video: <http://reut.rs/1mM5k6p>

Police and corporate filings also show Hung is a director of a New Territories clan association that researchers believe is a core part of China's United Front operations in the city's northern fringes close to the Chinese border.

Hung is also a director of several Hong Kong subsidiaries of Beijing Yanjing Brewery Co. Ltd, a state-owned Chinese brewery that stock exchange filings show is in turn majority owned by two investment vehicles ultimately tied to the Beijing city government.

“It was clear he wanted secrets – gossip and views about (Hong Kong) relationships and trends and what might be going on at the Holy See.

Priest recalling a visit from a Ministry of State Security agent

Reports in the Ta Kung Pao and Wen Wei Po newspapers in Hong Kong - both mouthpieces for Beijing - have described Hung socialising with Liaison Office officials in the New Territories.

Hung denied any connection to the youth association when Reuters visited him at his Yanjing Beer office in Hong Kong's Fanling district.

“What you refer to, the Care for the Youth association, I tell you I'm not involved,” said Hung, a lean, middle-aged man with bushy eyebrows and thinning hair, who then called the police to complain about being questioned.

Youth care association Vice-chairman Lam is a regular at the anti-Falun Gong protests on Sogo corner. He ignored questions from Reuters about his role with the youth association at a recent demonstration.

Other street groups, including the one that opposed Hong Kong's Tiananmen commemoration, are run by individuals linked to a network of business chambers and associations in Hong Kong, including some that are at the vanguard of United Front work in the city, scholars say.

The chairman of one of those groups, the Voice of Loving Hong Kong, Patrick Ko, is shown in company filings to be a director of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, which the researcher Lo identified as an organisation under the United Front umbrella in Hong Kong.

Kodenied any tie to Beijing's United Front Work Department. He said his group and the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce were “run by Hong Kong people”.

SECRET AGENTS

Behind the scenes, agents from Beijing's powerful Ministry of State Security are also expanding China's reach into Hong Kong, diplomats and members of various professions say.

The Ministry of State Security sits at the apex of China's vast security apparatus, responsible for both domestic and external secret intelligence operations.

Professionals in Hong Kong have been invited, often discreetly through intermediaries, to “drink tea” with agents.

HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL

The visits of these agents, who travel into Hong Kong on short-term permits, have become more frequent and their tactics more assertive, say multiple sources who have had contacts with such agents.

Their targets include Hong Kong-based priests, journalists, lawyers, businessmen, academics and politicians.

Two sources told Reuters the agents offer gifts in exchange for information and favours.

“They said they have an unlimited budget” for gifts, said one Hong Kong-based professional in regular contact with agents.

Two priests said they received repeated visits from State Security agents after recent tensions between China and the Vatican stemming from China’s moves to ordain bishops without the consent of the Holy See.

One priest recalled meeting a young and polite agent who “said he was a friend who wanted to help” while making it clear he was reporting to Beijing for State Security.

“It was clear he wanted secrets – gossip and views about (Hong Kong) relationships and trends and what might be going on at the Holy See,” said the priest who declined to be identified.

In recent months, the agents have been asking about the Catholic Church’s support for the Occupy Central movement, two priests said.

The Ministry of State Security did not answer calls to its main telephone number in Beijing; the government does not disclose other contact numbers for the ministry to foreign reporters.

While the battle for influence continues, there is no let up on Sogo Corner for Lau Wai-hing and her fellow Falun Gong devotees.



RED STAR OVER HONG KONG: A ferry passes in front of the headquarters of the People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong. REUTERS/BOBBY YIP

On a recent Saturday, not far from where Lau was standing, members of the Care for the Youth Group Association held a “wanted” poster carrying Lau’s photograph with the words “evil cult member” below it.

Lam, the group’s vice chairman, raised his portable loud-speaker rigged to a car battery. “Wipe out the evil cult Falun Gong,” he shouted, his voice reverberating down the busy street.

Lau, however, would not be deterred.

“People can see we only want to make ourselves heard. Hong Kong should give us that freedom.”

Additional reporting by Yimou Lee, and the Hong Kong and Beijing newsrooms. Editing by David Lague and Bill Tarrant

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HONG KONG THE BATTLE FOR HONG KONG'S SOUL

The Party in Hong Kong's underground

BY GREG TORODE AND JAMES POMFRET

Among dozens of suspected pro-Beijing groups registered with Hong Kong authorities as companies or societies, one is conspicuous by its absence – the Communist Party itself.

While Beijing is playing an increasing role in Hong Kong affairs, the local branch of the ruling Communist Party remains officially underground in the free-wheeling capitalist hub – a legacy, in part, of British colonial rule that ended in 1997.

From helping foment a wave of riots in Hong Kong in the 1960s that challenged British rule, to paving the way for China's reunification, the Communist Party is deeply embedded in the city's history.

"Nowhere else in the world is there a system where the ruling party remains an underground organisation as it does in Hong Kong," wrote Christine Loh in her book "Underground Front: The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong."

"Its presence in Hong Kong is meant to be a 'secret' although one that everyone has known about for a very long time," added Loh, who is now a senior Hong Kong official.

Nobody really knows how many Communist Party members there might be in Hong Kong, or how powerful it is.

Hong Kong's current leader, Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying, has had to repeatedly deny rumours he is a Communist Party member.

"I am not a member of the Communist Party. I am not a so-called underground member of the Communist Party. In fact, I'm not a member, and have not been a member, of any political party anywhere in the world," he told Reuters in 2012.

NEVER OUTLAWED

The British never actually outlawed the party. Sonny Lo, author of a definitive book on China's underground control of Hong Kong, notes that London reached a "tacit understanding" after the Communist takeover of China in 1949 that Hong Kong could not be used as a battlefield between communists and the defeated Kuomintang nationalists that fled to Taiwan. Both would therefore have to remain underground.

The Party, which traces its origins in the city back to 1920s, operated through a secret committee, running schools, unions and newspapers. China's state Xinhua news agency office became its unofficial headquarters in Hong Kong.

To ensure a successful handover – and its promise of "one country, two systems" – Beijing opted for the status quo and no explicit role for the Party after Hong Kong returned to Chinese rule in 1997.

Xinhua was reduced in size – its old building has largely been turned into a state-owned hotel -- and Party work moved to the new Liaison Office in 1998, a year after the handover.



BEIJING'S CITADEL: Policemen confront protesters at the gate of China's Liaison Office in Hong Kong. The office is Beijing's administrative headquarters in the territory. REUTERS/TYRONE SIU

No mention is made of the Party in the Basic Law, Hong Kong's mini constitution that outlines its freedoms and autonomy and governs its relationship with the rest of China.

Nor is there any significant public clamour for change – even though the situation is at the heart of a clash of political cultures as Beijing's confronts a Hong Kong populace eager for full democracy.

Across university campuses in Hong Kong, the mainland Chinese Students and Scholars Association has been active in organising underground party meetings, according to sources.

"I've got mainland students who have flat out told me they are party members, and even that they go to (the) Liaison Office for meetings," one professor said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

"Things can only get more complicated here as the communist shadows grow longer. That is Hong Kong's reality."

Editing by Bill Tarrant

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