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# 新加坡城市發展 與政治近況 —— 考察見聞

The Urban Development and Political Situation of Singapore  
— Study Trip Observation

內地著名學者  
在香港論中國政治改革

Renowned Mainland Scholars  
spoke on China's Political Reforms

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「民吾同胞，物吾與也。」——張載《西銘》



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# 新加坡城市發展與政治近況 - 考察見聞

## The Urban Development and Political Situation of Singapore

### - Study Trip Observation

\*2013 年 6 月，香港中華文化發展聯合會舉辦了一個新加坡考察團。  
此專題的三篇文章由參加該團的香港政策研究所成員撰寫。

Three members of Hong Kong Policy Research Institute(HKPRI) joined a Singapore study trip in June 2013, which was organized by Hong Kong Chinese Culture Development Association. They wrote on their observation for this feature.

## 新加坡考察的感受 - 潘國城博士

潘國城博士為香港政策研究所副主席，並曾任香港特區政府前規劃署署長

### 城市規劃、設計與發展

新加坡不愧為一座富有前瞻性的花園城市。

雖然它只有剛超過 700 平方公里的土地，但國土的 23% 還保留為森林及自然保護區，這是難能可貴的。況且，市內各處都植有濃密的花草樹木，就連本來巨大及讓人有壓迫感的行人天橋、立體車道連接點和它們的支柱及梯級也被美輪美奐的花卉或茂盛樹木所妝飾。這美好環境不只在市中心區見到，連駛往機場的大道也有同樣的園林景色，路中央還有花盤載着各類艷麗的花卉。怪不得新加坡人把這條路稱為 green tunnel（綠色通道）。唯一美中不足是路旁甚有秩序地種了同樣的樹，很明顯是經人手安排的，因而欠缺了一點自然感。

香港近來也甚重視城市園林建設，公眾地方富有花草樹木，但是大部分的多層車道與行人天橋及它們的支柱都暴露在外，非常難看。在這方面，我們應該向新加坡學習。

談到市容，不得不提到新加坡的樓宇。筆者看到，它的樓房不論是高樓還是別墅、新樓還是保留的舊房、私人屋還是政府組屋，外面都是極新淨的。有人相信這是因為新加坡時常下雨，

雨水把樓宇清洗。筆者詢問當地專家後，才知悉其中真相。原來，新加坡有法律規定，所有樓宇必須每五年維修清理一次，若然業主不行動，政府會安排人替業主進行工作，事後業主結帳。香港可以用此辦法嗎？

為了制定長遠城市發展計劃，未來人口及城市容量是兩項重要條件，奇怪的是，新加坡與香港同樣沒有辦法算出城市的總人口容納量，原因是它的背後決定因素實在太多和太複雜。雖然如此，兩個城市都有長遠發展策略，不同之處是新加坡的是法定計劃，而且法律規定每五年更新一次；而香港的不是法定，又沒有規定更新期限，應實際情況需要便作更改原計劃或制定新計劃，比較靈活。

對於製造業，新加坡與香港抱有極不同的態度。目前，除了特別工業外，香港的政府不重視製造業，還鼓勵工業樓宇改建為其他非工業用途。相反，新加坡不但盡力吸引資金投放到西南面的主要工業區，而且更有許多片規模不小的輕工業地帶放在住宅區附近，以求減低通勤交通量。

提到交通問題，人們必定會想到新加坡的電子道路收費方法（ERP）的運作情況。與香港一樣，新加坡現有約 50 萬部私家車。依據觀察，雖然某些道路交匯點略有堵車，但不嚴重，ERP 的效果好像不錯。我們亦得悉，為了鼓勵市民使用 MRT，若他們在每天高峯期前離開該系統，是無需付錢的。

在 2011 年，新加坡的總人口是 500 多萬，其中 63% 是本國公民、50 萬是永久居民。可能因為新加坡是一個城邦（city-state），即是一個國家，有一份整體性的人口政策，而可能因為香港只是一個城市，到現在只有一份不全面的人口政策。值得注意的是，聽說新加坡的人口政策中一個重點是引入專才，但是受到不少公民反對，他們覺得應先解決本身公民的問題。香港正在制定我們的人口政策，是否也要考慮同樣問題？

## 政府與民衆

新加坡處理政府與民眾間關係的手法，也值得研究。他們明白，民眾會把政府人性化，會視政府為「討厭的人」，處處防範。我們想不到，連新加坡這樣成功的政府也有此感受。香港是否應以此為訓？

新加坡政府極重視與民眾面對面的交往。考察團有機會參觀國會議員接見市民的安排，欣見議員得到很多義工的協助及議員處理個案的極高效率。議員在晚上接見市民，不論人數多少，有時超過 200 人，都要當天完成所有工作，包括議員過目後簽名的文件。



另一議員建議，與民眾交流，應先談「為何」（why），民眾認同和明白問題後，才提及「怎樣」（how），政府的計劃便較容易得到民眾響應。此辦法可以在香港政府諮詢市民時使用嗎？





Picture: Singapore's future development strategy

## Reflections on the Singapore Visit

- Dr. Peter K.S. Pun

*Dr. Peter Pun is HKPRI Vice Chairman and Former Director of the Planning Department of HKSAR*

Singapore is really a forward-looking garden city ! 23% of its 700 sq. km. of land is preserved as woodland and nature conservation zones. Plants are numerous everywhere in the urban areas, decorating pedestrian overhead bridges and flyovers, including their pillars. In Hong Kong, while more plants have recently appeared in public areas, they are not often seen at overhead bridges or flyovers, whose protruding concrete parts look unpleasant.

All buildings in Singapore, whether high-rise or low-rise, old or new, public or private, have clean external look, because of the legal requirement for refurbishment once every five years. If the owners do not do so, the Government would employ people to do it for them and ask them to pay afterwards. Can Hong Kong adopt this practice ?

The Hong Kong Government does not regard the manufacturing industries as important, even encouraging the change of industrial buildings to non-industrial uses. On the contrary, the Singapore Government has made great efforts to attract investments to the main industrial zone in the south-western part, and has also designated many sizeable pieces of light-industrial areas near residential districts, so as to reduce commuter traffic.

Singapore has a comprehensive population policy, with an emphasis to recruit foreign professional talents, but this has recently aroused opposition from many of its citizens. Hong Kong is in the process of formulating a population policy. Do we have to take account of similar problems ?

The Singapore Government puts great importance in communication with citizens. During a visit to a "Meet the People's Session" by a Member of the Parliament, this writer was very impressed with the enthusiasm of the many volunteers there and the high efficiency in the handling of the cases. Another MP said that when communicating with the people, it is better to discuss "why" first before going to the "how". Would this practice be of relevance to the government of Hong Kong in its public consultation exercises?



Picture: Dance performance at Aliwal Arts Centre

## Heritage Conservation in Singapore

- Dr. Andrew Chan Ping-chiu

*Dr. Andrew Chan is Director, Urban Renewal Fund Limited, and former member of Antiquities Advisory Board and Hong Kong Housing Authority.*

Singapore, "The Little Red Dot"<sup>1</sup>, is green and picturesque. It is a dynamic city of diversity with contemporary architecture and historic neighbourhoods.

### Singapore's Townscape

The city-state has a land area of 710 sq. km. as compared with 1054 sq. km. in Hong Kong. It is home to 5.3 million people in 2012 resulting in a density of 7,315 sq. km. The building footprint or the built-over area amounts to only 92 sq. km. which constitutes 13 per cent of Singapore's land area. Despite its small size, Singapore is able to keep 328.7 sq. km. as green surface areas which form 46.3 per cent of the land area.

Singapore's townscape is dominated by tall residential towers, office skyscrapers and flyovers. Behind all high-rise buildings, Singapore preserves some of their historic neighbourhoods which "tell a story closer to the ground, of a time when city streets rather than air traffic and shipping lanes were the vital arteries of the city's growth, moving goods, people and setting the stage for the city's economic and social development" (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2013).

The street-based 'shophouse' forms the main architectural feature of these neighbourhoods. It has been the shop and dwelling place of the early traders and immigrants in Singapore. One of these historic neighbourhoods is Chinatown, which was once considered as an immigrant ghetto. The historic district has now become an attraction to tourists who see it as a vibrant and revitalized neighbourhood where locals work, live and play (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2013).

1. "Little Red Dot" is an epithet for Singapore. Former Indonesian President B.J. Habibie used it to refer to Singapore in a disparaging manner (though he denied), but this term has come to be used by both Singaporean politicians and ordinary citizens with pride and a sense of the nation's success despite its physical limitations. Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Little\\_red\\_dot](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Little_red_dot).

Last month (June 2013) we had a fruitful study tour to Singapore. We visited some government officials, members of parliament and scholars there. Our meetings touched on a wide range of issues and they gave us lots of food for thought. In this article, I shall confine to my observations on heritage conservation which has received high commendation from an international body.

### **Previous Pragmatism in Urban Planning**

Singapore's heritage conservation has won the recognition of the Urban Land Institute as good practice because it "clearly demonstrates that heritage conservation and modernity are not necessarily in opposition. Its balanced, market-oriented approach encourages owners and developers to restore their properties to accommodate new functions. It thus ensures that old buildings remain economically viable and are well maintained to prolong their life spans." (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2013). Across the city, more than 7,091 heritage buildings have been revitalized in between Singapore's modern towers by December 2012 (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2013). But it happened not by design but by accident.

Successful though it may be today, heritage conservation was accorded low priority by the government in 1960s and 1970s. This was attributable to the government's practical approach which is labeled as "pragmatism" and adopted in fields such as economics, foreign affairs, law and urban planning (Luck 2004). Pragmatism in urban planning generates a bias towards land use with the highest economic return. This policy is reflected in a publication of the Housing Development Board in 1966:

"What is Urban Renewal and why the need for it in Singapore? In Singapore, Urban Renewal means no less than the gradual demolition of virtually the whole 1,500 acres of the old city and its replacement by an integrated modern city centre worthy of Singapore's future role as the New York of Malaysia. Apart from the slums in the city centre, there is the problem of traffic congestion. The whole road system will have to be boldly and drastically redeveloped" (Housing Development Board 1966).

The head of the Housing Development Board made it clear that conservation "should not be an economic burden to the government" and "there is no single method to charting a course for conservation for all cities. The lesson we have learnt in Singapore is that it is impossible to aspire to a world-class professional standard in conservation, but the approaches to it must be pragmatic to suit the local environment" (Liu Thai Ker 1992).

### **Lee Kuan Yew Admitting Mistakes**

The government, however, reversed this attitude towards conservation in the 1980s due to the oversupply of commercial facilities and the fact that the government had accumulated over these years sufficient land reserve to last well into the twenty-first century (Liu). More importantly, in 1984 the number of tourist arrivals dropped being the first decline since 1965. The government accordingly formed a task force which found that:

"Singapore should present itself both as the epitome of oriental mystique and a high-tech entertainment centre. It noted that as a result of the efforts to construct a 'modern metropolis', 'we have removed aspects of our Oriental mystique and charm which are best symbolized in old buildings, traditional activities and roadside activities such as the pasarmalam'. Amongst its key recommendations was the conservation of Chinatown and other historical sites." (Luck 2004, p.116)





Picture: Aliwal Arts Centre at a former girls' school

Singapore recognizes heritage conservation is worth doing. It helps to give people an insight into and experience of the past. People's memory of the country is concrete and visual. At the same time, it is beneficial to economic development in at least two ways. First, people now share a common identity through the awareness of the nation's past. This helps strengthening the social stability of a multi-racial country. Second, it helps to fortify a mental and emotional bond to Singapore (Luck 2004). Indeed, Lee Kuan Yew admitted that:

"We made our share of mistakes in Singapore. For example in our rush to rebuild Singapore, we knocked down many old and quaint Singapore buildings. Then we realized that we were destroying a valuable part of our cultural heritage, that we were demolishing what tourists found attractive and unique in Singapore" (Furland 2008, p.86).

### Lessons for Hong Kong

Both Hong Kong and Singapore suffer from the same problem of land scarcity. Still the latter is able to conserve more than 7,000 heritage buildings and conserve historic neighbourhoods like Chinatown, which far exceed what we have achieved in Hong Kong. While economic development is important to Hong Kong, the example of Singapore shows us heritage conservation and modernity are not necessarily in opposition and we should think hard and come up with a "pragmatic" conservation policy before we make further "mistakes" in destroying our cultural heritage.

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# 新加坡的文化遺產保育 - 陳炳釗博士

陳炳釗博士現任市區更新基金有限公司董事、及前任古物諮詢委員會和房屋委員會成員

6 月份，我參加了文聯會的新加坡考察交流團，與當地政府官員、國會議員和學者會晤及交流，所探討問題涉及範圍廣泛，很值得我們深思。這篇文章只表達我對新加坡文化遺產保育的一些觀察和感想。



Picture: The Old Parliament House was transformed to The Arts House in 2004

新加坡是一個甚為環保、風景優美、充滿活力、而又富有當代建築物和歷史地區的城市。儘管它的土地面積還比香港少，但仍能保持 328.7 平方公里的綠色土地（佔總面積的 46.3%）。這個城市景觀主要由高層住宅塔樓、辦公摩天大廈和天橋組成；但在所有高層建築的背後，會保留一些有歷史特色的地區。國際組織「城市土地學會」(Urban Land Institute) 曾予以高度肯定。

但在 60-70 年代，新加坡政府對土地發展著重最高經濟回報，因而輕視文化遺產的價值。到了 80 年代，由於商業設施供過於求，到訪旅客人數開始下降，政府才重新認識文化保育是必須做的，因為它有助於讓人們見識到新加坡過去的經驗和歷史，使人民對國家的記憶實在及圖像化，更且在兩方面有利經濟發展：首先，人們通過對國家的過去的認識，分享一個共同的身份認同，從而有助加強新加坡作為一個多民族國家的社會穩定；其次，它有助於鞏固一種在精神和情感上對新加坡的凝聚力。

前新加坡總理李光耀亦承認：「我們曾犯了錯誤。例如，我們因急於重建新加坡，拆掉了許多新加坡古樸優雅的建築物。然後我們才認識到，我們在摧毀文化遺產中有價值的部份，亦拆除了旅客眼中新加坡有吸引力和獨特的地方。」

香港與新加坡同樣面對土地稀缺的問題；不過後者仍然可以保育超過 7000 棟歷史文物建築，以及保留如牛車水等歷史價值之社區，遠超香港所能做到的。雖然經濟發展對香港重要，但新加坡顯示古蹟保育與現代化不一定對立。我們應該認真思考，盡快找出一個「實際」的保育政策，避免犯下因經濟發展而破壞文化遺產的錯誤。



圖：人民行動黨的總部

## 新加坡人民行動黨面對的挑戰 - 馮智政

馮智政為香港政策研究所研究員，及香港國際問題研究所的《國際關係研究月刊》副總編輯

中國領導人自鄧小平開始，對新加坡的管治經驗非常重視。鄧小平亦在 92 年南巡講話中特意強調學習新加坡，學習他們的經濟發展經驗和社會治理經驗。美國學者福山（Francis Fukuyama）在 1995 年發表〈儒家思想與民主〉一文，認定民主制度在東方的實踐經驗。及後十多年間，中國政治改革漸成一股「新加坡模式」學習風潮，尤其針對民主專權（Authoritarian democracy）及執政黨的精英政治（Meritocracy）。

自習近平正式領導之後，中共中央黨校主辦的《學習時報》在 2013 年初兩個月刊登 4 篇文章介紹新加坡政府經驗，而央視亦籌拍十集新加坡模式的報道。資深記者 Jonathan Manthorpe 及中國人民大學政治學教授張鳴都言明，習班子十分關注新加坡及人民行動黨的民主模式。自 1965 年新加坡脫離馬來西亞獨立建國以來，人民行動黨一直為新加坡唯一執政黨，並佔國會絕大部份的議席（2011 國會選舉中，87 名國會議席中取得 81 個），其政治模式對中國來說相當吸引。

筆者在六月上旬參加的新加坡考察團，曾與人民行動黨交流，並在團離開後留下與不同反對派會面。筆者歸納了人民行動黨的兩個重要成功因素如下。

### 黨員及政治精英的道德性

新加坡國立大學東亞研究所所長鄭永年認為，新加坡政府權力集中也同時清廉是管治有成效的主要原因。由於人民行動黨一直在國會中佔絕大多數，內閣及政府要員自然由人民行動黨擔當。按照一般成例，黨秘書長即為內閣總理，而部長及次長也往往由黨內精英擔任，如在



和考察團交流的沈穎（Sim Ann）為教育部兼通訊及新聞部高級政務次長。國家政治精英多為社會培養，後被人民行動黨吸納，以彰顯其黨的核心價值之一：精英制（Meritocratic）；其中最成功的，可說是 70 年代吸納的前總理吳作棟和前副總理的陳慶炎，與 80 年代吸納的現任總理李顯龍和前副總理黃根成等精英。

在選賢任能上，人民行動黨著重其核心價值之首的清廉（Honesty）：「黨員必須保持清白、廉潔、光明正大的和透明，並有誠信地領導」。事實上，人民行動黨對黨內成員的監督非常嚴格，如前民防總監林新邦因涉權色交易而被罷免，中央肅毒局局長黃文藝因嚴重的私生活問題而被免職受查，可見人民行動黨對黨員清廉的重視。

### 黨員及政策的在地性

政府政策往往先在黨內醞釀，然後由人民行動黨中央執行委員會決定，再由內閣頒布施行。雖然黨內要員為小眾精英，但政策及黨員形象在地（On the Ground）。

新加坡選民基數約 230 多萬，地區國會議席共 87 席，每國會議員約面向 2 萬至 3 萬人，相比香港每名立法會議員負責 100 萬名選民為少。在與人民行動黨交流會上，一名該黨的代表建議國會議員要上樓與選民直接見面，在任期內最少兩次。因為新加坡立法硬性規定選民投票，人民行動黨要求議員儘量與其選區的選民最少見面一次。

除了登門造訪之外，新加坡國會議員亦有定期民眾會面時段（Meet-the-People Sessions），與選區居民會面，處理民生問題，安排政府福利及服務等。本團亦分別到訪了國會議員花蒂瑪醫生（Fatimah Latiff）及林謀泉先生（Lim Biow Chuan）在馬林百列（Marine Parade）及蒙巴登（Mountbatten）選區內，與民眾會面的情況。這種民眾會面時段在新加坡有著獨有的作用。新加坡的社區組織及志願組織發展緩慢，加上政策不支持，在新加坡的地區社會福利機構不足；因此，居民在處理民生事務，包括申請公共房屋，簽發文件都需要透過國會議員、地區領袖（Grass-root leader）及其義工團體等協助，與香港區議員工作相若。在花蒂瑪醫生的民眾會面時段上，考察團可以看到花蒂瑪醫生替居民處理過租屋申請、工作簽證安排等工作。

相比香港社福政策，社會福利署及其它政府機構等透過撥款直接資助志願團體，善用地區網絡、智慧的做法。民眾會面時段可能未能做到最有效的社福工作，但可以讓該區國會議員有很多服務社會的機會，大大增加國會議員連任的可能。另外，人民行動黨社區基金會（PAP Community Foundation）更擔當志願團體角色，開設托兒所及幼稚園等，而在馬林百列民眾會面的



圖：新加坡人民行動黨總部代執行理事任梓銘介紹人民行動黨

場所更是由人民行動黨社區基金會所設的幼稚園所提供。可見，人民行動黨在特有政治建築下，與社區緊緊相扣，非一般反對黨可以看齊。

### 2011 年起反對黨派的挑戰

雖然新加坡依然由人民行動黨執政，但得票率為歷史性的新低，只有六成。2013 年的新加坡補選結果更是執政黨的火警警號。反對黨工人黨 (Workers' Party) 贏得榜鵝東單選區 (Punggol East)，得票率比執政的人民行動黨 高出近十一個百份比。

年份	取得議席 / 總議席	得票率
2001	82/84	75.3%
2006	82/84	66.6%
2011	81/87	60.1%



圖：人民行動黨的選舉集會

工人黨的選舉集會

再者，2013 年間，新加坡發生了兩次罕見的集會，一次為反對政府增加外來人口，另一次為反對新聞網絡媒體。筆者訪問了國民團結黨的余雪玲，她曾在 2011 年大選挑戰吳作棟。她認為新加坡受網絡及社交網絡的啟發，多參與時事及政治，而非過往般只專心從事商業活動。新加坡政策研究院於 2011 年大選後所做的研究，亦有相似的結果，發現選民愈年輕、生活愈充裕、學歷愈高，便重視誠信與公平等價值、傾向支持政治多元與反對黨。

筆者亦在新加坡探訪了反對新聞網絡媒體主要組織 #FreeMyInternet，與十多名示威發起人會面，發現他們來自不同的年齡層，重視社會公平。較年長的示威發起人受到網絡啟發之外，更因為近年新加坡物價高漲，退休無保障等經濟因素，刺激加入社會運動行列。

過去人民行動黨一直強調精英主義，視經濟所得為理所當然、帶來的社會收入不平等為合理預期。在自力更生迷信下，貧窮被視為懶惰的懲罰，福利被視為懶惰的鼓勵。在左翼思想萌芽，市民政治參與提高的新加坡，人民行動黨的執政受到挑戰。



# Challenges for the People's Action Party of Singapore - FUNG Chi-ching

*Mr. Fung Chi-ching is HKPRI Researcher*

Since Deng Xiaoping, China's leaders have valued Singapore's administrative experience. During his 1992 Southern Tour, Deng emphasized his keen interest in learning from Singapore's economic development and social administration. American scholar Francis Fukuyama published in his 1995 article "Confucianism and Democracy" that democratic institutions have enjoyed practical experience in the East. In the decades that follow Deng's era, Chinese political reform has increasingly become interested in emulating the "Singaporean model," especially the characteristics of "Authoritarian democracy" and "Meritocracy" practiced by the ruling party.

Since Deng's official leadership, the Study Times (a newspaper run by the Party School of the Central Committee of CPC) published four articles within the first two months of 2013 introducing the experience of Singapore's government, while the CCTV has produced a 10-part series on the Singaporean model. Distinguished reporter Jonathan Manthorpe and professor Zhang Ming of the Chinese People's University have both asserted that the Xi Jinping administration is keenly aware of the Singaporean People's Action Party's (PAP) democracy model. Since Singapore's independence in 1965, the PAP has been the sole ruling party, occupying a simple majority of the seats in the parliament (in the 2011 Parliament elections, the PAP received 81 out of 87 seats). Such a political model appears to be very attractive to the Chinese.

In June of 2013, this writer joined the study trip to Singapore organized by Hong Kong Chinese Culture Development Association, and enjoyed an exchange with the PAP, as well as with various opposition parties. In the writer's opinions, there are two important factors accounting for the success of the PAP.

## **Morality of PAP Members and Elites**

Professor Cheng Yung-Nien from the East Asian Institute of National University of Singapore believes that the reason for the PAP's uninterrupted legacy lies within its ability to be centralized and honest (or uncorrupted) simultaneously. Because the PAP dominates the parliament, naturally PAP members form the cabinet and fill key positions. It is convention that the Party Secretary General becomes the Prime Minister, while other party elites are appointed ministers and secretaries, such as Sim Ann (who participated in the meeting with the trip delegation), who is currently serving as the Senior Parliamentary Secretary at the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Law. Singapore's political elites are mostly distinguished individuals who are recruited into the PAP at a later stage in order to reflect the "meritocratic" principle of the PAP. This practice is best manifested by the recruitment of former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong and



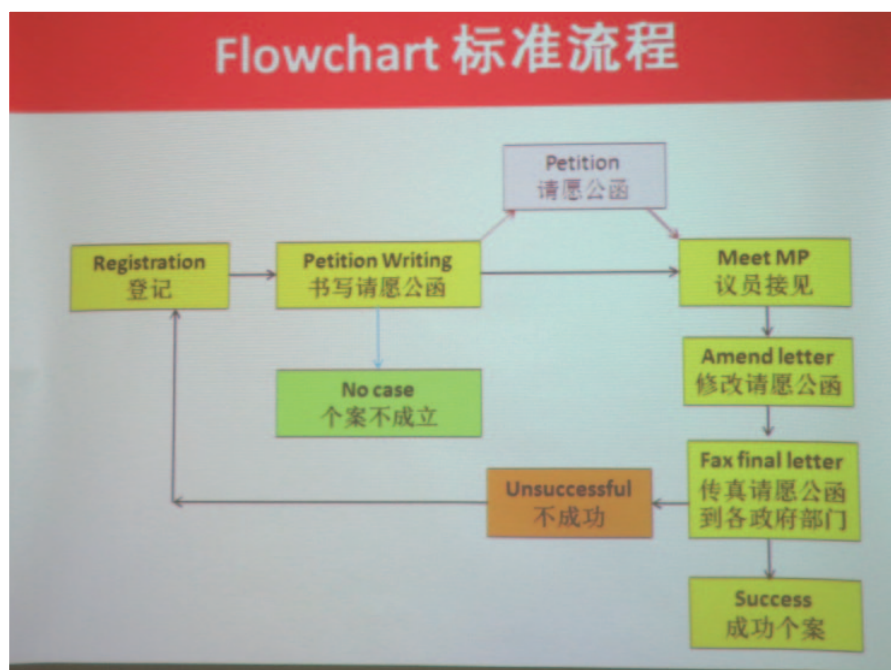
Picture: Ms. Sim Ann, Senior Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Education & Ministry of communications and Information (second from right) at the briefing session with the Hong Kong delegation.

former Deputy-PM Tony Tan Keng Yam in the 1970s, as well as current PM Lee Hsien-Loong and former Deputy-PM Wong Kan Seng in the 1980s.

In recruitments and appointments, the role of “Honesty” tops the list of principles: “Party Members must be clean, honest, aboveboard and transparent, and lead with credibility.” In actuality, the PAP exercises strict oversight towards its members. The cases of former Civil Defense Force chief Lim Sin Pang who was removed on charges of corruption and sexual misconduct, as well as former Central Narcotics Bureau chief Ng Boon Gay who was under investigation on similar charges demonstrate fully the PAP’s upholding of honesty.

### On the Ground Presence of PAP Members and Policies

Government policies are often formulated within the PAP, then approved by the PAP Central Executive Committee, before being implemented by the cabinet. Although only a small percentage form the PAP elites, the policies and party members give the impression of being on the ground.



With 2.3 million electorates and 87 parliamentary seats, each Member of the Parliament accounts for 20,000-30,000 voters only, which is significantly lower than the 1 million faced by Hong Kong’s very own MPs. PAP recommends each MP to visit his/her electorates at least twice while serving a term. Singaporean law mandates compulsory voting, the PAP urges all MPs to meet his/her electorates at least once.

Picture: A work flow chart at a venue of Meet the People's Session

Besides visits, Singapore’s MPs are also obliged to conduct regular “Meet-the-People Sessions,” attending to social issues presented by voters within the electoral district, allocating government welfare services, etc. Our investigative team followed MPs Dr. Fatimah Latiff and Mr. Lim Biow Chuan, who accounts for the electoral districts of Marine Parade and Mountbatten, observing their visits to the electorates. Such sessions have a unique nature, since community organizations and charity groups are not developed across Singapore, nor do policies foster such groups, therefore there is a shortage of local community service providers. Consequently, many residents must rely on MPs, grass-root leaders, and other volunteer groups to carry out societal matters such as applying for government housing or obtaining official documentation, much like the duties of Hong Kong’s District Council representatives. During such a session with Dr. Fatimah Latiff, we witnessed her working with residents in processing housing applications and filing work visas.

Such sessions stand as a contrast to Hong Kong’s social welfare policies, when the Social Welfare Department directly allocates funds to charity groups, taking advantage of local networks and knowledge.



Though Meet-the-people sessions in Singapore may not function most effectively, MPs are presented with many opportunities to serve the society, increasing their likelihood to be re-elected. In addition, the PAP Community Foundation takes on the role of charity groups, establishing nursery homes and kindergartens. The venue for the Mountbatten meet-the-people session was provided by a kindergarten that was built by the PAP Community Foundation. The link between the PAP and local communities is, quite literally, sealed in concrete, which is something unrivalled by any ordinary opposition party.

### Challenges since 2011

Although the PAP remains the sole ruling party, votes obtained by the party have dropped to a historic low of 60%. By-election results of 2013 further acted as a wake-up call, as the opposition's Workers' Party secured the electoral district of Punggol East, obtaining almost 11% more votes than the PAP.

Year	Seats Secured / Total Seats	Votes Obtained
2001	82/84	75.3%
2006	82/84	66.6%
2011	81/87	60.1%

Furthermore, since 2013, Singapore has twice witnessed rare assemblies – the first being a demonstration against PAP's policy of attracting expatriates, the second when a government law was deemed to restrict free speech in the media. The writer conducted a post-investigation interview with the opposition National Solidarity Party's Nicole Seah (who challenged the candidacy of PAP's Goh Chok Tong in 2011). Nicole believes that due to the Internet, ordinary Singaporeans are now more socially-aware and politically-active, as opposed to being solely occupied by commerce and business. The Singapore Institute of Policy Studies also presented similar conclusions, as a survey conducted after the 2011 elections indicated that younger, more educated, more affluent voters are more likely to value credibility and equality, and are more inclined towards multi-party politics and



圖：人民黨的核心價值圖

opposition parties. The writer also conducted interviews with the founders of anti-media-control group #FreeMyInternet, which represent an array of age-groups. The founders from the more senior age-groups expressed that they were inspired by the Internet, and sought to champion against social ills, such as high inflation and the lack of retirement benefits.

In the past, the PAP has always placed the emphasis on elitism, takes economic gains for granted and regards income disparity as a natural and reasonable phenomenon. Under the indoctrination of individualism and self-help, poverty was seen as retribution against laziness, and welfare the reward for idleness. However, leftist thoughts are taking form in Singaporean society, while ordinary Singaporeans are becoming more politically-active. The rule of the PAP will soon face many challenges.

# 內地著名學者在香港論 中國政治改革



圖：(由左至右)丁學良、陳弘毅、秦暉、俞可平、陳健民

香港政策研究所與中文大學中國研究服務中心聯合舉辦「中國新時期社會轉型國際學術研討會」的第一次研討會，以「前沿政治學者論中國政治改革」為主題，於四月二十七日在九龍塘耀中國際學校舉行；由香港政策研究所董事暨名譽行政總裁馮可強致歡迎辭，中國研究服務中心主任陳健民教授主持。兩位專程來港的嘉賓講者為中共中央編譯局副局長俞可平及清華大學歷史系教授秦暉。嘉賓評論員為香港大學法學院陳弘毅教授和香港科技大學丁學良教授。出席者有三百多人，反應熱烈；翌日多份中外報章都有廣泛報導。

## 治理改革最終會推動體制改革

俞可平教授曾以發表《民主是個好東西》文章而廣受注意，被視為中共體制內改革派學者。秦暉主要研究重點為中國農民史、經濟史，是著名的公共知識分子。

俞可平的講題為《中國治理改革的方向》。他說：「三十多年來，從治理角度看，中國政治改革變化很大。但從體制角度看，幾乎沒有改變」，但治理改革使得百姓受益，最終會推動體制改革。他補充說，一些地方制度改革的成功經驗可惜未能推廣，要把這些經驗上升為國家層面的制度，須要通過強制的方法來執行。「隨著改革的推進，治理改革與體制改革之間的障礙會愈來愈強」。

俞可平提出，目前中國政體存在的主要弊端是基本民主制度不健全、公共權力無有效制約、公眾參與管道不暢、公共利益部門化、腐敗與特權現象嚴重、公共服務不健全、政治透明度低、行政成本過高、錯誤的維穩模式、「人治」情況嚴重、公民社會發育不全、公共權力機關間關係不協調等。

俞可平說，「治理改革不進行突破會對體制改革帶來威脅」；這勢必需要民間組織、社會組織有所作為，官民合作，爭取社會管理創新，在體制改革上有所突破。他表示，隨著內地公眾民主需求的增加，社會民主政治文化的變遷，還有社會管制危機的發生，都將推動中共進行政治改革。

對於改革，俞可認為，「已經明確了，改革往前走，不往前走沒有出路」。他認為治理改革將有以下趨勢：一元治理到多元治理，從集權到分權，從人治到法治，從管制政府到服務政府，從黨內民主到社會民主。

### 民間對政府要進行「福利問責」

秦暉教授在研討會提出，民間對政府要進行「福利問責」，通過與政府「討價還價」，就政府的「權力和責任」達成契約，最終實現憲政。「民眾對政府的問責是推動憲政的一個重要前提，而財政公開及預算透明則是民主的第一步」。

秦暉說：當政府不敢隨便收錢了，民眾又要求它福利支出，它便沒有餘錢自我服務，並且還產生壓力。在中國市場經濟下流行所謂「不找市長找市場」。這意味著政府找百姓要稅，但是百姓不能找政府要福利，實際上是在為政府推卸它應承擔的責任。秦暉指出：「政府權力無限，責任憑什麼要有限？」中國政府有超社會主義的權力，卻只擔任著資本主義的責任。而西方憲政國家被民眾賦予資本主義的權力，卻擔起社會主義的責任，甚至是共產主義的責任。

### 嘉賓評論員的意見

香港大學法學院教授陳弘毅認為，治理改革與體制改革同樣重要，民主憲政不可以解決所有的問題。例如一些已經實現了現代民主的第三世界國家，行政系統和政府的效率依然低下。他認為，孫中山先生是了解和主張憲政的。

香港科技大學教授丁學良認為，中國政府在治理上越來越追求終極效果，忽略了程序公正。

「這不是參照西方的標準，也不是按照香港的標準，就是在具體的做法和操作上越來越違反中國共產黨自己定下的憲法和黨章，這才是中國過去二十五年來，在我看來最最值得擔憂的問題，這也是下一步改革必須要解決的問題。」



圖：（由左至右）陳弘毅、陳健民、秦暉、俞可平、馮可強、邱立本、程翔



## Renowned Mainland Scholars spoke in Hong Kong on China's Political Reforms

Hong Kong Policy Research Institute and Universities Service Centre for China Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong jointly organized a conference on 27 April, 2013 in the Auditorium, Yew Chung International Secondary School, Kowloon Tong. The conference was entitled “Front-line Academics on the Political Reforms of China”. Over 300 persons participated in the event, which was widely reported in the media the next day.

Two well-known scholars from Beijing were invited to come to Hong Kong to give speeches. Professor Yu Keping, Deputy Chief of the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau spoke on the direction of governance reforms in China. He was of the opinion that over the last thirty years, there had been many changes from the governance perspective, but almost no change at all from the structural angle. Because of the increasing public demands for democracy, the transformation in socio-political culture, and the occurrences of crises in social control, the Chinese Government would be pushed forward to carry out political reforms, towards the direction of changing from concentration of authority to distribution of authority, from rule by the person to rule by law, from a government which controls to one which serves, and from democracy inside the party to democracy for the society.

Professor Qin Hui of Beijing's Tsinghua University believed that the people of China should make the government become “responsible for social welfare”. Through negotiation and bargaining, the common people should push the government to define clearly her authority and responsibilities, thereby arriving at a “social contract” with her, with the final goal of realizing constitutional rule. According to Prof. Qin, holding the government accountable to the people is important for setting up constitutional rule, and making public expenditure and budget preparation transparent is the first step towards democracy.



## 保華生活教育集團、保華基金會及其資助機構活動訊息

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圖：「楚珩日」剪綵儀式

## Yew Chung 80th Anniversary Filled with Grace

Yew Chung has celebrated its 80th anniversary during the just-concluded academic year with plenty of activities to commemorate the establishment of the school and honour its founder, Madam Tsang Chor-hang.

Madam Tsang believed China could become stronger through education and the best gift for children was helping them to get to know God. In 1932, she set up Yew Chung in Hong Kong with the mission. The school was forced to close down in 1939 due to the outbreak of the Second World War; it reopened in 1945 and has continued to nurture many generations of students since then. Madam Tsang's daughter Dr Betty Chan, Director of Yew Chung Education Foundation, has carried on the mission and developed Yew Chung into a network of international schools with campuses in Hong Kong, mainland China and Silicon Valley, the US.

When celebrating the 80th anniversary, Yew Chung community honoured Madam Tsang on the first Founder's Day, which was held on September 21, 2012 and joined by nearly 6,000 students and over 1,500 staff members from all Yew Chung International School (YCIS) campuses. The day was also celebrated by students and staff members of Yew Chung's sister school, Yew Wah, on mainland China.

On March 26, 2013, Yew Chung 80th Anniversary Seeds of Hope Gala Concert, participated by both Yew Chung and Yew Wah students and staff, was held to raise funds for the Seeds of Hope charity project.

To cap off the year-long festivities, the Yew Chung 80th Anniversary Thanksgiving Celebration was held on June 11 this year, featuring Art Exhibition Opening, Mosaic Unveiling Ceremony, birthday cake-cutting, and "Tracing Our Roots: In Search of Yew Chung in 1932" Seminar. Looking back the grace throughout the eight decades, everyone in Yew Chung was filled with gratitude.



# 充滿恩典的耀中 80 周年校慶



圖：馬賽克畫揭幕禮

耀中在剛過去的學年慶祝 80 歲生辰，舉辦了多項活動，紀念耀中的成立，並表彰創辦人曾楚珩女士。

曾女士深信教育能令中國富強，以及讓孩子認識神是給他們最好的禮物；她擔起使命，於 1932 年在香港創辦耀中，致力教育下一代。1939 年，耀中因第二次世界大戰而停辦，但六年後復校營運至今。曾女士為教育貢獻一生，她的女兒——現任校監陳保琮博士繼承使命，更把耀中發展成為在香港、中國內地與美國矽谷都有校舍的國際學校網絡。

耀中藉紀念 80 周年的時刻，以創辦人之名設立「楚珩日」。2012 年 9 月 21 日是首屆「楚珩日」，來自耀中國際學校不同校舍的接近 6,000 名學生及超過 1,500 名員工參與一天活動，同時為校慶揭開序幕。耀中在內地的姊妹學校——耀華——的師生，也同時慶祝「楚珩日」。

另一重點節目「耀中八十周年希望種子音樂晚會」於 2013 年 3 月 26 日舉行，由耀中與耀華師生演出，目的是為「希望種子」計劃籌募善款。

今年 6 月 11 日舉辦的耀中 80 周年校慶感恩日，可謂總結了一整年的慶祝活動。當日節目包括藝術展開幕禮、馬賽克畫揭幕禮、切生日蛋糕儀式，以及細訴耀中歷史的講座《尋根：探索 1932 年的耀中》。回顧 80 載豐厚恩典，耀中社群成員心懷感恩。



圖：校監陳保琮博士主持切生日蛋糕儀式



葉國華教授新書

## 《維港故事 獨掌難鳴》簡介



回歸 16 年，根據以往不少人的樂觀預測，香港應該維持有效率的公務員管治，香港人對中國的認同感也應該逐漸加強。可是這些預測全部落空，近年來特區政府的施政愈來愈困難。特首面對的問題不只來自建制外部，也同時來自理應是盟友的建制內部。

另一方面，香港的示威集會再次出現的殖民地時期的龍獅旗，使不少人感到非常震驚。難道殖民地時代還沒有過去嗎？為什麼缺乏殖民地生活經驗的年輕一代反而懷念舊時的日子？

曾任香港特區行政長官特別顧問的葉國華教授，在《維港故事 獨掌難鳴》的新書中，會詳細解釋這些現象。本書從鴉片戰爭說起，回顧港英百多年來的管治模式，檢視港英的政策轉變。這些制度與現時香港面對的情況仍然有密切關係。

本書會特別解答以下數個與香港相關的問題：

- 為什麼香港人認為香港有官商勾結的問題？原來在殖民地時期早已有跡可尋！
- 為什麼香港年輕一代投訴房屋問題？這是特區政府的失誤還是香港的長期結構性問題？
- 港英時期的港督不是威風八面的嗎？為什麼特區的行政長官施政時卻面對重重困難？為什麼公務員管治在回歸後出現各種問題？
- 香港經常被認為是「經濟城市」，這是正確的嗎？香港難道沒有在政治上影響大陸嗎？
- 香港政府經常強調大市場、小政府，究竟港英時代的政府是否真的沒有干預市場？
- 為什麼缺乏殖民地生活經驗的年輕香港人反而比上一代更懷念以往的日子？這是教育問題還是施政問題？

對於以上這些問題，葉國華先生會以獨到的角度解答。如果你想理解香港現在面對的問題的前因後果，以及港英時期的管治方式，《維港故事 獨掌難鳴》是你的首選！

It has been 16 years since the handover of Hong Kong. At the time of the handover, observers expected Hong Kong to continue to operate in the same efficient way as in the colonial period. However, the results turned out to be very different. The Chief Executive finds it increasingly difficult to govern Hong Kong, and young people are discontented about the current political situation. Why is this happening? What can be done to improve governance?

Professor Paul Yip Kwok-wah, who served as Special Advisor to the Chief Executive, HKSAR from 1997 to 2002, set forth to answer these questions in his new book. Professor Yip looked into the colonial history of Hong Kong, and examined the governance model used by the British. He discovered that many of Hong Kong's current problems are related to the way in which the British handled Hong Kong. If Hong Kong wants to improve governance, we must understand history and learn experiences from it.





# 香港國際問題研究所 就習奧會的簡報



中國國家主席習近平今年6月抵達美國加州，並間在安納伯格莊園（Annenberg Estate）與美國總統奧巴馬進行為期兩天的非正式會面。這次「習奧會」是中美政府換屆後兩國元首的首次會面。在會議開展期間，香港國際問題研究所和香港政策研究所國際關係研究中心，訪問了在美國頂尖的研究所及研究員，包括戰略與國際研究中心（CSIS）資深顧問 Bonnie Glaser、蘭特公司（RAND）資深國際政策分析師 David Shlapak、彼得森國際經濟研究所（Peterson Institute for International Economics）研究分析師 Ryan Rutkowski、美國傳統基金會（The Heritage Foundation）研究員 Dean Cheng 及綜合了美國對外關係委員會（CFR）亞洲研究主任 Elizabeth Economy 及研究員 Adam Segal 的文字分析。

習近平與奧巴馬的會面令大部分觀察者給與正面與樂觀的評價，但當中也有表示需要慎重面對，不應對這次非正式峰會抱有太高的期望。Glaser, Shlapak, Rutkowski 都提出了這次會面可以讓兩位領導人熟悉對方，讓他們有培養互相信任的機會，以及就這次會面定下中美大國關係的新一頁。相反，Cheng, Economy 和 Segal 卻作出提醒，認為雖然兩人見面是件值得肯定的事情，但這次非正式會面不會產生有實質和真正有作用性的方案，也不會一夜之間化解兩國之間的矛盾。



從峰會可見，兩位領導人都對彼此有著莫大的尊重。所有學者都認為，這次會面可以作為一個有建設性的起步點，但至於究竟在哪些問題上可以達到哪種程度的共識和改變，意見就存在著分歧。Glaser, Shlapak, Cheng 都指出習近平比胡錦濤更擅長與人溝通，而學者們都提出了中美兩國之間多處共同點，特別是對朝核問題和經濟貿易發展，兩國都存在十分密切的共同利益。中國與朝鮮只有一河之隔，對朝鮮半島的和平穩定有直接的利益考慮，而美國也覺得對在亞太的盟友國家提供安全負有無可推卸的職責。所以兩國領導人可以就該重大問題上先達到基本的共識，落實方向和框架後，再由官員修訂技術性上的細節，峰會也恰恰為此提供了機會。

網絡襲擊及美國重返亞太的戰略兩個議題十分棘手。Glaser 和 Segal 都提及到中美雙方各有指證對方發動了網絡攻擊的證據，而雙方卻都堅持清白，這種立場是難以讓兩國總統達成任何共識的。所有學者都同意這問題是習奧會最受關注，亦是有突破潛能最少，進展機會最狹窄的難題。另外，美國重返亞太，令中國感受到威脅，包括美國是否有意在跨太平洋夥伴關係中杯葛中國、南海問題爭議、及美國在太平洋的軍事部署等問題，是需要在兩國培育互相信任的環境下，透過中美兩方著力，以實際的行為減除對方的顧慮和敵意，才可以有進展的空間。雖然軍事合作可以促進兩國關係，學者都一直認為這次峰會不該對此難題寄予太高的期望。網絡安全這議題雖然備受外界關注，但這次會面並沒有產生任何共識，除了兩位領導人同意於 2013 年 7 月舉行的戰略與經濟相討中，繼續探討網絡安全及軍事部署問題之外，便沒有任何進展。

In June, China's President Xi Jinping arrived in California's Annenberg Estate to meet US President Barack Obama. The two leaders met during the informal Xi-Obama summit for the first time after both countries had gone through a change in government. During the summit, the Hong Kong Global Studies Institute and the International Relations Research Centre of Hong Kong Policy Research Institute, jointly conducted interviews with some of the US's top institutions and experts, including Bonnie Glaser (Senior Analyst at Center for Strategic and International Studies), David Shlapak (Senior International Policy Analyst at RAND Corporation), Ryan Rutkowski (Research Analyst at the Peterson Institute of International Economics), and Dean Cheng (Researcher at the Heritage Foundation). Additionally, we compiled textual analyses from Elizabeth Economy (Director of Asia Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations) and Adam Segal (Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations).

Most observers regarded the summit favorably, though some cautioned against unwarranted high expectations. Glaser, Shlapak and Rutkowski agreed that the summit provided an opportunity for the two leaders to know each other and develop mutual trust, turning a new leaf in Sino-US Relations. On the contrary, Cheng, Economy and Segal raised the point that although the summit should be recognized, this informal meeting is unlikely to produce any substantial and concrete policies, nor would it resolve conflicts between the two countries overnight.

Both leaders showed great respect for each other. All the scholars believed this was a constructive starting point, yet differed over the extent of consensus and willingness to compromise between the two leaders on different issues. Glaser, Shlapak and Cheng pointed out that Xi Jinping appeared to be more approachable and comfortable under informal situations than Hu Jintao, and all the scholars identified many common grounds and mutual interests between the two countries, such as the North Korean nuclear issue, and

economic cooperation. A river is all that lies between China and North Korea, therefore China has huge stakes in stability in the Korean Peninsula and de-nuclearization of the North; meanwhile, the US sees itself as having a duty to provide security for its allies in the Asia-Pacific. The Xi-Obama summit aptly provided an opportunity for the two leaders to reach a basic level of consensus and set the direction and framework for future negotiations, allowing lower-level officials to work out the technicalities given the general agreement between the two leaders.

Cyber-security and the US's effort to "re-pivot to Asia" would be two difficult issues. Glaser and Segal mentioned that both countries have evidence that indicates each other of initiating cyber-attacks, yet both countries are rejecting accusations. This kind of standoff is not going to create any mutual understanding between the two leaders. All scholars interviewed agreed that the issue of cyber-security is the most-watched topic of the Xi-Obama summit, a topic that has the least potential for any development. Furthermore, the US's policy of "re-pivoting to Asia" is causing serious insecurity for the Chinese side, especially on questions such as whether the US is intentionally boycotting China in the Trans-Pacific Partnership Treaty, South-China Sea maritime disputes, and American deployment in the Pacific. Such issues require mutual-trust between the two countries, through substantial cooperation and action to dispel wariness and hostility. Although military cooperation would greatly enhance bilateral relations, the scholars agreed that we should not set our hopes too high for this summit. Besides an agreement to further negotiations in the July US-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue, the Xi-Obama meeting has not produced any substantial results on the issues of cyber-security and military cooperation.

## 日本視角：紛爭之後的中日關係

由香港政策研究所及香港國際問題研究所主辦，香港大學學生會社會科學學會協辦，在香港大學舉行的「日本視角：紛爭之後的中日關係」講座已於四月二十七日完滿結束。

講座的主講嘉賓為東京大學法學院教授、日本國際事務研究所客席研究員高原明生教授。主辦機構又透過網路視像電話，邀請到中國國際問題研究所研究員、美國研究部主任滕建群教授與高原明生教授對話，就中日在釣魚台紛爭開始之後的關係變化進行探討。

### The Japanese Perspective: Sino-Japanese Relation After The Dispute

Hong Kong Policy Research Institute, Hong Kong International Relations Research Associations and Hong Kong University Social Science Society jointly organized a forum on April 27 entitled "The Japanese Perspective: Sino-Japanese Relations After The Dispute". The guest speaker was Dr. Akio Takahara, Professor, Tokyo University Law and Visiting Fellow, Japan Institute of International Affairs.

The event organizers were also fortunate to have invited Dr. Sheng Jianqun, Director of China Institute of International Studies American Studies, to conduct an online video dialogue with Dr. Takahara on the topic of the implications on Sino-Japanese relations from the Diaoyu/Senkaku territorial dispute.



圖：歡樂蛋一籃

## 生日會

耀華機構的人力資源部每兩月舉辦一次生日會，為該兩個月壽辰的同事慶生聯歡。

機構的主席葉國華教授和行政總裁陳保琮博士的壽辰分別在四月和五月。他們都應邀出席了4月19日的慶生聯歡會。會有緊張的遊戲比賽和食物豐富的自助午餐。各級同事濟濟一堂，盡情歡樂。陳博士的一組遊戲比賽勝出，獲獎歡樂蛋一籃。

在壽辰的正日葉教授和陳博士分別宴請了香港和專程從中國前來的同事。各同事賀壽之餘也互相聚舊，樂也融融。



圖：同事送給葉教授的禮物：歷久長青，健如松柏

## Birthday Party

The Yew Wah organizations holds a birthday party every two months at lunch time to celebrate for those colleagues whose birthdays fall in the two months.

The birthday of Professor Yip Kwok-wah and of Dr. Betty Chen is respectively in April and May. They both attended the birthday party on 19 April. It was great fun for all the participants.



# 參觀香港飛行總會

除了學習書本上的知識外，參與課外活動亦愈來愈重要。民社服務中心於二零一三年四月十六日與香港飛行總會合辦了「參觀香港飛行總會」活動。

一開始，一班 20 位來自深水埗區的低收入家庭小朋友排排坐，聆聽飛行總會代表講解本港和世界的航空歷史、活動、和概覽。接著，學生獲安排進入小型飛機內參觀，親身當上小飛機師，令他們一嘗當上飛機師的滋味。各小朋友很雀躍地在小型飛機前拍照，說：「很難得可以那麼近距離與飛機拍照啊！」



圖：大合照

同學們當日在飛行總會渡過了愉快的一天。他們不但得到更多有關飛機的知識，在過程中亦得到體會式的學習，可以和不同的直昇機合照，並有機會親身接觸飛機及模擬駕駛艙，深切感受到飛行工作實在殊不簡單。

## Visit to Hong Kong Aviation Club

Extra-curricular activities are very useful and important in school education and help the development of the child. A visit to Hong Kong Aviation Club was organized by People Service Centre on 16 April this year for a group of 20 primary students coming from the lower-income households in Sham Shui Po. The representative of the Club introduced the aviation history, aircraft types, the aviation industry overview and aviation development in Hong Kong and around the world. The students spent a happy and fruitful day there, taking photos with different helicopters.



圖：大家在不同的飛機前照相



圖：大家向飛走的直昇機揮手



圖：大家留心聽講解

## 《民胞物與》典故

「民胞物與」，出自北宋哲學家張載《西銘》一文，「民吾同胞；物吾與也」。張載的哲學思想把宇宙視為一個大家庭，故此天地萬物同出一轍，乾父坤母。人民百姓，如同胞手足，為之「民胞」；宇宙萬物，均與我同類，為之「物與」。

## ‘Minbaowuyu’

Means "People are my brothers and all things are my kinds". The concept of "unity of nature and man" is the philosophical foundation of Zhang Zai 's ecological ethics. Zhang Zai is a famous philosopher of the Northern Sung Dynasty of China .



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