

港支聯通訊

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香港市民支援愛國民主運動聯合會 編輯出版

電話：852-27826 111

通訊地址：九龍旺角彌敦道618號好望角大廈8樓

傳真：852-27706 083

萬維網址：<http://www.alliance.org.hk>

電子郵箱：contact@alliance.org.hk



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周年紀念活動

民主大遊行

日（星期日）下午3時
足球場至中區政府總部

riotic Pro-democracy March

1/6

「解讀中國」系列講座

姓名：_____ 性別：_____ 年齡：_____

職業：_____ 教育程度：_____

電話：_____ (日) _____ (夜)

電郵地址：_____

地址：_____

報讀：第一講 第二講 第三講 第四講

現隨表格附上_____元現金/支票(收據編號：_____)

銀行名稱：_____；支票號碼：_____

清明節獻花/燭光集會 訂製花牌表格

(請於活動前一星期郵寄或圖文傳真 27706083 回支聯會)

團體/個人名稱：_____ 聯絡人_____

聯絡地址：_____

聯絡電話：_____ (日) _____ (夜)

訂製：清明節獻花 「六四」燭光集會

300元 400元 500元 _____元花牌

上款：_____

下款：_____

隨表格附上_____元現金/支票(本會收據編號：_____)

銀行名稱：_____；支票號碼：_____

「同一夢想·平反六四」聯署廣告

(請於廣告刊登前一星期郵寄或圖文傳真 27706083 回支聯會)

團體/個人名稱：_____ 聯絡人：_____ 聯絡電話：_____ (日) _____ (夜)

電郵地址：_____ 聯絡地址：_____

團體聯署名單：(請用正楷填寫，每次50元起)

5月30日(五) _____

6月4日(三) _____

個人聯署名單：(請用正楷填寫，每次10元起)

5月30日(五) _____

6月4日(三) _____

廣告費用共_____元現金/支票(本會收據編號：_____)(銀行名稱：_____；支票號碼：_____)

「六四」十九周年工作人員報名表格

(如欲抽空出席協助工作者，請填寫報名表格寄或傳真 27706083 回支聯會。)

姓名：_____ 性別：_____ 年齡：_____

聯絡電話：_____

可協助工作時間：

日期	地點	可出席時間
3月21日(五)	旺角西洋菜南街行人專用區	_____
3月22日(六)	荃灣大河道與安樂街交界	_____
3月23日(日)	旺角西洋菜南街行人專用區	_____
3月24日(一)	荃灣大河道與安樂街交界	_____
4月3日(四)	尖沙咀鐘樓旁現場布置	_____
4月4日(五)	尖沙咀鐘樓旁	_____
5月4日(日)	「毋忘六四」19公里長跑	_____
5月 日()	_____	_____
5月 日()	_____	_____
5月25日(日)	民主風箏行動	_____
5月31日(六)	遊行前夕晚上_____時至_____時在長倉協助出物資	_____
6月1日(日)	維多利亞公園足球場	_____
6月3日(二)	集會前夕晚上_____時至_____時維園現場布置	_____
6月4日(三)	維多利亞公園足球場	_____

請踴躍捐款支持支聯會工作

捐款辦法

- 存款入支聯會戶口：
262-273-733-001 (恒生銀行)
580-108-934-001 (匯豐銀行)
- 請寄支票往九龍旺角彌敦道618號好望角大廈8樓支聯會秘書處收。支票抬頭請寫：「香港市民支援愛國民主運動聯合會」

請與支聯會保持聯絡

市民欲定期收到支聯會活動消息及《港支聯通訊》，請填妥下表寄回支聯會。

支聯會之友回條

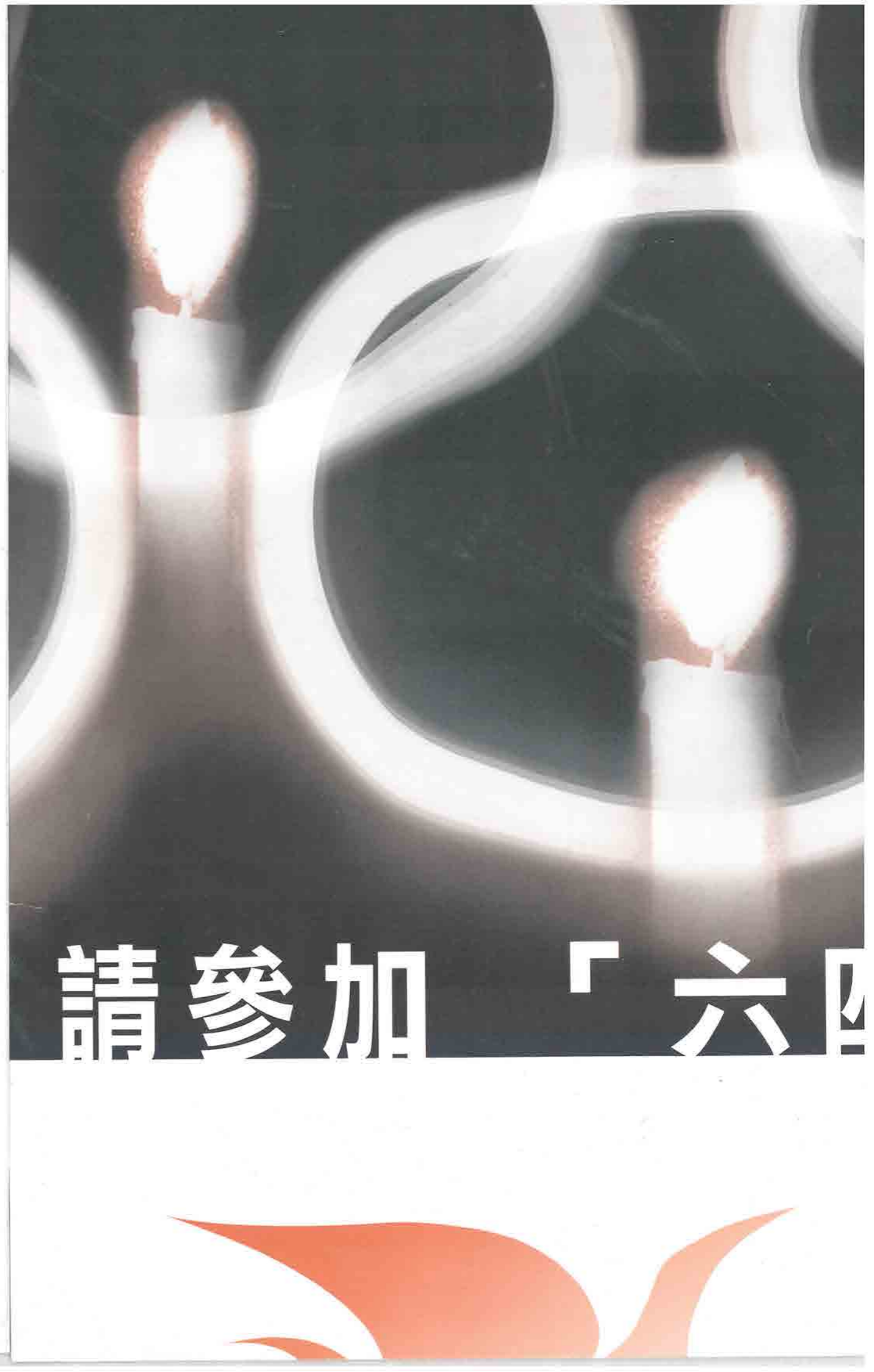
姓名：_____

電話：_____

電子郵箱：_____

地址：_____

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請參加「六四」

A brush with death.

A brush with death. The **Pillar of Shame**, a sculpture erected to mark the eighth anniversary of the 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square, is given a fresh coat of red paint at the University of Hong Kong, an annual ritual in the run-up to the June 4 commemoration for the past 13 years. The statue was first erected in Victoria Park before being moved to HKU. Photo: Robert Ng



A brush with death. The **Pillar of Shame**, a sculpture erected to mark the eighth anniversary of the 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square, is given a fresh coat of red paint at the University of Hong Kong, an annual ritual in the run-up to the June 4 commemoration for the past 13 years. The statue was first erected in Victoria Park before being moved to HKU. Photo: Robert Ng

【本報訊】今年是六四事件21周年，支聯會及學聯等代表昨日按照傳統清洗及重髹**國殤之柱**，並獻上菊花悼念當年的死難者。支聯會主席司徒華表示，希望**國殤之柱**可永久擺放在港大校園，並期望日後在天安門廣場擺放一個大型的**國殤之柱**，讓全中國人民都能憑弔六四烈士。

20多名支聯會及學聯代表，昨日按照多年來做法，在五卅運動紀念日前夕到港大洗擦**國殤之柱**，並進行默哀及獻花，悼念六四死難者。

支聯會主席司徒華表示，現時有三個願望，其一是希望**國殤之柱**能永久擺放在港大校園，「97年當**國殤之柱**送來香港時，幾乎無容身之所，係當時港大學生會發動全體學生公投，決定將佢擺喺度。」他表示感激學生當年的努力才能為**國殤之柱**找到容身之所，又認為雖然雕塑要因應校園改善工程移位，但只要仍能在校園內矗立便可。

周三與警商六四安排

司徒華又說，希望日後灣仔金紫荊廣場上也可放置一個較大的**國殤之柱**，讓海外遊客到港後能在此悼念死難者；他又指，心裏仍有一個願望，是在天安門廣場上能放置一個巨型**國殤之柱**，「到時候所有國內嘅人民都可以憑弔當年嘅民主烈士，知道愛國民主精神。」

支聯會副主席蔡耀昌指，六四21周年臨近，未來數個星期五都會舉辦中國國情講座，由中國問題專家講解內地的民主及民生議題。他又稱，已向警方申請舉辦5月30日的六四遊行和六四當晚的集會，相信活動會一如過往順利舉行，但由於去年參加集會人數超出預期，逼爆維園及附近一帶道路，故本周三與警方開會時要再討論集會當晚的人流安排。

司徒華心願：國殤之柱放天安門廣場

【本報訊】今年是六四事件21周年，支聯會及學聯等代表昨日按照傳統清洗及重髹**國殤之柱**，並獻上菊花悼念當年的死難者。支聯會主席司徒華表示，希望**國殤之柱**可永久擺放在港大校園，並期望日後在天安門廣場擺放一個大型的**國殤之柱**，讓全中國人民都能憑弔六四烈士。

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司徒華(左)昨日參與重髹**國殤之柱**，並希望將來可在天安門廣場擺放巨型**國殤之柱**。 伍志華攝

【本報訊】今年為六四事件二十一周年，支聯會聯同香港大學學生會逾二十多人昨日按傳統洗刷**國殤之柱**及向**國殤之柱**獻花，以表達對六四死難者的悼念及對平反六四的堅持，亦希望喚起大眾對人權及自由的關注。

出席人士洗刷**國殤之柱**前先默哀一分鐘，早前發現患上肺癌的支聯會主席司徒華其後致辭說，希望**國殤之柱**可永遠在港大豎立，更希望灣仔金紫荊廣場及北京天安門廣場終有一日也會豎立起新的**國殤之柱**，呼籲在場人士毋忘平反六四。

國殤之柱於一九九七年六月五日在群眾簇擁中運進港大校園，迄今已十三年，每年進行的清洗活動從沒間斷。柱上的扭曲臉容象徵被侵犯的迫害的人權，**國殤之柱**的豎立則宣示尊重人權的訊息。

國殤之柱豎立於港大黃克競平台，港大學生會署理行政秘書鄭丞軒表示，受大學百周年校園工程影響，**國殤之柱**需略移到「十米以內範圍」，暫有兩個可行方案，會尋求專業人士協助評估**國殤之柱**結構，確保工程期間及遷移時不會造成負面影響。

洗刷國殤之柱逾20人獻花

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患肺癌的支聯會主席司徒華(右)親自洗刷**國殤之柱**。

三十多名支聯會與香港大學學生會成員，昨按傳統清洗位於港大、悼念六四事件死難者的**國殤之柱**，並獻上白菊花致哀。港大學生會署理行政秘書鄭丞軒表示，**國殤之柱**會在港大學生會大樓重建期間暫遷，最快於今年底進行，稍後將安排工程師進行勘察。

支聯會主席司徒華表示，希望未來香港金紫荊廣場及北京天安門廣場，都能擺放**國殤之柱**，並寄語港大學生要捍衛**國殤之柱**在港大屹立不倒。莊振邦攝



清洗國殤之柱

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立法會新大樓將於下年中完工，立法會?家就為新大樓作準備，向民間徵集藝術作品，放喺將來嘅立法會廣場、大樓大堂外、大堂牆身同樓梯位等。大家好記性嘅話，應該仲記得上年設計《國殤之柱》嘅藝術家高志活向立法會送過藝術品「民主的碎片」，但立法會行政管理委員會就拒收。立法會主席曾鈺成昨日就話，現階段唔會對藝術品有任何限制，但最終都要由行管會通過。

今次立法會徵集藝術品，除咗行管會成員外，仲有國際、本地嘅公共藝術專家，以及添馬艦發展工程人員等做評審，雖然?家未有評審條件，但就會持開放態度，相信大家都會中肯咁選出嚟。

曾鈺成「民主的碎片」

「民主的碎片」帶有六四意味，上年行管會內嘅建制派就以多數票否決接收，曾鈺成話行管會由各黨派議員組成，相信可以平衡意見。至於藝術品可以喺立法會擺幾耐，會唔會跟立法會「換屆」，抑或有人唔鍾意就換晒佢，曾鈺成相信新一屆議員唔會有「截然不同嘅眼光喎」。徵集藝術作品設計嘅截止日期係6月28日。

立會新大樓徵藝術品



立法會公開徵求藝術作品放喺新大樓，主席曾鈺成話唔會有特別準則，一切交由行政管理委員會把關。圖左起為立法會秘書長吳文華、專業會議劉秀成、曾鈺成同民主黨李華明。(李紹昌攝)

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明報

立會新大樓徵藝術品

位於中環添馬艦的新立法會綜合大樓將於明年中落成，立法會主席曾鈺成(右)昨天公布，將為新大樓四個位置公開徵求藝術品，立法會已組成評審委員會遴選作品，成員包括立法會行政管理委員會委員、本地和海外藝術家及建築師等，入圍作品須經行管會最後通過。

去年立法會行管會否決接收由「國殤之柱」創作者丹麥雕塑家高志活送贈、紀念六四二十周年的「民主的碎片」雕塑。對於徵集所得藝術品如帶有政治色彩，曾鈺成稱，行管會會負起最後把關的責任，他相信，行管會包括立法會各黨派人士，所作的決定會平衡各方意見。



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【本報訊】香港大學學生會上周舉行幹事會重選，經兩日點票後公佈的結果顯示，各職位候選人均未能獲足夠法定票數，學生會將繼續「缺莊」並由4名秘書繼續署任。不過，財務秘書候選人「隱形左派」陳一諤及其同伴、會長候選人盧重匡卻輸打贏要，向評議會要求將廢票翻生或將學生會會員基數減少，變相令兩人持票比例增加至足以揸莊。有「老鬼」質疑陳、盧二人或會改變既有立場，擔心一旦陳主掌財政，學生會民主基金將不再支援民運活動。

陳一諤出陰招謀掌財政

據了解，陳一諤及盧重匡二人分別欠42票及70多票才符合當選法定最低票數，評議會主席譚振聲指，昨收到二人相同投訴，指對選舉票數存疑，他們要求重新修訂大會人數，將部份如到海外交流的交換生剔除，「舉例如果o依家將500個海外生減走，咁陳一諤嘅票就夠過。」譚指本周四評議會將處理投訴並作決。

學生會前內務副會長成曉宜指，擔心兩人一旦執掌學生會，將改變學生會立場，「陳一諤早前講明唔會收番六四立場同道款，而財務秘書係負責為個中國民主基金把關，基金支援同學搞民主運動，好似做六四特刊咁，如果由佢(陳)把關唔知會點。」

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CN-April 2010

國殤之柱避工程 須遷移數十米

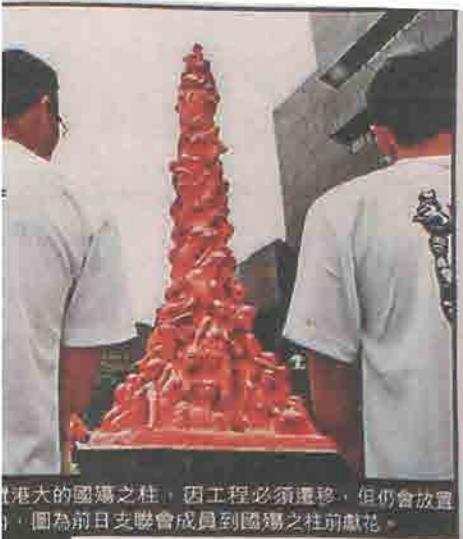
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香港的國殤之柱，因工程必須遷移，但仍會放置校園內，圖為前日支聯會成員到國殤之柱前獻花。

聯合國氣候變化峰會來到今年第廿一屆，月初在維也納的巴黎召開。一如繁榮喧嘩生活如常的巴黎，高層街頭的維和衣香鬢影的個人只隔一街街角，COP21也是當富強影響世界的小細節。

撰文：攝影：張敬敏

巴黎氣候峰會 絕望與希望



各國政府代表團到會時，以COP21舉行多場示威活動。香港民間代表團在五月九日氣候大會上展示標語，警告香港面臨海平面上升造成淹沒的災情。

PROFILE

鄭依欣，曾任職《明報》專職記者，撰寫文化與社會專欄。後轉職為公民團體，關注的議題包括勞工、性別、種族與氣候變化。曾創辦「一」，相信有罪之地，能為被剝奪權利者伸張。本月作為香港民間代表團成員出席巴黎舉行的氣候變化峰會。



萊馬羅河的悲劇

這座海的功成，讓自現說不受破壞的悲劇。氣候變化是窮人和原住民的生死存亡。民族尊嚴的威脅。「窮此一輩，我們都努力保護石油埋在地下，我們要保護森林的清潔。各國政府一定要承諾。這是我們原住民的悲劇。對地球的貢獻，要訂立相關的法律去保護我們的森林。」臉上刺上紋飾的巴西多明女子 Patricia Gualinga Sarayaku 水新語說。

不用等待科學家的研究來說明氣候變化的影響，每一天 Patricia 和她的族人生活都是見證。當萊馬羅河的部族 Kichwa 依山而居，林中自有可以採摘的果子和食物，本來自給自足可以代代相傳。但石油公司來到萊馬羅河流域開採古老的資源，破壞森林之後，族中長者長久以來敬重的母親之河亞馬遜，失去了養育的條件而情緒起伏不定，時而暴風雨時而乾涸見石海，再無照顧全族片土地上的子孫孫。

瓦魯瓦國飽受威脅

同樣以生命對抗氣候變化的，還有 Issac Nihnei。「這已經是我們政府廿一年來參其談判了，(各國政府)你們老是在敷衍，而不是只說不依！你們老是在談判談判，我們便一年的受難。十個月前我們便飽受嚴重的災難，讓眼看著海水一尺一尺的上升，我們的下一代哪裏還有居住的地方？」Issac 的求助信是香港人眼裡移民的地方瓦魯瓦國。年輕的激憤更加憤懣，他與他的太平洋島國國民們期待各國的減排目標，能將全球溫度自新工業化時代以來的升溫控制在 1.5 度之內。「巴黎就是我們最後的希望。」紙中帶着沉重的悲憤。



左：來自倫敦的團體 AirPublic 推出了氣候變化新遊戲，他們利用一萬多條公共出租單車系統，收集城市中的空氣污染數據並公布相關信息。

右：居住民面對氣候變化的風險，是 COP21 的重要主題之一。會場內舉行了多項相關講座、展覽會，來自瓦魯瓦國的 Issac 講述他家今年所遭逢的災情。



氣候變化是世界性的挑戰，COP21 是世界性的會議。過去總是被擠壓在地球邊緣的族裔以及他們微弱的聲音，在這裏總算有一場接一場的講座、論壇與展覽，暫且與各國領袖與談判官員一起，宣告彼此這「一心一氣」減排溫室氣體的共同意志。12月12日，一份限制本世紀內升溫於 2 度以內，「致力於 1.5 度」的巴黎協議草案終於達成共識。

創意救未來

但談判過後，當減排目標變成法律條文，當國際會議的官員面對各自的國家皇室的辦公室，那些協議文件中的數字，如何能轉化成行動，讓快要被淹沒了的地球得回清新？作家、社會行動家 Naomi Klein 以《災難宣言》要求世界重拾國際主義精神，捍衛人權與多元化，守護環境，尊重原住民的權利。聯合國和平使者、馬德里保育權威珍古德博士批評森林的破壞源於貪婪，也將未來的希望寄放於年輕人肩膊之上。

另一邊廂的政壇，最高層對氣候變化挑戰看到了解決方案而能與，洋通熱誠的憂憤、創新，成了 COP21 的另一個關鍵詞，一

個個來自不同國家與地區的年輕人，急不及待要分享他們的創見。

霸氣早已成為城市標誌的倫敦，一支名為 AirPublic 的團隊推出了 Climate-KIC 的氣候馬拉松創意活動。Climate-KIC 是歐洲為應對氣候變化而成立的最大創新與科技公私合夥計劃，投入了十八億歐元的資金，以培育五百個項目誕生。AirPublic 計劃設計出一個實時的感應器，安裝於倫敦出租單車系統之上，當單車出行，感應器便會探測出空氣中的污染物，將空氣污染數據轉錄至開放的數據庫，讓市民查詢與避開污染的路線。瑞典哥德堡的年輕人更是異想天開，構想出 Fly to Work 單車系統，當城市的單車架滿市中心工作，只要將車子泊在停車場，套上掛載的飛車滑翔在空中，不必再地滾在馬路之上，乾淨的集體運輸也取銷出污染源的每一輛車子減少排出空氣。

希望的傳承

世界另一端的奧美不比歐洲富裕，但年輕人的決心與能力同樣成熟。在 COP21 位於 La Bourdonnais 的會場，負責理工設計的「模範氣候談判工作坊」正進行中，來自阿根廷的



Marco 扮演發展中國家的談判代表，而「富裕國家」這對氣候基金。廿三歲的 Marco 還是 Institute of Technology de Buenos Aires 工業工程系學生，卻已在不同校園辦過同樣的工作坊，每次都有三十至五十名比他更年輕的學生參加。剛開始時，參加者都在嬉笑玩鬧，投入自己扮演的國家角色不肯讓步。直至「談判」破裂，象徵海水氾濫的白布布萊島國和城市，扮演者才正色彼此協商，進行第二輪「談判」。「在阿根廷，第一次帶進場工作坊時，我也非常緊張，只顧背誦自己的立場和資料。可是參加者的反應讓我太感動了：他們被氣候變化的後果所震驚，然後熱烈地討論怎樣應對氣候變化。在我的大學裏，就有一圈回收膠樽的小隊因此成立，他們連車輪都碾成一個大垃圾機，用來回收膠樽。」同樣是與國際上的環保組織聯繫不緊密，Marco 因此向他的老師 Eduardo 提出參與 COP21，他的同學贊助了 Marco 的旅費。「在這裏，我希望可以建立與其他國家的傳統。」

曾廷斌，那筆之為虛妄，正與希望相稱。開始與心死是虛妄未來，而人們常常不知道，重要的是當下該有的行動。

高志活 為氣候變遷啟蒙

COP21 的會場位於巴黎東北市區的 La Bourdonnais 名為 Blue Zone 的主場原以許政府談判代表。香港與氣候變遷的國際談判代表人馬，與之相照十五分鐘的會場次均論題是大多數民間團體與地與交流的地方。對守而依依者。唯有周在巴黎東部的草創社區 Montreal 舉行的人民氣候大會，氣候議題才不啻如響。對平民開放，是與，我們學上了高志活 (Jens Galocher)，香港大學環境之社的總策劃。

香港或者已經忘記那位刺人的高志活，但指未必忘記，以及他受氣候變遷的人民。從丹麥他自來一廉宜型像：自由女神右手的大炬至所顯出黑煙，左手的圓子寫着 Freedom or Pollution (污染的自由)。則在女神的腳下，是女衫裙褲的潮人，坐在小船上，形容假借借。自 2011 年，高志活帶了上百個這樣的刺物，有印壞人的模樣，有帶吉人的模樣，也有美國人的模樣「這些是氣候變遷，未來的一百年，可能會有十千萬個這樣的難民在世上流離失所，而這些可能是納粹文明、戰爭的罪人，我對擔心這事。」穿上了北極熊衣服的高志活，早在 1995 年開始關心氣候變遷，早於國際之往來在香港之前：「動物當然受罪，可我們也是動物啊。」

對於氣候談判，高志活不買可看，甚至有點噁心神經：「那在說要限制在攝氏 2 度以內，但 2 度可以是開始，也可以是終點。說來或許奇怪，(鋪排承諾)中國可以說比美國好，中國走在正途上，卻不買帳，我們沒有時間了。或者我的理想會變成何時停止地產消費了，玩給他，看看戲，做做戲，不是更好嗎？」

氣候變遷啟蒙者，是人文與科學的交響，對香港而言，《國馬之往》作者高志活以作品去表達他的憂慮。



石油公司對資源豐富的亞馬遜河流域開採。森林與的 Kichwa 族人 Patricia 與身無所懼的開採與破壞。

Fragments of a Democracy Story

Hong Kong Digital Vision

<http://www.hkdigit.net/2009/06>



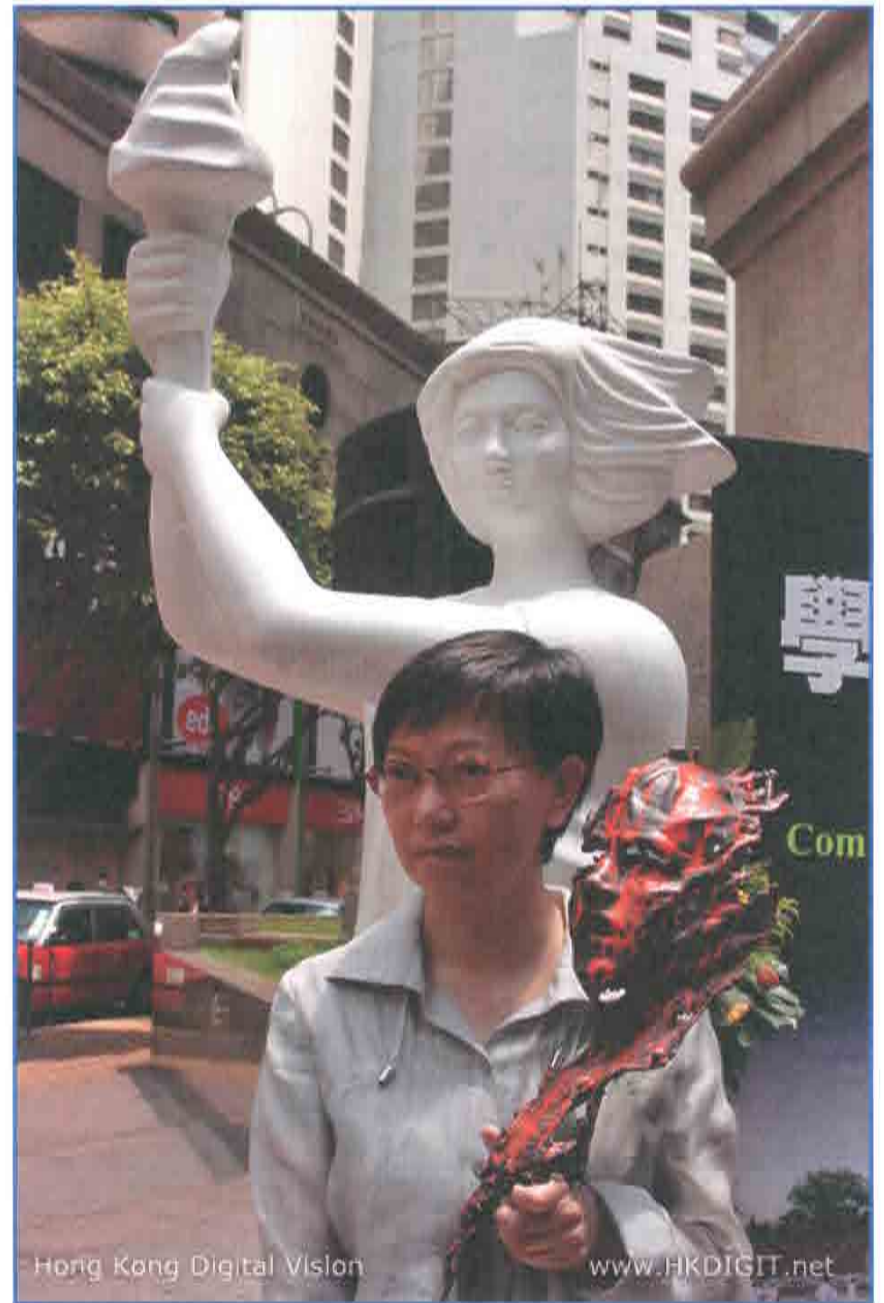
Hong Kong: 2 June, 2009 – Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot (Jens Galschiøt) who refused entry to Hong Kong donated two of his new sculptures – “Fragments of a Democracy Story 1 & 2 (民主的碎片)” to 64-hour Hunger Strike students and independent pan-democrat lawmaker Cyd Ho Sau-lan at Times Square in Causeway Bay. The sculptures about 75 centimeters in height were inspired by his original creation, The Pillar of Shame (Skamstøtten), arrived in 1997 and displayed at the University of Hong Kong commemorating those who died in the 1989 military crackdown.



from left : Kasper Galschiot Markus, Cyd Ho Sau-lan , Crystal Chow Ching and Lasse Galschiot Markus



Sons of Jens Galschiot – [Lasse Galschiot Markus](#) and [Kasper Galschiot Markus](#) donated one of the sculpture to [Crystal Chow Ching \(周澄\)](#) – Secretary General of Hong Kong Federation of Students.



Pan-democrat lawmaker [Cyd Ho Sau-lan](#) received the other sculpture

Monday, April 28, 2008

Ngon đước Thế vận gặp bạo động tại Hán Thành.

Khánh Đăng tổng hợp

Hàng ngàn người của hai phía ủng hộ lẫn phản đối Trung Quốc đã có mặt tại cuộc rước đước Thế vận Bắc Kinh tại thủ đô Hán Thành của Nam Hàn vào trưa hôm Chủ Nhật 27/4.

Một người ty nạn Bắc Hàn đã toan tính tự thiêu để làm gián đoạn cuộc rước đước, trong khi hàng ngàn nhân viên cảnh sát canh gác bảo vệ ngọn đước trước sự chống đối của những người biểu tình phản đối sự đối xử bất nhân của Bắc Kinh đối với người ty nạn Bắc Hàn.

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Monday, April 28, 2008

Ngon đuốc Thế vận gặp bạo động tại Hán Thành.

Khánh Đăng tổng hợp

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KINA
HONG KONG
2013



那座代表血腥鎮壓的《國殤之柱》(Pillar of Shame)，飽歷十多年風霜，疲態盡露，不單出現細小裂紋，更有鋼塊剝落。五十九歲的《國殤之柱》創作人、丹麥著名雕塑家高志活(Jens Galschiøt)，上週四與長子Lasse Markus順利入境訪港，過去一星期在港大修復這座九七年創作的雕塑，預期可以屹立多廿年。

十。一黃金周，內地自由行瘋狂掃貨，高志活兩父子則出席十一國殤遊行，要求中國釋放政治犯。撇開談論政治議題，高志活父子就像普通遊客一樣，住在旺角殘舊的背包客旅館，晚上到廟街觀光，Lasse還說每次來港一定要買最愛吃的龍眼。

高志活不拘小節，穿着拖鞋爬上竹棚修補《國殤之柱》。



一九九七年，高志活(左)來港送上《國殤之柱》，已故支聯會主席司徒華(中)到機場接機。

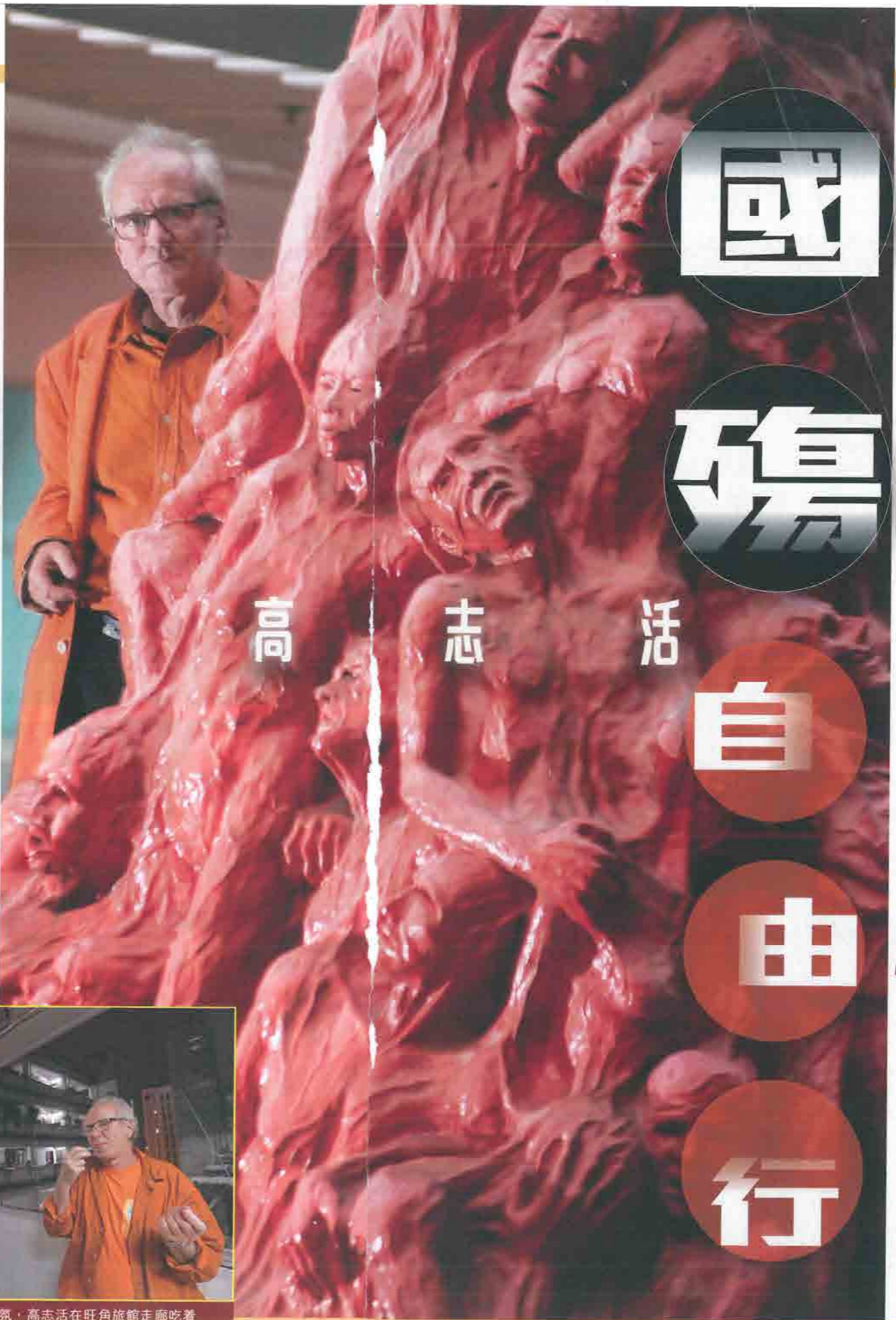
問：「高志活」是什麼意思？

答：我的中文名字是已故支聯會主席司徒華先生起的，他說意思大概是活在志氣中，活出崇高理想。這是一個好名字。司徒華過身，當時我未能親身致祭，相當遺憾。

問：為何今次可以順利入境？

答：可能是入境處的電腦系統太差，或職員一時大意，我來港前亦沒有通知當局。更有可能是真正拒絕我入境的不是香港，而是中國；〇八年我被拒絕入境，是因為當時北京舉辦奧運，〇九年則因為六四事件廿周年。今次順利入境，大概是因為這段時間中國沒發生什麼大事吧。我很興奮，我們的修葺工作已籌備了兩個月。

國殤自由行



高志活



▲九七年，港大學生會不惜與校方對抗，誓要把《國殤之柱》運入校園。(《蘋果日報》圖片)



▲〇九年高志活被拒入境，長子Lasse Markus(右)及次子Kasper Markus(中)，代父親帶雕塑參加六四事件廿周年遊行。(郭永強攝)

問：港大學生會把《國殤之柱》移到飯堂隔鄰是否合適？

答：之前它貼近黃克競平台外圍，只有樹木相伴，有點悶。但現時它放置在飯堂旁邊，聞着飯香，看着學生食飯、聊天，反而與學生有更多連結，六四國殤成為學生生活的一部分，我覺得這個位置更佳。

問：你住在港大附近的酒店嗎？

答：不，我和兒子、攝影師三人住在旺角的背包客旅館，每人每晚約二百元，是兒子的主意，支聯會付款。旅館很有趣，房間很細，附近的人會把衣物、

問：《國殤之柱》會倒下來嗎？

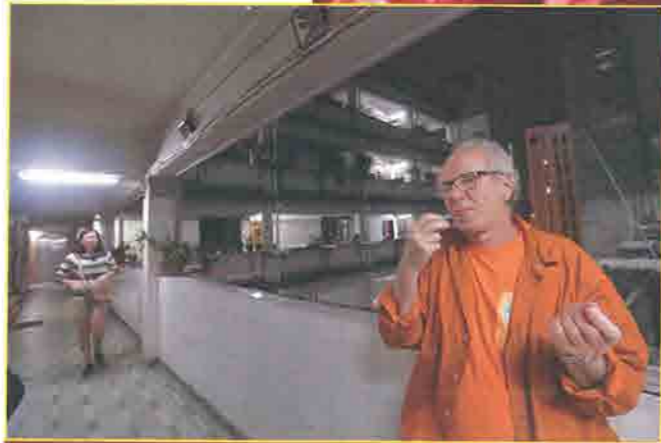
答：不會，它很堅固，今次只是小修補。九七年香港回歸，我真擔心這座銅造雕塑會受到某些人襲擊，故我刻意把它加強鞏固。回想起來，九七年那群學生不惜跟警方和校方對立，誓死把雕塑搬入校園，很值得敬佩！

《國殤之柱》是高志活眾多作品中唯一塗上橙色的雕塑，紅色代表中國，黃色代表國際人權，他希望兩者最終能融合。

內衣褲晾在走廊，我想香港普通房子面積也很細吧。晚上街頭會有人唱卡拉OK，很奇怪！深夜有老婆婆推紙皮，是拿去賣嗎？她的腰骨已屈曲了，很可憐，她一定是很窮吧。住在旅館很有特色，比住在一式一樣的酒店好。

問：三個兒子會否繼承你的藝術事業？

答：我不知道。他們三個都不太懂製作雕塑，反而懂電腦更多。今次「來港」，主要是幫我安排行程，是「秘書」，他幫忙修補《國殤之柱》，也是邊學邊做，這就是生兒子的好處啊！告訴你，其實太太很想生女兒，但試了三次還是兒子，唉！其實兒子也很好，很多人讚Lasse長得很帥！



旺角有濃厚香港本土文化氣氛，高志活在旺角旅館走廊吃着龍眼接受訪問，別有一番滋味。

議員增聯合行動 第二梯隊多參與 李卓人冀催谷工黨知名度

專訪

成立不足兩年的工黨，在剛過去周末舉行集思會討論該黨定位及發展。黨主席李卓人說，黨內4位立法會議員雖然有一定知名度，但未能轉化為政黨本錢，因此計劃日後多讓四人一同行動，藉此提升工黨知名度，並讓第二梯隊有更多參與機會，讓工黨足可承傳。

工黨於2011年年底成立，目前有180名黨員及4個團體會員，而最為人熟悉的人物，除李卓人外，還有立法會議員何秀蘭、張超雄及張國柱。然而，根據中大亞太研究所於今年7月公布的調查顯示，工黨的支持度僅得0.2%，在一眾政黨中排行第九；而排首位的是民建聯，支持度是11.2%。

議員個人出名 黨缺支持

李卓人接受本報訪問時表示，該黨日前在西貢舉行兩天一夜集思會，探討工黨發展；結論是工黨四位議員雖在社會上有一定知名度及支持度，但那僅是個人資產，未能讓人聯繫到那是代表工黨，並轉化成工黨的政治本錢。他說：「我們始終會退下來」，這樣下去是無助



李卓人說，黨內4位立法會議員雖然有一定知名度，但未能轉化為政黨本錢。

工黨長遠發展及承傳。

因此，李卓人表示，四位立會議員日後將較少作個人行動，而是多合作，希望讓更多市民對工黨有認識。另外，在議會外也會有更多社會行動，讓黨內第二梯隊如正、副秘書長譚俊賢與郭永健等可以參與，有更多機會發

揮，也希望可以接棒。

與此同時，李卓人認為，工黨更應突顯其強項議題，如工人福利、社會分配及社會公義等議題。他說，集思會的結論是「把這些議題做盡些，突出我們的強項，做得更好」。

李卓人承認，相對之下，近年行為

激進的政黨往往更能吸引公眾注意而讓人認識，但他認為，工黨必須守住底線。

激情不激進 改負面形象

早前，該黨張超雄以字眼標籤新移民，讓社會對立為由，退出針對自由行的聯署；李卓人以此為例，指工黨從本土利益出發關注自由衍生的問題，包括香港承載能力以至自由行能否令一般打工仔受惠；但在保住香港人生活空間的同時，他們也要保住香港擁有的普世價值，所以絕對不能簽這份聯署。

他強調，工黨的定位是「激情但行為不激進，立場是支持民主進步，在如今1:99的社會階級上，是站在那99%人的一方」。他希望可以更鮮明地表達這個定位，並且要讓人知道工黨做事是有長遠承擔，跟「現在不少人對政黨印象負面，認為只會『抽水』」並不一樣。

稍後，工黨將就政改提出方案，方向是容許「政黨提名」，即由立法會、區議會議員組成提名委員會，參選人只須取得任何一類型議員的5%提名票，即可參選特首。李卓人表示，建議將提交予真普聯討論。

採訪：江麗芬



國殤之柱可多放20年

【本報訊】丹麥雕塑家高志活（圖右）昨日到香港大學校園，正式開始維修紀念六四事件亡魂的「國殤之柱」。他預期今日可完成維修工序，相信經過維修後，國殤之柱可放置多20年。

情況仍然良好，只是當年搬運至港大期間，令雕塑表面留下裂痕，修補費約為數千港元。2008及2009年曾兩度來港被拒，他明日會參加支聯會舉辦的十一國慶遊行，並發言會支持港人爭取普選的佔領中環行動。

曾顯華攝

【新報訊】位於港大、有15年歷史、悼念六四事件的「國殤之柱」(Pillar of Shame)，近期因日久失修出現裂痕，但維修問題一直處於膠着狀態。「國殤之柱」的創作者丹麥雕塑家高志活(Jens Galschiot)日前來港，昨展開修復工程，預計一兩日內可完成，修補費約數千港元，周三將重新上油。

將出席支聯會遊行

高志活表示，「國殤之柱」目前情況仍然良好，只是當年搬運至港大期間，在表面產生裂痕，相信今次修復後可放置多20年。高曾於2008、2009兩度嘗試來港修補「國殤之柱」，但遭拒入境。他表示，是次訪港前未有向外界披露，相信因此才可順利入境。他亦表示，將出席支聯會與民間團體合辦的十一國慶遊行，並支持佔領中環行動。

高志活視察工程

創作「國殤之柱」的高志活昨表示，修復工程預計一兩日內可完成。



三十日 星期一 農曆癸巳年八月二十六日

國殤之柱可多放20年

【本報訊】丹麥雕塑家高志活（圖右）昨日到香港大學校園，正式開始維修紀念六四事件亡魂的「國殤之柱」。他預期今日可完成維修工序，相信經過維修後，國殤之柱可放置多20年。

高志活指，有16年歷史的國殤之柱，目前

情況仍然良好，只是當年搬運至港大期間，令塑表面留下裂痕，修補費約為數千港元。2008、2009年曾兩度來港被拒，他明日會參加支聯會辦的十一國慶遊行，並聲言會支持港人爭取普選佔領中環行動。

曾顯華

國殤之柱之父：篩選制如墮中世紀

支持港人公民抗命爭普選

專訪

創作「國殤之柱」的丹麥雕塑家高志活 (Jens Galschiot) 自2008年被拒入境，前日成功訪港。這名外國人接受訪問時亦不吝評論2017年香港特首普選，指篩選候選人的普選制度猶如重返中世紀黑暗時代 (Dark Middle Age)，港人「搖旗仔」爭民主方式並不足夠，他支持港人用公民抗命方式，如佔領中環行動，因可取得世界關注。

明報記者 梁卓怡

高志活在2008年北京奧運前夕發起「橙色運動」，在代表中國的紅色裏，加入象徵民主的黃色，以喚起世界對中國人權發展的關注，但後來被拒入境，未能親睹國殤之柱漆成橙色。

「橙色運動」望喚人權關注

高志活對上一次來港為2005年世貿會議期間，前日終再能入

境，昨往香港大學檢查國殤之柱狀況，笑言橙色與國殤之柱也算相襯。他指中國經濟、言論自由有改善，但仍是中共掌控一切，「雖然方向正確，但與民主仍有很大距離」。不過，他仍相信香港會是中國首個有民主的地方。

2017年特首普選方案未出，社會先要在提名機制爭論的狹縫覓共識，高志活一聞「篩選」即嘆

「就像伊朗民主」。對這位丹麥藝術家來說，設篩選民主猶如電影情節，更是重返中世紀黑暗時代 (Dark Middle Age) 的劇情，「就像有個神由不知天堂還是地獄來，說要找出合適的人」，「這是中國模式 (Chinese style)，但我不認為這應該是香港模式 (Hong Kong style)！」

「港人不爭取會像內地」

對於佔領中環運動提出以公民抗命爭普選，高志活說港人爭取民主廿多年，單靠「搖旗仔」爭取民主並不足夠 (That's not enough to go with a little flag)，「香港人要為自己爭取，否則會像中國一樣 (end like China)，「你有能力保障自己的權利，我想香港人是明白這個的。」

高志活說，他支持內地異見人士劉曉波、艾未未，無奈道：「中國可能不太喜歡我。」



支聯會及港大學生會2008年響應高志活發起的「橙色運動」，將國殤之柱漆上橙色，但高志活被拒入境未能親睹，還擔心作品與橙色是否相襯。事隔5年，高志活昨視察國殤之柱後說，「原來效果還不錯」，並着手維修。

(李紹昌攝)

脫下橙衣 成功入境

高志活前日一身橙色西裝抵港，昨日再以橙色裝扮現身港大視察國殤之柱，吸引不少學生拍照。高志活連日橙衣示人，他說帶了一整筐橙衫到港，不過他汲取08、09兩次入境被拒的經驗，前日入境時就刻意脫下橙色西裝，笑言未知是否「隱藏」橙色而成功入境。談到兩次入境被拒，高志活說港府欠他一個解釋，「但我不認為他們會解釋」。

國殤之柱毋須大修

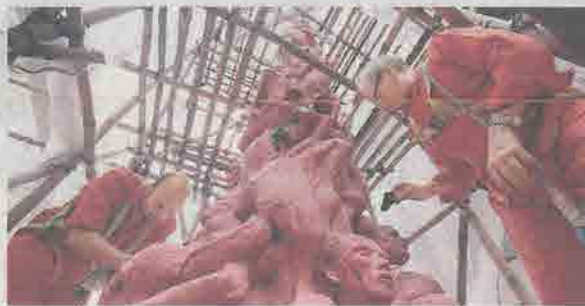
高志活昨與港大學生會開會商討國殤之柱維修工作，他說國殤之柱雖有裂縫，但結構良好，故亦不用太多修葺，只有「化妝」工程，為國殤之柱重新上色。他笑言今天終有機會在港入貨，購買修補材料，而港大校方今天為他搭建竹棚，做足安全措施以便工程，不過，高志活就說港人維修搭棚小題大做，「情況有點怪，香港人很多東西也怕！」

>> 2013.09.30 >> 星期一

太陽報 THE SUN

經濟日報

2013年9月30日 星期一



高志活修復國殤之柱

創作「國殤之柱」的丹麥雕塑家高志活早年兩度被拒入境，日前成功闖關抵港。昨日他到香港大學為「國殤之柱」展開修復工作，有十多年歷史的國殤之柱，柱身布滿裂痕，高志活及其助手先進行前期修補，運用英泥及玻璃膠填補裂縫，數日後會再與一批港大學生重新替「國殤之柱」掃漆，預計總維修費用約數千元，柱身能夠再屹立多二十年而不倒。



精點 修補「國殤之柱」

正在香港的丹麥雕塑家高志活 (Jens Galschiot) 與兒子，昨到香港大學修補其作品「國殤之柱」。

高志活表示，今次修補工作料1、2天內可完成，周三再上油，修補費約數千港元，相信之後可放置多20年。他透露，將留港參加十一國慶遊行，他亦支持佔領中環行動。

(林宇翔攝)

支聯會促中央釋放異見者

沒有國慶 多個團體包括支聯會趁着國慶日，遊行至政府總部，要求特首梁振英向內地及北京中央政府反映，立即釋放在囚的異見人士。近100人的遊行隊伍中還包括為修葺國殤之柱來港的丹麥雕塑家高志活。支聯會主席李卓人表示，一日內地未平反六四，人民得不到自由，中國都沒有國慶，只有國殤。

高志活指人權緩慢改善

遊行隊伍昨下午於銅鑼灣時代廣場外集合，行至金鐘政府總部表達訴求。部份參加者頭戴紙皮做的黑色道具牢籠，用麻繩綁手，並掛上寫有內地被捕異見人士姓名，及被控罪名的紙牌。成員沿途並不聲張，主辦方解釋是要以遊街示眾的方式，向市民展

視內地政治犯所遭受的苦況。真普聯召集人鄭宇碩亦有參加示威。

參加十一遊行作為來港尾二一天行程的高志活稱，中國的人權狀況是有改善，但速度是緩慢，指雖就環境污染等議題，於中國可作公開討論，但長遠政府應對所有議題都開放討論，才是解決貪腐問題的正確方向。

李卓人則表示，只要仍有異見人士被囚，國家都難稱有國慶，他並指，根據支聯會的統計，國家主席習近平上任半年以來，已有141名異見人士被拘捕，數字竟較前任國家主席胡錦濤執政10年期間，每年的同一數字為多，認為內地的人權狀況正在倒退。遊行人士抵達政府總部後，朗讀聲明並將請願道具交予政府代表，最後逐一除下紙籠，象徵內地異見人士終獲釋放。 新報記者



支聯會成員舉着巨幅橫額遊行。(曾豪宗攝)

東方日報

療「殤」

■創作「國殤之柱」的丹麥雕塑家高志活(圖右)早年兩度被拒入境，日前成功闖關抵港。昨日他到香港大學為「國殤之柱」展開修復工作，有十多年歷史的國殤之柱，柱身布滿裂痕，高志活及其助手運用英泥及玻璃膠填補裂縫，數日後會再與一批港大學生重新替「國殤之柱」掃漆，預計總維修費用約數千元。(胡志豪攝)



聞風筆動

國殤之柱父子復修 周三再上油



創作《國殤之柱》的丹麥雕塑家高志活(右)，昨日同阿仔(左)夾手夾腳展開復修國殤柱的工作，佢話呢件雕塑有15、16年歷史，但狀況算唔錯，只係當年搬到香港大學期間，令表面有啲裂痕，相信花幾千港元買材料，一兩日就搞掂，周三可以再上油。

高志活曾經被港府拒絕入境，但估計今次順利入境，與事前未有向外界公布有關，佢仲話想參加十一國慶遊行，亦支持佔領中環行動。

HUMAN RIGHTS

Hundreds march in support of dissidents

Jeffie Lam
jeffie.lam@scmp.com

Hundreds of people marched yesterday to call for the immediate release of mainland political prisoners, saying that for them National Day is a day of shame.

Protesters marched silently from Causeway Bay to government headquarters in Admiralty, each wearing a white card around their neck with a political prisoner's name written on it.

Lee Cheuk-yan, one of the organisers of the protest, said more than 141 people had been arrested for exercising their rights in China since March this year, far more than in past years.

"We have no national pride on National Day, only shame," Lee said. "China should move onto the road of political reform and start to respect human rights."

He said human rights conditions in China were worsening and called for UN member states to reject China as a member of the Human Rights Council.

Among the marchers was Jens Galschiot, the Danish sculptor who created the University of Hong Kong's *Pillar of Shame* to commemorate the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown.

"[To show] real love for a country is [to] want her to become a better place," he said.

The march also attracted the attention of mainland tourists who lined the footpaths with their cameras up, capturing a scene rarely seen across the border. Tourists Zosy Zuo and Luo Jie, who arrived from Shenzhen yesterday, said they had never seen anything like the protest. "The protest is so powerful," said Zuo, who had never heard of any of the imprisoned dissidents.

Mr Wu, also a mainlander, had travelled to Hong Kong to join the protest.

"I am coming to support Xu Zhiyong (許志永) [one of the imprisoned dissidents], but I am disappointed that so few people showed up today," said Wu.

He hoped Hong Kong people and mainlanders would start to care more about the human rights situation in China.

Separately, about 30 members from the League of Social Democrats and the Defence of Hong Kong Freedom were removed by police at 6.30pm from a lane off Queen's Road Central, where they had been sitting in a stand-off with police for three hours. They had been marching to the central government's liaison office in Western with a coffin.

Police said the officers had acted with due consideration of public order and safety.



Protesters wear cages to symbolise political prisoners. Photo: David Wong

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 2013

TALKING POINTS

Our editors will be looking ahead today to these developing stories ...

Something for everyone on National Day



National Day will kick off with the flag-raising ceremony in Golden Bauhinia Square (left), Wan Chai, at 8am, followed by an official reception. For protest groups, the holiday is an opportunity to vent their opposition to government policies. Visiting Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot, creator of the *Pillar of Shame* statue, will join a march for democracy in China. For punters, the highlight will be the National Day Cup at Sha Tin Racecourse.

高志活訪港 檢查國殤之柱

【本報訊】曾兩度被香港政府拒絕入境的「國殤之柱」創作者、丹麥雕塑家高志活 (Jens Galschiot)，昨日在闊別八年後再次重臨香港。是次訪港主要是檢視擺放於香港大學校園內國殤之柱的損壞情況，並與港大學生會商討維修方案。他慶幸國殤之柱能為六四事件作一個紀錄，讓不知情的內地新一代知悉六四的真相及故事，由年輕人接棒爭取民主。

過去兩次訪港，高志活都被港府拒絕入境。2008年北京奧運開幕前100天，發起「橙色運動」的他原準備到港大將國殤之柱漆成橙色，表達對中國人權的關注；2009年他又再擬訪港出席六四20周年紀念活動。他昨晨與兒子及友人一行三

人，由巴黎飛抵香港後，在辦理入境手續時，看見入境處人員反覆檢查他的護照，心情立時緊張起來。他承認仍難忘之前經過20小時航程，被扣留達6小時，再被拒入境的不快經歷，昨日獲放行入境時，更有衝動想跳起歡呼。

籲港盡力爭取民主

高志活指，是次是應支聯會邀請到港，與港大學生會商討如何維修有損壞迹象的國殤之柱，他今日將到港大親身檢查這件作品的現狀。他憶述創作國殤之柱，是要將六四事件的真相保留下來。他指這些年間，在家鄉丹麥不時有中國留學生到他的工作室參觀，他都會拿出國殤之柱的圖片及書籍，告訴一無所知的中國年輕人，六四是甚麼一回事。

高志活原來的目標是創作十座國殤之柱，擺放在世界不同地方作為對人道肆意凌虐的見證，他指至今只完成四座國殤之柱，除了放於香港、墨西哥及巴西外，正與伊拉克政府商議，在該國境內擺放第四座國殤之柱，作為侯賽因統治期間殺害平民的標記。

高志活知悉，香港正醞釀明年佔領中環爭取普選，他認為香港作為中國「最自由的一部份」，應該盡力爭取民主，否則只會慢慢被同化。他坦言，世界不同地區的獨裁者相繼倒台，相信中國也會有民主的一天，慶幸近年年輕一代積極出席六四集會，他也希望明年六四置身維園，與港人同悼六四25周年。



■國殤之柱創作者高志活昨路經旺角時，在商場外的雕塑前留影。



■高志活訪港主要是檢視擺放於港大的國殤之柱的損壞情況。

「只有國殤沒國慶」 促停打壓異見人士

【本報訊】支聯會和多個民間團體昨日在中共建政64周年，發起「爭取中國人權」遊行，百多名市民身穿白衣，戴上內地被捕異見人士名稱和罪名的紙牌和牢獄面具，以麻繩相繫，在不少內地同胞出沒的地點「遊街示眾」。支聯會主席李卓人表示，中共一日不平反六四和繼續打壓政治異見人士，「中國都只有國殤，沒有國慶」。

支聯會、學聯、中國維權律師關注組和天主教正義和平委員會近百人，昨日在銅鑼灣發起「爭取中國人權」遊行，抗議習近平上任半年以來，中國政府已拘禁至141名政治犯，數目遠超胡錦濤時代。遊行團體又批評，中共近日處決遼寧瀋陽小販夏俊峰的手法，反映中國司法不公，嚴待平民百姓卻輕判官員權貴。

「國殤之柱」製作者丹麥雕塑家高志活(Jens Galschiot)昨日亦有參加遊行。他表示，自己有不少朋友過去曾是中國政治犯，後來逃到歐洲，認為香港有人為被內地囚禁異見人士發聲，促請中共發展民主和保障言論自由十分重要。

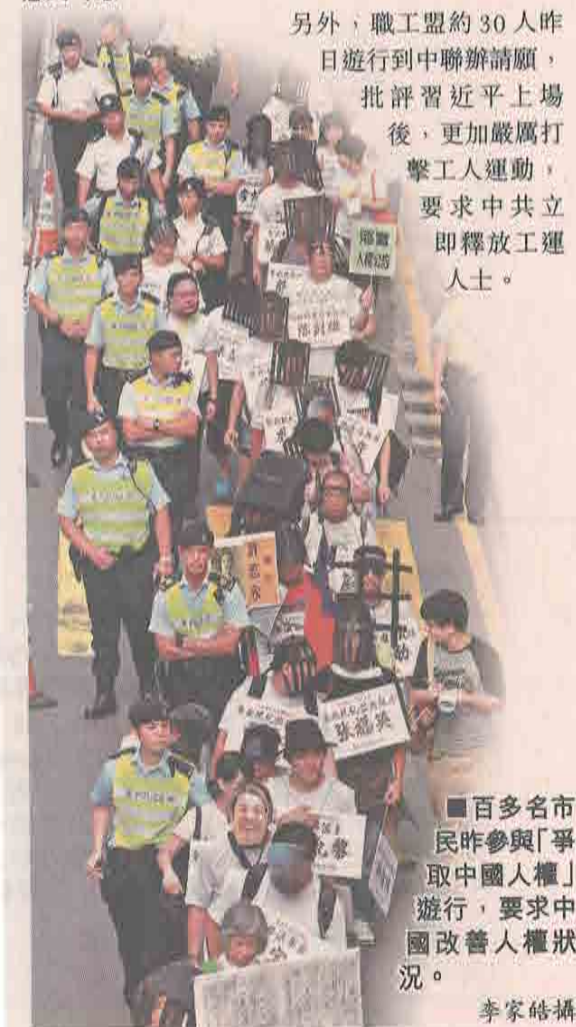
遊行沿途無叫任何口號

遊行隊伍到達政府總部前，沿途兩小時未叫任何口號，寓意向中共無聲抗議，其間途經金鐘太古和海富商場，希望讓更多趁十一來港的內地人認識遊行內容。

參加遊行的市民到達政府總部後，由支聯會主席李卓人逐一讀出身上的政治犯名稱，將身上政治異見人士罪名和牢獄面具卸下後，高喊「平反六四」、「釋放所有政治犯」口號，遞交請願信後和平散去。李卓人表示，中共一日不平反六四和改善人權狀況，繼續打壓政治異見人士，「中國都只有國殤，沒有國慶」。

不少參加遊行市民都炮轟中國人權狀況倒退。參與遊行的陳先生表示，1987年前的中國較現在更自由，指現時內地太多貪污腐敗，加上近日的夏俊峰事件，令他很心痛，不得不上街。邵小姐指中國現今人權狀況令人憂慮，一個平民就算有上庭審訊的機會，也可能面對不公平的審訊，令人感到可悲。

另外，職工盟約30人昨日遊行到中聯辦請願，批評習近平上場後，更加嚴厲打擊工人運動，要求中共立即釋放工運人士。



■百多名市民昨參與「爭取中國人權」遊行，要求中國改善人權狀況。

李家皓攝

海難周年冤未消 瀆職官僚哪裏逃

聽日係「十一」，對市民嚟講，既係偷得浮生半日閒嘅歡樂假期，亦係南丫島海難一周年嘅沉痛日子。一年前，三十九條人命，一年後嘅今日，遇難者沉冤未...

進入退休大潮，包括處長廖漢波在內嘅多名高層年底前紛紛夠鐘咬長糧，咁搞法，咪走得快，好世界？你知啦，運房局對海事處嘅內部調查進度慢過龜爬，如果調查未完成，話者官僚已經揸住豐厚退休金離職，瀆職者...

僚，加上一個咁無效率嘅調查，有人來視察流「怯」退，金蟬脫殼，逃避究責，係咪一啲都唔出奇嘢。

咁講啦，如果撞船慘劇係一面鏡子，照出海事處疏忽職守糜爛不堪，咁慘劇後向瀆職官員究責就係一個試金石，測試到港府有無咁味相建立管治威...



曾鈺成稱京若拒消除篩選心魔

「中央零機會接受守尾門」

【本報訊】立法會主席曾鈺成昨與傳媒茶敘時大談政改，重申若2017年無普選香港或陷於無法管治的局面，他認為政改在於中央一念之間，若北京能將篩走不喜歡人選的「心魔」移開，根本不用堅持是否有公民提名，又認為中央接受「守尾門」方案的機會等於零。真普聯召集人鄭宇碩認為中央須明白，特首要有效管治必須與中央充份合作，其憂慮是沒必要的。

記者：陳雲玲 呂浩然

曾鈺成談政改與普選特首

- 公民提名** 政改問題在於中央一念之間，如果同意開放別天地很闊，中央放開「心魔」討論起來是海闊天空，亦不須堅持要公民提名
- 「守尾門」方案** 若對抗中央的人當選特首，即等於是香港人對抗中央，所以北京用「守尾門」的機會是零
- 普選方案** 2017年無普選香港好可能變成無法管治
- 民建聯特首** 香港政制不鼓勵培養政治人才，民建聯今天仍未派人選特首

研延長點人數鐘聲防流會

【本報訊】立法會在上個會期多次爆「拉布戰」，拉布議員更以「點人數」策略，利用在席議員不足法定人數而迫使流會。立法會主席曾鈺成昨稱，有議員建議取消立法會大會開會法定人數，阻止有人利用會議不足法定人數就要流會規定，拖延會議，但經秘書處研究，有關要求屬「基本法」及《議事規則》規定，若取消開會法定人數，有可能違法，影響會議合法性。

議會經驗，可探討效法外國將15分鐘「點人數」鐘聲延長，方便議員趕返會議廳，盡量避免流會，但有關做法也要修改《議事規則》，並須三分二議員支持才可成事。

對於建制及泛民至今仍無法就修改《議事規則》、防止無了期拉布有共識，曾鈺成相信泛民擔心會收緊空間，建制又怕收得不夠緊，結果令雙方遲遲無法達成共識，相信在新一屆會期，仍要由他就拉布爭議做裁決。



肖虎者旺曾

生肖屬豬的曾鈺成，辦公室內不單掛有饒宗頤「虎虎生威」墨寶，更有一幅老虎圖，原來曾自覺肖虎者「旺」他；其妻伍嘉敏也肖虎；問及會否怕「老虎嘔」？他只報以甜絲絲的笑。

呂浩然攝

陀

慶，其

相信買區作，身就

多

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重，前、開放重（緊中相濟2]

古真百工箱次次故誤並選... 派拒其出... 只此空無此此此

李太 個仔之前住宿舍驚



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「警官方瑛祝婦女權益：沒有人應淪為他人的洩慾工具。」 泰國《曼谷郵報》



盲人單車震動提示迴避

失明人士也可以享受踏單車的樂趣！英國科技公司以超聲波導航原理，研發出感應器 UltraBike，探測到路面有障礙物時，單車手把會震動，提示迴避，讓失明人士可以獨自踏單車。

電子工程師克拉克 (Paul Clark) 採用障礙物偵測技術「UltraCane」，模仿蝙蝠迴聲定位原理，研發出 UltraBike 單車專用感應系統。UltraBike 適用於任何類型的單車，安裝在手把下方後，若探測到前方有障礙物，就會以震動方式告訴騎單車者，引導用家避開。

克拉克提醒，失明人士不適宜使用 UltraBike 在馬路上踏單車，因為其他駕車人士會預期單車者視力



有了手把下方的感應器，視障人士也能享受單車樂。 英國《星期日郵報》

3D 世代現模擬暈眩症

隨着科技進步，不少電影、電視的畫面越趨立體逼真，但不少用家(圖)投訴看後出現暈眩，有科技專家預言「模擬暈眩」(Simulation sickness) 將成 21 世紀最普遍的職業病。

傳統暈動症 (Motion sickness) 由車船的晃動引起，內耳感應到身體移動，出現暈眩不適。但出現「模擬暈眩」時，身體沒有移動，大腦卻被視覺上急速移動的畫面迷惑。明明是平面，卻模仿立體效果的 3D 電影，畫面仿似「彈出」的效果，令人誤以為景物移近；iOS 7 令電話屏幕看來立體感更強的 parallax 效果、畫面移動迅速的電子遊戲，都欺騙大

腦，從而產生暈眩感覺。專家指隨着科技進步，電子產品畫面質素越益提升，引致的暈眩症狀只會惡化，暫時未有解決方法。

英國《星期日郵報》

編輯：林輔賢 美術：黎佩彤

Offentligt ansatte?

Venstre lægger med sit finanslovsforslag for 2014 op til nulvækst i det offentlige for at finansiere skattelettelser for fem milliarder kroner. Det vil koste offentlige arbejdspladser, siger Socialdemokraterne. Nej, siger Venstre. Begge dele kan være rigtigt

Thomas Praefcke

Nulvækst i den offentlige sektor skal finansiere skattelettelser for fem milliarder kroner. Det lægger Venstre op til i finanslovsforslag for 2014, som præsenterede i går. Mens regeringen i sit finanslovsforslag lægger op til en stigning i det offentlige forbrug på 0,5 pct., bl.a. med formål at fastholde antallet af offentligt ansatte i den offentlige sektor, mener Venstre at bruge pengene på skattelettelser. En prioritering genantændte debatten om, hvad nulvækst betyder for, om der fremover kan være lige så mange i den offentlige sektor som i dag. Allerede inden Venstre havde fremlagt sin finanslov, lød kommentaren fra Socialdemokraternes finansordfører, Jesper Petersen, at »der vil blive færre offentlige ansatte« med Venstres forslag om nulvækst.

Nej, siger Venstre. Det ligger i nulvækstens 'natur', at det offentlige har lige så mange penge som året før.

»Når det offentlige forbrug vokser med (i samme takt som, red.) priser og lønninger, er det muligt at fastholde det samme antal offentligt ansatte og købe de samme varer og tjenester fra den private sektor som i dag,« skriver Venstre i sit finanslovsforslag for 2014.

Så har Venstre eller Socialdemokraterne ret? Det er spørgsmålet. Ifølge Jakob Hald, direktør i tænketanken Kraka og tidligere afdelingschef i Finansministeriet, er debatten om konsekvenserne af nulvækst »fyldt med misforståelser«.

Partiernes uenighed dækker over en kompliceret beregning af, hvor man placerer det beskæftigelsesfald, som uundgåeligt vil komme med nulvækst, forklarer Jakob Hald.

Venstre hævder altså, at man med nulvækst kan »fastholde det samme antal ansatte og købe den samme mængde varer som hidtil«.

Men det kan man ikke, hvis man putter nulvækst ind i Finansministeriets regnemaskine. Så giver nulvækst færre offentligt ansatte.

Da finansminister Bjarne Corydon (S) tirsdag i sidste uge præsenterede regeringens finanslovsforslag for næste år, fremlagde han samtidig en beregning, der viser, at nulvækst i det offentlige forbrug i hvert af årene frem mod 2020 vil give 24.000 færre offentligt ansatte i alt.

Altså det stik modsatte af det, Venstre kommer frem til. Det er der en god, men kompliceret grund til, forklarer Jakob Hald.

For at forstå uenigheden skal man tage udgangspunkt i to forudsætninger, som Venstre og regeringens lommeregner er enige om.

Den første er, at det offentlige forbrug udgøres af to tredjedele løn til offentligt ansatte og en tredjedel udgifter til det offentliges køb af varer og tjenester. Den anden er, at lønnen historisk er steget hurtigere end priserne på varerne.

De to forhold kan forklare, hvorfor Venstre og regeringen når frem til forskellige konsekvenser af nulvækst, forklarer Jakob Hald.

Når Venstre lægger op til, at man med nulvækst kan købe samme antal varer og aflønne samme antal medarbejdere, så medfører det faktum, at lønnen stiger hurtigere end priserne, at andelen af det offentlige forbrug,

som lønnen til offentligt ansatte udgør, vil blive større og større.

Det er urealistisk, mener Finansministeriet. I de beregninger, som Bjarne Corydon fremlagde ved finanslovspræsentationen, forudsætter Finansministeriet, at det offentlige forbrug – som i dag – vil udgøres af en tredjedel varekøb og to tredjedele

0,5%

lægger regeringen op til at lade det offentlige forbrug vokse næste år. Venstre vil hellere bruge pengene på skattelettelser

løn. I det scenarie betyder nulvækst, at der kun bliver råd til at aflønne færre offentligt ansatte, men råd til at købe flere varer.

Forvirret? Det bliver endnu mere kompliceret.

Fald i beskæftigelse

»Krøllen på halen« er, forklarer Jakob Hald, at nulvækst under alle omstændigheder vil give et beskæftigelsesfald. Selv hvis man som Venstre forudsætter samme antal offentligt ansatte som i dag.

»Hvis der er nulvækst i det offentlige forbrug i en længere årrække – og

du fastholder den offentlige beskæftigelse – vil der som udgangspunkt ske et større fald i den private beskæftigelse, som leverer ydelser til det offentlige.«

Forklaringen er, at når virksomhederne gradvist bliver mere og mere produktive, skal der bruges færre mennesker til at producere det samme antal varer, og når det offentliges varekøb i Venstres definition på nulvækst er konstant i mængde, vil det kræve færre og færre privatansatte at producere de varer, som det offentlige køber.

»Det er ikke umuligt at fastholde antallet af offentligt ansatte med nulvækst. Men implikationen er bare, at du så skruer noget mere ned for antallet af privatansatte, der leverer offentlige ydelser. Ellers kan det ikke rigtig hænge sammen, så længe der er produktivitetsvækst i de private virksomheder, der leverer ydelserne,« forklarer Jakob Hald.

Hvor Venstre altså lader hele tilpasningen ske hos de privatansatte, giver Finansministeriets regnemetoder både et beskæftigelsesfald i den offentlige og den private sektor.

»Finansministeriets principper betyder overordnet, at man fordeler den reduktion i beskæftigelsesandelen nogenlunde ligeligt mellem den private og offentlige sektor,« forklarer Jakob Hald.

kepr@information.dk

POLITIK

bruge din stemme

Fynboernes dagsorden er krumtappen i Fyens Stiftstidendes optakt til kommunalvalget.

De kommende seks uger vil avisens journalister intensivt jage og beskrive de emner, der er afgørende for fynboerne, når de skal sætte krydset 19. november.

For at inspirere flest muligt til at blande sig i den lokale dagsorden sender vi avisens grønne demokratipatroljevogn ud på de fynske landeveje for at identificere folkets dagsorden.



Så tøv ikke med at blande dig, når du støder på patroljevognen i dit lokalområde.

For at bringe vælgerne sammen med politikerne flytter vi Fyens Stiftstidendes levende debatforum, Café Stiften, ud på øen. I vidt forskellige rammer - fra rådhuskøkkener til produktionsvirksomheder og biografale - sætter vi rammen for vælgermøder med et knivskarpt fokus på valgkampens vigtigste temaer.

Det bliver ikke vælgermøder i gammeldags forstand med afmålt tid til politiske enetaler. Det bliver dynamiske debatmøder funderet i vælgeres dagsorden og styret af Fyens Stiftstidendes cafébestyrere.

Dugfriske meningsmålinger vil helt sikkert tilføre vælgermøderne ekstra dynamik. Vi har hyret TNS Gallup Media til at gennemføre målinger i alle fynske kommuner, og resultaterne offentliggør vi løbende som optakt til vælgermøderne i de fynske kommuner.

Der er således dækket op til en spændende valgkamp, og vi hører meget gerne fra dig, hvis du vil sætte dit præg på dagsordenen i dit lokalområde.

På den måde kan du sammen med avisen være med til at sikre, at fynboerne er klar til at bruge deres stemme 19. november.

Med venlig hilsen

Per Westergård
Ansvarshavende chefredaktør
pw@fyens.dk



café stiften

16. november
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A.10 2013.10.2 WED NEWS.

am730 新聞

LOCAL 本地

昨日是中共建政64周年，多個團體分別發起遊行，抗議內地當局迫害異見人士，並要求平反六四，其中支聯會批評國家主席習近平上場後，半年間已新增141名政治犯，認為由六四屠城至現時的「狂捕潮」，內地人權狀況不斷倒退，直指「沒有國慶，只有國殤」。另外，社民連等成員在中環企圖遊行到中聯辦，期間因佔用行車線，與警員對峙逾4小時，警方傍晚採取清場行動，現場交通無受大影響。

「沒有國慶 只有國殤」 支聯會促釋異見人士



遊行人士警著寫有異見人士姓名的紙牌及牢獄頭飾，以靜默方式遊街示眾。

支聯會等團體昨午遊行至政府總部，要求特首梁振英向北京反映，立即釋放所有被捕異見人士，有100人參加，當中包括「國殤之柱」創作人高志活。遊行人士身穿白衣，掛著寫有被拘禁異見人士姓名及罪名的紙牌，並戴上牢獄頭飾遊街示眾。支聯會主席李卓人說，中共一日未平反六四及繼續打壓異見，「中國都只有國殤，沒有國慶」。

另外，社民連及保衛香港自由聯盟近30人，昨午由中環遊行到中聯辦，途經皇后大

道中時，因人數太多及佔用一條行車線，被警方攔截並留守馬路，並一度與約20名慶祝國慶的網民各據一方，互相對罵。警方指社民連的遊行並無通知警方，涉嫌違反《公安條例》，警方入夜後採取清場行動，將示威者由馬路抬到行人路，他們其後散去。

另有10名網民在中聯辦外焚燒仿製國旗；前綫成員亦到場請願，要求盡快落實普選及促梁振英下台；約100名大專生則在旺角舉行活動，希望喚醒市民反思不公義。

特首無政黨背景難管治 曾鈺成：應研政黨政治

立法會主席曾鈺成(圖)說，香港回歸16年的經驗顯示，特首若無政黨背景，單靠公務員團隊協助管治不可行。他指政黨的作用將愈來愈大，2017年若普選產生的特首，即使名義上無政黨背景，亦不能阻止其與原先所屬政黨的聯繫，或依該政黨理念施政。被問及中央是否接受政黨政治，他指要將所有政黨排除在管治之外並不可行。不過，本身是民運聯創黨主席的曾鈺成說，該黨未準備好做執政黨，因民運聯21年前成立時，只一心要打議會選舉，無花過心思培養管治人才。



(黃文山攝)

寄到天堂的家書

昨日，南丫島海難一周年，我在電台節目中播出了劉文鳳寫給妹妹劉文麗的一封信。26歲的劉文麗和30歲港燈職員林嘉敏(阿B)，去年新婚未幾，雙雙死於沉船意外之中。劉文鳳這樣寫：「阿B、嘉敏，這一年來你們過得如何？」

「我們慢慢逐步學習面對家中失去兩個帶來歡欣的小夫妻。小孩也慢慢知道，姨姨和姨丈去了很遠的地方生活。你們在天上看着兩個小寶貝一天一天長大。父母老了，身體也比以前差，母親血壓也比以前高，要加藥，而父親也常常出狀況，最近，工作時也被滾豆漿燙傷。不過，你們不用擔心，我們會堅強地面對人生，而兩個小寶貝的歡笑會讓公公婆婆快點忘記傷痛。」

「還有，你們連自己結婚後的相片都未看過。我在你們剩下的物件中找回單據，沖曬好照片，放在你房間，所有你的東西仍存放在你房間，可以的話，回來看一看爸媽和兩

個小寶貝。我們永遠懷念你們。」

「在天上的你們要過得更愉快、更甜蜜。現在，我們最希望為你們爭取公道！在這件事上，涉及疏忽的人要負上責任。希望你們倆喚醒這些不負責任的人的良知，叫他們認錯、悔改，而不是逃避！好讓你們安息！」

聽着劉文鳳用自己的聲音在大氣電波輕輕唸出這封信，充滿濃濃的愛和思念，很難不觸動。可惜，她永遠不會收到妹妹、妹夫的回信。

希望劉文鳳和她的家人，還有其他海難死者的家屬，不要感到孤單。很多香港人都站在他們這一邊。昨日一周年，民間便有多項自發悼念活動，可惜特區政府卻一點表示都沒有，官方悼念活動是「零」。如果高官心裡有一點紀念去年死於海難的39條人命，大概都不致於此。歸根究底，就是有心、有心的問題。難怪家屬一再批評政府冷漠。



李慧玲 風吹草動

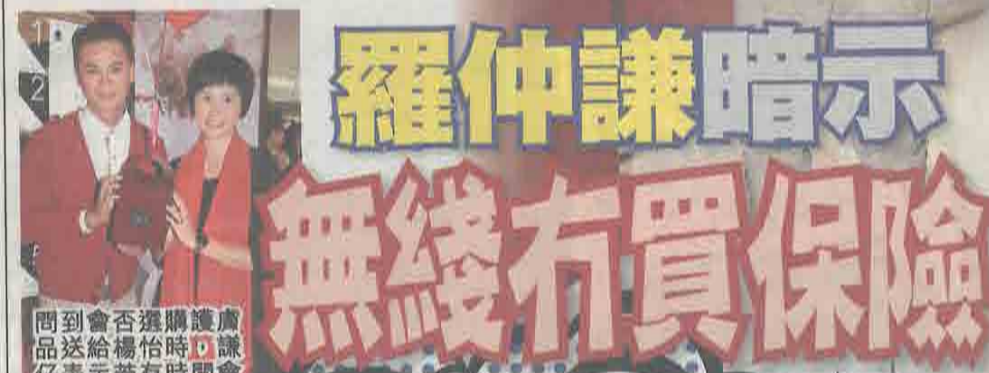
am ENT 娛樂 2013.10.2 WED am730

羅仲謙(謙仔)昨日出席護膚品牌活動，提到其主演的新劇《飛虎II》，拍檔馬德鐘、鍾嘉欣拍攝爆破戲份時意外受傷，還有其他演員也接二連三受傷，謙仔坦言拍劇時也有受傷，好彩也有買人壽和住院保險以策安全，還稱男士應未雨綢繆，似是暗示無綫有為演員買保險。

說到馬德鐘近日因拍攝受傷入院，謙仔祝願對方早日康復，又指自己也曾經多次受傷，問他女友楊怡有否為他心痛，謙仔故弄玄虛表示，所有朋友都有叫他小心，並說：「拍動作劇難避免受傷，監製覺得我哋捱得先搵我哋。」談到無綫有否為他們購買保險，謙仔未有正面回答，只稱公司已給他們做好安全措施，但他有為自己買保險，他說：「買保險都係為屋企家人，男人應該未雨綢繆啦。」

首演古裝劇即左擁右抱

難得出席護膚品牌活動，問到謙仔會否現場選購產品予楊怡，他再次大耍太極，只說：「得閒睇睇，媽咪身邊有好多女性朋友，仲有自己都需要。」談到工作，謙仔透露，將於11月首次參演古裝劇，當中更會左擁右抱。



問到會否選購護膚品送給楊怡時，謙仔表示若有時間會買些護膚品送給媽媽及身邊人。

羅仲謙暗示 無綫有買保險

渡邊麻友與600fans握手

日本人氣女團AKB48成員渡邊麻友，繼前日出席代言活動後，昨日緊接於商場出席fans握手會。現場約600名熱情fans守候，更不時高叫，直呼偶像的日語名字。渡邊麻友一出場即親切用廣東話，跟fans打招呼及大送飛吻，令fans情緒即時瘋狂起來，她又在台上透露，前晚在港吃了廣東菜。大會原定只有300個握手名額，但由於反應熱烈，故再增加300個。

容祖兒感謝張敬軒借大宅拍MV

容祖兒(Joey)早前為新歌《七不思議》拍攝MV，由於想帶出黑色幽默的感覺，Joey參考了怪雞電影《愛登士家庭》，並找來羅蘭與盧海鵬參演，Joey說：「真係不可思議呀！估唔到羅蘭姐同鵬哥肯演。」有了人物之後，Joey抱着戰戰兢兢的心情，打電話俾張敬軒借出大宅，Joey續說：「估唔到軒仔咁大方，一打俾佢即時應承，因為軒仔講過，大宅絕不外借，今次真係要多謝佢。」

苗僑偉 米雪齊跳開心舞

苗僑偉、米雪等，前日出席「御藥堂」的上市宣傳活動，已經連續六年為代言人的苗僑偉，當場上要求加入工，更希望可以獲品牌送贈股份，由於在新輯廣告中苗僑偉將與米雪合作，更以舞蹈來表達活力的主題，於是二人即席開心跳起舞來，米雪說：「苗僑偉好fit，知道佢成日做運動，所以跳起嚟一啲都唔硬。」苗僑偉則說：「都係米雪帶得好，我先跳得好。」

CITY



Class dismissed
No job and a huge bill:
tutor walks away
from 'illegal' school

> EDUCATION C3



Off the wall
Online gallery helps
local artists reach
a global audience

> LIFE C7

Safety first
Jockey Club's
tough new
penalties
for careless
riding

> SPORT BACK PAGE



Hybrid minibuses go on trial this month

The vehicles use new technology that reduces harmful gases and consumes less oil

Candy Chan
candy.chan@scmp.com

Twelve hybrid minibuses powered principally by rechargeable electric batteries will undergo trials on city streets from this month, with a view to the hybrid model replacing the fleet plying green-minibus routes.

The local firm which has developed the hybrids says they consume a third less oil and produce 70 per cent less greenhouse gas emissions than the LPG-powered and diesel minibuses currently in use. The hybrids are also ideal for the city's congested roads, on which vehicles frequently stop and start, it says.

"The battery will recharge when it runs low or when the vehicle is stopped," said Lo Cheepui, director of Green Mobility Innovations (GMI).

The technology, called regenerative braking, replaces the bus' diesel engine with a dual dynamo comprising a battery and a small

DEVELOPMENT



Inn Side Out, at the back of Sunning Plaza, had Causeway Bay's only spacious, open bar-restaurant area at street level. Photo: David Wong

Causeway Bay to lose urban oasis

Demolition of I.M. Pei's Sunning Plaza and rest

Palis said he has heard that

"I hope they lose money," he

EDUCATION

BRITISH PROFESSOR IN LINE FOR HKU POST

Peter Mathieson is choice of committee offering advice on new vice-chancellor and would be the first expatriate to get the job in a decade

Johnny Tam and Jeffie Lam

The University of Hong Kong may soon have its first expatriate vice-chancellor in a decade.

Professor Peter William Mathieson - currently dean of medicine and dentistry at the University of Bristol - has been recommended by an 11-member selection committee to succeed Professor Tsui Lap-chee.

Mathieson told the Post that he was honoured and excited to be a candidate for the post.

"If I am appointed, I will do my utmost, together with the university community, to take

president Laurence Tang Yat-long, another committee member, said Mathieson was the best of the candidates.

During the interview process the committee had asked Mathieson to comment on core values including freedom of speech and academic research, and members had found his answers "satisfactory", Tang said.

He hoped the new vice-chancellor would firmly defend the university's core values.

"A vice-chancellor doesn't just need academic achieve-

whenever it runs out.

Three big operators of green-topped minibuses are taking part in the trial, which will start in the middle of this month. The routes are in Southern District and Tuen Mun, and between Tsim Sha Tsui and Whampoa. Between them, the three firms run 4,350 minibuses. Replacing all of them with hybrids would cut annual greenhouse gas emissions by 160,000 tonnes, GMI said.

Lo said a fully charged battery would last 450 kilometres at 80km/h, after which the diesel engine would kick in. That would make the hybrid no different in operation from a conventional minibus, which clocked about 300 kilometres a day, he said.

Chan Man-chun, of AMS Public Transport, which bought eight of the hybrids, said the government's green transport fund paid HK\$900,000 for each of the HK\$1.33 million hybrids. A diesel version costs about HK\$600,000.

"The industry has long been looking for such environment-friendly minibuses but... the latest Euro V model simply does not fit our operations," he said.

Euro V minibuses have a filter which, under continuous running, automatically cleans out carbon monoxide. It is unsuitable for Hong Kong minibuses, which stop a lot, so the engines won't generate enough heat to burn out accumulated particles, which could lead to breakdowns.



Financial secretary John Tsang (third left) and others at the minibus launch. Photo: May Tse

CITY DIGEST

Leung and Xi to meet at Apec summit in Bali

Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying and President Xi Jinping (習近平) will meet in a week's time at their first Apec summit in Bali, a spokesman for Leung's office confirmed yesterday. It will be Leung's second overseas duty visit since he took office in July last year, and the first since he visited the US in June. Xi will deliver a speech at the summit.

Lo Wel and Ng Kang-chung

Tenants of Sunning Plaza in Causeway Bay are bidding farewell to the 31-year-old I.M. Pei-designed building, which is to be torn down for redevelopment.

A bar-restaurant, cake shop and office tenants had to move from the site yesterday.

"I feel like the sky today - crying," said John Palis, operations manager of the Inn Side Out bar and restaurant.

He started working there when it opened in 1999, but now he has had to close it.

"This place is one of a kind in Hong Kong - a big outdoor area with four palm trees."

The restaurant will reopen at the South China Athletic Association next month for association members and their guests.

A bigger, mixed-use office and retail complex with more retail space will be built on the site and in place of adjacent apartment building Sunning Court, which will also be demolished.

It has not yet been decided whether the open area used for the Inn Side Out's outdoor tables will be kept, said a spokesman for landlord Hysan Development.

place is an oasis in the urban area for people to feel what life is," said architect Joseph Tang Chun-sing, one of the restaurant's regular customers. "Making money is important, but you should maintain some integrity to society. Humans need this kind of space."

The building was Pei's first project in Hong Kong before his only other - the Bank of China Building in Central. Chun said it was a shame that such a precious building would be torn down. He said very few buildings of its class were left in Hong Kong.

Another customer, magazine food writer Brian Chung, had strong words for the developer.

way Bay for people to unwind. Greedy landlords like this are not helping Hong Kong or diversifying Hong Kong."

Palis said he has asked Hysan not to cut down the four palm trees. He told them Inn Side Out would try to take them to its new location.

Italian restaurant Da Domenico, next door, has already closed and was moving out yesterday.

Hysan has said the demolition is mainly to create offices for tenants moving out of Central. According to plans, the gross floor area will increase by about a quarter after the project is completed in 2018.

Tsui quit as head of the city's oldest university amid controversy over heavy-handed security arrangements during the visit of then Vice-Premier Li Keqiang (李克强) in August 2011 that overshadowed the university's centenary celebrations.

If approved by the university council Mathieson, 54, would become the university's 15th vice-chancellor and the first non-Chinese since Professor William Ian Rees Davies, who headed the 102-year-old institution from 2000 to 2002.

Mathieson has been active in teaching and medical research with his main clinical interest lying in autoimmune renal diseases.

Dr Leong Che-hung, chairman of the selection committee, said that candidates' nationalities were never part of their considerations.

"HKU is an international university; we just want to choose the best person for the job," he said. "Mathieson has experience heading a big faculty and carrying out school reform. I am sure he could take the helm and lead HKU to the next stage."

HKU Students' Union



If appointed I will do my utmost ... to take the university to new heights

PROFESSOR PETER MATHIESON

ment, but also great communication, management and fundraising skills," Tang said.

Tsui apologised to students and alumni at least four times after three students were detained by police during Li's visit to the Pok Fu Lam campus.

A review committee subsequently found that police used "unjustifiable" and "unreasonable" force to contain some student protesters.

HEALTH

Paediatric services boosted to meet new demand

Emily Tsang

emily.tsang@scmp.com

Paediatric services in another group of public hospitals are facing increasing pressure from the medical needs of children born in the city to mainland parents, although this year's "zero quota" policy banning such births has eased the strain on the maternity wards.

Hospitals in New Territories East - located along the railway line - are seeing a surge in cross-border demand because of their proximity to the mainland, said the group's chief executive Dr Fung Hong as he announced the hospitals' annual plan yesterday.

To ease the pressure, a few new paediatric doctors will be hired and at least 18 paediatric beds will be added to the hospitals this year, he said.

"The mainland parents who delivered their children in Hong Kong may not leave after their children are born. Some bring them back for treatment when they have medical needs," said Fung.

"That is why there is an increasing demand for services in the paediatric speciality."

Last week, the Hong Kong West group also said it had to boost its capacity to cater to Hong Kong-born mainland youngsters who came to the city to seek treatment for serious illnesses.

From 2008 until Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying banned births to mainlanders, up to 40,000 babies a year were born to mainland parents in the city.

Fung said Leung's policy had eased the burden on maternity services, but predicted that the demand for other medical services catering to this group of

children would continue to grow in the coming years.

The New Territories East group would also expand other services to meet local demand, including opening two new ophthalmology clinic rooms that would allow 4,000 more admissions a year, he said.

The group - which comprises the Prince of Wales, Alice Ho Miu Ling Nethersole and Sha Tin hos-

pitals - was currently suffering a shortage of 20 doctors in all specialities, Fung said, adding that this was a citywide problem.

Meanwhile, Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Jordan, which has seen a rise in carriers of the superbug vancomycin-resistant enterococci in its patients, yesterday announced it would start pre-screening patients.

Besides screening patients for contact tracing purposes, the hospital would also collect and test specimens from all existing patients in the coming weeks, a hospital spokesman said.

The hospital made the decision upon University of Hong Kong microbiologist Yuen Kwok-yung's advice, after it was estimated 10 per cent of its patients were carriers of the potentially deadly, drug-resistant bug. The overall rate of carriers in all public hospitals is less than 1 per cent.



MARK SIX

No tickets won the first and second prizes in last night's draw. The numbers were 1, 11, 29, 40, 43, 44 and the extra number was 4. Third prize, which paid HK\$134,660, was won by 31 tickets.

Man who tied up ex-lover in suicide bid

An unemployed man who admitted to tying up his ex-girlfriend in order to force her to watch him kill himself has attempted suicide in jail.

Steve Chan Chi-yuen, 30, was awaiting sentencing for falsely imprisoning his horse-racing commentator ex-girlfriend Chan Sze-ki, 33, for 12 hours in her Sha Tin flat on May 21. When Chan failed to appear in court yesterday, his lawyer informed the court that Chan had tried to kill himself in his prison cell the night before. The man was discovered and is receiving treatment in hospital. The judge adjourned Chan's sentencing to October 28.

US Air Force chief visits local army garrison

The chief of staff of the US Air Force, General Mark Welsh, visited the PLA Hong Kong Garrison's base in Shek Kong on Sunday. He met PLA Air Force Commander General Ma Xiaotian and Central Military Commission vice-chairman Xu Qiliang last week. He is the first US Air Force chief of staff to visit the country in 15 years.

COURTS

'Embarrassing' delay in trolley rage case

Thomas Chan

thomas.chan@scmp.com

A barrister was due to be sentenced yesterday after being found guilty of pinning a supermarket manager against a shelf with a shopping trolley.

But the bizarre drama continued in Kowloon City Court when Lau Sai-luk, 57, asked to delay the sentencing because he wanted to submit a blood test report, prompting confusion in the court.

Magistrate Abu Bakar bin Wahab granted the unusual adjournment, but criticised Lau for "embarrassing" his lawyer by forcing him to make such a request.

Earlier the court heard that Lau, who was a regular customer at the Market Place supermarket in the K11 shopping mall in Tsim Sha Tsui, pinned its manager Wong Ah-yuen against a shelf using a shopping trolley.

Wong raised his hands and asked: "Sir, what is the matter?" Lau replied: "I have to dodge you, so I hit you with the trolley."

The barrister then shoved Wong with his trolley a second time. The attack left Wong with "tenderness" in his right thigh, according to a prosecution medical report.

While the first assault could have been an accident, the magistrate said, the second must have been intentional.

Lau had pleaded not guilty to the assault charge.

Defence lawyer Albert Luk Wai-hung said his client would need a three-week adjournment to prepare his blood test and medical reports, and collect mitigation letters from different charity organisations.

Luk also asked the court to consider sentencing options of "conditional discharge" or "absolute discharge".

"If I were your barrister, I would feel embarrassed for saying all this in court," the magistrate said. "I'm showing compassion, so I will let you get the reports."

Lau will now be sentenced on October 21, pending probation and community service reports.

BUSINESS



**Role change
HKEx should leave
regulation to SFC
after Alibaba saga**

> WHITE COLLAR B2

**Resolution centre
More mainland
firms come to HK to
settle disputes**

> ARBITRATION B4

**Snapshot
H-share index: 10,316.12
-178.24 points, 1.7%
Top blue-chip mover:
Cosco Pacific
-3.89%**



**Cost of openness
What awaits if
controls on capital
movements end?**

> MONITOR B8



MARKETS

HK CAPITAL RAISINGS EXTEND SLIDE

Risk aversion on prospect of Fed tapering sees decline in money raised in city's equity and debt markets for first nine months of the year

Ray Chan
ray.utchan@scmp.com

The amount of capital raised in Hong Kong's equity and Hong Kong dollar debt markets has slowed for a second consecutive quarter after investors became more risk-averse, with money flowing back to developed markets amid concerns over the US Federal Reserve's tapering agenda.

Fears of the mainland's mounting debt problems after a credit-fuelled boom that began

in 2008, an upcoming debate on the United States' fiscal ceiling and the Fed's likely winding down of its US\$85 billion-a-month bond-buying programme have weighed on investor sentiment around the world. These concerns triggered a reversal in global money flows into safe haven US treasuries and stocks.

In the first nine months of this year, the capital raised in Hong Kong's equity markets – including initial and secondary offerings as well as the sale of convertible bonds – dropped by 23 per cent from the same period last

year to US\$27.5 billion. The decline marked the slowest nine-month period since 2008, according to data compiled by Thomson Reuters.

Despite a slew of poor trading performances after listings, initial public offering issuance rose 39 per cent to US\$7.6 billion in 43 deals in the first three quarters. This was mainly thanks to two state-owned enterprises – China Galaxy Securities and Sinopec Engineering – that raised a combined US\$2.9 billion in May.

The decline in capital raisings this year was largely attributed to

a sharp drop in secondary offerings, including rights issues, block trades and the big-ticket, club-style deals that target a handful of institutional investors.

Bank of America's US\$1.5 billion sale of its remaining 1 per cent stake in China Construction Bank last month was one of the few high-profile transactions for the third quarter. It became the latest in a string of US banks to exit Asian investments amid the risk of rising bad loans.

IPO bankers say Hong Kong's listing market will see a number of small deals, including the listing of a pawnshop and a distributor of imported drugs, as well as China Cinda Asset Management's long-anticipated US\$2

billion share sale. This is likely to be the largest capital-raising activity this year. Bankers said Cinda, one of the four bad-asset managers set up to manage the mainland's non-performing loans in the late 1990s, may kick off pre-deal investor education next month.

With the mainland's non-performing loans expected to shoot up significantly over the next few years, Cinda's offering may require cornerstone subscriptions amounting to about 20 per cent of the entire deal, according to a banker close to the deal.

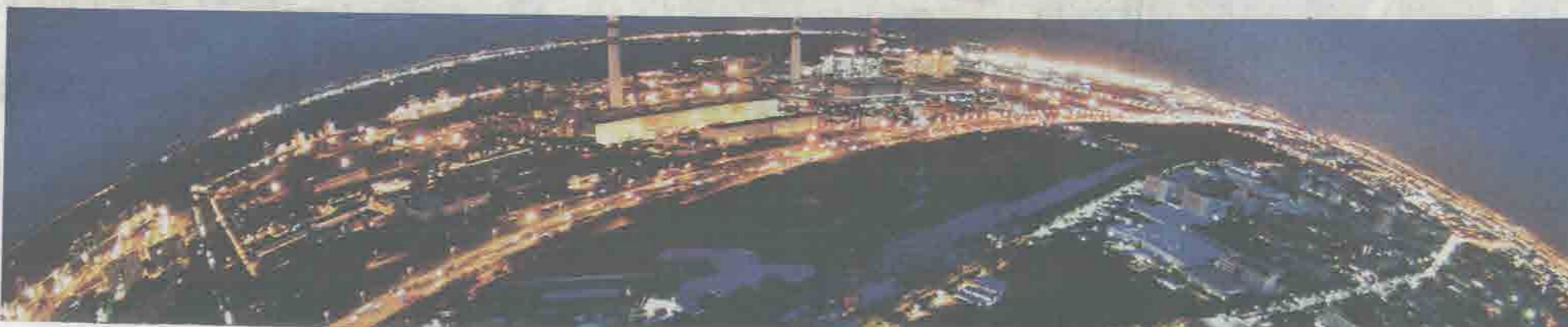
Data compiled by Thomson Reuters showed that Goldman Sachs and UBS remained in the top two positions in the league

table for Hong Kong underwriters. HSBC, which reorganised its investment banking arm in mid-August, moved up substantially to third place, from ninth last year, at the expense of Bank of America Merrill Lynch, which slid to eighth.

In the interest rate-sensitive bond market, Hong Kong dollar-denominated bond issuance plunged more than 45 per cent to US\$7.4 billion in 201 deals in the first nine months, making it the worst nine-month period since 2000. The dim sum bond market – an offshore borrowing vehicle in yuan – rose by 8 per cent to US\$20.9 billion.

> OUTLOOK B3

INVESTMENT



Wenzhou Shipyard raise HK\$2.8b

Wenzhou Shipyard is to raise \$2.82 billion by issuing 387.45 million new shares to parent shipbuilding giant CSSC's subsidiary CSSC Baosteel Resources and Shipping HK at HK\$7.29 a share, a discount of 5.3 per cent to the last traded price, according to a filing to the Hong Kong Exchange.

New World hotel unit revisits trust plan

Acquisitions eyed as renovation and partial closure of Grand Hyatt hit company's revenue

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ports keep factories on growth path

the slack, climbing above the 50-point mark separating expansion from contraction to 50.7, from 47.2 in August. After seasonal adjustments, however, the expansion was slight, HSBC said yesterday.

HSBC Purchasing Index (PMI) edged up September from August, although that was Beijing's flash reading of domestic orders weaker than preliminary suggested. Export orders picked up

the slack, climbing above the 50-point mark separating expansion from contraction to 50.7, from 47.2 in August. After seasonal adjustments, however, the expansion was slight, HSBC said yesterday.

50.2

The final HSBC Purchasing Managers' Index nudged up to this level last month

Still, the data should support financial markets and comfort investors eager to see the mainland economy stabilise, even if the revival is likely feeble and perhaps even short-lived.

Qu Hongbin, an HSBC economist, said stronger manufacturing growth was driven by companies replenishing their stocks, albeit slowly.

"Growth is bottoming out on Beijing's mini-stimulus," Qu said, noting, however, that growth in domestic demand was unchanged from August.

Beijing's policy action and a firmer United States economy - the second-biggest buyer of mainland exports after Europe - have put a floor beneath the

mainland's economic growth, which has slowed in 12 of the past 14 quarters.

To reinvigorate economic expansion, the central government has fast-forwarded infrastructure investment, lowered taxes for small companies, and sustained spending in public housing.

But analysts warn that the mild pick-up in the mainland's economy could fizzle if Beijing keeps its promise and enacts financial reforms that include curbing state investment, a move that would hurt growth in coming months.

There are also signs in parts of the PMI poll that the economy is not out of the woods yet. The survey showed that factories cut jobs

Shanghai's new free-trade zone is seen more attractive than other planned zones as it is expected to get more high-level support and wider policy coverage. Photo: Xinhua

Qianhai bypassed, as firms head for Shanghai

New free-trade zone attracts ventures planned for Shenzhen base, raising concern in HK

George Chen
george.chen@scmp.com

Qianhai first, Hong Kong next? While Hong Kong officials have been concerned about the impact of Shanghai's free-trade zone, it seems it is already stealing business from Qianhai.

Financial industry sources said several domestic and global firms that had originally planned to set up shop in Qianhai - the smaller special economic zone only an hour's drive from Hong Kong - were seriously considering the 29 square kilometre free-

trade zone in Shanghai instead. China Taiping Life Insurance, one of the mainland's biggest and oldest life insurers, and China Petroleum & Chemical Corp (Sinopec) are among the firms rethinking their options.

The sources, who asked not to be named, said the two companies originally planned to set up a pension fund management joint venture in Qianhai but later decided to base it in the new Shanghai zone, which was officially launched on Sunday.

"The Shanghai free-trade zone has definitely attracted more attention than Qianhai

from the financial industry mainly because people believe Shanghai gets far more high-level support and wider policy coverage than Qianhai," said one of the sources.

"The impact of Shanghai will be felt in the whole of China or even the rest of the world, but Qianhai's impact will be limited to Hong Kong-related businesses."

Senior executives at Taiping Life and Sinopec had several rounds of meetings with Qianhai officials, who invited them to pick Qianhai as home for their new ventures.

According to the sources, Qianhai officials recently told them the two companies might not be in a rush to set up their

ventures there as they believed Shanghai would offer a more open business environment and wider industry access.

Just about a year ago, Qianhai, the 15 square kilometre special economic zone in Shenzhen, was named by the central bank as the testing ground for full yuan convertibility. Qianhai officials and the central bank have said Qianhai would focus on its financial ties with Hong Kong, which is already the biggest offshore yuan centre.

The creation of the free-trade zone in Shanghai has already led to questions about how different it would be from Qianhai as both the zones are to experiment with yuan-related reforms.

Analysts have also been won-

dering just how free the new Shanghai zone would be. On Monday, the government issued a "negative list" of sectors, including media and publishing and gambling, in which foreign entities will not be allowed to participate.

With the launch of the free-trade zone in Shanghai, which ANZ China chief economist Liu Ligang said would be "just another offshore yuan trading centre after Hong Kong that will compete with Hong Kong in some aspects", some analysts, investors and Hong Kong politicians have been getting increasingly concerned that Hong Kong's leading role in the region's financial industry may be undercut.



While factory orders inched up, jobs are being shed. Photo: AFP

for the sixth consecutive month in September as workers resigned and firms downsized.

And although output and new orders were shown to have grown last month, HSBC noted that ex-

pansion was fractional after seasonal adjustments.

In fact, it said some companies reported a contraction in output, citing unstable economic conditions.

Charlotte So and Ray Chan

NW Hotel Investments, the hotel arm of New World Development, has seen the average room rate for its three Hong Kong hotels soften due to the renovation of the Grand Hyatt, which started at the beginning of the year.

NW Hotel, which postponed a US\$700 million trust listing plan in Hong Kong in June, released updated financial figures for its three hotels yesterday.

Sources said management was launching a two-week pre-marketing campaign to gauge investors' appetite for implied yield in light of a potential interest rate increase when the US Federal Reserve decides to taper its bond-buying programme. The timetable, if any, for the trust listing plan is scheduled to be formulated by next Friday.

Part of the proceeds will be used to repay NW Hotel's bank borrowing, which would amount to HK\$8 billion upon its listing, a document filed with the stock exchange showed.

The blended room rate of the three hotels operated by the company fell slightly to HK\$2,470 per night in the year ended June from HK\$2,484 a year earlier. The dip was mainly attributed to the Grand Hyatt's room renovation project, which started in January and will continue until 2016, with the average room rate falling to HK\$3,303 from HK\$3,345. The room rate at the Hyatt Regency Tsim Sha Tsui rose 7 per cent to HK\$2,137, while the Renaissance Harbour View Hotel averaged HK\$2,153, similar to last year.

Operating profit from the Grand Hyatt dropped 11 per cent to HK\$313.8 million, but rose 11 per cent at the Renaissance Harbour View to HK\$242.8 million and increased by 9 per cent at the Hyatt Regency Tsim Sha Tsui to HK\$149.6 million.

Food and beverage sales, which account for 43 per cent of total revenue, fell slightly to HK\$724.6 million in the year ended June from HK\$746.8 million the previous year. The Grand Hyatt's ballroom closed for four months in the first half of the year, contributing to the drop.

The planned acquisition of the Hyatt Regency Hong Kong, Sha Tin, was derailed in June after Chinese University refused to transfer the hotel's development agreement. But the firm hopes to acquire other hotels which are owned or managed by its parent, namely the new Pentahotel Hong Kong and the hotel portion of the New World Centre redevelopment in Tsim Sha Tsui.

93萬內地客湧港

黃金周炒起iPhone 5s

【本報訊】內地十一黃金周今天展開，料逾93萬名內地客湧到，更帶動曾回落的iPhone 5s炒價再升。內地



黃金周料逾93萬名內地客光購物。曾顯華攝



被告韓蘇文有濫收車資前科。資料圖片

【本報訊】有濫收車資前科之的士司機，於廣東道接載一對內地夫婦遊客往旺角，其間趁幫夫婦整理車尾箱的購物紙袋，偷去一隻柏德菲臘名貴腕錶及一對GUCCI涼鞋，總值約16.6萬元。司機昨天承認盜竊罪，獲准保釋，等候感化官及社會服務令報告候判。據案例，有偷乘客財物的司機被判監。

被告韓蘇文(50歲)以往在一次警方臥底行動中，濫收車資數百元，去年獲輕判社服令100小時。今年7月3日晚上10時半，他在尖沙嘴廣東道接載事主夫婦，當時妻子手持四個購物紙袋，其中三個的袋口均有貼紙封住。丈夫先上車，留下妻子跟被告在車尾箱整理紙袋。

事主曾當兵 警覺性高

妻子上車後發現銀包留在紙袋，遂折回車尾，當時見紙袋口的貼紙無損，找回銀包後上車。丈夫則經倒後鏡見被告在車尾箱整理，約20秒後才上車。

當的士抵達目的地朗豪坊，被告下車從車尾箱取出紙袋交給事主，隨即開車絕塵而去。事主卻發現紙袋口的貼紙全被撕開，失去一隻柏德菲臘腕錶及一對GUCCI涼鞋。由於事主記下的士車牌，於是報警。警方證實的士以被告兄弟的姓名登記，從而成功拘捕被告，起回價值逾十多萬元的名錶，價值1,890元的涼鞋則無法尋回。

案件原定昨天開審，但被告改口認罪，案件押後10月21日判刑。事主夫婦在庭外指由蘇州多次來港旅遊十多次，從商的姓錢丈夫自稱昔日曾當兵，警覺性較高，妻子則指每地也有好人或壞人。過往有的士司機因偷取乘客財物被判監。今年初，司機龍沛然待乘客下車後，開車載走車尾箱內約七萬元的財物，判囚四個月；另一名司機馮劍威則與乘客因車資鬧翻，將乘客的行李丟棄排水渠，判監10周。

案件編號：蘋果網睇片

偷蘇州客名錶的士司機候懲

Chinese Government's STATE TERRORISM Against Falun Gong



The Falun Gong Human Rights Working Group Newsletter Special Edition, 2004

Nation Attempt on Falun Practitioners in South Africa

On 14, at around 8:30 p.m., five Falun Gong practitioners were ambushed at O.R. Tambo International Airport to Pretoria, the capital of South Africa. A car came up from behind and opened fire with an AK-47. The practitioners tried to change their speed to dodge the attack, but were hit and continued to shoot. The practitioners' car was forced off the road; the injured driver managed to stop in a ditch and watched for a few seconds, then fled the scene.

This is by no means a simple homicide attempt. The victims were nine Falun Gong practitioners from Australia who were protesting against China's Vice President, Zeng Qinghong, and the Premier, Bo Xilai, who were visiting South Africa from June 27 to July 1. The practitioners were charged with genocide, and crimes against humanity. Even before they left, they had received two threatening phone calls. When they arrived at O.R. Tambo International Airport, they noticed a suspicious-looking man following them. In addition, Mr. David Liang, the driver who was wearing a Falun Gong jacket. The South African police noted that the area is a high-crime area. The gunmen obviously did not want to rob the practitioners. These factors point towards a political motive for this shooting.

A hasty statement on June 30 issued by China's embassy in South Africa only adds to the suspicion. As the representative of Chinese nationals

Ms. Gao's Face Charred with Electric Batons

Ms. Gao Rongrong, 36, was an employee of the finance office of Shenyang City's Luxun Fine Arts Institute in Liaoning Province. At the beginning of the nationwide persecution of Falun Gong in 1999, Ms. Gao was already considered as a key target of the persecution. As a result, her employer fired her.



Ms. Gao Rongrong

In July 2003, Ms. Gao was arrested for her beliefs and sent to the Longshan Labor Camp. On March 22, 2004, Ms. Gao refused to slander Falun Gong, so Tang Yubao, the deputy chief of the second brigade in the labor camp, dragged her from the upper level of her bunk bed down to the floor. He then took her by the throat and dragged her outside in order to beat her. Guards then took Ms. Gao to the management office and cuffed her to a heating pipe. They punched and kicked her, and shocked her with electric batons on her head, face, neck, hands and feet for over half an hour continuously. Later the director of the labor camp, Li Fengshi, came in and said to Ms. Gao, "This is a despotic place; otherwise what's the use of handcuffs and electric batons here? I don't believe we cannot handle you, Gao Rongrong."

The torture seriously impaired Ms. Gao's health. She suffered from liver pain, stomach pain, vomiting, loss of appetite and intermittent fever. She became deaf in her ear after Tang Yubao slapped her. The chief of the first brigade Yue Jun or-



「打」形容他們不顧及別人感受。

本報預料有關店舖生意大減，「要適應嘍，呢陣健康」。據稱，旅社安插可達60%。旅發局則為萬內地客來港，創人數會增長。此消彼長下，今年升4至5%至93萬要求內地客旅遊時守秩

果網睇片
www.appledaily.com.hk

「低」

絕，惟並非所有零售執行董事林慶麟指，「代表生意好」，「啲人奶粉呢？我哋應該睇係單純睇旅客數字」。港人數增加，消費力賣商，銀行近期生意大眾化的莎莎、卓悅等更受惠。有到訪銅鑼灣直擊，遊客的看法負面。有快，曾試過在未有多人圍住自己的狗撓我隻狗，當毛公

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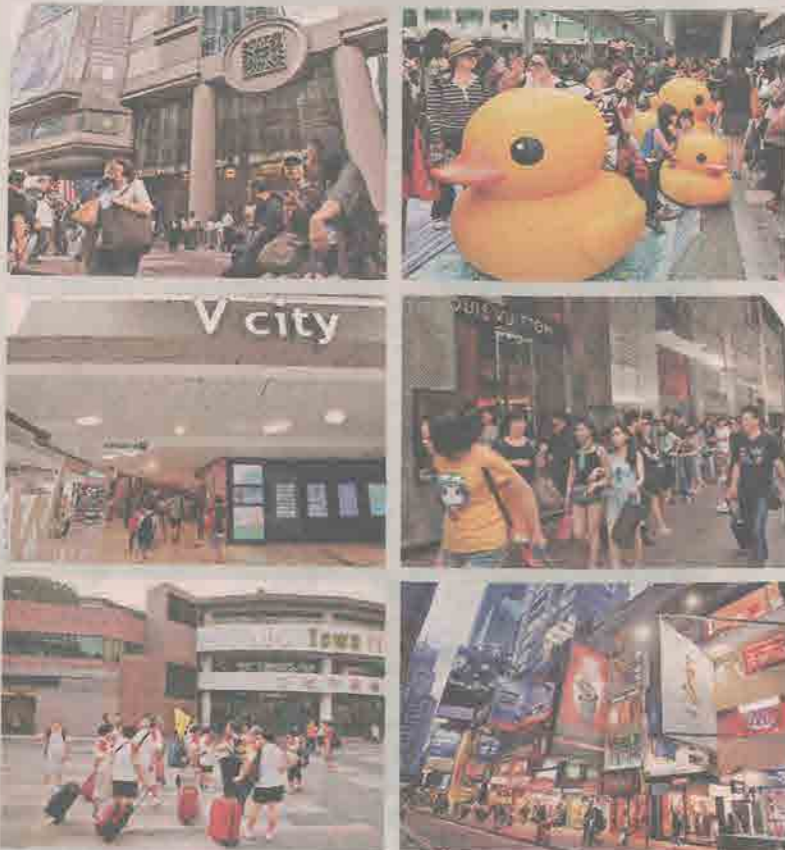
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「新四大產業」佔領大商場 店舖「大陸化」港人無街行



■各區大商場內的店舖，由於都想吸引內地旅客，結果令「新大產業」橫行，商場再無特色，過去港人行商場當娛樂的日子，恐怕已成追憶！ (資料圖片)

“ 明天又是十一國慶，更同樣是有「十一黃金周」之稱的旅遊業高峰期的開始，當數以萬計的內地旅客來港消費，對香港的零售業而言，便是一年一度「衝」銷售額的大日子。

今年是內地開放自由行的十周年，十年前香港因爆發沙士令經濟受重創，多得梁振英當年成功說服內地推出「自由行政策」，不單令他成為了「自由行之父」，更令香港經濟急速反彈。但是，當十年過去，卻似乎有愈來愈多港人從「多得梁振英」變成「多得梁振英唔少」，因為引入自由行令香港發展嚴重傾斜，以至內地旅客「塞爆」香港，已影響到香港人的日常生活。

老紀本月中曾撰文分析，指內地旅客急增時，會把原來中西文化滙集、多元價值交流的香港，慢慢推向單一化。老紀進一步比較全港多個大型商場及購物街後，更發現現時這些港人傳統行街購物地點，幾乎盡皆「淪陷」，取而代之是被「新四大產業」包括「時裝名店」、「電子產品」、「美容化妝護理」及「珠寶首飾」等店舖「佔領」，無怪乎香港雖被美譽為「購物天堂」，但在早前的全球選舉中，就因多元化程度不夠而只能位居第六了。

美國有線新聞網旅遊 (CNN Travel) 早前參考各界專家意見，評選出世界 10 大最佳購物城市，雖然有「購物天堂」美譽的香港仍然榜上有名，但卻只排名第六，而同屬亞洲城市的日本東京及馬來西亞吉隆坡就分別排第二及四位，至於排榜首的，就是美國紐約。而英國倫敦就排第三。

CNN 的評選是根據四項標準，包括方便出行 (如公共交通質素)、價值 (如是否多特價)、多元化 (各類購物類別是否夠多) 及體驗 (店員服務效率及友善度)。而香港由於在多元化及價值兩項指標，僅得 6 分及 5 分，明顯反映多元化程度不夠，而其實更因在方便出行指標中取得 10 分滿分，才拉高了排名，不然排名隨時更低呢！

然而，明明大家平日走到街中，滿眼都是金碧輝煌的商店，更遑論香港有數十個大型購物商場，內裏應有盡有，何以在「多元化」上仍被評低分？或許簡單的比較，足以讓人了解實況！

現時香港多個大型商場，均有設立網頁，同時載列「購買指南」，把商場內的店舖分門別類，老紀就選了十多個分布港九及新界的大型商場【表】，粗略統計商場內的店舖數字。結果發現，現時的商場幾乎都已由四大類的店舖主導，他們正是「時裝名店」、「電子產品」、「美容化妝護理」及「珠寶首飾」。這四大類店舖不單在遊客區大行其道，甚至連位於新市鎮的商場亦同樣「劫數難逃」。

香港過去一直把金融業、貿易及物流業、旅遊業和工商業支援及專業服務業並稱為四大支柱產業，梁振英上台後，由他親任主席的「經濟發展委員會」就設下航運業、會展及旅遊業、製造

、高新科技及文化創意產業和專業服務業這四個小組，意味四大產業要出現改變，而其實，單是觀察這些專為遊客而出現的店舖之變化，似乎「新四大產業」已在暗地裏誕生了。

究竟這個「新四大產業」如何攻陷香港的商場？

例子一，有位於將軍澳的新都城中心，過去一直以服務將軍澳區居民為主，但去年就開設了連鎖服裝店 Zara，此外還有 H&M。而眾所周之，它們都列入自由行旅客最愛的店舖榜，過去只能在海港城、時代廣場等「地標級」商場找到，H&M 更曾經只得一間旗艦店在中環，但他們原來已不約而同殺入住宅區。而類似情況，也出現在屯門的 V City，該商場被指是開宗明義瞄準內地客，商舖名單卻跟海港城與時代廣場等不遑多讓。

另一個現象，就是多個大型商場內，都是由時裝服飾店佔大多數，其次是美容化妝類商戶，然後是珠寶首飾，最後就是電子產品 (是因只由數家大型連鎖店壟斷了市場有關吧)。而其他類別的商店如百貨、書店等，都已儼如鳳毛麟角。老紀去年曾撰文，報道沙田心臟兼地標建築的沙田新城市廣場，為求吸引大量內地自由行旅客光顧，引入多間國際品牌，而在商場內經營四分之一世紀的商務印書館，也因此結業並遷到偏遠的舖位才能繼續經營，事件一度激發網民發起「光復新城市」行動。而新城市廣場的現況，就是原來商務的舖位，已被數間知名時裝品牌「瓜分」。

自由行大陸客除了愛買衫，另外的「嗜好」就是買金及買電子產品，故商場內這類的店舖也愈開愈多。以老紀公司身處的觀塘區為例，附近

的 apm 內就有數間金行，而最大的變化，是售賣電子產品的樓層愈擴愈大，而部分店舖的店員，更會迹近條件反射般以普通話招待。

翻查資料，原來恒基旗下的多個大商場，於 2011 年舉辦了 105 團購物團並招待逾 5000 名內地旅客，去年就加碼至 150 團，而 apm 在 2011 年更招待過 258 團共約 1.2 萬名的內地旅客到商場購物，難怪內地旅客能「喧賓奪主」了。大型商場「淪陷」，但就算走到街頭，情況其實也相若，甚至更出現了第五大產業，就是藥房呢！

老紀上星期就去過銅鑼灣羅素街視察，全長約 150 公尺的街上，共有 9 間珠寶首飾名表店，另有三間美容護膚店，此外就有一間精品時裝品牌及一間銀行矣。但翻查谷歌街境地圖，於 2011 年 7 月拍攝的羅素街，店舖明顯更多元化，最少有數間時裝店，且是一般市民會入去閒逛及購買的品牌。

移師九龍廣東道，該條現時名店林立的街道，近年被人譏稱已成了「北京道」，因為在街上聽到普通話多過廣東話，而從谷歌街境地圖上攝於 2011 年 2 月的照片可見，當時仍有食肆糖朝、台灣牛肉麵與中國廚房，但現時都盡皆消失。

自由行自 03 年實施以來，今年剛好步入第十個年頭，而來港的旅客，不少人更逛悶了傳統位於遊客區的商場，改為轉攻住宅區商場去，一來人流較少，也隨時有意外驚喜，卻令這些地區商場找到新商機。

問題是，香港商場其實一向有其定位分類，例如地標式商場如海港城和時代廣場，客源多是香港市民與遊客，而一些屬區域型的商場如沙田新城市廣場及 apm 等，就服務當區居民；至於街坊型商場，就是用來滿足市民的日常需要。

不過，隨着商場要遷就自由行，結果便導致港人的選擇買少見少，不同商場的商戶組合更幾乎一樣。然而，本地港人與自由行旅客，對商場內商戶的要求又豈會相同？前者期望多元化，把逛商場視作消閒、娛樂和消費的節目，但旅行逛商場，除了 shopping 以外，恐怕便是「血拼」 (兩者正是同一樣行為)，而商場利字當頭，新四大產業的店舖便愈開愈多，同時也令其他特色小商店更難站得住腳。至於一些純粹為便民而存在的商戶，更成了率先被淘汰的對象。最少老紀已很久沒在商場見到有文具舖，甚至連涼茶舖都不能立足了。

新「四大產業」於部分大商場的形勢

地區	商場	連鎖時裝服裝	電子產品	美容化妝護理	珠寶首飾
銅鑼灣	時代廣場	105	16	24	30
金鐘	太古廣場	70+	3	14	24
中環	IFC Mall	70	8	21	42
太古城	太古城中心	75+	3	12	8
旺角	朗豪坊	84	0	57	13
旺角	新世紀廣場	29	5	28	14
觀塘	APM	58	9	20	12
西九	圓方	70	3	18	28
尖沙咀	K11	33	4	16	13
尖沙咀	海港城	200+	26	100+	50
沙田	新城市廣場	90	13	38	26
將軍澳	新都城中心	60	15	29	24
屯門	V City	35	4	23	15

資料來源：各商場網頁

萬名蒙面「馬英九」街頭怒反馬英九

昨天的台北，籠罩着一股「倒馬」氣氛。這些「馬英九」，要反的，正正是馬英九。

不同的團體在這一天發起三場反總統馬英九活動。第一

貧窮線非常線 中位數非常數

·遲至2013年始制定貧窮線，並定於住戶入息中位數的一半。可是，有官方貧窮線又怎樣？貧窮線有什麼用途？是否有用？須注意的是，親身上陣主打貧窮線的林鄭月娥已表明，貧窮線不等同扶貧線，政府不會據此訂定介入措施的門檻。

Charles Booth 和 Seebohm Rowntree 等社會學者最初提出貧窮線，是按照一般家庭為維持日常健康地生活而必須付出的租金、燃料、食物、衣物等而去訂定。而特區政府如今提出的貧窮線，則是參照住戶入息中位數去訂定，因此會隨經濟波動和工資走勢而升降。

可是，最基層的市民日常生活的開支，又是否真的隨入息中位數的起伏而按相同的幅度上落？

實情是，每當經濟逆轉向下，基層市民比其他打工仔更容易面臨失業或開工不足，負擔能力大減，劏房、天台屋等不妥善的住屋便會反而因為需求增加而變得渴市，租金上升。這些都是不少市民實實在在的生活經驗，卻顯然不是整天坐在政府合署辦公室裏頭的官員有心有力去知道的事實。

再說，即使是住戶入息中位數，亦落後一些基本生活所需的物價增幅。翻查數據，2013年第2季的住戶入息中位數為21,900元，2012年同期為20,600元，2011年則為19,600元。按年計算，2013年較2012年上升6.3%，2012年較2011年則上升5.1%。

但以住屋為例，2013年私人住屋的甲類消費物價指數較2012年上升6.8%，至於2012年跟2011年相比則上升7.6%。食品方面，不包括外出用膳的甲類物價指數變化，2013年較2012年上升雖只上升4.7%，但2012年卻較2011年上升9.0%，遠遠高於同期住戶入息中位數的增長。

筆者有理由相信，倘若政府公布社會保障援助物價指數，大家當可更全面地看到住戶入息中位數增長如何落後於基層市民面對的通脹，看到在物價飆升當前，基層市民的實質收入其實是面對着負增長。單以住戶入息中位數去訂定官方貧窮線，顯然不夠全面。但姑且退一百萬步看，這條官定貧窮線根本就說不上是什麼指標或目標。

目前政府的扶貧措施，撇除不屬現金補助的公屋，計有綜援、書簿車船津貼、鼓勵就業交通津貼等，但入息上限五花八門，亦與貧窮線沒有掛鉤或關聯，而且在計及這些福利津貼後，貧窮人口仍只是由131萬人減至102萬人。倘若政府的確如林鄭司長所言，無意將貧窮線視為扶貧的指標，那當然沒辦法達至減貧。

九七前曾出任港府中央政策組首席顧問的顧汝德新書以《繁華底下的貧窮：香港施政失誤》(Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity)為書名，已簡明扼要的道出基層市民得到政府怎麼樣的對待。

大家或者要問，為何一個實質人均GDP達全球第8的經濟體(此為世界銀行數據，IMF數據更排名第6)，會有多達14%市民活在官定貧窮線以下？為何區區148億元的減貧開支，這個經年錄得大額盈餘的政府卻會付不起？

2005年起，歐、美多國都出現「Make Poverty History」(讓貧窮成為歷史)的倡議。8年後，香港特區行政長官卻甘逆世界潮流，聲言減貧不是政府政策目標，不可能完全減貧。或者，在特區的紅太陽底下，貧窮只會永遠不可能解決，就如死海「理論上」永遠不可能乾涸。



場在總統官邸外，第二場在國父紀念館，第三場則在總統府外的凱達格蘭大道，主辦單位說有五萬人參加，台北警方就估計最高峰時有5500人。其中，團體「九二九怒火聯盟」表示活動有4項訴求，包括修法降低罷免門檻、廢除特偵組、馬英九道歉認錯，並辭去國民黨主席。示威中，有示威者用鞋擲向寫上馬英九、江宜樺、吳敦義等名字的九宮格，以示不滿，亦有示威者戴上馬英九的面具跑步，諷刺他不敢面對群眾，是逃跑行為。

傳有意參加台北市長選舉的台大醫生柯文哲也有到場，他表示，執政者的民意支持率這麼低，應該反省，為何與民意相差甚遠，總統府發言人就表示，馬英九理解、尊重不同訴求，會持續與各界溝通。根據台灣指標民調，馬英九最新的支持率只有21%，情況相當嚴峻。但回望香港，行政長官梁振英最新的評分雖然重回45分警戒線之上，至45.7分，但支持率只比馬英九高7% (支持率為28%)，反對率為56%，民望淨值更為負28個百分比。此時此刻的梁振英，又會否「尊重不同訴求，會持續與各界溝通」？ (法新社圖片)

非中國籍香港永久居民投訴梁特歧視

老紀日前提到，咱們的特首率領經貿代表團到重慶訪問時，回應美國駐港總領事夏千福早前指，香港市民對政治制度要有最終話語權的說法，稱「香港的政改完全是我們中國人範圍內的事，在《基本法》已經寫得很清楚」，云云。老紀已指出《基本法》並沒有有關條文，而且咱們的特首所言可能涉及種族歧視。言猶在耳，老紀的疑問果然成真。這兩天老紀接獲不少老友查詢及投訴，其中不乏有在香港生活多年的非中國籍及非華裔的朋友。其中一位老友是香港永久性居民，同時也是登記選民，擁有投票權。換句話說，如果香港真的有真普選，屆時這位老友亦有份投票選出行政長官。既然如此，此事怎可能只跟中國人有關？老友更向老紀查詢，可否向平機會投訴咱們的特首種族歧視？但由於周末並非平機會的辦公時間，老紀未能代老友查詢，但今天的辦公時間內，老紀定會代老友向平機會跟進有關事件。

財爺打造「九龍城品牌」仍欠配套

財政司司長曾俊華昨日發表最新網誌，以「非一般的碼頭」為題，表示新落成的啟德郵輪碼頭，市民都期望碼頭全面投入運作後，能夠為該區帶來更多的客人和生意。他在網誌中更透露，欲將碼頭附近的九龍城一帶食肆，打造成一個形象鮮明的「美食之城」品牌，更指會參考盛智文打造「蘭桂坊」品牌。網誌中，財爺又猶如導遊上身，大數啟德郵輪碼頭的特別之處，如碼頭的泊位、天台花園、郵輪碼頭的兩個乘客等候大堂等。不過，由6月第一艘郵輪泊岸，到上星期的公眾開放，三個月內郵輪碼頭都被多次批評配套措施不足，似乎改善工作並未明顯。即使時至上星期，仍然有市民批評碼頭配套設施不足，如太多人候車，來往碼頭及市區的接駁巴士又經常「脫班」。另外，亦有指碼頭天台花園內並無設座椅，不方便長者，云云。如果財爺欲借碼頭發展

九龍城或鄰近地區，但不痛定思痛，提供完善地交通設施，一切奢望，只會更顯得是「話」上談兵。

特首辦會錯莫乃光之意

特首辦昨日煞有介事地發表聲明，回應就立法會議員莫乃光於香港電台英文台發表的《給香港的信》。莫乃光在《給香港的信》表示，特首梁振英並沒有兌現競選承諾成立科技及通訊局，又指雖然今屆立法會是支持成立科技局，但他在第一份《施政報告》中仍沒有承諾成立科技局 (CY Leung the chief executive in office told us in his first address to Legco last October that, no, he would not carry out his campaign promise to restructure the government secretariat)。

特首辦指，莫乃光的說法與事實並不相符。又指在現屆政府上任前，行政長官已提出政府總部架構重組方案，但上屆立法會因為「拉布」而未能表決有關重組方案，「若再次推動重組方案，將有可能重現上屆立法會拖拉的情況，於是行政長官才決定在短期內不再提出重組架構的建議」。然而，咱們的特首似乎會錯意，莫乃光其後公開表示，特首指的立法會拉布，「是上屆的立法會」。但他文中指立法會的支持，清楚是「今屆立法會對成立科技局 (或科技及通訊局) 一事的支持 (在上年度民建聯、經民聯及主要泛民政黨包括民主黨及公民黨，都曾經舉行或出席記者會支持成立科技局)」，而非特首辦所講的「政府總部架構重組方案」(即包括兩名副司長及文化局)。莫乃光又表示很可惜，因為特首辦就把上屆立法會反對整個政府總部架構重組，與今屆立法會主要政黨普遍支持分開成立科技局，「這兩件事，混為一談」。查老紀必須稱讚一下特首辦難得的「速度」，可惜，特首辦把議員希望分拆上市的科技局和整個政府總部架構重組方案混為一談，將反對整個架構重組等同反對成立科技局，又將科技局此「空頭支票」談過於上屆立法會的「拉布」，似乎有欠公允呢。



我就是推諉，不為人民辦事，不負責任！

融安縣長安國土所副所長 朱敏潔

日前有內地網民不齒融安縣長安國土所副所長朱敏潔在接受民眾諮詢辦證進度時，對老人無禮，又指自己並非為人民辦事，更涉嫌用硬物打傷老人的行為，於是將其目擊的過程寫在網絡上，並得到廣泛轉載。柳州市紀委監察局得知後，按照幹部管理許可權和有關程式，授權融安縣國土資源局對朱進行立案調查。最後，融安縣國土資源局根據《事業單位工作人員處分暫行規定》的有關規定，撤銷朱敏潔長安國土所副所長職務。雖然這次官方處理得非常迅速，但亦不禁令人想起一眾訪民。他們在上訪過程中，遇過無數阻礙，亦遇過不少不肯為他們處理上訪的官員們，在這些過程中，試問又有多少官員是真正為人民辦事？

1句到尾

Brooklyn Rally Celebrates 90 Million Quitting CCP

BY CATHERINE YANG
EPOCH TIMES STAFF

NEW YORK—Hundreds rallied in Brooklyn's Chinatown on Sunday to support over 90 million people who have quit the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) since December 2004.

The Tian Guo (Celestial Band) marching band in blue uniforms led hundreds of people who have recently quit the CCP and its affiliated organizations, as well as others who were there to support their decision, in a parade around the center of Chinatown.

The number of resignations reached the 90-million mark one month ago, and nearly two million more have quit the CCP since that time.

At the rally, speakers from various organizations supporting freedom in China urged the rest of the Chinese population to renounce the communist regime.

Dr. Dayong Li, spokesman for the Global Service for Quitting the Chinese Communist Party, said that the CCP in no way represents China or its people.

"Only by disbanding [the CCP] can the persecution of [China's] people be stopped. Only by disbanding the Party can their society be stable and at peace," he said. "Only without the Party can the Chinese people truly be free."

Li emphasized that China's communist regime has taken liberties away from its people. He said that although from the outside it may look like things have been improving since the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, the Chinese people are still denied basic rights.

The Global Service Center for Quitting the CCP is a nonprofit organization established in 2005. It has over 100 service centers in more than 30 countries.

About 25 people who recently withdrew from the CCP stood by the colorful banners and held certificates verifying their withdrawal. Many more came up to resign on the spot during the rally.

Mr. Xiang Huang, an advocate for democracy in China, stood for the third consecutive year with those who had quit the



QUITTING THE PARTY: Members of several pro-democracy groups rallied in Brooklyn's Chinatown on Sunday to acknowledge the over 90 million Chinese people who have officially resigned from the Chinese Communist Party. (Dai Bing/The Epoch Times)

CCP. He said he hoped this would be the last time, expressing his hope that maybe this time next year, the CCP will have already been dissolved.

"What's happening around the world? Just this word: democracy," he said, referencing the recent protests springing up in the Middle East. "And the number one perpetrator is China—because it holds the most power over its people. This is a very crucial time."

Dr. Zhi Yuan Wang, president of the World Organization to Investigate the Per-

secution of Falun Gong (WOIPFG), urged the Chinese people to make an effort to understand what the CCP has done to the country, adding torture to the list of reasons this is not a party one would want to be associated with.

Beginning in 1999, the CCP has severely persecuted Falun Gong, a peaceful meditation practice that teaches truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance.

The WOIPFG seeks to investigate criminal conduct of organizations and individuals involved in the persecution of

Falun Gong practitioners and their families, which has ranged from slander to organ harvesting. Wang played a recording of an interview with a woman who had been imprisoned in a concentration camp and tortured for her belief in Falun Gong, including being force-fed salt water.

"When you really understand the [CCP's] despicable deeds, I think it's dangerous [for yourself] if you don't quit," Wang said.

Making a Difference: How to Help Stop the Persecution of Falun Gong

1. Tell two people you know about the persecution in China – public awareness puts pressure on the perpetrators to stop.
2. Ask your Congresspersons to take action: visit www.congress.org or check your phone book.
3. Tell the White House you're concerned: email <president@whitehouse.gov> or call 202-456-1414.
4. Invite a Falun Gong volunteer to speak in your community or or-

5. Call your local newspaper or radio and TV stations to ask for more coverage of this important issue.
6. Join Friends of Falun Gong, an independent, non-profit organization: www.fofg.org, or 1-866-FG-FRIEND.
7. Stay informed by visiting www.faluninfo.net for new media reports, to download materials, or to subscribe to a news bulletin.

A Word From Our Hearts...

We put this paper together, just a few regular New Yorkers, with our own resources and time because we share one deep feeling: that something tragic is happening in China, and we've got to help get the word out. If you choose not to keep this newspaper, please kindly pass it along to another person. Thank you so much.

Region's wealthy stand out

An interesting survey of the wealthy has shown that the biggest growth in high-net-worth individuals (HNWIs) is in Asia-Pacific, with Japan and India contributing the most.

The Asia-Pacific Wealth Report 2013 (APWR) by Capgemini and RBC Wealth Management showed that almost half (45.4 per cent) of the world's high-net-worth wealth growth has come from Asia-Pacific over the past five years (2007-2012), a trend that is expected to continue.

This distinction provides wealth management firms with opportunities for growth, but requires tailored and scalable offerings to meet the diverse needs of HNWIs across the region, the report says.

"With consistent wealth growth across Asia-Pacific markets, the region is poised to have the largest high-net-worth population by as early as 2014," says M George Lewis, group head of RBC Wealth Management and Insurance. "This growth provides both opportunities and challenges for firms, who will need to cater

Report shows HNWI population growing rapidly

their offerings to meet the diverse needs of clients in the region to remain competitive in a rapidly evolving and increasingly complex industry."

Some of the unique traits of Asia-Pacific (excluding Japan) HNWIs include: Over three-quarters have high levels of trust in wealth management firms (78.8 per cent) and wealth managers (77.9 per cent) compared to two-thirds (66.8 per cent and 65.9 per cent) of HNWIs in the rest of the world.

Japanese HNWIs, by contrast, had low levels of trust, with only about 30 per cent having confidence in various segments of the industry.

The region's HNWIs perceive their wealth management needs to be complex,

encompassing business, family or philanthropy, with 41.1 per cent holding this view, compared to 21.2 per cent in the rest of the world. With regards to advice on family wealth, 42.3 per cent of Asia-Pacific HNWIs have this need, while 23.3 per cent require personal wealth advice.

Preferences and behaviour differ by country, according to the report. While there were differences between Asia-Pacific HNWIs and those in the rest of the world, the region cannot be viewed as uniform, with varying views held by HNWIs across individual Asian markets. These differences are most clear when comparing HNWIs in Japan with those in China and India.

While HNWIs in Japan expressed no strong preferences in terms of their wealth management servicing needs, HNWIs in China and India expressed clear opinions, with both countries having the highest proportion of HNWIs who view their needs as complex and desire input from a number of experts.



Asia-Pacific has consistent high-net-worth wealth growth. Photo: Thinkstock

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LEADING THE NEWS

TAIWAN

KMT LOSES APPEAL ON SPEAKER'S INJUNCTION

Ruling upholds lower court's freezing of move to oust Wang Jin-pyng as legislative chief, in fresh blow to party's leader, Ma Ying-jeou

Lawrence Chung in Taipei
lawrence.chung@scmp.com

Kuomintang leader and Taiwanese president Ma Ying-jeou's bid to oust his rival Wang Jin-pyng as speaker of the island's legislature has failed again, with the high court yesterday upholding a lower court's decision to allow Wang to stay put for now.

The decision deals a further blow to Ma, whose feud with Wang has triggered Taiwan's biggest political crisis since Ma became president in 2008.

The Taiwan High Court rejected an appeal by Ma's Kuomintang party against a court's decision on September 13 to grant Wang's request for a provisional injunction against the KMT's decision to revoke his party membership.

For this Ma should take responsibility and resign

DPP CHIEF SU TSENG-CHANG ACCUSES MA OF VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION

"The [revocation] would result in irreparable damage to [Wang] if in the future the deci-

to improve the island's economy.

Ma has risked being impeached or recalled as president, with the opposition Democratic Progressive Party vowing to initiate such action on the grounds Ma is behind an order to government investigators to eavesdrop on opponents in the legislature.

Ma in early September accused Wang of using his influence to interfere in the prosecution of a breach-of-trust case involving Ker Chien-ming, the DPP legislative caucus whip. Calling it the "most serious infringement of Taiwan judicial independence", and citing a wiretap transcript provided by Prosecutor-General Huang Shih-ming, Ma said he could not turn a blind eye to what he described as illegal lobbying involving the head of the legislature and the opposition legislative caucus' whip.

Days later he demanded that the KMT disciplinary committee take action to oust Wang, in the hope of effectively stripping him of his post as speaker. Without party membership, Wang - who was appointed by the KMT as a legislator at large rather than winning a constituency election - would also lose his speaker post.

The feud has sparked a scandal over what the DPP and even some KMT lawmakers have called the "random and illegal" wiretapping of politicians.

Huang yesterday told the legislature that government investigators had intended to tap the

WEATHER



Big waves pound the coastline at Sanya (三亚), Hainan, as Typhoon Wutip moved towards the Vietnamese coast. Photo: China Foto Press

Three boats lost, 74 fishermen missing in typhoon



He Hulfeng, Clifford Lo, Danny Mok and Agence France-Press

Seventy-four fishermen from Guangdong are missing in rough seas near the Paracel Islands, after three fishing boats were sunk by Typhoon Wutip in the South China Sea.

Five boats, all registered in Taishan (台山), Guangdong, one of them to a Hong Kong owner, issued distress calls on Sunday evening, according to the Jiangmen (江門) city government.

Chen Songyin, captain of the Yuetaiyu 61008, which did not sink, told Xinhua the sea looked fairly calm early on Sunday but worsened by late morning.

"It was too late to leave at that time," he said. "By 2pm, visibility was less than 10 metres, and the TV antenna and satellite telephone on the ship were destroyed [by the typhoon]."

Zhuo Guoxiong, a Jiangmen government propaganda official, said: "No Hong Kong people were on board the five boats."

The People's Liberation Army South Sea Fleet sent seven warships, a helicopter and 10 rescue teams to join the search. The Hainan provincial government, Maritime Police and Ministry of Transport together sent seven planes and 13 ships.

Xinhua said that changing wind directions and waves up to four metres high hampered search efforts.

A man whose brother-in-law was on board one of the boats that sank boats said: "We've lost

Taxi driver stole watch and Gucci sandals

Sharp-eyed former PLA soldier spotted cabbie taking items worth HK\$160,000

Thomas Chan
thomas.chan@scmp.com

A taxi driver with a record of overcharging passengers found new prey when he picked up a mainland couple with Gucci and Lane Crawford shopping bags on Canton Road.

Hon So-man, 50, had his eye on a Patek Philippe watch and a pair of Gucci baby sandals, together worth more than HK\$160,000, when Qian Ziyang and Wang Fang put the bags into his boot.

But little did he know that he was being watched by Qian, a former People's Liberation Army soldier, who thought the taxi driver was acting suspiciously. He jotted down his vehicle's licence plate number and later called the police.

Hon pleaded guilty to one count of theft yesterday.

Kowloon City Court heard that Hon picked up the couple, who were carrying four shopping bags, in Tsim Sha Tsui on July 3. All the bags were sealed except a Gucci bag holding the watch and sandals.

The couple became suspicious when Hon lingered near the boot for about 20 seconds after they got into the cab.

When the cab arrived at Langham Place in Mong Kok, Hon retrieved the four bags from the boot, quickly handed them to the couple and drove away. But the bags were torn and the watch and sandals were missing.

Hon will be sentenced on October 21, pending probation officer and community service order reports. In September last year, the driver was ordered to perform 100 hours of community service for cheating a police officer, who was posing as a Putonghua-

for the high court.

Grafie Li, a presidential office spokeswoman, said Ma would respect the ruling but would not compromise on the decision to revoke Wang's KMT membership, the Central News Agency reported.

KMT lawyers said they would appeal to the Supreme Court, but a group of KMT legislators led by Lo Shu-lei called on Ma to halt the appeal, saying he should focus instead on the island's sagging economy.

"Heed the voice of the cab driver who committed suicide," said Lo, referring to a suicide note left by a driver who killed himself out of anger over the fight between Ma and Wang and the failure of the Ma government

switchboards. Investigators earlier admitted it had been a mistake to wiretap the 12-year-old daughter of a prosecutor.

DPP chairman Su Tseng-chang said Ma and his government had violated the constitution and the law. "For this Ma should take responsibility and resign," Su told a news conference. He said if Ma failed to do so, his party would initiate an impeachment or recall motion to unseat Ma, or launch a vote of no confidence to overturn the cabinet.

Asked if he was aware that winning a vote of no confidence would mean the dissolution of the legislature, Su said he would welcome that because he believed the KMT would lose its majority.



A rescued fisherman is carried from a helicopter in Sanya last night. Photo: Xinhua

14 people had been rescued, while 83 were safe on the surviving fishing boats, including the Hong Kong-owned Taisha 1698. The other boat, however, had lost power and was drifting, the Jiangmen (江門) government said.

Five survivors, some with broken bones, were airlifted to hospitals in Sanya (三亚), Hainan (海南), China News Service reported. "The waves were as high as 10 metres," one said.

The Hong Kong Marine Rescue Co-ordination Centre received a call from mainland authorities at about 6.30am yesterday. Government Flying Service deputy manager Emily Wong said the weather and visibility at the site were good. "Our crew spotted a suspected life raft and a life jacket drifting in the scene, but no survivor or missing boat was discovered," she said.

experienced in the stormy seas. We are very worried and surprised when we heard the news." Wutip made landfall on Vietnam's central coast yesterday packing winds of up to 103km/h with gusts up to 133km/h, Vietnam's National Hydro-Meteorological Forecasting Centre said. Schools were shut, boats ordered ashore and 70,000 people moved to shelters as trees were uprooted and roofs torn off houses.

would continue to visit Hong Kong despite the unpleasant experience. "There are bad guys everywhere in the world," Wang said.

Lai Hoi-ping, of the Hong Kong Taxi Association, said there was always a "flock of black sheep" in the industry. "More solo travellers have visited Hong Kong in recent years, and some greedy drivers target them to make quick money," he said.

COMMERCE

Fragrance company used stars to boost image

DCHL claimed leading figures were customers or had backed its brand

Minnie Chan and Emily Tsang

Among local figures whose names were used by Digital Crown Holdings (HK) to boost the company's image are one of Hong Kong's highest-earning stars and a member of a leading charity.

But singer Kelly Chan Wai-lam says she has never been a customer of DCHL, while Salvation Army community relations director Simon Wong Kwok-ching says that when he was invited to speak at Christmas functions run by two companies he had no idea they were connected to DCHL.

A South China Morning Post reporter heard a DCHL staff member citing Chan and other celebrities including Taiwanese actress Brigitte Lin Ching-hsia as consumers while urging mainland visitors to sign up and become distributors.

Chan said through her assistant that she had only ever received free products from the company - the names of which she had forgotten - and was never a frequent or formal consumer of the brand.

Wong is listed in promotional material at the Causeway Bay sales centre as having made at least four speeches before thousands of new members to praise DCHL's "contribution" to Hong Kong society.

But he said he had no idea until he received inquiries from the Post that the two companies where he had made Christmas speeches since 2008 urging people to fight poverty were subsidiaries of DCHL.

"They cheated me and used

me. I am so angry," Wong said. "None of them had mentioned their relations with DCHL."

The company lists former Miss Hong Kong Josephine Lam Kei-yan as its marketing figurehead, while singers such as Chan, Joey Yung Cho-ye and Leo Ku Kui-kei are described as consumers or party guests.

"If we were an illegal company, Hong Kong pop stars

would not come," a senior female distributor was heard telling a group of mainlanders.

The distributor, showing the group a photo of her with Yung, said she and Ku had performed at DCHL parties for 10 years.

"Famous actresses like Brigitte Lin Ching-hsia and Kelly Chan Wai-lam are our products' consumers," she added.

In their claims to would-be distributors, staff were seen telling mainlanders that DCHL is a well-capitalised business as it has six sale centres in Causeway Bay, the world's second-most expensive shopping precinct.

It also hired Dr Terence Wong, an elocution and motivational speaking expert in Hong Kong, to train distributors to be persuasive sales staff.

They cheated me and used me. I am so angry

SIMON WONG KWOK-CHING, SALVATION ARMY

Customers 'left out of pocket' in marketing scheme

CONTINUED FROM A1

levels of seniority. At the bottom are the individual distributors who sign up as members to the scheme and then have to recruit other members.

If they recruit five members, who then each recruit five more in turn, they move up the ranking system to become a Baron. This is followed by Count, Marquis, Duke, Arch Duke and Majesty Duke. Each rank is at least five times bigger in terms of membership than the one below it.

At Count level - with accumulated purchases of about HK\$100,000 or having developed a structure of three Barons below them - a distributor can form his

or her own company. Such selling systems are banned on the mainland and elsewhere including Macau, Australia and the European Union.

In August, a Hong Kong couple who were individual DCHL

distributors were arrested in Shaoguan (韶關), Guangdong, for illegal sales activities, including encouraging distributors to recruit salespeople aggressively and collecting big membership fees.

DCHL chain was founded in 1989 by its director Kim Huynh, also called Valery Huynh, a businessman from Guangdong who now holds a French passport. Huynh's wife, Mary Lim Huynh, another director of DCHL, is a Singaporean who once entered the Miss Singapore contest before emigrating to France.

On its website, DCHL says Huynh "is a gentleman who had high taste in art appreciation", and dedicated his life to intro-

duce "the elegance of French art work to Chinese counterparts."

One of the main items sold is LB fragrance oil, which has a history dating back 115 years. It was invented by a French pharmacy dispenser called Maurice Berger, who created a lamp to remove odours from hospitals in 1898.

But when the brand was brought into the Asia market by DCHL a decade ago, the chain said it could "improve the quality of indoor air, decompose second-hand smoke and kill bugs".

Vullierme said: "It is most definitely not a magical lamp. The lamps are beautiful to look at, and have a special catalytic diffusion system to clear away odour. But there is no health benefit."



The DCHL office in Causeway Bay. The company claimed leading figures endorsed the firm and its products. Photo: May Tse



Wang Jin-pyng remains speaker of Taiwan's legislature, but his feud with the island's president has not been resolved. Photo: CNA

115

Years of history of Lampe Berger Paris, started by a French pharmacy dispenser

安門大屠殺的關係，他們心照不宣地紀念着八九年的死難者。

蘋果網睇片
www.appledaily.com.hk

「四」的微博都會經過嚴密審核，當局一早天羅地網嚴陣以待。儘管如此，網友們仍尋找一切機會表達對天安門屠殺中殉難者的哀思、及對中共當局的批判。有人在零點零分發微博說「永遠不能忘卻的記憶」，也有人哀嘆「陰風苦雨為誰泣」。

更多的時候，網民們只能刻意地過度解讀一些微博。比如上海《新聞晨報》以

雖然文法不通，但留言者都能明白各自的一片苦心。

「紀念64 蠟燭 英雄」

除了在地內，荷蘭烏特勒支(Utrecht)的一家購物中心內，近日展出了89當年隻身阻擋坦克車前進的王維林的雕像。王一身白色襯衫、高昂頭顱的形

根據天安門地區管理委員會初步估計，廣場上大約留下了多達五噸重的煙頭、廢紙、水瓶等雜物，最密集處甚至露不出地面。最後150名保潔員、兩輛清掃車、兩輛垃圾收集車，以「拉網式」的排兵佈陣，用了30分鐘才全部清除。不少網友為此感到羞愧，留言說：「這就是中國人的素質！」
新浪微博

升旗儀式結束後，天安門廣場上全是遊客留下的垃圾。
互聯網



河南

因為大塞車，有車主在高速公路上下車遛狗解悶。
中新社



寧夏

高速公路發生34車相撞意外，其中一輛私家車撞向天然氣運輸車。
新華社



湖南

黃金周來臨，長沙火車站外聚集大量等待出行的乘客。
新華社



貴州

十一期間黃果樹景區門票八折，預計遊客人數將逾2萬。
新華社

7億人出遊 玩盡京A級景點需萬元

內地十一長假開始，內地人多車多花錢多的日子又來臨。7億民眾趁機出遊，高速公路塞滿打算出遊的車輛，可是最終還是堵在路邊，連狗、打羽毛球。

路塞上加塞。有幾處路邊，竟要花約9,151元

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(約1,178港元)，北京提香高爾夫俱樂部、北京鄉村高爾夫俱樂部、陽光時代馬球俱樂部、八達嶺滑雪俱

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樂部減價，可省89元(約112港元)，但這卻不到總數的百分之一。

【新報1日綜合外電報導】下半身癱瘓的加拿大青年馬丁雖然要坐輪椅，但這無礙他嘗試玩刺激的笨豬跳，他並將照片上傳互聯

網，引起網民廣泛回響。據上載於社交網站Reddit的照片，21歲的馬丁坐在高台上，對着相機鏡頭微笑揮

手，跟着連人帶輪椅「躍下」。事後，他表示坐在輪椅上，是因為輪椅可以協助固定他的

雙腿，使他在空中雙腿不會搖來搖去。網民稱「性感野獸」

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英主婦3年

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倫敦警方噴水捉賊

【新報1日綜合外電報導】除了指紋辨識，英國警方有更好的捉賊車賊辦法。當地

男子阿斯卡勒日前落入倫敦警方所精心布

置的陷阱，他偷了一輛車後，身上跟臉上都

沾滿了紫外光照射下會變綠的特製「聰明

水」(SmartWater)，讓警方在很短時間內便

能將他逮捕。據稱，倫敦布特警方目前正在轉區開

面則是噴明水的功勞，而且阿斯卡勒在偷

時被水噴到也沒察覺。後來警方循線索找

他時，把紫外光往他身上照，整個人幾

變成綠色，因此確定他就是偷車賊，順利

他逮捕歸案。

他逮捕歸案。

他逮捕歸案。

周永康

中共七常委

時，備受負面評

論，卻罕見其母

周此間多張相片

積薄發」等字

面，看似並無異

跟隨，似乎仍享

現年70歲

上午以慶祝母

往中國石油大學參觀。由於這是周被傳遭中共內部調查後，首度公開亮相，因此受到關注。中石油大學今日將舉行創校60周年慶祝大會，部份活動則提前展開。對於周昨天的到訪，校方在官網上連發出七則快訊，更刊出27張照片。照片中，



周永康(中)看上去身體和精神都不錯。
互聯網

查的傳言甚囂塵上。儘管，官方媒體沒有刊登有關報道，但中石油大學大篇幅報道這位校友來訪的消息，似有替周闢謠之嫌。看來，在習李的執政下，仍無法打破「刑不上常委」的潛規則。

《蘋果》記者/中央社

秘書如間諜

說，為應付這場運動，近日自己的生活如同間諜，每天工作十多小時，到處走動收集情報。由於省委書記和省長一向有矛盾，他除被勒令打聽自己的上司可能被「攻擊」的範疇外，還有收集省委書記等政敵的負面資料，以備「不時之需」。

據悉，有秘書因不方便自己四處打聽或收集情報，就動用關係良好的媒體中人從旁協助。有受委託的傳媒人表示，不管是對批評一方還是對自我批評一方，當前大家幾乎都明哲保身、避免得罪人為上上策。

雖然習總提出，黨員領導幹部在開展批評與自我批評的組織活動中，要避免放「禮炮」、「啞炮」、「空炮」，但領導們卻如履薄冰，恐在這場運動中被「實炮」擊中。

張琛

編輯：梁卓鈞 美術：張旭健

國仔旗到向
經消儀全在區村
車民

INSIGHT

The Bo headache



Jerome A. Cohen mulls the dilemma for China's leaders on Bo Xilai's appeal - while they are loath to allow an appellate process as 'open' as his trial, they must appear to be doing so

Will Bo Xilai's (薄熙來) appeal against his recent criminal conviction and life sentence make another contribution to the legal education of the Chinese people? Bo's trial offered hundreds of millions of his countrymen their first vivid glimpse of how an accused criminal might actively defend himself in court, instead of meekly complying with the usual ritual of confession and apology in an effort to obtain a lenient sentence.

Although the legal systems of all countries often treat compliant defendants more favourably than others, the People's Republic, from its establishment, made "leniency for those who confess, severity for those who resist" the cornerstone of its criminal justice practice. Yet, at his trial, Bo defiantly insisted on his statutory right to challenge the prosecution's charges and confront the witnesses against him.

Surprisingly, his former colleagues in the Communist Party leadership, the

unnecessary drain on its resources and a condemnation of the police, prosecutors and judges who handled the case.

In ordinary prosecutions as well as political cases, Chinese law enforcement personnel often apply great pressure on a defendant not to appeal, even before the trial concludes. They sometimes urge the defendant, before he is sentenced, to promise the trial court that he will not appeal, increasing his chances of leniency. The authorities tell him that an appeal is likely to be worthless. After all, the trial court frequently consults the appellate court before imposing sentence, and in sensitive cases political leaders instruct the courts about the outcome. Moreover, a defendant's jailers can truthfully cite statistics confirming that few defendants appeal and few appellants succeed.

If persuasion proves ineffective, jailers may resort to intimidation, torture and threats of future mistreatment in prison as well as abuse of the defendant's family. In

Bo must have experienced tremendous pressure.

In 2008, former Politburo member and Shanghai party secretary Chen Liangyu (陳良宇) did not appeal against his 18-year sentence. Bo's wife, Gu Kailai (谷開來), did not appeal against her murder conviction and suspended death sentence. Nor did Bo's infamous police chief, Wang Lijun (王立軍), seek review of his 15-year sentence.

The last Politburo member to appeal was the feisty Beijing party secretary, the late Chen Xitong (陳希同). In 1998, the Supreme People's Court quietly affirmed his 16-year sentence without questioning the written statements of his proposed witnesses or granting him a formal hearing. The court merely examined the case record, interrogated Chen and reviewed the claims made by him and his lawyers.

Bo, of course, is even more unconventional than Chen Xitong, and, having received a life sentence that he denounced as unfair and that cannot be legally increased on appeal, he may well believe that he has more to gain than lose by forcing the prosecution to restate its charges before the High Court of Shandong (山東) province.

But will appeal give him any more

appeal, especially under the newly revised Criminal Procedure Law, which improves a defendant's prospects for obtaining a formal appellate court hearing.

Yet the new law does not require an open hearing if the issues involved in the appeal only concern the application of law. Then the court, in addition to studying the trial record and written arguments submitted by the parties, need only interrogate the defendant privately and informally consider his opinions and those of his lawyers.

Bo's appeal, however, will undoubtedly also reject the trial court's determination of the facts and the sufficiency of the evidence and claim that the court mistakenly failed to exclude from the evidence statements taken from him in the coercive circumstances of pre-trial detention. Such claims will entitle Bo to an open court hearing with procedures similar to those that prevailed in his trial. Chinese criminal procedure, under continental European influence and unlike its Anglo-American counterpart, permits an "appeal" in these circumstances to become a full, second trial not limited to argument about legal issues.

Yet the last thing party leaders want is another widely publicised five-day free-

Open pr

Peter Kammerer says anonymity has allowed some internet users abuse others as they please, it's time to r

There was a time when comments section to and others was a source of sometimes amusement. No of hatred, animosity, snobbish rudeness has put me off even because such forums are at a new angle to a discussion via issues.

Comments on my colleague's column were one of the turnaround. His position of same as mine, but that is no day with slurs, scowls and treading them, but I now no seems the same people who their beliefs and politics reflect themes. Generally, their conduct with what Alex has written.

What turned me was a review in which one comment to the view of another on the sexual reference was used, mother of the poster, a racist you die of cancer". Poultry on me, but online, with some evokes the most hot-headed dropping was the pointless outrage that I have since given "comment" link or button posts.

I am not the only one. A online sites are shutting down section, the latest being *Po* Trolls and spambots have intellectual online debate explained last week in *mal*. It's a pity, as learned discussion matters like science and technology.

But that will never happen the decorum required of a world. It seems that, as society transform from decent, up society to rude, narrow-minded behave in ways they would unreasonable behaviour h freedoms, though; it's all a

This is where mainland right with the internet. When abhorrent, their requirements online services and sites will significant step towards more twice before posting.

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福利津貼研外判 免標籤受助人

扶貧會委員：難監控公帑運用

政府公布貧窮綫後，政務司司長林鄭月娥昨透露，正研究將現有的政府福利支援整合，特別是需入息審查的，交由「中性機構」一站式發放，避免受助人因怕被標籤而拒領。

有扶貧會委員形容林鄭將政府福利津貼「外判」，質疑難監控公帑運用。 ■本報記者 譚敏聰

兼任扶貧委員會主席的林鄭月娥昨指，部分人合資格申領綜援不領取，是不想倚賴福利，亦有人是因被標籤而拒絕接受，故她正委託顧問研究將目前多項社署或勞工處等政府福利津貼，特別是需入息審查的，交由獨立的「中性機構」作一站式發放，消除標籤效應。

林鄭：勿解讀政府 沒決心扶貧

對於政府前日公布貧窮綫，卻未一併交代扶貧措施及減貧目標，林鄭月娥解釋指，社會需要時間消化及分析貧窮數據；她又指特首梁振英不可能減貧的說法，是用字準繩及誠實，社會不應解讀為政府沒有決心處理問題。林鄭表示會與扶貧委員會繼續合作，強調會優先協助14.5萬在職貧窮戶，特別是育有兒童的家庭，目前已進入細節設計階段。

民政事務局長曾德成昨在網誌寫到，在職貧窮戶內的新來港人士，平均1名就業的家庭成員要養活自己，還要供養2.3人；而全港所有在職住戶中，每1名就業成員平均僅供養0.8人，明顯較前者輕鬆。曾認為非綜援戶在職貧窮新移民家庭，值得優先照顧。

扶貧會委員兼立法會議員張國柱指，林鄭月娥是將政府福利津貼外判，質疑是否可行性。他指出，綜援、學生資助等津貼是公帑，由公務員把關，檢視申請者是否合資格，除非「中性機構」是公營機構，否則難作監控。

住戶入息中位數50% 為貧窮綫

前日公布的貧窮綫，以住戶入息中位數50%為界。按2012年數據，未扣除任何福利津貼下，本港約有131萬貧窮人口；若扣除恒常現金福利，則降至約102萬人。

家庭主婦婉華每月的兼職薪酬約4,000元，其丈夫月入則約1萬元，兩人育有兩名子女，按目前貧窮綫計算，距離4人家庭上限僅300元，隨時超越貧窮綫。但她指子女讀書及食物開支龐大，每到月底工資已所剩無幾，如子女生病要看醫生即覺經濟拮据，她擔心日後會不獲政府資助。

街坊工友服務處建議月入低於入息中位數7成的家庭，每月亦應可領取500至1,000元津貼；並按家庭內兒童和長者數目，津貼額可增加每人300至650元。街工估計可有177萬人受惠，每年開支約156億元。

政務司司長林鄭月娥指，社會需要時間消化及分析貧窮數據。



貧窮綫及貧窮人口

貧窮綫：住戶入息中位數50%

住戶數目(人)	每月入息(元)	住戶數目(人)	每月入息(元)
1	3,600	4	14,300
2	7,700	5	14,800
3	11,500	6或以上	15,800

計算方法	貧窮人數(萬人)
未扣除任何福利津貼	131
扣除恒常現金福利	102
扣除恒常現金福利及公屋福利	67

資料來源：《2012年香港貧窮情況報告》



家庭主婦婉華(左)指子女讀書及食物開支龐大，如子女生病要看醫生，即覺經濟拮据，覺得很徬徨。

學者：貧窮綫僅數字遊戲



政務司司長林鄭月娥昨表示，政府有大決心及政治勇氣去處理貧窮問題。

但有學者指本港貧窮綫只是一場「數字遊戲」，為貧戶提供多少現金補貼，貧窮人口維持在百萬人。惟肯定的是，貧窮綫將會為最低工資帶來上調壓力。

緣何政府有勇氣定貧窮綫卻不設減貧目標？正就全民退休保障進行研究的港大社工及社會行政學系講座教授周永新表示，「相對貧窮」與「絕對貧窮」概念不同，前者會因經濟好，推高家庭入息中位數，貧窮綫隨之上調，反令更多基層跌進貧窮綫以下。

但後者按固定收入計算，據聯合國標準，在部分非洲國每日收入少於兩美元者，即屬貧窮。由於貧窮綫屬固定，較易定出減貧目標。

周解釋，本港採用「相對貧窮」，每年會調整貧窮

綫，一旦政府提供補貼予全港在職貧窮戶，翌年貧窮綫會向上調升，換言之，永遠有一班基層活在貧窮綫之下。

周永新認為，政府最務實的做法是拋出扶貧政策，提供福利補貼改善基層生活，而非玩弄貧窮綫的數字遊戲。

那調高最低工資能否助在職貧窮戶「脫貧」？周永新解釋，最低工資非「魔術棒」，且加幅有限，難成脫貧工具。

貧窮綫為最低工資 添壓力

但事實上，貧窮綫會為最低工資水平帶來壓力，據悉，港府內部討論認為最低工資是影響貧窮人口的關鍵之一。

工業總會主席劉展灝認為，最低工資已無「回頭路」，水平只會愈來愈高，但社會兼顧貧窮人口時，亦需照顧小老闆，一旦最低工資增至商界難以承受水平，最終只會惡性循環，商界與基層兩敗俱傷。

■本報記者 陳韻文

公屋助扶貧 CY決打覓地硬仗

扶貧建公

計正 (即利人) 福利只

的府有 的非差

令土此 (地區貧提當較打

首要

另外，隨貧政策方向和明年1月的施正長者退休保障

做過社會

月娥私下曾歎 all or nothing

如果不在綜援力大半年，今散綜援制度，人士，包括考

有高官指低工資無關，萬多元，在最

要養一家四口有自置物業，者周永新於明完成全民退休

究後，再作決

港大「慎思民調」177人參加 市民對普選混淆不清

佔領中環運動第二輪商討日(D-day2)將於下展開，佔中秘書處昨委託港大民意研究計劃，舉特首選舉設計的「慎思民調」活動。177名隨機抽樣的市由兩次分組商討，得出最關注的特首普選原則，並與學者議題交流。參加者需在活動的前後填寫問卷，讓機構了解在看法上的變化。民研總監鍾庭耀總結調查數據，指出不前後，市民均明顯反對沿用選委會的模式產生提名委員會，以及反對中央有權不任命或罷免特首。採訪：政情組



■近200名市民昨參與港大「慎思民調」活動，討論特首普選原則。



和平爭取普選更樂觀

活動之後
李先生(左)：「民調有改變我對爭取普選的立場，我仍然希望將民意表達給中央聽。我並不認同有些悲觀看法指，凡事必需按照《基本法》去做，我認為有需要的話，應根據民意，再在《基本法》的基礎上立新法。」
楊先生(右)：「我對佔中保持中立，活動後立場有變。但活動令我更加了解不同界別人士對政改問題的看法。我希望香港能有全面普選，讓市民有更多機會參與及探討香港的政制發展，真係唔希望見到香港人寧願移民，都唔肯參與香港事務。」
新報記者

為，提委會應達致普及，必要時突破《基本法》的框框。有人話今日民調會讓佔中聆聽民意，但我覺得民調意見全面，討論觀點亦很多元化，沒有人說服我佔中或不佔中。」

李先生(中)：「參與民調後，我對香港人能和和平爭取普選更樂觀，信心更大。過程有負面批評，表示香港人是成熟地討論政改的。我認為，

鍾庭耀首先向參加者講述「慎思民調」的原則，他強調，民調方法參考國際標準，希望帶出理性文明的討論，幫助收集社會對普選意見。他表示，如果為了爭取普選，最終發生肢體衝突，並非市民樂見。被指收集數據以支持佔中，鍾強調，調查是公開透明的，相信數據對佔中或反佔中者都有益處，他亦形容，民調比佔中更和平更理性，希望得到社會的支持與包容。

加入公民提名事在人為

會上，177名參加者分成19個小組進行兩次討論，每次一小時。每次小組討論後，都會有一次全體會議，各組代表需要匯報討論內容，亦可向在場的學者提問。出席的學者包括香港教育學院教授盧兆興、浸會大學助理教授黃偉國、城市大學講師黃志偉和香港大學民研經理李偉健。

參加者表示關注的包括提委會的組成方法、公民提名是否違反《基本法》、普選的定義和原則，以及中央對特首的任命權等議題。黃志偉認

為，於特首提名方式加入「公民提名」的原則，他引述建議人士提出，特首可以有政黨明《基本法》其實可以修正容，走向國際標準。

鍾庭耀在活動後即場公布調查結果，比較民調前後參與議題的看法變化。在商討前成功機會「細」或「很細」的，由43%，而在商討後則只有41%降2%，相比港大早前的公

73%市民認為佔中成功的機會較為樂觀。至於按《基本法》會的重要程度，以10分為滿分，前參加者的平均評分為5.7分，下降至4.6分，顯著差異最大。

鍾指出，就沿用選委會提名委員會，商討前參加者是2.7分，商討後下降至2.1分，中央有權不任命特首，商討前是2.9分，商討後上升至3.0分，中央有權罷免特首，商討前是2.7分，商討後上升至3.0分，傾向支持公民可以直接提人，商討前支持度為7.8分，上升至7.9分。鍾表示，是次試驗性質，離國際標準有一步，信仍具一定實用性與參考價值。

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爭普選不能奢望外力

近日英美對香港政制改革及民主進程評論多多，引起北京強烈反彈，指摘英美，那是預料中事。但觀乎近期事態的發展，看來英國人收斂些，但美國人卻很有點依然故我的態度，日前美國駐港總領事夏千福便公開表示，雖然美國對香港的普選進程沒有任何方案，但美國是支持「真正的普選」(Genuine Universal Suffrage)的，更強調美國支持「人民對自己的政治制度應有最終發言權」，因為美國會永遠支持「我們的核心民主價值觀」。換言之，美國會期望香港的民主進程也能符合美國的「民主核心價值」。

北京反彈意料中事

這番言論繼續被北京強烈批評，那是意料中事，但看深一層，中美，包括中英，在香港政改問題上，怎可能不發一聲？撇開歷史原因不說，美英在香港都有着許多經濟、商業和各種利益，而香港普選特首涉及錯縱複雜的各方利益，包括外國在港利益。夏千福並不諱言，美國有權選擇評論一些影響到美國利益或核心價值的事，日後還會「毫不猶豫」這樣做，從這個角度看，中方的強烈反應也是一種高姿態——那就是，你要保護你的利益也得跟我談，不能對香港「說三道四」！

政改企硬有待觀察

但話說回來，香港在中美國係上的重量遠比不上台灣，美英的這些言論，不過是一些口舌便利，若有人以為美英真的會為香港的「真普選」而與北京撕破臉，那便是政治天真，但美英這一關，北京警覺性提高了，倒是事實，至於會否如前港區人大莫康民所預料，北京會因美英言論而對政改「企硬」，看來還有待觀察，不便過早下結論。

首先何謂「企硬」？若那是指北京不容外國干預，那是必然的，但若指北京現時便已下定決心，不容泛民入關，也恐怕言之尚早，畢竟以往兩次特首選舉都有泛民候選人，如今民主向前行，居然沒有泛民的影子，怎說得過去？北京並不擔心美英的「說三道四」，但香港社會的強烈反彈，北京卻不能不理會。

所以說，爭取民主還是靠香港人自己，不能，也不應奢望能靠外力而達至，這道理簡單得很，指望外人永遠不如指望自己。

鄭耀棠：公提沒希望 政改諮詢文件不會有

【新報訊】特首梁振英日前總結重慶訪問行程時談及2017年普選特首的問題，表示政改一定要根據《基本法》和全國人大常委會的決定，現在不宜再談論《基本法》以外的做法。對此，行政會議成員成員鄭耀棠批未成立科技局 CY話因為「拉布」

民主女神像

June 4 20 years on

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South China Morning Po

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南華早報

see live updates at www.scmp.com

The people have not forgotten



IMPECA PPA 318.519

Ambrose Leung and Eva Wu

History turned full circle last night when an estimated 150,000 candle-bearers illuminated Victoria Park to commemorate those killed in the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown – the same number who massed for the first vigil in 1990.

But the number of mourners on the 20th anniversary of the crackdown was probably far higher. Thousands of people massed outside the jam-packed park, unable to enter. Organisers said 50,000 were left at the gates.

Many in the crowd remarked at the number of young people present.

With flickering flames in their hands, protesters chanted their demands for vindication of those killed by troops in Beijing and for a democratic China free of corruption.

"Twenty years have passed and the bloodstains on Tiananmen Square have long been washed away," said Richard Tsoi Yiu-cheung, vice-chairman of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Demo-

cratic Movements in China, which organises the annual vigil. "But this episode in history is still engraved on the hearts of people who have a sense of justice. We can still smell the blood ... We have won this battle against forgetting," he told the crowd.

Police put last night's attendance at 62,800. Last year 48,000 took part, according to organisers, while police put the number at 15,700.

Alliance chairman Szeto Wah said the turnout – including many young people born after 1989 – showed the success of efforts to pass the flame of remembrance to a new generation.

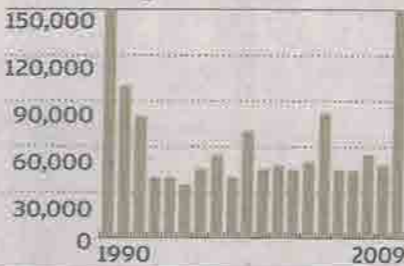
The stream of people flooding into the park in early evening quickly filled its six soccer pitches and by 8pm had spilled into neighbouring areas. In the crowded streets outside, it took more than 20 minutes to walk the 200 metres from Tin Hau MTR station to the park gates.

Activists said such scenes had not been seen since the anti-government march on July 1, 2003, when 500,000 took to the streets.

"Every single candle represents

In remembrance

Organisers' estimates of turnout at June 4 vigils



SCMP GRAPHIC SOURCE: ALLIANCE IN SUPPORT OF PATRIOTIC DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS IN CHINA

the unforgettable mark of the June 4 massacre," the alliance's manifesto said. "We are lighting up hopes for democracy and freedom in China."

Many in the crowd wept as wreaths were laid before a makeshift "memorial to the martyrs".

Six days after stepping on Chinese soil for the first time in 17 years, Xiong Yan (熊焱), the first exiled former leader of the student protests in Beijing to join the annual vigil, told

the crowd: "Hong Kong is the pride of all Chinese – because you have people who dare to defend freedom."

Excerpts from the audio-taped memoirs recorded by late Communist Party secretary general Zhao Ziyang (趙紫陽), who sympathised with the student protesters, were played, along with a recorded message from Ding Zilin (丁子霖), leader of the Tiananmen Mothers group of bereaved parents campaigning for justice for their dead children.

Jeers went up from the crowd when an image of Chief Executive Donald Tsang Yam-kuen – who stirred controversy last month with his call for an "objective assessment" of June 4 – was shown on giant screens next to that of former premier Li Peng (李鵬), who was among those held responsible for ordering the crackdown.

While the vigil formally ended at 10.30pm, many chose to linger to hear pro-democracy songs, among them *Freedom Flowers*, which includes the line: "We have a dream. It won't die. Remember."

News Digest

International



'Bill' killed in Bangkok

The 72-year-old American actor David Carradine, star of the 1970s television series *Kung Fu* and Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill* movies, has been found hanged in the wardrobe of a luxury hotel room in Bangkok. **Full report A11**

Style



Of form and function

How can a building and the objects within it retain their efficiency yet create a greater sense of harmony and beauty? Frank Gehry and others offer answers in *Style*, our free magazine. And that's not all. See our guide to the must-haves. **Full report B1**

Business

Chinalco deal with Rio faces collapse

The biggest overseas deal in Chinese history, the US\$19.5 billion tie-up between Chinalco and Rio Tinto, looks to be heading for the rocks after weeks of wrangling. Rio Tinto does not deny Australian media reports that it plans to walk away from the controversial deal. **Full report B1**

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see live updates at www.scmp.com

HK \$7.00

HK set to mark 20 years since Tiananmen; mainland wil snuff out any commemoration

Clampdown by Beijing ahead of anniversary



Wuerkaixi arrives at Macau airport and is later turned away (below) by immigration officials. He refused to take a flight back to Taipei. Photos: Dickson Lee

Macau denies entry to June 4 protest leader

June 4 student activist Wuerkaixi to the central government's liaison denied entry to a Taiwanese passport holder and claimed he had left.

Staff Reporters in Beijing and Ambrose Leung

Tiananmen Square was sealed off last night as Beijing police sought to smother any commemorations of the 20th anniversary of the bloody June 4, 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy protesters.

The atmosphere in the capital was in sharp contrast to that in Hong Kong, where preparations for the annual candle-light commemoration were in full swing, with activists hoping a record 100,000 will turn out in Victoria Park tonight.

In the days leading up to the sensitive anniversary, mainland police have been detaining prominent dissidents, tailing and intimidating less well-known ones and shutting down hundreds of weblogs and online chat groups. The security efforts reached

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pation in the 1989 demonstrations, was forced to remove the candles.

There was also a heavy police presence in Muxidi after postings appeared online that there might be an attempt to hold a candle-light vigil there. Twenty years ago, troops broke through burning barricades at the Muxidi intersection on their approach to Tiananmen Square.

Beijing universities said they

former student protest leader Wang Dan (王丹), Wang Lingyun, were confined to their homes and warned not to talk to the media, while Bao Tong (鮑彤), the secretary of late Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang (趙紫陽), was spirited away from the capital. Dissidents Jiang Yanyong (蔣彥永), a doctor who treated many injured after the crackdown, and Chen Ziming (陳子明), who was jailed for 13 years after the crackdown were warned not to talk to the media.

Tang Jitian and Lan Zhixue (蘭志學), both lawyers, who signed Charter 08, a petition launched last year calling for political freedom, were taken away by police. Another lawyer who signed it, Jiang Tianyong, was told to report his movements to police. A Guangzhou-based journalist, Linghu Buchong, was also taken from his home. In Hong Kong, Lee Cheuk-yan,

ld is m ts, m ts e e 1 2 3

been planning to hand himself to the mainland authorities to stand trial.

The exiled leader of the 1989 Tiananmen Square pro-democracy protests - who was ranked second on a list of 21 most-wanted people after the crackdown - said the Macau authorities had arranged a room for him in the airport's immigration facilities and would ask him to leave today.

Wuerkaixi, 41, arrived in Macau on an EVA Air flight from Taipei at 5.49pm and joined a queue at an immigration counter. He was led away by five officers from the immigration department shortly after his personal information flashed up on the computer screen.

He had intended to turn himself in

for carrying the flag to the airport for the flight to Taipei scheduled for 8.35pm, but I refused to leave," he told the *South China Morning Post*. "I told them they must use force if they wanted to deport me from Macau. I won't co-operate with them."

As a Taiwan passport holder, Wuerkaixi is entitled to visa-free entry to Macau. He visited the city in 2002.

In a statement issued before he flew to Macau, he said: "I am wanted by the Chinese government and have been in exile ever since June 1989."

"I have made this decision because China will not let me return and my parents are prohibited from travelling abroad. China refuses to engage in dialogue and I am hopeful that a trial



[in a mainland court] at least would be a resumption of dialogue of sorts."

Wuerkaixi said that by turning himself in he wanted to force the mainland authorities to declare its stance on the 1989 crackdown.

"Arrest me! I issue an eye-to-eye challenge to the Chinese government. The Chinese government shouldn't hide behind the Macau government. Do your own dirty work." A spokesman for Macau's security police said they had

premier Li Peng (李鵬).

After the crackdown he fled to France, then the United States, where he studied at Harvard. In 1994 he married Chen Hui-ling, a native of Taiwan, and in 1996 moved to Taipei and became a Taiwanese citizen. He works as an investment banker.

Wuerkaixi's denial of entry came days after another Beijing student leader, Xiong Yan (熊焱), who has spent 17 years in exile in the United States, was granted entry to Hong Kong. He has since taken part in events to commemorate the June 4 victims.

Yau Chui-yan in Macau and Gary Cheung

the square. There was a heavy police presence.

In the city's northwest, police stopped a well-known bookshop and cafe near Peking University - a popular meeting point for liberal intellectuals - remembering the anniversary with mourning flowers and candles lined up in the shape of the Roman numerals VI IV outside its main entrance. Owner Liu Suli, a former university lecturer jailed for his partici-

A massive crackdown was launched on weblogs, websites and Panfou, the Chinese generic version of the Twitter micro-blogging service. Authorities declared a "national internet server maintenance day" covering most major online networking websites. The maintenance would take three days, they said.

Prominent dissidents including Ding Zilin (丁子霖) and the mother of

"People will never forget, not even after 20 years. The light of Tiananmen will continue to shine in Hong Kong."

A former leader of the student protests, Xiang Xiaojia (項小嘉), who was denied entry to the city on Tuesday when he returned from exile in the United States, said Hong Kong's annual commemoration of the protesters made the city a beacon for democracy in China.

Mainland banker cleared to take helm of HKEx

Enoch Yiu

Charles Li Xiaojia (李小加), Hong Kong Exchanges and Clearing's new chief executive and its first from the mainland, will work with incumbent Paul Chow Man-yiu for three months before taking the reins on January 16.

The investment banker's appointment last month by the stock exchange was approved by the Securities and Futures Commission yesterday.

An HKEx source said last night that the bourse was counting on Mr Li's cross-border connections to help it fend off competition from Shanghai.

Mr Li, 48, who has stints as an oil worker and a journalist before becoming a lawyer and then a banker, is chairman of JP Morgan's China division. He will join HKEx on October 16 as chief executive-designate on a three-year contract.

The exchange did not disclose his salary. Mr Chow was the highest paid regulator in the city last year, earning HK\$12 million.

Mr Li, born in Beijing and raised in the northwestern province of Gansu (甘肅), is no stranger to Hong Kong, having worked in banking in the city for 15 years, sealing deals for state-owned firms.

Hong Kong Stockbrokers Associa-



Charles Li



Paul Chow

tion chairman Kenny Lee Yiu-sun said last night: "Mr Li has strong mainland connections, but many brokers worry that he does not have a regulatory background."

To address their concerns, HKEx

has arranged for three senior managers to remain in their positions to help Mr Li, who speaks Putonghua and English but not Cantonese.

Mr Li was an offshore oil driller in the 1970s before gaining a degree in English literature from Xiamen University (廈門大學). He became a reporter and editor for the *China Daily* in the mid-1980s, and gained a journalism degree from the University of Alabama and a law degree from Columbia University in New York.

He worked for two New York law firms, then spent eight years as US bank Merrill Lynch's China managing director and president before joining JP Morgan in 2003.

News Digest

International

Obama lobbies Hu on North Korea
President Hu Jintao (胡錦濤) and US President Barack Obama speak by telephone amid US efforts to secure Beijing's support for possible new sanctions against North Korea for its nuclear test. Xinhua says they exchanged views on the situation on the Korean peninsula. **Full report A8**

International

Arroyo accused of power grab
Critics of Philippine President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo say legislators who have taken a first step towards changing the constitution want to let her become prime minister and stay in power after her term expires next year. **Full report A8**

Business

Recovery hopes spur markets
Hong Kong and mainland equity markets hit fresh highs after signs of recovery across the border, but some analysts say it may be too much, too soon. The Shanghai Composite Index hits a 10-month high, while the Hang Seng Index hit a 2009 intraday high near 19,000. **Full report B1**

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Bitterness and betrayal for writer let down by best friend

Vivian Wu

Like other participants in the June 4 movement, Ye Fu feels agony in recalling his life's ups and downs over the past 20 years.

There are bitter memories of losing his parents and other loved ones, and generally of a life in ruins.

Without going to Tiananmen Square, where hundreds of students were killed the night before, he resigned as a police officer as his way of breaking with an authority that, as he put it, "lost all legitimacy after the crackdown".

Even more unbearable, says Ye Fu, 47, is the fact that he was betrayed by his best friend, who conspired with authorities to trick him into committing the crime of "leaking state secrets", for which he served four years in prison from 1991.

Last month, Zheng Shiping (鄭世平), better known by the pseudonym Ye Fu among mainland liberal writers, broke a decade-long silence and wrote an article that disclosed his friend Xiong Zhaozheng's (熊召正) betrayal.

Mr Xiong is now a successful businessman and deputy chairman of the Writers' Association of Hubei Prov-

My life has been ruined since June 4, 1989, and there are too many like me, who pursued democracy out of pure motives for this country

Last month, Ye Fu was awarded the 2009 Free Writing Award by the Beijing Institute for Modern Chinese Studies, known for its liberal stance. Its previous awards have gone to such top dissidents as Liu Xiaobo (劉曉波), Wang Lixiong (王力雄) and Hu Ping (胡平).

Born into an ethnic Tujia family of cadres, with his mother labelled a rightist in 1957 and his father suppressed during the Cultural Revolution, Ye Fu said he was aware of the Communist Party's persecution of dissidents and free-minded academics from his childhood. After graduating from Wuhan University's writers' training programme, he was assigned to the Hainan (海南) Public Security Bureau and worked as a secretary to the Haikou (海口) police chief.

Ye Fu was outraged by the crackdown on the night of June 3 and became the first person in the police system to resign in protest.

Returning to Wuhan, he helped protect and transport many student leaders who fled overseas.

In July, he went back to his hometown in rural Hubei (湖北). One day he was approached by Mr Xiong, who claimed he had quit the Communist Party and encouraged him to "organise some underground pro-democracy movements".

An old friend, Li Yujian (李玉儉), who worked in a military factory in Yichang (宜昌) and was sympathetic to the students on June 4, told Ye Fu he had stolen a set of secret documents to give to an overseas pro-democracy organisation, as a way to support the democratic movement.

Mr Xiong agreed to help pass the documents to overseas groups and arranged a meeting at a Guangzhou hotel. But when Ye Fu and his friends arrived, only Mr Xiong was there. The frame-up became apparent, as



Stop ducking painful truth, Taiwan's president urges

Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou yesterday urged Beijing to face up to the truth about the Tiananmen Square crackdown 20 years ago, a departure from his usual conciliatory tone.

The Communist Party has never released a death toll from the crackdown and has branded the pro-democracy demonstrations a counter-revolutionary plot.

"This painful period of history must

be faced with courage, and cannot be intentionally ducked," he said in a statement.

Mr Ma usually takes a friendly tone towards Beijing, with which he has pursued detente since his election last year after six decades of tensions between the two sides.

"Any government, in facing unpleasant history, must deal with the matter on its own merit," he said.

He also said the release this year of a Human Rights Action Plan by Beijing was a "clear signal that the mainland authorities are now willing to directly address the issue of human rights".

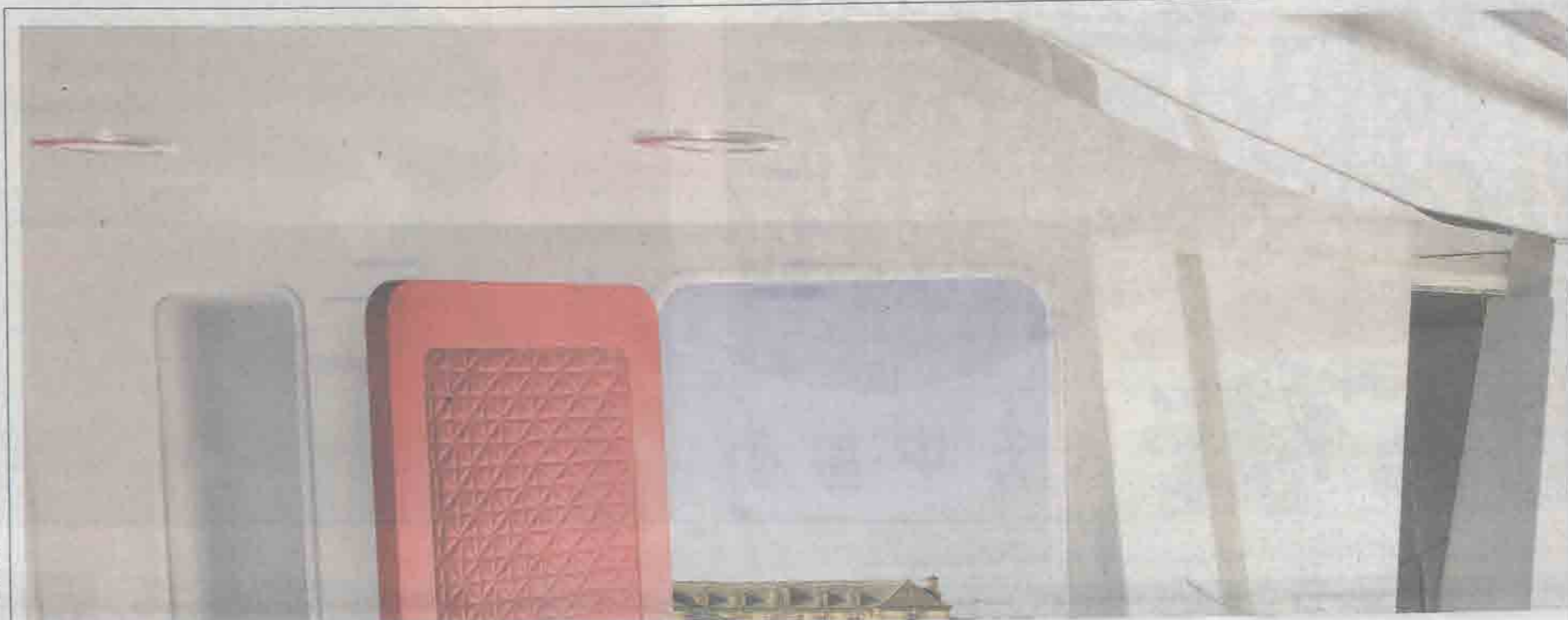
"This shows a robust openness and confidence on their part, the likes of which we have not seen from them in the past."

The opposition Democratic Progressive Party accused Mr Ma of

dishonouring the families of people killed in the Tiananmen crackdown by saying Beijing was willing to address human rights issues.

"Instead of demanding China apologise for the crackdown, Ma is praising China for its human rights achievements and reforms," DPP spokesman Cheng Wen-tsang said.

"Ma is softening in his stance and he is selling his soul in order to appease



pseudonym is Ye Fu



ince, and has avoided making any public explanation of his behaviour.

Ye Fu's article caused a bombshell, arousing a wave of discussions about the informant culture on the mainland among liberal academics and on the internet.

"I wrote to tell the truth at this time, one month ahead of June 4. It's time we, who went through this bloody period, recollect what happened in this nation and to its ruling party, whose legitimacy has disappeared since the night before," said Ye Fu, sitting in the sunshine in a cafe in Yunnan province (雲南), where he leads a secluded life. "I want revenge against Xiong, whose betrayal of me was a result of the autocratic system of this country, which forced people to bow down and sell their souls for money and a safer life - one without dignity or a clean conscience."

Student leader sent back to Taiwan

Yau Chui-yan

June 4 student leader Wuerkaixi (吾爾開希) was deported to Taiwan yesterday after spending a night in a restricted zone at Macau airport.

The dissident, one of the best known June 4 student activists, was denied entry to Macau on Wednesday evening. He had intended to turn himself in to the central government's liaison office in Macau if granted entry.

He refused to leave when an immigration officer in Macau tried to place him on a scheduled flight to Taipei on Wednesday night, and was finally picked up by 12 immigration officers and deported to Taipei on a flight that left at 1.20pm yesterday and arrived in Taipei at 3pm.

"The Chinese government is avoiding something that happened 20 years ago ... I am wanted in China, but I cannot even turn myself in. Is China really a confident, great nation?" he said on arrival in Taipei.

Wuerkaixi, a Uygur from Xinjiang (新疆), also said that Beijing had returned to a state like in 1989 - blocking websites, forcing dissidents to leave the capital and "flooding" Tiananmen Square with police.

Ultimately, though, the court took no action against Mr Xiong.

Ye Fu was sentenced to six years in prison in December 1991 for leaking state secrets, which turned out to be plans for building a navy submarine launch vessel. He ended up serving four years in Wuhan. His humiliated father died waiting for his son's release, which came six months later, and his mother drowned herself just after his release to reduce the economic strain on him.

After his release, Ye Fu struggled to make a living. His articles have never been published on the mainland because of their sharp expression, their treatment of the dark side of the June 4 period, and their painstaking challenge to the vices of both society and authorities. He said his reclusive lifestyle was his choice.

"I am telling my personal tragedy, not only as revenge for Xiong's betrayal of me as part of his official success, but I also want to alarm the public to what a totalitarian mechanism we suffer under," Ye Fu said.

"My life has been ruined since June 4, 1989, and there are too many like me, who pursued democracy out of pure motives for this country but suffered by having to live humble lives afterwards. It's time for the country to apologise."



Wuerkaixi speaks to the media after arriving in Taiwan. Photo: AP

Wang Dan (王丹), another student activist who is now in Washington, said he knew of Wuerkaixi's plans. "There are going to be more and more dissidents trying different ways to enter mainland China," he said.

Wuerkaixi, who is now a Taiwan resident, said his attempt to enter Macau was a "gentle challenge" to Beijing and "only the beginning" of his attempts to return home.

He voiced his disappointment over a statement from Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou marking the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen crackdown. "Has it come to the time to sing the praises of China? I am suffering the pain of not seeing my parents for 20 years, I demand Ma seek justice for me."



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KULTUR

Pres på naturen

Danmarks natur er på retur, og planen om grøn vækst skal forbedres, hvis udviklingen skal vendes. Side 9



På vej hjem

Siden 1945 har Istedløven skuet ud over Københavns Havn. Nu skal den hjem. Side 3

KRITIK | DEBAT | NAVNE



Det kinesiske koma

Forfatteren Ma Jian var blandt de tusinder af kinesere, som i 1989 demonstrerede mod det kommunistiske styre på Den Himmelske Freds Plads. Men lige netop på dagen for massakren, for præcis 20 år siden, var han ikke til stede, fordi hans bror lå i koma efter en ulykke. Broderen er aldrig kommet sig, og sådan har Kina det også, mener Ma Jian. For nylig vendte han tilbage sammen med sin lille søn og opvandede fredspladsen og fortiden.

ESSAY
MA JIAN

For to tus år siden stod tænkeren over tidens ubønhørlige. Så sukkede han og fandt præcis som flo-
»Det, der er rigt, dag som nat...«
dens vand, i føles stillestående og
I Kina kan man se den gang. Massakren på
ustandsede Freds Plads, der for tyve
Den Himmelske Beijing, dræbte tusin-
år siden nedlagte borgere og ændrede
der afløner, synes nu at være låst
livet vende århundrede, glemt og
fastens Kina fortsætter med at ka-
oviddt ind i fremtiden.
stummestabat, som Kina har lidt,
resultatet af naturlig glemsel, men
shåndhævet udviskning. Kinas
kommunistiske styre tolererer ingen om-
f massakren. Men Den Himmelske
s Plads, og andre steder med tilknyt-
g til begivenhederne i 1989, er stadig
let med minder. Når det skrives og det
te ord censureres, bliver det urbane
andskab en nations eneste fysiske forbin-
de til fortiden.

Jeg forlod Beijing i 1987, kort før mine
bøger blev bandlyst der, men jeg er vendt
tilbage med jævne mellemrum. I 1989 var
jeg på Den Himmelske Freds Plads sam-
men med studenterne. Jeg boede i deres
interimistiske telte og deltog i deres tri-
umferende sang af 'Internationale'. I de to
årtier, der er fulgt, synes billederne fra de
dage at dukke op i min bevidsthed med
stigende vedholdenhed, hver gang jeg
vender tilbage.

Under de olympiske lege i Beijing sidste
august tog jeg min nu femårige søn med
til pladsen. Under vores rejse blev vores
gøren og laden overvåget af CCTV-kame-
raer i elevatoren i vores bygning og ved
porten ind til grunden, af aflytningsud-
styr i vores taxi, af det bevæbnede politi,
der patruljerede i gaden, og sikkerheds-
vagterne, der kropsvisiterede os, før de
endelig gav os adgang til Den Himmelske
Freds Plads.

Vi kom op fra fodgængertunnelen og
trådte ud på pladsen. Bortset fra horder-
ne af politifolk, de civilklædte betjente
(der øjeblikkeligt kan genkendes på deres
mørke solbriller og stribede skjorter) og
de prangende blomsterdekorationer lå
den betonbelagte plads, på størrelse med
ni fodboldbaner, næsten øde hen.

I foråret 1989 blev pladsen indtaget af

studenter og borgere i Beijing, som iværk-
satte den største fredelige protestdemon-
stration i historien. De krævede forhand-
linger med deres kommunistiske ledere
og i sidste ende frihed og demokrati. Den
tætpakkede plads blev byens bankende
hjerter; politiet var forsvundet. Der herskede
en menneskekærlig form for anark-
storsindet, frydefuld og forbløffende lov-
lydig.

Selv mord forbudt

Min søn løb hen til det sted, hvor studen-
terne for tyve år siden rejste en gigantisk
kopi af Frihedsgudinden i plast. Han kig-
gede mod nord til Den Himmelske Freds
Port, indgangen til Den Forbudte By, hvor
Kinas kejsere boede før i tiden. I 1949 stod
Mao på porten og udråbte Folkerepublik-
ken. Nu var portens blodrøde mure til-
dækket af stilladser og grønne presennin-
ger. I politisk følsomme perioder er disse
mure altid tildækket på grund af 'vigtigt
reparationsarbejde', der sikrer, at folk ik-
ke kan komme tæt nok på til at plastre
dem til med undergravende slagord. Det
eneste stykke af porten, turisterne kunne

fotografere nu, var portretet af formand
Mao over den midterste bue.

Min søn stirrede op på tyrannens lyse-
røde, firskårne ansigt og spurgte mig,
hvem det var.

»Mao Zedong«, svarede jeg.

»Er han død nu?«, spurgte han med
svedperler drivende ned ad kinderne.

»Han døde for mange år siden. Hans lig
ligger i den bygning derovre«, forklarede
jeg og pegede på det grå betonmauso-
leum bag os. Min søn vendte sig om og
løb over mod en isbod, og jeg tænkte på,
hvordan jeg i 1989 havde løbet tværs over
pladsen i den bagende hede med en pose
sodavandsis i min rygsæk, som jeg delte
ud til mine forfattervenner, der havde
marcheret hen til pladsen fra Lu Xuns For-
fatterakademi med krav om ytrings-
frihed og et opgør med regeringens korrup-
tion.

Jeg gav dem fredstegnet, da de parade-
rede forbi. Mere end en million menne-
sker var samlet på pladsen den dag. Him-
len var lige så blå dengang som nu, men i
stedet for duften af blomster og grønne
planter var luften fyldt med den sure lugt



'BEFRIELSE'

4. juni 1989
begyndte Folkets
Befrielseshær
massakren på Den
Himmelske Freds
Plads. Foto: Jeff
Widener/AP

OVERTRYK

I april 1989
begyndte kinesere
at demonstrere
mod det kommuni-
stiske styre på Den
Himmelske Freds
Plads i Beijing.
Demonstrationerne
fortsatte til starten
af juni, hvor dette
billede blev taget.
Foto: Mark Avery/
AP

Min søn løb hen
til det sted, hvor
studenterne for
tyve år siden
rejste en
gigantisk
kopi af Friheds-
gudinden i plast

af sved, uforklarlige afslag og bitre prote-
stråb.

Mens min søn glaned ned i ismandens
frysedisk, skuede jeg over mod broen
over Jinshuivoidgraven, der omkranser
Den Himmelske Freds Port. Den var nu
tæt bevogtet af politi. De var der for at for-
hindre systemkritikere i at springe ud og
begå selvmord.

For fem år siden forsøgte en mand fra
Beijing, Ye Guoqiang, netop et sådant
skæbnesvangert spring i protest mod, at
han for nylig var blevet tvangsfordrevet
fra sit hjem, fordi der skulle gøres plads til
byggeri i forbindelse med de olympiske
lege. Han blev idømt to års fængsel for at
bringe staten i forlegenhed.

»Hvis du vil tage dit eget liv«, sagde
dommeren til ham, »så gør det i det mind-
ste i dit eget hjem og ikke lige for næsen af
Formanden.«

Borgere kan få lov til at blive skudt ned
af hæren under Maos portret, men de må
ikke begå selvmord her.

»I har skudt min bror«

Over for Museet for Kinesisk Historie på
østsiden af pladsen tog jeg et billede af
min søn stående foran en prangende rød-
brun, gul og orange blomsterdekoration.
Ovenover kunne man læse slagordet: 'En
verden, én drøm'.

I begyndelsen af maj 1989, under stu-
denternes sultestrejke, havde jeg sagt til
min ven, at hvis hæren indfandt sig på
pladsen og pegede deres geværer mod os,
så ville jeg føre hende direkte ind i museet
for at søge dækning.

»Tror du virkelig, de ville rette deres vå-
ben mod os?«, lo hun. »Er du vanvittig?«

På det tidspunkt gik hun med en strå-
hat med ordene 'Sorg! Glæde!' skrevet for-
an. Ligesom de fleste andre kunne hun ik-
ke forstille sig, at Folkets Befrielseshær vil-
le skyde uskyldige civile.

Fortsættes side 4.

State daily says intellectuals chose western ideas at random 'Reform uncertainties' at root of Tiananmen movement

Minnie Chan

State media have made a rare commentary on the Tiananmen Square crackdown – saying the pro-democracy movement was triggered by uncertainties and insecurities brought about by reform.

The article in the English-language edition of the *Global Times* claimed that after 20 years mainland intellectuals had realised the western democratic model was not suitable and had "switched to silence".

The analysis drew the ire of observers and former protesters, who described it as an example of Beijing using intellectuals to defend its actions on June 4, 1989.

The semi-official newspaper, which is managed by the Communist Party mouthpiece *People's Daily*, quoted 11 intellectuals in an article titled "The evolution of mainland intellectuals' thought over two decades". It is the first mainland newspaper commentary on the subject in the run-up to the 20th anniversary of the crackdown.

"We were feeling insecure about China's future, and we were expecting the west to help China in economic reform," the paper quoted Liu Jiangyong (劉江永), a professor at the Institute of International Studies at Tsinghua University, as saying.

Peking University professor Zhang Yiwu (張頤武) said that be-

cause there was diminishing confidence in China's future, intellectuals had chosen western ideas "at random", the paper reported.

Zhang Liping (張立平), a researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said the incident caused intellectuals to "switch to silence".

"Intellectuals no longer discussed 'isms' [about political ideas] publicly, and shifted their focus to academic issues," the researcher was quoted as saying. "After 1989, intellectuals became more moderate and rational. People realised China wouldn't change overnight."

Han Dongfang (韓東方), who took part in the Tiananmen movement and set up the China Labour Bulletin

in Hong Kong, said he agreed on the feeling of uncertainty in the late 1980s. "But as a government, you should let the people voice their opinions no matter how immature their ideas are ... Uncertainties and immature ideas are not a reason for the Communist Party to shoot dead people with different opinions."

Mr Han said Beijing had used intellectuals to justify its Tiananmen tactics. "The crackdown made officials fear they would lose power. The public, including intellectuals, fear another crackdown when they raise differing opinions. We should make it clear that if the Communist Party hadn't fired on its students, the country could still have developed, and it

was not the crackdown that boosted economic reform."

Hong Kong-based political commentator Poon Siu-to said the article had avoided a key fact – that public discussion on political ideas, especially the June 4 incident, was prohibited. "If the Beijing authority is confident in its position, how come it just released the commentary in the *Global Times*, which the mainland public can't read?" he asked.

"Indeed, their silence doesn't mean intellectuals have no interest in discussing western models or other political ideas. The conclusion should be made only after the end of one-party rule and the creation of free media."

Agence France-Presse in Washington

Twenty years after the Tiananmen crackdown prompted vows to shun "the Butchers of Beijing", China is enjoying global clout like never before as its economy proves irresistible.

The global economic crisis has even turned the tables to an extent, with the nation – long on the receiving end of criticism – now pressing the United States on the safety of its nearly US\$800 billion invested in US debt.

The US and European Union maintain restrictions on selling arms to China, but western powers were re-engaging Beijing within months of the 1989 clampdown. China has also been busy making allies elsewhere in the world.

Former US president Bill Clinton, whose election campaign had pledged a hard line on the "Butchers of Beijing", delinked human rights from trade with China and travelled to Beijing for a red-carpet welcome in Tiananmen Square.

Under US President Barack Obama, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton made clear from the start that human rights concerns would not stand in the way of co-operation with China in other areas, such as the economy.

Even House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, an outspoken champion of human rights and Tibet who in 1991 unfurled a banner in Tiananmen Square "to those who died for democracy in China", made only a passing reference to rights on a visit to the country last week, which focused on climate change.

John Delury, associate director of the Asia Society's Centre on US-China Relations, said the US saw a need to work with China on a range of issues – the economic crisis, climate change, North Korea – and did not want to lose political capital pushing human rights.

China's extraordinary economic growth – and the vast array of US businesses that have come to rely on it – have also made human rights less

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pleads for change

Chai Ling (柴玲), one of the student leaders who led the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989, has appealed to Beijing to make redress, release political prisoners and learn from Taiwan's political model, a human rights watchdog said yesterday.

Her statement, released by the Information Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, recounts the night when the army crushed the protests.

"That night, the Chinese government sent massive forces and tanks into the square with orders to shoot to kill. The shooting started around 10pm, and by 2am we were surrounded by the army. Two to three thousand defenceless students, workers and Beijing citizens were killed," Ms Chai said.

She said that, as No 4 on the 21 most-wanted list after the crackdown, she hid for 10 months before escaping to the United States with the help of more than 200 members of underground groups.

She called on the current leadership

to acknowledge the crackdown and talk to those who suffered, to release political prisoners, repeal the blacklist and arrest warrants, and create a citizens' committee to publish a truthful history of the crackdown.

Ms Chai also urged Beijing to study the political models of Taiwan and elsewhere, guarantee freedom of the press, allow free local elections and opposition parties.

"China's current leadership need not fear for the well-being of themselves and their families if they embark on reform. In 1989, I hoped the Chinese government would realise and understand that different opinions can exist together peacefully. My hope 20 years later is that today's leaders will demonstrate the courage to change," she said.

Ms Chai, who describes herself as an exile with little hope of ever returning to the mainland, operates a software business in the US.

Kyodo

Democrat lawmaker Cyd Ho and Hong Kong Federation of Students chairwoman Crystal Chow-ching hold artworks by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot as his sons Lasse and Kaspar look on. Student hunger strikers at Times Square in Causeway Bay hold the cover of a new book about the June 4 crackdown. Photos: Dickson Lee

e's sculpture too hot to handle for Legco

Sculptor Jens Galschiot's 1989 Tiananmen Square monument went on display in the home of a limited brand of democracy not for long.

The Democratic Party's *Democracy Story* in the Legislative Council chamber for about 20 days before the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square protests. But it was moved to the general's office after the Tiananmen protests.

It only became manifested in the fact that at least it was displayed in the independent democratic camp who took the sculpture to receive it from Lasse and Kaspar, at Times Square. In a letter by his sons, Galschiot turned back at the Tiananmen Square protests, said he hoped to remind people of the June 4 crackdown.

"My reason for donating my sculpture to the parliamentarian institution of Hong Kong is that I believe it is important this specific institution has a memorial of the massacre of the students of the Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989," the statement said.

The Legislative Council Secretariat said president Tsang Yok-sing "cannot accept" the sculpture before the Legco Commission met to decide what to do with it. The commission meets on June 11.

Ip Kwok-him, of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, who is a member of the Legco Commission, said the sculpture should either be sent back or "put away in a storeroom".

"That thing is very political and we should not display it just because someone wanted to make a political point. Should we display, say, a bomb, just because someone gave it to Legco?" Mr Ip asked.

But unionist lawmaker Lee Cheuk-yan said it should be dis-



played next to the Olympic torch donated by former Legco president Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai, which is displayed in the Legco corridors.

Liberal Party chairwoman Miriam Lau Kin-ye said she was open to the idea of displaying the sculpture, although a decision should be made

by the commission. Galschiot's sons donated another similar sculpture to members of the Hong Kong Federation of Students, who are on a 64-hour hunger strike in commemoration of June 4.

"The sculpture is fragmented, and only part of a whole to symbolise that

the students of Tiananmen have not yet been rehabilitated... it is you who have to carry on the torch of freedom which has been passed on by the students of Tiananmen in 1989," the sculptor said.

The two new sculptures were inspired by Galschiot's original creation, *The Pillar of Shame*, which arrived in 1997 and is on display at the University of Hong Kong.

Former Tiananmen student leader Xiong Yan (熊焱), who arrived in the city on Saturday, was among those supporting the dozen hunger strikers in Times Square yesterday.

"Looking at you today made me remember the sad but courageous picture of Tiananmen. Take care of your health in your sacrifice," he said as one hunger-striker, Crystal Chow-ching, fainted after going without food for 20 hours. "The future of China relies on you."

A coalition of student groups from seven tertiary institutions published a pamphlet yesterday commemorating the 20th anniversary of June 4.

er protester held, others under house arrest or watched

Press in Beijing

Tiananmen prisoner had other dissidents under house arrest or house arrest ahead of the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Wu, who was jailed for protesting in 1989 in the province of Zhejiang, was in Beijing, was Saturday, fellow activists said. Mr Wu had just written a letter to President Hu Jintao seeking economic reforms, and was jailed after the June 4 crackdown.

He was jailed for three days and the letter with three other prisoners, said they

Access to Twitter, Hotmail and other websites blocked

Access to Twitter and Hotmail services was blocked across the mainland yesterday, two days before the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Indignant users filled chat rooms with protests after access to Twitter was denied shortly after 5pm.

"The whole Twitter community in China has been exploding with it," said Beijing-based technology commentator Kaiser Kuo. "It's just part of life here. If

anything surprises me, it's that it took them so long."

Other internet users reported not being able to access Windows Live, a service offered by Microsoft - which also owns Hotmail - and also Flickr, an online photo-sharing service owned by Yahoo.

"This is so frustrating. Now I feel China is exactly the same as Iran," said a financial professional and Twitter user in Shanghai, referring to Iran's May ban of popular networking site Facebook.

Twitter is an internet-based text message service which allows users to post updates - called "tweets" - of no more than 140 characters.

Access to video-sharing site YouTube, owned by Google, was blocked on the mainland in March after overseas Tibetan groups posted graphic footage of the crackdown on protests by Tibetans last year.

Reuters

wanted the central government to resolve their living problems, which included a lack of health insurance.

"We were also fired from our companies," he said. Mr Chen said he and

the three other signatories had not been bothered by police, and believed Mr Wu had been detained because he wrote the letter.

In Beijing, meanwhile, Ding Zilin

(丁子霖), a 72-year-old woman whose son was shot and killed in the crackdown on the evening of June 3, said she had been asked to leave the capital ahead of the anniversary.

Activist group back in popularity top 10

Peter So

The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China has returned to the list of the 10 most popular political groups ahead of the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, a study has found.

The alliance ranked seventh in the telephone poll conducted by the University of Hong Kong's public opinion programme between May 19 and 22 with a support rating of 48 out of 100.

It was the highest ranking for the activist group in the three-monthly poll of 1,011 respondents since August 2002 and its first time in the top 10 for nine months.

Its ranking during the nine months was not disclosed because only the top 10 are published.

The results followed another study by the university last week in which a record 61 per cent of 1,011 respondents said the central government must reverse its official stance on the June 4 movement.

The Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Trade Unions continued to top the list of political groups, with the Civic Party passing the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood to rank third. The Frontier, which merged with the Democrats last year and is now politically inactive, ranked

How they scored

The latest ratings (out of 100) of Hong Kong's political groups

FTU	52.6
CTU	51.7
Civic Party	51.3
ADPL	49.9
Democratic Party	48.8
DAB	48.7
HK Alliance	48
Frontier	47.6
Liberal Party	44.9
LSD	39.6

SCMP GRAPHIC

SOURCE: HKU POP

eighth. The ratings had a margin of error of plus or minus 1.6 points.

Meanwhile, the League of Social Democrats' popularity has dropped to its lowest point since the study started to measure its rating in 2007. Its support rating dropped 4.2 points to 39.6 points, ranking it 10th.

Pollster Robert Chung Ting-yiu said it was "probably due to the involvement of some members in the foul-language incident".

In recent months, the League's three lawmakers have been in hot water for repeatedly directing foul language at officials or using words with similar pronunciation.

Another university poll found last month that the popularity of the trio fell by between 4 and 7.1 percentage points compared with its previous study three months before.

前綫短評

敬業

俗語有句「堅過石堅」，石堅人如其名，縱觀香港影壇，能以「奸」字深入人心，就算甚少看粵語片的一代，都認識「奸人堅」之名，只得石堅有此能耐。他曾經為一隻香草薄荷

體現香港價值 理性面對

亦每年見展尤其步方式發展在九對體現對這遇學生兩制證了年的受到法舉

15萬燭光 港人驕



高舉燭光 唱歌悼念 爲了20年一直未平反的六四事件，15萬人（支聯會數字）在維園高舉燭光，唱歌悼念死難者，被讚譽爲「全中國、全世界的驕傲」

維園爆滿5萬人未能入場

忘記平反六四的心願。15 萬人或坐或站，迫爆維園球場與草地，以 15 萬點燭光悼念六四死難者，爭取民主中國；維園場外，支聯會聲稱約 5 萬人未能入場，在外圍參與晚會。首次在港出席悼念晚會的學運領袖熊焯，見證港人的堅持，大為感歎，形容香港是全中國、全世界的驕傲。

明報記者

支聯會昨晚宣布出席晚會的有 15 萬人，平了 1990 年六四一周年的紀錄，若計及未能進場的市民，人數 20 萬更創紀錄。警方發言人說，統計過維園最多人的時候，有 6.28 萬人（見圖）。今次 20 周年燭光晚會的主題是「毋忘六四 繼承英烈志 薪火相傳 接好民主棒」，主打年輕人路線（見另稿）。

平 90 年紀錄 警估 6.28 萬人

晚會原定 8 時開始，但 6 時起不少市民已魚貫入場，7 時前已坐滿一個足球場，除了晚會的常客，也有一些年輕人結伴到來。天后的港鐵站更要實施人潮管制，電梯暫停。7 時 56 分，參加群眾已坐滿全場 6 個足球場，大會延至 8 時 40 分才開始，當時足球場旁的籃球場及大草地，均已擠滿人。球場和草地爆滿，不少市民只能靠邊站，本報記者觀察，人群甚至站到距離球場很遠的水池旁邊，有人站在高位斜坡，而近馬路的一邊也站滿人。有市民站在噴水池的位置，因滑腳跌傷而送院。

熊焯：像回到 89 年的天安門

晚會的序幕，是播放已故中共總書記趙紫陽的錄音帶，提到六四悲劇未能避免發生。接着，支聯會主席司徒華等人向死難者獻花及燃點民主火炬，全場站立。之後大會播放「天安門母親」代表丁子霖的錄音帶，她提到特首曾蔭權的六四言論，批評曾蔭權為屠殺辯護，她說：「這個世界不可能永遠靠金錢和權力來主宰。它總有公理在。」

晚會另一個高潮，是首次有學運領袖發表演說，熊焯以高亢語調演說了 8 分鐘，當他說到「祈求上帝擦去傷痛的淚水，祈求大能的上帝用公義審判殺人者」，全場掌聲如雷。熊焯說，香港這片土地，是中國追求民主精神不死的見證，是全中國的驕傲。熊焯對本報記者表示，看到這麼多人出席燭光晚會，心情很激動，「好像回到 1989 年的天安門，覺得很有力量」。

晚會接近結束，司徒華在台上宣布出席晚會者有 15 萬人，現場興奮起哄。他表示，沒想過那麼多人出席晚會，但他不會因此感興奮，除非到平反六四的一天。他稱，相信人多的原因，一是因為六四 20 周年，二是有曾蔭權、陳一謬等反面言論刺激港人，三是因為薪火相傳，今年多了年輕人參加。支聯會副主席李卓人指除了場內 15 萬人，估計場外有約 5 萬人未能入場。

正在訪台的政制及內地事務局長林瑞麟回應六四晚會時說：「香港回歸以來，我們有言論自由，多元化的意見每一天都可以表達。」中國半官方媒體中通社昨晚 10 時 25 分也有一篇短稿報道六四燭光晚會，指「香港有團體以『六四』二十周年為主題，在銅鑼灣維多利亞公園舉辦燭光晚會」，又稱警方派員到場維持秩序，有一中年男子跌傷，要戴上氧氣罩送院。

【相關新聞刊 A3 至 A10】



晚會參加者中有不少是年輕人。

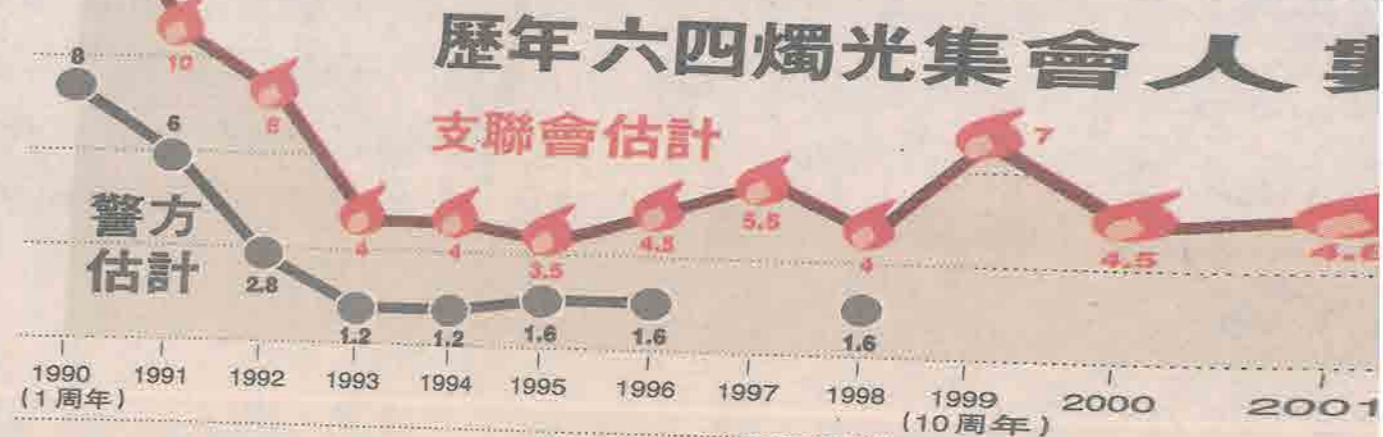
自小隨父母參加

支聯會主席司徒華表示，他們為了可以達到「薪火相傳，接好民主棒」的主題，所以透過學聯及各大泛民主派團體的青年部進行動員，令更多年輕人參與晚



草地也填滿 15 萬人，15 萬點燭光，照遍維園球場和草地（左方）人沒遺忘六四 燭光以外，其實還有很多人站在球場和草地的外圍，沒有燭，站着參與晚會，人群更站到去馬路邊以至水池。（郭慶權攝）

薪火相傳 六四 20 年，薪火相傳成為今年晚會主題，支聯會主席司徒華（前排右二）與兩名 89 年出生的年輕人（穿黑衫者）一同點火炬，寓意由年輕人接棒爭取平反六四。（余俊亮攝）



年，於是和同學一起參加「Y89」，希望為六四出一分綿力。

另一上台燃點「民主自由火炬」的二十歲年輕人潘藝天說，這是他第一次出席六四燭光晚會。由於他就讀親中的

在晚會的儀式完結後，眾多，需要較長時間散去的年輕人走落台下，指定的歌曲《抗戰二十年的氣氛。

社評

六四燭光 中之光

昨晚維園六四燭光晚會，雖然支聯會和警方就出席市民人數的估算不同，但是從整體場面所見，燭光「迫爆」維園的全部足球場，連旁邊的草地等空間也擠滿了人，情況歷年僅見。今年參加燭光晚會的市民，按支聯會公布的數字，平了六四事件翌年，即1990年時的最高紀錄。這數以十萬計燭光的意義，十分重大，它是一國兩制的重要表徵，也是港人對內地的疏離漸次消失，港人與同胞同呼吸、共患難的最佳寫照。

香港回歸行將滿12年，一國兩制整體上得到實踐，但是近年來，香港內部事務出現不少中央的影子，例如多次選舉和特區政府一些人事任命，都不乏中聯辦的角色；特區政府與中聯辦是否有10點協議，至今疑團未解；所謂香港兩支管治隊伍論究何所指；特區政府突然千方百計制止保釣人士出海宣示主權等；連串事態，使得許多人都在擔心一國兩制已經漸行漸遠。

回歸後照舊悼念六四
體現一國兩制

中國官方對於六四事件，20年來採取「冷處理」，意圖把事件從國人的記憶中抹去，並採取壓制手段對付追查真相、尋求公道的死難者家屬，使得六四議題在內地成為禁忌，國人為免招惹麻煩，都噤若寒蟬。而在中國土地上的香港，回歸以來每年都有悼念六四活動，而在

20周年這個特別值得悼念的日子，許多市民的激情，並未因為時間而消滅，反而要求平反六四，為死難者尋回公道的心志，更加堅定。

記得1997年3月，支聯會主席司徒華到加拿大訪問，在一次宴會上致辭時，曾談到民主黨人和他自己，在回歸後不會離開香港，以免離開後再不能返回；另外，他談到回歸後會按原有方式繼續舉行悼念六四活動，並已下了決心，假如政府用「惡法惡權」限制他們的活動，即使被捕，也會在所不惜地爭取應有的活動權利。回歸12年以來，司徒華和民主黨人自由進出香港，從未遇到阻滯，悼念六四活動可以自由舉行，也從未遇到阻撓，原來的憂慮並未出現，顯示一國兩制在這方面得到充分體現。

特別是六四議題，在全球各地已經逐漸淡出隱去，唯獨在香港歷久不衰，中央要使六四事件自人民記憶中消失的意圖，因為香港的持續悼念而破功，情況雖然與司徒華等人的堅持有關，但是沒有市民「毋忘六四」的龐大基礎，就不會出現昨晚的盛大場面。中央對此當然不高興，但是仍然容許五星旗下的香港悼念六四活動，這就是一國兩制的重要表徵。

在六四事件上，香港人所表現出來的執著、堅持和情操，與一貫予人現實功利的形象，截然不同。但是港人在六四事件的取態，如果被解讀為與中央對着幹，那就大錯特錯。因為，事實上，回歸以後，港人認同國家和

肯定中央態度，愈來愈高。

據港大研究計劃的調查顯示，港人對中央的信任度，持升，許多時候，還高過對特區政府的信任。今年4月最新調查，受訪者對特區政府信任度只有43%，對中央的信任度則高達56.9%，而受訪者對中國前途有信，更高達91%。受訪者對中國整體、對中央肯定和信度之高，回歸時預估不到，與上世紀80年代中英談港前途問題時比較，更有天淵之別。這方面變化，與國家經濟高速發展和對港政策對頭，有直接關係。按發展，港人對國家、中央的認同和肯定程度，會增加。但是在六四事件上，港人的取態與中央截然不同。

港人認同國家肯定中央
同樣認定政府要處理六四錯誤

港大研究計劃上月底的最新調查結果，就六四事件，支持平反六四的受訪者高達61.2%，較去年急增超過12個百分點，是1997年以來新高。另外，68.9%受訪者認為中國政府的處理錯誤，是13年來新高，較去年升了10.9個百分點，認為中國政府處理無錯的只有12.8%，較去年降了2.1個百分點。至於認為北京學生做法正確的，有55.1%，較去年升了5.4個百分點，是1994年以來新高，認為北京學生做法不正確的有18.9%，上升了3.9個

百分點。

調查結果，顯示受訪者雖然對發展和信任中央政府，但是在六四是大非的原則性問題上，港人對電視屏幕看到的一幕一幕惟心不能忘記，但是這個認定和堅持，定20年來中國的進步和中央的態，絕不矛盾，而是理性和成為傲。

六四事件20周年之後，流亡否有新舉措，值得注意。因為「回家」運動，吾爾開希開關涉行動會陸續有來。以目前大區計最有可能被關，應該是港府的政策取向，基本上把學生法，日後遇到有關情況，會遭到怎樣的衝擊，將面臨考驗。

昨晚在維園燃點的以十萬計香港所享有自由的可貴，燭光，也是香港人身份印記的，無法享有自由燃點燭光的時象徵意義。這是香港人值得專

近半人獻出第一點光

明報民調 出席原因：四分之一人憂下一代遺忘

六四20周年燭光晚會人數創下近年新高，本報昨晚在維園以問卷成功訪問373名出席者，有四成半人說是首次參加。調查更顯示，除有一半受訪者表示出席晚會的最主要原因是「爭取平反六四」外，其次有高達26%稱是「擔心下一代遺忘六四」。

明報記者 賴偉家 陳志偉
實習記者 謝少莉 黃柏薇 勞泳珊 張靄敏
雷兆銘 葉玫莉

中大政治與行政學系高級導師蔡子強說，據他在晚會觀察及問卷調查結果，認為曾經歷八九民運的一代港人，在近日個別傳媒有收緊六四報道，社會突然出現不少質疑六四



明報民調
六四燭光晚會

調查日期
地點時間
成功訪問人數

1 你出席今年

51%
爭取平反六四



2 你對1989
理解為：

96%

感」和責任心，遂出席20周年晚會為下一代作見證，年輕一代亦透過參加晚會了解歷史真相。

他強調，15萬人（支聯數字）在20周年後仍在悼念六四，足見中國大陸即使「大國崛起」，也無道德力量去撫平六四傷口和對人民造成的傷痛。

本報記者昨午5時至晚上8時期間，在維園內以問卷調查方式，訪問了373人，當中46%受訪者表示首次參加燭光晚會，另有7%說每次皆有出席。

51%受訪者說，出席晚會最主要原因是「爭取平反六四」，但亦有26%的人稱主因是「擔心下一代遺忘六四」。因不滿中央政府在內地施政及特首曾蔭權六四言論者，則分別有8%和7%。不過，當被問及估計六四何時才能平反時，逾五成人稱無法估計；估計在「5至10年」、「11至20年」和「20年以上」才有望平反者，各佔逾一成；相信5年內可平反的僅得2%，反映受訪者對平反傾向悲觀。針對近年香港社會悼念六四的環境，有38%受訪者感到悼念六四的自由「有所收緊」，52%表示未感到收緊。同時，有38%人稱在港找到的六四事件資料「不足夠」，認為足夠者有52%。

此外，雖然近日社會有不少質疑當年六四民運動機和天安門廣場是否涉武力鎮壓的言論，調查仍反映有多達96%受訪者認為六四事件應理解為「政府以武力鎮壓學生民衆造成傷亡」；認為當年事件是政府與民衆發生武力衝突，雙方傷亡相若，佔3%；稱不清楚當年事件者僅得1%。

城市大學專業進修學院學術統籌宋立功指出，近年學校推行國情教育，卻對六四欲言又止，促使大批年輕人盼親身出席晚會，以滿足求知慾和親身感受國家大事。



接棒 15萬點燭光，昨晚「鋪滿」維園，成為全球六四20周年紀念活動的最大焦點。這名孩子一人舉起兩支蠟燭，與大會希望年輕人接棒的主題緊緊呼應。（法新社）

參加者心聲

千禧世代



坦克車死人

梁展熙（9歲）

「我覺得好奇怪，坦克車應該用來自衛的，為什麼會用來擋人民？」今年9歲的梁展熙上中文課時聽到老師談起六四經過，他這樣向記者解釋六四：「有坦克車在中國車死學生，死了很多人。」

他和媽媽都是首次參與燭光晚會，媽媽指往年覺得展熙年紀尚小，未懂得了解六四，但今年起會每年帶他參與晚會。

被問及首次參與晚會的感受，展熙只說「都幾悶」，至於會否下年再來，滿臉孩子氣的他笑說：「唔知呀！」

八十世代



母親反對

葉同學（20歲）

1989年出生的葉同學昨在母親的反對下首次參與六四燭光晚會，她出門前，其母親再三叮囑：「記得有什麼事便要快點離開！李柱銘之前被人（計劃）暗殺，你這次參與晚會，可能會有危險。」

她表示，自小父母很少提及六四，但深感自己已經20歲，應該多了解六四事件，遂決定參加晚會，「大家經常說現時的學生很無知，我希望透過站出來，證明我們其實想知道這件事（六四事件）……但因自己未親身經歷事件，好難評論」。

七十世代



灌輸兒子

羅小姐（36歲）

在中學教歷史的羅小姐回想20年前，在電視機前聽到槍聲、呼喊聲等，當時念中四的她忍不住哭起來，雖然當時年紀還小，但她認為自己總算經歷過《中英聯合聲明》簽署、六四事件及回歸，眼看近年青少年不關心六四，自覺有使命去向下一代說出事實，「我親眼在新聞看到，不能否認，亦不需質疑」。她去年起帶兒子到燭光晚會，雖然他今年只有4歲，但是羅小姐都會向他談六四，「因為這是非常重要的，即使感到20年來社會已淡化六四，但下一代不能對此一無所知」。

六十世代



絲路播真相

周先生（右，45歲）

「六四是有大學生在天安門絕食，軍人打他們，學生最後被坦克車車死。」邊說邊微笑的智游（左）即時被父親周先生糾正，「不能笑着說，這是令人難過的事」。周先生20年前看到電視新聞報道六四畫面，非常激動，毅然請一個月假踏上絲路，途中向內地人講述六四事件，「他們竟然完全不知自己國家發生的事，我覺得很神奇」。他為兒子取名智游，希望他是有智慧及會多遊歷的人，亦追求自由，遂有教導他六四事件，「他數天前主動打電話給我，說想參與燭光晚會，所以便帶他來」。

五十世代



孤獨的堅持

周先生（57歲）

已退休的周先生當年看電視新聞，看到軍隊到天安門清場，覺得「很殘忍，無理由這樣對自己的人民」，當時37歲的他隨後與朋友一起遊行，曾14次參與燭光晚會，無奈朋友、女兒均不認同，57歲的他堅持要平反。周先生當年一起遊行的朋友因返內地工作或居住，近年均以敏感為由淡然看六四，兩個女兒亦因學校對六四教育不多，形容父親的堅持是偏激，「很無奈，現只剩下自己繼續堅持平反，有時也感孤獨」。他認為自己有責任向下一代「多提六四」，「個個為口奔馳，時間一過，怕會忘記」。

五十世代



廿年如一

林女士（60歲）

過去20年，每年的6月4日，無論身在香港還是加拿大，林女士都會參與聚會，今年她特意帶同13歲的「契女」參與燭光晚會。

林女士憶述當年在電視機熒幕前，看到關於八九民運的新聞，感到非常難過，為事件中逝世的大學生感到可惜，「我本身亦是媽媽，感受到死傷者父母的悲痛」。他希望契女能親身明辨是非，不要被身邊人對「六四」的說法影響。

（劉煥陶、何家達攝）

控擺檔20年四長者 惡行被轟不近人情

食署趕絕戲院里擦鞋匠

繼美利道天橋李伯後，食物環境衛生署繼續票控街頭擦鞋匠，變相趕絕他們自食其力。在中環戲院里擺檔最高二十年的四名擦鞋匠早前亦遭到食環署票控，他們準備發起簽名，希望食環署重發擦鞋牌照。有立法會議員批評食環署不近人情，要求當局重新發牌，讓他們繼續工作。

在戲院里擦鞋十多年的劉永明昨向本報表示，兩個月前遭食環署人員票控，指他們阻街，他曾三度去信曾蔭權，但所得回覆是政府自七〇年開始不再發出「擦鞋牌」。劉謂：「我哋又無申請綜援，而係靠自己一對手，點解要趕絕我哋？」

其實政府封殺擦鞋匠已非首次，劉謂，九十年代，當時的市政局每周也會派人檢控兩次，每次罰款一千五百元；至九二年一名「客仔」向他們遞上卡片，稱如再有人檢控便出示他的卡片，迄今十七年一直相安無事，直到近日首次遭食環署票控。

將發起簽名運動自救

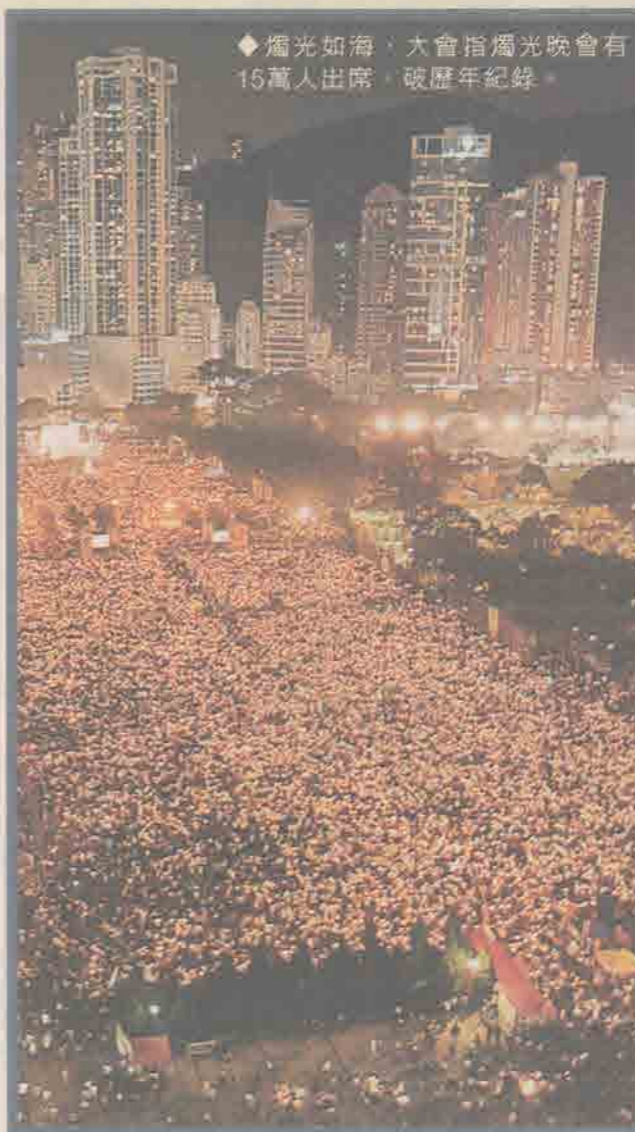
在該處擺檔近二十年，現年七十三歲的楊紹英與新移民妻子組成夫妻檔，過去曾為不少官商名人擦鞋，他說：「街頭擦鞋係香港獨有嘅傳統文化，政府應該保留。」又謂「如果中環人無咗我哋，點出嚟見人？」他們將連同年逾八十歲的「行家」李光發起簽名運動，希望食環署收回成命。

立法會議員余若薇批評，「佢哋嚟度十幾二十年，一直冇問題，無理由今時今日先話佢哋阻街！」加上時值金融海嘯，部分更年紀老邁，根本無法尋獲工作，「政府使唔使咁絕先？」她已去信食物及衛生局局長周一嶽，要求政府重發擦鞋牌照，像重發六十一個冰凍甜品流動小販牌照一樣。

食環署發言人稱，該署於今年四月在該處採取打擊非法易拉架行動時，發現有四人在該處擺放擦鞋用具，構成阻塞，遂向他們提出票控。



劉永明在戲院里擦鞋十多年，他對當局票控十分不滿。



燭光如海，大會指燭光晚會有15萬人出席，破歷年紀錄。

15萬人參加六四燭光晚會

破歷年紀錄 警方估計62800人

《本報訊》燭光如海，照亮了整個維園。昨日是六四事件二十周年，支聯會舉辦六四燭光晚會，大會宣稱有超過十五萬人參加，支聯會主席司徒華說，整個維園「所有坐得嘅地方都已爆滿」，參加人數打破歷年紀錄。警方則估計有六萬二千八百人參加。支聯會繼續炮轟曾蔭權的「代表論」，指是「埋沒良心的人發表的謬論」。昨日傍晚六時開始，參加六四燭光晚會的市民開始魚貫進入維園，銅鑼灣及天后港鐵站大堂均逼爆市民；部分港鐵站更需封閉以疏導人潮。到七時，維園首兩個足球場已坐滿，人流不斷湧入，維園兩邊出入口平均要排隊二十分鐘才能入場。之後六個硬地足球場均已插針不入，大會惟有呼籲參加者移陣草地足球場，而原定八

時開始的集會，亦因參與者人數太多而需押後近半小時。此時，警方亦首次開放籃球場，供市民坐下。

播放趙紫陽秘密錄音

大會以前中共總書記趙紫陽總結六四事件的秘密錄音揭開序幕，他指八九民運不是反革命暴亂，學生也不是想推翻政府。大會後來安排八九年出生的青年獻花，全場默哀。支聯會主席司徒華上台宣布，超過十五萬人出席燭光晚會，數目還未包括未能擠進維園的市民，打破九〇年六四事件一周年的約十萬人紀錄。警方則指，出席人數是六萬二千八百人。

曾蔭權早前在立法會答問大會上回應應否平反六四時，指自己的意見代表整體香港市民的意見，惹來炮轟。昨有不少參與燭光晚會的市民，自製標語揶揄曾蔭權的「代表論」，有政黨在維園發起抗議曾蔭權簽名行動，六乘十八呎的大橫幅，一小時便簽滿名字，八千件每件售價六十四元，胸前寫着嘲諷曾蔭權「代表論」標語T恤迅速售罄。晚會播放「天安門母親」發起人丁子霖錄音時，螢幕播放曾的照片，現場即報以噓聲。

晚會在十時結束，司徒華分析，出席人數破紀錄，原因有三，包括適逢六四二十周年、「多謝曾蔭權，激發港人上街」和支聯會關於六四的新火相傳工作見效。由於參加晚會人數太多，晚上九時許在維園水池有市民腳碰腳絆倒，擦傷手腳及不適，共有四男一女送院。此外，澳門約有二百人舉行六四燭光晚會。



有團體不滿曾蔭權有關六四的言論，在維園設檔攤，掛滿寫着「曾蔭權不代表我」的紅色帶。



梁展文聆訊 鍾國昌供詞受質疑

《本報訊》立法會調查梁展文事件的專責委員會昨繼續聆訊，並傳召關鍵人物、律師鍾國昌作供。鍾承認新世界委託他所屬律師行處理紅灣半島訴訟初期，他曾兩次參加相關會議，但不認為實質參與事件，期間亦沒有與當時的房產及規劃地政局常任秘書長梁展文聯絡。議員對鍾的供詞看法再三質疑，認為難以信服。

鍾國昌指出，由他出任高級顧問律師的張陳鍾律師行，曾於〇三年三、四月期間代表新世界子公司、添星發展有限公司，就紅灣發展合約向政府提出索償。鍾承認是添星主動找他，但強調只參與律師行與添星的兩次會議，否認參與實質工作。鍾更多番以法律專業特權為由，拒回答委員有關何謂實質工作及與紅灣半島資料相關問題。

有立法會議員不滿鍾國昌一方面指沒有參與實質工作，另一方面依賴法律專業保護拒絕作回答。鍾初時不知如何回答及略有語塞，其後態度軟化，承認主理律師有不時向他匯報包括紅灣半島補地講價事宜

的進度及他可就介紹生意與其所屬的律師行分帳。面對議員劉江華直指是談判的幕後指揮人物時，鍾否認並說自己「只係得個知字」，但劉質疑鍾既是受委託人，但又說自己不是實質參與，難以理解。

否認介紹梁展文工作

鍾國昌說梁展文〇三年邀請他加入房委會商業樓宇小組時，未知道自己擔任顧問的律師行。代表新世界就紅灣半島與房委會會有訴訟，到知悉後「睇咗利益申報表都無一項話告政府要申報」，所以覺得唔需要申報；而事隔大約半年後，他按處理紅灣半島事件的律師建議再作書面申報。

此外，鍾的作供亦明顯與梁展文有出入。梁展文在政府申請表上填寫鍾國昌是工作介紹人，但鍾昨否認自己是梁的工作介紹人，強調自己只是介紹梁與其準備新世界董事總經理鄭家純認識，多名議員都質疑鍾的說法難以令人信服。



鍾國昌

康文署死撐斬樹應付風季

《本報訊》康樂文化事務署上月底發出新指引下放權力予區域樹隊主管斬樹，被批評是容許「先斬後奏」，令更多樹木難逃一死。康文署署長周達明昨日解釋有關安排是應付風季、雨季的非常用法，不排除八月時恢復原來的運作。周達明又稱，有權斬樹的主管屬經理級，決定權仍在經理層面，非前線同事。

牛皮癬針劑「瑞體膚」回收

《本報訊》治療中度至嚴重的慢性牛皮癬的「瑞體膚」針劑因會對中樞神經帶來嚴重副作用，批發商默克藥業昨日回收該藥劑製品。衛生署發言人表示，批發商今年二月已停止入口該產品，截至昨日，該公司曾向十三名私家醫生供應該產品，該署呼籲醫生停用。該產品屬處方藥物，衛生署正跟進批發商的回收行動。



「瑞體膚」因影響中樞神經，批發商回收。



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大中華13億網民強勢連線 www.singpao.com A.01

【本報訊】美國數通過決議，呼籲十字會的協助下，進行獨立的調查，並釋騷擾政治活躍人士。Pelosi 還透露，早前國家主席胡錦濤提供國釋放 10 名政治犯。六四 20 周年前

風雨

【本報訊】1989 運動，自此香港人在維園亮起。20 年但泛民主派成員呼籲希望一舉打破回歸後蓋這段歷史的當權者熄香港人要平反六四

支聯會今晚在維園舉行球場搭建會場，並作集會，但根據天文台的預晚出席者人數。支聯會主席司徒華昨日民，今晚無懼風雨參加燭光維園，因為呢個係對香港風球，香港都有 5 萬人到呢種精神。」

「全

89 年有份參與成立支光集會，「20 年前第一次去。」李柱銘相信今年出席六四燭火燦爛，風雨係淋

民主洗禮孕育 7.1

司徒華：政治覺醒令香港不致倒退

【本報訊】我們每年今日紀念六四，爭取平反，但對 78 歲的司徒華來說，這是一年到晚的使命——歲末寫揮春、清明獻花、六四前夕遊行、燭光集會、中秋送月餅、聖誕寄賀卡。1989 年 5 月 21 日支聯會在百萬人遊行中宣告成立，華叔自此肩負起主席的重擔。20 年過去，華叔的頭髮白了許多，香港人也改變了不少，「六四對香港人，係一次民主大洗禮」。

記者：陳沛敏 蔡元貴

十年過去，華叔的頭髮白了許多，但腰板依然挺直，「我最記得當日嘅標語有兩條，就係『今日北京，就是明天的香港』、『今日君軀歸故土，他朝吾軀也相同』。」爭取平反六四，捍衛人權自由，不只是一年 365 日的工作，也成了他堅持到底的人生事業。

罷市罷課展現見義勇為

八九民運、六四鎮壓，改變了香港民主發展的軌迹，也是香港人公民社會民主意識覺醒的里程碑。「六四對香港人嚟講，係一次民主大洗禮、愛國精神大洗禮。」司徒華說，當年殖民地上的香港人那樣投入支援北京民運，除因為新聞天天直播激動人心外，更深層的原因是當時回歸定局已成，「香港人希望北京民運成功，推動香港民主，回歸後自由人權有保障。」

北京戒嚴後香港幾次大遊行大集會，動輒都有上百萬人參加，「6 月 7 日全港罷市罷課，除咗同民生有關嘅行業如交通、銀行唔罷。我坐車去港九，新界睇過晒，七成商戶響應，特別係中資，幾乎全部響應。」向來經濟至上的香港人，展現了公民社會見義勇為的一刻。

司徒華指出，港人的本土意識其實早在 70 年代醞釀，當時左派因六七暴動後為港人唾棄而龜縮，右派因台灣被逐出聯合國而委靡，獨立民間力量得以發展，獨立工會如教協等湧現，艇戶事件，捉葛柏等本土社會運動興起。到 80 年代，爭取八八直選提上議程，民主政制促進聯委會成立。

司徒華的六四路



司徒華在 89 年「民主歌聲獻中華」呼籲港人團結支持北京民運。

20 年來肩負起支聯會主席重擔的司徒華，見證香港人在民主抗爭中成長。

華叔點評政壇牆頭草

港澳各界團體及人士緊急呼籲：強於中國當局對北京學生和平行動採取有效措施。

特稿

「前經友人叫我唔好太激進，近海嘍地方唔好

。她昨日在強力支持通過六四為自己中國之行提出辯解：「我要議程是氣候變化，但我們跟議程也包括人權問題。」她表示，在訪問北京期間，她已錦濤提出要求，希望中國當局政治犯，包括 07 年被拘留的維、《零八憲章》簽署運動發起人權律師高智晟等。

來

年前今天，學生為民主在北京犧牲了承傳這份熱忱，專上學生聯會代表的今日結束，不少參加者昨日已顯得疲 35 歲婆婆等冒雨來支持。此外，兩名辦門外絕食以悼念六四，獲其他網友

司羅灣時代廣場內絕食的十多名學聯代「飢寒交迫」，午後忽然出現的陽光又忽冷忽熱的天氣終令其中三人不適，醫生替他們檢查，認為他們飲水不

也在旁默默支持

感動不少市民，85 歲鄧婆婆遠道由荃多盒重甸甸的盒裝奶：「畀啲奶佢哋頂生非親非故卻感心痛，遂前來支持，香港、愛自由愛和平。」不過絕食中，其他路過市民也多予以支持，「頂住過疑似「維園阿伯」卻上前喝罵學生

以絕食表達意見，讓內地人羨慕不已，念六四而來，昨悄悄在旁支持絕食學在家中悼念還可，絕對不許公開悼可以公開討論。」他預備出席今晚燭光討鏡頭，「內地沒有言論自由，希望港行動至今晨 8 時許結束。」

自備兩具出席集會，「無論維園見。」民主黨成員張起嘅一刻，作為對六四嘅公民黨梁家傑也呼籲言論不代表自己的港人，「

支聯

支聯會副主席李卓人高，籌款數字亦破紀錄，化六四策略影響，他有信六四 15 周年的 8.2 萬人。李卓人說，由於眼見機感，認為必須再站出來，他相信不少過去幾年沒有參加數打破回歸以來紀錄，那傳下去，「香港人可以同北李卓人提醒市民要自計由於今晚參加者眾，市集會舉行前提早到達維園，

六四20周年燭

主題	哀悼民
集會時間	8:00pm
地點	維園足
大會建議服飾	黑色、
注意事項	• 天文 • 預計 • 市民

三級原 12萬

【本報訊】今年是六四人數，必定超越過去幾年萬名市民，若今晚出席者變方案，希望屆時所有希會。

支聯會副主席李卓人地足球場，即代表參加者入，李卓人估計維園草地

草

倘若連維園草地也坐例如維園南亭、足球場及最接近會場的地方參與集會

李卓人估計，除非參加悼念集會的市民，若市民無法進入維園，支聯會進入及離開會場，令更多

的 89 年。那年胡耀邦逝世，觸發學運席捲全國。一直被視為政治冷感，只想在借來空間借來時間賺取最多金錢的殖民地香港人，頃刻變成心繫中國、支持民主的政治動物。這樣的背景下，產生了支聯會，翌年更催生了港同盟和其後陸續冒起的民主派政團，迎戰 91 直選。激情沉澱後，本土民主力量卻得以壯大，「經過六四，香港人覺得要自己掌握自己的命運。」司徒華說：香港人過去多年累積成長的公民力量，終於在 2003 年 7.1 大遊行再次爆發。「好多人話當日五十萬人上街，其實係六十七萬五千人。」華叔稱，有人告訴他，當日總理溫家寶由香港返回深圳後，在電視上看到港人遊行的畫面，下令香港警方根據高空拍得的照片重新點算人數，得出此數字。

司徒華說，就是這股公民力量，讓回歸後的香港不致大倒退，頂得住，「直到今日，曾蔭權都唔敢再提 23 條立法，你再睇睇澳門做比較。香港今日有大倒退，就係靠住一路發展積聚起來嘅公民力量，其中六四嘅意義相當重要。」

唐英年

李嘉誠

不少政商界名人在 89 年急起支持民運，但如今多已避而不談。

我們強烈譴責北京當局濫殺市民的冷血暴行，並沉痛哀悼為民主進步的中國而犧牲的愛國同胞。

我們呼籲全港同胞工作者，保持冷靜理智，緊守崗位，保持香港的繁榮及國際金融中心地位，以此更好地爭取九七年後香港的高度自治與自由。

梁振英

梁錦松 陸文強 周安祥 譚志強 譚國基 陳新榮 梁耀英 馮可強 羅嘉瑞 費大如

北京欠港人 200 萬元捐款

李卓人 89 年帶善款上京被沒收



李卓人說，支聯會曾兩次去信北京追討欠款，但至今音訊全無。

【本報訊】無論中央政府怎樣挺港撐港都好，20 年來，北京尚欠香港人一筆債：現金大約 200 萬元，未計息口。這是香港人 1989 年透過支聯會捐給北京學生，作為支援民運用途的善款。當年由李卓人代表支聯會帶上北京，六四屠城之後，李卓人一度被扣，這筆錢也遭北京公安沒收，支聯會至今仍未討回。支聯會至今仍保留那張由北京市公安局發出的收條。89 年 6 月，李卓人代表支聯會上京探望學運領袖，任務是把香港人的捐款送給他們，卻遇上六四屠城。李卓人在離開北京時，被北京市公安扣查，並扣留了該筆捐款。根據公安發出的收條，該筆捐款包括港幣 1,044,660 元、外匯兌換券 349,000 元及美金 50,000 元。

支聯會至今仍保留着公安的收條，放在銀行保管箱。支聯會曾先後兩次去信北京市公安局追討欠款，但至今音訊全無。該會副主席李卓人說：「曾經有人叫我哋去廣州，話畀番啲錢我哋，我哋覺得係騙局，冇去到。」

全靠香港人多年來繼續捐輸，支聯會 20 年來依然能撐下去，「支聯會好怪，只有一個全職人員，再加幾個兼職，其餘都係義工。我哋冇辦公室，只得一個貨倉，開支好有限。最大支出就係每年嘅六四燭光集會，一鋪要使四、五十萬。但係我哋每年嘅籌款都有幾十萬，大多數畀到條數有凸。」據說，華叔每年年宵擺檔寫揮春，也可以為支聯會籌得 20 萬元，李卓人形容這反映華叔的「道德感力量」。

支聯會支持度創新高

根據港大民意研究計劃調查，今年有六成人認為支聯會不應解散，是歷史新高。但李卓人說：「支聯會唔係一個政黨，唔需要追求公眾支持度。我哋好清楚我哋嘅理念，就係支援愛國民主運動。不論支持度高定低，我哋都會撐落去。」

支聯會於 89 年組成，骨幹成員來自基督教工業委員會、民促會及教協等。創會的常委，除了耳熟能詳的司徒華、李卓人、張文光等人外，還有已退會的程介南及數年前出走的劉千石。

九七回歸前，支聯會的存亡是輿論熱話，該會主席司徒華說，他們早有兩手準備，採取「堅壁清野」的部署，97 前將

所有敏感的文件和資料，全部運往外國，「搵我哋都唔會搵到嘢」。與此同時，又透過流亡海外人士「叫人唔好再(逃亡)來香港，我哋幫佢唔到，只會由大龍走去細籠」。

不接受劉千石和解論

組織是留了下來，但部份中堅分子，則敵不過時間考驗。根據李卓人的說法，左派出身的程介南在鄧小平發表 69 講話後緊跟黨路線，即時轉軌退出支聯會。於李卓人猶如「師傅」的劉千石，年前的退出則是個人思想上的轉變，很多人以為他的變色是為了獲得中國政府准許回鄉探望母親，李卓人卻認為更多是出於劉千石個人態度的改變，「佢提出和解論，係覺得咁多年民主派同中央關係都有突破。」

不過，李卓人完全不接受和解，「中共係一個無底深潭，你一開始有任何嘢退讓，佢就會進一步苛索。你越委曲求全，佢就越得寸進尺，要你永無止境咁讓步，最後你會發覺自己失去原則、理念，損失比你所得嘅更大。」



李卓人在 89 年 6 月 5 日被北京公安拘捕，獲釋後港中大批市民到機場迎接。

前立法局首席議員李鵬飛，又曾經有人叫他小心人身安全，可是他從不感到壓力，還向記者打譬喻說，空氣中也有大氣壓力，但因為我們習慣了，就感覺不到。

「反而鼓勵我更堅定」

20 年間很多人改變立場。華叔說，89 年歷次大遊行大集會中最早喊「打倒鄧李揚」的是工聯會的譚耀宗，最先叫「李鵬下台」的是後來退任支聯會常委的程介南。六四後中共保守派緊握大權的局勢明朗化後，左派又最快重新擁護政權。慣見人性世態的華叔不覺甚感，「反而鼓勵我哋更加堅定做落去。」

華叔年前爆料在「民主歌聲獻中華」碰過曾蔭權，成為一時話題。對於下任特首大熱如唐英年、梁派英，當年也曾登廣告譴責北京、聲援學生，今日卻變了面。華叔的點評是「隨風擺，反映佢哋係冇乜氣節嘅人。」對於民主派也有人離隊，像主張和解的劉千石，辛辣的華叔說：「大江東去浪淘盡，總要淘汰好多人……歷史巨浪中，總係有啲人成為渣滓。」

年活動

時間	地點
8:45am	銅鑼灣時代廣場
4:00pm	維園 5 號足球場
5:30pm 至 8:00pm	維園三個入口 (噴水池、禧街及天后)
7:00pm	維園音樂亭 (小食亭及大草地旁)
8:00pm	維園足球場

資料來源：相關主辦機構

燃燭光 悼六四

魂不朽。誓殲豺狼，民主星火不滅。」手來深深烙在學生心中，直至今日學生標語重新髹上油漆，讓它繼續為歷史旁舉行燭光集會，與國殤之柱創作人丹旆名兒子同悼六四。

年正讀大學一年級，像港大理學院紀太古堂宿舍，「每日經過太古橋都睇到們說讀中小學時對六四事件認識不深，掃油，等師弟師妹可以繼續睇到。」

將暫時移走

說，標語 1996 年起已掃在太古橋，校成功保留至今，它已與國殤之柱成為學提醒學生不能忘掉六四史實。她又說但校方已承諾與學生商討遷移地點。妻平台舉行集會，國殤之柱創作人高志英，拿起燭光悼念六四死難者。

20年前今日百萬人士

全城哀悼死難同胞 痛罵中國人殺中國人

【本報訊】1989年屠城噩耗傳至香港，6月4日，全城響應臨時發起的黑色大靜坐，當日街上滿是身穿黑色或白色服裝的市民，表達憤怒及沉痛。集會在跑馬地舉行，有20萬人參加。他們身穿黑白色素服或臂纏黑紗，頭紮黑布帶、白布條，哀悼死難同胞，聲討「鄧李楊集團」。示威者的標語展示了港人的本能反應：「中國人為何殘殺中國人」、「痛心疾首，欲哭無淚」、「反對暴力」、「抵制大陸貨，不往大陸旅遊」等等。

集會上，群情激昂，不斷高呼口號或唱歌，並陸續有人上台演講。立法局議員司徒華在演講中宣佈退出基本法起草委員會，並因情緒激動而暈倒。

環島大遊行緊接靜坐後舉行，100萬人參加，街道沿途，許多商店前都掛上了黑色標語和海報。遊行至晚上11時才結束，部份人接着又到新華社香港分社門前進行「黑色馬拉松大絕食」。

文匯報改印黑色報頭

這天新華社門前及鄰近馬路遊行的人流不斷，分社對面設立了一個靈堂，人們為北京死難者獻上一束束鮮花。當日舉行的香港對印尼足球比賽開賽前，球員及球迷全體起立，為北京的死難者默哀。

一些報章為哀悼北京的死難者，原來紅色的報頭，也改為套印黑色。《文匯報》更在6月5日報頭印出「強烈譴責法西斯血腥暴行，向北京死難愛國同胞致哀」的輓聯。該報報社當日下午半旗，並宣佈即日義賣一天，所得款項全部撥捐中國紅十字會，用於救援鎮壓中受傷的學生和人民。

由於北京形勢極度惡劣，香港政府於6月5日派出專機，運送滯留的香港學生、記者和市民回港。

動，數百名滋事分子藉遊行鬧事，肆意襲擊警員、焚燒雜物及破壞一些中資機構物業。超過200名防暴警員出動，向暴徒施放了超過十枚催淚彈，約十人受傷。支聯會隨即宣佈取消原定舉行的集會遊行，但當日仍有不少商店及工廠罷市罷工一天。

作為香港當時的宗主國領袖，英國首相戴卓爾夫人6月4日就天安門血腥鎮壓表示深感震驚：「北京的血腥鎮壓顯示，儘管東西方的對峙局勢有所緩和，然而民主社會與共產社會間，依舊有鴻溝。」她重申，英國將繼續履行對香港的承諾，而英國亦有信心中國政府會繼續遵守他們應負的責任。

戴卓爾夫人的聲明說，英國對此事特別關注，是因為對香港有一份責任，就是透過與中國簽署的聯合聲明，以維護香港前途安定繁榮。她表示明白港人以沉實的態度來面對這樁悲劇帶來的憂慮。

為香港主權移交安排而設的中英聯合聯絡小組的談判工作，一度中止。英國政府於6月17日通知中國當局，以「鑑於中國近期發生的事件」為理由，推遲下輪會議日期。此舉引起北京不滿，中國外交部對英國單方面決定表示遺憾，並指責英國「干涉中國內政」。

89年六四·香港



89年6月4日，百萬人上街遊行反對鎮壓。



遊行隊伍途經《文匯報》報社，報社外張掛了橫額和輓聯致哀。

點點燭光

象徵中國

【本報訊】年一度在維的安魂曲，襯下奏起。團燭光集會一期一會，學會珍惜身論雨怎麼才綻開一朵自六四始

是支聯會會主席司徒華行六四燭光就算得我叔說，維此97那年七」。97少香港人活動了。

結果而且出席第十幾年，港人並有說：「一般人出來悼，席人數視唔可以話

日地... 又... 聯會成員李卓人連同三名代表，包括 2005 年曾協助曾蔭權參選特首的公關顧問游淑儀，於 5 月底帶同 200 萬元捐款赴京支援學生。

屠城巨變後，一行人撤離，李卓人於 6 月 5 日登上港府安排的返港包機之際，被公安扣押下機。羈留於酒店四天後，李卓人要簽署「悔過書」才可回港。但他所帶來的捐款及其他學生留下的餘款約 200 萬元，全部被沒收。

中銀各分行有大擠提

香港人愛恨分明，6 月 5 日清晨，中銀集團的 13 家分行門口排起了長龍，是中銀成立以來最大宗的擠提，一天之內，客戶提出款項 50 億元，創下歷史最高紀錄。香港金融司被迫調動外匯基金 1.9 億元存入中銀集團戶口。經過近十年的苦心經營，中銀集團所吸收的存款量在香港只僅次於一哥滙豐銀行，此次擠提，使中銀集團元氣大傷。

澳門中銀遭逢同樣命運，屬下 16 家支行門口，也發生了自 1950 年成立以來第一次擠提，被提出款項 3.3 億元。同日，澳督文禮治發表聲明說：「在這時刻，我認為適宜發表的談話就是，使用武力對付手無寸鐵的群眾是不可以接受的，而且不是一項適當的措施。」

不法分子趁局勢搞事，6 月 7 日凌晨，油麻地及旺角一帶發生騷

回歸前信心大受打擊

北京港澳辦公室主任姬鵬飛則於 6 月 22 日在中央電視台發表言論，強調一國兩制，不允許港、澳成為反共基地，亦不許港澳人士在內地從事反共活動。他說：「港澳某些人到內地做了一些國家憲法和法律不允許的事，在實際上對內地的動亂起了推波助瀾的作用。無論在過渡時期或在港澳回歸祖國之後，內地與港澳實行的是兩種不同的社會、經濟制度，中央人民政府決不會改變港澳地區的資本主義制度，不會把社會主義的政策推行到港澳地區，港澳地區也不應該干涉或企圖改變內地的社會主義制度，更不能允許有人利用港澳作為顛覆中央人民政府的基地。」

面臨回歸，六四事件嚴重打擊了港人對祖國統治者的信心。6 月 7 日，港督衛奕信形容「香港正處於憂患時期」，他承諾向英國尋求支持，給予 325 萬港人 97 後享有居英權。

6 月 19 日，46 名來自多個階層及政見的人士，包括立法局議員李鵬飛、張鑑泉、李柱銘及司徒華等，攜手發起「港人救港」運動，向英國政府爭取所有香港人的居英權、加速香港政制民主化、草擬人權法例，冀求安定人心，讓港人團結一致，留港奮鬥。



六四動搖了港人對中共信心，遊行人士要求修改《基本法》。



紀念大戰的和平紀念碑，臨時充當「人民英雄紀念碑」，遙祭亡魂。



皇后碼頭前，市民靜坐聲討屠城暴行。

讀者 benko 提供圖片

震驚全球 影響蘇聯東歐民運

【本報訊】血腥鎮壓暴行震驚全球，各國紛紛以言詞或行動譴責。6 月 5 日，美國總統布殊宣佈停止美國對中國的全部武器銷售和所有其他項目的政府級銷售。6 月 21 日，制裁行動升級，白宮宣佈中止與北京高層政府官員的交流，並要求世界銀行等國際金融機構，押後審理中國政府的貸款申請，抗議中共對民運人士的暴力鎮壓。

對華實施武器禁售

歐洲共同體執行委員會於 6 月 5 日發表聲明，對於痛受折磨的北京人民遭到鎮壓表示遺憾。6 月 6 日，歐洲共同體 12 個成員國發表公報，強烈譴責對和平示威者採取武力鎮壓，並宣佈同級人士之間的會見已經取消，共同體和中國之間的貿易亦將中斷。

6 月 27 日，第 41 屆歐洲共同體

首腦會議決定通過制裁中國，包括：停止各成員國同中國的軍事合作、實行武器禁運；中斷雙邊部長級和高層次接觸；各成員國延長願意延期的中國學生的簽證。到目前為止，武器禁令仍然生效。主要原因是，中國的人權紀錄並沒有多大改善。

世界各地政府對中國政府發表強烈回應，聯合國秘書長德奎利亞爾對中國的事態發展感到沮喪，呼籲「在目前困難的情況下採取最大程度的忍耐和克制。」法國總統密特朗對北京發生的流血事件表示震驚。西德總理科爾譴責中國軍隊鎮壓北京進行抗議的學生。連獨裁的新加坡總理李光耀也表示，對於中國政府鎮壓北京要求民主的遊行感到震驚和沮喪。

國際傳媒炮轟北京，社會主義國家匈牙利的《人民自由報》以〈廣場的悲劇〉為題發表短評說：「在天安門廣

場發生的是一場悲劇。作為中國人民、中國社會主義的朋友，當我們讀到射殺學生和用燃燒彈燒裝甲車，我們感到特別痛心。」

在民間，六四慘案激起了全世界海外華人的強烈抗議。美國 3,000 多名中國留學生、訪問學者及旅美華僑，即日在華盛頓舉行示威遊行，並在中國大使館門前集會。

蘇聯表明決不鎮壓

來自英國各地的華僑和留英學生 2,500 人參與遊行，法國則有 600 多名留學生、訪問學者在中國駐法國大使館門前示威，並要求西方國家斷絕與中國之間的外交關係。

八九民運的種籽未能在神州大地開花，卻在東歐結果，引發了「蘇東波」事件。當時蘇聯領導人戈爾巴喬夫公開與中共劃清界線，並透過蘇聯

外交部長謝瓦爾德納澤發表聲明：一、今後東歐各社會主義國家如發生民主運動，蘇聯決不再派兵干涉；二、今後蘇聯如發生國內民主運動，政府決不派軍隊鎮壓。

蘇聯表態開啟了東歐民主運動的鐵閘，89 年 6 月，波蘭舉行了真正的自由選舉，團結工會取得了壓倒性的勝利。接着東歐各國相繼取得民主運動勝利，共產黨政權一個接着一個轟然倒塌。至 1989 年底，東歐民主浪潮推翻了波蘭、捷克、東德、羅馬尼亞等共產國家的極權統治，為人民帶來了民主自由。

最轟動的要數 1989 年 11 月，屹立了 28 年、分隔東西德的柏林圍牆，被人民力量推倒，德國重歸統一。東歐各國民民主運動的勝利，促使蘇聯各加盟共和國脫離聯盟，紛紛獨立。1991 年，蘇聯正式解體。

維

候，者友，可過。18 聯前成四維國加拿大國際上港夜景港另一種有血有肉讓

李國六四 15 要在中國個原因：一次聽到事，有個父母話：讀書。」死者伸冤 97 年訪美到哈一場外高一群中國她「胡說爭，但當厲聲罵她

食物中毒的醫療開支竟然超過\$20,000? 正確。

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熊焯遊行有感 重新經歷民運

「因為有香港 中國有希望」

【本報訊】一別國土17年，熊焯昨日參加香港六四遊行



■白色紙花代表毋忘六四，昨日在街頭綻放。

■有遊行人士將「平反六四」巨型標語放置在



國」口號，高唱20年前在天安門廣場低吟的《血染的風采》歌聲，成為20年來首位參加香港六四遊行的八九學運領袖。由維園到政府總部，他說走完這段路，像是重新經歷八九民運精神，更激動說：「因為有香港，中國有希望。」他希望香港新一代珍惜自由，負起毋忘歷史、爭取公義的使命。

當年是北京大學法律系研究生的熊焱因為參加八九學運，成為被通緝的21名學運領袖之一，其後被捕，扣押一年多後釋放後流亡美國，現職美國軍隊牧師。他前晚持美國護照來港，成功入境，昨日主持記者會後，到維園參加遊行。他站在台上致辭時多謝香港的「父老鄉親」，「因為沒有你們，我回不來。」又說這刻看見台下如海洋般的「平反六四」、「追究屠城責任」標語，令他回想起六四屠城的悲劇。

勉年輕人追求歷史真相

17年前6月初由香港出發到美國的熊焱重踏中國土地，他形容有變成真的感覺。他說，看見香港人一年又一年的堅持平反六四，推動中國民主，今年他終於能夠親身體會，感動又激動。他寄語本地的新一代，香港擁有西方的文明，又繼承了中國的傳統，因此香港的年輕人享受雙重幸福之餘，更有雙重責任，去追求歷史真相，爭取民主自由。

他又指出，雖然中國經濟發展，人民生活改善，但民主、自由、人權及法治等憲法權利方面卻倒退。他希望未來能有尊嚴地回國。遊行開始後，

記者：陳沛敏 馮永堅 白琳
他獲支聯會安排在主席司徒華旁邊，手執巨幅旗面，帶領隊伍前進。他不大會說廣東話，但沿途都跟其他人一起高呼「平反六四」、「毋忘八九」、「結束一黨專政」等口號，又不時向圍觀的市民高舉V字勝利手勢；歌唱《血染的風采》時，更顯得份外投入。

「學生當年的血沒白流」

用三小時走完這段民主路，熊焱激動的說：「非常感動……這是自由的香港，上帝垂顧的香港。」他認為，追求真理，渴望自由這個八九精神沒有死，學生當年的血也沒有白流，希望香港人能堅持下去。他又表示，將參加六四晚的燭光集會。

至於前日來港擬參加六四20周年活動卻被拒入境的《國殤之柱》雕塑家高志活，由兩名兒子代表參加昨日的遊行，次子Kasper出發前在台上批評特區政府：「不幸我的父親被拒絕入境，連解釋也沒有一個。」當Kasper說到這裏，台下人群大叫「可恥」，以示對入境處打壓香港言論自由的不滿。已返回哥本哈根的高志活表示，港府拒他入境，可能與達賴喇嘛去年訪問丹麥有關。

蘋果網睇片
hk.apple.nextmedia.com

內地記者感動落淚

【本報訊】六四是內地最敏感的數字，不過內地人偏偏想知道更多六四事件背後的真相；無論是來採訪六四遊行的內地記者，或是觀光購物的內地遊客，雖因種種原因不能名正言順參加遊行，但他們在工作、消費之餘，不少人在遊行隊伍外，默默悼念當年在天安門廣場的死難同胞。

遊行人士昨午從維園出發，在維園出口旁的一名內地記者，雙眼通紅，「希望我的報道可以讓中國人知道，讓他們知道更多六四的事實……」他是在一份法國報章任職、被派駐北京工作的內地記者，昨來港採訪六四遊行，目睹港人20年來不減的熱誠，加上聽到民運人士熊焱發表的言論，台上年輕人唱出民運歌曲《自由花》，他開始按捺不住流下男兒淚。職責在身，他不願意透露名字，也不能參加遊行，但希望自己的報道，能讓內地人知道更多六四事件的真相，「我的職責就是將真相告訴別人！」

在銅鑼灣崇光百貨外，聚了不少看遊行的人。來自廣州的張先生稱：「我都想遊行，但驚

俾人影到個樣，所以都係睇側邊睇好啲。」從事貿易生意的張先生對於六四事件過了20年，還有港人參加六四遊行，表示感謝，「內地都無可能悼念六四，香港人要繼續做落去。」

為悼念六四，也有不惜遊「飛機河」，從其他地方來港參加遊行的例子。在新加坡工作的內地人翁先生，昨花了2,000元買即日來回機票到港，「好興奮、高興，仲有咁多人記住（六四）。」他說，是曾蔭權的妄言令他更堅決來港，如不是有工作在身，他會參加六四當晚的燭光集會。

擬來港遊行者 被禁出境

此外，內地邊防人員加強堵截企圖來港參加遊行的內地人。20年前在北京參加學生絕食行動的深圳市民張津郡，昨從羅湖過境欲參加六四遊行，但被內地邊檢人員禁止出境。他接受本報電話訪問時稱，因早前向本港傳媒透露來港參加遊行，相信是內地禁止他出境原因，他忿忿不平地說：「他們不讓我去香港紀念（六四），我就在深圳紀念，我不信他們能攔得住我！」



八九學運領袖熊焱（左二）在遊行隊伍前頭，不時舉起勝利手勢，旁為司徒華及高志活的兩名兒子。

申請回內地探雙親

【本報訊】熊焱是六四20周年唯一能重踏中國領土，在香港悼念六四的學運領袖，是幸運也是悲哀。熊焱1992年透過「黃雀行動」成功出走，可說是他一生中最大的運氣；他透露將於日內申請簽證回湖南，探望年逾七旬的雙親。當年親自北上拯救他的黃雀Tiger較早前向本報憶述，當年從白粉賣，老鼠窩找到熊焱的驚險過程。

重逢黃雀救命恩人

熊焱當年憑着一張工會卡片，致電香港求助。「卡片上嘅位係梁先生，佢仲講錯咗係梁小姐」。談打誤撞，幸好工會職員機警，馬上通知黃雀協助營救。

Tiger憶述，熊焱藏身深圳的巴登村，品流複雜，「廣西嘅洗頭妹，新疆嘅小偷，香港嘅白粉佬，全部都匿喺呢度。」

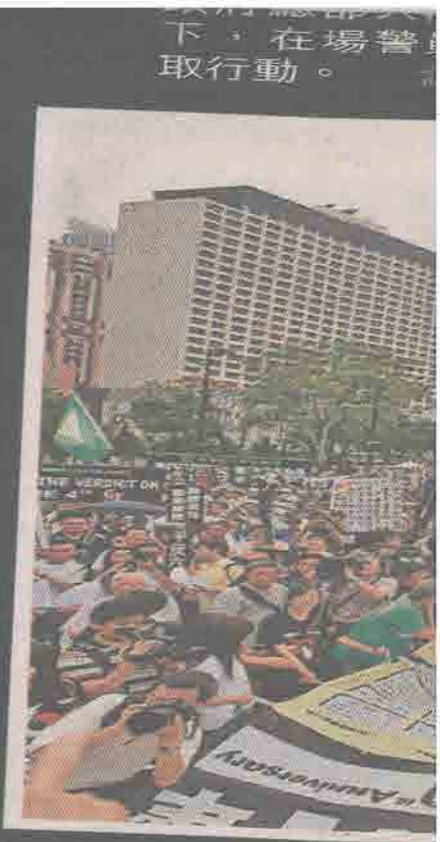
熊焱蝸居於發臭的小房間。老鼠擦身而過，地上的發霉麵包就是熊焱的食糧。Tiger安排了船家翌日將他接走，熊焱怕得要命，Tiger決定留下伴他度過這一晚。晚上，兩邊鄰居一家剛死了人，哭哭啼啼在辦喪事，另一戶辦婚宴，砰砰嘖嘖在放炮仗。「佢哋家就好大膽，伊拉克都夠膽去，成個人唔同晒。」

熊焱昨日與救命恩人Tiger重逢。他在記者會向朱耀明牧師及支聯會致謝，但沒談及太多出走的細節。

台灣悼六四盼馬英九表態

台灣昨日舉行六四20周年紀念活動，多位與會的大陸民運人士稱，能理解總統馬英九現在因為身份與職務的不同，所有言行不再只是代表自己，但期盼他能公開表達對大陸追求民主的支持。

大陸流亡作家、民運詩人貝嶺表示，在當前兩岸關係大和解下，他理解馬英九身為國民黨最高實際領袖與台灣總統身份，不能像以往一樣，以個人身份發表對六四事件的深刻言論。但他也稱，社會對馬仍多所期待，更何況今年是20周年的大日子，意義遠勝過往。身為民運人士的他期盼馬能更為明確表達對大陸追求民主的支持，畢竟「有些標準、有些價值、認定，是不該改變的」。台灣總統府則表示，由於總統正在中美洲專訪，六四20周年當日，馬會透過總統府發表六四專文。中央社



點滴

演藝

想當年，演藝界主持「民主歌聲獻中華」演藝界人人向北望，昨大遊行，只得導演張同祖戰，堅持到底。張同祖

司機阿

遊行隊伍至金鐘道，名因封路被迫停車等候的遊行人士發生口角，他才亂香港，又指主席司徒華起屠城責任。有遊行人士論，與這名司機爭論起來

司徒華

自支聯會成立以來，華每年都在六四遊行前發，未有機會用上英語，今年邀請高志活兩名兒子出席，主席司徒華要向參加遊行人，華叔破天荒用英語

無綫採訪

【本報訊】被網民謔稱（即中央台）的無綫電視派員採訪六四遊行，當記者人士時，途人狂呼「CCTV記者相當尷尬。早前無綫

天安門 3 保安盯 1 遊客



保安森嚴

大批公安人員昨日在天安門人民大會堂前走過。有公安私下透露，上級要求在廣場範圍要確保每個旅客遊人，應有3名保安人員「照顧」。(美聯社)

昨日是六四事件20周年，北京一些民運和維權人士前晚起先後失蹤。維權律師浦志強前日傍晚失蹤，有消息稱被軟禁在京郊別墅中；「漫步天安門運動」多名成員昨日凌晨亦在長安街被捕；「天安門母親」多名組織成員昨日亦被公安扣留問話。此外，天安門廣場、木樨地慘案現場和趙紫陽故居等敏感地點，全日都警戒森嚴。

明報記者 北京報道

天安門廣場昨日全天陰雲密布、時有陣雨。天安門廣場昨日清晨如常升旗，廣場全天開放，未有清場，但各種保安人員數目比前日又再增加。有公安私下透露，天安門廣場和周邊地區全日要保證保安人員與遊客途人3:1的比例，即一個遊人走在天安門廣場上，周圍要有3個人緊盯，全天如此，遊人若有任何反常舉動，幾秒鐘內即會有人上前制止。

CNN記者採訪遭傘擋

外籍人士若要進入廣場，要先檢查護照，美國有線新聞網(CNN)駐京記者周安(John Vause)昨日欲在廣場附近行人路做現場報道，有神秘男子撐傘擋在鏡頭前，令他無法正常工作。

位於北京東城區富強胡同的趙紫陽故居，胡同口有多輛警車停靠，有公安保安駐守。走進胡同，四周靜悄悄、無人

走動。本報記者在富強胡同6號趙紫陽故居門前剛要拍照，突然由旁邊老槐樹後鑽出一個黑衣大漢，大吼一聲「你幹什麼？」隨後多名公安、保安由外面進來把記者圍住檢查證件，包括記者證、身分證等。隨後一名便衣便與記者如影隨形，記者去哪裏他跟到哪裏，連記者上廁所他也在旁監視，直到記者離開富強胡同。

維權律師前晚起被軟禁

每年6月3日晚上都會去天安門紀念「六四」的維權律師浦志強，前日傍晚失蹤，據其律師事務所合伙人夏霖透露，浦志強已被軟禁在京郊一間別墅。

據中國人權民運信息中心透露，六四後共有1.5萬人被判刑，至今仍有人被關押，包括被判「反革命破壞罪」的北京市民李玉君、朱更生、常景強等，但整體被關押人數不明。



滿街保安

天安門廣場安人員數量大批便衣保安人員在廣場周

萬安公墓 逼家屬分

多名「六四」死難者家屬昨日被公安強行分隔在不同時段前者一度獲准採訪，但隨後又被親張先玲直斥公安此舉「愚蠢黑暗」一面，她和丈夫為各死難者

專車接送家屬 抄小路返

張先玲在電話中對本報記者發現樓下有40多名公安、國好的車輛，但上了車又不開。問才知道自己被「安排」要到張先玲解釋，公安從六四1各家分別拜祭，她到達時，經過有大批傳媒守候的大門先玲說，「我們幾家人無非記者拍到國家能允許我們和貼金嗎？」

有線電視新聞台昨日亦報前往拜祭時，有4名保安員站段小姐不滿：「你們每年這樣？」保安人員明言：「我們

emirates.hk

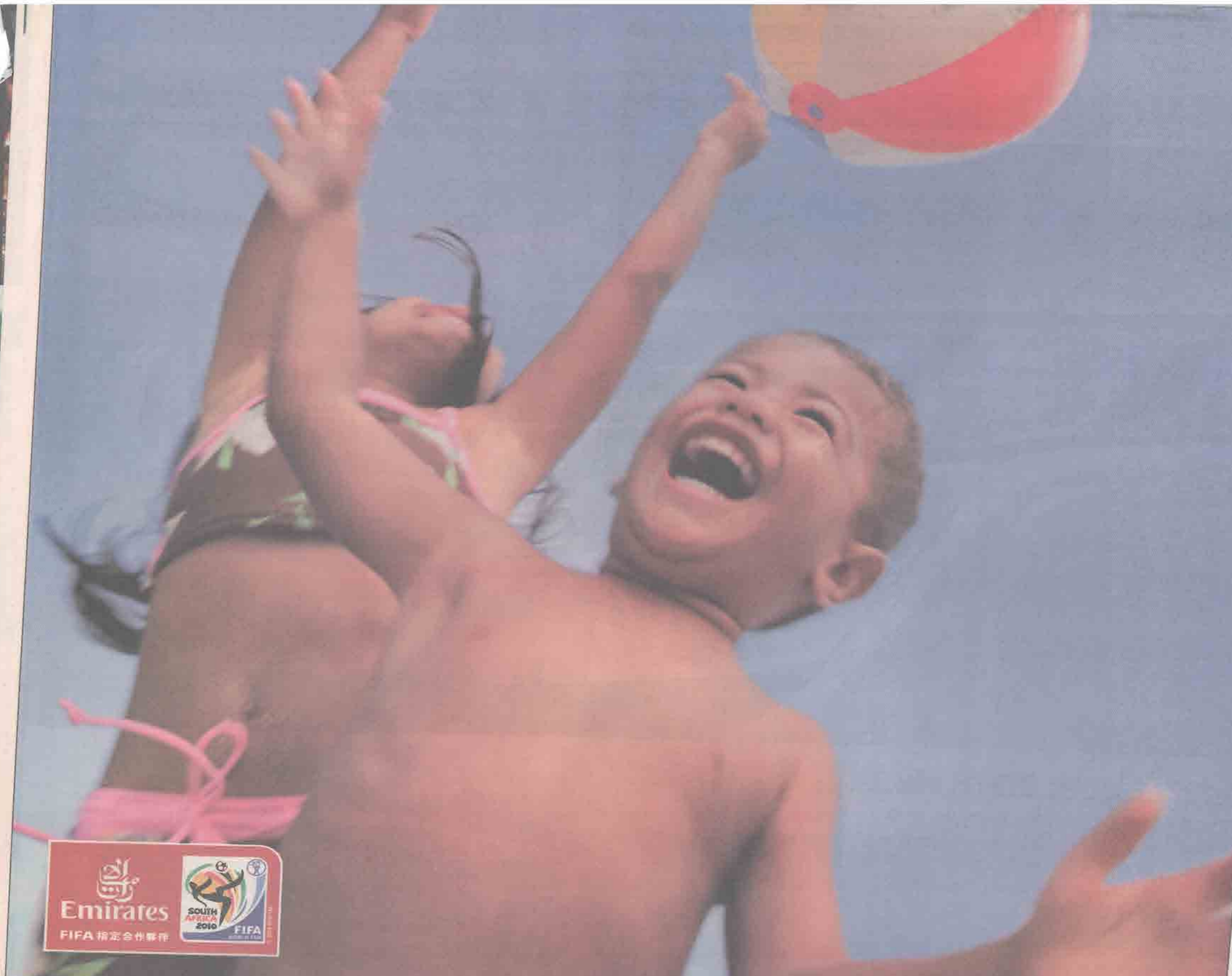
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六四
 令，嚴
 官方背
 民日報
 刊出長
 青年一
 護，引
 天長安

指題目

英文
 放的象
 生什麼
 仍是敏
 《環球
 度和雅
 門廣場
 服或便

馬英九
 沒找



台灣總統馬英九，並首
 被民進黨痛

台灣總統馬英九必須勇敢面對政府都應該「提及「平反六四」的懦弱與退怯。馬英九昨日發言。他認為，政府不會隨時間消滅，設法癒合傷，恐怖時期，都舉心和誠意調查、

認同內地處理

馬英九同時表示、已經願意直開放與自信；這應成為不可逆轉政後的第一個六四前那樣要求「平反

Reform uncertainties' at root

Beijing's leap from pariah to world power

New dialogue round to begin next month

China, US team up to tackle crisis

Cary Huang in Beijing

President Hu Jintao (胡锦涛) and Premier Wen Jiabao (温家宝) told visiting United States Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner yesterday that Beijing would work with Washington to battle the global financial crisis, and announced cabinet-level meetings between the two countries in the US next month.

Mr Hu and Mr Wen met Mr Geithner on the final day of a whirlwind visit aimed both at winning Beijing's co-operation in tackling the economic downturn and at reassuring the central government that its massive investment in US government debt is safe.

"As influential nations in the world, China and the United States share comprehensive common interests and shoulder important responsibilities in tackling challenges from the global financial crisis and promoting the recovery of the world

editorial
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tional financial crisis, resolutely oppose protectionism in trade and investment, promote reform in the international financial system and tighten oversight of the international reserve currency so as to ensure the stability and growth of the Chinese and the American economies and the world economy".

During his meetings with mainland officials, Mr Geithner sought to reassure China that its US\$768 billion of US government debt remained safe, even as investors dumped Treasury bills. There is growing concern among policymakers as well as academics about whether Washington has spent too lavishly in its attempt to haul the US economy out of its deep recession, at the sacrifice of Beijing's investment in US debt.

In an interview with mainland

Tiananmen dissident refused entry to HK



Xiang Xiaoji arrives at Chek Lap Kok airport last night before being escorted away by immigration officials. He was later put on a flight back to New York. Photo: K. Y. Cheng

Yau Chui-yan and Ambrose Leung

A student leader of the 1989 pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square was put on a flight back to New York early today after being refused entry to Hong Kong.

Xiang Xiaoji (项小吉) said he had been told by immigration officials at Chek Lap Kok airport that he would not be allowed to enter. He had arrived to attend a series of June 4 memorial activities.

Mr Xiang, convener of the delegation of students who engaged in dialogue with central government lead-

down, was detained after arriving from New York just after 7pm. He was put on a Cathay Pacific flight back to New York, which left at 12.00am.

"It was a wrong decision to refuse my entry," Mr Xiang said.

"I was very emotional when my flight flew over the Chinese motherland," he told the *South China Morning Post* after his flight landed. "I saw the Yellow River, the Yangtze River and my hometown of Nanchang (南昌) in Jiangxi province (江西省)."

Unlike his last visit to Hong Kong in May 1999 where he attended a pro-democracy conference, and passed

right, Mr Xiang was ushered away by two immigration officials to a room after presenting his US passport at the immigration counter. Asked why he was detained, the immigration officer who processed Mr Xiang's passport said: "There was something wrong with the computer."

Democratic Party legislator James To Kun-sun - a solicitor - was called in to act as legal representative. Mr To said a senior immigration officer told him that Mr Xiang was refused entry for "immigration reasons".

Speaking before his detention, Mr Xiang thanked Hong Kong people for

More reports
A3

attempting to win vindication for those killed in Tiananmen Square. "Hong Kong is the only place in China where people can remember June 4. It is very impressive. Despite being a small place, Hong Kong is the beacon of democracy in China."

He had hoped to speak at a seminar organised by City University, and at the June 4 vigil in Victoria Park as a representative of overseas Chinese pro-democracy groups.

On Saturday, the government granted entry to fellow Tiananmen

was once on the list of 21 most wanted people issued by Beijing after the 1989 crackdown.

Mr Xiang also noted a US passport, and both activists have been in exile for more than 10 years in the US.

An Immigration Department spokesman said he would not comment on individual cases, but said that all entry applications had been handled in accordance with the law.

Democratic Party legislator Cheung Man-kwong, who was helping with Mr Xiang's visit, said the government should not block dissidents in exile just because they intended to

pleads for change

Chai Ling (柴玲), one of the student leaders who led the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989, has appealed to Beijing to make redress, release political prisoners and learn from Taiwan's political model, a human rights watchdog said yesterday.

Her statement, released by the Information Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, recounts the night when the army crushed the protests.

"That night, the Chinese government sent massive forces and tanks into the square with orders to shoot to kill," Ms Chai said.

"The shooting started around 10pm, and by 2am we were surrounded by the army."

"Two to three thousand defenceless students, workers and Beijing citizens were killed."

She said that, as No 4 on the 21 most-wanted list after the crackdown, she hid for 10 months before escaping to the United States with the help of more than 200 members of underground groups.

She called on the current leadership to acknowledge the crackdown and talk to those who suffered, to release political prisoners, repeal the blacklist and arrest warrants, and create a citizens' committee to publish a truthful history of the crackdown.

Ms Chai also urged Beijing to study the political models of Taiwan and elsewhere, guarantee freedom of the press, allow free local elections and opposition parties.

The centre quoted Ms Chai as saying that she would not exclude the possibility of attending the candle-light vigil to commemorate the June 4 movement in Hong Kong.

"I love Hong Kong and all my friends there," she said.

"I would love to go to Hong Kong for the 20th anniversary."

Ms Chai, who describes herself as an exile with little hope of ever returning to the mainland, operates a software business in the US.

Kyodo, Choi Chi-yuk



Independent pan-democrat lawmaker Cyd Ho (left) and Hong Kong Federation of Students chairwoman Crystal Chow Ching hold artworks by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot as his sons Lasse (left) and Kaspar look on, while (below) student hunger strikers at Times Square in Causeway Bay hold the cover of a new magazine about the June 4 crackdown. Photos: Dickson Lee

Dane's sculpture too hot to handle for Legco

Ambrose Leung

A work by Danish sculptor Jens Galschiot to commemorate the 1989 pro-democracy movement went on display yesterday in the home of Hong Kong's own limited brand of democracy - but not for long.

Fragments of a Democracy Story was put on show in the Legislative Council's ante-chamber for about 20 minutes, two days before the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown. But it was moved to the secretary general's office after opposition by Beijing loyalists.

"Justice could only be manifested for 20 minutes, but at least it was displayed," said independent democrat Cyd Ho Sau-lan, who took the sculpture to Legco after receiving it from Galschiot's sons, Lasse and Kaspar, at a ceremony in Times Square. In a statement read by his sons, Galschiot, who was turned back at the airport on Saturday, said he hoped the gift would remind people of the Tiananmen crackdown.

"My reason for donating my sculpture to the parliamentary institution of Hong Kong is that I believe it is important this specific institution has a memorial of the massacre of the students of the Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989," the statement said.

The Legislative Council Secretariat said president Tsang Yok-sing "cannot accept" the sculpture before the Legco Commission meets to decide what to do with it. The commission will meet on June 11.

Ip Kwok-him, of the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, who is a member of the Legco Commission, said the sculpture should either be sent back or "put away in a storeroom".

"That thing is very political and we should not display it just because someone wanted to make a political point. Should we display, say, a bomb, just because someone gave it to Legco?" Mr Ip asked.

But unionist lawmaker Lee Cheuk-yan said it should be dis-



played next to the Olympic torch donated by former Legco president Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai, which is displayed in the Legco corridors.

Liberal Party chairwoman Miriam Lau Kin-ye said she was open to the idea of displaying the sculpture, although a decision should be made

by the commission. Galschiot's sons donated another similar sculpture to members of the Hong Kong Federation of Students, who are on a 64-hour hunger strike in commemoration of June 4.

"The sculpture is fragmented, and only part of a whole to symbolise that

the students of Tiananmen have not yet been rehabilitated... it is you who have to carry on the torch of freedom which has been passed on by the students of Tiananmen in 1989," the sculptor said.

The two new sculptures were inspired by Galschiot's original creation, *The Pillar of Shame*, which arrived in 1997 and is on display at the University of Hong Kong.

Former Tiananmen student leader Xiong Yan (熊焱), who arrived in the city on Saturday, was among those supporting the dozen hunger strikers in Times Square yesterday.

"Looking at you today made me remember the sad but courageous picture of Tiananmen. Take care of your health in your sacrifice," he said as one hunger-striker, Crystal Chow Ching, fainted after going without food for 20 hours. "The future of China relies on you."

A coalition of student groups from seven tertiary institutions published a magazine yesterday commemorating the 20th anniversary of June 4.

Former protester held, others under house arrest or watched

Agence France-Presse in Beijing

A former pro-democracy protester has been detained and other dissidents placed under house arrest or tight surveillance ahead of the 20th anniversary of the crackdown, activists said yesterday.

Wu Gaoping, who was jailed for two years after he protested in 1989 in the eastern province of Zhejiang (浙江) as pro-democracy protests were taking place in Beijing, was taken away on Saturday, fellow activist Chen Longde said. Mr Wu had just written an open letter to President Hu Jintao (胡锦涛) seeking economic redress for those jailed after the crackdown on June 4.

Mr Chen, who was jailed for three years and signed the letter with three other former prisoners, said they morning because of the failure of the

Access to Twitter, Hotmail and other websites blocked

Access to Twitter and Hotmail services was blocked across the mainland yesterday, two days before the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

Indignant users filled chat rooms with protests after access to Twitter was denied shortly after 5pm.

"The whole Twitter community in China has been exploding with it," Beijing-based technology commentator Kaiser Kuo said. "It's just part of life

wanted the central government to resolve their living problems, which included a lack of health insurance.

"We were also fired from our companies," he said. Mr Chen said he and

here. If anything surprises me, it's that it took them so long."

Other internet users reported not being able to access Windows Live, a service offered by Microsoft - which also owns Hotmail - and also Flickr, an online photo-sharing service owned by Yahoo.

"This is so frustrating. Now I feel China is exactly the same as Iran," said one Twitter user in Shanghai, referring to Iran's banning of popular networking site Facebook last month.

the three other signatories had not been bothered by police, and believed Mr Wu had been detained because he wrote the letter.

In Beijing, meanwhile, Ding Zilin

Twitter is an internet-based text message service which allows users to post updates - called "tweets" - of no more than 140 characters.

Access to video-sharing site YouTube, owned by Google, was blocked on the mainland in March after overseas Tibetan groups posted graphic footage of the crackdown on protests by Tibetans last year.

Reuters

(丁子霖), a 72-year-old woman whose son was shot and killed in the crackdown on the evening of June 3, said she had been asked to leave the capital ahead of the anniversary.

Activist group back in popularity top 10

Peter So

The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China has returned to the list of the 10 most popular political groups ahead of the 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, a study has found.

The alliance ranked seventh in the telephone poll conducted by the University of Hong Kong's public opinion programme between May 19 and 22 with a support rating of 48 out of 100.

It was the highest ranking for the activist group in the three-monthly poll of 1,011 respondents since August 2002 and its first time in the top 10 for nine months.

Its ranking during the nine months was not disclosed because only the top 10 are published.

The results followed another study by the university last week in which a record 61 per cent of 1,011 respondents said the central government must reverse its official stance on the June 4 movement.

The Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Trade Unions continued to top the list of political groups, with the Civic Party passing the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood to rank third. The Frontier, which merged with the Democrats last year and is now politically inactive, ranked

How they scored

The latest ratings (out of 100) of Hong Kong's political groups

FTU	57.6
CTU	51.7
Civic Party	51.3
ADPL	49.2
Democratic Party	48.8
DAB	48.7
HK Alliance	48
Frontier	47.6
Liberal Party	44.9
LSD	39.6

SCMP GRAPHIC

SOURCE: HKU POP

eight. The ratings had a margin of error of plus or minus 1.6 points.

Meanwhile, the League of Social Democrats' popularity has dropped to its lowest point since the study started to measure its rating in 2007. Its support rating dropped 4.2 points to 39.6 points, ranking it 10th.

Pollster Robert Chung Ting-yiu said it was "probably due to the involvement of some members in the foul-language incident".

In recent months, the League's three lawmakers have been in hot water for repeatedly directing foul language at officials or using words with similar pronunciation.

Another university poll found last month that the popularity of the trio fell by between 4 and 7.1 percentage points compared with its previous study three months before.

社評

考評人員堅持錯誤 只會侵蝕公信力

申訴專員公署(下稱公署)調查香港考試及評核局去年編製試題的缺失之處,發現試題編製的程序存在連串問題,考評局已經補救;不過,調查同時發現考評局堅持錯誤的態度,充分顯示其「批評接受,態度照舊」的一面。我們認為考評局這種面對錯誤的態度,對於它極需要的公信力,絕無半點助益,反而令其公信力繼續受損。

錯誤過6關校對全無效 申訴專員批評用語嚴厲

公署調查了3個試題缺失的個案,性質雖然各有不同,但是總的而言,試題之編製,歷經評核發展經理、試題主席、審題員、擬題員、評核員和校對員6關,經過9次校對,試題仍然出錯,顯示把關程序有問題,或涉及人謀不臧等。考評局對公署的建議表示接受,並採取措施謀求改善。不過,其中一宗個案,考評局的處理,公署予以強烈批評,用語之嚴厲,對於公營部門而言較為少見。

這宗個案是這樣的。去年高補英語聽力考試的題目指示「What the players are allowed to have: Put ticks or crosses」,意即「參加者可以攜帶的物品:以「✓」或「×」表示」;但是考評局的原意是,以「✓」代表可攜帶的物品,而以「×」代表不可以攜帶。由於題目指示存在語意含糊不清,在考生反映投訴下,考評局採取的補救方法,是「兩款答法均予接受」。

為什麼會出現這種情況?原來上述那句題目指示,原本是「What the players are allowed to have: Put ticks and crosses as appropriate」,意即「參加者可以攜帶的物品:以「✓」及「×」作適當表示」,原本很清晰,但是評核發展經理修訂了題目的指示(如上一段所列),考生就被混淆了。然則評核發展經理為什麼要這樣修訂?據申訴專員公署的調查所得,原來評核發展經理只為要把整條試題在一張紙內完成,就改動和刪除了指示,造成語意不清。

這個錯誤,據知經過3次校對,都無人發現語意含糊不清,而在去年底考評局編印的考試報告及試題專輯時,也沒有更正,申訴專員公署認為這是錯上加錯。

就試題編製缺失,公署除了指出程序和技術因素外,特別指出編製試題人員的心態「粗心大意」,有些人認為「不小心出錯是人之常情」。對於考評局在編印專輯時沒有更正題目含糊不清之處,最值得討論。因為不更正,會繼續誤導教師和學生,公署認為「考評局部分職員對試卷出錯滿不在乎,且不願意在出版試題專輯時更正錯誤,顯示他們的心態仍有問題」,對這種做法感到失望,又認為加強外界監察有助改善這種情況。

「批評接受,態度照舊」 須訂阻嚇懲罰匡正流弊

其實,考評局以「兩款答法均予接受」的做法,實際已經承認題目指示錯誤,但是在處理上認錯,卻堅持不更正題目指示,考評局的解釋是「本局已於該專輯內考生表現報告中詳細列出答題指示含糊之處及當時已採取的補救措施」。解釋得這麼累贅,又無助於教師和學生的了解,考評局捨直接更正而弗由,卻以其他含糊做法應對錯誤,只有一個解釋:就是考評局部分人員取態專

業傲慢,死要面子,硬是不肯聽。考評局對於公署的批評,無關建議,改善工作,但是對於態度,考評局在回應中,特別表本局從宏觀的角度檢視員工的「留」。這種「批評接受,態度照舊」,是考評局人員自我感覺良好,對於他們,不會增加。

申訴專員公署的13項建議,或就錯誤或疏忽訂立罰則,的態度,切實的懲處才可以使考評局的回應,只在「績效評當的跟進」云云,難以起到阻在試題、考試場地的缺失(等,事故不絕,但是未見考前儆習氣積重難返,制訂有阻礙的選擇。

優惠受推
由香港上海
香港上海滙

A2
六

學運領袖代表闖關不成

當局「入境原因」拒絕 張文光斥抹黑香港自由

拒絕入
周年活
亦被拒
份訪港
批評港
並強訴
舞中區
民主通
理年



「六四餘孽」浦 共產黨沒資格

著名維權律師浦志強是每年6月3日都到天安門廣場紀念「六四」的內地人士之一,他的「六四心結」,20年來怎麼也解不開。浦志強昨日接受本報專訪時表示,「六四事件」有朝一日不再敏感了,變得有現實價值了,屆時中國肯定突然湧現無數個六四英雄,拿六四說事,訴說當年光輝經歷,「那時一定沒有我」。

約
衣人員
處櫃位
查詢他
了解情
項
他的律



項小吉 由王丹、吾爾開希等學運領袖推舉為代表的項小吉，昨日經紐約來港，擬出席明日六四燭光晚會，但被拒入境。

(何家達攝)



特稿

繼丹麥雕塑家高志活上周六被拒入境後，由王丹、吾爾開希等流亡海外學運領袖推舉為代表的項小吉，昨日經紐約來港時亦被拒入境，今零時15分乘飛機返回美國。八九民運期間擔任對話團團長的項小吉，是應支聯會邀請出席明日的六四燭光晚會，支聯會常委張文光指當局的決定是錯誤及不明智，抹黑香港的「出入境自由」。項小吉親筆寫上聲明，對今次未能入境表示遺憾，強調「香港政府這次拒絕我入境是一個錯誤的決定」。

明報記者 賴偉家

1989年流亡美國的項小吉，乘搭國泰航空CX831航班，昨晚7時15分經紐約抵港，8時05分在入境處櫃檯等候過關時，職員先要求他提供更多文件，擾攘逾5分鐘後，被另一名職員帶入房間查問，其間要求他交代來港行程，項小吉表示自己會出席六四活動，但出示了周六(6日)的回程機票，強調是次旅程是合法及有回程安排。

另一邊廂，支聯會副主席李卓人、常委張文光等人守候機場，知悉項小吉被拒入境，便找來本身是律師的民主黨涂謹申到禁區協助項小吉，他們不滿入境處拒絕項小吉入境的理由是「入境原因」，一度要求保安局長李少光介入，並求助美國總領事館。

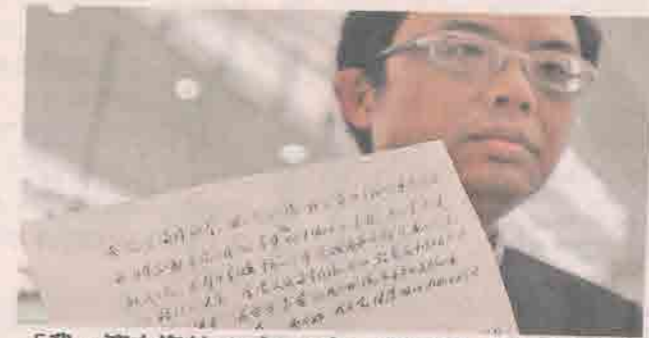
張文光稱，據初步了解，21名被通緝學運領袖

之一的熊焱日前能夠入境，而項小吉被拒，有說是前者來港目的是「探親」，後者是出席活動，「沒想到《基本法》的出入境自由只限於探親」，他相信項氏被拒入境與六四有關，「其實熊焱入境，所說的話也是褒獎香港，有助紓緩市民對特首曾蔭權六四言論的緊張」。

原計劃六四燭光晚會演講

項小吉昨晚抵港後，在機場抵港層禁區內接受本報記者訪問，整個過程最少有4男1女監視。他說，是次來港，計劃今日出席城市大學舉辦的六四20周年研討會，並於明晚六四燭光晚會上演講，感謝港人的支持。他原計劃在港逗留數天。

項小吉89年由北京經廣州偷渡到香港，之後流



「我，流亡海外20年，有一個心願，就是每10年能回香港看看……」前民運人士項小吉被拒入境，將手寫聲明交給民主黨涂謹申(圖)。(何家達攝)

亡美國，99年曾來港參加香港大學舉辦的六四10周年論壇。他說，相隔十年再次來港，是希望每十年到一到中國的國土。他對中國民主運動有信心，相信民主是世界潮流，而無論六四20周年、30周年也好，流亡海外的學生，仍會與港人一起推動中國民主進程。

對於本港早前有不少年輕人發表淡化六四的言論，項小吉認為無所謂，並歡迎青年人提出疑問，甚至批評。【相關新聞刊A3、A5】

港生絕食恩惠了熊焱

機上遙望國土「幾大風險也值得」

由紐約飛來香港途中，項小吉說，航機飛過中國上空，讓他20年來首次親眼目睹中國大陸，看到黃河、長江，亦看到他的故鄉江西南昌，所以就算無法回到內地，仍覺得這趟14小時的旅程有價值，「(旅程)有幾大風險和有多辛苦，現在也都值得！」項小吉昨晚在機場抵港層禁區內過關前，向本報記者如是說。

項小吉於1989年是中國政法大學國際法研究生，是北京高校學生對話代表團團長。六四後，他成為49名被禁止出入境的民運人士，同年8月輾轉偷渡來港，逗留了3個月，成為首批流亡到美國的學生領袖。

回來為見曾助流亡港人

他說，今次來港目的之一，是希望見見當年冒着相當大風險也要協助他流亡的人，「想親自多

謝他們」，這是他無論如何也要爭取來港的原因。他說堅信「楚雖三戶，亡秦必楚」這說法，即暴政始終無辦法維持下去。

根據資料，六四後患上憂鬱病的項小吉，在美國致力推動民主，「我不管能否實現，反正會盡力去做、不停地做。」

他又說：「八九六四那麼多人死了，要對他們及遺屬有個交代。我為什麼不回去？連試也不試，即使我多麼的想念母親、思念中國、懷念家鄉？因為我對那批死者和他們的家屬有道義上的良知和責任！我要對得起他們！我不能讓人覺得：『你們這些人當年逃出去，中國還沒有變化，你們現在又回來了，而且這樣回來是有交換的。』政府也有人傳話，說我可以回去，但交換條件是我日後在中國和國外都不能從事政治活動，這是我不能接受的。」

柴玲14年首發聲明： 拿出勇氣 平反六四

八九「六四」後被通緝的21名學運領袖中，排名第4的柴玲(圖)，14年來首次發表聲明稱，六四後在內地躲藏了10個月，超過200人協助她逃到海外，自己幾乎沒有再回內地的希望。



在六四20周年前夕，她呼籲中國領導人拿出勇氣，平反六四，交代真相，釋放89年的政治犯，並取消對學生領袖的通緝令。

柴玲昨日發表兩頁長的英文聲明，憶述20年前的6月4日凌晨，天安門的學生被軍隊包圍，學生舉行最後一次投票，決定離開廣場，但軍隊最後一分鐘才答應讓學生離開。她指當年學生有清場的心理準備，但絕對沒想到有血腥大屠殺，她又稱當時有2000至3000人被殺。

高志活兒子



《國殤之柱》創作人高志活，其兩名兒子(右一及右二)昨日代父為兩座新國殤之柱舉交儀式。高志活將其其中一座國殤之柱送給立法會，但立法會主筆成以「未開會」為由拒絕接受承諾此事交由行政管理委員會。泛民「飯盒會」召集人何(左一)代泛民出席移交。

另一座新的國殤之柱送給支九民運的香港學生，由學聯接稍後他們會討論擺放在哪間院學生會。

球呼籲書》，除譴責當局行為外，的起訴，但警方此後未再對李展開體。

六四 二十周年專版



■吾爾開希被遣返回台後，頓成傳媒焦點。



■王丹等民運人士在華盛頓的美國全國記者俱樂部舉行記者會。他稱，民運人士闖關回國運動，將陸續有來。

維多利亞港畔，行車道旁，
 子，此種極心刺骨，請開希
 可公認的台証，
 他作此舉，可謂用國平
 為我這個人，
 民國政府，
 表這
 等這種極道九後，
 符合基本人權，
 中國政府，
 統籌他國，
 對中國一

■在飛機上，吾爾開希寫下手稿，記下他被拒入境的心情。



■滯留澳門機場期間，吾爾開希被安置在機場裏的一個房間內。



■澳門當局向吾爾開希發出的拒絕入境通知書。



■吾爾開希被送上飛機後，澳門入境處官員和航空公司人員進行交接。



■吾爾開希的飛機

吾爾開希遭澳門遣返台灣

王丹：闖關行動陸續

八九學運領袖吾爾開希向澳門中聯辦「投案」的行動失敗，昨日被澳門當局送上飛機遣回台灣。吾爾開希返台後發表聲明，深切哀悼 20 年前的死難者，並批評中共當局迴避 20 年前的六四事件，拒絕他投案，質疑「中國是個有自信的大國嗎？」而身在美國的另一名學運領袖王丹稱，中國政府對民運人士設黑名單，吾爾開希是大家討論過的第一位闖關者，今後民運人士的闖關行動陸續有來。

日到澳門闖關失敗的吾爾開希，在機場逗留一晚後，昨日下午被 12



京報罕

【本報訊】六四新聞。大陸外池內球時報》(Global Times)坦認六四事件至今述天安門廣場近日
 《環球時報》
 報道指出，才麼事，在中國大陸六四仍然是個敏感拒絕接受該報有1
 百度和

IMPACT 318.515

明表示，「今天是天安門屠殺 20 年紀念日，深切哀悼 20 年前的死難者，為他們 20 年追求的理想尚未實現感到難過，為 20 年來不能和家人見面、為以投案這種方法想回到中國都不得其門而入感到難過，更覺得悲憤莫名。」

「中國是有自信的大國嗎？」

吾爾開希說，中國已儼然成為世界強權，卻迴避一場 20 年前發生的事件，在網路上提到六四、天安門及吾爾開希也都會被限制；至今仍遭中共當局通緝的他，前日想要投案都不行，「中國真是一個有自信的大國嗎？」他並指出，兩岸關係在台灣總統馬英九執政後迅速回春，經貿的往來有利於台灣，但馬總統所提人權政經狀況所指為何，「是到了替中國說話的時候嗎？」他盼望馬英九協助他返鄉探視雙親，「馬總統，我已經 20 年沒跟父母見面，椎心刺骨，這種株連九族，不符人道！」

此外，吾爾開希也希望國民黨主席吳伯雄能利用國共平台，「為我這個中華民國公民、納稅義務人表達不認同中共株連九族的做法。」他並強調，他去澳門試圖投案回到中國，這個努力不會停止，「經澳門引渡回到中國是所有尋求回家過程最溫和的一步，且只是第一步。」

41 歲的吾爾開希，是 1989 年北京學運領袖之一，六四事件發生後，吾爾開希名列被中共當局通緝 21 名學運領袖中排名第二。之後，他經香港逃離中國大陸，在美國等地短暫流亡後，娶了台灣妻子，並定居台灣中部。

柴玲無赴港 現身美國會山莊

澳門治安警察局昨發表聲明表示，警方根據「澳門特別行政區內部保安綱要法」規定，昨天依法拒絕一名來自台灣的旅客進入澳門。聲明沒有提吾爾開希名字，只強調作為負責澳門出入境管理工作的執行機關，有責任依法拒絕任何不符合入境條件的非澳門居民進入澳門，以維護澳門的公共安全及公共秩序，確保社會安寧，讓居民安居樂業。

王丹對吾爾開希闖關失敗的事件表示，吾爾開希的闖關行動不是臨時決定，是經過大家事先討論的計劃，本來以為吾爾開希持有台灣護照，至少可以進入澳門，沒想到當局連澳門也不讓他入境。王丹指出，被中國當局列入黑名單的人數無法統計，昨日在華府出席活動的所有人都回不去，顯見黑名單的人數一定很多，吾爾開希是第一個嘗試返回中國的人選，「我敢保證，這樣的努力不會中斷，我們會一波接着一波，吾爾開希是我們討論好的第一波人選」。

由於王丹公開表示，民運人士闖關的活動陸續有來，令外界關注另一名學運領袖柴玲的動向。但缺席華盛頓等多項紀念活動的柴玲，昨日終於現身國會山莊外的紀念活動，而成為全場焦點。柴玲並沒有如外界預期，赴港闖關。

當年參與六四民運時仍是學生的民運人士張前進，昨在港參與六四集會。他稱與同在美國居住的封從德曾透露，有意返回內地闖關，以接受內地公開審判，「他很想回到自己故鄉，但一定要一個公平公開的審訊，藉此讓世界更了解六四真相。」

台灣《蘋果日報》

蘋果網睇片
www.appledaily.com.hk

近期闖關失敗民運人士

6月03日 八九學運領袖吾爾開希，由台灣到澳門機場，擬向中聯辦投案，但被拒入境，在機場逗留一晚後 4 日被迫回台

6月02日 學運領袖項小吉，由紐約抵香港機場，但被拒入境，次日凌晨被送上返回美國的飛機

5月31日 曾參與北京絕食行動的前深圳學生張津郡，由羅湖乘港參加六四遊行，但被禁出境

5月09日 旅居美國的民運人士楊建利，由台灣飛抵香港，檢測中國政府對民運人士入境的態度，但闖關失敗

資料來源：《蘋果》資料庫



台灣昨晚舉行燭光集會，參加者一同觀看六四紀錄片。黃昱豐攝

台灣民眾跨夜靜坐追思

【本報訊】為了紀念六四，台灣民間團體昨晚開始，一連兩晚均舉行燭光集會和靜坐活動。參與的民眾在地上用燭光圍成「6.4」字樣，圍在一起看六四期間相關的紀錄片。

台灣紀念六四的氣氛遠不如香港熱烈，前晚台北市自由廣場有一場燭光跨夜靜坐追思活動，而昨晚在師大路公園的紀念音樂會，則僅吸引近百名民眾參加。其中，被遣返回台灣的八九民運領袖吾爾開希亦參與靜坐。

民進黨籲馬出面要求平反

民進黨昨日批評台灣總統馬英九今年發表平反六四的專文，相較於往年，這次卻肯定中國大陸表現，根本是政治操作；民進黨要求未來國民黨在與中國協商時，應納入人權議題。民進黨團幹事長李俊毅說，馬淡化歷史屠殺重罪的做法，令人無法接受。

但國民黨團書記長楊瓊瓊認為，馬對六四事件的論調一致，希望民進黨不要利用六四事件做政治鬥爭藉口，在傷

美駐台代表盼中國改變



【本報訊】昨日是六四事件 20 周年，美國在台協會（AIT）台北辦事處處長楊甦棟稱，20 年間會出現很多改變，台灣在 20 年前同樣也有對

立，但民主仍不斷深化，他期待中國也出現改變。

楊甦棟昨日參加台北市美國商會（AmCham）的午餐會，被問到對六四事件的看法時，他做上述回應。當被商會成員問到六四問題時，楊甦棟先是語帶機鋒地冒出一句：「所以今天（台北）下雨啊！」接着他正式表示，美國國務卿希拉莉已經發表過正式談話，他不該發表逾越尺度的談話。

但他話頭一轉，開始講起 1989 年至 1990 年派駐台灣的經驗。楊甦棟說，他當時正在陽明山住家附近慢跑，「親眼見到大批鎮暴警察在國民大會外戒備，因為有人要逼『老賊』下台」；但在這 20

口上灑鹽。

立法院長王金平表示，立法院已對六四事件平反問題有提案，待朝野協商後就可向社會報告。至於民進黨呼籲馬英九應出面要求平反六四。王說，相信總統會做出對國家最有利的決定出來，一切要尊重總統的決定。

行政院大陸委員會發言人劉德勳表示，民主、自由與人權，是人類冀盼的普世價值，陸委會期望大陸當局在全球化的浪潮中，除經濟自由化外，也能同步推進政治民主化與社會多元化，並持續建構更開放的體制、建立更和諧的社會。

有台灣市民稱，台灣人談六四始終停留在一種「他者」的層次，這是 20 年來累積而成的不誠懇。如果將 1989 年 6 月 4 日北京發生的六四的慘案，作為兩岸在之後 20 年，走向不同政治發展經驗的轉捩點，台灣卻從來不誠懇面對，六四這個巨大的陰影對台的影響。

除台灣外，比利時、法國和美國、澳洲等地都有紀念六四的活動。

年間，台灣的民主還是不斷成熟。「老賊」為當時台灣學運人士對老國民黨代表及立委的稱呼。從上世紀 1980 年代末期開始，台灣社會就歷經劇烈的變動：解嚴、解除報禁、黨禁，民間活力四起，各種社會運動蓬勃發展。

1990 年，台灣發生 3 月學運（又稱台北學運或野百合學運）。在該次運動中，人數最多時曾經有將近 6,000 名來自台灣南北各地的大學生，集結在中正紀念堂廣場上靜坐抗議，他們提出「解散國民大會」、「廢除臨時條款」、「召開國是會議」以及「政經改革時間表」等四大訴求。這不但是中華民國遷台以來規模最大的一次學生抗議行動，同時也對台灣的民主政治有著相當程度的影響。在該次學生運動後，總統李登輝一方面依照其對學生的承諾，在不久後召開國是會議，另一方面也在 1991 年廢除《動員戡亂時期臨時條款》，並結束所謂「萬年國會」的運作，台灣的民主化工程從此進入另一嶄新紀元。

不只有言六四每感

《華民》

【本報訊】國際媒體極力推崇美國《華民》雜誌指出，在中國大陸的民聲比 20 年應挺身而出為義直言。

中國政權

評論指出，公開討論政治在北京大學校園內的六四事件，有學到這一段歷史，過宣傳、資訊營造令人心生勇氣，例如在全球網絡電垂 Hotmail。

評論又指，民主改革最大膽

六四 二十周年專版



■中學生頭纏寫上曾蔭權不代表我的紅巾，手拿燭光與20萬人為平反六四出一分力。 歐新津



「700幾萬人佢可以代表晒咩」

特首謬論激發青年

【本報訊】六四燭光集會人頭湧湧，當中不少是年輕新臉孔，踏出民運第一步，希望認識六四歷史，更希望自己能夠成為歷史的一部份。有年輕人形容是「官逼民反」，是被特首的言論激怒而來，與20萬人同呼平反六四，「香港有700幾萬人，佢可以代表晒咩？」也有從未參與任何集會的民運初哥，認為六四20周年一定要來，「人生有幾個十年？」

記者：翁煜雄 梁德倫



鮑樸！

大多都對周遭的標語橫額、六四紀念品攤檔顯得好奇，這邊看一看，那邊拍一拍照。夜幕低垂後，黑暗不讓人惶恐，點點燭光叫這些民運初哥放下心來，並隨大隊呼叫口號、高歌。

「以後都想嚟參加」

中五畢業生邱小姐與數名同學首次前來參與集會，小妮子們銀鈴般笑聲，為集會帶來朝氣：「我哋以後都想嚟參加。」她說踏出民主第一步，除想了解更多六四史實外，最重要原因是「一個老頭」。

「曾蔭權太自以為是喇。」她批評特首誇言能代表全港市民，其實只想以「市民支持」作為籌碼向中央獻媚，她曾在內地讀書，卻遇上有骨氣的好老師，因為就算六四事件是內地禁忌，但這數名老師仍私下與學生們討論六四事件始末：「佢哋先至真係愛國，想國家好。」

老師講解方知六四

19歲的李碧如也是六四集會初哥，冒着炎熱天氣，挽着沉甸甸的錢箱，跑來跑去為支聯會籌錢：「阿SIR叫我嚟幫手。」她說今次首次來維園集會要求平反六四，是「官逼民反」，「曾蔭權嗰句說話，我好嬲，香港有700幾萬人，佢可以代表晒咩？我就第一個唔俾佢代表！」她說7月1日也會上街以示對特區政府的不滿。

她說學校課本從不提及六四事件，自己只是從一個熱心社會運動的中文老師及互聯網，獲悉六四點滴，今次終於能參與其中，成為歷史一部份。她說對六四認識越多，越難原諒屠夫政權：「就算啲學生唔理勸告，政府都唔可以殺人，當人命係乜？」

深深感受群眾力量

中七學生鄧先生獻出民運第一次，參與六四集會，也是拜特首言論「所賜」，看來今年集會人數創20萬高峯，特首似乎「應記一功」。

「柴九話齋，人生有幾多個十年咩！」專業人士Phoebe從沒參與過任何集會，今年第一次，只因六四二十周年是值得紀念的日子，故與朋友在銅鑼灣「行吓行吓，就嚟到維園。」

六四集會也在這些初哥的心裏，留下民主種子。22歲的歐小姐說在集會中深深感受到群眾力量，可以向當權者說不，故打算7月1日也上街，延續這份力量，要求普選特首：「因為曾蔭權表現太令人失望。」平反六四或就像一場接力賽，香港的年輕人沒叫人失望，接力棒沒有落空，就這樣交到他們手中，一直跑下去。

蘋果網睇片
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一名參加者手持白花，悼念天安門的死難者。路

集會人士心聲



李小姐
首次參與
六四燭光
集會

為特首言論來

「是曾蔭權的言論叫她站出來，表達市民仍支持平反六四。」



邱小姐
曾在內地
讀書

教師敢講六四

「有內地教師敢於與學生討論六四，不像曾蔭權只趨炎附勢。」



何婆婆
20年風雨
不改參加
集會

為天安門母親

「對天安門母親的慘況感同身受，所以每年都會來集會。」



杜先生
每年都參
加集會

頭髮由黑變白

「由黑髮到啲家變咗白髮，但20年來我都堅持前來參加。」



朱桂瑛
每年參加
集會人士

年年都嚟爭取

「我都77歲，唔知有無命等到平反六四個日，但我年年嚟爭取。」

「內地連集會嘅機會都冇」

【本報訊】二十年，可以叫人白髮蒼蒼，但不能抹去屠城帶來的傷痛，不少人二十年來風雨不改走到維園，點起燭光悼念當年回不了家的同胞們，就像何婆婆，「我由五十幾歲嚟到七十幾歲，今年都唔知係咪最後一次，一定要嚟。」歲月也讓杜先生由年輕步入壯年，「雖然只係坐喺度悼念，但內地好多人都有呢個機會。」

當年看着學生捱子彈

20年前的一個盛夏，當年只是50歲的何婆婆每天坐在電視機前，默默看着一班年輕學生捱餓、捱晒，最後更要捱子彈，「自己都係人哋母親，會諗自己啲仔女，個心好痛。」不仁政權叫一向政治冷感的小女人也上街，參與六四燭光集會。

雖然每年叫着「平反六四」，每年願望也落空，髮絲越來越白的何婆

婆就算雙腿日漸乏力，每年也堅持獨個兒由中環過來銅鑼灣。雖然手中燭光總有熄滅的一刻，並坦言「今年都唔知係咪最後一次」的何婆婆，卻毫不擔心薪火未能相傳：「因為我見到越嚟越多後生仔女嚟參加。」

其實，要在六四集會找出老朋友不難，他們多數早來霸位，熟練地拿出報紙、小摺凳坐在地上，不語，似在記憶中搜索當年今日的點滴。

「要珍惜集會的機會」

一些機關算盡的人總愛批評「集會叫吓口號有乜用」，但總有更多的小市民默默地前來表達心意。當年30歲的杜先生，被電視或報章一幕幕的冷血畫面觸怒而參與六四燭光集會，他本人性格沉靜，本來連口號也不太叫，更不好意思跟着眾人高歌，但華髮漸生，仍每年默默來支持，他說：「內地人連集會悼念六四嘅機會都冇，我哋要珍惜。」



昨晚的燭光集會中，有二十年都堅持的人，但不少是首次參加的初哥。

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座談

【本報訊】六四四座談會，今年特別，估計最少有三者的六四評論，當英雄說，爭取民主及



約四百名市民站會，不時拍掌和應再來。



曾蔭權扮代表 激發市民上街

衝着曾言論而來者為數不少

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■去年的六四燭光集會。

活在沒有六四記憶的年代

馮廣寧

歷史人事，如六四民運。從小父母就沒有和我說過任何有關六四的事。近年，我詢問過不少身邊的同學、朋友，發現他們的情況也和我雷同。我不知道這是因為他們當時迫於生活的壓力，無暇顧及六四，所以不清楚當時的情況，還是源於當局對六四的封殺使他們集體失語，或許兩者兼而有之。

內地課堂上未聞提六四

在小學、初中和高中中的課堂上，我從未聽過老師提到六四事件或八九政治風波這幾個字，勿論六四的具體情況。而在歷史和政治教科書裏，我也從未發現任何與六四事件相關的文字，甚至胡耀邦的名字也絕跡於我們的教材中，似乎一九八九年的中國從未發生一件值得編入教材、供學生去了解和學習的事情。

到了大學，我終於在大學的歷史教科書裏找到一段介紹八九政治風波的文字，在老師的口口偶爾聽到六四事件這幾個字。可惜，書本的介紹是一筆帶過，老師則點到為止，或者只講起因，不談結局，或者說「事情已經過去，我們不要再提，要向前看」。

這就是現實。無論在家庭，還是在學校，我都不能得到太多關於六四的訊息。要了解六四，惟有通過互聯網。

內地對網絡的管制是相當嚴格的，在百度、Google、YAHOO! 等搜索引擎查詢我所謂敏感的訊息時，往往會出現「竹籃打水一場空」的情況。在六四二十周年臨近的時候，當局對訊息的管制越來越嚴。但上有政策，下有對策。當局有封鎖的方法，網民則有突破封鎖的軟件，我也就是在這種艱難的條件下慢慢了解六四和其他敏感訊息的。

同胞希望國家變得更好

六四事件發生時，我未滿一歲。雖然不曾身臨那場波瀾壯闊的愛國民主運動，但我能體會到市民當時的慷慨激昂與悲傷無奈。當我現在重看當年的電視畫面，當我看到那一張張年輕而充滿朝氣的面孔，看到他們在「絕食爭自由，浴血為民主」時，我常會流下難過的淚水，原因是「因為六四曾經喚發我們心裏的良」。民主和自由不會從天而降，而要經過不懈的爭取。環顧歷史，這種爭取，注定是一條漫長而艱辛的道路，但只要不放棄，漫長之路後總會看到達目的地的一天，艱辛過後終會有所收穫。

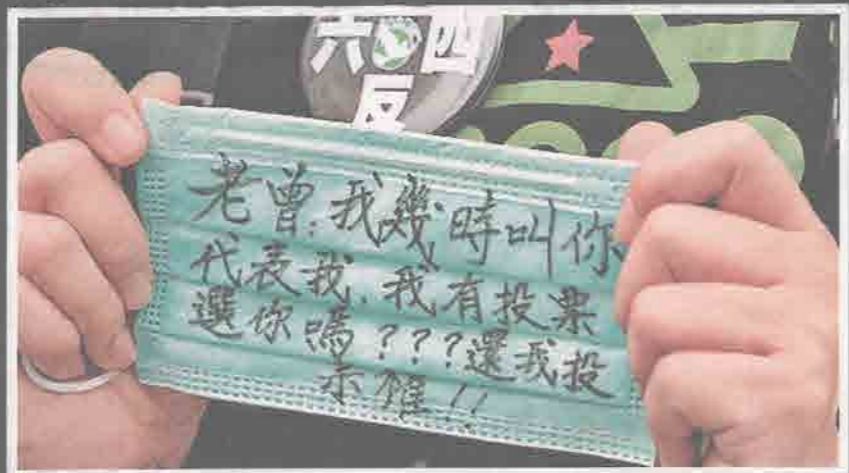
我知道，今天中國僅有的自由是由他們這些愛國同胞和不畏強權的異見分子為我們爭取回來的。我也明白，他們的遊行示威，他們的尖銳批評，並不是要顛覆、推翻甚麼，而是對這個政權選抱有希望，對這個國家還有關愛的表現。他們希望這個國家變得更好，可為甚麼會招來統治者這樣無情的鎮壓？二十年了，為甚麼仍舊沒有真相的揭示和公義的伸張？

在內地，仍有不少人關注六四，關心六四。可是他們只能透過互聯網，向那些突破網絡管制的網民表達出他們對六四的情意感受，講述當年的人事。雖然他們的聲音很微弱，但卻彌足珍貴。

羨慕港人可以公開悼念

我一直羨慕香港人可以公開講六四，可以舉辦燭光集會悼念六四死難同胞，報章雜誌可以報道六四，學校可以舉辦六四論壇。所有的這些，在內地都是無法想像的。你可以反對平反六四，你也可以不同意馬力、陳一諮、曾蔭權、呂智偉的言論，但無論你持那種觀點，站在甚麼立場上，你至少有說六四的權利和自由。但在內地，我從來沒有獲得說六四的權利和自由，甚至反右、三年大饑荒、文革等歷史事件仍是人們言論的禁區。香港能擁有說六四的自由確實值得珍惜。在這二十年裏，香港為內地民眾打開了一扇了解六四的窗口，也為中國寫下了屬於香港人的六四篇章。我沒有機會參加六四燭光集會，但我永遠為燭光的燭光激動、淚流，向參與其中的人致敬；永遠記得六四學生絕食宣言中的話：「民主是人類最崇高的生存感情，自由是人類與生俱來的天賦人權。」

我生活在一個沒有六四記憶的年代，但我會拾起被人刻意遺忘的記憶，告訴身邊的人——六四是中國永遠的痛。



曾蔭權「代表港人論」激發市民上街，有人自製口罩表達不滿。 李家皓攝

料多於八萬人維園見

拆局

8,000人參加六四遊行，創92年來新高，令支聯會喜出望外，該會中人認為，除了今年是六四20周年以及「曾蔭權效應」，近日社會不斷出現歪曲六四歷史的言論，直接刺激一班過去多年沒有參加六四活動的港人，希望以行動說明港人支持平反六四的態度。支聯會預計，周四參加六四燭光集會人數，較原預算的八萬人更多，唯一變數是當日天氣預測有大雨及雷暴，或影響部份市民參與意欲。

支聯會副主席李卓人表示，單靠「曾蔭權效應」，以及六四事件20周年這兩個元素，未必能動員較以往多數倍的市民參加遊行，他估計，不少市民擔心港人過去20年支持平反六四的努力和堅持，可能逐步流失，所以才會紛紛挺身而出表態。

有支聯會常委指出，不少市民對他們說，眼見近日不少人公開大

談一些歪曲六四歷史的說話，刺激不少過去多年沒有參加支聯會活動、支持平反六四的港人再次走上街頭，以行動反駁企圖歪曲六四的言論。

六四料有大雨雷暴

自回歸以來的維園燭光集會，除了99年10周年的7萬人，以及04年15周年的8.2萬外，每年集會人數介乎4萬至5萬人。昨日遊行後李卓人評估，今年參加燭光集會人數可能較預算多，但由於維園所有足球場加起來只能容納7萬至8萬人，故此支聯會將與當局商討，要求有需要時開放維園草地，容納更多市民進場。

不過，六四集會人數仍存變數，特別是天文台預測當天大雨及雷暴，或影響市民參加意欲。支聯會另一副主席蔡耀昌相信，支持平反六四的市民仍會風雨不改參加集會，他以98年為例，當年下着傾盆大雨，但仍有數萬市民參加集會。 本報記者



市民自備曾蔭權及詹培忠的頭像讓遊行人士踐踏，抗議兩人的冷血言論。 吳紹傑攝

1993	3,500
1992	8,000
1991	10,000
1990	10,000

註：04年前警方估計數字不詳
資料來源：《蘋果》資料庫

關先生(右)自製手推滾地輪，以「代你個頭！滾！」來諷刺曾蔭權。 張志華攝

我們要告訴曾蔭權...



吳萃然(左) 小三學生

「曾蔭權唔可以代表我哋同遊行嘅人。」



何先生(左) 政府合約工

「曾蔭權講嘅嘢同事實不符，所以要上街。」



潘濬智(左)及弟弟潘仁 中學生

「曾蔭權嘅言論重新激發同學認清六四史實。」



朱先生 建造業

「我要行出嚟澄清，曾蔭權。」

一起走到平反六四的終站

【本報訊】8,000人邊走邊唱：「戰鬥20年，戰鬥20年，不死的信念；那怕又10年，那怕又10年，有你共步前……」20年來，香港人年復一年，與良知同行。司徒華說，這條路，大家還要繼續走，一起走，走到平反六四的終端。「好！」大家這樣呼應。

紀念六四20周年大遊行昨日從維園出發，在政府總部完成，8,000人響應出席，打破了92年以來的人數紀錄。「20年以來，不論是陽光燦爛抑或風吹雨打，我們都義無反顧、堅定不移的發起愛國民主大遊行。我們堅信，正視歷史真相、爭取平反六四、推動中國民主自由，才是真正的愛國，才是無愧於民族的中國人。」大會宣言說。

遊行隊伍以生於89年的年輕人帶頭，下午3時從維園步上街頭，象徵六四精神薪火相傳。發起20歲年輕人參加六四悼念活動的支聯會青年組常委葉楚茵說，這次不少年輕人響應號召，正好告訴政府，年輕人並非不認識歷史，只是社會缺乏渠道讓下一代發聲。

沿途唱着《二十年》

支聯會兩名副主席李卓人及蔡耀昌沿途呼喚群眾加入遊行，不少途人在行人路及天橋向他們揮手及拍掌，李卓人一度感動落淚。蔡耀昌說：「我哋要去到政府總部，話畀曾蔭權知，我哋冇忘記六四，香港人唔會只向錢看。」他表示，很感激香港

人年復一年、一步一步的爭取平反六四。大夥兒沿途唱歌，振奮士氣，包括作的民運歌曲《二十年》：「抗爭到底，未逝。昨天盟誓，讓那薪火傳遞……」今年六四的情緒高漲，遊行隊伍的龍頭抵達在維園的最後一批遊行人士才剛剛出發。遊行人士5時半抵達政府總部，龍尾則於步。

支聯會主席司徒華在政府總部總結「今日我同大家一齊由維園走到呢度，我都可以同大家一齊，走到平反六四嘅終站的遊行人士都響應說「好！」司徒華並呼籲再厲，出席星期四晚在維園舉行的六四燭

市民自發「保護」李柱銘



四五行動梁國雄抬棺材遊行巧遇李柱銘，頑皮地向他做出擊槍手勢。 黃賢創攝

【本報訊】去年夏天一度成為殺手目標的民主黨創黨主席李柱銘昨天隻身參與六四遊行，是他自去年底後首次參加的最大型公眾活動。坦言「未驚過」的李柱銘雖然再沒有警方人員隨行保護，但卻有多名市民自告奮勇站在他附近「保護」他，有遊行人士更在遇見他時高叫「保護民主，保護李柱銘！」

羅致光全程「掩護」

雖然受僱暗殺李柱銘的殺手已經落網，但不少市民昨天遊行時見到李柱銘，也替其人身安全擔心，有市民叫他小心，也有市民要求站在他身旁，表示要保護這位香港民主之父。李柱銘卻對自身安危毫不緊張，笑指「我都未驚過」。他指太太與兒

子也非常勇敢，因此家人並不擔心他參與危險。

民主黨「大腦」羅致光全程與李柱銘作伴，笑稱自己身形與李柱銘差不多，或有掩護作用。一直與民主黨大隊同行的李柱銘，其走上灣仔軍器廠街的行人天橋，一邊點算一邊與街上的群眾揮手。遊行人士見到李柱銘上橋，紛紛對他豎起拇指，也有遊行團隊力護民主、保護李柱銘，反映市民對李柱銘的一直堅持平反六四的李柱銘強調，「六該平反，再拖落去有意思。」他指要平反六四係靠中央政府係好艱難，香港人都要出番多叫希望六四燭光集會當天就算有暴雨，市民仍風雨不改。