



編者按: 澳門特別行政區籌委會正式啟步已有一個月,在時間緊迫、任務繁重的形勢下,如何充分發揮籌委會的集體智慧和委員的個人作用是順利完成特區籌組工作的重要條件。目前,如何廣泛而充分地聽取澳門各界人士的意見、建議建立全方位開放、渠道暢通的諮詢體系,集思廣益,眾志成城,目標是特區籌組工作不可或缺的條件之一。當前,澳門各界居民政治熱情較高,許多社團組成關注小組跟進相應事宜,許多居民從各種可行途徑向籌委會獻計獻策,回歸意識不斷增強,關注熱潮逐漸形成。

本刊本期刊出楊易《群策群力,共同把特區大廈建好》、李沛霖《澳門特區籌委會必須處理的四個關係》、余惠鶯《澳門特區政府的搖籃——籌委會》、李炳時《籌委會有關問題評議》和羽君《扭轉乾坤寄望所在》等專題文章,分別從個人角度對籌委會若干方面進行了深入的評述,我們將根據需要繼續選登一些持不同觀點人士的評述,借以推進切磋探索,交流互補。但所有選登文章均不代表本研究中心以及本編輯部的觀點,文章是否全部或部分被認同,均由讀者決定。我們認為,作為既是權力機構又是工作機構的籌委會,其九項工作任務已明確地由全國人大文件所確認。為籌組一個以眾望所歸的特區行政長官為首的高效精幹的首屆行政、立法、司法架構,籌委會本身就要率先成為一個高效精幹的運作機構。依據基本法和人大的授權,正確地行使自身的法定職能,並按照籌委會工作規則適當探索並不斷完善一種行之有效的運作方式,最大限度地體現目標的堅定性、開放性、務實性,充分聽取不同聲音,充分表達不同觀點,務求在信息交流過程中提升認識,保持社會的開放度、兼容性和集思廣益、優化優選的發展方向,這是本研究中心所一貫主張的。相信在籌委會全面有力帶動下,不僅澳門特區籌組工作可以保質保量地依期完成,而且澳門社會運作程式亦可不斷標升完善。本研究中心願同一切關注澳門未來的人士衷心合作,共創明天的美好。

群策群力,共同把特區大廈建好

——關於關注特區籌組工作的幾點思考

楊易

一 一個多月前,即1998年5月5日澳門特別行政區籌備委員會已在首都北京正式建立,籌委會由100名委員組成,其中澳門委員共60名,即佔全體委員總數的60%,他們來自各個主要界別,具有廣泛的代表性,除工商、金融界一些較有影響的知名人士共25人(佔澳門委員總數41.66%)外,基層組織和宗教團體代表共13人,佔澳門委員總數21.66%,學術、專業、新聞、教育、文藝等界代表共20人,佔澳門委員總數33.33%,其他界別人士,佔3.33%。委員分佈同現階段澳門社會實際較為接近,也可以講,具有相對高的合理性,因而,籌委會高質高效地完成其神聖歷

史使命將是可以信賴的。

二 籌委會九項工作任務是國家最高權力機構的最新決策,這九項工作任務當中有主有次,但每一項都必須認真完成,完成每一項工作任務都需要籌委會和廣大市民付出最高的智慧。這其中最重要的,也是核心的任務是要根據全國人大的有關決定,組建一個有廣泛代表性的、全部由澳門永久性居民組成的二百人的推選委員會。推委會組成後,將以協商或協商後提名選舉的方式,產生第一任行政長官的人選,報中央人民政府任命。之後,行政長官將依照基本法的規定,着手籌組澳門特別行政區第一屆政府,包括提名主要官員人選,報中央

人民政府任命。此外,還要制定第一屆立法會和司法機關的具體產生辦法,制定與平穩過渡有關的重大法律問題的處理辦法,包括與基本法抵觸的澳門原有法律的處理辦法,制定市政機構的過渡辦法,提出關於《中華人民共和國國籍法》在澳門特別行政區實施的政策性建議。有關澳門特別行政區成立的慶典活動,在適當時候也要進行研究,並提出建議。值得注意的是,涉及澳門經濟、社會、文化等各個方面平穩過渡的許多問題,也在籌委會的研究範疇之內。這項有約束力的規定是香港特區籌組時所不曾提及的,這項有針對性的規定充分體現到國家對確保平穩過

渡、對當前澳門過渡期形勢發展的高度重視。

三、江澤民主席的講話富有新意。江主席在5月6日接見澳門特區籌委會時指出：“澳門回歸祖國也將實現‘一國兩制’、高度自治的方針，由澳門居民當家作主，依照《澳門基本法》的規定自行管理特別行政區的內部事務，這一方針將長期保持不變。我們相信，澳門人能管理好澳門，澳門同胞一定能夠繼續保持澳門的社會穩定和經濟發展，一定能夠創造出澳門更加美好的明天。澳門回歸祖國將為‘一國兩制’再次創造一個光輝的範例，還將有力的推進最終解決台灣問題，實現祖國的完全統一”。關於“一國兩制”、高度自治的方針，江主席明確地提出了“長期保持不變”的觀點，這充分說明國家推行“一國兩制”方針的決心是堅定不移的，說明國家對港澳居民實行高度自治、港人治港、澳人治澳是高度信任的。

四、籌委會實行規範化、法制化運行模式。籌委會的性質是既是權力機構又是工作機構，因此，為了正確履行籌委會的職責，及時制定籌委會的工作規則是完全必要的。在籌委會第一次全體會議通過的工作規則指出：“籌委會應充分發揚民主，廣泛聽取社會各界人士的意見和建議。”（第二條）“籌委會實行集體負責制和保密原則。”（第三條）這兩項規定實質上是一個問題的兩個方面，是辯證的統一。沒有充分發揮民主和廣泛諮詢過程，籌委會便難以作出科學合理的決策；反之，不及時而果斷地作出決策，就不能保質保量地依期完成特區籌組工作。正如錢其琛主任委員所講，“在籌建特別行政區的過程中，需要研究解決許多重要而具體的問題。所以，我們既要暢所欲言，集思廣益，也更要議而有決，解決問題，這兩方面都要給予足夠重視。”

五、籌委會集體智慧的發揮與委員角色的合理定位，同樣值得關注。籌委會肩負的歷史使命是極為重大的，它的多重職能的合理發揮直接關係到澳門平穩過渡目標的實現和國家對澳門恢復行使主權，同時也關係到由它所籌組的澳門特別行政區行政、立法、司法架構的權威性、高效益性和高認受性。除委

員背景特點外，籌委會根據工作規則設計了由全體會議、主任委員會議、秘書長工作會議分別行使多層次的決策體制，以及由不同職能的工作小組承擔的專業化、專題性研究、論證體制，以個人身份參加籌委會工作的委員則有權就籌委會工作範圍內的各項任務提出意見和建議，並應廣泛諮詢、聽取各方面的意見後向籌委會反映。這意味着籌委會委員擁有可以充分發揮其聰明才智的廣闊空間，他們不應被認為只代表某一階層、某一界別或某一利益圈子，而應是共同對籌委會負責，對國家負責，對歷史負責，對時代負責。60名澳門委員即使不可以絕對地講薈萃了澳門社會全部精英，但至少可以講他們基本上代表着澳門現階段社會各層面的主要願望、要求和利益。因此，只要他們每一位都能做到充分發揮，不孚眾望、不辱使命，那麼籌委會就一定能夠形成“1+1>2”的系統效應和綜合效應。

六、澳門需要興建的是一座基礎牢固、設計合理、功能多元化的智能型特區大廈。澳門的發展藍圖早在八十年代中期，已由中國政府根據鄧小平“一國兩制”理論在《中葡聯合聲明》裡提出來了，把回歸後的澳門定位為直屬中央人民政府、貫徹“一國兩制”、實施澳人治澳、高度自治的特別行政區，以及執行由十二項內容組成的基本國策，這就為澳門的長遠發展提供了根本性的保證，指明了方向。《澳門基本法》的成功起草則使上述原則、政策達到全面的系統的法制化、具體化，為“一國兩制”的理論與實踐提供了一個新的富有說服力的樣版。現在，隨着特區籌委會的啟步，特區大廈已進入具體施工階段。人們不難從切身的經歷中體會到，澳門的回歸絕不是僅僅意味着把管治權收回，而是標誌着澳門從此要實踐有中國特色的、有澳門特色的高度自治的社會發展模式；長期不變絕不僅僅意味着原有的統治架構可以機械的延伸，而是標誌着在保持原有軀殼條件下使內部肌體煥發出新的生機。這就表明，澳門的回歸不僅僅是把房子收回來裝修一下即可，而是根據“一國兩制”、高度自治、澳人治澳這些基本原則重新構築一棟大廈，這棟精心設

計、精心施工的大廈應是整個國家、甚至國際上的一座全新的標誌性精品建築，一座多功能的智能型大廈，這棟特區大廈是屬於整個國家的，也是屬於全體澳門居民的，大廈的架構是為澳門各界居民服務的，是代表各方面的共同利益的，因而也是要時時刻刻面對各界居民的監督、制衡的。由於時間上緊迫和任務的艱巨，籌委會要分秒必爭地、全力以赴地作好特區大廈的施工監督工作，為大廈催生，每一個澳門居民也都應為特區大廈的落成獻策獻策，填磚加瓦。澳門被時代所選中，特區籌組工作在某種意義上講也是實行高度自治、澳人治澳的預演和採排。澳門居民在見證歷史的同時，都應是過渡期事務當仁不讓的參與者、促進者。

七、要認識關注的多重性與提高參與的有效性。早在特區籌委會成立之前，已有一些社團提出成立回歸關注小組一類構想，籌委會成立後近一個月來已有數以十計的關注小組紛紛建立，把特區籌組工作推向一個具有廣泛基礎的新階段。關注什麼，如何關注，大家都在思考，都在探索，相信隨着特區籌組工作的深入，籌委會和各關注小組都會不斷推出一些切實可行的措施和辦法來。但從事態發展的本質來講，籌組特區行政、立法、司法架構既是國家恢復行使主權的需要，又是確保長期穩定發展繁榮的需要；既是結束歷史、改寫歷史的需要，又是創造歷史、走向新時代新發展新高度的需要；既是實踐“一國兩制”、高度自治、澳人治澳等基本國策的需要，又是廣大澳門居民進行自我教育、自我參與、自我提高的需要。因此，對這類新生事物應該採取支持、扶助、愛護的態度，把蘊藏在廣大居民中的智慧充分加以調動和利用，這將是籌委會最後成功的重要因素之一，而各關注小組及全澳居民亦應不失時機地在力所能及的領域和課題上積極地有序地和持之以恆地關注、研究、探索，集思廣益、集腋成裘，形成一股欲罷不能的參與洪流，向籌委會盡力地提供經驗性、知識性、智慧性的良計良方，為共同建好同自身利益息息相關的特區大廈而努力不懈。

澳門特區籌委會必須處理的四個關係

李沛霖

全國人民代表大會澳門特別行政區籌備委員會已於五月五日上午九時在北京正式成立了。二十分鐘的成立儀式既簡單又隆重，李鵬委員長的講話話語不多，然而已充分體現了祖國對澳門的關懷及對籌委會的厚望。

澳門特區籌委會的成立，標誌着澳門後過渡期已進入了一個重要的新階段，籌組特區政府等一系列重大任務已經擺到回歸倒數的議事日程上。

當前全國上下，世界各地的目光越來越關注澳門這個小城的一舉一動。大家都明白到香港已平穩過渡，而且運作良好，澳門作為邁向祖國統一大業道路上的第二站，能否一如香港般順利交接，甚或更出色？這是大家都想得到答案的問題。

如何有效地回答這個問題，不靠天不靠地，要靠我們——澳門人自己。而澳門特區籌委會正是代表及領導澳門居民去描繪澳門未來藍圖的權力機構與工作機構，籌委會工作的好壞，直接關係到澳門的聲譽，影響到澳門的明天，更關乎到中華民族的榮譽。

眾所周知，現在距離澳門回歸只有不到六百天的日子，矗立在天安門廣場革命歷史博物館前的澳門回歸倒計時牌的時間正在一分一秒地減少，時不我予，只有爭分奪秒地拼命工作，澳門順利回歸的歷史使命才能完成。

要完成籌委會的艱巨任務，我認為主要必須正確處理好如下四個關係：

1. 特區籌委會與澳葡政府的關係

我國領導人一再重申：特區籌委會不會形成第二個權力中心，干預澳葡的施政。這個態度是十分正確與鮮明的，亦是中葡聯合聲明中的共識，葡方與澳府對此應該是可以放心的。籌委會要執行各項任務，除了保持其應有的獨立性外，很多時還要取得澳葡的某些協助。如何做到有條不紊地開展工作，又不會造成越權干預的錯覺，正是籌委會必須經常警惕的政策性原則問題。

2. 特區籌委會與民間社團的關係

澳門特區籌委會的組成人員中，百分之六十是澳門本地人士，而這六十人裡絕大多數是各大社團的領袖人物。他們既有自身一定的代表性，但很大程度上卻因為他們貴為一方代表，因此他們的被委任，正是其所在社團賦予他們的榮譽與地位。

特區籌委會，除了必須依從其內部規條進行運作外，更加需要各大社團、各界人士的支持與幫助，否則單靠六十人或一百人又如何去完成任務呢？

由此可見，籌委會是澳門各界的組織、策劃、協調機構，而各社團又是籌委會開展工作所必須依靠的力量。

3. 主要、緊急與次要、暫緩問題的關係

特區籌委會面臨任務繁重、時間緊迫的

考驗與挑戰，千頭萬緒，要在不多的時間裡完成九大任務實不容易。而每項任務又派生出各種小任務，假若不分主次，不理緩急，平均用力，任務不一定可以依期完成。

現在籌委會分成政務、法律、經濟、社會事務與文化四個小組開展工作，這是一個合理的分工。每個小組都有其特定的工作範疇與內容，但當中便有其主次工作的區分，值得注意。另外四個小組的重要性看似一樣，但我認為政務工作卻相對關鍵得多，必須投放更多的人力、物力及財力去加以處理。

4. 籌委本人公務與私務的關係

大家都知道，每位籌委都是社會上各行各業的精英，本身有自己相當繁忙的業務和社會職務，然而在以後這一年多時間裡，不論多忙，都要正確對待公務與私務的問題，處理好籌委會這個“大公”與其它工作之間的關係。

要明白，從接受委任、接過委任書的那一刻起，每位籌委都應該當仁不讓，全情投入，刻苦工作，帶領澳門各界同胞努力去完成籌委會的各項任務。

特區籌委會的每一位成員都必須珍惜國家對自己的信任，清楚市民對自己的期望，牢記歷史賦予自己的使命，當一位名實相符的籌委。

澳門特區政府的搖籃——籌委會

余惠鶯

全國人民代表大會澳門特別行政區籌備委員會於一九九八年五月五日勝利誕生，這標誌着籌建澳門特別行政區政府的各項浩大工程正式展開，按“一國兩制”方針和“基本法”規定構建起來的澳門特別行政區的框架將徐徐地清晰地呈現在世人面前。

按澳門基本法規定：澳門特區籌委會委

員由澳門（不少於 50%）及內地兩部分委員共一百人組成。從全國人大通過並委任的名單中，我們不難發現澳門委員佔有六十名，即 60%，這一比例較前基本法的規定高，這體現了全國人大着重澳人參與的精神，內地委員包括中國政府有關部委的代表以及與澳門有緊密聯繫地方的代表（如廣東、北京等）。這既體現國家主權原則，

又有利于澳門與內地各方面的溝通。澳方的委員都是長期為澳門的建設，澳門的穩定繁榮作出貢獻的各階層知名人士，具有廣泛的代表性。計有來自金融、貿易、地產、工業等方面人士，有法律界、教育界、文化界人士，有工程技術人員、勞工界代表、宗教領袖、工、青、婦以及有關社團的知名人士，還有全國人大代表、政

協委員、前基本法諮委、草委等。他們中既有富商巨賈，也有草根階層，既有政界人士，也有專業人員，既有德高望重的長者，也有年輕力壯的青年。可以說，絕大多數愛國愛澳的人士，在籌委會都可以找到自己認同的代表人物。除此之外，尚有七位是長期駐澳官員，他們既了解澳門實際情況，又熟悉國內的行政運作，可以說他們在籌委會中有“雙重”身份，而這一“雙重”身份在籌委會的工作中可起到一個潤滑磨合的作用。籌委會作為一個整體，集中反映和代表着澳門最大的意願——回歸祖國，實行“一國兩制、澳人治澳、高度自治”保持長期的穩定繁榮。

“中葡聯合聲明”明確規定，一九九九年十二月二十日前澳門由葡國政府負責管治。籌委會是中國人大授權設立的權力機構，負責為澳門特區政府的成立做各方面

的準備工作，它不會在一九九九年十二月二十日前干預葡國政府的日常行政管理，更不會成為“第二個權力中心”。事實上，它需要葡國政府真誠而有效的支持和合作。

籌組澳門特別行政區政府是一項龐大的工程。籌委會將承擔九大任務：(一)籌組特區第一屆政府和推選委員會制定推選第一任行政長官的產生辦法。(二)制定第一屆立法會的產生辦法。(三)制定特區司法機關的產生辦法。(四)提出與平穩過渡有關的重大法律問題的處理辦法。(五)制定市政機構的過渡辦法。(六)關於如何使澳門經濟、社會、文化等方面的平穩過渡及治安穩定的問題及建議。(七)關於國籍法在特區實施的建議。(八)關於特區成立慶典儀式和活動的方案。(九)處理和籌備成立特區政府的其

他重大事宜。在這一個既偉大又艱辛的任務面前，籌委會起着一個核心作用，它將帶領全澳市民去共同參與，去描繪澳門的美好未來。因此籌委會委員要以澳門未來發展為重，以全澳市民利益為重，全情投入，竭盡所能，為政權的順利交接，為未來特區政府盡一分力。同時，每一個澳門居民也應協助籌委會的工作，積極參與未來特區政府的工作，表達自己的意見，為澳門的未來發一分光。

現在距離澳門回歸祖國的日子僅餘五百多天，是澳門回歸祖國的關鍵時刻。我相信在以祖國為強大後盾，在以籌委會為核心，以全體澳門市民為基礎的共同參與，同心同德的努力下，澳門一定會平穩過渡，並且繼續發展。

籌委會有關問題評議

李炳時

一、關於籌委會澳門成員的佈局

我們發現，在籌委會的澳門成員中，知識文化界人士的數量，佔了一個不尋常的比重。在一般被視為新面孔的委員中，知識文化人所佔的比例也比較大。初步統計，本澳委員中，工商界佔41.67%，基層界別佔16.67%，知識文化界佔38.33%，不屬於上述界別的其他人士佔3.33%。明顯地，知識文化界本身所佔的比例已接近工商界，從而使整個非工商界達到58.33%的比例，高於工商界。不過，考慮到領導層的澳方成員全屬工商界，這樣工商界在影響力上的優勢，又相當有餘地抵消了人數上的些微劣勢。因此，籌委名單可說既將工商界置於一個重心的地位，又適當地將參與的大門，進一步向其他界別打開，在維持穩定中又帶出若干開放的訊息。所以，整份名單縱然不是十全十美，但考慮到澳門的現實情況，算是中規中矩，在不讓人感到驚喜之中，又讓人覺得比預期為佳，大體上可以接受。

有些輿論，對成員中“來來去去這班人”及“老人政治”有所批評。我們認

為，問題的關鍵不在於哪一班人，也不在於年齡。如果籌委會的運作具備充分的問責性、開放性與透明度，“這班人”定能做出成績，“老人”也能重新煥發青春，對澳人有所交代，否則，任何一班人亦無計可施，“年青人”也徒勞地蹉跎歲月而已。為了維持社會發展的延續性，優先的策略是讓原班人馬過渡，同時又讓他們經歷一些考驗，以證明自己的能力，為正值用人之際的社會所留月，從穩定的因素中提取進步的因素。而且，不給予機會就將人拉下馬來，亦未盡公平之義。未來特區政權架構中，席位有限，但有意作出貢獻者多，這樣，如果各人一般條件大致相等，則德行才幹和民意基礎便構成突出的說服力。因此，我們相信，籌委會具備特殊的歷史誘因，使一些臥虎藏龍之輩獲得傾情演出的機會，也使一些平平無奇的人，教人嘖嘖稱奇起來。

二、關於籌委會的作業程序

根據基本法，籌委會的主要任務是規定特區第一屆政府、立法會和司法機關的具體產生辦法。所以籌委會的政務小組的作

業應置於重心及優先地位。這個意見並非忽視其他小組的價值，而是從基本法引申出來的事情的輕重緩急，而提出來的。

由於特區政府是由行政長官負責籌組，而立法會的部分議員也需行政長官委任，以及特區法院的各級法官也需行政長官任命，換言之，行政長官一日未產生出來，特區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關就一日不能組成。因此，籌委會優先處理的應是推選委員會籌組事宜，以便盡快產生候任行政長官的人選，從而使其他工作能夠及早進行。這方面已達成基本共識，爭議不大。

但這裏，籌委會碰上了一個兩難的處境。一方面，時間並不太充裕，一方面，推委會的產生，本身就是一場政治選舉，有一個必不可少的社會動員及拉票活動的過程，這個過程如果過度壓縮，就只能用市民有限的參與熱情，來換取推選委員的匆匆選出，從而也影響下一步的特首選舉。不少人將注意力集中在特首產生的月份上。但我們認為宜將推委的選舉時間，連同特首的選舉時間一併考慮；同時應為

這兩場選舉分別留下必要的醞釀期。理由是，為了貫徹參與的理念，市民的投入和選舉本身應同受重視。換言之，對時間的考慮，應同對作業需要的考慮聯結起來，不宜獨取一端。關於特首的選出，現時初步有兩種意見：“一月說”與“四月說”。出於討論的方便，我們姑且從中選擇。顯然“四月說”較切近參與的需要，當然是晚了三個月，這個時間上的代價，是否付不起呢？還有一個問題，究竟推委會選舉的籌備工作，究竟在何時進入實質性的作業階段呢？如果這一作業遲遲未能起步，則一切順延的結果，便連“四月說”亦或嫌太早了。從這裏，即顯出全盤計劃的重要性位於單一環節之上；即使是單一環節本身，例如盡快選出特首，我們還要問：是純要結果，抑或兼顧過程？是純要人選，抑或兼顧候選人同市民、投票者的互動，這同樣存在一個由多樣性構成的全個性的課題。本文刊登之日，可能推委會的籌備事宜已經開始運轉，但由於作業方法論問題具有泛性的導向意義，故仍有一議之必要。

三·關於時間的哲學

遠在籌委會成立之前，時間已經成為某種焦慮的焦點，可簡單陳述為：澳門的問題太多，應盡快組織籌委會，及早為特區成立作準備。此一“時間情結”在籌委會出爐之後，不但沒有退減，而是在籌委會的運作中繼續發揚光大。我們從澳門籌委會的初步磋商中，發現一張張長長的“課單”——澳門數之不盡的課題，只要能想到的，都一一羅列出來。這固然無可厚非，但亦從中窺見深層的“時間情結”，外化為急於“掃課”的意欲。

我們覺得，時間的鬆緊沒有固定的標準，端視處理之事的多寡輕重而定。澳門特區即將承受和處理的，是一份長達將近四個半世紀的社會遺產，而最近幾年出現的問題，不過是400多年歷史的沉積物，相對於這400多年來說，目前剩下的18個月，同28個月並無太大的分別。這幾年的嚴重問題，原因可以推得非常久遠，這些問題本身就是澳門發展形態的一部分，目前只不過從隱蔽的狀態變成顯現的狀態，顯現得越持久，越說明其隱蔽深不可測，絕非短程因素所能涵蓋。如果我們用遠瞻的眼光去謀劃未來澳門的藍圖，就必須採取歷史的視野來清理澳門的遺產，這是急不來的。一萬年太久，只爭朝夕，但不是要在一朝一夕間，去完成一萬年的任務。所以問題不在於時間的長短，而在

於工作的策略和選擇性，以及質素和效率。所以籌委會應首先在基本法所規範的基礎上，確定本身的工作範圍、次序和方法，有了一個作業的總體概念和框架，然後才進入處理具體事務的層次。籌委會不宜將很多屬於未來的事務，不必要地提前進行，或者將一些不屬於籌委會工作範圍的事情，不必要地由籌委會包辦。否則，應做的份內事反而失之交臂，就不妙了。籌委會應當時常銘記本身的角色：籌備某些東西，而非“備有”這些東西。事實上，特區誕生前，籌委會為特區三個政權機關的產生制定遊戲規則之後，它法定的歷史任務即告基本完成。反而更多的工作，是體現在三個政權機關，尤其是行政機關本身的組成方面。如果籌委會有足夠的智慧，集中精力演好自己份內的角色，時間並不是想像中那樣緊張的。

四·關於推委會和“直通車”

若要從有限的時間中，產生最大的工作效益，群眾路線是不二法門。推委會的報名參選程序，籌委會大可以將部分權力下放至各個界別的團體機構，讓它們在社會的第一線接受市民報名。這既能大大減輕籌委會的工作壓力，又有利於發動市民的參與。由於推委會的人數已由基本法規範圍為200人，因此，報名參選的市民越多，從中選出來的200人，便相對地越有代表性，相對地較能代表全澳市民投票選出理想的行政長官。

群眾路線是一種作業方法，但如果點燃市民的參與熱情，是籌委會的重要工作理念，則方法就構成理念的一部分，這樣，方法的意義就不停留在工具層次，它本身就是將理念變成現實的重要一環。這啟示我們，如果我們運用與目標具有同等價值意義的手段，目標的實現就具有事半功倍之效。

此外，立法會“直通車”問題也不宜拖延。籌委會應盡速確認選任議員的過渡，使他們無需等候特首的產生，亦即等候官委議員的委出，便能以特區首屆立法會候任議員的身份，名正言順地建立社會聯係，為特區成立後的立法事務作準備。

但是，如果“直通車”出現缺額，情況便有點複雜。按照基本法規定，特區首屆立法會由8名直選議員、8名間選議員和7名委任議員組成。換言之，應當由原來的產生方式產生替補的議員，亦即空缺是直選議席便舉行直選產生替補者，是間選議席則由間選產生替補者。但基本法又規定，空缺由籌委會決定補充。單看這一

點，籌委會似乎又有權無需舉行任何選舉，便可直接決定替補的人選。但如此一來，三類議員的8、8、7格局便無法形成，因為來自籌委會的替補者，既非特首委任，更非直選或間選產生，只能屬於“第四類”議員。這顯然無法滿足基本法的規定。

如果將籌委會的“決定補充”，理解為依基本法有關規定補充，即可繞過上述歧義，實行選舉。但問題仍未完全解決。99年12月20日前，澳門仍屬葡國管治，政權尚未交接，而特區立法會議席空缺的補選，卻不可能不在澳門本地，在現政權的管治體系之下舉行。其間涉及的政治、法律，以至技術問題，都十分複雜。但若到回歸後才選，則特區政權便只能在立法會缺席的情況下宣告成立，立法權在一段時間內處於空白狀態。

也許可以這樣解決：空缺，是作為現屆立法會的空缺，而非特區立法會的空缺來處理。這就可以在特區成立前，舉行現屆立法會的補選，當選者隨即登上“直通車”。但前提是只有在有關的現任議員離任的情況下，方構成空缺而作補選。這在技術上並無絕對的必然性，因為任何一名在特區成立後另有去向的議員，都可繼續留在現屆立法會工作至任期結束的。因此，上述解決方法若欠運氣則仍不可行。

此問題還是作為一個智慧的考驗，交回籌委會諸公費神去吧。

五·關於特區發展的戰略方向

我們認為，成立特區的問題千頭萬緒，其中關鍵就是首先要從可靠的根據中，找出特區發展的戰略方向，這個方向一旦確立，所有領域的事務，都必須以這個方向為軸心來運轉，而不應將它們實行彼此分割的，互不關聯的處理。我們初步觀察，特區初期無需特別提出甚麼雄心勃勃的計劃，它只要將現實情況中未合理，未完善的部分，加以合理化，完善化，正常化，就已經為澳門的發展邁出了最決定性的第一步。我們將這一步，稱之為一場管治系統的基礎設施維修工程。這正是特區發展的首要戰略方向。因為澳門的一籃子問題，與其說是決策上的錯誤，不如說是基本的機制有缺陷。就好像鐵達尼號的悲劇一樣，無論它的設備多麼豪華先進，但由於用來裝嵌般身的那些小小的鉚釘質量差，它就經不起考驗。基本的機制有問題，任何鴻圖偉略都逃不過截腰沉沒的命運。

澳門的主要問題是，一方面，它的機制

是老舊的，甚至是中世紀式的，但另一方面，它的外觀，卻又似模似樣地儼然一副現代城市的面貌。這種極不協調的狀況，發展到某個階段，或者一碰到稍不尋常的挑戰，老舊的機制就難以適應和承受，結果導致繁榮的假象被戳穿。為了幫助說明這道理，我們打個比方：如果在一棟五層的樓宇之上進行加建，只要不超過樓宇本身的負荷能力，那麼它看起來會很堂皇壯觀，但是，一旦加建持續，或者天有不測之風雲，其負荷能力之不足就“即時生效”——轟隆一聲，地動山搖，連原先

無問題的五層，也賠上了。這說明澳門的復興，何以如此困難。

然而，進一步令人擔憂的是，轟隆一聲之後，老舊的機制反而重現生機。因為，只要不超過五層及某個程度的加建，老舊機制便仍具價值。反正沒有即時的危險，而且做生不如做熟，還是用老舊機制重新建設穩妥一些！

機制不正常，不合理，導致澳門表面的問題和實質的問題，暫時的問題和長遠的問題，混亂地交織在一起。只有革新機制，使之回復到應有的常態，那些因機制

而產生的問題便逐漸退出，剩下的問題，亦即在機制正常化之後依然存在的問題，就是澳門實質的問題，長遠的問題。這能使我們較能作出合理的判斷，找出對應之道。換言之，我們對澳門真正的優勢和劣勢，唯有在初步解決機制的問題之後，才能獲得一個可靠的了解。因此，機制問題的解決，不但是澳門復興的條件和起飛的前提，還提醒我們，維持機制的正常化、合理化，對澳門，以及任何一個地方來說，都是永恒的課題。

扭轉乾坤寄望所在

羽 君

澳門特區籌委會成立了，各方矚目。

她是澳門特區政府的孕母，“十月懷胎”，如何健康孕育出寧馨兒，廣受關注。

孕母的健康，關係胎兒的成長。特區籌委會體質怎樣？如何向孕母輸送養份，更是關澳居民注視的焦點、責任所在。澳人清醒地看到，特區籌委會組成，並不是就此萬事大吉，征途上還多風雨。然而，特區籌委會的誕生，正是低迷已久的澳門扭轉乾坤機契的寄望所在，不得不格外留神。

四百年歷史沉澱積垢，防礙了澳門的生機，需要及時清擦，才能煥發青春。特區籌委會起步維艱，責任重大！

回歸前的澳門，氣氛凝重。長期以來，相當部分的澳人如存活於封邑之中，囿於保守，不圖進取，一味寄望中央援手。經濟不景氣，埋怨“宏觀調控”窒息了另類中資在澳大肆炒作所帶來的狂潮式繁榮；治安嚴峻，掌權者尸位素餐，諉過於人，沒有勇氣承擔責任；社會一些頭面人物沒有必要的行動，去促使當局履責，目光只盯住一些大人物，看他是否出手及如何出手，眼見官場“哈哈”或互相面左以示責不在我，欠缺合作辦好事情的氣氛；處在夾縫中的小民百姓誠恐誠惶，唯有自嘆倒霉，百般無奈，被迫參加猜測在天亮前還有多少性命會在黑槍轟擊中倒下的遊戲。

澳門葡萄牙政府奉行的是天主教教義的人道，是沒有死刑的。政府律例無死刑，可是民間黑道有。利益紛爭一槍了斷，無法無天。法律正義，蕩然無存。偏門居正，財可通神，指點江山，儼然以澳門主宰自居。致令活在這世紀末風情下的末代殖民地子民驚慌日甚。盼星星，盼月亮，盼早日回歸，以開啟澳門新機運。

對澳門人來說，在這近五百多天之中，如何防亂，特別是防止出現更大的治安失控亂局，是最迫切需要關注的問題。坊間盼望的是高人出手，雖有所不為也要有所為。其實，關鍵仍在於澳人團結自救。

澳門今日弄到如斯境地，責在當局顛覆、自私、短視、無為，看來葡人四百多年管治，恐怕會黯淡收場，面目無光。與英國人體面撤退，形成強烈反差，惟是葡人管治不力把澳門陷入深淵帶來的禍害，決非一朝易幟便可全然改觀。一分耕耘，一分收穫，常生苦果的鹽鹼地要培育甜美的鮮果良蔬，除了努力耕作之外，如何引流洗碱、科學改良土壤，適當施肥，及時灌溉才是大學問、功夫所在。

* * *

未來澳門特區政府是由澳人組成的，澳人的性格會鑄造特區政府的性格。

一位熟悉澳門的內地學者，以縝密的觀

察，指出傳統澳人保守謹慎，規行矩步、畏首畏尾，不如香港人果敢決斷、敢作敢為、視野廣闊，亦不如今日內地某些大城市的人思想解放、洞悉先機，勇於開創。

看來，坐待欽點、黃袍加身的心態不利擔當構築未來特區政府偉大工程的使命。慣於“小城故事”的澳門人要放眼世界、開闊胸襟，善於探索，接受新思維，不斷調整方位座標，緊扣時代脈搏，才能緊跟潮流，掌握命運，迎接新世紀的挑戰，無負中央的信任，明天才能掌握好“澳人治澳”、高度自治的大權，貫徹“一國兩制”不變形、不走樣，健步邁向廿一世紀。

澳門未來自強之道，在於要引入公平競爭的市場主導機制、公正嚴明的法治及監察機制、廣泛聽取民意下情上達的輿論制衡機制，加強內外周邊地區的聯系，拓展生存空間、提高人口質素，擴大市場容量，開創新新的經濟格局，建設開放型充滿活力的現代化中等城市，自立於中國城市之林，在祖國統一大業和輝煌建設的偉績中扮演一個與其處境身份相當的角色，肩負起廿一世紀光榮的歷史使命！

千里之行，始於足下，任重道遠。眾志成城為特區政府出謀獻計，今天多一分準備，明天就多一分成效。好的開始就是成功的一半，寄厚望於澳門特區籌委會！

Notes by the editors:

role of the individual members be brought to a full play. But for now, it is important precondition to bring into being a comprehensive, open and informative system of consultation, so as to fully draw on the opinions of the people of all sectors of the community. There is an increasing awareness and concern about the reversion to the Motherland, in that Macao residents share a relatively high political enthusiasm by forming follow-up groups in various social entities, and that many contribute their ideas and wisdom to the Preparative Committee through various applicable channels.

This issue of our journal will present several feature essays such as "Concerted Effort for Constructing the Special Administrative Region" by Yang Yi, "Four relationships that Macao SAR Preparatory Committee must handle" by Lei Pui Lam, "Cradle of the Macao SAR Government — the Macao SAR Preparatory Committee" by U Wai Ang, "Comments on some issues about the Preparatory Committee" by Lei Peng Si, and "Where hope of reversal lies" by Yu Jun, in which various aspects of the Committee are reviewed in-depth from the author's personal perspectives. We will go on presenting, as the need arises, more articles by authors with different points of view, so as to further explore and compare views. But all articles appear here neither represent the point of view of this research center, nor of the editors. How well endorsed will the articles be is entirely up to our readers. However, we are of the opinion that, as an authoritative as well as a working institution, the Committee has nine tasks confirmed as in the documents of the National People's Congress. It takes a highly efficient and capable operational institution to prepare for the first executive, legislative and judicial institutions headed by the Chief Executive, which are in high expectation of the people, and which are likewise highly efficient and capable. It has been the consistent view of this research center that, by virtue of the authority invested in by the National People's Congress as provided in the Basic Law, the Committee should correctly perform its legal functions, and appropriately explore and improve its manner of operation that is feasible and effective, according to its rules and procedures, which will, to the greatest extent, represent the solidity, openness and practicability, and which will draw on different sources of opinions, and which is accommodative of different voices, different points of view, with a view to elevating understanding in the process of communication, keeping the society in the orientation of optimization, being open and accommodative, and drawing on collective wisdom. We are convinced that under the strong and comprehensive leadership of the Committee, tasks will not only be fulfilled in time to their designated quality and quantity, but also that the procedures of operation of the Macao society will be continually upgraded and improved. This center is willing to cooperate with any persons who are concerned about the future of Macao, to work for a better tomorrow.

Concerted Effort for Constructing the Special Administrative Region — Some Thoughts on the Preparatory Work for Macao SAR

Yang Yi

1. The Macao Special Administrative Region Preparatory Committee was formally established in Beijing on 5th May 1998, which was more than one month ago. The Committee comprises a total of 100 members, with sixty of them selected from Macao. It makes up 60% of all the Committee Members, and they represent the major industries and sectors that have a high degree of representation of the society. There are a total of 25 key influential persons selected from the business and financial sectors, which constitute 41.66% of all members from Macao. The grass-root organizations and religious groups have 13 representatives, or 21.66% of the total members from Macao. Representatives from academic, professional, mass media, education, and cultural sectors aggregate to 20, that is 33.33% of all members from Macao. The balance of 3.33% comes from other sectors. The composition of members in the Preparatory Committee has a close resemblance of the current actual status of the Macao society. Such a formation can thus be regarded as highly reasonable. We can trust that the Preparatory Committee can effectively and

efficiently fulfill its sacred historical mission.

2. The Preparatory Committee has been assigned with nine items of tasks, which are the latest policy determined by the highest authority of China. There are different levels of importance and priority among these nine tasks. However, each of them has to be completed in an utmost serious manner, and it requires the collected wisdom of the Preparatory Committee and all citizens. The most critical and imperative task is to follow the decision made by the National People's Congress to establish an election committee that consists of 200 members, who have a high degree of representation and are all permanent residents of Macao. The formation of such committee is for the election of the first Chief Executive, by way of consultation or nomination for election after consultation for official appointment by the Government of China. The Chief Executive shall then start to form the first government for Macao Special Administrative Region according to the stipulations in the Basic Law, which shall include the nomination of key officials for appointment by the Government of China. The Preparatory Committee shall also work

out proper procedures for the formation of the first Legislative Council and the judiciary. They shall formulate measures for resolving critical legal issues for the smooth transition, which include conflicts between existing laws of Macao and the Basic Law. They shall work out policy for the transition of municipal departments, and make proposals for the implementation of the Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China in Macao. Suggestions on activities celebrating the establishment of the Macao Special Administration Region also fall under the responsibility of the Preparatory Committee. It is noteworthy that the Committee is responsible for the study of various economic, social, and cultural issues in connection with the smooth transition of Macao. This binding stipulation was not seen during the formation of the Hong Kong Special Administration Region. Moreover, such specific stipulation fully reflects that China places a high degree of emphasis on the smooth transition of Macau and its development during the transition period.

3. There are some new ideas in the recent speech delivered by Chairman Jiang Zemin. In the meeting

with the Preparatory Committee of the Macao Special Administrative Region on 6th May, Chairman Jiang stated, "After reunion with China, Macao will enjoy high autonomy under the policy of 'One Country, Two Systems'. The internal affairs of the Special Administrative Region will be governed and administered by Macao people in accordance with the provisions of the Basic Law for Macao. This is a long-term unchanged policy. We trust that Macao citizens are capable of properly administering this region, with the upkeep of the stability and prosperity. There will definitely be a better tomorrow for Macao. The reunion of Macao with the motherland will demonstrate again an excellent example of the policy of 'One Country, Two Systems', which will strongly facilitate the ultimate resolution of the Taiwan issue for the final reunification of China". Chairman Jiang has explicitly remarked that it is "a long-term unchanged policy" for the high autonomy under the principle of "One Country, Two Systems". This clearly demonstrates that China has the determination to implement the policy of "One Country, Two Systems". It also reflects that China is fully confident towards the high autonomy of Hong Kong and Macao with the principle of "Hong Kong People to Govern Hong Kong" and "Macao People to Govern Macao".

4. The Preparatory Committee operates in a standardized and legalized manner. However, as it is an organization that is empowered with both authority and working functions, it is necessary to formulate the work codes to ensure the proper performance of the duties of the committee members. The work codes passed in the first general meeting state that: "The Preparatory Committee shall function in a democratic manner and consider views and suggestions from all sectors." (Article Two), "The Preparatory Committee shall adopt the collective responsibility system and implement the principle of confidentiality." (Article Three). These two articles in fact represent the two sides of dialectical unity. On one hand, the Preparatory Committee will not be able to make any reasonable decisions without the extensive process of consultation in a democratic manner. On the other hand, the preparatory work for the Special Administrative Region will not be completed in a timely manner with the targeted quality and quantity, if prompt and resolute decisions cannot be made. It is exactly what has been remarked by Executive Committee Member Qian Qishen, "During the formation of the Special Administrative Region, there are numerous specific critical issues that require investigation and resolution. Therefore, we have to voice out our opinions freely, and collect views and suggestions from all sectors. At the same time, we need to discuss and solve the problems. We need to put equal emphasis on these two aspects."

5. There is equal concern on the functioning of collective wisdom and the proper role of the Preparatory Committee. The Committee has a very important historical mission. The performance of its multiple functions has a direct impact on the smooth transition of Macao and the resumption of sovereignty by China. It also has direct effect on the authority, effectiveness and recognition of the executive, legislative and judicial structure of the

Special Administrative Region formulated by the Committee. Not only taken into consideration of different sectors that each Committee Member represents, the Preparatory Committee has established in accordance with the working codes a multi-level decision-making mechanism separately exercised at the general meeting, the executive committee meeting, and the general secretary working meeting. Different function units are responsible to conduct professional and specific studies for the discussion of government structure. Independent Committee Members are designated to make comments and recommendations on each task that fall under the jurisdiction of the Committee. They should make extensive consultation and collect views from all sectors to report to the Committee. This means each Committee Member is free to exercise and devote his or her wisdom. They should not be regarded as just representing one specific class or sector, or a particular interest party. Instead, they are collectively responsible to the Committee, the country, the history, and the time. We can hardly say that the sixty members have definitely included all the elite of Macao, but at least we can say that they represent the general public of all sectors for their major expectations, demands and interests. If each of them can fully perform their duties without failing the public expectation and the requirement of their missions, the Committee will definitely be able to achieve the synergy effect of "1+1>2".

6. Just like constructing a building, we need to lay a solid foundation with proper design and multiple intelligent functions for the Special Administrative Region of Macao. The blueprint for the development of Macao was sketched as early as in mid 1980s by the Government of China in the "Joint Declaration of China and Portugal", based on Chairman Deng Xiaoping's concept of "One Country, Two Systems". Under such policy, it will place the Special Administrative Region of Macao directly under the Central Government after reunion that will enjoy high autonomy by the implementation of "Macao People to Govern Macao". In addition, with the enforcement of the principal policy consisted of 12 items of concrete statements, it has provided solid guarantee and clear guidelines for the long-term development of Macao. The successful stipulation of the Basic Law of Macao has legalized and crystalized a self-contained system for the aforesaid principles and policies. It also provides a new convincing example for practicing the concept of "One Country, Two Systems". With the commencement of the work of the Preparatory Committee, the actual construction of the Special Administrative Region will start. We will know from our actual experience that the reunion does not only imply the resumption of sovereignty. It indeed marks a new page for Macao for implementation of a development model with high degree of autonomy that has specific features of China and Macao. Long-term unchanged policy does not mean a mechanical extension of the original government structure. Instead, it should grow new organic elements from the internal body, by maintaining the existing skeleton. It thus illustrates that reunion with China is not the same as performing some renovation work for a returned house. It is instead to construct

a new building, under the principles of high autonomy, "One Country, Two Systems", and "Macao People to Govern Macao". This meticulously designed and carefully constructed building should be a multiple intelligent architecture that can be a new representation of the whole country, or even the entire world. This building of Special Administrative Region does not only belong to the country, but also all residents of Macao. As the structure of this building is to serve and protect the interest of all the people in Macao, it requires constant monitoring and supervision by the public. Due to the urgency and difficulties of this task, the Preparatory Committee should devote its entire efforts at all times for supervising the construction of this building. Every Macao citizen should contribute his or her ideas for the completion of this building. Macao has been chosen by the history, and in certain sense the work of the Committee is a rehearsal and premiere of high autonomy under the policy of "Macao People to Govern Macao". Being the witnesses of this historical moment, Macao citizens should also actively participate and contribute during the transition period.

7. We need to understand the complexity of concerns and the effectiveness of participation. Long before the establishment of the Preparatory Committee, there were proposals from some organizations for setting up some concern groups. In a month after the formation of the Committee, there are dozens of concern groups established which have pushed the work of the Committee to a new stage with a more extensive foundation. However, we should study and think about the issues and the way we should concern ourselves. With the commencement of the preparatory work for the Special Administrative Region, the Committee and the concern groups will continue to introduce and implement various practicable measures. However, in view of the essence of the issue, the formation of the administrative, legislative and judicial structure for the Special Administrative Region is not only a requirement for resumption of sovereignty, but also for assurance of long-term stability and prosperity. It marks an end of a chapter of history, but at the same time opens up a new page of development for a new era. It realizes high autonomy under the state policy of "One Country, Two Systems" and "Macao People to Govern Macao", while involving Macao citizens to undergo a process of self-education, self-participation and self-enhancement. Therefore, to support, assist and cherish the new establishments and to motivate and utilize the wisdom of the general public will be a key success factor of the Preparatory Committee. The concern groups and all Macao citizens should take hold of this opportune time to monitor, investigate, and study in a positive, systematic and persistent manner the issues that fall into their areas. We should collect intelligent ideas and explore essential views for active participation. We should also contribute our experience, knowledge, and wisdom to provide recommendations to the Preparatory Committee for the construction of the Special Administrative Region, which is closely related to our own benefits.

(The writer of this article is a member of the Macau Development Strategy Research Centre)

Four relationships that Macao SAR Preparatory Committee must handle

by Lei Pui Lam

The Macao SAR Preparatory Committee of the National People's Congress was formally founded in Beijing at 9 a.m. on 5th May. Its 20-minute founding ceremony was simple but stately, during which Chairman Li Peng did not say much, but what he did say was enough to reflect the concern the motherland has about Macao, and hopes She has of the Preparatory Committee.

The founding of SAR Preparatory Committee marked that Macao is well into a new phase of its post-transition period. A series of important tasks, such as the preparation for the SAR government, have been put on the agenda.

At present, people in China as well as around the world are fixing their eyes on every move of a small city — Macao. It is widely noted that Hong Kong has made its smooth transition, and is doing well. Now people are curious to know whether Macao, as the second stop on the way to our national unification, will, in its turn, be able to make its transition as smooth or even better than that of Hong Kong.

How this curiosity might be best satisfied is something that is only up to us, and nothing or nobody else. Now that the SAR Preparatory Committee is in place, it will serve as an authority as well as a working institution in representing the people of Macao, and in leading them in the drawing of Macao's future blueprint. The quality of its work will have a direct bearing not only on Macao's prestige and future development, but also on our national grace or disgrace.

There are fewer than 600 days leading to Macao's reversion to the motherland. Time is ticking away on the count-down clock in front of the Museum of Revolutionary History on Tiananmen Square. Time does not wait. Only by seizing the minute and seizing the hour can we hope to accomplish the historic mission of a smooth reversion to the motherland.

To fulfil such a difficult task, I think that the Preparatory Committee must successfully handle

the following four relations:

1. The relationship between the SAR Preparatory Committee and Macao-Portuguese government

Our national leaders have reiterated that the SAR Preparatory Committee shall not constitute a second power center and shall not interfere with the administration of Macao-Portuguese government. This attitude is very correct and definite. It is also a common understanding in the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration. The Portuguese government in Macao is assured in this regard.

In its course of fulfilling various tasks, the SAR Preparatory Committee need from time to time assistance from the Portuguese Macao government. The Committee must be kept alert as to the political issue of how perform its work in an orderly manner without generating the impression of interfering and exceeding its terms of references.

2. The relationship between the SAR Preparatory Committee and various social organizations

Of the members of the SAR Preparatory Committee, 60 are local personalities, most of whom are heads of their respective organizations. As such they are representative to some extent, and their appointment symbolizes honor bestowed on them by their organizations.

Apart from operation along the lines of internal regulations, the SAR Preparatory Committee is more in need of support and help from various social organizations and people from all walks of life. How can we hope to fulfil tasks by relying only on those 60 or 100 members?

Therefore, the Preparatory Committee must serve as an organizer, planner and coordinator institution for all social organizations of the community, and those organizations are resources the Committee must rely on to fulfil its tasks.

3. The relationship between the main and urgent problems and the secondary and intermediate problems

The SAR Preparatory Committee is faced with the test and challenge of pressing and difficult tasks. And each task involves a lot of minor tasks. Tasks like that may not be completed in time if priorities are not set to them, or resources are not allotted accordingly.

It is reasonable division of labor for the Preparatory Committee to subdivide into four groups of governmental, legal, economical, social and cultural affairs. Each has its own terms of references and scope of work. Among them there is a question of priority. On the face of it the groups appear more or less equal in importance, but I think the governmental affairs is by far the more important and worthy of more resources.

4. The relationship between the private affairs and the official duties of the members of the Preparatory Committee

As everyone knows, every member of the Preparatory Committee represents the leadership of his or her line of business, and they all have their own work and duties of social positions. However busy they will be, each member must correctly handle the relationship between official duties and private affairs, and treat the public tasks of the Preparatory Committee and other businesses in the right order of importance during the one or more years to come.

It must be clearly understood that, from the moment of accepting the appointment as a member, each must devote unequivocally and wholeheartedly to the tasks of rallying the people of Macao to fulfil the assignments of the Preparatory Committee.

Each member of the Preparatory Committee must cherish the confidence bestowed on him or her by the country, and clearly understand the expectations Macao people have of them, and keep in mind the historic mission, and live up to be a worthy member of the Committee.

Cradle of the Macao SAR Government — the Macao SAR Preparatory Committee

by U Wai Ang

The Macao SAR Preparatory Committee of National People's Congress was successfully founded on 5th May 1998, which marked the beginning of the project of constituting the SAR government. The structure of SAR, based on the principle of "One country, two systems" and the Basic Law, will be unfolded gradually before the people of the world.

According to the Basic Law of Macao, the SAR Preparatory Committee shall be consisted of 100 members from Macao (which shall account for no less than 50%) as well as from the inland. From the list of members adopted and appointed by the

National People's Congress, it is apparent that 60 members, or 60% of the total are from Macao, which is more than the ratio of 50% designated by the Basic Law. This exemplifies the National People's Congress' intention that Macao people be encouraged to participate in their own affairs. Members from the inland include representatives from related ministries and committees of the Chinese government and from those areas with close relations with Macao (such as Guangdong, Beijing, etc.). This composition not only reflects the principle of national sovereignty but also is conducive to communication between Macao and

all sectors of the inland. Members of Macao are all well-known personages from various sectors of the community who have for long contributed a lot to the construction, stability and prosperity of Macao. They are widely representative, of such fields as finance, trade, property development, industries, laws, education, liberal arts, engineering, labor, religion, youths, women, and various social entities. Some of them are representatives to the National People's Congress, members of Political Consultative Committee, ex-counsels on the Basic Law, and ex-members of the Drafting Committee of the Basic Law. Business tycoons are represented

as well as grass-root social groups. The same is true also of political personalities and professionals, of renowned seniors and youthful juniors. It can be noted that the majority, who love the motherland as well as Macao, can find their endorsees in the Preparatory Committee. In addition, seven of the members are Chinese officials who have long stationed in Macao. They are familiar not only with the circumstances in Macao, but also with domestic governmental mechanism, who may be characterized as members with "dual" identities, which enables them to lubricate and grind in, as it were, in the work of the Preparatory Committee. As an entity, the Preparatory Committee represents the greatest volition of people in Macao — which is to revert to the motherland, and implement the policy of "one country, two systems; and leaving the affairs of Macao to her people who shall enjoy a high degree of autonomy" — so as to ensure stability and prosperity of Macao on the long run.

The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration explicitly provides that the Portuguese government shall be responsible for the administration of Macao until 20th December 1999. The Preparatory Committee is an institution of authority established under the auspices of the National People's Congress, which shall undertake to prepare for the establishment of

the Macao SAR Government. The Committee will not interfere with the daily administrative operation of the Portuguese government before 20th December 1999, just as it will not become a "second power center". Actually, it needs sincere and effective support and cooperation from the Portuguese government.

It is a great endeavor to prepare for the Macao SAR Government. The Preparatory Committee is set to undertake nine major tasks: (1) to constitute the first Macao SAR Government and the Nomination Committee, to decide on methods of election of the first Chief Executive; (2) to devise the methods of generating the first Legislative Council; (3) to come up with ways of constituting functional services of the SAR Government; (4) to put forward legal solutions to any major legal issues with a bearing on smooth transition; (5) to work out a transitional procedures for the government functional departments; (6) to work out some approaches and suggestions as to how to secure smooth transition in economic, social and cultural aspects; (7) to put forward suggestions as to the implementation of the nationality legislation in the SAR; (8) to come up with schemes of the celebration ceremony of the establishment of Macao SAR Government and related activities; (9)

to prepare for and handle other major affairs related to the founding of the SAR Government. Faced with such great yet difficult tasks, the Preparatory Committee will serve as a core in the leadership of people of Macao to participate in, and paint a better future. In this endeavor, the Preparatory Committee should base its actions on Macao's future development and bring them in the interest of the Macao people, go all out and do all it can to facilitate a smooth hand-over of power, and to contribute to the future SAR government. Meanwhile, each of Macao resident should facilitate the work of the Preparatory Committee, participate in the endeavors by the future SAR government, air their views and contribute to Macao's future.

There are fewer than 600 days to go before Macao reverts to the motherland, which is a crucial period leading to the hand-over. I am convinced that, backed by the motherland and centered around the Preparatory Committee, the people of Macao will actively engage themselves in a common and well-oriented effort, Macao will see a smooth transition and further development.

Comments on some issues about the Preparatory Committee

by Lei Peng Si

1. On the proportion of members from Macao in the Preparatory Committee

We notice that among the Macao constituencies of the Committee, those from the intellectual and cultural sectors take up an extraordinary proportion. Intellectuals also account for a greater part of those who are generally viewed as new faces among the members. According to preliminary statistics, of the members from Macao, those of industrial and commercial sectors account for 41.67%, those of grass-root social groups for 16.67%, intellectual and cultural 38.33%, other sectors for 3.33%. Apparently, intellectual and cultural sectors nearly rival those of industries and commerce, so that non-industrial-commercial sectors account for 58.33% of the total, above the industrial-commercial sectors. However, those in the leadership of the Committee are all of the industrial-commercial sectors, which more than counter balance the shortfall in their numbers. Therefore, it may be observed that the gravity of the Committee is placed in the industrial-commercial sectors, yet the door to participation remains widely open for other sectors, signifying the information of openness in the upkeep of stability. So, although the composition is not perfect in any sense, but viewed in the actual circumstances of Macao, it may be judged to be one that is keeping to the norms, one that does not give unexpected delight yet is nonetheless better than expectation and is generally acceptable.

Some people point a critical finger to the unchanged faces in the membership and "politics of the senior". But we think that it is irrelevant which cast of actors take the show, or how old

they are. If the operation of the Committee is sufficiently answerable, open and transparent, the "cast" will nonetheless be able to achieve their goal, and "the senior" may be able to rejuvenate and be responsible to the people of Macao. Otherwise, any "cast" would be at the end of its tether, the "youthful" would be wasting their time by achieving nothing. It is in the interest of continuation of social developments to give priority to the original "cast" and allow them to carry on and endure new tests to prove their capabilities, and be kept in service to the community that is in need of talents, and to achieve progress from out of stability. Besides, it may smack of unfairness if they are left out without giving them an opportunity. The future SAR political framework will offer limited positions, while those who wish to serve in it are many. So where general qualifications of individuals are roughly the same, then their virtues, abilities, and support by the people constitute outstanding credits.

Therefore, we believe that the Committee has historical opportunities in stock for those who are uniquely qualified to give full play to abilities, as well as for those who are usually ordinary to achieve extraordinary feats.

2. On the operational procedures of the Preparatory Committee

According to the Basic Law, the primary task of the Preparatory Committee is to devise a method by which the first SAR government, the legislative council, and the judicial institution are to be generated. Therefore the undertakings of the political group of the Committee should receive gravity and priority. This is not to overlook the value of other groups, but to devise a scheme of

priority along the order of things to be achieved by virtue of the Basic Law.

As long as the position of the Chief Executive remains vacant, the executive offices, the legislative institutions and the judicial agencies will remain unformed, because the authority is invested in the Chief Executive to constitute the SAR government, to appoint part of the legislators, and all levels of judges of the SAR courts. Therefore it should be the priority of the Committee to formulate an election panel, so as to decide as early as possible on the candidates seeking the position of the Chief Executive, and thereby set other undertakings in motion at the earliest possible convenience. There has been consensus and no significant dispute in this regard.

Here, the Committee is faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, there is not much time left, and on the other, the generation of the election panel is by itself a political campaign that involves indispensable social motivation and appealing. If this process is excessively compressed, then there will be only limited enthusiasm and participation on the part of the citizens in return for a speedy roll-out of the election panel, which will in turn affect the election of the Chief Executive. Many are trying to narrow down on the exact month in which the Chief Executive is to be elected. But we think it is advisable to consider the time frame of the generation of the election panel in conjunction with that of the election of the Chief Executive, and meanwhile leave the necessary time required for the consideration of both elections. Because, in order to realize the ideal of participation, the engagement of the citizens and the election itself

should receive equal weight. In other words, the consideration of time should be made in combination with that of needs of the operations themselves, instead of opting for one and leaving out the other. As for the election of the Chief Executive, there are now two hypothesis: the "January theory" and the "April theory". For the sake of this discussion, let us just opt for one. The "January theory" is apparently more to the need of participation, though it is three months delayed. But whether or not we could afford such a delay? And when will the preparation for elective panel election move to the phase of its substantial operation? If this undertaking were unduly delayed, then everything related to it is likewise delayed in consequence, then even the "April theory" would appear too early. Here it is noticeable that the whole plan hinges on a particular process. Even as the particular process is concerned, one may further ask whether it is the result or the process itself that we are after, and whether we want only the candidates, or at the same time the interactive process between the candidates and the citizens and voters. Here one also is confronted with comprehensiveness that involves variety. When this article meets its readership, the preparation for the election panel may already have begun. But as methodology of operation is generally oriental, it nonetheless deserves further discussion.

3. On philosophy of time

Time had become the focus of some sort of concern well before the Committee came into being, the cause of which, simply put, is there had been too many problems that called for an early setup of the Committee to prepare for establishment of the SAR. This "time complex" has not faded away since the Committee came into being, but has furthered strengthened as the Committee works on. We have come across various lists of problems in the course of the Committee's initial deliberations, numerous of them that could possibly be thought of. This by itself is not a matter for judgement, but through it may be seen that deep lying "time complex" surfaced in a prompted desire to get rid of those problems.

It is our view that there is no hard and fast standard for time, all depends on how many and how important those problems to be dealt with are. What the SAR of Macao will have to handle is a social legacy of four-and-a-half centuries. The problems emerged in the last few years are but a residual of that four-and-a-half-century legacy. Judged against that 400 odd years, the difference between the remaining 18 months and the hypothetical 28 months is not so significant. Grave problems surfaced in the past few years may be traced afar. This by itself is part of the forms of Macao's development. Only now those problems became more apparent; and the longer they stay apparent, the deeper their roots, and are by no means explicable by short-run factors. If we envisage the blue print of Macao from a long-term point of view, we have to sort out the legacy from a historical approach, and it can not be done in a hurry. Ten thousand years are too long, and we only want to strive for now. But we are not trying to fulfil the tasks of ten thousand years overnight. So the issue is not how much time we can afford, but rather the strategy and selectivity of operation, and its quality and efficiency. Therefore the Committee should establish its scope, sequence and methodology of work on the basis of what is provided by the Basic

Law, before it can get down details of its tasks. It should not deal now with what is meant for tomorrow, or with matters beyond its scope of work. Otherwise it will fail to do what it is supposed to do. The Committee should always bear its role in mind: to prepare for something, but not to "have something ready". Actually, before the SAR comes into being, and when the Committee has put in place the rules of game for the three governmental institutions of the SAR, its legal mission will then be by and large fulfilled. More work will be on the composition of the three institutions, especially the executive offices. If the Committee has wisdom enough to focus on playing the role it is supposed to play, then time will not be so pressing as it is imagined.

4. On the election panel and the "through train"

To strive for the best operational efficiency in a limited time frame, the only way is to rely on task delegation. In the case of registering for the electoral procedures for the election panel, the Committee may well delegate part of its authority to group entities of each sector, by allowing them to handle citizens registration on the first social front. By so doing much of the work load on the Committee may be relieved, and in addition, it is conducive to motivating the citizens to participate. Since the number of members of the election panel is designated by the Basic Law at 200, so the more the citizens who register for the candidacy, the more representative the 200 members of the panel will be of the people of Macao to vote for their ideal Chief Executive.

Entrust tasks to masses is a way of operation. If it is an important working concept to mobilize enthusiasm in participation by the citizens, then methodology constitutes part of the concept, and the significance of methodology does not stop short of remaining a non-value category of tools, and it by itself is an important link of the concept to the reality. What this means is that if we employ a means that is of the same value to that of an end, then that end will be achieved with half the effort.

Apart from that, the "through train" of the legislative council is not something that can stand delay. The Committee should confirm the transition of elected legislators as soon as possible, so that they may build up social connections as candidates of the SAR legislative council, in preparation for law making after the establishment of the SAR, without having to wait for the Chief Executive to take office, or for the Chairman of the council to make appointment.

However, should there be vacancies on the "through train", then things would become complicated. According to the Basic Law, there will be 8 directly returned members and 8 indirectly returned members and 7 appointed members to the first legislative council. In other word, candidates for the vacancies should be generated through the original method, e.g. where the vacancies are of the directly elected members, then candidates should be generated with direct election; and in the indirectly elected members, then indirect election. However, the Basic Law further provides that it is in the Preparatory Committee's power to decide on the replenishment of the vacancies. This provision alone seems to endow the Committee with the power to decide on the candidates without any elections. But in this situation, the format of 8, 8 and 7 of the three categories of members shall be able to formulate, as the candidates picked by

the Committee will neither be appointed by the Chief Executive, nor by direct or indirect elections, but will fall into a "forth category" membership. This obviously will not meet the provisions of the Basic Law.

If such "replenishment by decision" by the Preparatory Committee is to be interpreted as based on the related provisions of the Basic Law, then the above controversy may be avoided by using election. But that is not a complete solution to the problem. Until 20th December 1999, Macao will remain under the Portuguese rule, and replenishment of vacancies in the Legislative Council will have to be conducted under the present regime in Macao, in which complicated political, legal and technical difficulties will be involved. Yet if the elections are to be postponed till after the reversion to the Motherland, then the SAR government will have to be declared founded with a legislative council with vacancies in it, and with a vacuum of legislative power within a certain period of time.

There may be a way out of it: treat the vacancies as that of the present legislative council rather than that of the SAR. Thus, replenishment elections may be held for the present legislative council before the founding of the SAR, and the candidates thus generated will then be accommodated on the "through train". Only the prerequisite is that the existing members to the legislative council must leave, to yield vacancies for the replenishment. But then this is not an absolute necessity in technical terms, as any present legislator has the right, even if he or she will leave for other professions after the establishment of the SAR, to stay in office until the end of term. Therefore, it takes a bit of luck for the above solution to be feasible.

This question is a challenge to the wisdom, and let us leave it to the consideration of the Preparative Committee.

5. On the strategic orientation of development of the SAR

In our view, while there are numerous questions and issues to be addressed in the founding of the SAR, the key to them is to identify the strategic orientation of the SAR development on the basis of solid facts. Once that orientation is established, all areas of affairs must be handled around the hinge of this orientation, rather than being treated in isolation. At the beginning of the SAR, it is not necessary to come up with an ambitious plan, instead, it will be a good enough first and decisive step forward on the way of Macao's development, just to render reasonable what is unreasonable, perfect what is not perfect, and bring back to normal what is abnormal. We may call this step a maintenance engineering on the infrastructures of the control system. And this is the most important strategic orientation of the SAR development. What Macao faces is a batch of problems, whose cause lies in the defect in the basic mechanism rather than the mistakes in the decision making. This is just like the super ship Titanic, no matter how advanced and gorgeous were its facilities, the poor quality of the rivets with which the ship was held together made it vulnerable and unworthy of the elements. Where basic infrastructures are defective, no amount of scheme will be sufficient enough to avoid the destined doom.

The main problem of Macao is, on the one hand, its basic mechanism is old and worn, something of the Middle Ages, and yet on the other, it has the semblance of a modern city "with wide spread

associations", on the face of it. This extreme imbalance, at a certain point, will give way to any slightly unusual challenges, the old mechanism will be unable to adapt and bear the blunt of it, and the false impression of prosperity falls apart. To help explain this, let us use an analogy: if a superstructure is to be built on top of a five-stored building, then as long as the capacity of load is not exceeded, then the building will still look magnificent. But if you keep on building on top of it, or the unexpected of the nature occurs, then the shortfall of the building will surface — it will collapse, together with the original five floors. This may serve to explain how difficult it is to revitalize Macao.

Even so, what further worries is that, after

everything has fallen apart, it is the old mechanism that seems to rejuvenate. Because as long as the structure is kept within the limit of five-stories and a certain extent of superstructure, the old mechanism still has value, and is without impending danger. It is always better to deal with the old instead of the new, and safer to start with the old mechanism over again.

The abnormal and the unreasonable in the mechanism brings about the situation in which Macao finds itself, where superficial problems mix with the substantial, and temporary problems intermingle with the long-term ones. Only by renovating the mechanism and bringing it back to normal can such problems as arising out of defects

in mechanism gradually disappear. What will be left then, is the remaining problems after the mechanism is brought back to the normal, which will be the essential and long-term problems of Macao. Then we will be in a better position to evaluate and find a solution to them. In other words, only when problems with the mechanism are by a large resolved can we obtain a reliable understanding of the real advantages and disadvantages of Macao. Therefore, the solution of problems of mechanism is not only a prerequisite of revitalizing Macao and making it take off, but also is a reminder that it is an eternal challenge to maintain a normal and reasonable mechanism for Macao, and for that matter for any other places as well.

Where Hope of Reversal Lies

by Yu Jun

All attention is focused on the newly established Macao SAR Preparatory Committee.

The Committee is the mother of the Macao SAR government; and how healthy an offspring will be born to it is the focus of the limelight.

The health of the mother is directly related to that of the unborn. Macao people are concentrating their attention on how well the Macao SAR Preparatory Committee is, and how she well she will be able to nurture her unborn baby.

Macao people are well aware that the formation of the SAR Preparatory Committee does not mean that everything will be achieved once for all. Rather, there will be new hurdles, lurking storms to withstand. However, the founding of the Committee marks the arising hope of reversing the long depressed economic situation and revitalizing Macao. So care should be taken on every step of its way.

400-year historical legacies accumulated into a burden which hampers the vitality of Macao, and which needs to be shed to revitalize. So it has been difficult for the SAR Preparatory Committee to get off to a good start, and its tasks are stupendous. Macao which is in for the reversion to the Motherland is not care free. For a very long time, quite a few of its people have been living as if in a pent-up kingdom, who have been conservative and shy of progress, and attach excessive hope to the help from the central government. In the midst of the current economic depression, they tend to accuse the "macro-economic adjustment" of having stifled the tidal boom brought about by the infusing and manipulation by extraordinary inland capital in Macao. In the face of a squalid status of public security, the government has no courage to take the responsibility and the necessary actions to mend it; the buck is passed on to others instead. Some leaders of the community do nothing to urge the government to perform its duties, but focus their attention on social celebrities to see whether and how they react, and indulge in the bureaucratic mutual accommodation or recrimination in the

absence of a spirit of striving for the best in a team-work. Ordinary folks are left to status of fear and self-pity, and an involuntary game of anticipating how many souls will be lost in gun-fires before day-break.

The Portuguese government in Macao believes in the Catholic humanism. Death penalty is not allowed by the law, but is an easy resort of men in the street when their interests are in conflict, with bullets, in total despise of the law. Rule of law and justice are left at their mercy. It is where the sideways become the rule and money makes the mare go. People of the last of colonies in the end-of-century mood are now subjected to an increasing fear. They begin to long for the reversion to the motherland, which they hope will bring about a new future of Macao.

For Macao people, it is urgent and crucial to prevent disorder, especially loss of control over security in the five-hundred-odd days to come. People are expecting the emergence of a savior, who could at least do something about it. Actually the most important thing is the unity and self-help by the people of Macao.

The squalid status in which Macao finds itself is because of the selfishness, myopia and incompetence on the part of the authorities. It seems that the 400-odd years of Portuguese rule will end in disgrace and oblivion, which may be in sharp contrast to the stately withdrawal of the British. Only that the long-existing misfortune, as a result of mismanagement on the part of the Portuguese authorities, will not change overnight just because the change of flag. No pain, no gain. To harvest sweet fruits and vegetables from a piece of saline-alkali land, one should not only do a thorough tilling, but also introduce fresh streams to wash out the saline-alkaline, change the soil and apply appropriate manure and watering. And this is where the knowledge and effort lie.

The future SAR Government shall be composed of Macao people, whose characters will forge the characters of the government.

A scholar from the inland, who is familiar with

Macao, pointed out, on the basis of his scrutiny, that the traditional Macao people are conservative, hesitant, unprogressive, apprehensive, not as decisive and broad-vision as the Hong Kong people, neither are they as liberal, insightful and trail-blazing as people in some of the inland cities.

It is obvious that a passive attitude will do no good to the great mission of constructing the future SAR government. Macao people should change themselves, broaden their vision, be receptive to new ideas, constantly adjust their standing, keep abreast with the age. Only by doing so can they go with the tide, keep full command of their own fate, meet all challenges, live up to the confidence from the central government, and make sure that "Macao is left to the discretion of its people", the policy of "one country, two systems" be carried steadily out, the high degree of autonomy remains unmitigated, unaltered, and that Macao will be on a smooth march to the 21st century.

The way to a self-fulfilling Macao lies in the introduction of fair play of a market-led mechanism, just and unwavering rule of law, a supervision mechanism, a media check mechanism based on well-communicated democracy, close correlation with the periphery regions, broadened room of survival, upgraded civilian quality, enlarged market share, and a new economic structure. The mission is to construct an open, vitalized, modernized and median-sized city, one of its kind among the numerous cities in China, one that will play an appropriate role in cause of national unity and construction, and one that will undertake the historic mission of the 21st century.

A thousand-li journey starts with the first step. There is a long way to go. Let us make directed contribution to the workings of the SAR government. Let us prepare today for a rewarding future. A good beginning is half done. And let us entrust our hope to the Macao SAR Preparatory Committee!