

Topic 1.1 Experiences and Forms of Struggle against Corruption

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INTRODUCTION

1. I have been asked to address you under the topic - "Experiences and forms of struggle against corruption" and I will describe to you our struggle in Hong Kong over the past 20 years. But, conscious as I am that the main theme of the Assembly is "Problems in the Struggle Against Corruption in the Tax Administration", I will begin by giving you a pen picture of the enormous contribution made to the economy of Hong Kong by the revenue collection of Hong Kong's Inland Revenue Department.
2. In the 1993-94 financial year, the latest figures available, the revenue collected was HK\$95.7 billion (about US\$12.3 billion). This figure constituted about 65% of total Government general revenue. It was broken down into 41% profits tax, 23% salaries tax, 19% stamp duty and 10% betting duty. The cost of collection was 1.11 cents for every HK dollar collected. Later in my address I will refer, from time to time, to problems we encounter in corruption in the tax administration. But, let me emphasize from the outset that the problems, in the overall context of corruption in Hong Kong, are minimal. And this is in relation to a total establishment in the Inland Revenue Department, as at 31 March 1994, of 3,539 professional officers and support staff. I will also refer to the ways

in which we assist the Inland Revenue Department in attempting to ensure that corruption in the tax administration will not undermine its great value to the Hong Kong Government.

3. The Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) has just celebrated its 21st anniversary and we are indebted to the fact that back in 1974 the Governor and the Administration of Hong Kong, faced with a severe crisis of corruption, had the vision to appreciate that we could not win the battle against corruption purely by the creation of a powerful investigatory body, backed up by powerful legislation, whose aim was to put the corrupt behind bars, supposing that the Attorney General's Legal Department decided to prosecute and the Judiciary found the accused guilty as charged. Important though it is that the corrupt are left in no doubt that corruption is a high risk crime and that transgression will bring severe penalties, this is not the whole answer.
4. Our struggle against corruption in Hong Kong has been maintained, and we have succeeded, because of a carefully thought-out three pronged approach of investigation, prevention and education which is enshrined in my statutory duties and represented in action by my three departments - Operations, Corruption Prevention and Community Relations. I will start by describing the fundamental importance of education in an anti-corruption strategy, in order to obtain, nurture and retain the involvement and support of the community.

Community Relations: Its Strategic Role

5. Corruption is a multi-faceted problem with legal, political, economic and social implications. An anti-corruption strategy will not be complete unless it addresses these implications fully and deals with them on all fronts.
6. When a corruption problem gets out of hand, most government policy-makers, by instinct, react through the law enforcement route. Laws against corruption are tightened. A bigger budget is given to the police and judiciary. Having done that, policy-makers keep their fingers crossed and hope for the best.
7. Alas, the best often does not happen, at least not for long. In reality, what tends to happen is that a few headlines appear in the press about the arrests of several corrupt senior officials. A dent is made on the surface of the problem. But before too long, life goes back to "*normal*" and corruption creeps back to take an even stronger hold in the way of life within the community.

8. The scenario I have just described is not fictitious. It happened time and again in Hong Kong in the 1950's, 1960's and early 70's. What was the lesson we learned? We learned that harsher laws and a larger police force would not work by themselves. Corruption is a deep-rooted social problem that grows in strength and size over time. Corruption does not attack a community overnight, like an earthquake without warning. Corruption is more like a disease that germinates out of social norms, culture and attitude over a long period of time, until it reaches epidemic proportions and becomes embedded firmly and pervasively in the entire community.
9. We also learned that when we talked about fighting corruption, we were talking about fighting a culture which, for Hong Kong, had a history dating back to the Qing imperial dynasty 150 years ago. The lesson we learned was aptly summed up by a former Governor of Hong Kong, Lord Maclehoze, who said, when setting up the ICAC in 1974, that in order to fight corruption successfully, we needed nothing short of a quiet revolution.
10. That is why Hong Kong's ICAC Ordinance, which was enacted on 14 February 1974 (it was pure co-incidence that it happened to be Valentine's Day, I might add), requires the ICAC to go much further than just investigating and taking the corrupt to court. It requires the ICAC to adopt a three-pronged strategy in investigation, prevention and education. On education, the ordinance specifically states, and I quote:

"To educate the public against the evils of corruption; and to enlist and foster public support in combatting corruption".

That is also why, as ICAC Commissioner, I allocate one-fifth of my annual budget to a continuous and vigorous community relations strategy executed by over 200 staff full-time in my Community Relations Department.

Community Relations: How Does It Work?

11. A Corruption investigation always begins with unearthing the money trail. A corruption prevention study begins with spotting the loopholes in a management system. But where does a community relations strategy begin: It does not begin in the classroom, although teaching young students to be fair and honest is certainly an important part of it.
12. In the final analysis, the success or failure of a community relations strategy is determined by the extent to which a community displays its intolerance

of corruption and is prepared to take a stand against it. Therefore, it must begin with the community at large and aim to win the heart and mind of the man-in-the-street, much like the public relations effort of a multinational conglomerate aiming to serve its customers.

13. In the commercial world, public relations is defined as a *"deliberate, planned and sustained effort to establish and maintain mutual understanding between an organisation and its public"* (Institute of Public Relations, UK). The emphasis is on mutual **understanding**, a concept which applies equally well in fighting corruption within the community. Let me take a minute to discuss this fundamental concept.
14. An anti-corruption campaign that is not built on a sound basis of mutual understanding between the government and the community is doomed to fail. There are four reasons for that. **First**, misconceptions and negative perceptions abound in the community about corruption as a social problem. Some people think that corruption, unlike theft and robbery, has no victim because the offerer and the acceptor both get what they want in a *"satisfied customer"* relationship. Others feel that corruption is a necessary evil because it oils the wheels of government systems and business transactions. Some perceive, as the old Chinese saying goes, that *"all crows in the world are black"*, meaning that bureaucracy is synonymous with corruption and, by law of nature, no such animal as a clean government official can possibly exist.
15. **Second**, policy-makers and the community often find it difficult to agree upon where to draw the line between legality and morality. Indeed, it is difficult enough to try merely to agree upon a universally acceptable definition of what is corruption. It is a fact of life that people hold double standards towards corrupt behaviour. For example, some people feel that official corruption should be punished more severely than private sector corruption because the former involves abuse of power and influence which is not available to the public. Another common argument is whether the acceptor of a bribe is **more** guilty than the offerer. The point here is that corruption is more of a moral issue than a legal issue and we all know how messy it is when morality is enforced by the law rather than influenced by social education.
16. **Third**, efficient and powerful as any anti-corruption agency may be, it must depend almost entirely on members of the public to report to it their suspicions of corrupt activities. The public's willingness to report, however, will depend on how much understanding and confidence they have in the agency concerned.

17. **Fourth** and most important, it is my deep conviction that a successful anti-corruption strategy must be **community-based**, as opposed to government-based. A community-based strategy means that the community understands broadly, and identifies with, the mission and goals of the anti-corruption agency, has trust in the agency's effectiveness and integrity, and is willing to give the agency a firm mandate to perform its task. It also means that the community provides an equal, if not a larger, driving force than the government, by not only reporting their suspicions of corrupt activities but also taking proactive and sustained actions to raise social morality standards and improve business management systems to prevent corruption simultaneously.

The Magic Formula of A Community-Based Strategy

18. I have thus far argued for the importance of establishing mutual understanding with the community and hence a community-based strategy. The logical question that follows is: how does one make it happen: Is there a magic formula for success? As with most endeavours in life, I don't think there is a magic formula in fighting corruption, at least not in a pragmatic community like Hong Kong. What we have learned in Hong Kong is that success can only come, unsurprisingly, with hard work, persistence and, above all, an unwavering conviction that community involvement and participation is the only guarantee for a lasting victory over the insidious problem of corruption.
19. A formula which has served us well in the last 21 years is to, first of all, recognize the importance of maintaining a direct, face-to-face dialogue with various segments of the community and secondly, create a multiplicity of channels for the community to work side by side with us. The formula that we use comprises four main aspects:
- (a) establishment a territory-wide network of local offices so that the local community can take us as long-term close partners;
 - (b) segmentising the community, or the *"market"*, according to different needs and developing involvement programmes separately for each segment;
 - (c) maintaining intensive mass media exposure to keep the issue of corruption constantly before the eyes of the community; and
 - (d) using a multi-modality approach in monitoring public attitudes towards corruption and seeking their opinion and advice on our work.

Let me briefly explain these four aspects.

The Local Offices

20. When the ICAC was set up in Hong Kong 21 years ago, it was greeted with much cynicism in the community. It was regarded as yet another flash-in-the-pan exercise which would quickly die away. But, several months later, when the first ICAC local office opened shop in a densely populated public housing estate and our community relations staff began to invite shop owners, hawkers, mini-bus drivers and housewives to our office to listen to their complaints, things began to change. Our staff developed liaison with banks, business firms, schools, neighbourhood associations, and offered to help them introduce measures to prevent corruption. By the time we opened our eleventh local offices seven years on, the community was fully convinced that we took local residents seriously as our partners and that they, too, could do something about corruption. Since then, we have consolidated these eleven local offices into eight regional offices but their function remained unchanged as a mechanism for the ICAC to be inter-woven into the fabric of the community. These offices serve not only as a place for residents to report corruption but also a focal point for the local community to conduct the many community involvement programmes which I shall now describe.

Community Involvement Programmes

21. Community, of course, is a collective term. A community consists of many different segments, each with different needs for anti-corruption education. When we segmentise the community by their respective needs, we are able to sharpen the focus for action and design involvement programmes accordingly. At present, the ICAC has altogether 13 involvement programmes on-going throughout the year. Let me highlight some of them to illustrate the point.
22. Public officials, including taxation officers, are one of the segments we deal with as high priority. The Hong Kong Civil Service is about 190,000-strong. Here we focus our attention on both the senior officials and the front-line workers. On the one hand, we help the senior officials, numbering about 4,000, to integrate corruption prevention into their management portfolio. This is done by way of giving them a comprehensive guide on how to manage their staff's integrity. Seminars are also conducted from time to time to promulgate a concept known as supervisory accountability. The principle of supervisory accountability is aimed at placing firmly on the shoulders of senior officers the necessity of knowing what their staff are doing. This is especially so where malpractices are repeated, serious or widespread to such an extent that senior officers

should have known about them if they had adequately fulfilled their duties as supervisors. On the other hand, our community relations officers provide training sessions for over 20,000 front-line officers each year, especially new recruits for the disciplined services. The emphasis of the training is on integrity, anti-corruption laws and the proper way to handle a bribery situation.

23. Another major involvement programme is aimed at the business community. Hong Kong's survival depends on trade and we take pride in the fact that our anti-corruption work has succeeded in creating a clean business environment in which local and overseas investors alike can compete in an open, level playing field. Lately, corruption in business has seen an increase due to the 1997 issue and the fast expanding trade with China just across the border. However, we take comfort in that the business community has responded very positively to a campaign launched in May last year. Over 830 business organisations, including 140 trade and professional associations and 690 listed or private large companies, have so far either drawn up a corporate code of conduct with our assistance or taken part in a Business Ethics Participation Programme to promulgate ethical business practices to their member companies. We shall take the campaign further ahead in May this year when we open Hong Kong's first Ethics Development Centre, with the assistance and advice of the six largest chambers of commerce.
24. Youth is another segment of the community for whom we spare no efforts. For the nearly 1,300 secondary and primary schools in Hong Kong, we have developed a wide range of moral education packages for use by teachers in the classroom. These packages were produced in co-operation with experienced headmasters and teachers who also volunteered to test them out in class before they were fine-tuned for mass production. In addition, my staff give anti-corruption talks directly to over 80,000 schools leavers each year including secondary schools and universities. At present, we are working together with the seven universities in Hong Kong to introduce ethics into their formal curricular.

Mass Media

25. The third aspect of our formula is intensive exposure in the mass media. Corruption is an unpalatable subject which is often swept under the carpet until it becomes too serious to be ignored by everyone. It is, therefore, important that anti-graft fighters work very closely with members of the press to keep the problem constantly before the eyes of the community. The following figures will give you an idea of the intensity of our press

relations work: in 1994, the ICAC answered 1,230 press enquiries, issued 145 press releases, gave 47 press interviews and press briefings, and made 15 public speeches covered by the press.

26. We also use other media tools, including advertising and television drama features. The latter is particularly useful in that it dramatises actual corruption cases and brings them into the living rooms of hundreds of thousands of families. If you believe in the power of television in shaping social norms, you will agree that the impact of such a drama series can be very considerable. Since 1976, the ICAC has produced a television drama series once every two years and has consistently achieved top audience ratings.

Public Opinion Monitoring

27. I have earlier stressed the importance of developing a sound basis of mutual understanding with the community. This is the fourth aspect of our formula. The ICAC does this with a combination of four methods; including monitoring comments in the press, collecting feedback from individual residents in the local community, conducting opinion surveys and consulting a hierarchy of advisory committees comprising prominent citizens and professionals. The first two methods are self-evident. Let me briefly explain the other two i.e. opinion surveys and advisory committees.
28. Since 1977, the ICAC has been conducting a population-wide, random sample survey biennially. The frequency was increased to once a year three years ago in view of the rapidly changing socio-economic circumstances triggered by the 1997 issue. These surveys are important in that they tell us what the silent majority think and feel about corruption as it stands. They also tell us how the silent majority perceive the ICAC in aspects such as effectiveness, integrity, impartiality, accountability and transparency. I might add that if we had conducted our first opinion survey earlier than 1977, we might have avoided a massive protest by the business community in 1976 due to their misunderstanding of our policy to stamp out illegal commissions, which they confused with legal commissions. Opinion surveys can be as important as that to anti-corruption policy-makers.
29. While opinion surveys give us a quantitative, across-the-board feedback, advisory committees give us qualitative, in-depth opinions in policy and operational matters. They also serve as a form of direct community involvement across the whole spectrum of anti-corruption work. The ICAC at present has four advisory committees and four sub-committees, each overseeing a broad area of our work, including policy, investigations,

community relations and prevention. In addition, an ICAC Complaints Committee receives and considers complaints against abuse of power by ICAC officers. Comprising mainly prominent citizens, professionals and local politicians, these committees also function as an effective means of exercising checks and balances.

Corruption Prevention - Systems Correction: Its Strategic Role

30. The second part of our strategy in fighting corruption in Hong Kong is prevention in a specific sense, examining and modifying systems to eliminate the delay, excessive discretion and poor supervision which give rise to corruption.
31. My Corruption Prevention Department has 57 staff, including accountants and government servants on secondment. Most of their work is done in government, where they have a right of access to people and records. I would like to illustrate their work by reference to those areas which have an element of revenue collection important to Hong Kong's economy.

Customs and Excise

32. Cigarettes and hydrocarbon oil are most vulnerable to smuggling into Hong Kong from China because of the demand in Hong Kong, vast price differences between Hong Kong and China, and Hong Kong's proximity to China. To deal with the problem, the Hong Kong Government has implemented a number of measures including the introduction of legislative control over carriage of certain articles on board a vessel, increasing resources for enforcement e.g. patrol launches, manpower and detection equipment, and setting up a special joint Police and Customs anti-smuggling task force and a special division in Customs & Excise Department to counter smuggling of cigarettes.
33. A number of Corruption Prevention studies have been carried out to advise C&E Department in guarding against loss of revenue through smuggling activities and to reduce corruption opportunities available to enforcement staff. Problems were identified and rectified as follows:
 - (a) Clearer lines of command to improve poor supervision.
 - (b) Regular interchange of enforcement staff to prevent collusion.
 - (c) Keeping operational plans confidential.
 - (d) Use of ad hoc taskforces to conduct surprise cargo examinations independent of routine checks.

- (e) Clear guidelines for checking cargo consignments to enable officers to be held accountable for checking failures.
- (f) Operational aids (e.g. electronic scanners, mechanized conveyor belts and forklifts, computers for record checks) to make enforcement more effective.

The Securities & Futures Commission (SFC)

34. The SFC is the regulator of securities and futures markets in Hong Kong. It aims at maintaining market integrity and efficiency, providing protection to investors, and encouraging the sound development and enhancing the reputation of the local securities and futures markets. The SFC Ordinance provides for an Advisory Committee to advise on SFC policy matters, with members appointed by the Governor. Subsidiary committees advise the SFC on regulatory responsibilities, internal policy, operations and management. The SFC derives its income principally from levies collected by the Stock Exchange of Hong Kong Ltd. (SEHK) and the Hong Kong Futures Exchange Ltd. on transactions recorded on the Exchanges at rates laid down by government. In the financial year ended 31 March 1992, the levies amounted to HK\$109 million (1990/91: 81 million). The total income from fees charged to brokers, dealers and for new listings in 1991/90 was HK\$38 million, of which corporate finance fees accounted for HK\$10 million. Corruption prevention recommendations made included:

- (a) A register for complaints about brokers and dealers received from the public, with complaints received by phone, to be **tape-recorded**.
- (b) Investigation findings to be properly **documented and monitored** with the reasons to close an investigation also being documented.
- (c) The **approval** of 2 directorate staff to be required to terminate an investigation.
- (d) Complainants to be informed of the outcome of investigations.
- (e) Requests to waive takeover rules to be reviewed by a senior supervisor with unprecedented and difficult cases to be referred to a **panel** of independent persons and market users for direction and advice.
- (f) **Appeal channels** against SFC decisions to be available, and made known to those persons affected.

Inland Revenue Department (IRD)

35. In 1993-94, total government revenue in Hong Kong was HK\$144 billions. The Inland Revenue Department is responsible for the collection of about 65 per cent of this revenue, including salaries and profits tax, stamp duty, betting duty, estate duty and hotel accommodation tax. Revenue from these sources is collectively described as internal revenue.
36. Hong Kong's tax system is simple and relatively inexpensive to administer. Tax rates are low. The principal direct taxes are salaries tax and profits tax. Important indirect taxes include rates on property, stamp duty on property and stock market transactions, betting duty and duties on certain specified commodities. The government accords a high priority to curbing tax avoidance and evasion.
37. Recommendations to limit opportunities for corruption have, as you would expect, focused on full documentation of all processes, proper accounting procedures, good audit trails, regular internal audit, reconciliation of funds with receipting documents, use of controlled forms where necessary and computer audit programmes. The extent of our work in these areas is demonstrated by the list of separate procedural studies done in the IRD.
- (a) Assessment and Refund of Property Tax.
 - (b) Business Registration Procedures.
 - (c) Assessment of Profit Tax.
 - (d) Inspections by Tax Inspectors.
 - (e) Work of the Stamp Duty Office.
 - (f) Salaries Tax Assessment.
 - (g) Work of the Estate Duty Office.
 - (h) Tax Default.
 - (i) Assessment of Property Tax.
38. You will see from the scope and detail of the corruption prevention work I have cited that it is extremely specialised. Many countries have anti-corruption agencies. Some have prevention functions. Very few have a dedicated organisation for prevention, preferring to deal with it as a post script to investigation of the crime of corruption.
39. Our experience in Hong Kong is that, for corruption prevention work to succeed, it requires specialist staff differently recruited and trained from investigators and prepared to be pro-active in identifying opportunities for corruption before they are exploited.

Operations Department

40. And now I move on to the Operations Department, by far the largest of the three departments of the ICAC. It has an investigative staff of 673 backed up by 138 supporting staff. My statutory duties are contained in the Independent Commission Against Corruption Ordinance and our legal powers derive from the Prevention of Bribery Ordinance and the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Ordinance. The specific purpose of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Ordinance is to protect the integrity of elections.

What is Corruption and How Do We Fight It?

41. To be "*corrupt*" is defined as being morally depraved, wicked; influenced by or using bribery. It is insidious in that both parties to the crime are normally satisfied with the result. In most crimes, someone is aggrieved: the victim complains. In corruption the loser is often the person whose right to something has been denied and he may not even know that he has been so deprived.
42. The gambling den or drugs syndicate that is protected by corrupt officials and therefore never prosecuted is often more obvious than the corrupt builder who reduces the cement in the concrete, the bank official who authorises illegal loans, or the Government official who allows the payer to jump the queue for a license.
43. The nature of corruption means that special legislation is required to combat it. Special offences, special powers of investigation, special presumptions, special protection of secrecy of investigation and of reputations, and prevention of false complaints are vital requirements.
44. Under the ICAC's legal powers, the Commissioner is authorised to restrict the disposal of a suspect's property, to apply for a Court order to restrict the movements of a suspect, to examine a suspect's bank accounts and safe deposit boxes, to require him to provide details of his financial situation and to search premises. Application can also be made to a court for a search warrant to be issued to investigators to search premises for evidence of offences other than corruption, for example, dangerous drugs or illegal gambling. If other offences connected with corruption are revealed during an investigation then the ICAC can, where it is considered necessary, continue with the investigation of those additional matters such as deception, fraud, various conspiracies and dangerous drugs. Some crimes which are revealed during enquiries, if they are not based on corruption, are passed to the police for their investigation in the normal manner.

45. Once arrested, suspects must be released on bail or taken before a magistrate as soon as possible. No suspect can be detained for more than 48 hours. These powers of arrest and detention are of course subject to judicial review by the courts of Hong Kong.
46. Whilst we have the power of arrest, I must emphasize that the decision to prosecute corruption can only be made by the Attorney General who is the prosecuting authority.

Bill of Rights

47. In describing to you our special requirements and special powers of investigation I must also describe the effect of the Bill of Rights in Hong Kong. The United Kingdom ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 1976 and at the same time extended its application to Hong Kong. As a result, the U.K. Government is internationally responsible until 1997 for the observance of the covenant's guarantees in Hong Kong, although as a practical matter this responsibility is discharged by the Hong Kong Government, Legislature and Courts.
48. In June 1991 the Hong Kong Bill of Rights was enacted. It guarantees the enjoyment of a number of civil and political rights such as freedom of speech, freedom from discrimination and a right to privacy. The Ordinance enacts as part of Hong Kong domestic law the provisions of the ICCPR.
49. The Ordinance overrides pre-existing legislation and if existing laws are inconsistent then they stand repealed to the extent of the inconsistency. Legislation enacted after the commencement of the Bill of Rights Ordinance, is to be construed consistently with the ICCPR as applied to Hong Kong.
50. The practical effect of the implementation of the Ordinance means that a person who alleged that his rights had been denied could bring an action before the Courts of Hong Kong seeking redress. In so far as the ICAC is concerned we closely monitor the development of human rights legislation and we set up a departmental committee on the Bill of Rights to review those procedures and practices which might be in conflict with the provisions. Training programmes for our investigators were introduced to educate them in the provisions of the Ordinance.
51. A package of legislative amendments to repeal or amend six provisions in the Prevention of Bribery Ordinance and ICAC Ordinance was passed to bring our ordinances into line with the Bill of Rights.

52. It has always been our intention to strike the right balance between the need to carry out our statutory duty to combat corruption and the desire to ensure that individuals are able to enjoy the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the law.

The Approach to 1997

53. Fears are expressed that some elements of the Hong Kong population may lack confidence in the future and that this may exacerbate the continuing upward trend in major corruption and fraud incidents and lead to a general resurgence of corruption in all sectors including the Civil Service. Such fears are based on the rationale that the desire to emigrate or to prepare financially for an uncertain future makes people more vulnerable to corruption. Clearly we must remain vigilant.

54. It is also anticipated that as the democratization process advances, more election-related complaints will be received by the ICAC, thereby stretching our resources. It is further predicted by some that the introduction of human rights legislation will affect, to some extent, the effectiveness of the ICAC. Here we shall just have to wait and see but I am confident we shall weather the storm of change and emerge the better for it. The public expect us to be more open and there is no doubt that we have to be responsive, accountable, prepared to answer questions and to accept criticism.

55. In this respect I will describe a recent review of the ICAC's powers and procedures. During 1994 an Independent Review Committee, headed by a prominent Hong Kong businessman and ex-Legislative Councillor examined the way we worked to see if functions should be changed to reflect a society very different to that of 1974 when we were formed. A society that now demands transparency and openness.

56. After eight months of work, the Committee presented its report to the Governor in December 1994. At all stages of their work my officers and I attended meetings and fully briefed the Committee on our powers and procedures. Some 75 recommendations were made in the report which reiterates that an anti-corruption agency needs powers and independence to work effectively whereas the public now demands transparency. The Committee sought to find a balance and I believe that the changes in procedures or committee compositions arising from the report will not affect our investigative capability and will make our advisory committees ever better watch-dogs of our standards.

57. Some of our powers have now passed to the judiciary. Previously I could require a suspect to furnish a statement describing the properties held by him, his expenditure and liabilities. This power to obtain information will now be exercised by a court on application by the ICAC.
58. On the other hand the Committee has suggested that ICAC should now be able to apply to the High Court for access to tax records. This will assist us in our background financial investigations.
59. It was right that after 20 years our powers should be independently reviewed and I am pleased that although our feathers may have been ruffled our wings have not been clipped and we shall continue to be an organisation feared by the corrupt and supported by public opinion. We now have a fresh mandate for the next 20 years which echoes our original 1974 mandate to prevent corruption, to educate and involve the community and to find, investigate and prosecute the corrupt in all sectors of society.

CONCLUSION

60. I have described to you the strategy we have employed in our struggle against corruption in Hong Kong over the past 21 years. We firmly believe that we have been successful because of our unique three-pronged approach and, not least, because we have involved the community of Hong Kong and gained their solid support. This strategy has been the basis for a tactical approach by three departments which enjoy a high degree of independence in day to day operation but which are interdependent in working towards our goals. Successful investigation and prosecution encourages the community to report corruption, assists the Community Relations Department in educating people to the dangers of corruption and assists the Corruption Prevention Department in encouraging both the public and private sectors to think about their systems. In turn, systems which are corruption proof, as far as practicable, make the detection and prosecution of corruption more likely. The three tactical approaches, the three departments, feed off the success of each other and it is this interdependency which is the key to success; the sum of the whole Commission is greater than the sum of the parts.