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The
First Financial StormThe scandal of the
10th Credit Cooperation of Taipei



The history of the 10th Credit Cooperation



The Credit Association of Taipei was founded in September 1911 by then Japanese colonial government. After World War II, the Taiwan government took over the in stitute and renamed it as the 10th Credit Cooperation of Taipei (臺北第十信用合作社,hereinafter, the Credit).

The Credit had 18 branches (including headquarter), 100 thousand members, and up to 17 billion NT dollars in savings (i.e. 60 million US dollars). The amount of savings accounted for 6% of total savings of 75 credit cooperation institutes nationwide. The Credit was the largest credit cooperation in Taiwan in 1980s. The money pile was definitely an attraction to anyone who was fascinated in money game.

民國 74 年 6 月 17 日,臺北地檢署 74 年度偵字第 3386 等 案件,以背信、業務侵占、偽造文書等罪起訴被告蔡辰洲等 74 人,因其等利用人頭加入台北第十信用合作社(下稱十信),並利用人頭及蔡辰洲國泰集團公司名義向十信貸款,惟提供之擔保品價值不足卻以高估百倍至千倍之方式提高貸款額度。4 年間共達法貸得新台幣 62 億 4705 萬元(2億 823 萬 美元)。財政部因此令合庫接管十信,這是史上第一级接管的金融機構。臺北地方法院後以 74 年度訴字第1290 號判決主嫌蔡辰洲有期徒刑 12 年。本案偵查檢察官為陳聰明。

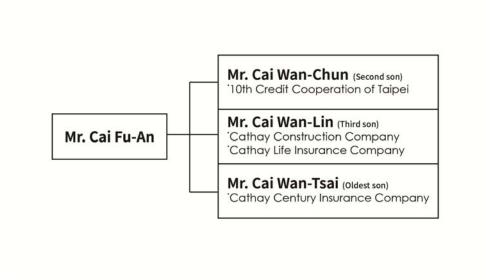


Photo from editors

The background of the Credit Cooperation

The credit cooperation institutes were ruled by the Cooperation Law promulgated on February 16, whereas enacted on September 1, 1934. Pursuant to the Cooperation Law, the Credit was a legal person with members. By depositing membership fees, a person could join the Credit and enjoy the right to vote for representatives and to take out loan. In addition, the purpose of founding credit cooperation was to provide mutual aid to members as to improve their lives. The fund of the Credit was like relieve money

for members in times of predicament. However, in practice, since the Credit accepted loan applications, it worked as a bank. A de-facto bank which was possessed by minority of members but not professional managers, not regulated by bank laws, and had loads of fund open to loans, was later proven to be a clocked bomb.



Photo from Apple daily

The Rise of The Cathay Conglomerate

Mr. Cai Wan-Chun(蔡 萬 春), son of farmer Cai Fu-An(蔡 福 安), was the founder of The Cathay Conglomerate (國泰 集 團), which included Cathay Century Insurance Company (國泰產物保險公司), Cathay Life Insurance Company (國泰人壽保險公司), Cathay Construction Company (國泰建設公司), International Marine Transpor-

tation Corporation (國際海運公司), Cathay Plastic Company (國泰塑膠公司), Cathay Securities Investment Trust Company (國泰信託公司), Cathay advertisement Company (國泰建業廣告), and Cathay Petroleum Company (國泰石油化學公司).

Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou



Photo from 國家文化資料庫

Mr. Cai Wan-Chun (蔡萬春) was appointed as the deputy president of central city area of Taipei City after World War II. He was also elected as the Chairman of the board of directors of the Credit in 1957. He took advantage of fund of the Credit and invested in real estate to accumulate family wealth. To replenish the fund, he initiated a one-dollar-to-open-account activity in the Credit in 1960. This activity made the deposit of the Credit reach 100 million NT dollars within months and made the Credit the largest of all 75 Credit Cooperation nationwide.

His younger brother, Mr. Cai Wan-lin (蔡 萬 霖), took over to chair the Credit later until 1979. In 1979, Mr. Cai Wan-Chunhad a stroke and divided up the Cathay Conglomerate with his broth-

ers. His son, Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (蔡辰 洲), allotted the Credit and chaired the Credit since 1979. To this point, the Cai family had controlled the Credit for over 20 years and obviously benefited from the Credit to expand Cathay Conglomerate. The fact above also demonstrated that a member-based and cooperative fund had been abused as personal pocket money by the Cai family.

Chairman Cai Chen-Zhou and his "13-brother Group"



Legislative Yuan

As a merchant, Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou was also interested in politics. To win an entrance ticket to join the political game, he was introduced to General Wang-Sheng by Mr. Xiao Zheng-Zhi, a Lieutenant General, to honor General Wang as his godfather. With the support of the most powerful general in Taiwan, Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou was then introduced by Wang-Sheng to join the then ruling party, the KMT (國民黨); and soon was nominated as candidate of the KMT to campaign in the supplementary legislators' election in 1982. Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou later won the election and formed a 13-brother group in the Legislative Yuan.

Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (1985)



The 13-brother group included Mr. Liu Song-Fan, Mr. Xiao Rui-Zheng, Mr. Li Zong-Ren, Mr. Li Lian-Hui, Mr. Chen XiQi, Mr. Guo Rong-Zong, Mr. Shen ShiXiong, Mr. Wu Zi, and so on.Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (蔡辰洲) and his group purposefully maintained a close relationship with government officials to form a mutual-interest tie; and lobbied for unlimited term of directors of the Credit and permission for trust companies to run bank business. Their aim was to control the money resource for personal disposal. Meanwhile, Mr. Cai Chen-

Zhou took advantage of chairing the Credit and utilized Credit fund to invest in real estate to expand personal investment.

The first financial scandal in 1985

Ship-based cooperation, only members have the right to take out loan from the Credit. Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou therefore instigated friends and employees of the Cathay Conglomerate to join the Credit as his nominal members.

Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou then used these nominal members to take out loan from the Credit. Moreover, Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou mortgaged worthless properties and applied for relatively unreasonable high loans from the Credit. At the end of 1982, the total amount of loans of the Credit had reached 23.2 billion NT dollars (i.e. 77 million US dollars).

In 1983, the Ministry of Finance discovered unusual loans in the Credit during a regular financial examination. The Ministry of Finance gave the Credit warning and designated government officials to

long stay in the Credit for further guidance. In 1984, the long-stayed government officials discovered that reserve cash in the Credit was insufficient. The Ministry of Finance then urged the Credit to improve it.

However, the situation did not change. In January 1985, the Central Bank discovered illegal loans in the Credit and intended to launch examination actions to the Credit. Nevertheless, Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou had good government connection and the information was leaked to him; he then accelerated to take out loan from the Credit to Cathay Plastic Company (國泰塑膠公司). Within one month, Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou emptied the Credit by loaning 3.8 billion NT dollars (i.e. 130 million US dollars).

Cathay

Plastic Company (1986)



Photo from January 28,1986 National Central Library

On February 9, 1985, the Ministry of Finance realized the total loan volume had reached 15.4 billion NT dollars (i.e. 513 million US dollars); on the contrary, the total deposit volume was only 15.1 billion NT dollars (i.e. 503 million US dollars). That is to say, the loan ratio was as high as 102%. The Credit had completely lost its ability to pay. The Ministry of Finance requested the Credit to cease business for the following three business days and asked Taiwan Cooperative Bank (合作金庫) to take over temporarily.

The news burst out and crashed confidence of members of the Credit. A bank run inevitably happened on February 10;

and the Credit was withdrawn for 31.5 billion NT dollars (i.e. 105 million US dollars). Within an hour that day, cash in the Credit was emptied. At the same time, checks issued by the Cathay Conglomerate (國泰集團) bounced; mostly from Cathay Plastic Company (國泰塑膠公司) and Ideal Industry Company (理想工業公司). Up until February 12, the Credit had been withdrawn for 61.8 billion NT. Dollars (i.e. 206 million US dollars). The Ministry of Finance announced that Taiwan Cooperative Bank took over the Credit indefinitely.

他都不知道,他負責「委員會,主要是準備教是否有高估信形。」 政夫說,他列階放款

監事主席・御無權聯|長月勾結。 | 教養料給台庫駐社主 林炎火説・他雖是|白人數;他沒有國樣|前把投信部提出的放 信輔導・台庫人員部等加密核委員會・放款案都送給合庫的二年五月以後他才擔任十倍總經理・此時・台庫已派人在十二年五月以後他才擔任十倍總經理・此時・台庫已派人在十

人看,他們看了我就不看,合庫人員對放款案也未表示意見? 十信德書室主任徐

問個・ 溫

曾簽個到、聊 廿幾分鐮就可 四兩天開審查 放款審查素 幾年來的「 放款審核企 推到合作命 不看授信 庫人員審查,我們當 凑人數而已。他強調, 替何明璋参加,他去 辰洲就叫他就近代理 員會在三樓開會,蔡 **琦任女子壘球協會理** 當時因十倍理事何即 到信用調查表。 放款委員及他都看不 接木。城祸於人一。 會,如何該猶不顧 竭 這種書,如何審 一即人真直接審核,他的避嫌。這是一樣花 歷光說:「展本不開 來,而我再來过,這一與為委員會開會由台上,做為他審核於來 賽貨,只是如賽到, 適的,台庫人員是專 北非資到即有民任,以在審核放款的記憶 三、四月間,他才做一的資料也認都是審核,故表的完整 參加只是簽名報到, 他辦公室在五樓, 澄晴説・他七十! モ月五日才接此職•

進管理法令,研訂信 推瞭解,財政部改 推瞭解,財政部改 推瞭解,財政部改進,自 也帶來檢討改進,自 **積極籌組專業機構;** 強金融檢查功能,正 附名單行政院;加 用含作社管理辦法, 理失敗事例。到目的交通而造成的金融等 策有問題等因素綜合 的追究,所列應處分 手 绪。 在檢討改進中, 為止,前幾項因素都 昨天出庭應記,蔡辰洲绪着

(本報記者林建榮攝)

據悉,檢方目前掌握的各項證據,對於七名被告不利,全案近日內大致可值結。台北市財政局前局長基培係、科長彭祖稼的涉案案情。

【台北議】十倍終案官員涉案部分、被告名單2增加一机分加緊債養。 規定處到十倍,台北地級處主任敬樂官陳邀明正就运一部分加緊債養。 規定處到十倍,台北市政府詢財政

希望台北市政府有關 起公訴,停職並凍結

購買寶通未依法令處罰 財政局長涉嫌接受關説

據瞭解,官員涉案部份值查已近尾聲,檢察官連日來一再詳研案卷,審酌合庫

金融管理制度有缺失、員表示,十倍弊案是 行人員有疏漏、及決 管理法令欠健全、

有關官員不置評 所迫才觸法。 為某些貧工是為生計

他們被台北地檢處提 表陳情,於昨天邀請他們被台北地檢處提 表陳情,於昨天邀請工中舊會代代表昨天指出,由於 享受害員工申舊會代件被停職的計位員工 務中心,接受十倍無件被停職的計位員工 務中心,接受十倍無

【台北訊】十倍速取贷款案多位在押被告要求交供,但为来搬送。不過他們原数止的 被告陳澄晴的肆蔑律師代他提出要求交供 等新的砂止山坡地開發了他進行到一半, 千葉劃的砂止山坡地開發了作進行到一半, 等劃的砂止山坡地開發。不過他們原数此地 便繼續指揮山坡地開發工程,避免發生災害 要求交保均未

不提出,這是傳統做誰貨多少,沒問題就 大量購地

蔡辰洲供詞可靠性

兼閥褶總經理的放

· 禁辰洲說,廿幾年 | 參加開會,會前,授 | 大會,他們也沒說結 | 禁辰洲說,十倍放| 沒看過詳細資料。 | 進駐後,每次有三人 | 要請示上級,但下一 北市財政局一次。

合庫進駐十倍!

局估自信

另有說詞

如何建築開發?蔡辰地,大多在保護區內,所購買的土地多為林

為不實的債務清償書。 是為了與大京建設將名下的土地,出具處 買地,熱展洲說,適對於有一筆敷聽輝 對使用江澈宏名義 兩塊土地外,其他都 寫了一份備忘錄記明 淵說除了屏東、瑞芳 下,大享建設環叫他 是如此,其他銀行也 | 大享建設總經理陳澄 洲數主登記在他的名 型副總經理汇啟宏則水土保持的工作。國 畸說,是為了開發,

來合建該土地方便起

第一法庭開庭調查,由受命推事臭慎志審理,共傳訊十【台北訊】十信人頭貸款弊案,台北地方法院昨天在 本案將於本月廿二日上午九時在台北地院第一法庭開 核放款也是呈上轉下而已。

理,但是資金調度、補足庫存現金的事都不是他管,審十信授信部經理兼協理余壯勇說,他是十信授信部協

是他說,他擔任總經理,只負責輔導人事室和祕書室而十台總經理陳澤生在一般人眼光是「位高權重」,但 擔任大车建設總經理、十信理事兼放款委員的陳澄晴

庭訊完畢,余壯勇特別要求向蔡辰洲講一句話,他說沒有坑過蘇辰洲一毛錢,也沒有

壮勇在法庭與蔡辰州相見,

信案昨 宣布停業錯誤判斷 最後變成內部舞弊 一機關事 3見解:後來產專案小組輔應,稍有改善,即數部對十億不良放款,持「形式合法」 轉納裝設訓早上能認的前後講法,早期, 前知知 造成擠兌壞了一 拖累い 如是去 多億 旧除 款债兑非常嚴重。一月五日,中,說:「今年一月底,二月初,國

十倍效任何故歌、故故目的,他們都知津、財政部。權權資料,主管機關都有。雖、財政部。權權資料,主管機關都有。 起半,把權關資金建築委送饲财政局、合 他說:「最後一棒子,十億每天早上八 時強調,這些散款的去路,主管機關都知解股刑在上午審訊結束前,作補充說明 變成好像十倍這麼以,「主管機關知道

時其工目已藏景劉祉、所以奉先

招募人頭·推得乾 國塑主管・ 吳國揚強調 陳文恩憤慨 都說

的辯護律師又指出,陳澤生的兒子罹患重病被告陳澤生在廳訊時以身體不適為由,要 接見家人禁令



Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou

THE " INVESTIGATION

On February 10 1985, the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice (hereinafter, the MJIB) started to investigate into the Credit scandal and illegality. On February 21, MJIB initiated the first arrests, including that of the general manager Mr. Chen Ze-Sheng (陳澤生), the supervisors Mr. Lin Yan-Huo (林 炎火) and Li Chao-Lun (李超倫). After interrogated by prosecutor Chen Cong-Ming (陳聰明), they were all detained in the Taipei Detention Center.

In the following days, directors, supervisors, managers, and assistant managers of the Credit were intensively interrogated and some of them detained. The Legislative Yuan

agreed the arrest of Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (蔡辰洲), the main defendant but also the then legislator. Chief Prosecutor Chen Han (陳涵) negotiated the arrest of Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou with President Ni Wen-Ya (倪文亞) of the Legislative Yuan and the members of the 13-brother group. After passing a resolution by the committee of the Legislative Yuan, the Legislative Yuan agreed to arrest Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou on March 1, 1985. Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou was the first incumbent legislator to be arrested in the history.



Photo from February, 1986 大人物月刊

Investigation then proceeded to focus on the bounced checks issued by Cathay Plastic Company (國泰塑膠公司) and Ideal Color Industry Company (理想工業公司). Mr. Xiao Zheng-Zhi (蕭政之), president of Ideal Color Industry Company, was arrested and interrogated. Later, he was indicted for violation of the Negotiable Instrument Act.

He was soon sentenced and served his time in jail until the abolishment of criminal responsibility of the Negotiable Instrument Act.

"THE INDICTMENT

After 4 months of investigation, prosecutor Chen Cong-Ming (陳聰明) indicted 84 defendants including president Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (蔡辰洲), General Manager Mr. Mr. Chen Ze-Sheng (陳澤生), manager of Loan Department Mr. Yu Zhuang-Yong (余壯勇), assistant manager of Loan Department Mr. Cai Pei-Yan (蔡培煙)、Mr. Gao Kun-Yu (高崑玉), Secretary General Mr. Xu Zheng-Fu (徐政夫), supervisors Mr. Lin Yan-Huo (林炎火), Li Chao-Lun (李超倫) and Mr. Chen Ju-Wan (陳居萬) of the Credit on June 17, 1985. Staffs in 16 branches of the Credit were also indicted for accepting nominal members' loan application and insufficient mortgage, forging false property assessment, and facilitating illegal loans.

Mr. Lin Zong-Yuan (林宗源) and Mr. Jiang Chi-Hong (江啟宏), deputy general managers, and Mr. Zheng Wu-Xiong (鄭武雄), the assistant manager of the Cathay Plastic Company (國泰塑膠公司), assisted in providing nominal members by soliciting employees to apply as members of the Credit. 234 nominal members were used to apply for loans and total illegal loans were up to 6.7 billion and 63.85 million NT dollars (i.e. 225.5 million US dollars). Defendants were charged with using counterfeit, embezzlement, infidelity, forging business documents of the Criminal Law.



" THE TRIAL

Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou pleaded not guilty by arguing he did not provide false property assessment to the Credit, was not involving in the loan process, and sought to blame others for his charges. Mr. Lin Zong-Yuan denied involvement in false property assessments and illegal loans. Mr. Yu Zhuang-Yong and Mr. Chen Ze-Sheng argued that they were only following the instructions of Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou. Mr. Gao Kun-Yu too argued he was following the instruction of Mr. Yu Zhuang-Yong. Other staffs argued that they were either following the orders of supervising level or having examined formality of loans.

On December 19, 1985, the Taipei District Court found 31 low level staffs not

guilty and 53 other defendants guilty as charged or partially charged. Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou was sentenced to 12 years' incarceration. Mr. Lin Zong-Yuan and Mr. Yu Zhuang-Yong were sentenced to 6 years' incarceration. Mr. Gao Kun-Yu was sentenced to 4 years' incarceration; while Mr. Jiang Chi-Hong was sentenced to 3 years' incarceration. Other defendants were sentenced times between 6 months to 2 years' incarceration.

Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou in the district court





Both defendants and the prosecution appealed to Taiwan High Court. After 10 month of trial, Taiwan High Court revised some and overruled the other appeals, on October 3, 1986. Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (蔡辰洲) was still sentenced to 12 years' incarceration, but was found not guilty of embezzlement. Mr. Lin Zong-Yuan (林 宗 源) was sentenced to 6 years' incarceration; while and Mr. Yu Zhuang-Yong (余 壯 勇) was sentenced to 5 years' incarceration. Other defendants were sentenced times between 6 months to 3 year and 6 months incarceration.



The court judgments, photos from Taipei district prosecutors office



Mr. Xu Li-De



Mr. Guan Zhong



Mr. Lu Run-Kang



Mr. Jiang Ten-Shi

Photo from

The upper right : CNA

The lower left: The History of Ministry of Finance

The upper left : China Times

The lower right: Government Information Office, Executive Yuan

THE CONSEQUENCES

This financial scandal caused Minister Lu Run-Kang of the Ministry of Finance, Minister Xu Li-De of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Secretary General of the KMT Mr. Jiang Ten-Shi, and Chairperson of Taipei Branch of the KMT Mr. Guan Zhong to resign soon after.

The managing director of the Bank of Communications (交通銀行), Mr. Yu Jing-Tang, also the former vice premier of the Executive Yuan, while scolding the 10^{th} Cooperation scandal with rage in the managing director meeting, suffered an acute stroke and passed away soon. see http://old.ltn.com.tw/2003/new/aug/13/today-o1.htm



Cathay Plastic Company (國泰塑膠公司), Cathay Construction Company (國泰建設公司), and Cathay Life Insurance Company (國泰人壽公司) were embroiled by the scandal and were protested by citizens for a long period of time. Cathay Construction Company later filed for bankruptcy and was put up for auction. Cathay Conglomerate (國泰集團) was influenced and sold important properties for cash.

Mr. Cai Chen-Zhou (蔡辰洲) suffered from cancer during detention and died on May 14, 1987. He didn't finish serving his time in jail. In addition, for he passed away in Cathay Hospi-

tal (國泰醫院), which was part of the Cathay Conglomerate, rumors said he faked death to escape incarceration. In April 1985, The Ministry of Finance promulgated the Deposit Insurance Act. In September 1985, the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank funded and founded The Central Deposit Insurance Corporation (中央存款保險公司).

	Taiwan Cooperative Bank	The Central Deposit Insurance Corporation	The Central Bank
Credit Cooperation	47	26	1
Farmers Associations	248	35	2
Fishermen Associations	18	7	0
Local bank	0	3	13
Commercial bank	0	3	5
Trust investment company	0	6	2
Foreign banks	0	0	36
Bills Finance Corporation	0	0	2

Chart by editors

After this scandal, the Ministry of Finance proposed a new financial monitoring system, adding deposit insurance and separating financial examination work to 4 groups. Taiwan Cooperative Bank (合作金) 庫) was responsible to examine 47 Credit Cooperation, 248 loan departments of the Farmers Associations and 18 of the Fishermen Associations. The Central Deposit Insurance Corporation (中央存款保險公司) was responsible to examine 3 local banks, 3 commercial banks, 6 trust investment companies, 26 Credit Cooperation, and 35 loan departments of the Farmers Associations and 7 of the Fishermen Associations. The Central Bank (中央銀行) was responsible for 13 local banks, 5 commercial banks, 36 foreign banks, 2 trust investment companies, 2 Bills Finance Corporations, 1 Credit Cooperation, and 2 loan departments of the Farmers Associations. The Ministry of Finance authorized the Central Bank for the abovementioned examination.

The 10th Credit Cooperation scandal was the very first financial storm and the first domino of a series of financial scandals in the following 30 years. Financial monitoring system in Taiwan thereafter faces dire challenges in the following cases.

QUOTE FROM PROSECUTOR

Chen Cong-Min

At the beginning of the investigation, our office had targeted potential defendants to deputy managers and their superintendents of the 10th Credit Cooperation. To my recollection, Defendant Cai was a legislator at the time and many other legislators obtained fund from the 10th Credit through Cai's help. In time, he formed a "13-Brother Group" in the Legislative Yuan. Pursuant to the Cooperation Law, the credit needs to prepare a certain percentage fund as reserve fund to stabilize the bank. However, Defendant Cai used the reserve fund as

his pocket money. The way he avoided financial examination was to bribe the examination personnel as to put the money back before examination. Those who received bribes were indicted later.

sought help from Minister Lu Run-Kang of the Ministry of Finance and General Manager Chen of the Cooperative Bank. Minister Lu therefore called out to Mr. Cai WanLin, Defendant Cai's relative, for help. Unfortunately, under Lu's warning, Mr. Cai WanLin refused to help for the reason that the Cai family has spitted up the family properties and Defendant Cai had had his share. As a consequence, Cathy Construction Company and Cathy Life Insurance Company, which not belonged to Defendant Cai, were also protested by raged people. Cathy Construction was influenced and went bankrupt later.

On February 17, 1985, Chief Prosecutor Chen Han directed me to check out situations in Cathy Plastic Company. When I arrived at the company, I was accommodated by its general manager. I asked him if the company can solve the problem of checks bouncing, he replied that Defendant Cai was working on it.

On February 21, the first groups of defendants were sent in the Prosecutors Office by MJIB. After interrogating those defendants, I decided to detain them. Later on February 26, I decided to push the investigation further and to arrest the main defendant, Cai. Later on March 1, the Legislative Yuan had a meeting and agreed on arresting Cai. For he was a sensitive political figure, I decided to interrogate him in secret. I arrested him in his residence and took him to the then dormitory of the office (now the kindergarten of MOJ). After Cai was detained, the news was then disclosed to the press.



