



Ways to Urbanisation

Post-War Road Development in Hong Kong

建城之道

戰後香港的道路發展

Ho Pui-yin
何佩然



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Introduction

Although modern infrastructure is an important feature of Hong Kong's present-day status as an international metropolis, little research has been carried out to explore the inter-relationship between urban infrastructure and social development. Discussions on the rise of modern Hong Kong still place undue emphasis on the influences of the external environment since the mid-19th century; factors such as political changes in China, British foreign policy towards China, inflows of foreign capital and labour, etc. Views which regard Hong Kong's development as being driven largely by external forces strongly emphasise the rise of modern Hong Kong as mere coincidence. This is because as an international city, Hong Kong was poorly endowed: deficient in natural resources, an inclement climate and hilly terrain with little flat land. The city was severely short of developable space, with an ever-increasing population that grew at an even faster pace in the post-war period, thereby exacerbating existing problems. The rise of Hong Kong after the war is hence deemed unimaginable, while it is easy to subscribe to the belief that attributes Hong Kong's achievements to a miracle.

In fact, the above views have failed to take into account the tremendous effort put in by the people of Hong Kong over the years. Faced with a lack of resources, social structural transformation and external impacts, how did the people who moved to Hong Kong after the war adjust to their new lives here and succeed in turning pressure to motivation? How did the government make full use of opportunities brought about by global political and economic situations and internal social needs on a timely basis, and plan for contingency measures? How to formulate and implement strategies for

引言

現代基建雖然是今天香港作為國際大都會的重要表徵，但一直以來探討城市基建與社會發展兩者間互動關係的研究卻很少。有關近代香港崛起的討論，仍偏重19世紀中期以來，外在環境對香港的影響：諸如中國政局的變化、英國對華的外交政策、外來資金及勞動力的流入等，這些認為外力主導香港發展的論調，十分強調近代香港崛起只是一個偶然的機遇。原因是香港作為一個國際城市，先天條件嚴重不足：自然資源匱乏、氣候惡劣、山多平地少，城市嚴重缺乏可發展空間，而不斷增長的人口，戰後更越來越急速，使城市原有的問題更嚴峻，因此，戰後香港的崛起，被認為是不可思議的事，視香港今天的成就為奇蹟的說法，就很容易得到認同。

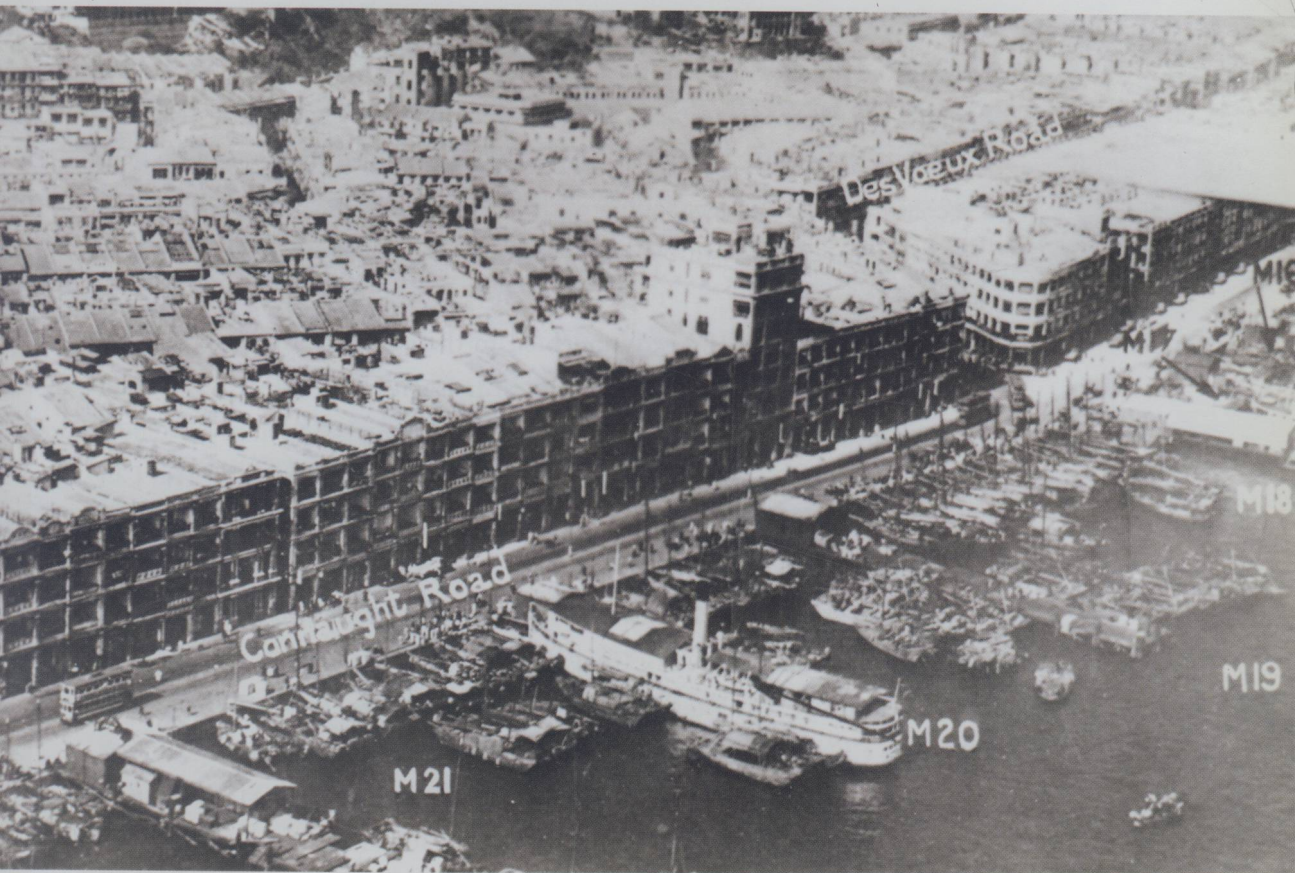
其實上述的論點都忽略了歷年來香港人努力奮鬥的精神。面對資源短缺、社會結構轉型以及和外力的衝擊，戰後移入的香港人如何適應新生活，將社會壓力轉化成動力？政府如何因時制宜地掌握全球政經局勢及社會內需所帶來的契機，籌劃應變措施？如何制定及實施城市長遠發展策略，為香港締造新的發展機會？如何平衡政治、外交、經濟及社會發展的利益，開展龐大的基建計劃，推動城市持續發展？這都是要深入了解近代香港發展過程所必須重新思考的課題。

有鑑於此，以下的研究以戰後香港都市發展的內部核心問題——1946-2007年香港道路發展為切入點，把香港的道路發展分為1946年至1966年、1966年至1986年、1986至2007年三個階段。希望透過道路網絡的建立、擴張，負責道路工程的有關部門的組織結構、功能及運作機制，以至交通政策的制定、實施與推行等課

the city's long-term growth, creating new development opportunities for Hong Kong? How to balance the interests of politics with those of foreign affairs, economic and social development in order to undertake mega-scale infrastructure projects to drive the city's sustainable development? These are the topics that have to be revisited in order to gain a thorough understanding of the development process of modern-day Hong Kong.

In view of this, the research below chooses as the starting point the most serious internal problem besetting Hong Kong's post-war urban development, namely its road development in 1946-2007. Starting with the year 1946, the research of Hong Kong's road development is divided into three major periods: 1946-1966, 1966-1986 and 1986-2007. Through the study of topics such as the building and expansion of road network; the organisation structure, functions and operation mechanisms of the departments responsible for road projects; and the formulation, implementation and promotion of transport policy, observations are made of road development during the 60 years after the war and its impact on the city's development. We then analyse the criteria adopted by the government in formulating policies and the process so as to understand the leading role played by government policies on urban development in shaping the overall development of society. This allows us to undertake further assessment of issues such as the characteristics of post-war urbanisation in Hong Kong, population distribution and land use, and the inter-relationship between internal social changes and the city's rapid development, with an expectation that this would serve as reference for the city's further development.

The successful completion of this research owes much to the generous funding provided by the Highways Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region as well as valuable internal data made available to the research team. Furthermore, many serving professional engineers of the Highways Department, former Directors of Highways and division heads granted the research team interviews despite their busy



An aerial view of Connaught Road and Des Voeux Road on Hong Kong Island before World War II. The lack of space in the city's core districts is reflected by the narrow roads and tightly packed buildings.

戰前從海港俯瞰港島的干諾道及德輔道，狹隘的道路與密集的房屋，反映城市核心區域缺乏空間。

題，觀察戰後六十多年香港道路發展及其對城市發展的影響，從而分析政府制定政策的準則和過程，了解政府城市發展政策對社會整體發展的主導作用，進一步評估戰後香港都市化的特色，人口分佈與土地利用，香港社會內部變化與城市急速發展的互動關係等問題，以期對城市未來發展提供參考作用。

schedules. They explained in detail road development policies in Hong Kong and its features, technical aspects of road works, financial expenditures and management issues, providing answers to many questions arising as a result of missing or incomplete data. This has enabled the research to gain a comprehensive understanding of the urbanisation process in Hong Kong and its characteristics through trends in road development.

This research is greatly indebted to the advice of the experts listed below. They include Mr Chan Fuk Yiu, Mr Chan Hor Yin, Mr Peter Chan King Cheung, Mr Chau Siu Hei, Mr Albert Cheng Ting Ning, Mr Chow Che King, Mr Chow Chun Wah, Mr David English, Mr Michael Hui Chi Ho, Mr Kwei See Kan, Mr Kwong Hon Sang, Dr Lau Ching Kwong, Mr Joe Lau Wai Choi, Ms Lau Yiu Yan, Mr Law Tak Yan, Mr Lee Hong Nin, Mr Lee Shing See, Mr Lee Tai Kwan, Mr Leung Kwok Sun, Mr Pong Kam Fai, Mr Lo Yiu Ching, Mr Mak Chai Kwong, Mr Norman Mak Wai Pui, Mr Shiu Ha Keung, Mr Siu Chi Bor, Mr Tsao Tak Kiang, Mr Tsui Wing Kim, Mr Wai Chi Sing, Mr Wan Man Lung, Mr Wong Ching Tung, Mr Thomas Wong Hang Chi, Mr Wong Hung Kin, Dr Wong Kai Yuen, Mr Wong Kin Por, Mr Yau Kwan Wai and Mr Stephen Yiu Fan Lai.

Apart from government publications, references were made to vast amounts of non-government publications in the course of research. I am indebted to the generous assistance rendered by many academic and research institutions, which include the Department of History of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Lee Woo Sing Hong Kong History Resource Centre of Shaw College, The University of Hong Kong Libraries, the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Public Records Office, the Hong Kong Museum of History and the Information Services Department. I also wish to thank my research team members Miss Chan Sin Ying, Miss Li Tsz Ki and Mr Luk Chi Hung for their dedicated efforts in collecting materials, collating data, typing and proofreading the manuscript. My heartfelt thanks go to Dr

是次的研究能夠順利完成，實有賴香港特別行政區路政署贊助研究經費，並提供署內珍藏寶貴資料予研究小組參考。此外，路政署各在職的專業工程師、多位前任署長、離職的部門主管，更在百忙中抽空接受訪問，就全港道路發展政策、工程發展特色、道路工程的技術、財政支出、管理等問題作詳盡的解釋，釐清了許多資料不統一及缺失的疑問，讓研究能全面地透過道路發展的趨勢，認識香港都市化發展的過程及特色。

研究能夠順利完成實有賴以下的各位專家的寶貴意見和協助，他們包括王正東先生、李大鈞先生、李承仕先生、李康年先生、周子京先生、周紹喜先生、周進華先生、邵克強先生、韋志成先生、姚勳禮先生、桂詩勤先生、徐永儉先生、麥惠培先生、麥齊光先生、許志豪先生、陳賀賢先生、陳景祥先生、陳福耀先生、梁國新先生、溫文隆先生、曹德江先生、黃啟遠博士、黃恆志先生、黃劍波先生、黃鴻堅先生、游坤偉先生、鄭定寧先生、劉正光博士、劉偉才先生、劉曉欣小姐、盧耀楨先生、鄭漢生先生、應基恕先生、羅德仁先生、蕭稚波先生、龐錦輝先生。

除參考官方資料以外，研究能涉獵龐雜的民間資料，實應感謝各研究機構包括香港中文大學歷史系、逸夫書院李和聲香港歷史資源中心、香港大學圖書館、香港中文大學亞太研究所、香港歷史檔案館、香港歷史博物館、香港政府新聞處等提供的協助。資料蒐集、整理、打印、校對工作，有賴研究小組各成員陳倩瑩小姐、李芷祺小姐、陸志鴻先生的努力不懈。本書更蒙香港收藏家唐卓敏醫生借出私人珍藏的歷史照片和明信片，使本書能透過圖像把城市的發展過程，一一展示在讀者眼前，在此謹致萬分謝意。由於個人學養所限，本書行文錯誤紕漏之處甚多，祈盼讀者包涵和不吝賜教。

Tong Cheuk-man. This book has been enriched by the precious historical photos and postcards made available by him. The striking visual illustrations have vividly depicted the urbanisation process in Hong Kong. This book is bound to contain many errors and omissions, for which I offer my sincerest apologies. I would be grateful to receive comments and feedback from readers.

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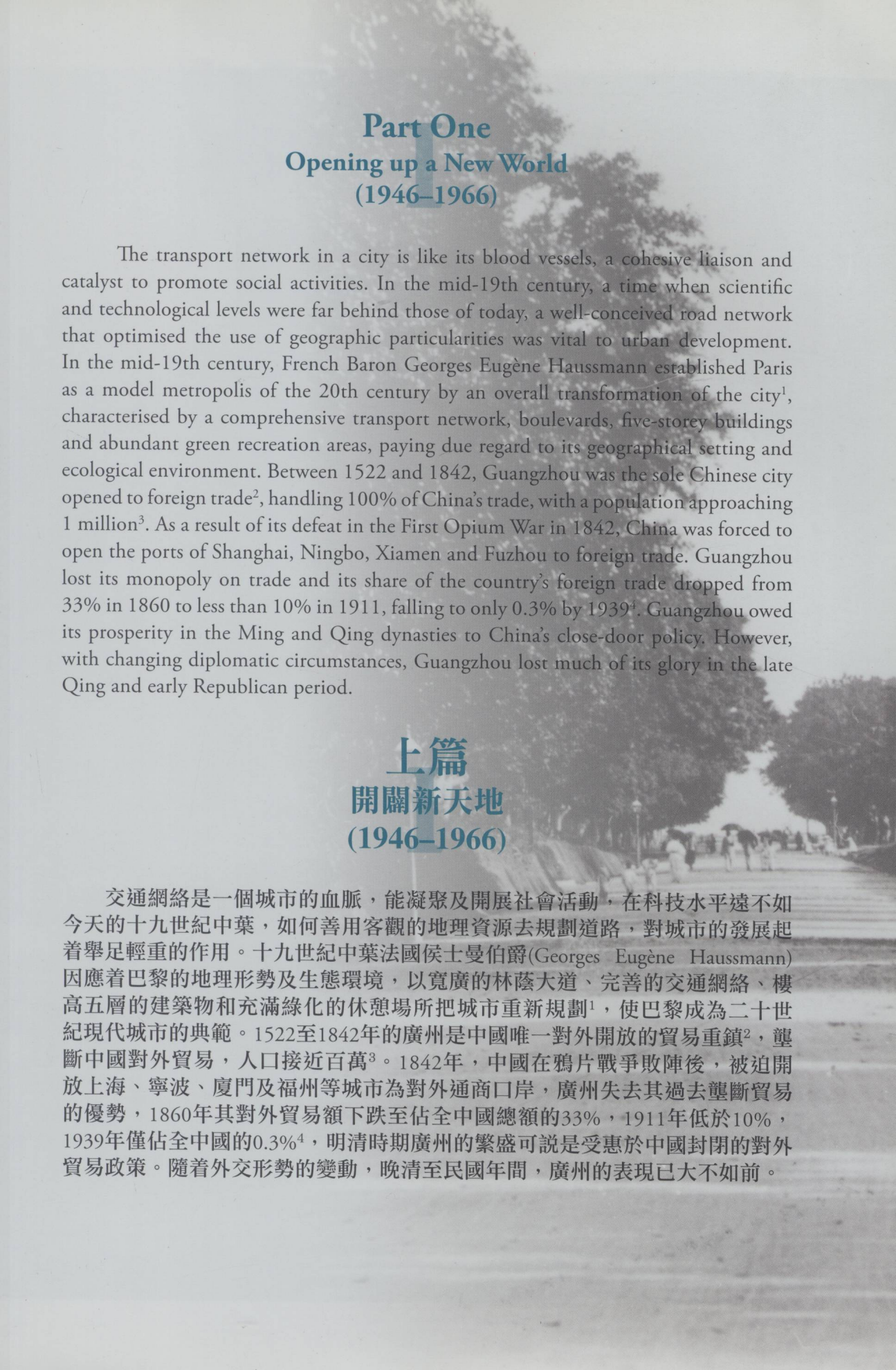
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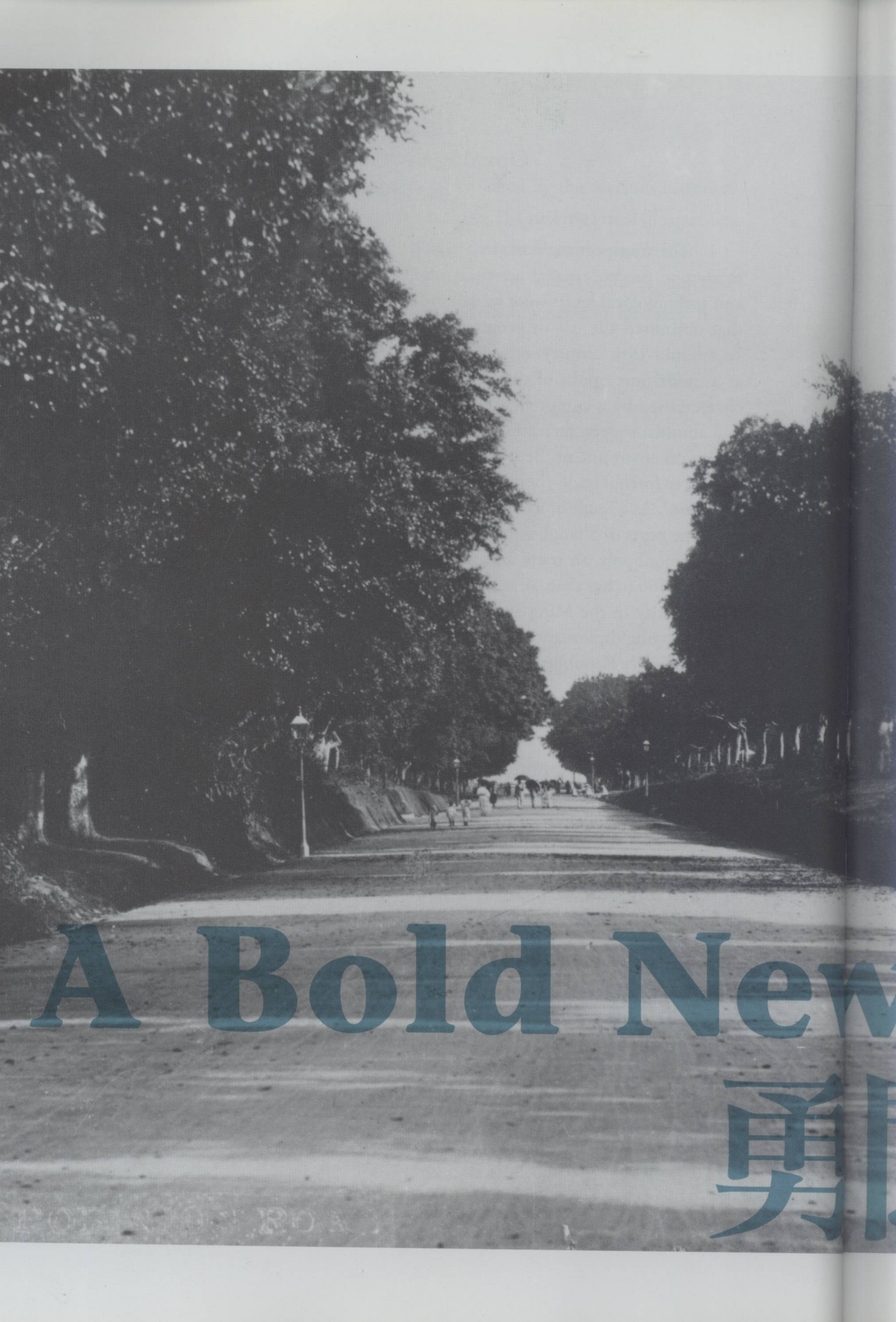
Opening up a New World (1946–1966)

The transport network in a city is like its blood vessels, a cohesive liaison and catalyst to promote social activities. In the mid-19th century, a time when scientific and technological levels were far behind those of today, a well-conceived road network that optimised the use of geographic particularities was vital to urban development. In the mid-19th century, French Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann established Paris as a model metropolis of the 20th century by an overall transformation of the city¹, characterised by a comprehensive transport network, boulevards, five-storey buildings and abundant green recreation areas, paying due regard to its geographical setting and ecological environment. Between 1522 and 1842, Guangzhou was the sole Chinese city opened to foreign trade², handling 100% of China's trade, with a population approaching 1 million³. As a result of its defeat in the First Opium War in 1842, China was forced to open the ports of Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen and Fuzhou to foreign trade. Guangzhou lost its monopoly on trade and its share of the country's foreign trade dropped from 33% in 1860 to less than 10% in 1911, falling to only 0.3% by 1939⁴. Guangzhou owed its prosperity in the Ming and Qing dynasties to China's close-door policy. However, with changing diplomatic circumstances, Guangzhou lost much of its glory in the late Qing and early Republican period.

上篇

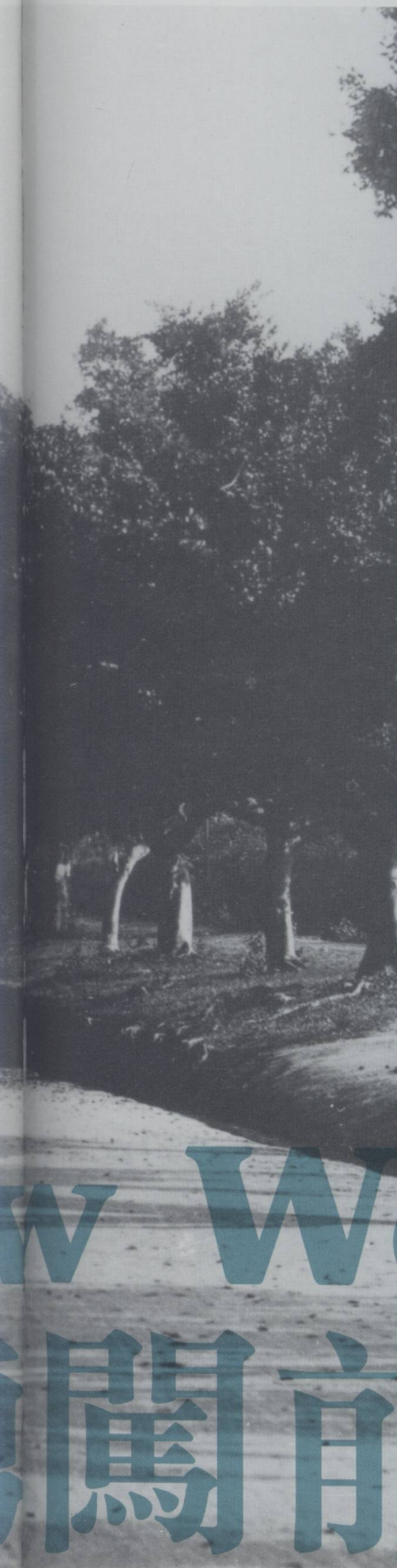
開闢新天地 (1946–1966)

交通網絡是一個城市的血脈，能凝聚及開展社會活動，在科技水平遠不如今天的十九世紀中葉，如何善用客觀的地理資源去規劃道路，對城市的發展起着舉足輕重的作用。十九世紀中葉法國侯士曼伯爵(Georges Eugène Haussmann)因應着巴黎的地理形勢及生態環境，以寬廣的林蔭大道、完善的交通網絡、樓高五層的建築物和充滿綠化的休憩場所把城市重新規劃¹，使巴黎成為二十世紀現代城市的典範。1522至1842年的廣州是中國唯一對外開放的貿易重鎮²，壟斷中國對外貿易，人口接近百萬³。1842年，中國在鴉片戰爭敗陣後，被迫開放上海、寧波、廈門及福州等城市為對外通商口岸，廣州失去其過去壟斷貿易的優勢，1860年其對外貿易額下跌至佔全中國總額的33%，1911年低於10%，1939年僅佔全中國的0.3%⁴，明清時期廣州的繁盛可說是受惠於中國封閉的對外貿易政策。隨着外交形勢的變動，晚清至民國年間，廣州的表現已大不如前。



A Bold New

勇



CHAPTER 1

A Bold New Way

第 1 章
勇闖前路

w Way
闖前路