

Notes

序章

1. これらの社会的弱者の苦境については、Leo F. Goodstadt, *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), を参照。
2. Urban Renewal Authority Steering Committee on Review of the Urban Renewal Strategy, 'Report on the Building Conditions Survey' (SC Paper No. 18/2009, 30 June 2009), 2-3.
3. これらの警告は、教育局局長であった孫明揚が懸念を表明したことで始まっていたとみられる。Michael Suen Ming-yeung, Secretary for Education, *Hong Kong Hansard* (以下 *HH* と略), 12 March 2008, 5275. を参照。
4. 国際金融センターとしての発展については、Leung Chun-ying, Chief Executive, *Government Information Services* (以下 *GIS* と略), 19 January 2015; John Tsang Chun-wah, Financial Secretary, *GIS*, 8 April 2015; Matthew Cheung, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 15 June 2017, を参照。
5. 生産性のデータは2002～11年。Economic Analysis Division, *First Quarter Economic Report 2012* (May 2012), 'Chart 1: Hong Kong's Labour Productivity Growth Outperformed Many Other Economies', 13, を参照。
6. Research Office, 'The 2017-2018 Budget March 2017', Research Brief, Issue No. 3 (2016-2017) (Hong Kong: Legislative Council Secretariat, 2017).
7. Tung Chee Hwa, Chief Executive, 'Inaugural Speech', *GIS*, 1 July 1997.
8. Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, Chief Executive Elect, *GIS*, 26 March 2017.
9. Carrie Lam, 'We Connect: Connecting for Consensus and a Better Future: Manifesto of Carrie Lam Chief Executive Election 2017' (Campaign Office of Carrie Lam, February 2017), 8.
10. 香港の平常時に比べると、2007年の労働争議の数が突出して多いことは、特筆すべきことである。
11. Paul Chan Mo-po, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 22 February 2017, 4591. 陳茂波・財政司司長の財政教書演説は、林鄭が選挙公約を発表する数日前に行われた。
12. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 30 October 1998.
13. State Councillor Tang Jiaxuan reported in Albert Au-yeung, 'Tung Best Choice in Upholding Stability', *China Daily* (以下 *CD* と略), 16 September 2003.
14. Tung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 12 January 2005, 3263.
15. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 10 August 2000.
16. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 29 May 2004.
17. 曾蔭権は、これらの任を与えられたことによって、不利な環境の下で高度にセンシティブな交渉を行うという、注目に値する経験をするようになった。1989年、5万戸の香港家庭を選抜し英国パスポートを発給するという計画の策定を曾は任された。このスキームは中国政府からは非難され、英国政府の移民当局には歓迎されず、どちらも曾を最低限しか助けなかった。また、世界貿易機関[WTO]創設に向けた国際的な協議の最終段階という時期に、曾は香港の貿易を任された。いずれの任務でも曾の犯した失敗を隠し通すことができず、それは香港および香港政府の信用を大きく傷つけることとなった。
18. 政府組織内の司长レベルの政治任用制度 political appointees 導入については2000年に構想されていた

- (Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 11 October 2000)。
19. Donald Tsang, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 6 March 1996, 84; Dr Margaret Ng Ngoi-ye, *HH*, 28 March 1996, 240.
 20. Matthew Cheung Kin-chung, Permanent Secretary for Economic Development and Labour, *GIS*, 8 March 2005.
 21. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 12 October 2005, 24.
 22. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 12 January 2006, 3880-81.
 23. Donald Tsang, Chief Secretary, 'Statement on Housing', 3 September 2001, <http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200109/03/0903236.htm>.
 24. Donald Tsang, Financial Secretary, transcript of BBC interview, *GIS*, 23 June 1998; *HH*, 24 October 2001, 809-10.
 25. Office of The Ombudsman, 'Direct Investigation Report: "Special Procedures" of Buildings Department for handling UBW cases involving celebrities' (OMB/DI/316, January 2014), 2-3, 15-16.
 26. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 15 October 2008, 56.
 27. 曾の財界人との交友については、Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 1 March 2012, 6926, 6942, 6950, 6052, で説明されている。
 28. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 30 July 2011.
 29. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 1 March 2012, 6926-27, 6929.
 30. 詳しくは、Buildings Department, *GIS*, 1 June and 7 September 2011, を参照。
 31. 'Q&A: CY Leung on What It Takes to Run Hong Kong', *South China Morning Post*, 28 June 2016, の中に、そうした特徴を端的に表す事例が記録されている。
 32. Leung Chun-ying, 'The Transition and Unexpected Changes', in *Hong Kong's Transition a Decade after the Deal*, ed. Wang Gungwu and Wong Siu-lun (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995), 138-39, 150-51.
 33. 1990年代の地方政府同士の政治的・商業的な競争意識については、Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: Entrepreneurship and the State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chapter 3, で詳しく記述されている。
 34. 梁は、返還後の政治制度の設計を担うため中央政府が設立した組織において、重要な役割に任命されていた。例えば、基本法諮詢委員会秘書長(1988～90年)、予備工作委員会政治小組召集人(1993～95年)、準備委員会副主任(1996～97年)など。
 35. Leung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 22 March 2013.
 36. Leung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 6 December 2012.
 37. 梁は、北京訪問の新たなルールが前向きに解釈されるよう努力する羽目に陥った。『大公報』(2013年12月17日)を参照。
 38. 『明報』(2013年12月13日)に掲載された、北京大学法治研究センターの強世功主任の評論を参照。
 39. Leung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 23 December 2015. 香港マカオ弁公室のスポークスマンも同じような扱いをした。なぜ梁がこのような扱いを受けるのかに関し、メディアは大いに困惑した。『大公報』『香港経済日報』『星島日報』(いずれも2015年12月24日)は、それぞれ異なる見解・分析を掲載した。
 40. 梁が示した月収は1800米ドル相当。Keith Bradsher and Chris Buckley, 'Hong Kong Leader

- Reaffirms Unbending Stance on Elections', *New York Times*, 20 October 2014.
41. Ambrose Leung and Eva Wu, 'Exco Chief Says City's Development Has Slowed', *South China Morning Post*, 25 September 2009.
 42. *Report on the Work of the Fourth-Term Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region June 2017*, 83.
 43. *Ibid.*, 56.
 44. Carrie Lam, 'We Connect: Connecting for Consensus and a Better Future; Manifesto of Carrie Lam Chief Executive Election 2017' (Campaign Office of Carrie Lam, February 2017), 5.
 45. 学生時代の林鄭の人物像については、かなりの部分を Professor Charles Kwong, 'Mrs Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, GBS, JP, Doctor of Social Sciences, *honoris causa*, Citation', https://www.ln.edu.hk/f/upload/14519/Citation_of_Mrs_Carrie_Lam_Cheng_Yuet-ngor.pdf に依拠する。
 46. Professor Charles Kwong, 'Mrs Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, GBS, JP, Doctor of Social Sciences, *honoris causa*, Citation'.
 47. Carrie Lam, Director of Social Welfare, 'Role of Welfare in a Laissez-Faire Society', Speech to the Hong Kong Democratic Foundation (18 April 2001), <http://www.hkdf.org/newsarticles.asp?show=newsarticles&newsarticle=120>. 林鄭はこうした見解を公の場で繰り返し表明してきた。Raymond M. H. Ngan and Mark K. Y. Li, 'The Dilemma and Crisis for Public Welfare Payments in Hong Kong', in *The July 1 Protest Rally: Interpreting a Historic Event*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2005), 418, を参照。
 48. Carrie Lam, Secretary for Development, *GIS*, 26 February 2009.
 49. Carrie Lam, Secretary for Development, *GIS*, 30 January 2010.
 50. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 27 June 2005, 8944.
 51. Lam Woon-kwong, Secretary for the Civil Service, 'International Conference on Public Management and Governance in the New Millennium, *GIS*, 10 January 2000.
 52. Edward Yau Tang-wah, Secretary for Commerce and Economic Development, *GIS*, 1 August 2017.
 53. 公務員の増員計画は、2018～19年度にならないと効力を持たなかった。またこれは、林鄭月娥自身が提出した計画ではなく、前政権から持ち越されたものであった。この問題と林鄭が就任した際の人員計画全体については、"Report on the Panel on Public Service for submission on the Legislative Council" (CB(4)1294/16-17, 23 June 2017), 2, を参照のこと。
 54. Barry Cheung Chun-yuan, 'Chairman's Statement', in Urban Renewal Authority, *Annual Report 2012-13*, 7.
 55. Consumer Council, *How Competitive Is the Private Residential Property Market?* (Hong Kong: Consumer Council, 1996), 2-4, 5, 8, 3-9, 5-3, A 3-2, Annex 4.
 56. 植民地時代から継承した土地所有制度と行政管理およびその複雑さに関する卓越した法律・歴史研究として Roger Nissim, *Land Administration and Practice in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998) が挙げられる。
 57. Press release, *GIS*, 29 August 2017.
 58. Press Release, *GIS*, 30 June 2003.
 59. Stephen Vines, 'In Hong Kong, public consultations are effective - at keeping the public at bay,'

- South China Morning Post*, 24 October 2018.
60. Press release, *GIS*, 30 June 2003.
 61. 'Breaking Barriers: China's "Nationalization" Drive', *Renmin Ribao* (『人民日報』、以下RRと略), 1 July 2000.
 62. 'China Moves to Clear Blockades for Unified Market', *New China News Agency* (新華社、以下NCNAと略), 10 December 2013.
 63. 'Full Text of Speech by President Xi Jinping at Welcome Dinner in HK', *NCNA*, 1 July 2017.
 64. Zhang Dejiang, National People's congress Chairman reported in 'HKSAR Basic Law Meets Test of Practice: Top Legislator' and 'HKSAR Political System Is Not Separation of Powers: Top Legislator - Xinhua', *NCNA*, 27 May 2017.
 65. 政府統計処は多くの統計について、改訂版を出版している。本書では入手できる最新の改訂版の数値を用いるように努めた。

第1章

1. 136条には「香港特別行政区政府は従来の教育制度を基礎に、教育の発展および改善に関する政策を、……経費配分等の政策を含め、自ら策定する」とある。加えて137条に「各種の大学はいずれもその自主性を保持し、かつ学術の自由を享受」するとしている。138条には、「香港特別行政区政府は、漢方医薬および西洋医薬を発展させ、医療・衛生サービスを促進する政策を自ら策定する」とある。
2. 蕭蔚雲 Xiao Weiyun 教授の基本法解釈の第一人者としての地位は、彼の早期のキャリアからも明らかだ。基本法施行に先立って、彼は基本法起草委員会政治制度班の招集人を務め、香港特別行政区準備委員会のメンバーでもあった。彼の重要性については、Yiu-chung Wong, 'Absorption into a Leninist Polity: A Study of the Interpretations by the National People's Congress of the Basic Law in Post-Handover Hong Kong', in *Trends of Political Participation in Hong Kong*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2014), 45-46. に詳しい。蕭教授の著作 *One Country, Two Systems: An Account of the Drafting of the Hong Kong Basic Law* の原著(中国語)は1993年に出版されている。
3. Xiao Weiyun, *One Country, Two Systems: An Account of the Drafting of the Hong Kong Basic Law* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2001), 448, 205.
4. Xiao, *One Country, Two Systems: An Account of the Drafting of the Hong Kong Basic Law*, 206.
5. 政府の、政策に合わせて基本法を解釈する権利に対する自信を示す重要な事例としては、Legal Service Division, 'Subcommittee on Poverty Alleviation: Paper on the Constitutionality of the One-Year Continuous Residence Requirement for the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme' (LC Paper No. LS18/09-10, 26 November 2009), 3. を参照。
6. 例えば、Anson Chan Fang On-sang, *GIS*, 30 April 1999.
7. 例えば、Dr York Chow Yat-ngok, Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food, *HH*, 14 June 2006, 8278-89.
8. この発言を行ったのは、自由党党首であり香港有数の繊維財閥の長男である田北俊 James Tien Pei-chun である(*HH*, 15 February 2006, 4632.)。

9. Premier Wen Jiabao, 'Hong Kong's Traditional Advantages as Int'l Financial Center Unchanged: Premier Wen', *NCNA*, 14 March 2011.
10. 'Premier Wen Jiabao Attends Press Conference of the 5th Session of the 11th NPC', *NCNA*, 14 March 2012.
11. Premier Li Keqiang, 'Premier Li Grants Appointment Certificate to Incoming HKSAR Chief Executive', *NCNA*, 11 April 2017.
12. そのような事例を扱った法廷記録の検討としては、Karen Kong, 'Adjudicating Social Welfare Rights in Hong Kong', *I • CON* 10, no. 2 (2012): 588-99.を参照。
13. Mr Justice Ribeiro PJ in *Kong Yunming vs Director of Social Welfare* FACV No.2 of 2013, 18, 41-42, accessed 18 December 2013, http://legalref.judiciary.gov.hk/lrs/common/ju/ju_frame.jsp?DIS=90670&currpage=T
14. Matthew Cheung Kin-Chung (張建宗), Secretary for Labour and Welfare (勞工及福利局局長), *HH*, 8 January 2014, 5157-59.を参照。
15. Tung Chee Hwa, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 1 May 1997.
16. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 20 September 1997.
17. 例えば董の就任最初の月に、労働者は賃金と労働環境の改善を期待しないように警告を受けた (Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 31 July 1997.)。
18. Eliza W. Y. Lee, 'The Politics of Welfare Developmentalism in Hong Kong', *Social Policy and Development Programme Paper No. 21* (ISSN 1020-8208, August 2005), United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 6.
19. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 19 September 2000.
20. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 17 October 2006.
21. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 27 June 2005, 8944.
22. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 12 January 2006, 3881.
23. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 14 January 2010, 4247.
24. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 12 October 2011, 29.
25. 中国本土からの移住者の平均世帯収入は、2011年には香港全体より30%ほど低かったが、これは2001年段階での移住者の平均よりも20%向上している。皮肉なことに、福利局局長はこのセンサスの情報を、立法会における親大陸派議員の中国本土からの移民に対する訴えを退けるのに用いている (Matthew Cheung, Secretary for Labour and Welfare, *HH*, 22 January 2014, 5798.)。2001年段階では、移住者のうち中等教育以上を受けたものは68%であった。2011年にはこの数字は85%になっており、香港全体の77%よりも高くなっている。教育水準については、2011 Population Census Office, *2011 Population Census Main Report: Volume I* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2012), 81, に依拠する。
26. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 7 April 2006.
27. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 27 June 2005, 8942.
28. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *GIS*, October 2005.
29. Health and Medical Development Advisory Committee, *Building a Healthy Tomorrow: Discussion Paper on the Future Service Delivery Model for Our Healthcare System* (Hong Kong: Health, Welfare and Food Bureau, 2005), 8 n1; Food and Health Bureau, *Your Health Your Life Healthcare Reform*

- Consultation Document* (Hong Kong: SAR Government, 2008), 14-15.
30. 'C Y Leung Makes Opening Remarks at Chief Executive Candidates' forum 19 March 2012', http://www.ceo.gov.hk/eng/pdf/speeches_elect/sp20120319.pdf.
 31. 梁の基準によれば、平均月収が1800米ドル以下の者は、政治的権利の完全な行使に値しないことになる。Keith Bradsher and Chris Buckley, 'Hong Kong Leader Reaffirms Unbending Stance on Elections', *New York Times*, 20 October 2014.
 32. 2016年の統計では、99万5800人であった。この数字は梁が退任した後に公表された。Matthew Cheung, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 17 November 2017.
 33. Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary, *HH*, 18 February 2016, 5454-58.
 34. Leung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 18 January 2017, 3136-37.
 35. 特記する場合を除き、以下の引用は全て Carrie Lam, 'We Connect: Connecting for Consensus and a Better Future: Manifesto of Carrie Lam Chief Executive Election 2017' (Campaign Office of Carrie Lam, February 2017), 6, 35, 38. に拠る。
 36. Carrie Lam, Chief Executive, *HH*, 11 October 2017.
 37. Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 12 April 2016.
 38. Nelson Chow, 'Social Welfare and the Challenges of a New Era', in *Hong Kong Economy and Society: Challenges in the New Era*, ed. Wong Siu-lun and Toyojiro Maruya (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1998), 146-47.
 39. Hui Cheung-ching(許長青), *HH*, 10 May 2000, 6265-66.
 40. こうした政府の優先事項の例については、Anson Chan Fang On-sang, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 30 April 1999, を参照。
 41. Commission on Strategic Development, *Bringing the Vision to Life: Hong Kong's Long-Term Development Needs and Goals* (Hong Kong: Central Policy Unit, 2000), 16-17.
 42. この時期の生産性と所得分布については、John Dodsworth and Dubravko Mihaljek, *Hong Kong, China: Growth, Structural Change, and Economic Stability During the Transition* (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 1997), 6; Hon-Kwong Lui, *Income Inequality and Economic Development* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 1997), 46-49, を参照。
 43. Antony Leung Kam-chung, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 6 March 2002, 4141 and *GIS*, 2 February, 14 and 22 May 2002.
 44. Dr Yeoh Eng-kiong(楊永強), Secretary for Health and Welfare, *HH*, 5 April 2000, 5631.
 45. Lump Sum Grant Independent Review Committee, 'Review Report on the Lump Sum Grant Subvention System December 2008', 4, 8, 12, 13, 38, 46.
 46. 'Subcommittee on Poverty Alleviation: Paper on the Constitutionality of the One-Year Continuous Residence Requirement for the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme' (LC Paper No. LS18/09-10, 26 November 2009), 3, 5, より引用。
 47. 社会保障は香港において依存文化を生み出してはおらず、受給資格者の大多数は実際には受給していない。これを示す包括的、長期的なデータは、Leo F. Goodstadt, *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity*, 2nd edition (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), 175-76. を参照。

48. このワーキング・グループの報告は完璧とは程遠いものだった。例えば公営住宅は社会支出から除外されている。The Treasury Branch, Financial Services, and the Treasury Bureau, 'Report of the Working Group on Long-Term Fiscal Planning (Phase 2)', 116.
49. John Tsang Chun-wah, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 26 February 2014, 8310.
50. John Tsang, Financial Secretary, *GIS*, 9 October 2014 and *HH*, 25 February 2015, 7195.
51. 立法会議員の張超雄 Dr. Fernando Cheung Chiu-hung により詳細な分析が行われた。 *HH*, 16 April 2008, 6109-11.
52. Research Office, 'The 2017-2018 Budget March 2017', Research Brief, Issue No. 3 (2016-17) (Hong Kong: Legislative Council Secretariat, 2017), 12.
53. 詳しくは Press Release, *GIS*, 3 August 2000; Rahul Jacob, 'Hong Kong in Cyberport Deal', *Financial Times*, 17 May 2000; 'Secret Deal on Cyberport Dismissed', *GIS*, 16 March 1999.
54. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 2 December 1999; Market Research Division, 'Survey of the Financing Situation of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises', *Hong Kong Monetary Authority Quarterly Report*, October 2000, 38; Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 8 December 2008.
55. 審計署のレポートは、そのほとんど全てのページにおいて、借り手の実績にかかわらず貸出が認められた実態を記録していた。Audit Commission, *Report 39*, 'Chapter 5: Special Finance Scheme for Small and Medium Enterprises' (Hong Kong, 15 October 2002). 濫用の蔓延については、Audit Commission, *Report No. 47*, 'Chapter 4: Four Small and Medium Enterprise Funding Schemes' (Hong Kong, 23 October 2006)、特に 13, 15, 31-32、会計検査報告は濫用が、銀行融資保証のみならず、幅広い事業支援政策において存在することを明らかにしている。
56. 平均 4 人の従業員を雇用する 2 万 9800 社の企業が 1000 億香港ドルの融資保証から便宜を受けたと推測されている。The Commerce and Economic Development Bureau, *Item for Finance Committee*, HEAD 152 Subhead 700, 'New Item "SME Financing Guarantee Scheme—Special Concessionary Measures"' (FCR(2012-13)12, April 2012), 2, 7.
57. Gregory So Kam-leung (蘇錦樑), Secretary for Commerce and Economic Development, *GIS*, 8 June 2017.
58. 引用元は Carrie Lam, 'We Connect: Connecting for Consensus and a Better Future; Manifesto of Carrie Lam Chief Executive Election 2017', 19. Chief Executive-elect, *GIS*, 23 June 2017. も参照。
59. Financial Bureau, *Profits Tax Review Consultation Document* (Government Secretariat, July 1997), Appendix A: 'Changes in Profits Tax Rate'.
60. Census and Statistics Department, *2011 Population Census: Thematic Report Household Income Distribution in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2012), 'Table 7.4 Summary Statistics on Households in the 9th and 10th Decile Groups', 122; Census and Statistics Department, *2016 Population By-Census: Thematic Report Household Income Distribution in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2017), 'Table 7.4 Summary Statistics on Households in the 9th and 10th Decile Groups', 130.
61. 固定資産税やその他の物品税の負担は軽い(今日においては、タバコのみ健康上の理由から例外的に課税されている)。香港の税制とその歴史については、Michael Littlewood, *Taxation without Representation: The History of Hong Kong's Troublingly Successful Tax System* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 2010).

62. 'Reforming Hong Kong's Tax System Consultation Document' (2006), 4, 6, 16, 25. <http://www.taxreform.gov.hk/eng/document.htm>. Financial Services and the Treasury Branch, 'Public Consultation on Tax Reform Final Report' (June 2007), も参照。
63. John (later Sir John) Cowperthwaite, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 26 February 1964, 52.
64. より詳細な背景については、Goodstadt, *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity*, 121-2, を参照。
65. Francis Yuan-hao Tien, *HH*, 30 March 1978, 696; Kenneth J. Topley, Director of Education, *HH*, 12 April 1978, 737.
66. Philip (later Sir Philip) Haddon-Cave, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 1 March 1978, 542, を参照。
67. 失業者の年齢分布については、'Statistics on Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme, 1996 to 2006', *Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics July 2007*, 'Table 4 Percentage distribution of unemployed CSSA recipients by sex and age group as at end-2006', FA10, を参照。彼らの不十分な教育状況については、Dr. York Chow Yat-ngok, Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food, *HH*, 29 June 2005, 'Table 3 Number of CSSA Recipients by Educational Attainment, 2001 to 2004', 9066, を参照。
68. The Treasury Branch, 'Report of the Working Group on Long-Term Fiscal Planning (Phase 2)', 118, 161.
69. 首相が新しい行政長官に課した三つの使命とは、「経済発展、生活の質の向上、大陸との交流・協力の強化」であった。Premier Li Keqiang, 'Premier Li Grants Appointment Certificate to Incoming HKSAR Chief Executive', *NCNA*, 11 April 2017.
70. Carrie Lam, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 4 August 2017.
71. 林鄭月娥は『明報』紙の独占インタビューでこの心変わりについて明らかにした。興味深いことに、政界やメディアの関心は、同じインタビューで彼女が提言した公営賃貸住宅の供給下限戸数の設定に集中していた。『明報』2017年10月27日。

第2章

1. Tung Chee Hwa, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 5 September 1997.
2. 董建華の布告を正確に記せば次の通りである。「政府部局に対し、財源を追加することなく新しいサービス、またはサービスの改善を提案するよう求める」。Policy Address, *HH*, 7 October 1998. この政策については以下で議論する。
3. 以下を参照。Yash Ghai, *Hong Kong's New Constitutional Order: The Resumption of Chinese Sovereignty and the Basic Law*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999), 252-55, 263-64.
4. 概要は以下の秀逸な文献を参照。Ray Yep, "One Country, Two Systems" and Special Administrative Regions: The Case of Hong Kong', in *China's Local Administration: Traditions and Changes in the Sub-National Hierarchy*, ed. Jae Ho Chung and Tao-chiu Lam (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 94-97.
5. Ghai, *Hong Kong's New Constitutional Order*, 279.
6. Provisional Legislative Council (臨時立法会), *Financial Affairs Panel*, 6 October and 17 November 1997; *Proceedings*, 13 January 1998.

7. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, Financial Secretary, *GIS*, 12 February 1998.
8. 詳細については記者発表を参照。Press Releases, *GIS*, 26, 28, 29 May and 22 June 1998.
9. この厄介な環境については以下の文献の1章と6章に特にうまく要約されている。Wilson Wong, 'From a British-style Administrative State to a Chinese-style Political State: Civil Service Reforms in Hong Kong after the Transfer of Sovereignty', *The Brookings Institution* (June 2003).
10. この出来事の深刻さについては以下の資料が詳しい。Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 31 December 1997.
11. 以下を参照。Report of the Legislative Council Select Committee to Inquire into the Circumstances Leading to the Problems Surrounding the Commencement of the Operation of the New Hong Kong International Airport at Chek Lap Kok since 6 July 1998 and Related Issues (Hong Kong: January 1999); Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the New Airport (Hong Kong: Government Information Services, 1999).
12. Donald Tsang, Financial Secretary, *GIS*, 8 July 1998 および 16 July 1998を比較されたい。
13. Tung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 14 January 1999.
14. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 11 October 2001.
15. Tung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 17 April 2002, 5490, 5493.
16. Donald Tsang, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 25 April 2002.
17. これらの出来事について深く分析した資料として、以下を参照されたい。Timothy Ka-ying Wong and Shirley Po-san Wan, 'The Implementation of the Accountability System for Principal Officials: Efficacy and Impact', in *The July 1 Protest Rally: Interpreting a Historic Event*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheung (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2005), 195-200.
18. 'Report of the Select Committee to Inquire into the Handling of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Outbreak by the Government and the Hospital Authority, July 2004', 234.
19. Dennis Chong, 'Chief Executive Orders Home Checks after Education Chief Is Embroiled in Scandal', *South China Morning Post*, 26 May 2011.
20. 'Buildings Department Statement on Unit at 64 MacDonnell Road', *GIS*, 7 September 2011.
21. Hon Kam Nai-wai (甘乃威) and a written reply by Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, Secretary for Development, in *HH*, 29 February 2012, 6455-57.
22. Li Pang-kwong (李彭廣), 'The Executive', in *Contemporary Hong Kong Politics: Governance in the Post-1997 Era*, ed. Wai-man Lam, Percy Luen-tim Lui and Ian Holliday (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 26-27, 34.
23. 言うまでもなく、割り当てる責任の見直しと省庁の再編は、多くの民主主義国家における政府ではよく見られることである。しかし、長官や大臣は普通選挙を通して社会全体に説明責任を負う、文字通りの政治的任用者である。彼らが効率的行政にふさわしい仕事をしていなければ選挙で大きなコストを支払うことになる。2007年に責任や義務の重複・混乱が始まったわけではないことに注意すべきである。それらは、もともと高官问责制が孕む特性だったのである。
24. 引用した林鄭月娥の発言は次を参照。Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 27 September 2012.
25. Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary, Policy Address, 10 October 2017, p7. <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2017/eng/pdf/PA2017.pdf> および Policy Address, 10 October 2018, p9, <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2018/eng/pclf/PA2018.pdf>. 重要なのは、過重な負担を強いられている政策決定

機関を再編するという彼女の約束が、2017年と2018年の施政演説のダイジェスト版には含まれていなかったことである。

26. Matthew Cheung Kin-chung, Chief Secretary for Administration, *HH*, 11 November, 2018.
27. Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 27 September 2012.
28. Anthony Cheung Bing-leung, Secretary for Transport and Housing, *HH*, 22 May 2013, 12119-21. 路政署はすでにそのようなエレベーターを78基運用していた。
29. この失策については、『明報』(2017年5月19日)で同紙の社説とともに詳細に報じられている。
30. Carrie Lam, Chief Executive-elect, *GIS*, 21 June 2017.
31. Tung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 7 October 1998.
32. *A Report by the Inter-Departmental Working Party to Consider Certain Aspects of Social Security* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1967). トレンチ総督が、社会保険制度の導入に個人的に肩入れしていたことは(7) 'Notes of a Meeting with the Governor on 15th April 1966 by D. S. W.'. HKRS890-2-31, 'Correspondence with the Governor and notes of discussion with H.E.'に記録されている。
33. トレンチ総督に対し、彼の部下が成功させた反抗について、より詳しい説明は以下の文献を参照。HKRS163-3-264, 'Coordination of Social Service Policies'; (7) 'Notes of a meeting with the Governor on 15th April 1966 by D. S. W.'. HKRS890-2-31, 'Correspondence with the Governor and Notes of Discussion with H.E.'; M. 7 Governor to Financial Secretary, 22 June 1967; M. 24 Financial Secretary to Governor; (11) 'An Appreciation of the Report by the Inter-Departmental Working Party on Social Security', 10 October 1967. HKRS163-9-486, 'Social Security—Implications of Change in HK Status-Quo...'.
34. Sir David (later Lord) Wilson, Governor, *HH*, 7 October 1987, 46.
35. Sir Piers Jacobs, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 7 March 1990, 958.
36. Sir David Ford, Chief Secretary, *HH*, 9 May 1990, 29 May 1991.
37. Civil Service Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Public Service General Overview of the Civil Service Strength, Retirement and Resignation' (CB(1)1817/07-08(01), June 2008), 1-3; Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Public Service Meeting... Updated Background Brief on the Overview of the Civil Service Establishment, Strength, Retirement, Resignation and Age Profile' (CB(4)963/14-15(11), 15 May 2015); 'Civil Service Bureau, 'LegCo Panel on Public Service Supplementary Note on Containing the Size of the Civil Service' (CB(1)1290/01-02, March 2002). See Annexes C and D も参照。
38. Anson Chan Fang On-sang, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 29 September 1999.
39. Anson Chan, Chief Secretary, *HH*, 5 April 2000, 5661.
40. Financial Bureau, 'Report on the Profits Tax Review' (1998).
41. Denise Yue Chung-yee (龔宗怡), Secretary for the Treasury, *GIS*, 19 October 2000.
42. Joseph Li, 'Election is "an Education on HK"', *CD*, 11 June 2005.
43. Joseph Li, 'Education Can Bridge Income Gap', *CD*, 11 August 2006; Commission on Strategic Development, 'Summary of the Views Expressed at the Fifth Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Commission on Strategic Development Held on 10 August 2006' (Secretariat, September 2006).
44. Anson Chan, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 26 April 1999.

45. Tung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 7 October 1998.
46. Lau Siu-kai, 'Government and Political Change in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region', in *Hong Kong the Super Paradox: Life after Return to China*, ed. James C. Hsiung (London: Macmillan, 2000), 49-51; Tung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 12 January 2005, 3262.
47. Jermain T. M. Lam, 'Enhanced Productivity Program in Hong Kong: A Critical Appraisal', *Public Performance & Management Review* 27, no. 1 (September 2003): 63.
48. Lam, 'Enhanced Productivity in Hong Kong', 68.
49. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Public Service Meeting ... Updated Background Brief on the Overview of the Civil Service Establishment, Strength, Retirement, Resignation and Age Profile' (CB(4)963/14-15(11), 15 May 2015), 5-6.
50. 『明報』(2013年1月7日、24日)。
51. 'Report of Investigation Task Force on Statistical Data Quality Assurance' (March 2013), 28-29.
52. Buildings Department Spokesperson, *GIS*, 31 October 2013. 『明報』(2013年10月30日、11月1日)も参照されたい。
53. Tony Miller, Director of Housing, 'Becoming Stakeholders of Hong Kong: Home Ownership', speech to the Hong Kong Institute of Real Estate Administration (19 February 1997); Lau Kai-hung, Deputy Director of Housing, *GIS*, 30 January 2006.
54. この説明は次の文献に大きく拠っている。Anthony B. L. Cheung, 'Civil Service Reform in Post-1997 Hong Kong: Political Challenges, Managerial Responses?'. *International Journal of Public Administration* 24, issue 9 (2001): 930-33, 939, 940-41. 房屋署もまったく同じような扱いを受けていた。
55. 福祉部門が提供するサービスと需要とのギャップについては次の文献を参照。Social Welfare Department, *The Five-Year Plan for Social Welfare Development in Hong Kong: Review 1998*, 103-6.
56. 社会サービスの改善への敵意、並びに植民地体制終焉後の政治的枠組みを形成する際の財界リーダーの支配的な役割については、以下の文献を参照。Alvin Y. So, 'Hong Kong's Problematic Democratic Transition: Power Dependency or Business Hegemony?'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 2 (May 2000): 370, 373, 377.
57. 5カ年計画を停止することによって生じた実際的な困難については、以下の文献に要約されている。Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 'Response to SWAC's 2nd Stage Consultation Exercise on LongTerm Social Welfare Planning in Hong Kong', 3-4.
58. 入札制への変更についての説明では、計画の実施に際しての「インプット」の管理が強調された。言うまでもなく、それは長期的には政府を縛るものであり、今となっては不都合なものである。Dr Yeoh Eng Kiong, Secretary for Health and Welfare, *GIS*, 20 June 2000.
59. 董建華のEPP政策に対する肯定的な反応の特筆すべき特徴は、現実にもそうであったように、計画体制を終焉させることで行政パフォーマンスのモニタリングが始まるのであり、その逆ではないと捉えられていたことである。Lam, 'Enhanced Productivity Program in Hong Kong: A Critical Appraisal', 60. を参照。
60. Ivy Cheng, 'Impacts of the Lump Sum Grant Subvention System on the Subvented Welfare Sector: Information Note', Legislative Council Secretariat (IN14/07-08, 8 May 2008), 4-5, 12, and 'Table 1: Chronology of Major Events in Relation to the Introduction of LSGSS', 8.
61. Efficiency Unit, 'Serving the Community by Using the Private Sector—Policy and Practice', 2nd

- ed. (January 2007), 15.
62. Gary Ma Fung-Kwok(馬逢國), *HH*, 1 June 2000, 7161.
 63. Dr. Yeoh, Secretary for Health and Welfare, *HH*, 5 February 2004, 3097, 3098.
 64. Leo F. Goodstadt, *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence*, 161-63, を参照。
 65. 例えば次の文献を参照。Panel on Education Subcommittee on Integrated Education, 'Report September 2014' (CB(4)1087/13-14(01)).
 66. Labour and Welfare Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Welfare Services: Long-Term Social Welfare Planning', Annex 1; Social Welfare Advisory Committee, 'Report on Long-Term Social Welfare Planning in Hong Kong' (LC Paper No. CB(2)2279/10-11(03), July 2011), 29-30.
 67. Carrie Lam, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 24 November 2012.
 68. Ernest Chiu Wing-tak et al., *Elderly Commission's Study on Residential Care Services for the Elderly Final Report* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, December 2009), 15.
 69. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Provision of Residential Care Places for Persons with Disabilities' (CB(2)1149/09-10(02), 23 March 2010), 5-6.
 70. これらの悪影響については、次の文献で非常に早い時期に指摘されている。Kenneth L. Chau and Chack-kie Wong, 'The Social Welfare Reform: A Way to Reduce Public Burden, in *The First Tung Chee-hwa Administration: The First Five Years of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, ed. Lau Siu-kai (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002), 215-27.

第3章

1. Professor Anthony Cheung Bing-leung, Secretary for Transport and Housing (運輸及房屋局局長), Chairman's Foreword Long Term Housing Strategy—Providing Adequate Housing for All?, in Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, *Long Term Housing Strategy: Building Consensus, Building Homes* (Consultation Document, September 2013), v, vi.
2. Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, *Long Term Housing Strategy: Building Consensus, Building Homes*, 9-10.
3. 「十分に」という語は、非常に相対的な意味で使用される。例えば、香港社会が許容できると考えていたものは、シンガポールの住宅事情と比較すると、決して「十分」ではなかったのである。次の章では、この点について詳しく説明する。
4. Development Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Development Subcommittee on Building Safety and Related Issues: Measures to Enhance Building Safety in Hong Kong'. Annex: 'Legislative Council Brief Measures to Enhance Building Safety in Hong Kong (File Ref: DEVB(PL-CR) 12/2010)', (CB(1)681/10-11 (01), December 2010), 1.
5. Barry Cheung Chun-yuen (張震遠), 'Chairman's Statement', in Urban Renewal Authority, *Annual Report 2010-2011*, 5-6.
6. Barry Cheung, 6. Author's Statement', 5-6.
7. この住宅ブームの最大の刺激となったのが、従来定められていた高度制限の廃止である。K. M. A. Barnett, Census Commissioner, 'Introduction', in W. F. Maunder, *Hong Kong Urban Rents and*

Housing (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1969), 1.

8. *Hong Kong Annual Departmental Report by the Registrar General 1959-60* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, n.d.), 3.
9. Report of the 1963 Working Party on Government Policies and Practices with Regard to Squatters, Resettlement and Low Cost Housing' (mimeo 1963), 8. HKRS163-3-219, 'Working Party on Squatters, Resettlement and Government Low-Cost Housing'.
10. この段落とそれに続く三つの段落における分析、引用およびデータは、他に注釈がない限り、下記の文献に拠る。Urban Renewal Authority *Annual Reports* and on its 'Steering Committee on Review of the Urban Renewal Strategy, 'Report on the Building Conditions Survey' (SC Paper No. 18/2009, 30 June 2009), 2-3.
11. Audit Commission, *Report No. 64*, 'Chapter 1: Buildings Department's Actions on Unauthorised Building Works', *Report No. 64* (Hong Kong, 2015), ix, 13-15, 44.
12. Anthony Cheung, Secretary for Transport and Housing, *HH*, 14 November 2012, 1892-93.
13. Tony Miller, Director of Housing, 'Becoming Stakeholders of Hong Kong: Home Ownership', Speech to the Hong Kong Institute of Real Estate Administration (19 February 1997); Lau Kai-hung, Deputy Director of Housing, *GIS*, 30 January 2006.
14. これらの施策全ての詳細については、以下を参照。Development Bureau, 'Panel on Development Subcommittee on Building Safety and Related Issues: Consolidation of Financial Assistance Schemes for Building Maintenance and Repair' (CB(1)2087/10-11(02), May 2011).
15. Michael Suen Ming-yeung (孫明揚), Secretary for Housing, Planning and Lands, *GIS*, 25 October 2003.
16. Urban Renewal Authority, Steering Committee on Review of the Urban Renewal Strategy, 'Study on Building Maintenance' (SC Paper No. 19/2009, July 2009), 1; Development Bureau, 'Panel on Development Subcommittee on Building Safety and Related Issues: Consolidation of Financial Assistance Schemes for Building Maintenance and Repair'.
17. John Tsang Chun-wah, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 25 February 2009, 4995-97.
18. Carrie Lam, Secretary for Development, *GIS*, 26 February 2009.
19. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Development Minutes of Meeting Held on Tuesday, 26 January 2010...' (CB(1)1508/09-10, 8 April 2010), 13-16.
20. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, Chief Executive, *HH*, 10 October 2007, 24-25.
21. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 13 October 2010, 18, 20-21.
22. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Development ... Updated Background Brief on the Work of the Urban Renewal Authority' (CB(1)1034/15-16(02), 15 June 2016), 7.
23. 計画実施の責任は、四つの独立した機関(発展局、屋宇署、香港房屋協会、市区重建局)に分担された。'Operation Building Bright', 1, 2.
24. この施策が終了したタイミングには、奇妙な曖昧さがあった。Hui Siu-wai, Director of Buildings, 'Examination of Estimates of Expenditure 2016-17 Reply Serial No. DEVB(PL)283'.
25. この2段落で引用した文章、情報、その他の資料は、Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Updated background brief on the Urban Renewal Strategy and the work of the Urban Renewal Authority'

- (CB(1)1133/17-18(04), 25 June 2018), に拠る。
26. Home Affairs Department, *A Guide on Building Management Ordinance (Cap. 344)* (8th ed., January 2016), 1.
 27. Barry Cheung, 'Chairman's Statement', in Urban Renewal Authority, *Annual Report 2012-13*, 7.
 28. Legislative Council Panel on Development, 'Subcommittee on Building Safety and Related Issues: Measures to Enhance Building Safety in Hong Kong' 3.
 29. Home Affairs Department, 'Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs Regulation of the Property Management Industry' (CB(2)457/13-14(06), December 2013), 1, 2.
 30. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Home Affairs Minutes of Special Meeting Held on Friday, 4 July 2008...' (CB(2)2850/07-08), 22 October 2008), 10.
 31. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Home Affairs Background Brief Prepared... for the Meeting on 17 November 2014 Review of the Building Management Ordinance' (CB(2)238/14-15(04), 13 November 2014), 1.
 32. Home Affairs Department, 'Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs Review of the Building Management Ordinance (Cap. 344)' (CB(2)238/14- 15(03), November 2014), 1, 5.
 33. Home Affairs Department, 'Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs Review of the Building Management Ordinance (Cap. 344)', (CB(2)1502/15-16(03), May 2016), 10-11; 'Annex 3: Efforts of the Relevant Government Departments and Organisations on Preventing and Combating Bid-Rigging in Building Maintenance Works', 1; 'Annex 7: Measures and Schemes Launched by the Home Affairs Department in Recent Years', 2.
 34. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Home Affairs Minutes of Meeting Held on Tuesday, 17 May 2016...' (CB(2)2016/15-16), 1 September 2016), 4.
 35. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Home Affairs Background Brief ... 2013 Proposed Regulatory Framework for the Property Management Industry' (CB(2)457/13-14(07), 6 December 2013), 1.
 36. Home Affairs Department, 'Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs Review of the Building Management Ordinance (Cap. 344)', 12.
 37. 'Written answer by the Home Affairs Bureau to Mr Cheung Kwok-che's Supplementary Question to Question 1', *HH*, 25 November 2015, A 1.
 38. Property Management Services Ordinance (Cap. 626)のSections 6と7を参照。
 39. 例えば、職業資格の基準が比較的低いところから始めるなど。Legislative Council Secretariat, ('Report of the Bills Committee on Property Management Services Bill' (CB(2)765/15-16), 28 January 2016), 6を参照。新設の物業管理業監督管理局は、基準を引き上げるのではなく、既存の慣行を尊重し、新しい規則や他の補助的な法律を起草する際に、「不動産管理サービス業界や関連する利害関係者の意見を適切に考慮すること」になっていた。Lau Kong-wah, Secretary for Home Affairs, *HH*, 7 December 2016, 1980-83.
 40. Lai Tung-kwok(黎棟国), Secretary for Security(保安局局长), *HH*, 14 June 2017.

第4章

1. UN-HABITAT, *The State of the World's Cities Report 2006/2007: 30 Years of Shaping the Habitat Agenda* (London: Earthscan, 2006), 'Table 1: Population of Slum Areas at Mid-Year, by Region and Country; 1990, 2001 and Slum Annual Growth Rate', 181-82; 'Table 2: Slum Population Projections, 1990- 2020,' 193.
2. UN-HABITAT and ESCAP, *The State of Asian and Pacific Cities 2015 Urban Transformations Shifting from Quantity to Quality* (2015), 'Box 3.4: Invisible Urban Slums', 94.
3. Professor Anthony Cheung Bing-leung, Secretary for Transport and Housing, 'Chairman's Foreword: Long Term Housing Strategy—Providing Adequate Housing for All?', in Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, *Long Term Housing Strategy: Building Consensus, Building Homes* (Consultation Document, September 2013), v.
4. Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, *Long Term Housing Strategy: Building Consensus, Building Homes*, 9-10.
5. より正確には、公営住宅の新築物件の年平均供給戸数は、1997～2002年の3万8900戸から2007～12年には1万4600戸に減少した。民間住宅の新築物件の年平均供給戸数は1997～2002年の2万1900戸から2007～12年には9900戸に減少した。
6. この異常な速さで進んだ工業化に関するデータは、以下の文献を参照。Leo F. Goodstadt, *Profits, Politics and Panics: Hong Kong's Banks and the Making of a Miracle Economy, 1935-1985* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 'Table I: Domestic Exports & Total Exports, 1950-1960 (HKD millions)', 69.
7. Roger Bristow, *Hong Kong's New Towns: A Selective Review* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989), 40, 50.
8. (32) 'Note for Executive Council: Provision of Facilities in Resettlement Cottage Areas and Licensed Areas', 1; Annex A: 'Provision of Facilities in Resettlement Cottage Areas and Licensed Areas', XCR(68)302, 14 June 1968. HKRS394-20-8, 'Resettlement Policy Committee'.
9. 'Minutes of 72nd Meeting of the Housing Board... 17 th January 1973', 3. 4. HKRS156-3-95, 'Squatters on Land Not Required for Development'.
10. (72) D. J. M. Mackenzie, Director of Medical and Health Services, Memo to Colonial Secretary, 'Resettlement Programme', 25 November 1958. HKRS163-3-64, 'Squatter Clearance and Resettlement 1.General Questions of ... 2. Programmes of...'
11. しかしながら、(香港と同様に)中国本土の都市部でも1950年代に急速な工業化が進み、香港の生活空間は全国平均の半分以下に下落した(例えば、蘭州のケースについては以下の文献を参照)。Kang Chao, 'Industrialization and Urban Housing in Communist China', *Journal of Asian Studies* 25, no. 3 (May 1966): 382, 393, 395.
12. 'Report of the 1963 Working Party on Government Policies and Practices with Regard to Squatters, Resettlement and Low Cost Housing', 8-9. HKRS163-3-219, 'Working Party on Squatters, Resettlement and Government Low Cost Housing'.
13. しかし共有のゴミ収集システムがなく、空き地へのゴミの廃棄が激増したため悪化した。以下の文献を参照。M. Castells et al., *The Shek Kip Mei Syndrome: Economic Development and Public Housing in Hong*

- Kong and Singapore* (London: Pion Limited, 1990), 19.
14. Tung Chee Hwa, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 12 September 1997.
 15. 例えば、公営住宅の入居待ち時間の短縮は、当初目標は2005年であった。Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 16 December 1998.
 16. *Review of the Institutional Framework for Public Housing: The Report June 2002* (Hong Kong: SAR Government, 2002), 40-41.
 17. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, Financial Secretary, *GIS*, 23 September 1999.
 18. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 29 May 2004.
 19. 住宅政策の公式な説明と関連するデータについては、以下の文献に手際よくまとめられている。Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, *Long Term Housing Strategy: Building Consensus, Building Homes*, 11-13. 次の文献も参照されたい。Roger Nissim, 'A Fresh Look at Housing, Planning and Land Policy', in *Hong Kong's Budget: Challenges and Solutions for the Longer Term*, ed. Tony Latter (Hong Kong: Civic Exchange, 2009)60-61.
 20. Tsang, Chief Secretary, 'Statement on Housing' and Press Conference, *GIS*, 3 September 2001.
 21. Government Spokesman, *GIS*, 25 October 2009.
 22. Public Policy Research Institute, Polytechnic University, 'A Focus Group Study on Subsidising Home Ownership' (Central Policy Unit, September, 2010), 55.
 23. 政府はしぶしぶ非を認めた。Transport and Housing Branch, 'Report on Public Consultation on Subsidising Home Ownership' (October 2010), 6.
 24. Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 10 October 2010, 12-14.
 25. Tung, Chief Executive (Designate), *GIS*, 21 March 1997.
 26. Leung Chun-ying, 'Manifesto for the Chief Executive Election 2012 One Heart, One Vision', 35-38.
 27. Leung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 16 January 2013, 4910-11, 4913.
 28. Chief Executive's Spokesman, *GIS*, 30 January 2013.
 29. Transport and Housing Bureau, *Long Term Housing Strategy, December 2014*, 2-3. 脚注には、「劏房に居住している」世帯が「必然的に劣悪な inadequately 住環境にある」と仮定すべきではない、と書かれている。「劣悪な」という言葉の実質的な定義を決定することの重要性については、それ以前にも立法会で提起されている。以下の文献を参照。Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Housing Report of the Subcommittee on the Long Term Housing Strategy' (CB(1)1705/13-14), 2July 2014), 3, 5.
 30. Economic Analysis Division, 'Hong Kong Poverty Situation Report 2012' (September 2013), 'Figure 4.14: Effectiveness of In-Kind Benefits in Alleviating Poverty, 2009-2012', 55 and 93.
 31. Economic Analysis Division, 'Hong Kong Poverty Situation Report 2015' (October 2015), 'Box 2.2: Poverty Situation after Taking into Account In-Kind Benefits', 34.
 32. UN-HABITAT and ESCAP, *The State of Asian and Pacific Cities 2015 Urban Transformations Shifting from Quantity to Quality* (2015), 'Box 3.4: Invisible Urban Slums', 94.
 33. これらは、21世紀に入って以来、政府が撲滅すると繰り返し約束してきた「無認可の建築工事 Unauthorised Building Works」(UBW)の新たな形態である。
 34. 政府が正式に委託した民間部門の調査報告として、以下の文献を参照。Legislative Council

- Secretariat, 'Panel on Housing: Report of the Subcommittee on the Long Term Housing Strategy', 9. 次の文献も参照されたい。Diana Wong, Research Office, Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Information Note: Subdivided Flats in Hong Kong'.
35. 以下の議論におけるデータは、下記の文献から入手した。Social Surveys Section, *Thematic Household Survey Report: Report No. 60—Housing Conditions of Sub-Divided Units in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, March 2016).
36. この結論は、以下の文献のデータの比較に基づいている。*Thematic Household Survey Report: Report No. 60—Housing Conditions of Sub-Divided Units in Hong Kong*; 及び、the 2014/15 Household Expenditure Survey. 次の資料を参照。Price Statistics Branch, *2014/15 Household Expenditure Survey and the Rebasings of the Consumer Price Indices* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2016), 'Box 1.9: Average Monthly Household Expenditure by Commodity/Service Section by Type of Housing', 18; 'Chart 5: Household Expenditure Patterns by Selected Tenure of Accommodation', 19; 'Box 1.10: Average Monthly Per Capita Expenditure by Commodity/Service Section by Household Size', 21.
37. Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, *Long Term Housing Strategy: Building Consensus, Building Homes*, 65.
38. Transport and Housing Bureau, *Long Term Housing Strategy, December 2014*, 2-3. その脚注では、「劏房(SDU)に居住する」世帯が「必然的に劣悪な住環境にある」ことを想定すべきではない、と記されている。
39. 唯一の例外は、公営賃貸住宅の有資格者の待ち時間が最大で3年だったことである。事実、梁はこの目標を第1期目の任期中にクリアした(しかし、次の注のようにオンブズマンは不満をもらしている)。Leung, 'Manifesto for the Chief Executive Election 2012: One Heart, One Vision' 35-38.
40. Leung, Chief Executive, *HH*, 18 January 2017; Office of The Ombudsman, 'Annex 1: Executive Summary Direct Investigation into Method of Calculation of Waiting Time for Public Rental Housing and Release of Information', *Issue No. 3 of Reporting Year 2015/16* (10 December 2015), 1-6.
41. Professor Anthony Cheung Bing-lung, Secretary for Transport and Housing, 'Housing Future at Its Critical Juncture', 3.
42. Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, Chief Executive, *HH*, 11 October 2017.
43. 'Housing chief plans to provide "quality subdivided flat"', *CD*, 12 July, 2017. を参照。
44. この計画に対しては、香港建築師学会 Hong Kong Institute of Architects から政府の住宅担当局に至るまで、懐疑的な意見が表明されていた。局長の大胆な構想に対して否定的な態度を避けながらも、これほどの野心的な都市再開発計画の組織運営、資金調達、計画管理において取り組むべき課題が認識されていないことに警鐘を發した社説の好例として、以下を参照されたい。社説「為劏房戶脫苦海 政府須靈活破格」,『信報』(2017年7月10日)。
45. Matthew Cheung Kin-chung, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 5 June 2017.
46. Carrie Lam, Secretary for Development, *HH*, 7 December 2011, 2956.
47. Wong, 'Information Note: Subdivided Flats in Hong Kong', 1, を参照。
48. 1921年から98年まで、賃貸料を管理する多種の法規が存在した。Jackie Wu, 'Information Note: Tenancy Control in Selected Places' (Legislative Council Secretariat IN 18/13-14, 2 July 2014), 19.

第5章

1. Audit Commission, *Report No. 58*, 'Chapter 7: Lands Department: Unlawful Occupation of Government Land' (28 March 2012), 1.
2. Transport and Housing Bureau, 'Long Term Housing Strategy Annual Progress Report 2015' (December 2015), 12.
3. Dominic Wong Shing-wah, Secretary for Housing, Housing Bureau, LegCo Panel on Housing Minutes of meeting... 17 October 2000' (CB(1) 121/00-01), 4 November 2000), 2.
4. 房屋委員会が管理してきた土地備蓄の民間による奪い合いについては、以下の文献が詳しく記述している。Adrienne La Grange, 'Housing (1997-2007)', in *The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in Its First decade*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2007), 722-23.
5. Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, Secretary for Development, recorded in Legislative Council Panel on Development, 'Minutes of special meeting ... 14 October 2011' (CB(1)798/11-12), 12 January 2012), 4.
6. 新界の潜在的な貢献は、次の文献が説得力のある総括を行っている。Paul Chan Mo-po (陳茂波), Secretary for Development, 'The Development Potential of New Territories North', 13 October 2013.
7. しかし2011年の人口調査では「全体的に、市街地に比べニュータウンの人口密度は低い」と記されている。Census and Statistics Department, *Hong Kong 2011 Census Main Report: Volume 1* (Hong Kong: SAR Government, 2012), 202.
8. 以下の文献が市街地から郊外への人口移動のペースが遅かったことについて要約している。Census and Statistics Department, *Hong Kong 2001 Census Main Report: Volume 1* (Hong Kong: SAR Government, 2002), 183; *Hong Kong 2011 Census Main Report: Volume 1* (Hong Kong: SAR Government, 2012), 'Table 8.10: Domestic Households (1) by Household Size, Whether Internally Migrated and Area of Current Residence, 2011', 196.
9. さまざまな利益団体について、中央政策組 Central Policy Unitの支援を受けた次の報告書でまとめられている。Li Si Ming, 'Land and Housing Policies in Post-Handover Hong Kong: Political Economy and Urban Space' (Final Report, 31 March 2015), 17.
10. 1970年代の人口調査では、新界の農村部とニュータウンの特徴を示すデータとともに分析がなされている。以下を参照。Census and Statistics Department, *Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, n.d.), 10-13, 222; *Hong Kong 1976 By-Census Main Report Volume 1: Analysis* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1979), 'Chapter XI Internal Movement'.
11. Leo F. Goodstadt, 'China and the Selection of Hong Kong's Post-Colonial Elite', *The China Quarterly*, no.163 (September 2000): 738, 740.
12. 重要な事例が次の記事で報告されている。Sylvia Chang, 'Land Values Drive Lantau Clashes', *CD*, 27 August 2014.
13. 法的な背景と関連する政策についての信頼できる総括は、次の文献を参照。Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Development Subcommittee on Building Safety and Related Issues ... Updated Background Brief on Unauthorized Building Works in New Territories Exempted Houses' (CB(1)524/11-12(02), 7 December 2011), 1-3.
14. 植民地政策に対する、農村部の利害関係者による抵抗は、長い歴史を持つ。例えば、以下の文献を参照。

- Nigel Ruscoe, 'A Conspiracy of Silence', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 May 1961. 植民地政府による新界の管理を批判的に概観したものとして、以下の文献を参照。Fred Y. L. Chiu, 'Politics and the Body Social in Colonial Hong Kong', in *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1997), 298-302.
15. Spokesman, Planning Department, *GIS*, 15 September 1999.
 16. 歴史的経緯の要約は以下の文献に基づく。Office of the Ombudsman, 'Investigation Report: The Enforcement Action on Unauthorised Building Works in New Territories Exempted Houses' (August 2004) and Development Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Development Enforcement against Unauthorised Building Works in New Territories Exempted Houses' (CB (1)2530/10-11(05), June 2011).
 17. 本段落のオンブズマンによる捜査および歴史的背景の要約にあたり、2011年のオンブズマンによる以下の報告書を利用した。Office of the Ombudsman, 'Direct Investigation: Enforcement against Unauthorised Building Works in New Territories Exempted Houses', *Issue No.1 of Reporting Year 2011/12* (19 April 2011), 'Annex A: Executive Summary' and 'Direct Investigation Report: Enforcement against Unauthorised Building Works in New Territories Exempted Houses, March 2011' (Ref. OMB/DI/203, 31 March 2011).
 18. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Development Subcommittee on Building Safety and Related Issues... Updated Background Brief on Unauthorized Building Works in New Territories Exempted Houses', 5-7, 10.
 19. Audit Commission, *Report No. 58*, 'Chapter 7: Lands Department: Unlawful Occupation of Government Land' (28 March 2012), v.
 20. この段階に至っても、政府が改善のための行動を取らなかったのは、もはや驚くことではない。
 21. Data and analysis are from Audit Commission, *Report No. 58*, 1, 2, 4-5, 8, 19-20, 25, 32.
 22. Office of the Ombudsman, 'Direct Investigation Report: Lands Department's System of Regularisation of Illegal Occupation of Government Land and Breach of Lease Conditions', *Issue No. 2 of Reporting Year 2016/17* (13 September 2016), 'Annex A: Executive Summary', 1-3.
 23. これらの問題は次の文献に要約されている。Civil Engineering and Development Department, 'Legislative Council Panel on Development North East New Territories New Development Areas Planning and Engineering Study' (CB(1)203/12-13(01) (November 2012), 1-5.
 24. このプロジェクトの詳細については、運輸及房屋局が発表した次の報告書を参照。The Transport and Housing Bureau (18 October 2016), 'Ove Arup & Partners Hong Kong Ltd, "Planning and Engineering Study for the Public Housing Development and Yuen Long (元明) Industrial Estate Extension at Wang Chau (横洲)"' (REP-025-01/Final/May 2014).
 25. Paul Chan, Secretary for Development, *GIS*, 29 December 2016. 彼はほどなく財政司司长に昇格した。
 26. 政府の困惑ぶりは以下の文献から判断できよう。'Questions and Answers: What Hong Kong's Leung Chun-ying and John Tsang Told the Press', *South China Morning Post*, 22 September 2016; Transcript of Remarks at Press Conference on Wang Chau Development', *GIS*, 21 September 2016; 'Government Response to Media Enquiries on Public Housing Development Plan at Wang Chau', *GIS*, 30 September 2016.

27. Eric Ma Siu-cheung(馬紹祥), Secretary for Development, *HH* 28 June 2017.
28. Carrie Lam, Secretary for Development, *HH*, 10 March 2010, 5776-80. 彼女の発言については第7章で議論する。
29. Development Bureau, 'Task Force on Land Supply Demand for Land' (Paper No. 02/2017, 1 September 2017) and 'Task Force on Land Supply Initiatives' (Paper No. 03/2017, 1 September 2017).
30. Carrie Lam, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 6 September 2017.
31. Press release, *GIS*, 7 November 2017.
32. Stanley Wong Yuen-fai, 'Letter to Chairman of the Task Force on Land Supply 'Letter to The Hon Mrs Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor', 24 September 2018', pp.1-2
https://www.devb.gov.hk/filemanager/en/content_69/P20180924_Appendix.pdf, pp.1-7
33. 彼女は、自身が直面した政策の混乱状態を率直に認めている(部分的には、彼女が発展局局長だった時期から引き継いだものではあるが)。 Carrie Lam, Chief Executive, *HH*, 7 October 2017.
34. Audit Commission, *Report No. 58*, 'Chapter 7: Lands Department: Unlawful Occupation of Government Land' (28 March 2012), 1. しかし、 Leung, Chief Executive, *HH* 18 January 2017, p. 3114. によれば、住宅用途に指定されている土地は香港の面積の10%以下に過ぎず、それが建設用地の供給の重大な障害になっているという。これは、住宅用地を増大させる意思がほとんどないという政府の立場を示す、顕著な例である。
35. Leung Chun-ying, 'Manifesto for the Chief Executive Election 2012 One Heart, One Vision', p.17.
36. Transport and Housing Bureau, 'Long Term Housing Strategy Annual Progress Report 2015' (December 2015), 12.

第6章

1. Xiaogang Wu, 'Hong Kong's Post-80s Generation: Profiles and Predicaments; a CPU Commissioned Report', Centre for Applied Social and Economic Research, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (Central Policy Unit, May 2010), 35-38.
2. しかし、振り返ってみれば、政治的怒りの高まりと、ラディカルな活動家の登場は、もっと早くに認識できたはずである。例えば、Chor-yung Cheung, 'Hong Kong's Systemic Crisis of Governance and the Revolt of the "Post-80s" Youths: The Anti-Express Rail Campaign', in *New Trends of Political Participation in Hong Kong*, ed. Joseph Y. S. Cheng (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2014). を参照。
3. 例えば Michael E. deGolyer, 'Protests and Post-80's Youth: Sources of Social Instability' (Hong Kong Transition Project, 2010). を参照。
4. 収入分布の不平等は、ジニ係数を用いて計測した。UN-HABITAT, *State of the World's Cities 2008/2009 Harmonious Cities* (London: Earthscan, 2008), 24.
5. Census and Statistics Department, *2016 Population By-Census Thematic Report: Household Income Distribution in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 2017), 'Table 8.2: Gini Coefficients of Selected Economies (Based on Per Capita/Equalised Household Income)', 7, 147.

6. Professor Chou Kee-lee, 'HKIED Study: Disparity in Higher Education Attainment Is Widening between Rich and Poor', Hong Kong Institute of Education (31 January 2013).
7. Lawrence J. Lau et al., 'Yes, Hong Kong CAN!', *Our Hong Kong Foundation* (September 2016), 67-68. この基金は董建華元行政長官によって設立された。
8. 董のコメント全体からは、自由市場によって解決できないときに何をすべきかについて、彼自身に混乱があったことを見ることができる。「我々は教育水準を向上させなければならない。我々は香港において、GDPの3%を教育に費やしているが、これはアメリカ合衆国より格段に低い比率である。一方で、私は誰よりも札束が物事を解決できるとは限らないことを認識している。若者を教育するためのより良い方法を見出すこと…… それにより5年後、10年後の彼らがより良い準備をできているように。しかし残念ながら我々がそれに取り組んでいるのは、自由市場の基礎の下に、だ」。Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 12 September 1997.
9. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 12 November 2003.
10. この改革案の背景については、Education and Manpower Bureau, 'LegCo Panel on Education Reforming the Academic Structure of Senior Secondary Education and Higher Education: Actions for Investing in the Future' (CB(2) 90/04-05(01), October 2004), を参照。
11. *Ibid.*, 37, 40.
12. 過去3年間の5%の政府支出削減に加え、2004年度にはさらに大学予算を10%減らすことが宣言されていた。Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 28 October 2003, 4 December 2004, 6 December 2003.
13. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 24 October 2001.
14. Donald Tsang, Chief Secretary, *GIS*, 26 June 2002.
15. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 13 October 2010, 22 and 14 October 2010, 188.
16. Donald Tsang, Chief Executive, *HH*, 10 October 2007, 42.
17. C. Y. Leung, 'Manifesto for the Chief Executive Election 2012', 12, 39, 42.
18. Leung Chun-ying, Chief Executive, *HH*, 15 January 2014, 5624-25.
19. Eddie Ng Hak-kim (吳克儉), Secretary for Education, *HH*, 21 January 2015, 4885-86.
20. 議論の末、114の学校は英語を使った教育の禁止から除外された。
21. Michael Suen Ming-yeung, Secretary for Education, 'Symposium on Medium of Instruction', 16 March 2008.
22. 教育統籌委員会についての資料と引用は、Education Commission, *Learning for Life, Learning through Life: Reform Proposals for the Education System in Hong Kong* (September 2000), 145-46. を参照。
23. Education and Manpower Bureau, 'Reforming the Academic Structure for Senior Secondary Education and Higher Education: Actions for Investing in the Future', 40.
24. Education and Manpower Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Education Articulation and Employment Opportunities of Sub-degree Holders' (CB(2)543/06-07(01), December 2006), 1.
25. 以下を参照。Professor Arthur Li Kwok-cheung, Secretary for Education and Manpower, *GIS*, 18 June 2003; Fanny Law Fan Chiu-fun, Permanent Secretary for Education and Manpower, *GIS*, 12 November 2003.
26. Tung, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 6 December 2003.
27. 施行直後の財政状況については、Education Bureau, 'Item for Finance Committee' (FCR(2007-08)36,

- November 2007); Michael Suen, Secretary for Education, *GIS*, 23 January 2008, を参照。
28. OECD, *Strong Performers and Successful Reformers in Education: Lessons from PISA for Japan* (OECD Publishing, 2012), 168.
 29. University Grants Committee, *Higher Education in Hong Kong: A Report by the University Grants Committee*, 'Chapter 8: Expansion since 1989'.
 30. この数字は、当初はあり得ないほど高いと目されており、ある高名な教育専門家は、たいそう驚いて、何か政治的な狙いが隠されているのではないかと勘ぐったほどだった。Cheng Kai Ming, 'Educational Policymaking in Hong Kong: The Changing Legitimacy', in *Education and Society in Hong Kong: Toward One Country and Two Systems*, ed. Gerard A. Postiglione (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991), 113.
 31. Eddie Ng, Secretary for Education, *HH*, 14 December 2016, 2429.
 32. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Education: Background Brief Prepared by the Legislative Council Secretariat ... Sub-degree education' (CB(2)543/06-07(02), 7 December 2006), 3.
 33. Education and Manpower Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Education Articulation and Employment Opportunities of Sub-degree Holders', 2.
 34. Michael Suen, Secretary for Education, *HH*, 12 March 2008, 5275.
 35. 例えば以下を参照。『明報』社説(2006年8月11日、10月31日); Teddy Ng, 'Aid Plan to Lift Associate Degree', *CD*, 11 April 2008.
 36. University Grants Committee, 'Aspirations for the Higher Education System in Hong Kong: Report of the University Grants Committee' (LC Paper No. CB(2)602/10-11(01), December 2010), 31, 34, 40.
 37. Tim Lui Tim-leung, Committee on Self-Financing Post-Secondary Education Chairman, *GIS*, 26 April 2013.
 38. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Education Meeting on 13 June 2016 Updated Background Brief on Issues Related to the Governance and Regulation of the Self-Financing Post-Secondary Education Sector' (CB(4)1090/15-16(02, 8 June 2016), 5.
 39. Policy 21 Limited, 'Local and International Good Practices in the Governance and Quality Assurance of the Self-Financing Post-Secondary Education Sector' (July 2014), 10.
 40. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Education Meeting on 13 June 2016 Updated Background Brief on Issues Related to the Governance and Regulation of the Self-Financing Post-Secondary Education Sector', 2.
 41. Committee on Self-Financing Post-Secondary Education, *GIS*, 4 October 2017.
 42. Eddie Ng, Secretary for Education, *HH*, 19 February 2014, 7220.
 43. Legislative Council Secretariat, 'Panel on Education Meeting on 13 June 2016 Updated Background Brief on Issues Related to the Governance and Regulation of the Self-Financing Post-Secondary Education Sector', 5.
 44. Eddie Ng, Secretary for Education, *HH*, 14 December 2016, 2435-36.
 45. Lawrence J. Lau et al., *Yes, Hong Kong CAN!*, 67-68.
 46. Leung Chun-ying, Chief Executive, *HH*, 15 January 2014, 5624-25.
 47. 基金の報告からの引用とコメントはLawrence J. Lau et al., *Yes, Hong Kong CAN!*, 67-68に拠る。
 48. 2016年の終わりまでの5年間に1万5500人の香港人学生が中国本土の大学への入学を申請したが、認

められたのは6500人だけだった。Press release, *GIS*, 17 December 2016.

49. 例えば、『文匯報』『星島日報』（ともに、2016年5月27日）；Dara Wang and Honey Tsang, 'Study Reveals Decline in Incomes of Graduates', *CD*, 5 August 2016; Hong Kong Council of Social Service, 'A Study of Living Situation of Young Adults in Hong Kong', 10-11.
50. Commission on Strategic Development, 'Young People: Education, Employment and Development Opportunities' (CSD/1/2013, September 2013), 8.
51. Census and Statistics Department, *2016 Population By-Census Thematic Report: Household Income Distribution in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* (Hong Kong, 2017), "Table 2.6: Median Monthly Income from Main Employment of Working Population by Educational Attainment (Highest Level Attended), 2006, 2011 and 2016", 31.
52. Commission on Strategic Development, 'Young People: Education, Employment and Development Opportunities', 8.
53. Labour and Welfare Bureau, 'Report on Manpower Projection to 2022' (Hong Kong SARG, April 2015), 82.
54. この慎重な見積もりは、Labour and Welfare Bureau, 'Report on Manpower Projection to 2022', 'Table 3.31: Projected Manpower Requirements by Economic Sector and Education Level in 2022', 76のデータに拠る。
55. Leung Chun-ying, Chief Executive, *HH*, 15 January 2014, 5624-25.
56. Eddie Ng, Secretary for Education, *HH*, 21 January 2015, 4885-86.
57. Cherry Tse Ling Kit-ching, Permanent Secretary for Education, *GIS*, 13 November 2014.
58. Eddie Ng, Secretary for Education, *HH*, 12 November 2014, 1796.
59. Press release, *GIS*, 18 March 2016.
60. 'Top Universities in China by 2016 University Web Ranking'.
61. Kevin Yeung Yun-hung, Secretary for Education, *GIS*, 5 July 2017; Education Bureau, 'Legislative Council Panel on Education Priority Measures to Support Quality Education' (CB(4)1366/16-17(01), July 2017), 'Annex A: Non-Means-Tested Subsidy Scheme for Self-Financing Undergraduate Studies in Hong Kong and the Mainland', 3-4.
62. この林鄭月娥と教育局局長の宣言は、革新的なものとして宣伝されたが、大学教育・高等教育部門の既存の政策やプログラムを忠実に踏襲したものだ。これは、以下の梁振英の論述と比較すると明らかである。Report on the Work of the Fourth-Term Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region June 2017, 62-63.
63. Education Bureau, 'Annex 1: Panel on Education Follow-Up to the meeting on 10 July 2017 Response to the Four Motions Passed at the Meeting' (LC Paper No. CB(4)1416/16-17(01), 13 July 2017), 5.
64. Press release, *GIS*, 13 November 2017.
65. 情報・引用は以下の文献による。自資専上教育専責小組：「検討自資専上教育専責小組之進度」(CB(4)1340/17-18(01))2018年7月, 11, 13, 47, 48頁。
66. 入学者数上限の継続は、公衆から相当な批判を招いた。例えば『明報』や『星島日報』、2017年7月11日の報道。
67. Consumer Search Hong Kong Ltd. (commissioned by the Education Bureau), 'Survey on Opinions of

Employers on Major Aspects of Performance of Sub-degree Graduates in Year 2013' (2016), 2-45.

第7章

1. SARS Expert Committee, *SARS in Hong Kong: From Experience to Action* (Hong Kong: 2003), 5; Dr. Yeoh Eng-kiong, Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food and Tung Chee Hwa, Chief Executive, *GIS*, 2 October 2003.
2. David R. Phillips, *The Epidemiological Transition in Hong Kong: Changes in Health and Disease since the Nineteenth Century* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1988), 18, 30. その他に、C. Y. Yeung, 'Health Problems in Chinese Children Are Different', *Hong Kong Journal of Paediatrics* 8, no.2 (2003).
3. Dr. Yeoh, Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food, *HH*, 5 March 2003, 4269-73.
4. Thomas Abraham, *Twenty-First Century Plague: The Story of SARS* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 55-58.
5. Long Yougtu, Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation Ministry Ex-Vice Minister, reported in *Hong Kong Economic Journal*(『信報』), 29 March 2003.
6. Christine Loh, 'The Politics of SARS: The WHO, Hong Kong and Mainland China', in *At the Epicentre: Hong Kong and the SARS Outbreak*, ed. Christine Loh and Civic Exchange (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 149-56.
7. 立法会の調査での証言において、行政長官弁公室主任の林煥光は、行政長官の運営委員会が下した「戦略的決定」を概括している('Report of the Select Committee to Inquire into the Handling of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Outbreak by the Government and the Hospital Authority, July 2004', 238)。董建華の証言からは、これらのことは董の記憶にないと見られる。
8. 'Report of the Hospital Authority Review Panel on the SARS Outbreak, September 2003', 19.
9. *Ibid.*, 20-21, 163.
10. *Ibid.*, 163.
11. 'Report of the Select Committee to Inquire into the Handling of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Outbreak by the Government and the Hospital Authority, July 2004', 234.
12. Chief Executive's Office, *GIS*, 25 March 2003.
13. 財政司司长は2003年の予算案を提示した際、社会サービス支出については持続不可能であると彼自身は確信していた。Antony Leung Kam-chung, Financial Secretary, *HH*, 5 March 2003, 4318-20, 4374.
14. Dr. Yeoh, Secretary for Health and Welfare, *HH*, 9 May 2001, 5179.
15. 事例として、Hospital Authority, *Hospital Authority Annual Plan 2005-06* (Hong Kong: Hospital Authority, 2005), 1-2.
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- 中国にとっての金融面での香港の重要性については、Leo F. Goodstadt, 'Fiscal Freedom and the Making of Hong Kong's Capitalist Society', in *Negotiating Autonomy in Greater China: Hong Kong and Its Sovereign Before and After 1997*, ed. Ray Yep (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2013), を参照。
- 他に言及がない限り、以下で議論するMPFの背景に関する情報は、Michael Yu et al., 'Retirement Protection System in Selected Places' (Research Division, Legislative Council Secretariat) (RP01/11-12, updated 7 May 2012). 特に71、80、92、に基づく。
- 政府高官でさえも、MPF運用機関を擁護するのは難しいことに気付いた。例えば、「MPF保険料・手数料MPF fees and chargesは1.74%に軽減され、(2008年以降)17%軽減されたことになるが、市民にとって、これがあまりに小さく、あまりに遅いものであったことは明らかである」。Professor Chan Ka-keung (陳家強教授)、Secretary for Financial Services and the Treasury, *GIS*, 14 December 2012.

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