

“城市建设”与都市化

URBANITY

New Reflections on a New City



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曹唯君

随着二十一世纪的到来，大城市正在成为一股引导全球进程、影响全球经济模式的力量。在大城市的时代，它们的增长和发展是由全球性的力量推动的，无论是城市本身还是国家，对这些力量都无法进行控制。它们也是世界范围的工业化和城市化的基础，正在破坏着传统的民区的模式，并且日益具有全球性的属性。一座城市要想因新时代到来的挑战，城市的发展则须更加意图明确而计划周祥。以知识为基础的发展才有可能使城市决定自己该走向何方，重新掌握自己的命运。

金融娱乐通讯和保健等以知识为基础的行业越来越多地在城市集中，使大城市变成一个实用思想的工厂。对于发展中国家来说自然面临这样的课题，只是显得更加复杂和棘手。在二十世纪的最后几年里，世界正在越来越城市化，发展中国家在这个方面看起来更为显著。第三世界的城市化是一种依附性发展(有时意识型态领域除外)，这种发展的方式来自于经济先进的工业化国家对这些地区的渗透，其结果是人们有目共睹的。尽管如此，人们还是对发展中国家的城市化提出了多种解释。

北京几乎就是一个大工地，似乎建筑工人手中不停挥动的铁锹能廓清这座大城市在新时代的地理位置。严重的大气污染让很多人非常关注报纸和电视以及收音机里的相关报道；由于建筑工地昼夜施工和夜间在主要道路上奔驰的运送建筑材料的类型卡车常使临街的居民夜不能眠；交通车辆的尾气和空中粉尘的飞扬也令市民狼狈不堪。住在低矮破旧平房里的居民盼着早日被规划，以便可以搬迁，但在这座有数百年历史的城市里也有一些居民住在优雅别致的老式四合院里则不希望这要规划到他们的头上，想让自己居住的“古迹”得以文化意义上的保留。两者只有百步之遥，这的确是个棘手的问题。有时我们会很怀念梁思成和他关于北京的城市建设学说。

“这个城市无处不在发生着事情，如同我的生活。拆、建、交通事故、性、酗酒、以及无孔不入的暴力事件。城市的扩张，暧昧的张扬，让我们兴奋、躁动和不安。另外，在城市的角落里则是一片混乱和狼藉，垃圾堆得到处都是，人们在垃圾中吃、拉、睡。小孩则在垃圾中搜寻他们的玩具。河水漆黑恶臭，树枝和草丛上挂满各色塑料袋，在微风中飘荡犹如无灵魂的头颅和被斩断的手。西装笔挺的人们在正门进入酒店，从后门穿过肮脏的泥塘鹿伏蛇行。

我选择的墙正是这个城市变化的一块银幕，一个普通但真实的劳动场面，民工们问了我一些和他们自身利益相关的问题后，我们就开工了，没有任何多余的事情，时间是一个半小时。期间充满了铁器的碰撞声和砖块落地后飞起的黄色灰尘，墙后是现代巴洛克式耀眼的白色大厦”。

这是艺术家张大力在其一个行为中的一段话。在他的灯箱作品里摄入的这个符号具有城市化的属性，因为只有眼下的城市里才有意义。他认为这个看起来有些抽象的独特符号可以帮助人们之间进行沟通和交流，因为当你走在街上时它可以随时进入眼睛尽管有时让人感到奇怪，甚至是厌烦，但这种沟通是极必要的，在不同阶层、类型和工种的人中间。因为所谓的工业化，城市化运动容易使人中间产生隔阂，而这恰恰是对城市化进程是有害的东西。不仅是在中国，甚至在整个亚洲都在进行一场“制造城市”的运动。变化之剧烈，令人实在难得到足够的安全感而心绪浮躁。有的时候人难以相信这种改变，但又被迫接受自己的身份与客观环境的新的对应关系，或者说人们常生活在一种莫名的挑战之中，有时甚至凭添了几分暴力色彩(比如由于迅速的城市化导致的刑事犯罪)。本来是为人所用的城市，它的设计与规划常常由于同时引发的各种社会问题而令人头疼。我们的很多权力甚至是思想已经被不透气的沥青与水泥淹没了，让人们没有什么别的选择，这是一种尴尬与无奈。

大城市的经济恐龙的形象其实是无法消除的(像北京)。这样的城市为了满足自己所需而近乎无限制地向周边扩张和向高空索取更多的空间。马修博的作品向我们清晰地展示了这一点。(他与张大力的作品都是取材于街头巷尾，人们随时路过都能见到的景象。后者是为那些在已经拆掉或将要被拆掉的建筑上的人头形涂鸦拍照，并做成他的灯箱作品；前者是为建筑工地前的广告牌拍了照，并且电脑喷绘到布上，再绷到内框上，很像油画的样子。)马修博说：“我由于在大学里学习艺术的出身，到中国以后很想了解这里的当代艺术的情况，但在短时间内是难以做到的。可是我被北京的超速度发展的景象给震撼了。最有意思的是很多建筑工地前的施工广告牌上边的建筑外观效果图使我产生了极大的兴趣。这些广告牌对我来说是一种社会转换过程中的震颤，同时也可以满足我对文化产品的需求。”其实这是一种宣传画，因为在中国近半个世纪以来一直有着使用这种宣传方法的传统。但二者间是有区别的，过去我们可以经常看到墙上的标语或宣传画，有的也画在广告牌上，那些文字或图像教给人们如何去思考和生活。但这种施工广告牌或在功能上与前者有了极大的不同。房地产商和他们背后的利益集团匆忙地规划着我们将来的生活景观。这些广告牌上我们看不到人头攒动，灰尘和机动车的尾气等现实中的风景，只有几辆造型别致的小汽车，绅士的公司职员和时装模特一般的女性，街头的绿化和蓝蓝的天空。可有时觉得有些奇怪的是有的广告牌中的景象常使人觉得有点像纽约的长岛，的确是很超现实的。实际上令人感到超现实的并非广告牌中的图画，而是真实的生活，在二十年里人们的生活内容和生活方式产生了巨大的改变。这种改变不仅是环境，重要的是人们内心在经历着一种没什么经验可寻的转变。无论人还是动物在适应新的环境时都需要充分的时间和耐心，可不巧的是没有人能够提供这种充分的时间和耐心给大家。社会经济的过热，飞速的发展，使人没有理由不去担心在将来会给人们带来麻烦，因为人们已被这种快速的发展搞得顾及不了很多东西，譬如一点小小的生活情趣。

马修博的作品可以说是一种空间的置换，他把由街边的露天广告牌缩小并重新绘制后搬到了美术馆的展厅内，从另一个角度以艺术家——一个旁观者的视角和对于社会的良知去记录并且揭示了一个道理——前进的步伐要扎扎实实，来不得太虚幻的东西。他的作品是出自电脑这种科技工具的产物，以浅淡的画面效果，把这块布包裹在厚重的内框上回归到传统的油画的形式。他希望藉以厚重的物件的体量来撑起一个直观上庞大的平面的建筑，因为在布上的图像太缺少热情和力量了，柔和的淡色代表了人们的麻木与冷酷。其实他到底是要把这个物件式的作品变成一个甜美的有建筑图形的玩具。其实这是一个关于城市化的问题，也就是在农村建立一个城市一样的地方，在城市里，像北京，把它变得更像一个城市，至于像什么样的城市，所依靠的标准或蓝本是什么，这自然是大家不得而知的事情。

城市化是包括中国在内的许多国家的近代化进程中最核心的环节，把乡村变成城市，将中小城市发展成为大城市，这些都市支配着世界上许多人的经济和社会生活。中国的近代化进程不同与欧洲行走上近代化道路的国家，是因为其具有浓厚的东方化传统的背景，更重要的是起步较晚，所以对很多既成的经验没有足够的时间去消化。

中国迈出近代化步伐在时间上远远晚于英法等先行开始近代化的欧洲国家，甚至包括日本。“五四运动”揭开的中国近代化序幕要比英、法等国家迟了三百余年的时间，造成了中国近代化进程的“后发性”。恰恰如此，我们也得到了欧洲先行近代化国家的经验，尤其是那些业已掀起了空前产业革命规模的国家成为中国近代化道路上的参照物，因此中国的近代化进程在很大程度上是一种借鉴欧美日等国家经验教训的追赶型发展过程。在这条并不轻松的路上常常为了轻装上阵而不得不丢弃些什么，因为自身先前固有的一些形态已不太适合新的比赛场地了。

这样中国近代化的进程在时间上大大缩短，造成近代化步伐的过于紧凑，甚至有时会“抽筋”，具有了一种浓缩的特征。这一特征也出现在中国的社会景观的变化之中。中国的近代进程基本上是一个自上而下运用国家权力推行近代化措施的过程，也可以说它走了一条设定既定的目标，人为推动的近代化道路。在此相比，英法等欧洲国家的近代化道路则可以认为是属于长期积累而逐步实现的类型。由于上述近代化道路的模式不同，中国在近代化过程中国家权力扮演着尤其重要的角色。在欧洲一些先行步入近代化进程的国家中，早期特别盛行的自由主义思潮，强调减少国家干预，由此造成了资产阶级的成长和社会结构的变革。

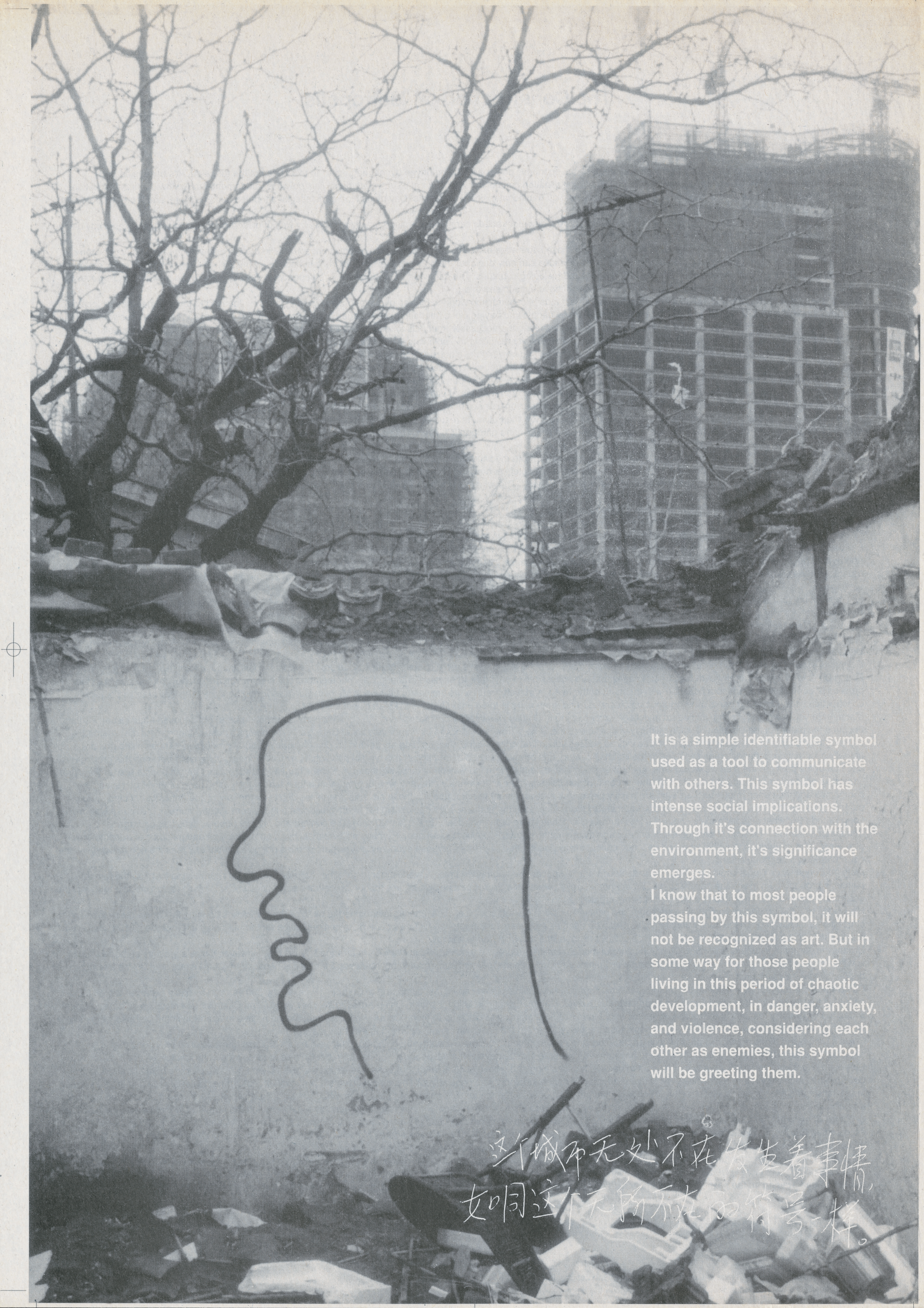
这些国家的政权在近代经济成长的过程中大体上只针对所发生的社会问题采取必要的社会对策来调整社会结构。相比之下，中国在近代化的过程中，国家政权起到了更为突出的作用。一方面，由于推行近代化进程在很大程度上要依靠政权掌握的财力、物力和它拥有的权威，另一方面，也由于国家政权得以参照其它先行步入近代化国家的经济教训，可以更自觉地制定政策措施。用以有目的地推动近代化在中国的发展，因此，中国政府可以在一定程度上超前地提出政策性措施来引导社会结构的变化，以加速近代化的进程。如通过对于城市化问题的研究，人们可以发现一些有关城市建设规划的政策与方法往往先于城市化的进程而得到研究并制定出来。在极大程度上促进近代化进程得以顺利发展，体现出国家政权在引导和推动近代化进程的巨大作用。

但是在很多时候，作为社会成员个体在心里上并不能对这种无法抗拒的社会化的机械拷贝运动作出充分的准备和良好的反应，于是出现了从个体到整体均需“扩充内存”的一种倾向，也就是说无法保证个人心里上的一致性与完整性。再由于中国在前近代的长期历史积淀中形成具有东方色彩的文化体系，在社会结构及人们的意识和心里等各方面与欧洲国家有明显差异，在这样的文化背景下参照欧美的等先行步入近代化进程国家的经验教训实行追赶，它必须依据自身历史留下的遗产做出“策略性”方面的反应，在经济，尤其是文化领域内所具有的“针对性”，也可以视为理想意义上的“良性互动”，以期获得更大空间。这种文化背景差异造成的特殊性，不仅表现在近代工业经济发展的过程中，也显现在社会问题的领域之中，例如，就人的意识层次来看，在欧洲各国的近代化过程中，个人争取事业进取的精神曾经起到积极作用，这种自由的个人主义精神成为一种重要的社会功能。这不同于中国文化中以血缘为核心的宗族和家庭观念。带有共同体的群体集团的色彩。随着近代经济形态的形成和发展，中国社会首先发生的最重大的变化则是由于从传统自然经济向近代工业经济转化而引起的人们社会移动，大量农民及其子弟脱离农业，就业于近代工业而转化为雇用劳动者。其直接结果就是原有社会各阶层在数量和质量上发生剧变，逐渐要形成与近代工业经济相适应的职业和阶层结构，同时也产生了各阶层的种种利益要求，至少要导致社会成员个体要做出反应，以适应社会并不得不促进工业经济的发展。当我们进一步观察人口的社会变动时，会发现社会人口移动在空间上产生了巨大结果，即近代工业得以依托的城市日益庞大化，城市的住宅问题，交通问题以及公共事业中的问题不但影响社会的安定，而且成为制约工业经济增长的因素。社会问题是近代化的生物，源于近代以来生产力的发展，然而这些问题的具体形态和解决它们的对策却是在很大程度上更多地受到中国近代化进程中所独具的特征制约，即中国社会带着先天具有的封建性和社会成员内心深处的一些乏力的文化优越感在社会面貌和社会结构的急剧变化构成的社会发展过程中的巨大转折之中，构筑了一道奇特有趣的风景线——也就是我们每天可以看到的景观的变化。

作为上层建筑的艺术，和它的从业者也以史无前例的规模加入了这场社会剧变之中，并且以类似新发明一样的视角和逻辑审视着社会，入微致极地体察关心自己内心的每一个角落，发出自己的嘻笑与怒吼。在先前被忽视的理想，情感和欲望在新的时间和空间里显得以被挖掘和梳理。但在发展的模式上与社会的近代化变革存着相当的一致性。

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It is a simple identifiable symbol used as a tool to communicate with others. This symbol has intense social implications. Through it's connection with the environment, it's significance emerges.

I know that to most people passing by this symbol, it will not be recognized as art. But in some way for those people living in this period of chaotic development, in danger, anxiety, and violence, considering each other as enemies, this symbol will be greeting them.

这座城市无处不在发生着事情，
如同这个无所不在的符号一样。

The Construction of Metropolis

Cao Wei Jun

The rapid approach of the 21st Century and the structure of global economic power are being driven by the mega-city. In this epoch of the mega-city, its expansion and development are promoted by globalisation, neither the city nor its nation can control the power of its advancement. This power is fundamental to worldwide industrialization and urbanization, however at the moment it is destroying the mold of traditional residential districts. Day by day the city's special attributes become more and more neutralized to fit an internationalized model.

The city must face the challenges of dealing with the new age. Its development needs careful, determined planning. Only by way of discernment and intelligence can a city decide on any development. It must re-examine its own destiny.

Finance, entertainment, communication, health protection, etc., these knowledge based professions are increasingly concentrated in the city, allowing the mega-city to become a systematic factory. Developing countries facing these kinds of issues can only decipher them as complexities. In the last decade of the 20th century, the world is becoming increasingly urbanized, this phenomenon is especially evident in developing countries. The third world's urbanization is a dependent development (the dependence, however is usually absent of ideology). This method is one of osmosis. We all have eyes to see this.

Beijing is virtually one large construction site. The shovels in the hands of construction workers blurred by their constant waving is slowly focused to reveal a geographic locator of this new epoch. Serious atmospheric pollution has frightened many people into paying close attention to newspaper, TV, and radio related reports; construction sites work 24 hour shifts as night sees speeding rigs along the city's major roadways delivering the necessary materials to feed these sites, subsequently disturbing the roadside residents' sleep; the amount of tail gas exhaust and suspended dust particles have fed up city residents. People who live in dilapidated low rise buildings look forward to an early inclusion in Beijing's long term city planning allowing them an opportunity to move into new high rise housing complexes. On the contrary, this city with its history of several hundred years also has some residents that live in elegant, old style courtyard homes who do not wish to have the weight of this city plan over their heads. They would instead like to continue living in these historical dwellings in order to preserve their cultural significance. It's very possible that these people reside no more than a 100 steps from those who are anxious to be relocated to the new high rises. When faced with this thorny problem we are reminded of Liang Sicheng and his plan for Beijing's development. 1

"Just as my life, many things are happening in this city: demolition, construction, car accidents, sex, drunkenness, and violence infiltrate every hole.

In the vastness of the city, many occurrences are not clear, nor do we know their ultimate result as people are made nervous, scattered, and insecure.

Waste builds up in every corner of the city. People eat, defecate and sleep in the garbage. Children look for toys in the garbage. The water running through the city is oil black and stinking.

On the grass or hanging from tree branches, plastic bags dangle, moving with the wind like heads without souls or gashed hands.

People wearing starched suits are now walking into the main entrance of hotels and exiting through the back door onto dark, dirty, muddled lanes.

I choose these walls that are spray painted with the image of a human head. They are the screen onto which the show of this city is projected. The screen becomes a normal, realistic working place, nothing else.

The sound of hammer and chisels. Bricks fall stirring up clouds of dust.

Behind the wall a modern neo-classical, shiny mansion appears."

These are the words of artist Zhang Dali voiced during a performance work. In his light box pieces he extracts the essence of urbanity that has significance only in today's city. He believes this appealingly abstract image of the human head can help facilitate communication between people. Yet it is an image that can sometimes make people uneasy or aggravated because of its obtrusiveness. Communication is extremely necessary between different class levels, social and career types because this industrialization and urbanization easily causes estrangement between people. This estrangement is precisely what is both harmful to the process of urbanization and what causes it to lose its significance.

Not only China, but all of Asia is currently involved in a campaign to produce cities. The change is so severe that it makes it difficult for people to have a sense of security and psychological stability. It is not easy for people in their hearts to believe in this change, yet they are forced to accept and live with the confounding challenge which sometimes creates a violent atmosphere. Originally it was a city for people to use, but because of its inadequate design and planning it triggered off many types of social problems, for example, crime. Though we are currently learning to use the conveniences of a modern city, a lot of our rights and ideology have already been washed away by concrete and tar. Uneasiness and desperation ensues.

Beijing is expanding infinitely in order to satisfy its needs, and still from the sky it wants more space. Mathieu Borysevicz's works would like to reveal this to us. Both his and Zhang Dali's work extract material of the street, images that are accessible to anybody at anytime. Zhang Dali photographs buildings which are already demolished or in the process of demolition that are spray painted with the mark of the head and then transforms them into his works; Mathieu Borysevicz photographs the signs standing outside of construction sites, computer prints these images onto canvas, and then fastens them onto stretchers like an oil painting.

Mathieu Borysevicz says "Having studied art in college, after coming to China I was very much interested in the contemporary art situation here, but because I had just arrived and because the nature of the situation, it wasn't directly accessible to me. I was however shocked by super velocity of Beijing's development. These billboards, for me, seemed to expose the ruptures of this society in transition as well as possess subliminal artistic value, thus fulfilling my search for contemporary cultural production" These billboards are actually a kind of propaganda painting. China in the last half century has always had a tradition of this type of painting. However there is a difference between this propaganda and that of the past. In the past we would often encounter slogans and paintings on the wall or on large signboards. These characters and pictures taught people how to think and served as an ideological guide in their life. But these construction site signs are an extremely different type of propaganda than that of the past. They are those of real estate companies and their anonymous backers who are hastily planning the environment of our future. In these advertisements we don't see the reality: the mass of bobbing heads, dust, exhaust fumes, etc., what we see is simply dreamland. Upon closer look at the scenes depicted in these advertisements they seem slightly surreal, a little like New York's Long Island. But what actually makes one feel a little surreal is not the picture but reality itself. In the last 20 years the content and style of people's lives has undergone tremendous change. This kind of change is not entirely an environmental one but a psychological one. Humans and animals need adequate time and patience to adapt to their new environment, unfortunately this time and patience cannot always be allotted. Society's feverish economic development does not give people any reasons not to worry, in the near future it will be troublesome.

Mathieu Borysevicz's works could be said to be a displacement of spaces. He subtracted these advertisements from the roadside, and after reproducing them in the form of paintings brought them inside the gallery space. From another point of view, the artist's perspective equals that of an onlooker; he uses social intuition to document and reveal the assertion - move one sturdy step at a time, you cannot create illusions.

His works are the product of computer technology, the painting's colors are soft and pale. The canvas is stretched upon thick, heavy frames bringing the works back to realm of traditional oil painting. These heavy duty stretchers can be used as a buttress to support the picture's content, in compensation for the missing vitality of the picture itself. The result is that this picture is transformed into an object, a precious little architectural design toy.

Urbanity is, for many countries including China, the core of modernization. People's economic and social life are arranged by the city. However, China's process of modernization is different from that of Europe. This is partly because of China's strong traditional eastern background, but more importantly, it is because of China's late start. In the attempt to bridge this gap many distinct characteristics manifest themselves.

China's May Fourth movement opens the prologue to China's modernity. China's handicap is, that compared to Europe, it was late by 300 years. Precisely because of this, those countries that have already experienced the unprecedented scale of the industrial revolution, become China's modernist road consultant. China's modernization, to a great extent, is defined by drawing lessons from Europe, America, and Japan's and attempting to catch up to them. On this rigorous road, we often have to abandon some of those things that we've had all along in order to travel light. If we don't lose those forms of the past, we cannot get used to the new playing field.

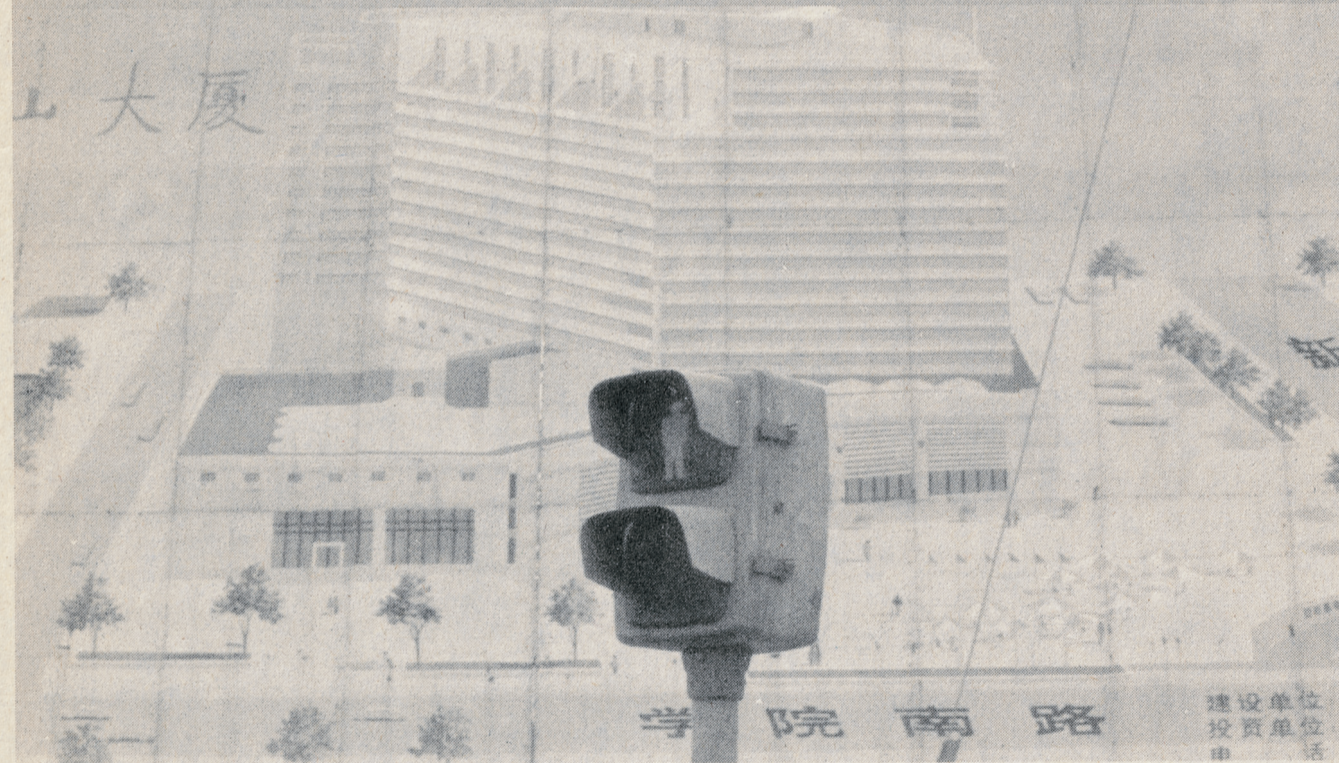
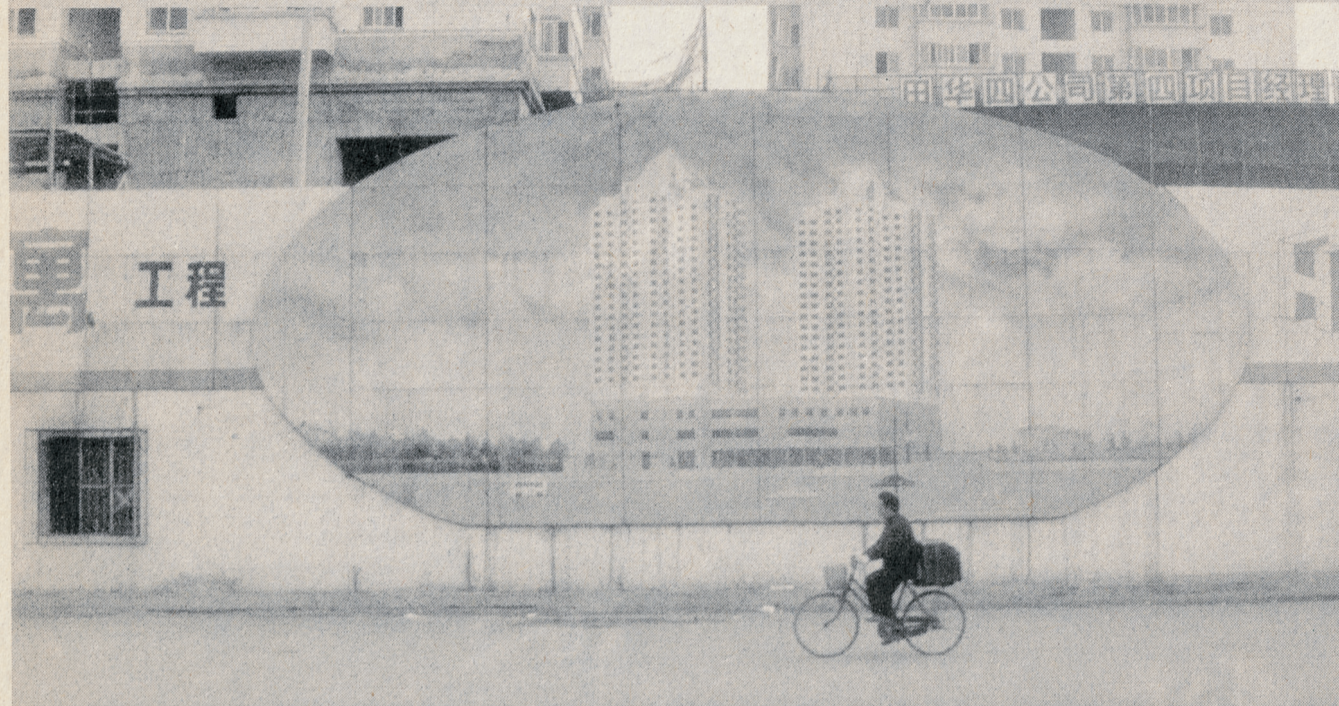
China's process of modernization is greatly accelerated. The steps of this process become urgent, cramping up at times. China's process of modernization is one that is structured hierarchically from top to bottom, using government power to pursue developmental policies. You can say that China's road to modernity is a forced one. Whereas European countries' road to modernity can be said to be one that was long and whose accumulated progress was realized slowly. During China's process of modernization, the government plays the leading role, while very early in Europe libertarian ideology was popularized. This emphasized the reduction of government interference helping to give rise to capitalism and changes in social structure. Following the path of modernism's economic formation and development, Chinese society's biggest change that occurred was from a traditional natural economy into a modern industrial economy. This led to a population movement in which large quantity of farmers left the farmland to find work in the city. The direct result was that the quantity and quality of every social class level incurred enormous change. New careers and class structures developed as society slowly became accustomed to a modern industrial economy. Social problems are associated with modernity. The procedures aimed at solving these problems, to a great extent pushes China's modernization to its limitations, one reason being that Chinese society still carries with it innate feudalist tendencies.

Art belongs to the super structure, the workers of the art world in an unprecedented scale have also become rapt up in this social transition. This is a violent change. For artists, it's like shopping at a store, selecting whatever forms they like, using new perspectives and logic to examine society, to analyze themselves, and every little part of their hearts, snickering and roaring. In the past, people's emotions, desires, and ideals were neglected, but in this new time and space they are unearthed and smoothly combed out.

1 Liang Sicheng (1901 - 1972) is a famous Chinese architect recognized for many achievements. His grand scheme for Beijing was one that preserved the old city while the new one was built up along its outskirts.

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pictures

of

people

and

places

to

come

未来人的空间图像

all of these works are computer prints on industrial canvas. the images are photographs that were made of construction site signs in China from 1994 - 1998. they are/were pictures of people and places to come/have arrived.

1994年全国正在建设的建筑面积是6537420000平方米，94年已建成的建筑面积为2868480000平方米。全国建筑业的从业人员是1139140000。

1994 FLOOR SPACE OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION NATIONAL UNDER CONSTRUCTION 6537420000sqm COMPLETED 2868480000sqm 1994 NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT OF CONSTRUCTION 1139140000



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