

寻迹无形之城

TRACES OF AN INVISIBLE CITY

王博 艺术家, 电影制作人, 纽约视觉艺术学院视觉评论系客座教授

潘律 香港理工大学中国文化学系助理教授

Bo WANG Artist; Filmmaker; Adjunct Professor, Visual and Critical Studies, School of Visual Arts, New York

Lu PAN Assistant Professor, Department of Chinese Culture, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University



1. © Traces of an Invisible City

1. 游客从落马洲回望深圳

1. Tourists at Lok Ma Chau, looking back into Shenzhen

1984年, 在与邓小平就香港的将来进行长时间的谈判之后, 时任英国首相玛格丽特·撒切尔在人民大会堂前的台阶上失足跌倒。对于这一情景, 很多人认为它象征着旧帝国主义王国在新兴力量面前的颓然崩溃。我们将撒切尔夫人跌倒的镜头及她随后在香港接受采访时对此次事故的解释作为了影片《寻迹无形之城》的结尾。

这一事件很重要, 因为它揭示了普遍存在于全球城市中的身份形成、人口流动和空间正义等概念之间的冲突状态。从很多方面来看, 香港都是一个特殊而又颇具代表性的例子。其特殊性在于, 它是世界历史上第一个融入“共产主义”国家的“资本主义”城市。然而, 这样的特殊性亦可见于当代的地方与国家、地方与全球其他地区之间的冲突之中。诸如如何在后殖民环境下重新定义“国家”, 冷战时期的二元对立观念如何在今日依旧稳固地掌握当代的意识形态, 以及新自由主义在亚洲乃至世界各地带来的社会不平等和混乱如何遭遇地方的抵抗等一系列问题, 均可以香港为例展开分析说明。

影片《寻迹无形之城》试图通过对香港空间因素的探索, 讨论这座世界级城市在后殖民时代背景下所面临的激烈的文化冲突, 及其在地方主义和世界主义的洪流中出现的身份认同危机。影片借助公共空间的视角来揭露香港现时的焦虑。作为城

市公共生活发生的主要场所, 公共空间在影片中被视为连接城市过去、现在和未来的节点。阿克巴·阿巴斯在其著作《香港: 消失的文化与政治》中指出: “建筑, 因其始终存在于某处, 所以常被视作推断城市身份特征的首要视觉依据”。^[1]这一论证也同样适用于一般范畴的空间。在如同香港一样高度商业化的城市中, 建筑是展现资本、财富和权力的最直观的形式。此外, 公共空间也是最能够展示政治、文化和社会诉求的场所。空间于我们而言已是一种高度历史化的存在。空间是一切不为“空”的所在, 它总是不乏意义, 抑或承载无数的意义。空间能够产生意义。

全球化的城市

近十年来, 中国所创造的经济奇迹极大地冲击了香港作为该地区领先的第一世界城市的地位。而近年来, 关于香港的争论也往往聚焦于它自身, 包括其在殖民地时代晚期失却的往日辉煌, 以及由于制造业的衰落和房产投机的损失所造成的社会不公的加剧等。香港正面临由一座“世界级城市”向省会级城市过渡的恐惧。

然而, 这里时常会发生些故事, 使香港暴露于聚光灯下, 提醒我们它作为一个全球力量交织的节点的存在。2016年的巴

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摘要

影片《寻迹无形之城》(2016)以香港的城市空间为窗口, 展现了全球化和资本主义所隐藏的逻辑, 以及世界级城市当前的历史变革。它探究了香港的一系列城市景观, 以展现其视觉存在、功能和所有权之间的紧张关系, 并揭示了城市公共空间是如何被建造、使用、所有和解读的。作为城市公共生活发生的主要场所, 公共空间在影片中被视为连接城市过去、现在和未来的节点。着眼于全球、本地和分界线的空间的三个平行而又相互交织的章节贯穿了影片的始终。“展览”章节取材于在香港会议展览中心举办的巴塞尔艺术展。作为世界上最大的艺术展之一, 它以自内向外的方式, 通过建筑的空间和功能、访客及空间的使用后状态等展现其象征性的和切实意义上的空洞。“街道”章节结合对历史的回顾, 探讨了香港公共空间近年来的戏剧性转变。“北面”章节讲述了在香港-深圳分界线地区的一种视觉反转, 在处于快速城镇化进程中的社会主义中国的衬托下, 香港的农田反倒成了一种历史景观。

关键词

香港; 公共空间; 身份特征; 分界线; 有形/无形

ABSTRACT

Traces of an Invisible City [2016] presents urban space in Hong Kong as a vivid showcase of the hidden logics of globalization and capitalism, and of the historical changes currently occurring in world cities. It examines a series of urban landscapes in Hong Kong to illustrate the tension among their visual existence, function, and ownership, and how the city's public space has been constructed, used, owned, and interpreted. Public spaces, which are primary loci where public life happen, are regarded here as nodal points that connect the city's past, present and future. The film contains three chapters that are parallel to but interwoven with each other: global, local, and divided space. "The exhibition" observes Art Basel, one of the largest art fairs in the world, held at Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center in an inside-out manner — through the architecture's space and function, the visitors and the post-usage conditions of the space to reveal its symbolic and literal void. "The Streets" explores the dramatic transformations of Hong Kong's public space in recent years, blended with flashbacks of history. "The North Side" juxtaposes the Hong Kong-Shenzhen division area in their visual reversal, where Hong Kong's agricultural landscape became a spectacle from the rapidly urbanized side of the socialist China.

KEY WORDS

Hong Kong; Public Space; Identity; Visible / Invisible

译 张健 陆小璇

TRANSLATED BY Angus ZHANG Xiaoxuan LU

拿马文件泄露事件，向我们揭示了从权力中心到离岸法区的货币流动地图。而香港正是莫萨克·冯赛卡律师事务所最活跃的地区总部所在，这里也是交易量最大的一处。香港离不开故事，但故事却总关他方。

这也是香港的“无形”空间所存在的方式——它们在城市环境中的实体存在并未反映其真正意义。它们抽象地与一个更大尺度的链条相连，而身处其中的人们却难以察觉。以重庆大厦为例，虽从外部看去这是一个再普通不过的建筑群，其内部空间却满足了人们对于王家卫电影中关于失却欲望的城市贫民区的想象。在现实中，这里扮演着第三世界贸易枢纽的角色，中国制造的服装、手机、电子设备、手表、以及阿迪达斯和耐克仿制品等，在这里组装并重新销售至广大的南半球国家。

在影片中，我们依循香港巴塞尔艺术展的历史脉络，一并探寻其主办地——香港会议展览中心的历史。该展览中心的新翼建成于1997年（香港回归中华人民共和国的那一年），其初建时的主要功能即是承办交接仪式。为这次交接仪式而专程建造一座全新的建筑，难免使人们对其进行象征性解读，因此所选择的交接仪式地点，应避免产生“可能干扰这次精心安排的具有象征意义的行使主权恢复仪式”的联想。^[2]仪式最终选址于填海扩建的土地之上——这是一块没有历史记忆的、全新建造的土地。与1997年后在香港兴建的许多其他建筑一样，会展中心新翼的设计只面向未来，它摒弃了对历史的延续或对过去的参考。

今天，这座建筑具有高度象征意义的历史时刻已被淡忘，它向全球的资本展开怀抱，孤立于周边的环境。香港巴塞尔艺术展，是其定期承办的重要国际活动之一，它既是巴塞尔艺术博览会授权的亚洲站点，也是东亚地区最具影响力的艺术盛会之一。每年三月，众多收藏家、艺术经销商、画廊主、艺术家——这些人或许也会出现在洛杉矶、纽约、迪拜、迈阿密和伦敦等地——纷纷涌入这里，并逗留一

周。艺术作品在此易手，金钱财富也在这里重新分配其流向。这是一个全球巨链之中的“非场所”^①，一个空洞的瞬变中心，唯有资本的交易在不断发生。通过在影片该章节结尾回顾当年的交接时刻，我们“唤起”了人们对非场所的历史记忆。

分界线和凝视

在英国殖民早期，香港与内地之间的分界区没有严格的管制。其时，主权的分隔并未严格限制人们跨越分界线的流动性。冷战初期，1951年，香港分界线禁区建成，该分界线也成为了两个对立意识形态之间的象征性分界线。此后，最靠近深圳的、位于香港分界线的乡村湿地落马洲，成为了香港人得以一瞥神秘的封闭中国的地方。20世纪70年代，在分界线禁区外一座小山山顶上的警察塔旁，还建起了供香港当地和外国游客到访的观景亭。亭子所在的位置非常优越，不仅可以俯瞰缓冲区的全景，更能够远眺模糊可见但无法前往的北方。

1997年，香港主权移交中国，但并未使这条分界线消失。作为邓小平提出的

- ① 法国人类学家马克·奥吉在其著作《非场所：超现代人类学入门》（1995年）中指出，“非场所”是指那些临时性的空间，人们在其中隐去了姓名，场所亦缺乏重要的意义。典型的“非场所”包括高速公路、旅馆、机场和购物中心。
2. 曾位于深圳的邓小平宣传牌
3. 香港巴塞尔艺术展入口处的人们

2. Deng Xiaoping Billboard in Shenzhen which has been removed
3. People at the Entrance of Hong Kong Art Basel



2

“一国两制”政策最突出的范例，这块缓冲区被一直保留下来。如今，这条分界线已比早年更加开放，但其作为在两个不同程度的经济自由和法律环境之间，以及在一个高度发达的资本主义城市和一个前所未有的“社会主义市场经济体”之间的分界，依然发挥着作用。

然而，如今的缓冲区所呈现的，却是一种奇怪的景观视觉对比。由于毗邻香港，深圳是中国自1978年改革开放以来最早设立的经济特区之一。在不到20年的时间里，它已从一个小村庄转变成一座富裕繁华的大都市。现在的落马洲湿地几乎保留着50年前的原貌，而湿地水塘的水面上，倒映的却是深圳壮观的城市天际线。曾经的凝视调转了方向，变为由北向南：深圳首个摩天大楼地王大厦即伫立于分界线区的边缘。1995年建成时，在其顶部打造了一座360度全景观光亭，来自中国各

地的游客如今可以从高度城市化的社会主义都市俯瞰那前殖民地停滞不前的农村景象。而观光亭中永久陈列的关于这条分界线的历史，以及1984年邓小平与撒切尔夫人会谈场景的蜡像雕塑，则进一步强调着这场角色的转换。

影片将我们的观察和档案素材相互交织，试图通过探索香港的公共空间——其实体存在、其使用者或占用者，以及在演变过程中的动荡时刻，来破解这些焦虑的根源。我们试图理解各种类型的空间，如展览空间、街道、旅游景点、分界线等的设计、功能、历史和表现，是如何揭示在主流叙述中无法看到的政治或意识形态斗争的。这些叙述，连同在这些空间里发生的人类活动，成为了以无法预知的方式构建和重建香港回忆的素材。由此，空间成为了一种媒介和隐喻，将那些在探讨香港身份特征的主流叙述中使得某些特定的空

间、人和故事变得“无形”的隐含逻辑重现于我们面前。

结语

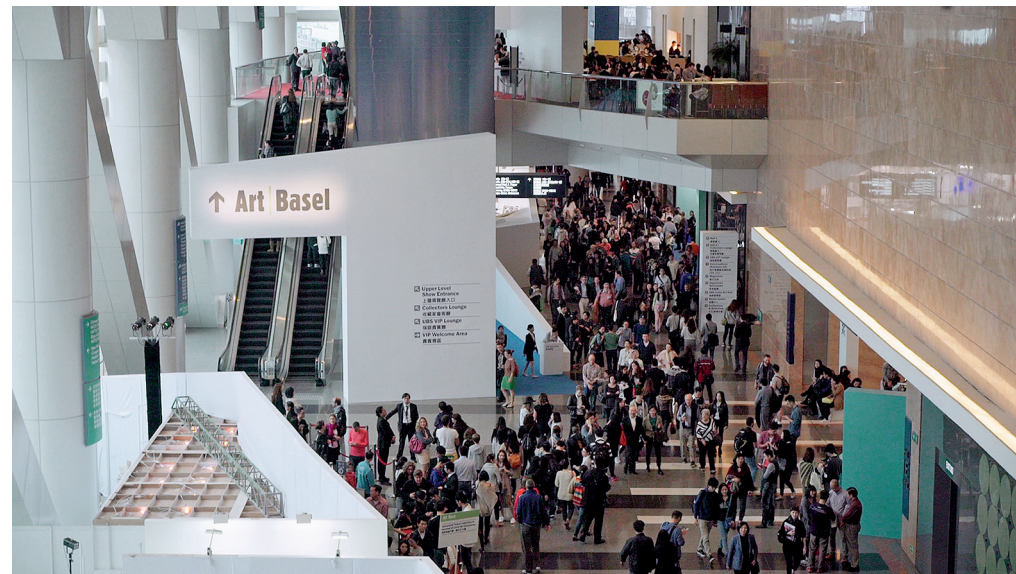
对这座无形之城踪迹的寻觅，使我们得以更为敏锐地认知香港，继而更加深刻地认识到一座城市的空间正义、人口流动、阶级冲突、身份政治、环境和视觉表征等更广泛的问题。这部影片最终提出了一个问题：城市为谁而建？正是这个核心问题促使我们深入探讨关于公共空间的问题。香港折射出当今世界许多大城市的共同境遇——空间、土地和自然在这里不再是中立的存在，而成为从属于更大的资本主义经济和社会隔离体系的社会组分。LAF



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the Cold War binary mentality still takes firm hold of ideologies today, and of how social inequalities and disorders brought by neo-liberalism in Asia and all over the world encounter local resistances can all be illustrated in Hong Kong's case.

Traces of an Invisible City is a film exploring the spatial factors of Hong Kong, the postcolonial global city at a moment of intense cultural conflicts and identity crisis amid the torrents of localism and cosmopolitanism. The film takes public space as a lens to divulge Hong Kong's anxieties at the moment. Public spaces, which are primary loci where public life happens, are regarded here as nodal points that connect the city's past, present and future. Ackbar Abbas pointed out in his book *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, "Architecture, because it is always assumed to be somewhere, is the first visual evidence of a city's putative identity."^[1] The argument can be also applied to a more general category of space. In a highly commercialized city like Hong Kong, architectures are the most visible form of capital, wealth and power. Moreover, public spaces are the best manifestations of how political, cultural and social struggles take place. We see space a highly historicized being. Space is anything but empty; it always has a meaning or even myriad of meanings and it is capable of producing meaning(s).

A Global City

The Chinese economic miracle in the recent decade have cast shadows over Hong Kong's status as the leading first-world city / state in the region. Debates on Hong Kong in recent years often focus on itself, on the demise of its past glory in the late colonial years, and increasing social inequality due to the loss of manufacture industry and housing speculation. There is the Hong Kong under the fear of transition, from a "World City" to a provincial city.

After a long negotiation with Deng Xiaoping about Hong Kong's future in 1984, Margaret Thatcher stumbled and fell on the stairs in front of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Many people interpreted this as a symbolic crash of the old imperialist empire against a new rising power. We end our film with the footage of Thatcher's fall along with her own explanation of the accident in an interview in Hong Kong.

This issue is important because it divulges a most universal state of conflicts

in identity formation, population flow and spatial justice in global cities. Hong Kong is a unique but also universal case in many ways. It is unique because, probably first time in world history, a capitalist Hong Kong was integrated into a "Communist" China. However, this unique situation also echoes with conflicts between the local and the national, the local and the global elsewhere in the contemporary period. The question, for example, of how to redefine nation in postcolonial circumstances, of how

4. 香港会议展览中心内部
5. 香港巴塞尔艺术展期间香港会议展览中心内部的景象
6. 1997年的交接仪式在香港会议展览中心新翼举行

4. Interior, Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center
5. Interior of Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center during Hong Kong Art Basel
6. The new wing of Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center, where the 1997 Handover Ceremony took place

However, occasionally, stories happen and Hong Kong surfaces and reminds us its presence as a knot that intertwines global forces. The Panama Papers leaked in 2016 showed us a map of money flow from sovereign terrains to off-shore domains. The most active regional headquarter under Mossak Fonseca, where the largest transactions took places, is in Hong Kong. Something happens in Hong Kong, but the stories are always about other places.

This is also the way how "invisible" spaces in Hong Kong exist. Their physical presence in the urban environment does not reveal their real significance. They are abstractly related to a chain of much bigger scale that people from within cannot perceive. The Chungking Mansions, a building cluster with a generic semblance looking from outside, offers space for Wong Kar-wai's cinematic imagination of an urban ghetto of lost desires. In reality, it serves as the pivot of third world trade, where China-made clothes, cellphones, electronic devices, watches, fake Adidas and Nikes, etc., are assembled and redistributed to the

vast countries of the global south.

In our film, we examine Art Basel Hong Kong along with the history of the host site — the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center (HKCEC). Completed in 1997, the year of Hong Kong's handover to the People's Republic of China, the new wing of HKCEC was built primarily to serve the handover ceremony. The construction of a completely new structure for holding the ceremony can be read symbolically: for the handover ceremony, the site shall not indicate any apparent association or any memories of the past that "might disrupt the carefully choreographed symbolism of the resumption of the exercise of sovereignty."^[2] Thus, the choice was to build the site on a piece of brand new land — in this case a reclaimed land, with no historical memory at all. Like many other built in Hong Kong after 1997, the design of the HKCEC new wing was only future-oriented, without any involvement with continuity of history or reference to the past.

Today, being oblivious to this highly symbolic moment of its history, the building opens its arms towards the global capital,



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with little interests engaging with its surroundings. One of the major events it hosts regularly is Art Basel Hong Kong, the Asia node of the global Art Basel Franchise and probably the most influential art fair in East Asia. Every March, collectors, dealers, gallerists, artists, etc., the same group of people you see in Los Angeles, New York, Dubai, Miami, London, etc., flood in for a week. Art works change hands, while money redistributes their flows. It is a non-place^① that belongs to a global chain, an empty hub of transience that only interchanges between capitals that are possible to establish. By revisiting the moment of handover in the building at the end of the chapter, we “revived” the memory of the non-place’s history.

The Division Line and the Gaze

In the early years of British colonization

of Hong Kong, there was no serious division line control between the city and the mainland. The divide of sovereignty did not strictly restrict the mobility of people across the line. In 1951, the Frontier Closed Area was built. The division line also became a symbolic frontier between the two rivalry ideologies during the Cold War. Since then, Lok Ma Chau, a rural wetland at the division line of Hong Kong, closest to Shenzhen, became a spot where one can gain a glimpse of the mysterious closed China. In the 1970s, on top of a small hill right outside the edge of the Frontier Closed Area, aside the police watching tower, a tourist pavilion was built for local and foreign visitors to Hong Kong. The pavilion provided a vantage point to have a panoramic view of the buffer zone and further into the vaguely visible but inaccessible north side.

The handover of Hong Kong’s sovereignty to China in 1997 did not bring down the

division line. The buffer zone has been kept to maintain the partition as the most visible exemplar of Deng Xiaoping’s “One Country Two Systems” agenda. The division line is much more open than before now though it still helps to continue the division between two different degrees of economic freedom and legal environments, as well as between a highly developed capitalistic city and an unprecedented “socialist market economy.”

However, the buffer zone now forms an odd visual contrast of landscape. Thanks to its proximity to Hong Kong, Shenzhen was among one of the earliest Special Economic Zones since China’s opening up in 1978 and within less than 20 years, it has transformed from a small village to an affluent big city. As a result, while the wetlands of Lok Ma Chau stays almost the same like 50 years ago, the surface of the ponds in the wetland are now reflecting a spectacular city skyline of a rapidly thriving cityscape of Shenzhen. The

① The French anthropologist Marc Augé coined the phrase “non-place” to refer to anthropological spaces of transience where the human beings remain anonymous and that do not hold enough significance to be regarded as “places” in his book titled *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (1995). Examples of non-places would be motorways, hotel rooms, airports and shopping malls.



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7. 从落马洲望向深圳
8. 游客从深圳地王大厦顶端俯瞰香港
7. Look into Shenzhen from Lok Ma Chau
8. Tourists looking down into Hong Kong from the top of Diwang Mansion, Shenzhen

gaze is now reversed back from the north side to the south side: the first skyscraper of Shenzhen, Diwang Mansion, stands on the close edge of the division line. When it was completed in 1995, a 360-degree sight-seeing pavilion was opened on its top floor. Domestic tourists from all over China now amuse themselves by overlooking from a highly urbanized socialist city to the rural “backwater” of a former colony. The pavilion further enhanced the narrative with a permanent exhibition on the line’s history, as well as a displayed wax sculpture restaging the Deng-Thatcher meeting in 1984.

Through interweaving our observation and found footages, the film attempts to decipher the roots of these anxieties by exploring Hong Kong’s public spaces, their physical existence, the users or occupiers of these spaces and their volatile moments in evolution. We try to understand how design, functionality, history and representation of various types of space, namely exhibition

space, streets, tourist attractions, division line etc., can unveil the political or ideological battles that are not in sight in the mainstream narratives. These narratives, together with human activities occurring in the spaces, become materials that construct and reconstruct memories of Hong Kong in unpredictable manners. Space becomes an agent and a metaphor to visualize the hidden logic that make certain spaces, people and stories “invisible” in the mainstream discussions on Hong Kong identity.

Conclusion

Traces of an Invisible City has profoundly sharpened our perceptions on Hong Kong, and in turn, more general issues of spatial justice, population flow, class conflicts, identity politics, environment and visual representations of a city. The film ultimately poses the question: for whom the city is built? It is this core question that

prompted us to delve deeply to explore this subject matter of public space. Hong Kong crystallizes the situation of many other big cities around the world today, where space, land and nature are no longer neutral entities, but social constructions that belong to a larger system of capitalist economy and social segregation. **LAF**

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