Delay and Pit, 2013, Guo Yu-Ping. An installation comprised of a 14min film, seven painting and this libretto.

# 延遲 Delay

與 and

凹洞 Pit 作品裝置含影片十四分鐘,圖畫七張,及此冊子。郭俞平,〈延遲與凹洞〉,二零一三年。



南京首都計畫中央政治區平面圖 1929

The Reconstruction Project of the New Capital Nanjing(1929)

中興新村年表

# 1928年

KMT 北伐後,其代表的國民政府地位 尚未穩固,雖名為中央,但實質統治 地區僅江蘇五省和山東一帶,其餘的 地區為其他軍閥所控制。同時,黨內 部因派系權力的糾葛,瀕於分裂邊緣, 西方列強憂其地位不穩固,雖承認其 政府但並不給予正面支持。此時 KMT 提出「以黨治國」的訓政建國計畫, 即由黨來領導全國人民進行政治經濟 建設,並計畫推動首都南京大規模的 建設,以增進政治力量,突顯其為中 國革命的正統。

1910年前後形成於歐美的「都市計畫」 (morden city planning) 在 1920 年代末 引入中國並被制度化,南京首都計畫 是 1911 年封建政權被推翻後,首次以 藍圖式的構想,實施現代國家首都打 造的大型工程計畫。

在設計圖裡,各部院的配置方式體現 黨國統治的思維,首都建築群兼具了 現代建築技術和中國宮殿的建築樣 式,街廓參考美國華盛頓首都,棋盤 格式的設計象徵著混亂無序的中國進 化到文明秩序的「現代」。 首都計畫透過選擇性的重組,轉化了 過去的文化形式,它重新排列了過去 的時空,形塑了特定的集體記憶,一 個 KMT 理想的、類似於歐美的現代民 族國家呼之欲出。 1937年

因對日抗戰爆發遷都重慶,首都計畫 嘎然而止。

#### 1945年

抗戰結束遷回南京,著手戰後的重新 佈署。

1949年5月

KMT 在與中國共產黨的內戰中不利的 情勢愈趨惡化。 台灣地區開始實行戒嚴令。 1949年12月

KMT 在內戰中失敗,撤退到台灣島。 台灣瞬時從邊陲之境成為國家層級機 構的地理落點和反共復興的基地,台 北市成為臨時首都。

KMT 在島內灌注反共復國的意識形態,以戒嚴法和其相關法令所構成的 國家非常體制,面對其統治正當性的 危機。

KMT 來台初期,心態傾向於暫時性留 滯,都市計畫因而未受到重視,僅限 於因應軍事疏散而衍生的都市交通建 設與公共工程,以及為了安置大量隨 軍遷徙而來的軍民和官員所施行一連 串的造村計畫。

1911 年後由 KMT 主導的官方民族主 義和中國現代化的路線,與黨國菁英 攸關打造一個現代民族國家的一切政 治與社會實踐的趨力,隨著戰爭的遷 徙被帶到了台灣島。

台灣自此在非常狀態中走向國家領導 式的現代化發展。

對未來的想像與期許化作各式紛飛的 口號,當時任何的開發都被冠以「人 民生活水準要提高」、「國家要現代 化」、「城鄉均衡發展」等官方標語。 1953年

二次大戰後,世界各國因面臨城市重 建與人口激增問題,標榜以 Garden City<sup>1</sup>為規劃模型的新市鎮規劃、郊 區住宅開發案例在此時激增,「花園 城市運動」成為戰後的全球性風潮。

蔣中正所著〈民生主義育樂兩篇補述〉 一書出版,「都市鄉村化,鄉村都市 化」成為1950、60年代發展的時興□ 號。 1954年

國共在金門與馬祖地區發生砲戰,中 共軍機陸續進駐沿海新建機場,此時 台灣全境進入「執行疏散」狀態,台 灣省政府也奉命暫時遷駐台北市外 郊。

1955年

中央以防空疏散之需求命令省政府疏 遷至中南部地區。

戰敗後 KMT 的版圖意識與實質統治地 區不相符,中華民國成為一省之國, 為了凸顯「省」層級的存在,省政府 的南遷不僅在於防禦空襲的需求,還 具有強烈的象徵性作用。

同年成立疏散規畫審查小組,選定南 投市營盤口和內轆地區靠山一帶,開 始徵購民地、執行遷葬,計畫於此地 建立一個具新市鎮規模的省政府行政 中心,做為中南部地區發展的腹地, 實踐城鄉均衡發展的理念,並以「中 興復國」之意定名「中興新村」。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>英國人 Ebenezer Howard 出版《A Peaceful Patb To Real Reform 1898》一書,對於英國工業發展所導 致的城市過份擁擠及鄉村人口流失的問題提出改革的模型, "Garden City"一詞在書中出現。二次大 戰後國際間興起以"Urban Decentralization"概念為基礎的郊區新市鎮規劃的風潮,亦以「花園城市 運動」稱之。一個世紀以後, "Garden City"所指涉的已不再是書中的理論圖騰,而成為對新市鎮規 劃之代稱。

1956年6月

中興新村開始動工興建

工程團隊參照赴英國考察新市鎮的經驗,畫出一個住工合一、擁有當時英國郊區街道特徵、鄰里單元的建築分 布型態和高植披覆蓋率的新村藍圖, 中興新村是一個從無到有,依照藍圖 打造出來的真實空間。

不同於南京首都中國宮殿建築風格的 設計,戰時緊迫的資金和為了強調 「省」與「中央」層級的差別,村內 的建築採取了現代主義簡潔、機能性 的風格。它具備了完善的現代化生活 設施、獨立於當地的供水系統,還有 在台灣首次出現的雨水與汙水分離的 排水系統。

中興新村的居民皆是省政府員工及其 眷屬,早年幾乎是隨國民黨遷移來台 的政治移民,而在它的向西面,築有 一道長1.6公里的外牆,將村子與外 圍的農村聚落區隔開來。村外的人口 則是以清領時期閩南地區的漳州移民 後代者為居多,村內與村外無論在語 言、文化和社會結構都完全迥異。 由於內部人口的流動與職務的調任有 關,中興新村並非有機生成的聚落, 表面上它的社會生活模式與 Ebenezer Howard 花園城市理論中的意涵相符, 然而實質上卻是一個完全由國家機構 支撐,由省政府管理的花園城市。 它是以政治力量憑空打造而出的未來 圖景,具體表現出規劃者以西方規劃 理論為模型所構思出的理想居住形 態。相較於當時的台灣社會,它的時 間,往前延伸了。

中興新村並未實現當初的計畫成為帶動中南部城鄉發展的樞紐,它自始便 是一個孤絕的政治特區,以進步和示 範性的姿態向社會展示著何謂現代理 想的生活。 1970年代

台灣社會結構迅速變遷,中興新村逐 漸失去作為現代化模範的光環。因所 屬的機構被整併,行政效能無法集中, 再加上眷舍的管理失效導致住工合一 的型態開始瓦解。加蓋和違建的增生 移換了村內的景觀,社會結構也因新 生代的外流而產生斷層。觀光產業興 起,周遭的農田成為房地產市場投資 的對象,中興新村逐漸成為台中都會 區的邊陲公園。

### 1994年

通過省縣自治法,台灣省政府成為擁 有自主權的地方政府,原由中央委任 的省長改由民選產生,於是計畫翻新 並壯大中興新村的規模,欲使其重新 獲得繁榮進步的形象,並公開競圖。

## 1996年

台灣第一屆民選總統的產生重新凸顯 了中央與地方轄區職權重疊的問題, 很快地國民大會開始著手精簡省單位 的修憲過程。

## 1998年

省政府開始進入精簡的過渡期,住在 這裡的省府員工因為工作遷調或退 休,與政府租賃的宿舍無權再繼續居 住而逐一搬離,空屋逐年增加,無人 居住的房舍在時間的流逝中損毀破 敗。

中興新村的誕生是決斷式的,它的存 在倚靠國家機構來維持,一旦拔掉維 繫其生存的管線,很快便走向萎縮消 亡。

1999年

發生921大地震,震垮部分廳舍和宿 舍,中興新村已經衰敗的說法不脛而 走。在發展與進步的時間線上,它殘 破的模樣開始讓人難以忍受,各種改 造的新方案被提出但無一被實現。 2008年

中央行政院公布中興新村將要打造為 一個科技研究園區的新計畫。



中興新村黑白航空照片 1976.12.11 編號 65P76。 圖片來源:行政院農業委員會林務局農林航空測量所。

An aerial photograph of the Chung Hsing New Village 1976.12.11 No : 65P76. Source: Aerial Survey Office, Forestry Bureau, Council of Agriculture, Executive Yuan The Chung Hsing New Village Timeline

1928

After the Nationalists' Northern Expedition, the Nationalist government failed to establish a comprehensive ruling regime. Termed euphemistically as the central government, its jurisdiction was limited to the five coastal provinces and the region around Shandong province. The warlords controlled the other regions of Mainland China. In the meantime, the Chinese Nationalist Party (known as Kuomintang, KMT) was on the brink of split due to its internal struggle between fractions. The Western powers recognized the Nationalist government but did not offer substantial support because they were concerned at its unstable status. At this point, the Nationalist government not only designed a plan for political tutelage and nation-building based on the principle of "single-party rule," namely the KMT led the people to enhance political and economic development, but also started large-scale construction in Nanjing, the capital of China at that time, in order to increase its political power and thereby highlight itself as the orthodox representative of Chinese revolution.

The "modern city planning" developed in the Western world around 1910 was introduced into China and then institutionalized in the late 1920s. The modern city planning for Nanjing was the first blueprint conception of largescale plan to build a modern state capital after the feudal regime was overthrown. By reference to the chessboard design of Washington, D.C., the capital of the United States, this plan symbolized the Chinese progress from chaos to civilized order. The establishment and arrangement of administrative institutions embodied the principle of single-party rule. The style of the architectural complex combined those of modern buildings and Chinese palaces. Through selective reorganization, this plan transformed the previous cultural form. This plan reorganized the past time and space, shaped a specific collective memory, and therefore facilitated the establishment of a modern China that reflected KMT's ideal and was similar to the Western political system.

1937

The Chinese capital was moved to Chongqing due to the outbreak of the war against Japan. The modern city plan for Nanjing was abandoned abruptly.

The KMT was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese civil war. Therefore, it was forced to retreat to the island named Taiwan. The status of this island was instantly changed from periphery to the geographical location of central government and the base for anti-Communism and restoring jurisdiction over Mainland China. Taipei City became the provisional capital of the Republic of China.

The Nationalist government originally planned to stay in Taiwan temporarily, and therefore ignored the modern city planning. Its concern was limited to the urban transportation system and public infrastructure necessary for military evacuation, as well as to a series of village-building plans for accommodating the large number of soldiers, civilians, and officials retreated with the government to Taiwan.

Nevertheless, the KMT's ideal of Chinese modernization and its political and social momentum for building a modern nation state were brought together to Taiwan in flight from the civil war.

At the time, the Nationalist government enforced martial law in Taiwan in order to suppress political opposition. Meanwhile, its legitimacy of representing China was at stake (it suffered from the crisis of legitimacy in representing China). However, after the outbreak of the Korean War, the United States forced Japan to sign a bilateral treaty with the Republic of China. This treaty not only ended the state of war between the two countries since the outbreak of the Second World War, but also unilaterally confirmed the Nationalist government as the orthodox representative of China.

Taiwan has undergone rapid modernization under the authoritarian single-party rule. The imagination and expectation about future were transformed into various kinds of snappy slogans. At that time, every development carries an official slogan such as "improving people" s living standard," "state modernization," and "balanced development."

After the end of the Second World War, many countries embarked on new city planning by treating "Garden City<sub>2</sub> " as a model because they faced the issues of city reconstruction and rapid population growth. As a result, the number of suburban residential development case increased rapidly and the "garden city movement" became a global trend in the post-war period.

《Two Supplementary Essays on Education and Recreation to the Principle of People's Welfare》written by Chiang Kai-Shek was published. "Urban ruralization and rural urbanization" became a popular slogan of development during the 1950s and 1960s.

## 1954

The First Taiwan Strait Crisis occurred with the artillery bombardment against Kinmen on 3 September 1954. The United States began to reconsider its attitude towards the Nationalist government. The Chinese Communist Party subsequently deployed its military aircrafts to the newly constructed coastal airports. At the time, the central government in Taiwan declared the state of "mandatory evacuation," which instructed the Taiwan provincial government to temporarily move to the suburbs of Taipei City.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  The book  $\langle$  A Peaceful Path to Real Reform  $\rangle$  written by Ebenezer Howard (published in 1898) proposes a reform model to address the issues of urban overpopulation and rural depopulation caused by British industrial development. The term "Garden City" is also mentioned in this book. After a century, this term is no longer merely the theory and graphics in the book, but refers to the post-war suburban city planning based on the concept of "Urban Decentralization."

The central government in Taiwan ordered the provincial government to move to the middle-south region of Taiwan in the name of anti-air raid evacuation

After being defeated, the sovereign territory over which the Nationalist government claimed jurisdiction was inconsistent with that it actually controlled. The Republic of China became a state of one province. In order to highlight the existence of the provincial level, the southward moving of the provincial government not only met the need for anti-air raid, but also performed a symbolic function.

The central government set up a group of evacuation planning and examination in 1955. This group decided to build a city-scale administrative center for the provincial government around Ying Pan Kou and Nei Lu, Nantou City. The central government began to expropriate private lands by purchase and relocated gravevards in order to transform this region into the hinterland for the development of the central and southern parts of Taiwan and to put the idea of balanced urban-rural development into practice. This administrative center was named the "Chung Hsing New Village" to remind people of "restoring jurisdiction over Mainland China."

# June 1956

The construction of the Chung Hsing New Village started.

According to its experience of on-the-spot investigation in Britain, the construction team drew up a blueprint of the New Village. It was a residential-industrial complex, characterized by British suburban style of street arrangement, neighborhood units, and a wide range of vegetation coverage. The Chung Hsing New Village was a real architectural complex built from scratch according to the blueprint. Different from the Chinese palacestyle design in Nanjing, the war-time budgetary stringency and the emphasis on the difference between the provincial and central governments determined the minimalist and functional style of the architectural complex of the Village. It was equipped with sophisticated modern facilities, independent water supply system, and the first drainage system in Taiwan capable of separating rainwater from wastewater.

The residents in the Chung Hsing New Village were the staff members of the provincial government and their family dependents. Most of them were the political immigrants who moved to Taiwan with the KMT. At the western side of the Village, a wall of 1.6 km-long separated the Village from the outskirt settlements of farmers. Most residents in these settlements were the descendants of the immigrants from Zhangzhou, a part of Fujian province, when Taiwan was under

# 1955

Qing Dynasty rule. Accordingly, the wall also marked off the boundary between two completely different languages, cultures, and social structures.

The Chung Hsing New Village was not organically generated because the migration of its residents was determined by the transfer of duties. Ostensibly, the pattern of social life in the Village was consistent with Ebenezer Howard's Garden City theory. However, it was in fact a garden city completely supported by state institutions and managed by the provincial government. It was a model of future built by political power from scratch. It incarnated the ideal form of living based on the Western theory of city planning. Compared to the Taiwanese society coexisted with the Chung Hsing New Village, the time the Village experienced stretched forward.

The Chung Hsing New Village did not achieve its initial goal of facilitating the development of the central and southern parts of Taiwan. It was a political district since its completion. It demonstrated to the society an ideal modern life in a progressive and exemplary manner.

#### 1970s

The structure of Taiwanese society underwent a rapid transformation. The Chung Hsing New Village gradually lost its aura of being a symbol of modernization. The merger between its institutions and agencies compromised its administrative efficiency. The mismanagement of accommodation gradually disintegrated the residentialindustrial complex. The proliferation of illegal construction changed the landscape of the Village. The outflow of the younger generation caused a demographic chasm. The surrounding farmlands became the objects of real estate investments due to the rise of tourism. The Chung Hsing New Village gradually became a periphery park of Taichung metropolitan area.

The Self-governance Act for Provinces and Counties was passed. The Taiwan provincial government became an autonomous local government. The governor was no longer designated by the central government but elected by people. Subsequently, the provincial government planned to restore the prosperous and progressive image of the Chung Hsing New Village by enlarging its scale, and therefore held a public design competition.

# 1996

The election of the first democratically elected president of Taiwan highlighted the problem of overlapping jurisdiction between the central and local governments. The National Assembly soon embarked on the Constitution revision regarding the reduction of the provincial level.

## 1998

The provincial government entered the transitional period of reduction. The staff members successively moved away from the Village due to duty transfer or retirement and therefore had no right to stay in the government-supported accommodation. The vacancy rate increased annually. The uninhabited houses collapsed with time. The Chung Hsing New Village was born by political decision-making, that is, its survival depended on the support of state institutions. Once its umbilical cord was cut out, it would shrink and decline rapidly.

The 921 earthquake destroyed partial buildings and accommodations of the Chung Hsing New Village. The claim that the Village has already declined spread like wildfire. Its status of delay became unbearable in terms of the timeline of progress and development. Various new schemes of reform have been proposed, but unfortunately none was fulfilled. 2008

The Council for Economic Planning and Development in the Executive Yuan decided to transform the Chung Hsing New Village into a technological R&D park.



南投市內轆區大虎山西側,中興新村預定地,1956。 圖片來源: 擷取自新聞影片〈欣欣向榮的中興新村〉,拍攝時間: 1956-1959,財團法人國家電影資料館。

The west flank of Mount Da-Hu, Nei-Lu Dist., Nantou City. It was the preselected site for the Chung Hsing New Village. 1956. Source: Chinesne Taipei Film Archive. The image is taken from news footage, "The Prosperous JSNV(1956-1959)".