

城市中国

URBAN WISDOM ADVANCING WITH CHINA

88



伦敦 效率与平等性的 时空博弈

LONDON EFFECTIVENESS AND EQUALITY IN SPATIAL-TEMPO FIX



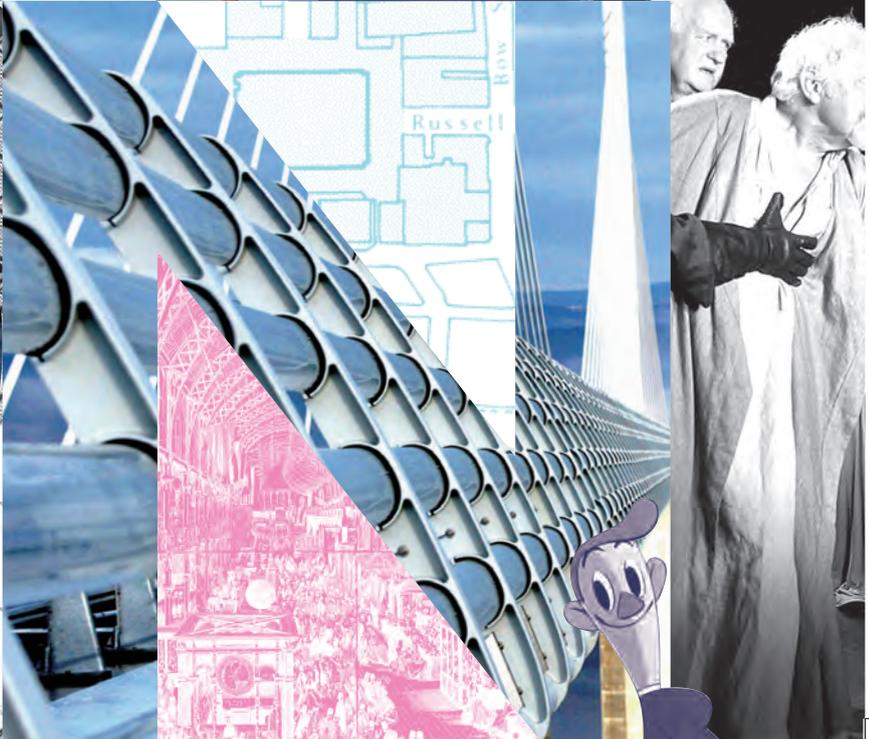
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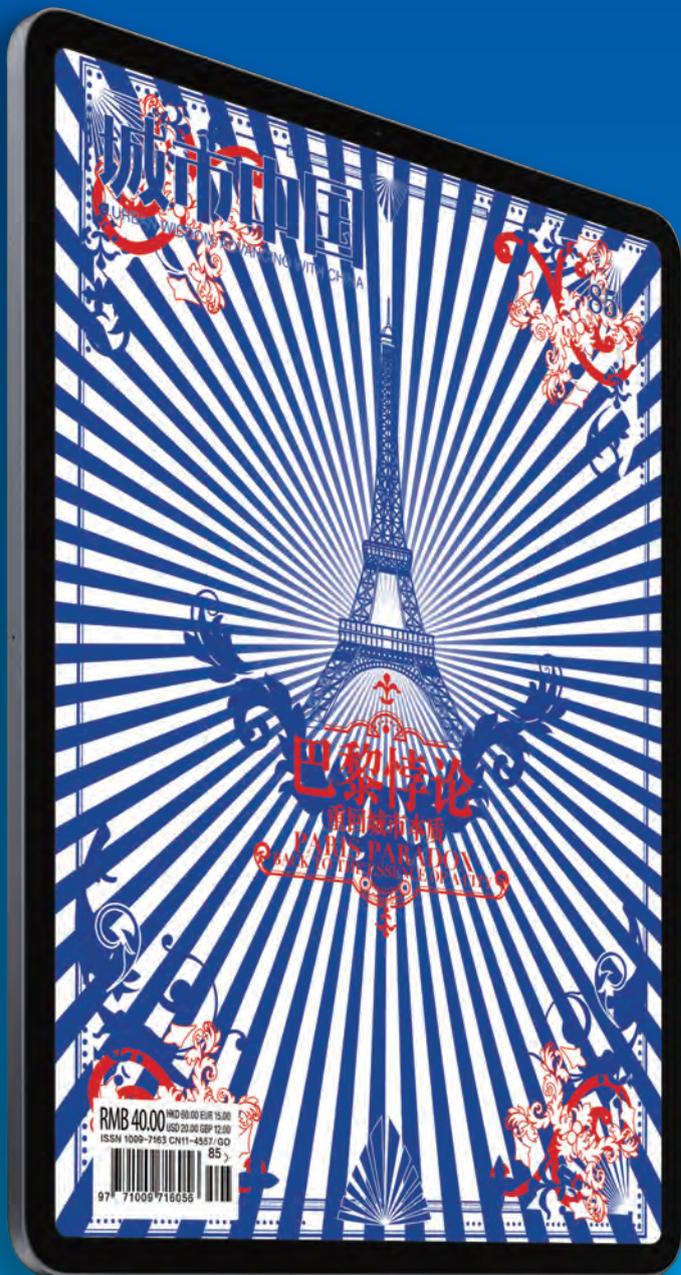
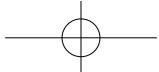


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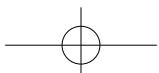


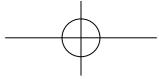


《城市中国》 iPad新版APP 上线一周年



继续寻找与纸刊、微信之间的传播矩阵平衡
APP平台将作为唯一渠道，
推出部分文章完整英文版，以飨海外读者
同时将不定期推出特别策划的别册内容，
与微信独家策划主题呼应

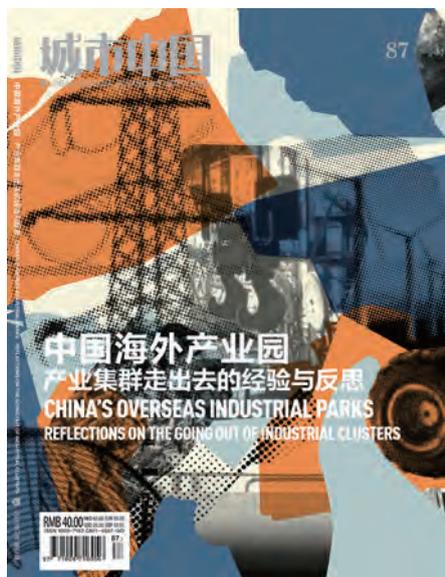




读编往来

READER'S MAILBOX

ISSUE 87



中国海外产业园

产业集群走出去的经验与反思

产业全球化的时代扑面而来，与走向国际化的中国企业正面相迎。生产链的一端从世界工厂的珠三角向外延伸，在“走出去”、“产能合作”、“一带一路”等一系列倡议的引导下，“中国投资”和“中国制造”在世界各个地区落地生根，与之相携的是中国境外产业园区的崛起。海外产业园在数量上的崛起反映的是全球生产链格局的变化、后发工业国家对结构转型的需求以及中国的产业升级。中国在海外投资产业园，带动产业集群“走出去”，成为全球资源调配的重要手段，有着丰富、独特的历史进程，获得了许多的经验。在回顾总结的基础上，该课题挖掘了产业园区与全球产业链的关联、对中国经验的反思和对本地发展的影响。

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读者评论



86期《成都览胜》版面图



太古里传统街的改造，一直以来都被大家认为是一个不错的案例。

——新浪微博 @方九里 Shae_Yang
评论 @城市中国 发布的 86期《成都览胜》新刊介绍微博



图片来源 / 三联生活周刊



摄影 / @恋上游鸿明

我曾经误打误撞走进这两位新晋大师的一处作品，当时就觉得非常震撼惊艳，没想到多年后她们成功加冕！祝贺！

——新浪微博 @建筑狂人
评论 @城市中国 转发的 2020年普利兹克奖揭晓信息

老井盖牢固，现在街上看到一批井盖破损的都是所谓“塑钢”，要出人命的，不注意踏上去，完了。

——新浪微博 @姜先生-建筑
评论 @城市中国 转发 @恋上游鸿明 的微博: 沪东某条道路上街沿上埋设的“市工”字样圆形水泥井盖(如图)，这条道路筑于1952年，市工为解放初期上海市工务局的简称，这种井盖很少见了

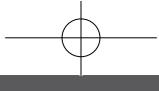
纠错

080期

1. 目录页最后两项页码错误。《在上海，检索上海》应为第138页；黄页应为第150页。

087期

1. 第97页表格第三行“产业”栏中的“双反”为反倾销、反补贴，原文未进行注释。
2. 第151页右栏第三段倒数第三行，“转变”应为“改变”。



伦敦城市规划之中国思考

HOW LONDON HISTORIC PLANS INSPIRING CHINA

文 / 匡晓明 [城市中国总编]
Text / KUANG Xiaoming [Chief Editor of Urban China]



回顾伦敦的城市发展史，对于当下的中国城市具有借鉴和启迪意义。首先，环城绿带和沿交通绿色空间建设既对城市范围起到一定的限定，也为城市高品质生活提供了生态空间支撑。其次，判断城市蔓延的临界值，城市能够扩张的范围到底多大。伦敦是环型结构，中国城市与伦敦规模不同，基本上达到20-30公里，主城区压力就会非常大。例如北京，环形结构到五环就濒临崩溃，意味着城市将不能再扩大。上海则采用“环形+十字”的交通系统缓解城市压力。第三则借鉴阿伯克隆比的新城战略，沿着城市外圈呈放射状地建设新城，并且对新城的范围进行限定。现在我们应该对于生态要素价值的发挥有更在地化的考虑，一方面把生态空间当一种资源，包含生态属性和资源属性，兼顾效率和效益两个方面。另一方面综合考虑碳汇能力、人的参与率、步行道的使用效率，均衡生态效益、社会效益、经济效益。目前中国比较多见的是生态效益良好，而经济效益和社会效益并没有最大化。中国的城市开发需要从伦敦的历史中汲取经验，并在经验中优化创新。

街道的吸引力来自于地域性价值

Street Attraction from Local Value

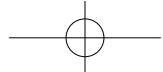
街道本身是一种流动的复合型空间，具有交通、交往、交换的功能，强调以人为中心，是城市的第一公共空间和活力的发生器。因此，街道具有面对本地人和外地人的双重作用，尤其是历史性街道，独特的地域性价值决定了它的吸引力。对于外地人，这种地域性价值转换成了具有鲜明识别性的特色，进而转换成一种体验，最终转化为体验经济。对于本地人而言，贩卖地域文化能够产生税收，地方文化融入本地生活，产生归属感和自豪感，增强社区的凝聚力，产生“街道眼”的作用，转化成社会价值。比如伦敦摄政街，以高贴线率保持了街道的延续性，建筑风貌统一，没有树木遮挡，有利于商业发展，近年来以“橱窗展”进一步助燃街道活力。

地域性不只是文化的传承，更重要的是带来实用性和经济性，才能产生共鸣与共情。它的重点在于保护和利用关系的拿捏：一是价值挖掘，全方位地挖掘历史街区的文化价值，包括物质的、非物质的以及隐性价值，并且通过某种物化的方式进行传播；二是保护个性，非物质文化遗产是真正的个性文化；三是复合多样，不只是商铺的各种市场行为的多样性，而且是功能复合，办公、住宅、商业垂直多样性；四是市场导向，活力的来源一定不是自上而下的，多样性来自于市场性；五是政府干预，市场导向会产生市场失灵，需要政府、非政府组织以及行业协会不同程度的干预，以更多地表达公共利益。

地域复兴重要的是开发运作模式

Development Mode Defines Regeneration

伦敦有很多旧区复兴的成功案例，比如硅巷、国王十字等，道克兰地区复兴也是其中之一。1980年代，政府开始复兴道克兰地区，成立了开发公司负责地域复兴。初期采用“杠杆效益”，政府出资10%建设关键大型基础设施，剩余90%吸引社会投资。由于运作模式太理想化，初期是失败的，涨价收益都落到了早



期拿地的个人手里，政府背债。面对仍旧荒凉不堪的局面，道克兰地区最后使出“杀手锏”，开通了轻轨，激发了城市活力，地价猛涨。虽然开发成功了，但溢价的公共性很低，轻轨和环境的溢价，政府都没有得到。

在此经验教训之下，值得反思的是，滨水地区开发首先应该确定地区发展的信心，如果信心足够，政府前期的投入就不应该只是基础设施，还应该参与低价拿地的环节。供给速度和环境配给、服务设施配给、交通配给要具有同步和准同步性。同步是指先修建公园，再出让旁边的土地，获得溢价收益；或者准同步，先给出地区发展方案，再出让土地，地价随着方案上涨。其次，对于区域活力的考虑，一是政府与市场的协同性，组织策划好政府与市场二者的关系，把握好资本运作、政府投控的节奏，基于发展信心在二级市场里应该有所介入，公共设施投入与土地出让要同步谋划，配套服务要与资本运作保持联系。二是滨水价值的再发现。关键在于如何发挥自然禀赋的价值转换，即滨水价值转换为体验经济、景观效能，最后转换为楼宇价值。三是轨道交通的支撑力。道克兰地区的开发证明了轨道交通的伟大作用，但在运作上不算成功。所以要把TOD和开发同步化，尤其是站点周围的土地不应该低价出让，应该兼顾社会效益和经济效益。四是复合功能的活力性。金丝雀码头区34公顷，除了商业、办公、金融、住宅，依靠水边还产生很多休闲活力空间，既有生态效益也有经济效益。五是规划设计的引导性。道克兰项目自始至终都有规划师在发挥引导作用，起初引领昭示了一个废弃码头区的美好愿景，后来参与到招商谈判。随着市场的变化、业主的导引，以及开发的状况，不断调整规划。规划师还负责动态维护和协商，包括市政协调，弹性规划。

2019 伦敦规划草案启示

Inspiration from Draft Plan 2019

新发布的《伦敦规划》(2019-2041)草案，主题是“规划伦敦的未来—良性增长 (Good Growth)”，包含六大“良性增长”目标，将为所有的规划决策提供战略框架，为下属地方政府的发展规划提供指导，确保各地的发展规划步调一致，共同实现“同一个伦敦”愿景，同时它也制定政策以明晰每位建设参与人员的职责。其中值得思考并发人深省的有以下五点：

第一，社区建设混合包容。该规划特别关注建设强大而包容的社区，抓准了以人为中心的思想。其中“可负担住房”关系到一个城市的人的多样性、融合性和包容性的基础。相对而言，某种程度上，我们对这方面工作的研究还不足，到底采取怎样的住房政策，保障性的经济适用房应该建多少，怎么建，集中还是分散建，采取何种模式，如何运作，还缺少相应的指导性文件。社区建设还包括以人为本相关的便捷性、宜居性的问题。比如公共空间的连接、公共空间的营造、地方特色的传承，这些都是建设强大而包容的社区的一些必然要素。

第二，人口增长薪饷加成。伦敦规划明确提出，到2041年，伦敦人口预期从890万增长到1080万。相应地，就业预期平均每年增长4.9万，于2041年达到690万。在未来至少二十年里，伦敦每年需要66000套新房，且需要有43000套经济适用房才能满足伦敦市民的需要。新建的房子要和伦敦的机遇区、TOD以及国家公园城市结合起来。这实际上是明确了每年的人口门槛和就业预期。这一点很值得我们政府借鉴，每年到底要有多少人口增长，心里有数，然后有计划地引进，有计划地进行住宅和就业配套。

第三，健康城市慢行交往。该版规划把运动融入生活，倡导开敞空间、滨水空间、慢行交通、社区交往。以开放空间、街道空间、滨水空间为载体，通过慢行活动产生社区交往。这也是在完善社区建设。

第四，创新经济多样活力。伦敦规划紧扣数字经济助推创意产业、金融业等创新发展，为创新经济，进行休闲、商业、美食、健康等大量活力配套。

第五，韧性、效率、安全、低碳。该规划还特别关注环境保护和气候变化的影响，尤其把安全性提上高度，如水安全、反恐、防火等等，这些也正是企业家和创新创业人群比较关注的。

低碳意味着高效，强调智能技术的应用以及智慧和高效的基础设施。大数据将安全和繁荣的逻辑建立起来，疫情之下，更加引发了我们对韧性城市作用的思考，尤其是韧性社区。同时，城市还需要一些韧性空间作为反恐防灾的缓冲空间。现在中国的新基建——通讯5G、特高压电力、城际与城市轨交、充电桩、大数据、人工智能以及工业互联网七大领域非常关键，对未来智慧城市的建设、提高韧性和效率，以及安全低碳，具有很大的支撑作用。●

4 刊首语 Editorial

伦敦城市规划之中国思考

How London Historic Plans Inspiring China

匡晓明[城市中国总编] KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of Urban China]

8 城市热点 City Hotspots

17 陆海统筹城市设计新探索

深圳市小梅沙海岸带详细规划国际咨询

Urban Design Under Sea-Land Coordination

International Consultation for Detailed Planning of Xiaomeisha Costal Zone, Shenzhen

42 编按 Prologue

伦敦：效率与平等性的时空博弈

London: Effectiveness and Equity in Spatial-Tempo Fix

匡晓明[城市中国总编]+赵忞(城市中国)

KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of Urban China]+ZHAO Min(Urban China)

74 案例 Case Study

道克兰开发的头10年

The First Decade of Docklands' Development

赵忞(城市中国) ZHAO Min(Urban China)

44 主文 Articles

伦敦，一个自发生长的首都

London, A Self-Evolving Captial City

张卫良(杭州) ZHANG Weiliang(Hangzhou)

77 案例 Case Study

奥运“洗白”经济黑洞？

Did Olympic Game Revive the Ecnomic Balckhole?

赵忞(城市中国) ZHAO Min(Urban China)

68 采访 Interview

伦敦，从时空修复到渗透性城市更新的规划理念变迁

访Aedas主席及全球董事纪达夫

London, Planning Theory Shift from Spatial-Tempo Fix to Insertion

Interview with Keith Griffiths, Chairman & Global Design Principle of Aedas

赵忞(城市中国) ZHAO Min(Urban China)

80 采访 Interview

城市更新，在英国意味着什么？

访同济大学城市规划系副教授杨帆

What Does Urban Regeneration Mean in UK?

Interview with YANG Fan, Vice Professor of Department of Urban Planning, Tongji University

袁菁(城市中国) YUAN Jing(Urban China)

90 图解 Infographic

《城市更新》书中延伸阅读材料

Reference and Further Reading List of Urban Regeneration

赵忞(城市中国) ZHAO Min(Urban China)

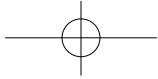
94 主文 Articles

粗野主义、高技派与新形态

破除形式规则，维护现代主义传统

UK Postwar Modern, Brutalism, High-Tech and Beyond To Demolish the Rules but to Keep the Tradition

潘岩(北京-伦敦) PAN Yan(Beijing-London)



- 118 图解 Infographic
伦敦的摩天大楼四十年
Skyscrapers in London: 1979-2019
张晓洲 (城市中国) ZHANG Xiaozhou (Urban China)

- 122 采访 Interview
戏剧, 作为英国的文化认同
访戏剧导演徐英子
Drama as the Cultural Cognition of UK
Interview with Theatre Director XU Yingzi
袁晋 (城市中国) YUAN Jing (Urban China)

- 130 图片故事 Image Story
公共空间、艺术和人
Public Space, Art and People
杨帆 (上海) YANG Fan (Shanghai)

- 136 图解 Infographic
英国新自由主义四十年背后
伦敦的流动性变迁
Flows in London beyond the 40 Years of
Neo-Liberal Great Britain
赵忞 (城市中国) ZHAO Min (Urban China)

- 140 主文 Articles
“步行城市”与城市积累
对新“伦敦计划”(2019-2041)的思考
Walkable City and Urban Accumulation
A Thinking of New London Plan (2019-2041)
宋阳 (剑桥-杭州) SONG Yang (Cambridge - Hangzhou)

- 145 案例 Case Study
象堡, 非繁荣期的前卫“他者”
Elephant&Castle, Avant-Garde in a
Decaying Era as 'the Others'
赵忞 (城市中国) ZHAO Min (Urban China)

- 153 案例 Case Study
另一半埃奇维尔路
The Other Part of Edgware Road
赵忞 (城市中国) ZHAO Min (Urban China)

- 158 主文 Articles
19世纪伦敦的“水问题”及其治理
“Water problem” and its Treatment in London
in The 19th Century
毛利霞 (济南) MAO Lixia (Jinan)

- 166 主文 Articles
现代伦敦绿色空间体系的创建与发展
Development of Modern London's Green Spatial System
严玉芳 (长春) YAN Yufang (Changchun)

- 174 图解 Infographic
查理先生在新城
Charley in New Town
赵忞 (城市中国) ZHAO Min (Urban China)

- 176 主文 Articles
三份港区素描
Three Sketches of Dockland
李雨菲 (伦敦) LI Yufei (London)

- 196 图解 Infographic
伦敦规划2019-2041草案
Draft London Plan 2019-2041
赵忞 (城市中国) ZHAO Min (Urban China)

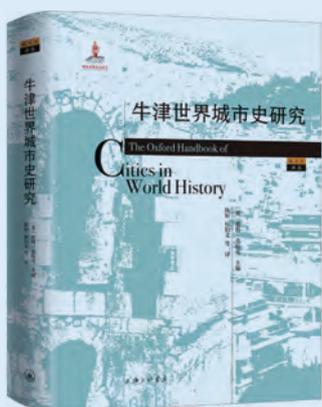
- 212 黄页 Yellow Pages

CONTENTS

从巨著看城市

UNDERSTAND THE CITY FROM GREAT WORKS

文/里斯本
Text / Lisbon



《牛津世界城市史研究》
作者：[英]彼得·克拉克
主编：陈恒、屈伯文等
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被誉为“详细论述从古至今城市发展的比较研究开山之作”的《牛津世界城市史研究》于近日出版中文版。这部作品是第一本详细研究从人类社会早期到现代世界主要城市体系的书籍，由赫尔辛基大学欧洲城市发展史专业名誉教授彼得·克拉克主编，知名城市史学家陈恒为首的学者团队组织翻译。巨著一般被认为因权威性高而可作为研究资料 and 工具书来使用，但这部作品的初始目标是组织一本包括论据、论点和主题的综合性作品，而非一本内容繁杂的百科全书。从这样的巨著来看城市，每个人都可以有自己的阅读角度。

《牛津世界城市史研究》以500多页的篇幅，分三部分论述整个世界城市史。除引言外，第2-11章介绍早期城市，地理范围上包括了美索不达米亚、地中海地区、非洲、南亚、中国等，从问题层面则涉及经济、人口与移民、权力与公民权利、宗教与礼仪、规划与环境。第12-24章为第二部分，聚焦近代早期城市，从中世纪欧洲讲起，分别详述了1500-1800年的近代早期欧洲城市、7-15世纪的中东城市、1500-1800年的奥斯曼城市、600-1300年的中国城市、1300-1900年的中国城市、日本的前现代城市、1400-1800年的东南亚港口城市和拉丁美洲城市等。本部分也以4个章节分别论述近代早期世界各地城市的经济、人口与人口迁移、权力和文化状态，其中还涉及了欧洲与中国城市发展经验的比较。

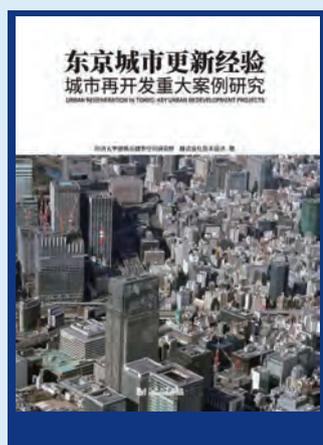
第三部分约占本书篇幅的一半，从第25-44章，以现当代城市为论述对象。本部分各章节照顾到了全球各大洲城市发展次序的关系，除1800-2000年的欧洲、1900年至今的中国外，对拉丁美洲、北美、日本、南亚、东南亚和澳大利亚、中东以及1000-2000年的非洲城

市亦专章论述。对当代城市发展中面临的突出问题和学术研究中的重要全球性热点，本部分也十分重视。专章研究的问题包括：贫困、不平等和社会隔离，城市环境、创新型城市、电影与城市、殖民地城市、当代大都会、郊区、港口城市等。

如此浩荡的一部巨著，是多学科数十位全球级别专家的智慧结晶。据主编彼得·克拉克教授在序言中介绍，在出版社提出项目建议后，他主导的团队便于2010年5月和2011年4月分别在赫尔辛基大学和宾夕法尼亚大学召开了两次国际会议，团结了一批世界城市史总体研究和各地区城市史研究的学者，包括一些地图研究和绘制方面的专家。其中，涉及中国城市史的部分，多为知名的汉学家包揽。早期城市部分的中国专章由宾夕法尼亚大学夏南悉教授（著有《Chinese Architecture: A History》）撰写，600-1300年的中国城市专章由研究宋史的比利时汉学家、莱顿大学历史系魏希德教授撰写，1300-1900年的中国城市专章则由罗威廉教授（代表作《汉口：一个中国城市的冲突和社区》等）撰写，1400-1800年的东南亚港口城市专章由包乐史（著有《看得见的城市：东亚三商港的盛衰浮沉录》等）教授撰写，1900年之后的中国城市史部分的作者为布法罗大学历史系司昆仑教授（其著作《新政之后：警察、军阀与文明进程中的成都（1895-1937）》和《巴金〈家〉中的历史：1920年代的成都社会》不久前刚出版中文版）。

本书不仅纵览亚洲、中东、欧洲、非洲及美洲等世界范围内城镇的发展趋势，涵盖从大都会中心到城郊、从殖民城市到乡镇市集的宽广谱系，更着眼于城市形成与再形成过程中的诸多关键因素。编者开宗明义，阐述了城市通史研究的重要性及其面临的种种挑战，译者陈恒、屈伯文则表示，“在这种‘普罗米修斯式’的大合唱中，历史学当然不能缺席。”正如译丛总序所言，在现实层面，城市发展规划和城市问题的解决，能够通过反思城市发展的历史找到合理的方案或正确的办法。就宏观的城市化进程而言，西方发达国家业已经历的城市化历史能够为尚处于城市化初级阶段或高速发展阶段的国家和地区提供有益的经验或教训；就微观的城市建设而言，一个城市在发展历史上表现出的特性能够为该城市的特色发展提供有益的指导，某一城市的发展历程也能为其他城市的多样化发展提供有益的借鉴。在精神层面，了解城市的历史能够帮助我们更好地理解和适应一个城市。不同的城市在风俗、观念、饮食、语言乃至建筑风格方面都会有差异，其原因只有回溯这个城市的历史才能给出解答；生活在城市里的人们需要了解他们所生活的城市的历史，唯有如此，他们才能与城市更好地融为一体，在感知城市过去的心理历程中展望城市的未来。●

近期新书推荐



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1. 《在他们消失以前：寻找人类最纯粹的形式》

[英]吉米·纳尔逊著，张卉译/博集天卷·湖南文艺出版社/2019年3月/158元

在这本书中，英国摄影师吉米·纳尔逊用他的镜头寻找地球上最后未经污染的原始人性之美，留下最后的影像记录。本书共收录了吉米·纳尔逊深入深山密林、极地冰原、沙漠腹地所拍摄的300余幅高清照片，记录了部落中最鲜活的人物形象与最生动的生活场景。书中还附有作者实地走访获得的第一手文字资料，详细介绍了每个部落的起源、习俗、信仰和饮食等，展现他们与众不同的生活方式。

2. 《理解媒介：论人的延伸》(55周年增订本)

[加]马歇尔·麦克卢汉著，何道宽译/译林出版社/2019年4月/88元

从印刷术到互联网，媒介作为人器官与意识的延伸，长久以来与人类互相塑造，共同进步。我们如何获取知识、协同工作、连接彼此，皆深受媒介影响。今天，麦克卢汉的理论在每个人的生活中被反复证实。未来，技术的发展又将带来哪些新媒介？人的延伸又会被拓展至何方？在这本书中，麦克卢汉本质上探讨的是技术、人类与社会的命题。理解媒介，终究是为了理解我们所处的社会生态，在震荡与革新中寻找自身的生存之道。

3. 《看不见的城市》

[意]伊塔洛·卡尔维诺著，张密译/译林出版社/2019年8月/45元

这本书是很多城市研究爱好者的启蒙著作。1991年本书以《隐形的城市》为名由花城出版社出版，2006年、2012年两次在译林出版社的卡尔维诺作品丛书中亮相，2019年在扩增的卡尔维诺作品丛书中出版最新版本。在黄昏的御花园，暮年的蒙古大帝忽必烈凝神倾听来自威尼斯的青年旅者马可·波罗讲述他旅途中的城市。五十五座城市，十一个萦绕在每座城市上的主题，事关人类生存的所有命题。

4. 《全球城市发展报告2019：增强全球资源配置功能》

周振华、张广生主编/格致出版社/2019年6月/218元
作为上海全球城市研究院成立后的首部年度发展报告，本报告聚焦迈向全球城市的基本逻辑，卓越全球城市目标愿景下的行动方略和破题切入点。从上海建设卓越全球城市的战略目标及功能定位入手，寻找国际对照的标杆，研究上海建设卓越全球城市的外部环境条件及内生性动力，潜在优势和特色创造，路径选择及路线图；探讨上海建设卓越全球城市与区域创新合作、服务国家“一带一路”建设的互相推动，阐释城市能级提升的理论机制和对策思路。

5. 《全球城市发展指数2019》

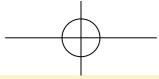
周振华著/格致出版社/2019年12月/158元

本报告在全面系统梳理现有城市发展指标体系及其指数研究成果的基础上，从城市核心功能确立衡量标准的基本维度，构建城市指标体系总体框架，提出主要指标选择以及来源及范围，研究指标权重确定，进行城市指标体系及其指数的测试与评估。具体包括城市网络连通性指数研究、城市配置平台指数研究、城市流量指数研究、城市活力指数研究、城市发展环境指数研究、城市区域发展指数研究。

6. 《东京城市更新经验》

同济大学建筑与城市空间研究所、株式会社日本设计著/同济大学出版社/2019年6月/128元

本书在阐述东京城市形成演变过程、城市规划管理法规及再开发项目机制的基础上，对不同类型的12个城市再开发案例进行分析。阐明东京城市发展的背景条件和特征，呈现东京城市再开发举措的独特性和合理性，揭示确保再开发项目得以实现的政策支撑、资本参与、政府部门管控及专业机构发挥作用的机制。本书所探讨的是与城市决策、规划管理、城市设计和建筑设计专业领域，以及房地产等行业都有密切关系的综合性城市发展问题。



黄页

YELLOW PAGES

Brutalism, High-Tech, and Beyond in Post-war Britain

To Demolish the Rules but to Keep the Tradition

Text / PAN Yan

Translation / SONG Yating

After World War II, three globally significant architectural movements were started by British architects and architectural practices: brutalism that is derived from modernism and localised in Great Britain; high-tech that emerged in the 1960s and peaked during the 1980s, led by British high-tech architects and practitioners; new formalism that greatly innovated architectural morphology and functional organisation, which was born in the British academy and acknowledged as constructivism in its early days, and later gimmicked up with parametricism. The first could be seen as a movement spread to Britain, while the second was explored and practiced in Britain and then exported to the world; and the third conceived in Britain, with its concept globally spread and widely practiced before projects occurring in its motherland.

The Festival of Britain, a national exhibition and fair that celebrated British technology and art, was held on the South Bank of London, only six years after WWII, to manifest the history, ambitions and future visions of the British Empire. Many would suggest that it is state-led grand event with a reference to the Great Exhibition of 1851 (with the Crystal Palace). Led by the 38-year-old Hugh Casson, director of architecture of the festival, a group of young architects designed a number of international style buildings. Although these futuristic structures were demolished in the following year by Churchill's government as the remnants of the Labour Party, their impact long lasted. Not only did they mark the resurgence of post-war Britain by giving new life to the South Bank cultural centre after the bombing, they also delineate the nation's visions of the future: to

rise from the history and embrace the future, with new technologies to create unprecedented possibilities for a new society.

'Brutalism is not an aesthetic, but an ethos.' It was not born associated with concrete structures and volumes. Space shaped by concrete is used as a 'formatted' artificial environment that supports modern living just like nature. With changes in aesthetics, social structure, technology, and economic environment, the ideologies of these practices have proven less socially practical as they have prospected. Since the late 1960s, the language of brutalist architecture that signifies a social organisational system made of endless, megastructural artificial environment, has gradually given way to its 'aesthetics', which was later widely recognised by its concrete blocks and bare façades among the general public. When the style becomes fixed instead of constantly reinvigorating under new external conditions, an ethos is drained of vitality and momentum.

The 1960s was an age of radical change, when a composed, highly organised society met progressive technological revolutions to spark polemic questioning and imagination, towards the future potentials and directions of the society. The 60s also gave birth to a variety of thinkers, experimental architects and activists. Their theories and practices widely discuss, criticise, and explore the rhetoric and practical potentials of the architecture discipline, in an era when the scale and impact of the built environment could compete nature. Cities no longer determine human behaviour, but provide possibilities for human activities. It is a move that represents people's power retrieved from the built forms, through a high degree of autonomy.

Likewise, when seeing architectural spectacles created by our high-tech protagonists with steel structures, one should not neglect the in-depth contemplations on the macroscopic human habitation they are embedded with, as well as their antagonism against the superstructure of power constructed through monumental megastructures across the human history, other than their forms and tectonics.

It is worth noting that after almost half a century, 'high-tech' icons, like Centre Pompidou, have not become obsolete. They have not lost their avant-garde position under rapid technological progress. This can help us clarify a fundamental and widespread misinterpretation of 'high-tech architectures': they do not become aesthetically outdated because they were not developed to express the state-of-the-art itself, but to truthfully and actively expose the relationship between technology and the society in which they were conceived. A form of synchrony is achieved in all time and space, through the juxtaposition of authentic historical fragments and contemporary architectures, in which history and the present echo each other, beyond the limit of space and time. In other words, this synchrony challenges the narrow view that sees future as merely 'time after the present', and pulls together paralleled universes as legible, apprehensive slices of space and time.

Compared to Norman Foster who sees the environmental discourse as the drive and destination of architectural design, Richard Rogers regards it as a part of the theoretical framework of the built environment within an urban or even planetary context. Under global urbanisation, cities have become a factor with

the greatest impact on our planet. Rogers' explorations revolve around new forms of organisation between human activities and the environment. In his *Cities for a Small Planet*, he describes the city of the future as:

'...one that is sustainable within its own environment; that can make a positive impact on its surroundings; that encourages communication among its citizens; that is compact and focused around neighbourhoods; and that is beautiful, a city whose buildings and spaces spark the creative potential of its inhabitants. As our population grows larger, our planet grows smaller.'

With such a theoretical framework, rather than separate sustainable design solutions for buildings, Rogers was appointed as chair of United Kingdom's Urban Task Force in 1998 by John Prescott, deputy prime minister of the New Labour government. The objectives of the Urban Task Force are targeted towards urban renaissance. Its purpose was to '...identify causes of urban decline and establish a vision for cities in England, founded on the principles of design excellence, social well-being and environmental responsibility within appropriate delivery, fiscal and legal frameworks.' Their findings were presented in a report to the government on 29 June 1999 'Towards an urban renaissance, Final report of the Urban Task Force'. More than 100 recommendations were made, proposing that cities should be more sustainable, better designed, more compact, better connected and should support a range of diverse uses. This would require strengthened democratic local leadership, increased public participation and greater investment in urban areas.

The Urban Task Force published six years later an independent report, noting that there had been some success, but many problems remained and even worsened. Therefore, this report, rather than a direct guide towards urban planning, have largely contributed to the formation of consensus on urban issues between the public, urban planners, government, and social capital, through multiple

public presentations and discussions, upon which common discourses of urban development are thus established.

At the turn of the century and the dawn of the new millennium, a grand celebration was expected by many. At the time, a certain extent of social consensus about transforming inner London into an attractive mega metropolis has been reached, which was not only promoted by Rogers, but also driven by social awareness and actions brought by the economy that recovered from the early 1990s downturn. 'Starchitecture' of the new millennium also contributed to the celebration in the form of a new wave of large-scale investment, since when the skyline of the age-old city has been dominated by tower cranes and superstructures. The skyline on both sides of the Thames has undergone frequent reworking.

The 1960s to 1980s saw fundamental transformations of architecture in the ontological sense as a result of systemic changes in the built environment. Relatively, by the turn of the century, the focus has shifted to, on the one hand, the discussion of the macro system, such as ecology, and on the other hand, refinement of existing concepts rather than systematic reform of the discipline. An ambitious era of radical inquiries into the ontology of architecture has come to an end.

Since the speculative boom in the late 1990s till the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008, London-based architectural offices have

experienced a long period of expansion. Six months after the outbreak of the crisis, its impact was spread to the architecture industry, with a large number of projects suspended, cancelled or cut back on investment. Brexit further caused another slump in the economic confidence. In order to maintain the city's image as a prosperous market, large-scale projects in inner London are no longer easily called off for design issues. The skyline of London again changes drastically, and this time, with architectural design standards greatly lowered, compared with Prescott's instance that 'only skyscrapers of exceptional design' should be approved.

Nowadays, architecture has formed an unprecedented close relationship with disciplines studying the macro system, such as ecology, sociology, economics, and industrial organisation. But the innovation of architecture should not only reflect and apply those of other fields. As of 2020, the overall high level of architecture in London is still considerably impressive, with an outstandingly wide range of practices. But we should also be particularly cautious with the difference between innovative and new – whether it is projective in a broader framework of knowledge, or merely eye-catching. Undeniably, master architects who grew from the 1960s and 1970s, are still offering us the sharpest visions into our world. For us, this is both a crisis and a challenge. ☞



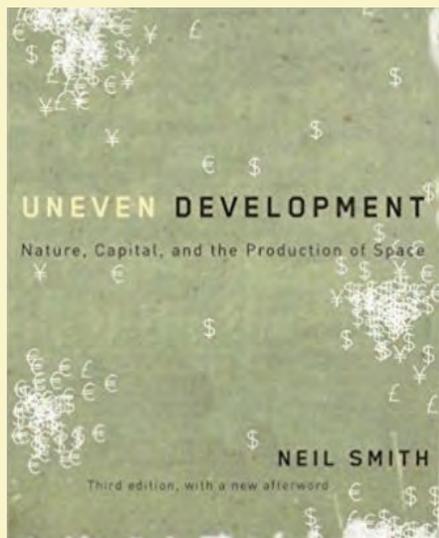
Superstudios started a round of critical imaginations against the endless copy-paste built environment.

Walkable City and Urban Accumulation

A Thinking of New London Plan (2019-2041)

Text/ SONG Yang

Translation/ SONG Yating



Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space (3rd Edition).

The exceptional amount of global attention paid to the 'London Plan' manifests London's specific charm in its urban development history. To others, its unceasing growth accompanied by trendy new buildings constantly shooting up in the city centre verifies its status as a role model of urbanisation. However, this striking charm could also be misleading. The spatial development of London is full of contradictions. Its mechanisms and practices have long taken root in this land. At the same time, this urban development model has caused economic inequality, uneven regional development, and social disorder, which are however often concealed with growth rates and the prosperous cityscape that is continually renewed.

The concept of 'walkable city' emerged in the early 21st century and originated as a pragmatic approach to lower vehicle utilisation rate, so as to reduce congestion and pollution caused by excessive traffic load in the city centre. The budget for London's walkable city project (Walking Action Plan) is £2.2 billion, most of which will be used to redesign streets, install better signposting and maps, and add more pedestrian crossings. Through a series of initiatives, the government claimed that all Londoners could do at least 20 minutes of active travel every day by 2041, if the 'Healthy Streets' approach is delivered.

The Mayor's Office said that active walks and an urban environment with less traffic would benefit citizens' health. It could save the National Health Service £1.7 billion in treatment costs over the next 25 years, suggesting that 85,000 fewer people would need treatment for hip fractures, and 19,200 for dementia.

However, two unavoidable questions are: who needs walking, and who would benefit from walking? For Londoners, 'walk' is not just a choice of transportation, but also a symbol social status. In a metropolis like London, a good pedestrian environment could be regarded as a scarce resource. Under the city's spatial development and resource allocation driven by capital, it has strong class attributes and is very exclusive. People who could walk are mostly upper-middle income groups that work in busy business centres and live in nice, safe residential areas. Urban blocks in South London and East London where low income communities congregate are often noted as 'un-walkable'. For example, Elephant and Castle in South East London has the reputation for being the most 'complicated' and dangerous neighbourhood in London. Complex ethnic background and long-term poverty lead to high violent crime rate. The dangerous street environment forces people to avoid walking in this area, especially at night. In return, the poor condition of the

neighbourhood further results in the decline of retail, weakening its attraction for those who wish for a good wander. Over time, areas like Elephant and Castle became a dreadful area to the walking enthusiasts.

In the new 'London Plan' that runs from 2019 to 2041, the Mayor's Office puts special emphasis on creating more public space for residents around the city. This is not just about increasing recreation areas or retail along the roads in technical terms. Socially, it means creating public urban space that encourage tight bonding between people from different backgrounds, and their interaction will help shape the 'city' into 'urbanity'. On such basis, the new London Plan, while reducing road traffic and emission, also proposes to create 'Living Streets', intending to make streets more inclusive and demand-oriented. This also means that the street is no longer only regarded as an economic artery of the city, but also a diverse space for living. This concept is widely welcomed in a commercially prosperous area such as the City of Westminster, as well as neighbourhoods near the green belt of London, as dwellers in these places could benefit directly from this 'walkable' campaign – with safer travel, a more ecologically landscaped street environment, and a booming street economy. However, in low-income neighbourhoods, such as Elephant and Castle, the campaign is limited to those communities that are being built for the middle class. Only such renovated areas are designed with pedestrian facilities, while the rest are intentionally neglected and even sacrificed to alleviate traffic pressure from other walkable communities.

Behind such a spatial distribution is London's social stratification. The capital-driven production of urban space has materialised these divisions, which are further delineated in urban dwellers' choice of transportation. Wealthy communities enjoy quiet streets and small-scale pedestrian spaces. Contrarily, low income communities are fragmented by a large number of expressways. For example, Elephant and Castle is a transportation hub in South London, where the A2 major road of south-east England, the A3 road of southern

England, and roads toward inner London intersect and form the southern transport node of the London Inner Ring Road. The large traffic flow results in serious congestion and the highest road traffic fatality rate in the city. Yet, these roads, although as economic arteries of the city, could not bring positive economic impacts to the area as mere passages. On the contrary, they have negative effects on the development of local communities, causing damages to the pedestrian environment and local retail businesses.

As a form of spatial production and fix, the social benefit of 'walkable city' is a matter only time could prove. In the urban regeneration masterplan for the Church Street and Edgware Road area in the City of Westminster, walkable designs are seen as powerful solutions to improve the accessibility of various public and commercial facilities for residents. At the same time, the city council also hopes to rejuvenate the declining Chapel Hill markets by improving road connectivity, claiming that 350 local jobs will be created, and the area will benefit from an increased customer flow.

However, these schemes only describe the bright side. State-led 'walkable city' projects inevitably need participation from private capital, as only with large private investment can the government fulfil its promise of increasing local population and promoting local economy. However, in the production of urban space, the ultimate target for most of private capital is the real estate market. Exemplarily, 3,000 new homes will be constructed in the Church Street and Edgware Road area's renewal, which will benefit from a more 'walkable' neighbourhood and thus become more 'valuable' in the housing market. However, it is too early to predict what social effects these renewal projects and this form of spatial production will create. Do these measures really make the neighbourhood more 'walkable'? Can they really foster retail business in the streets? Can they really attract the new middle-class to make purchases? And will they trigger a new round of gentrification, in which low-income families and tenants in the neighbourhood have to face survival

problems under increased prices and rent?

The regeneration of urban space is not merely a reconstruction of the physical space; it could be regarded as a small revolution in the urban society. New social relations and cultural values are inserted into the physical space, and by reshaping the existing spatial structure, an opportunity to transform the public realm is created. The city's public sphere is rejuvenated in reforming local social connections, through the reconstruction and renovation of the urban built environment. However, a question has to be asked: Is urban regeneration a move to provide for and promote the well-being of communities, or a tool to accelerate the economy?

Globalisation has redefined the capitalisation of urban space. In China, this process started in the late 1980s and accelerated significantly at the beginning of this century. Similar to some western countries in the past, China's urban development has so far been a pursuit of scale. This, on the one hand, has fundamental causes such as population density and resource allocation, and on the other hand, is an inevitable result of car-oriented urban development. A series of consequences including serious congestion and environmental pollution are now urgent issues to be solved in large Chinese cities. On such basis, 'walkable city' may become a feasible solution. However, as manifested by the new draft of London Plan, the choice of transportation is not just a choice of travel method, but a choice with social implications. For the City of Westminster, even when a sophisticated pedestrian network is provided, a large number of affluent residents who live and work there would still prefer to commute by car out of complex class issues. Perhaps a change of mind-set is as important as reshaping the physical space, which is also worth considering in today's China. ■



城市中国 Urban China

伦敦
效率与平等性的
时空博弈
LONDON
EFFECTIVENESS AND
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IN SPATIAL-TEMPO FIX
总第88期

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这一次,又有十五位青年学者加入了UC海外观察员的行列。在接下来的一年里,他们将撰写城市研究文章,在世界各地举办工作坊,继续为我们带来最真切的城市观察。



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