





戴高乐将军大道（世纪大道）是达喀尔新兴华人区的中心。大道从独立纪念碑起，沿途连接了达喀尔若干不同的经济区，并具有重要的象征意义。

Boulevard de Général de Gaulle (aka Boulevard du Centenaire) is the epicenter of Dakar's emerging Chinatown. The Boulevard, stretching forward from Monument de l'Indépendance, is an essential link between different economic sectors and the locus of symbolic exposition.

**一种新型中非形象经济正在像达喀尔这样的城市，像世纪区这样的城区慢慢兴起。中国在非洲新的象征符号正通过非洲城市生活中一系列快速的相互作用逐渐成形。**



世纪大道原名戴高乐将军大道，是达喀尔市保养最好的道路之一，甚至在塞内加尔国内都首屈一指。大道从方尖碑广场起一路延伸到城中心，和周边街区一起被称为世纪区，地理位置在达喀尔的城市空间里算得上极具战略意义。正是在这儿，在街道两边的店面铺头里，对当地来说必不可少的华人社区生根落脚。

世纪走廊起始于达喀尔最繁华的三个居住区的交汇点：科罗本、梅迪那和法斯，三者也是达喀尔独特非洲城市文化的核心地带。大道以一座高耸的方尖碑为起点，径直通往市中心的高原区。高原区原本是殖民者的定居点，本地人不得入内，时至今日，仍然有些公共交通工具无法在里面通行，比如达喀尔百姓出门乘坐最多的快速公交。同样，世纪区还毗邻工业区和达喀尔码头。走廊的实用性无可匹敌，不仅连接着码头和市场，还平行于达喀尔唯一的铁路线和高速公路——进出这座城市所在半岛狭长地带的交通要道。

从地理位置来讲，世纪区是达喀尔日常经济活动的枢纽。就其本身而论，走廊的象征意义与其贸易活动一样丰富；人们在这里游行、抗议，还举办过无数场免费公共音乐会。从建筑特点来讲，世纪大道上点缀着不少现代主义建筑珍品：一座纪



达喀尔西非国家银行全国总部。“金钱金字塔”是BCEAO全国总部所在地，通用于贝宁、布基纳法索、象牙海岸、几内亚比绍、马里、尼日尔、塞内加尔和多哥的非洲法郎就是在这里发行。

Banque Centrale des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO), l'Agence Principale de Dakar. "The Money Pyramid" is the national headquarters of BCEAO, the West African Central Bank that issues the CFA Franc (XOF), a currency used in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo.



Boulevard du Général de Gaulle, renamed Boulevard du Centenaire, is one of the best-kept stretches of road in metropolitan Dakar and arguably all of Senegal. Originating at the Place de l'Obélisque and extending with unobstructed sightlines into Centre Ville, the Boulevard and its surrounding neighborhood—collectively referred to as Centenaire—occupy a perfectly strategic sliver of urban space. It is here that the requisite Chinese presence has installed itself in strips of storefronts lining the boulevard on both sides.

The Centenaire corridor originates at a convergence of three of Dakar's busiest *quartiers populaires*: the Colobane, Medina and Fass neighborhoods at the heart of this city's unique brand of urban African culture. Marked with a towering obelisk, the boulevard plows forward to the foot of the downtown district of Plateau, a border that once sealed off former colonial settlements and still bars certain types of public transport, notably the iconic *car rapides* by which ordinary Dakarois get around. Centenaire is similarly adjacent to *Zone Industrielle* and the Port of Dakar. The corridor's utility is unrivaled, connecting the port to the markets and running parallel to both the city's only rail line and the Autoroute, an essential artery in and out of the city's peninsular bottleneck.

Geographically, Centenaire is at the nexus of daily economic (read: social) activity in Dakar. As such, the corridor is as rich in symbolism as transaction; a space for parades, protests and an astonishing number of free public concerts. Architecturally, the Boulevard is bejeweled with Modernist gems: a gigantic Obelisque marked with the year of Senegalese independence, MCMLV; the factory-like RTS (national television) building; the "money pyramid," i.e. Banque Centrale des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO); and the Mayor's office, an imposing box with a façade made up of little triangles (or miniature money pyramids if you will) that literally stands in the shadow of the larger BCEAO pyramid.



世纪大道两边的市场已经被中国商人牢牢掌控。随着中国廉价商品占领达喀尔市场，沃洛夫语-法语-广东话逐渐成为本地通用语言。

The markets lining Boulevard du Centenaire have become firmly controlled by Chinese commercants. Through daily transactions, Wolof-French-Cantonese patois is slowly emerging as cheap goods from China flood the market.

念塞内加尔国家独立的巨大方尖碑；RTS国家电视台工厂似的建筑；“金钱金字塔”——西非国家银行(BCEAO)；市长办公室——一幢颇为壮观的盒式建筑，外立面由无数小三角(你愿意的话也可以称其为小钱塔)组成，而且办公室刚好建在BCEAO旁边，正可谓大钱塔下小钱塔。

也许正是因为有这种非同寻常的象征力量混生共存，两边都是热闹街市的世纪大道才能免受令达喀尔其他街区焦头烂额的交通堵塞问题困扰。实际上，世纪大道路面从早到晚都十分干净。看到这里，你简直可以想象一名退休的交通工程师在家附近的酒吧里跟别人吹牛说自己如何设计出了一条最完美的主干道：连接多条道路的交通环岛，砖石砌成的人行道、性能良好的路灯(一看就是那种大停电时电力公司重点保证的区域)；总之就是发展中国家的基础设施之梦。

过去十年，世纪区在这座城市的集体意识里越来越多地成为唐人街的名词。但是，这里和遍布全球各地的唐人街完全不同。有时不知情的人走在世纪大道上也认不出两边的中国店铺，到了夜里，所有商店关门，商人都进了屋，从外面几乎不可能看出这里有任何中国元素。这片街区基本没有汉字招牌，更不像美国东海岸城市的那些唐人街一样有好多时髦青年喜欢光顾的公交线路通往二线城市。甚至要找一家中国餐馆都很困难，因为需求实在有限。对大多数达喀尔人来说，便宜的商品的确是这片华人区的唯一特点。

2010年4月4日，塞内加尔庆祝独立五十周年，世纪大道再次成为一年一度国庆盛典的中心舞台。领导人在方尖碑脚下高唱塞内加尔光明的未来，同时不忘旁敲侧击地提到，非洲人民怎





尽管大道地处中心，却没有交通堵塞问题的困扰。早上是大道一天中最繁忙的时刻，三轮车和卡车运货物到码头装箱，通勤族则乘坐塔塔公交车、快速公交车、的士、黑出租和私家车轻松上班。

Despite the central location of the Boulevard, it remains magically immune to traffic problems. It sees heaviest action in the morning when goods are unloaded from port by tricycle and truck as commuters breeze by on Tata bus, Car Rapide, Taxi, Clandestine Taxi, and Car.



Perhaps this cocktail of larger-than-life symbolic energy can explain how the Boulevard, flanked by busy markets, remains magically immune to the traffic problems that plague the rest of the city. Boulevard du Centenaire is in fact incomprehensibly clear at all times of day. One imagines a retired traffic engineer in his neighborhood bar bragging about how he once designed the *perfect* thruway. The multiple *round points*, brick sidewalks, functional streetlights seemingly prioritized on the power company's blackout selection grid; it's the stuff of developing world infrastructural dreams.

In the last decade, Centenaire has become increasingly identified as Chinatown in the city's public consciousness. However, don't expect the obviousness of global Chinatowns. For the unaware, it remains entirely feasible to pass through Centenaire at certain points of the day and fail to pick up on the Chinese presence, and at night, with storefronts closed and traders inside, it is nearly impossible. The neighborhood is largely devoid of Chinese signage and there are certainly no hipster-frequented bus lines to second-tier cities, as on the American east coast. It's even difficult to find Chinese food, with limited local demand. Cheap products are really the singular feature for most Dakarois.

On April 4, 2010, Senegal celebrated 50 years of independence, and the Centenaire corridor served its yearly duty as the epicenter of official national fanfare. Proclamations of a bright future were the order of the day, delivered at the base of the Obelisk with all its overtones of the illustrious societal progression from ancient Egypt described in the writings of Cheikh Anta Diop. However, despite all the sanctity of this historical, even mythical space, the Centenaire location couldn't avoid the subtle implications of an emergent Chinatown in its midst and China as the great symbolic interloper in visions of an African future.

样如历史学家谢克·安塔·迪奥普描述的那样从古埃及走到今天并取得了如此辉煌的社会进步。然而，尽管这一历史，甚至堪称神话空间充满了崇高的意义，但世纪大道仍然摆脱不了新兴华人区这一微妙的双重身份，面向非洲的未来，中国作为一个重要的象征性闯入者，其影响也不容忽视。



中国正在积极帮助塞内加尔进行文化基础设施建设，而获取的回报则是原材料贸易协定，就此而言，象征性闯入者——象征符号建造者——的问题就更值得讨论。中非关系正迅速成为全球地理政治图景中的重要章节，在这方面，塞内加尔为我们提供了一个有趣的研究案例。虽然塞内加尔的矿产资源不如刚果、赞比亚、安哥拉丰富，因此在资源开发上的战略优势并不突出，但作为地区文化生产中心城市的达喀尔也许可以为另一种交换奠定基础。

“文化公园和七大奇迹”的选址规模宏大地揭示了上述论题。未来的文化公园将建在达喀尔码头和世纪区之间，由若干新鲜出炉的文化机构组成。七座建筑中的塞内加尔国家剧院已经破土动工，其余六大“奇迹”分别是当代艺术博物馆、黑色文明博物馆、建筑学院、音乐厅(状如塞内加尔传统乐器葫芦竖琴)、国家资料馆、国家图书馆。



独立日庆典期间，由总统阿卜杜拉耶·瓦德亲自绘制蓝图的“非洲复兴纪念碑”正式揭幕，这座由朝鲜人建造的巨型纪念碑笨重而丑陋，落成后遭到广泛批评。所有事情加到一起，让许多人开始觉得达喀尔正在经受一场全面的偶像符号冲击。这也不是头一次，如果迪吉比里尔·迪奥普·曼贝提还活着，他必定能找到充足的素材拍出一部新版《对比之城》——他在1968年拍的这部讽刺电影将上世纪六十年代后殖民时期达喀尔的日常生活场景与当地夸张的巴洛克建筑进行了对比。

老实说，中国的闯入既是现实，也让许多塞内加尔人心生恐惧，他们已经见识过这股新力量如何在短时间内令市场达到饱和并控制商品价格。但在作为西非宗教和文化宽容典范的塞内加尔，围绕华人群体的紧张情绪通常都表现为社会问题——华人封闭的小圈子让当地人感到不舒服。在塞内加尔人开的酒吧和餐馆里很少能看到华人的身影。另一个令当地人怏怏不乐的地方是，这次外来者留下的“文化遗产”可就不会是牛角面包、面包棍或者巴黎时尚了，而更可能是无数劣质的人字拖和令人发指的卡拉OK音乐。塞内加尔人似乎更能接受印度沙丽和宝莱坞电影，有时甚至能听到有人冲口抱怨：“过来的为什么不是印度人？”



还好，塞内加尔目前还没有出现类似于津巴布韦和尼日尔政府那样的独裁政权，文化交流的未来仍然有无数可能性。塞内加尔的音乐已经初步进入中国，Xuman和Farafina Muso等乐队也已应邀在北京和上海现场演出过。

在世界发展速度最快的城市排行榜上，西非各国首都全部榜上有名，巴马科、拉各斯、科纳克里和达喀尔更是跻身全球前50名。当然，榜上许多其他城市都在中国。一种新型中非形象经济正在像达喀尔这样的城市，像世纪区这样的城区慢慢兴起。中国在非洲新的象征符号正通过非洲城市生活中一系列快速的相互作用逐渐成形。



In the case of Senegal, where China is actively building lots of what might be considered cultural infrastructure as the compensation for raw-materials deals, the question of a symbolic interloper—a builder of symbols—is all the more relevant. As Sino-African issues quickly become the next great chapter in global geopolitics, Senegal makes for an interesting case. While the mineral possibilities it offers are dwarfed in comparison to places like Congo, Zambia and Angola that are more central to Chinese strategy on the continent, Dakar, a regional cultural production hub, may be the ground zero of a different sort of stylistic exchange.

The future site of “Le Parc Culturel et ses Sept Merveilles” or “The Cultural Park and its Seven Wonders” exposes this polemic on a grandiose scale. The Cultural Park will be a cluster of newly minted institutions positioned exactly between the Port of Dakar and Centenaire. Construction is underway for the first of the seven buildings, the National Theater of Senegal. As for the remaining six “wonders,” plans have been rendered for a Museum of Contemporary Art, Museum of Black Civilizations, School of Architecture, Music Hall (shaped like a Kora, the traditional Senegalese instrument), National Archives and National Library.



Combined with the Independence weekend opening of Abdoulaye Wade’s *Monument de la Renaissance Africaine statue*, a hilltop monstrosity built by the North Koreans and widely disparaged, many have begun to feel like Dakar is being hit with a full-fledged iconographic assault. It’s not the first time, and if Djibril Diop Mambety were alive today he would surely have ample material for an updated version of *Contras City* (1968), his satiric film about the contrasts of everyday life scenes and the ostentatious baroque architecture of 1960s postcolonial Dakar.

Put frankly, neo-colonial “invasion” by the Chinese is both a reality and looming fear for many Senegalese who have experienced the new great power’s ability to flood markets and control prices. But in Senegal, recognized as a bastion of religious and cultural tolerance in West Africa, tensions surrounding Chinese presence in Senegal are often expressed in social terms as discomfort with the more insular nature of the Chinese community. One does not often see Chinese in Senegalese-owned bars and dining establishments. There is also the sinking sensation that this time around instead of croissants, baguettes and Parisian fashions as the cultural leftovers, there will just be lots of shoddy flip-flops and bad Karaoke music. The gripe, “Couldn’t it have been the Indians?” is even sometimes aired, in a place where saris and Bollywood films find easier acceptance.

Fortunately, in Senegal so far no dictators have been propped up by infrastructure deals with China (see Zimbabwe, Niger) and the questions of cultural exchange remain open-ended. Senegal’s great cultural export of music has even gained some initial footing in China with artists like Xuman and Farafina Muso invited to perform in Shanghai and Beijing.

West African capitals are among the fastest growing cities in the world, with Bamako, Lagos, Conakry and Dakar all in the global top 50. Many of the others of course are in China. In cities like Dakar and neighborhoods like Centenaire, a new Sino-African image economy is quickly emerging. Through this rapid flow of social interactions in urban African life, the new symbols of China in Africa are being carved out.