

THE DEVELOPMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS AND STRATEGIC IDEAS OF URBANIZATION IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT: Since cities and towns are places where those nonagricultural industries are centralized, urbanization is greatly interrelated with industrialization and de-agriculturalization. By means of this kind of interrelationship, Chinese urbanization level may be estimated with the formulas: $P_I = I_1 / I_0 / u_0$, $P_r = N_1 / N_0 / u_0$. The urbanization after the founding of the People's Republic of China can be divided into the following 5 stages: the stage at the out set of industrialization (1949-1957); the high-speed urbanization stage (1958-1960); the first counter-urbanization stage (1961-1965); the second counter-urbanization stage (1966-1976); and the high-speed urbanization stage (1978-now). The characteristics of Chinese urbanization are: the industrialization launched by the government; the simultaneous development of urbanization of cities and urbanization of rural areas; the quite low capability of urbanization to absorb nonagricultural labor force; the incoordinate development of cities, etc. Before establishing a specific way of urbanization, it is necessary to determine some strategical principles of the future urbanization, for example, the principle of giving consideration to both economic results and social results, the principle of the combination of strongpoints, the principle of employing both governmental and nongovernmental launching mechanisms, the principle of combining intensive urbanization and extensive urbanization, the principle of paying equal attention to both urban urbanization and rural urbanization, the principle of combining concentration and dispersion, etc. With the dual urbanization in China and the arduous shifting task of rural surplus labor, the dual urbanization strategy of urbanizing both urban and rural areas should be carried on.

KEY WORDS: Chinese urbanization, dual urbanization strategy, network pattern of urbanization, "strongpoint" pattern of urbanization

I. THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE URBANIZATION

1. The determination of the Level on Chinese Urbanization

The first troublesome problem in the research on Chinese urbanization is the determination of its actual level, according to the statistics released by the State Bureau of Statistics in 1988, the urban population accounted for 49.8%. In fact, in cities and towns there exists a large agricultural population that is not much closely connected with them. These people are from: (1) Counties attached to cities, for instance, Wuhan City of Hubei Province has jurisdiction over four suburban counties, according to the statistics, the population of the whole city in 1989 was 6,530,000, while there were actually 3,710,000 people in the city proper. (2) Cities transformed from counties, for example, Lichuan City, a newly established city in Hubei Province, according to the statistics, had a population of 730,000, but its nonagricultural population was only 40,000. (3) The villages attached to towns, Zhonghuopu, a town in Puchi City, Hubei Province, had a population of 18,000, according to the statistics, while its nonagricultural population was only 1,000. Through these examples we can make it clear why Chinese urban population proportion could jump from 23.5% in 1983 to 50% in 1988. Puzzled by these statistical data, some scholars turn to determine Chinese urbanization level by the proportion of the nonagricultural population in cities and towns in the whole population. This proportion in 1988 was 18.7%, which was obviously a much underestimated figure. Therefore it is necessary to probe into the measurement of this "magnifying" and "lessening".

Since cities and towns are places where those nonagricultural industries are centralized, urbanization is greatly interrelated with industrialization and de-agriculturalization. By means of this kind of interrelationship, Chinese urbanization level may be estimated with the formulas below:

$$P_r = I_t / (I_0 / U_0) \quad P_r = N_t / (N_0 / U_0)$$

where I_t is the industrialization rate of estimated period and I_0 is the industrialization rate of the base period; U_0 is the urbanization rate of the base period. N_t is the de-agriculturalization rate of the estimated period and N_0 is the de-agriculturalization rate of base period.

In 1983, Chinese proportion of industrial labor force in the whole social labor force was 19.0%, the urbanization rate was 23.5%, so $I_0 / U_0 = 19.0\% / 23.5\% = 0.81$. In 1988, Chinese proportion of industrial labor force in the whole social labor force was 22.6%. According to the formulas above, $P_r = 0.226 / 0.81 = 29.9\%$. The de-agriculturalization rate of 1983 was 32.8%, so $N_0 / U_0 = 32.8\% / 23.5\% = 1.40$. The rate of 1988 was 40.5%. Therefore $P_r = 0.405 / 1.40 = 28.9\%$. It is clear that Chinese urbanization rate in 1988 was around 28%—30%.

Table 1 The comparison of population urbanization rate in 1988

Regions or countries	Urbanization rate (%)
Low income countries	35
China	30
India	27
Indonesia	27
Medium Income Countries	58
Egypt	48
Thailand	21
Brazil	75
High income countries	78
United Kingdom	92
Australia	86
Canada	76
France	74
Japan	77
United States	74

Data sources: The World Development Report-1990, the IBRD;

The data for China is estimated by the author.

2. The Stages of Chines Urbanization

The urbanization after the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) can be divided into the stages below:

2.1 The Stage at the Outset of Industrialization (1949-1957)

In 1949, Chinese urban population was 57,650,000 and the urbanization rate was 10.6%. In 1957, the urban population was accounted for 99,490,000. The average annual growth rate was 7%, which was over three times the rate of the whole population (2.2%). This stage could be subdivided into two periods:(1) The period for the revival of the national economy (1949-1952). In this period, the annual growth rate of urban population was 7.5%. Owing to the promotion of transportation and the establishment of the industries of energy resources and raw materials, the capability for cities and towns to absorb labor force

developed on the basis of the revival period. During this period, the government imposed no restrictions on the migration from rural areas to cities and towns. (2) The period for the urbanization at the outset of industrialization(1953–1957). In this period, China began its building of socialist industrialization, the outstanding feature of which was reinforcing the construction of 156 key projects in order to get some developing industrial cities to come into being and to expand some old cities where these projects were located. During this period, China built up 11 cities, forming a series of industrial bases.

2.2 The High-Speed Urbanization Stage Caused by the “Erupting” Industrialization (1958–1960)

Because of the stressing of “surpassing U.S.A. and Great Britain” and “taking the steel output as the guiding principle”, the government advocated that industry should be greatly developed by the whole people so as to make Chinese industrialization and urbanization develop at a super-high speed through separation from agriculture. During 1958–1961, China built up 33 new cities. In 1957–1960 the average annual growth rate of urban population was as high as 9.5%. The industrial labor force in 1957–1958 increased by 230%.

2.3 The First Counter-Urbanization Stage during the Period for the Adjustment of Industry (1961–1965)

As industrial adjustment was carried on, urban population was sharply reduced to replenish the front-line of agriculture. The criterion for establishing cities was heightened. The population standard for the establishment of a town was raised from 2,000 in the past to 3,000. The city figure was cut down from 208 in 1961 to 171 in 1965. The urbanization rate descended from 24.7 in 1960 to 18.0% in 1965. This was the first descending period of Chinese urbanization. The counter-urbanization movement was the correction of the previous super-speed urbanization. “Sharp rising” and “great falling” greatly postponed the process of Chinese urbanization.

2.4 The Second Counter-Urbanization Stage during the Stagnation of Industrialization (1966–1976)

With the advent of “the Cultural Revolution”, the counter-urbanization movement began, the feature of which was that the educated urban youth went to work in the countryside and mountainous areas and that cadres were transferred to work at the grassroots level. The development of urban industrialization was therefore stagnated. As to the “third-front constructions” for the purpose of preparation for war, the investment in capital construction failed to develop the cities’ capability to absorb nonagricultural industries. In this period, although the urban population grew by 21.8%, the outward-urban migration was more than the inward-urban migration and the annual growth was around minus 3,000,000. So the urbanization level descended from 18.0% to 17.4%.

2.5 The High-Speed Urbanization Stage Caused by the Reform and Opening to the Outside World (1978–now)

The distinguished features of the urbanization of this period are: (1) The standard for

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the establishment of cities and towns has been lowered and the number of cities has increased sharply. In 1978–1988, China established 241 newly cities and the average annual figure was 24,5764 new towns were built up and the average annual figure was 576. (2) Owing to the reform, all kinds of ownership structure come to exist together. The main part is the public ownership. The capability of the nonagricultural industries to absorb labor force has been greatly strengthened. (3) As the supplement of the urbanization of cities, the industrialization, the deagriculturalization and the urbanization of rural areas, along with rural reforms, have been developed by leaps and bounds. (4) The policy which allows farmers to enter cities has loosened the long-term barriers between cities and rural areas. The emerging of a large amount of urban floating population is a bridge over the isolation between cities and rural areas. (5) The guiding principle with economic construction as its core has made Chinese nonagricultural industries develop rapidly. Therefore the urbanization in China has got a substantial and reliable basis. (6) Because of the opening to the outside world, the inflow of foreign capital greatly accelerated the industrialization and urbanization in the coastal cities.

3. The Characteristics of Chinese Urbanization

3.1 Chinese Urbanization and Its Basis—Industrialization Is Launched by the Government

This model has the important features as below: (1) The establishment and development of cities and towns are arranged by the government, forming the network of cities and towns which is the duplicity of both political center and economical center. At some stages, the political indicators are prior to the economic indicators. The Central Government takes the three municipalities directly under its control as the support. The provincial governments put emphasis on the development of their capitals, the county governments mainly develop the county areas and the township governments centralize the township enterprises where they are located. Of course, the enterprises run by villages are focused where the village governments are located. Every level of governments centralize those nonagricultural industries around themselves. The advantage of this city and town network is that every level of governments can centralize the limited factors for production in developing the cities and towns where the governments are located or the areas where those nonagricultural industries are focused. The disadvantage is that it is liable for the governments to impose too much administrative intervention and economical interference upon the led enterprises with their power. A multitude of apportioned items to the town and township enterprises is a case in point. (2) Being the main body of urbanization the government can slow down the blind migration of rural population into towns through various measures. For instance, the Chinese government has succeeded in preventing the urban population from over inflation by means of the registered permanent residence, employment, commodity grain, housing, etc. Among the developing countries, China differs greatly from others, where there are, on

the one hand, worn-out slum districts; and on the other hand, there exists a large jobless population as well as a huge army of employed population in the nonofficial departments. But the barriers between town and country caused by these measures result in the hereditary system of urban residence, which is harmful to the fostering of urban youth's enterprising spirit and the development of the normal relationship between town and country. (3) The urbanization launched by the government can accumulate funds for the construction at the beginning of urbanization and industrialization through strong measures. Developed countries could accumulate funds for the primary stage of their industrialization by plundering their colonies and launching wars abroad. They could also make use of foreign capital (such as U.S.A.), or carry on the primary accumulation through the transformation of agricultural surplus. The funds for the primary stage of Chinese industrialization and urbanization come mainly from agriculture. But this means of accumulation is not from personal savings or taxes, but through "the price scissors" between industrial and agricultural products. This accumulation is recessive, much like that of the former Soviet Union. (4) The urbanization launched by the government may urge itself to carry on super-high-speed urbanization for certain purposes. The urbanization speed during the First Five-Year Plan period and the ten years of reform is quite astonishing. The urbanization launched by the private sectors is no match with such a high speed at all. However, the government may also slow down the urbanization speed, the proof of which is the past two counter-urbanization. The administrative measures adopted by the government to regulate urbanization include: altering the standard for the establishment of cities and towns; carrying on different ways of industrialization; reducing urban population; mobilizing urban residents to move to the countryside and so on.

3.2 Urbanization of Cities and Urbanization of Rural Areas Develop Simultaneously

Urbanization of cities is the process of population centralization in cities, while urbanization of rural areas refers to the process of rural population centralization in the towns of certain counties. Generally speaking, Chinese peasants seldom have direct economic dealings with cities. They contact mainly with counties or townships. Most of them get their agricultural products into circulation through townships or counties before exchanging articles for daily use and means of production they need. In China, the boundary between counties and cities is very distinct. Not only does either of them have independent management mechanism, but also they differ greatly from each other in every respect of economic life. The notable differences between cities and townships are: (1) Cities have their own governments, while town ships are under the jurisdiction of counties (2) The economic activities and services in town ships are mainly for the rural areas, while cities mostly communicate with other cities (3) The scale of cities is larger than that of town ships (4) Although the basic infrastructures in townships are superior to those in villages, but obviously inferior to those in cities. The fundamental characteristic of China differing from other countries is the dual structure of urbanization, the simultaneous development of

urbanization of cities and urbanization of rural areas.

3.3 The Capability of Urbanization to Absorb Nonagricultural Labor Force Is Quite Low

The reasons why the capability of urbanization to absorb nonagricultural labor force is quite low are: (1) Chinese industrialization began with heavy industries. This is different from the industrial revolution of developed countries such as Great Britain and U.S.A. The leading industries in their industrial revolution was light industries such as textile industry. Considering the industrial base, China should have a higher level of urbanization. The development of urbanization was hindered by the structure of heavy industries and the industrialization was therefore ahead of urbanization. Since the reform in 1978, because of the scattering industrialization of towns and townships, Chinese urbanization of counties and rural areas has further lagged behind the industrialization. (2) Unlike the Latin American countries which are based their high level of urbanization on the development of service industries, Chinese urbanization is an industry-take-off model. The tertiary industry is relatively undeveloped. With the development of the tertiary industry, Chinese urbanization will take on a new look. With the shift of rural labor force, the traditional and informal tertiary industry in cities and towns will develop rapidly.

3.4 Incoordinate Development of Cities

(1) The structure of the size of cities is upside-down. The proportion of large cities is too large. In 1949, there were only 5 cities with the population of over 1,000,000. While in 1988, according to the statistics of the nonagricultural population, there were 28 of such super-size cities; if we consider the whole urban population, the number of these cities was 81. The population proportion of these super-size cities with more than 1,000,000 people to that of the cities with more than 100,000 people was 43%. The fact that China gives priority to the development of large cities can be further evidenced by the international comparison. In the period when American urbanization level rose from 10% to 30%, the number of super-size cities increased from zero to three. Until 1970, there were still only 6 of them. In India, whose urbanization level is similar to China, the number of large cities was 10. The figure for Japan was only 33%, lower than that of China (43%) by 10%. On the other hand, small-size cities develop insufficiently. In 1988, calculated according to nonagricultural population, the population proportion of small-size cities with 100-300 thousand people to that of the cities with more than 100 thousand people was 27%, while the proportion of Great Britain was 62%; France: 60%; West Germany: 44%; Japan: 36%. Compared with large and medium-size cities, the increase rate of small-size cities is much lower. The situation is contrary to the general trend of the world, according to the data of the two recent censuses of some countries, the world average annual growth rate of the population of the small-size cities with 100-250 million people is 2.9%, 1.5 times the average annual growth rate of the population in all cities (2.76%). In developed countries, the average annual population growth rate in small-size cities is 2.23%, 1.08 times the general population growth rate in all cities (2.06%). In developing countries, the average annu-

al population growth rate in small-size cities is 3.95%, 1.05 times the general population growth rate in all cities (3.77%). According to Chinese statistical data, during 1957–1984, the average annual growth rate of the population in all cities was 2.08%. During the same period, the growth rate of the population of the super-size cities with over 1 million people was 2.02%; the rate of the large-size cities with 500–1,000 thousand people was 2.19%; the rate of the medium-size cities with 200–500 thousand people was 3.25% and the rate of the small-size cities with less than 200 thousand people was 1.84%, which was 88% of the general rate of the population in all cities. The fact that large-size cities gave priority to self-developing was closely connected with the “road” of the industrialization of the central cities. In the early years after the People’s Republic of China was founded in 1949, Chinese modern industries were developed in a few central cities. At that time, the major task of the development of economy was to help these cities take the lead in industrialization so as to form a complete structure of industries at a considerably high speed.

(2) The distribution of cities is unbalanced. In the early years after 1949, cities were centralized along the east coast. Several decades later, as the government made efforts in accelerating the development of the west and inland, certain improvements have been made to balance the development of cities. But the unbalanced distribution of cities failed to change fundamentally. The Changjiang(Yangtze) River Delta, the Zhujiang(Pearl) River Delta, the Liaozhong Plain and the Beijing–Tianjin–Tangshan District are areas where large cities are centralized. In the west and the middle of China, many cities have been newly established, however, the underlying base for development is relatively weak. The absolute level of the development of urban population is not high and the urban economic result is comparatively low. With the further development of the opening to the outside world, the disequilibrium contradiction of the regional structure of cities will sharpen again.

(3) The functional structure of cities is leaning on industry. The main incentive power for the urbanization in New China comes from the development of modern industry. This is the obvious feature of “industrial model of urbanization”. After the founding of the PRC, the cities where the population grows rapidly are mining industry cities and industrial cities, except some central cities. The development of commercial cities, tourist cities, scientific and technological cities and educational cities is seriously insufficient.

3.5 In the Course of Chinese Urbanization, the Occupational Transfer of Rural Labor Force Is Ahead of the Regional Transfer

There is a small amount of “flowing population” around the rural areas, yet it is unstable. The transfer models of the rural labor force in the world mainly include “the Movement of Looping Land” in Great Britain, the “Junk Redemption” model of Germany, “the Free Migration Model of Farmers” in U.S.A., the “Instructive” migration of the former Soviet Union and so on. There is something in common among all these ways: the regional transfer is ahead of the occupation transfer. While the development of urbanization in China since 1978 differs greatly from the above, the characteristic being

that the occupational transfer of labor force is ahead of the regional transfer. That is "leaving the field but not the village and entering the factory but not the city."

II. THE STRATEGIC THINKING ABOUT URBANIZATION IN CHINA

1. The Principle of Urbanization Strategy

Before establishing the principles of urbanization strategy, it is necessary to find out the divergence of views at present. There are five opinions:

(1) Opinion of large-size cities. It holds that the economic results in large-size cities are good, and the results should be put in the first place in urbanization.

(2) Opinion of small-size cities. Large-size cities in China have already overexpanded. In order to avoid city-disorder, it is necessary to develop small-size cities.

(3) Opinion of medium-size cities. A medium-size city is a new type of flexible, capacious social structure as well as a combination of centralization and dispersion. It serves as a bridge to link up large-size cities and small-size towns.

(4) Opinion of the double-track system. That is to develop large-size cities and small-size towns simultaneously, to give consideration to both economic results and social results in the development of cities.

(5) Opinion of eliminating the town and country gap by a widespread development in the towns attached to counties and township enterprises. It actually advocates an industrialization way of urbanization.

Before establishing a specific way of urbanization, it is necessary to determine some strategical principles of the future urbanization.

1.1 Principle of Giving Consideration to Both Economic Results and Social Results

Economic results in large-size cities are superior to those in medium-size or small-size ones. While referring to social results of absorbing rural surplus labors and providing jobs, small-size towns are in an advantageous position.

1.2 Principle of the Combination of Strongpoint

After the founding of the PRC, Chinese urbanization basically followed the "strongpoint" model. By 1989, China had built up 450 cities and over 10,000 new towns. It can be concluded that Chinese urban "strongpoints" have had a considerable scale. The next step should be based on the network pattern, which aims at founding an efficient urban network by developing transportation and communication facilities. At the same time, we should gradually change some small towns into cities and set up new urban "strongpoints".

1.3 Principle of Employing Both Governmental and Nongovernmental Launching Mechanisms

After the founding of the PRC, Chinese urbanization and industrialization have all the way been launched by the government. Since the policy of reform and opening to the out-

side world was carried out, the way of setting up small towns and pushing on rural industrialization by peasant-raised funds has come into being. Both of these two mechanisms must be made full use of in the coming Chinese urbanization strategy, which embodies the unit of the two launching mechanisms of "from the top to the bottom" and "from the bottom to the top". The former indicates that the government is the major investor, while the latter means the government serves as the major regulator.

1.4 Principle of Combining Intensive Urbanization and Extensive Urbanization

The former means improving urban economic results by pursuing technological reform through more input of science and technology to the cities; the latter means enlarging the existing cities as well as setting up new cities. In the coming urbanization strategy, the intensive urbanization should take the leading position in cities, while the extensive urbanization should take the leading position in the country, which aims at developing towns into cities by enlarging the scale of counties and towns.

1.5 Principle of Paying Equal Attention to Both Urban Urbanization and Rural Urbanization

People against rural urbanization only eye on the malady of the nonagricultural industries in the countryside. They ignore the fact that every developed country has experienced a period of industrialization in rural areas before the process of modern urbanization and industrialization. The present de-agriculturalization in rural areas in China is the important basis of the coming urbanization. The economic and ecological results (pollution and the occupation of cultivated lands) of existing de-agriculturalization in China are worse than those of nonagricultural industries in cities, especially in large-size ones. But such a situation could be improved. The greatest limitation in Chinese urbanization lies in the financial problem. The way to expand the channel of fund collection is rural urbanization. The outcome superiority of Chinese urbanization lies in cities, especially in large-size cities. While the improvement of Chinese urbanization level mainly depends on the development of rural urbanization.

1.6 Principle of Combining Concentration and Dispersion

As has been said above, the greatest limitation in urbanization lies in fund collection. On condition that our financial resources are limited, the collected fund must be directed to the areas of the highest marginal output, i.e. large-size cities. Meanwhile, the policy-makers must take the equilibrium of urban development into account, which means some dispersing process in the urban development is necessary. In nature, the principle of combining concentration and dispersion embodies combining beneficial results and fairness.

1.7 Principle of Attaching Equal Importance Both to the Concentration of Nonagricultural Industries and to the Dispersion of Urban Civilization

Though the urbanization rate in developed countries is only 70%—80%, the popularization rate of urban civilization has reached 100%. At present, the dispersion of Chinese rural nonagricultural industries hinders the popularization of urban civilization se-

verely. Employees in rural nonagricultural industries are still bearing the countryside ideas. In order to raise the popularization rate of urban civilization, it is essential to make de-agriculturalization process keep pace with the process of urbanization. Focusing too much on the development of large-size cities yields benefits to the spread of civilization popularization from the city to the country. To ensure the spread of civilization popularization from the city to the countryside, it is of crucial importance to develop the transportation and communication services.

1.8 Principle of Gradual Advance

People supporting the opinion of large-size cities hold the idea of shifting 200-300 million rural surplus labor all at once to the formal urban sectors. This idea is extremely impractical. They ignore the quality factors of rural labor and the social adaptability in such a shift. Chinese urbanization must follow the principle of gradual advance. First, to allow peasants to be engaged in more than one occupations; then to allow them to go in for nonagricultural industries in small towns, in which the technical requirement is comparatively low; finally, they shift into large-size cities with high-tech-requiring industries. Then, necessary training must be provided for the young rural surplus labor before they enter the formal urban sectors.

2. Cardinal Plans for Dual Urbanization

With the dual urbanization in China and the arduous shifting task of rural surplus labor in view, we should follow the dual urbanization strategy of urbanizing both urban and rural areas simultaneously. As far as the question of urbanization is concerned the present writer does not agree to the extensive way of setting up new cities or enlarging the scale of some cities but agrees to the intensive way characterized by focusing major efforts on urban infrastructure construction, especially transportation and communication facilities. The history of the western developed countries has showed that the inter-city transportation revolution characterized by highways as well as railways and the intra-city transportation revolution characterized by subways as well as "overhead" ways will weaken the centripetal force of the cities. Population and industries will spread to the suburbs and rural areas. Moreover, with the development of transportation, the economic connections between cities will be strengthened continuously. Two kinds of urban-round-belt are:

(1) The urban-round-belt where cities are centralized, such as the Changjiang River Delta, the Zhujiang River Delta, the Bijing-Tianjin-Tangshan District and Central-South-Liaoning Plain.

(2) The urban-round-belt of the counties attached to cities, which helps develop the urbanization in counties attached to cities by strengthening the formation of the network between principal cities and further-stretched cities (counties administered by cities).

As for rural urbanization, the present writer does not agree to the idea of "blooming

everywhere" proposed by some scholars so as to develop 20,000 small towns, but agrees to developing 2,000 or so county towns (county-capitals) to create county centers. In 1988, there were 1986 county towns with more than 53,000,000 people in China, constituting one fourth of total Chinese urban population. There were about 28,000 people in each county town. If all these county towns are developed into small-size cities with the population of 200,000, they will be able to absorb another 300,000,000 people.

The differences and relations between the two kinds of urbanization can be summarized as follows:

(1) The city-round-belt-centralized urbanization strategy is characterized by the intensive network pattern of development, dominated by increasing scientific and technologic input, emphasizing on developing infrastructure like transportation and communication facilities. It will bring the present economic results of cities to full play; the urbanization-centralized strategy in the rural counties is characterized by the development of extensive "strongpoints" (nearly 2,000 balanced distributed principal county towns), emphasizing centralizing the township enterprises, characterized by giving full consideration to the social results of settling rural surplus labor.

(2) The city-round-belt-centralized urbanization strategy will mainly depend on investments by the state, the state-ownership enterprises and foreign investors in accelerating the building-up in cities; while the county-towns-centralized strategy of rural urbanization will mainly depend on investments by peasants and local governments in strengthening the construction in counties and towns.

(3) The city-round-belt-centralized urbanization strategy will be based on the de-agriculturalization dominated by the whole-people ownership and assisted by other ownerships; while the county-towns centralized rural urbanization strategy will be on the basis of de-agriculturalization dominated by county enterprises of the whole-people ownership and the township enterprises.

(4) The city-round-belt-centralized urbanization strategy embodies the intensiveness, while the county centralized rural urbanization strategy embodies the dispersion promoting the balanced distribution of cities.

The urbanization course stimulated by industrialization started in large-size cities during the First Five-Year Plan period was the first climax of Chinese urbanization; in which central cities serve as the "strongpoints"; the county-town-centralized urbanization which is pushed on by the development of township industries will be the second climax of Chinese urbanization. This climax will advance in line with the extension (village industries)-centralization (township industries)-recentralization (city industries).

The dual urbanization strategy mentioned above embodies the relation between the network pattern of urbanization and "strongpoint" pattern of urbanization.

3. Characteristics of Network Pattern of Urbanization

Network pattern urbanization is to form urban belts or enclosure by strengthening the construction of transportation and communication facilities over districts where towns are densely centralized. Its characteristics are as follows:

3.1 Only on the Basis of Fair-Sized Urban "Strongpoints" Can the Network of Cities and Towns Be Linked Up

This kind of urban "strongpoints" must be relatively concentrated in a certain economic zone. For example, along the Changjiang River Delta, the largest city is Shanghai; the smallest "strongpoints" are some small towns. The knots of this network are extremely different both in size and in function. If they are linked up, a great centripetal force will be created.

3.2 This Kind of Urbanization Is Mainly Marked by the Fact that Urban Citizens and Rural People Share the Benefits of City Civilization Together

In the urban belts or round belts, there are not only a certain number of urban districts but also a certain number of rural districts. The network of cities and towns is an economic area where there are not only urban citizens taking the dominant position but also some rural population, and where there are not only nonagricultural industries taking the dominant position but also some certain agricultural activities. The life-pattern of rural inhabitants has come up to or has approached the urban level. For example, in the rural areas of the south Jiangsu Province, the life-pattern of rural people is approaching the urban level with the development of township industries. It shows that, though peasants in the south Jiangsu Province live in the countryside, their life-pattern has been urbanized. Urbanization of the life-pattern in all urban belts or round belts depends on the diffusion effect of cities. The diffusion of cities is a kind of diffusing process of urban characteristics to rural districts as time goes on. The characteristics include the social norm, the ideas of value, the sense of life, inventions, innovations and so on. For example, in the urban belt along the Changjiang River Delta, which is centralized in Shanghai, the gap between town and country is becoming narrower and narrower with the strengthening of the urban diffusion effects.

3.3 This Kind of Urbanization Must Be Based on the Convenient Transportation and Developed Communication Facilities

American researches show that: the wide use of household cars, lorries and telephones greatly increased the mobility of people, goods and ideas. The development of transportation and communication networks can change the setup of urbanization through the following aspects:

(1) Proper rural inhabitants can not only enjoy city civilization in their hometowns but also enjoy a life similar to that of the city, having more comfortable and more quiet living space, thus the centripetal force of the city weakens.

(2) Convenient transportation makes it possible for rural inhabitants to make use of city public facilities and social services.

(3) Developed transportation makes it possible to diffuse people living in the city prop-

er and nonagricultural industrial areas to the outside circle and even to rural districts, causing town and country to communicate perfectly and merge into an organic whole.

(4) Urbanization will greatly strengthen the inter-city and inter-region specialization and regional cooperation. If the transportation and communication are underdeveloped, every city and town, every region goes to pursue an independent self-service system of self-sufficiency in a small or large degree, making every city and town become comprehensive but have no particularity. Thus it will be impossible to dispose reasonable urban system according to the principle of comparative interests. The developed transportation and communication will contribute to reasonable inter-city and inter-region cooperation. Development of urban transportation and communication will create different districts such as commercial, industrial, residential, scientific and technological information districts, etc. inside cities. While the development of inter-city transportation will result in different cities such as industrial, scientific and technological, educational, commercial, tourist cities, and so on in the city systems. The cooperation pushed on by transportation and communication will greatly improve the economic results of urbanization.

4. Tentative Ideas of "Strongpoint" Pattern Urbanization

4.1 Major Efforts Should Be Focused on Expanding Original "Strongpoints"

"Strongpoint" pattern urbanization can be classified into two kinds according to its developing way: expanding original "strongpoints" and setting up new "strongpoints". The first Chinese urbanization climax has laid a foundation of "strongpoints" for advanced urbanization. With the exploitation of new mineral resources and the development of "strongpoints" along the Chinese border areas, a small number of new urban "strongpoints" will appear, but the general trend should be expanding original "strongpoints".

4.2 "Strongpoint" Pattern Urbanization Should Have More Dispersion

If network pattern urbanization is mainly centralized in some urban areas where there are several relatively developed cities and towns, "strongpoint" pattern urbanization will require more dispersion. In the first industrialization period, the urban "strongpoints" were limited, relying on central cities by means of concentration on the condition of limited resources. So more "strongpoints" should be set up in the second urbanization in which the second industrialization is the motive power. This makes it necessary to spread the city "strongpoints" into county towns.

4.3 The "Strongpoint" Pattern Urbanization Must Help Create Regional Economic Centers of Every Level

According to their development directions, urban "strongpoints" can be classified into the following models: (1) administrative oriented model, for example, to expand the cities where provincial governments are located, to develop county towns where county govern-

ments are located etc.; (2) transportation-oriented model, for example, to set up cities and towns along rivers, railways and roads; (3) raw materials oriented model, for example, to set up mining industry towns; (4) industry and business taking-off oriented model, for example, to set up new cities and towns through industrial projects. An important characteristic of Chinese urbanization is that the administrative oriented model being in the dominant position, every level of government tries to develop the urban "strongpoints" better where the administrative organization lies. This idea of development has not only internal impulse but also external thrust.