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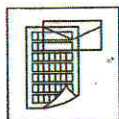
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中国 3000 年城市化发展史概述

Daniel Biau

[编者按] 丹尼尔·比奥 (Daniel Biau) 先生是联合人居署区域技术合作司司长, 社会学博士, 专长于城市建设和住房政策, 曾代理联合人居署副执行主任五年之久, 对城市发展、城市区域技术合作、住房政策等有丰富的经验。他对中国的文化及城市发展更是情有独钟, 研究颇深。从 1973 年起, 他曾访问考察中国 20 多次。本文是他基于对中国 3000 年文明发展史, 立足于城市的兴衰与国家经济发展、政治变革以及科技进步之间的关系, 与西方的城市发展进行了对比, 得出他个人的结论, 其中有些观点在国际学界本身也存在不同的分歧。为了让国内学者更好的了解西方学者对于中国城市的认识, 本刊特别邀请中国常驻联合人居署助理代表高延伟先生将此文翻译成中文, 并由联合人居署区域合作高级顾问沈建国先生进行校核, 附刊英文原版可作对比, 以饕读者。

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中国作为一个世界大国, 在历史上, 有过列国争雄无休的战争、也有集权和稳固的帝国, 有过惊人的成就、也有灾难性的后退; 往往是一个新的王朝繁荣进步, 接下来是停滞、衰落和消亡, 从而为新王朝的诞生开辟了道路。

一些专家认为, 中国的历史充分反映了“对立与统一”法则。相应的中国的城市化也是在中央集权和地方自治、刚性要求和自由浪漫两种形态中交替发展。直到 19 世纪, 这一发展过程完全是在中国内部, 而没有受到外部世界的影响 (不同于印度的城市发展)。

中国有文字记载的历史始于商代 (公元前 1500-1050 年), 当时的国都是河南安阳, 盛于西周 (公元前 1050-770)。周朝建立了中国第一个封建集权制的国家, 伴随产生了历史上用于祭祀仪式的城市形态, 形成了农业和城市手工业的劳动分工。在肥沃的黄河流域, 建立了两个城市, 即长安和洛阳, 两城相距 300km, 作为都城的时间长达近 2000 年。公元前 770 年, 周朝把首都从长安迁移到了洛阳, 史称东周。这时权力的天平就在这两个城市之间摇摆。但从公元前 475 年后, 发生了政治动乱, 诸侯各国冲突和战争不断。在这一时期, 孔子 (公元前 551-479 年) 开始推崇他的“和谐”及“尊师重教”思想。没有了中央集权的束缚, “儒学”和“道教”等中国伟大的哲学思想及天文、医学等应运而生且飞跃发展。几乎是在相同时期的希腊, 也有了类似在科学、艺术方面的发展。孔子大约比古希腊哲学家苏格拉底早 80 年。在中国, 围有城墙、防有土建工事、房有瓦顶的城市不断得以发展, 当时的城市规模已经超过 10 万人 (相当于当时雅典的规模), 城市的发展得益于农业的发展和剩余粮食的出现。之后, 秦始皇统一了中国, 建立了秦朝 (公元前 221-202 年), 成为中国历史的转折点, 秦国统一和规范了书写文字、计量单位、货币。长城和在西安临潼出土的兵马俑就是那个时期繁荣发展的证据。这时的各城市已不能拥兵自治, 而是成了从事行政管理的郡县, 从而稳定了国家政权, 构成了秦王朝对各地坚固等级制的统治模式。

汉朝事实上是中国第一个强盛王朝, 通过中央集权管理, 带来了经济的繁荣, 持续时间达 4 个世纪 (公元前 206 年到公元 220 年)。把首都从西安 (史称西汉, 到公元 8 年) 迁到洛阳 (史称东汉, 到公元 220 年), 洛阳城人口达到 30 万人。这时期科学也得到了发展, 造纸、地球仪、火药和全身麻醉就是在这一时期发明的。汉朝被认为相当于罗马帝国一样强盛, 而同期的罗马是世界上第一个大都市, 人口是洛阳的三倍。汉朝的衰败, 略早于罗马帝国的衰败, 这又是一个偶然的巧合。随后的几个王朝 (魏、蜀、吴、晋、宋、齐、梁和北魏), 国力弱小而不稳定, 北魏时期印度佛教进入中国。隋朝 (公元 581-618 年), 作为一个转型期的一个朝代, 国家逐步稳定, 开凿了 2000km 的京杭大运河, 在运河上建了许多石拱桥, 并再一次定都长安。

唐朝是中国历史上第二个鼎盛王朝, 持续了约 3 个世纪 (618-907 年)。那个时

代的成就有,朗朗上口的诗歌、令人羡慕的金银饰物、众多的陵墓、著名的丝绸之路、中国化的佛教,还有一个强势的女皇武则天,当时的疆域达300个郡县。唐朝时期的长安(即西安)是当时世界上最大的城市,人口一度达到100万(公元700年)。它有完整的城市规划,其城区面积达84km²。当时的日本、韩国都把长安作为城市建设的样板建设自己的城市(如京都、奈良)。在中国南部的广州也不断发展,并出现了许多外国人。这时的诗歌、音乐、绘画也处于繁荣时期。天文学也得到巨大发展。在经过了前期的发展之后,从8世纪的中叶开始,又出现了混乱和分裂。最后导致唐王朝在907年灭亡。随着唐朝的灭亡,长安衰败了。

宋朝时期,把黄河南岸的开封作为首都。北宋持续了166年(公元960-1125年)。而在同一时期,辽国(907-1125)统治现在的北京地区;夏(公元1032-1227)统治西北地区。这时的中国是由几个国家分而治之,边界也不断变化之中。1115年,来自东北的满族建立了金朝,金朝在1126年攻打开封(当时有40万人口),宋朝处于风雨飘零之中,放弃都城开封,退到了长江流域,结束了黄河流域城市作为都城的历史,称南宋王朝(1127-1279年)。1138年杭州成为南宋的首都。在1153年,金朝把北京定为首都并改名为中都。这时的中国虽然被分裂成为两部分,但宋朝仍是一个强大的国家,尤其是在文化方面。如它的新孔子哲学、历史,诗歌、丝绸、陶瓷、国际贸易、道路运河等,在11-12世纪达到了繁荣鼎盛时期。四大发明证明了当时的中国是科技强国,指南针、火药、造纸和印刷术等发明后并广泛被应用。当时中国约10%的人口居住在城市,其城市人口比例略高于欧洲。在8-12世纪,由于北方政局不稳,中国人口逐渐从北方往南方迁徙。汉朝时大约80%人口在北方,1000年之后的南宋时期,60%的人口居住在长江以南,城市化的重心也移到南方。而欧洲的城市化,一直集中在南方(意大利、西班牙和法国),直到16世纪之后,由于贸易的不断增长,逐渐往西北转移(英国和荷兰)。

13世纪的元朝是中国历史上第三个强盛时期,元朝开创于成吉思汗(元太祖1206-1227),到忽必烈(1260-1294)达到顶峰。在短短70年中,元朝用武力统一了中国,并不断开疆扩土,一直延伸到印度和黑海地区。1234年元朝打败了金朝。1272年,忽必烈决定定都北京(取名“大都”),并发起革新运动和大规模建设。当时的大都是世界上最大的城市。而在同一时期的欧洲(也就是中世纪末,修建了许多大教堂)。中世纪末,巴黎是欧洲当时(1300年)最大的城市,有人口20万。13世纪的中国和西方,都是不断建设和不断发展的时期。元朝(公元1206-1368)最为著名的成就是在建筑、城市发展和地理学以及在艺术、天文、纺织和农业等方面。

中国第四个强盛王朝是明朝(公元1368-1644),它的诞生的起因是普遍对蒙古统治者的不满和沉重的税收。开国皇帝朱元璋在南京建立了明王朝,随后他的儿子朱棣(永乐)在

1421年把首都从南京迁回北京,并且修建了著名的皇宫紫禁城。那时的北京(公元1500)城市居民达60万。这一时期,郑和的探险船队穿过印度洋一度到达非洲东部(1371-1435年)。这一探险活动要比意大利的哥伦布和葡萄牙的伽马的探险早70年。事实上,明朝的繁荣只持续了半个世纪。

与此同时,欧洲(文艺复兴时期)则开始崛起,而中国逐渐失去了他的发展机会,但当时中国的艺术和科技仍处于顶峰时期。在中国历史上,这是一个非常有趣的现象:在政治混乱的时候科学和文化并不一定随之衰落,相反,似乎这时的科学家和艺术家利用中央集权相对弱化的时机,不断进步、勇于创新,他们的想象和聪明才智得以充分发挥。

第五个也是最后一个世袭的朝代是清朝。它起源于中国的东北沈阳,是在明朝后期随着农民起义对明军的削弱而兴起。1644年,满族军队跨过长城,攻下北京城。康熙皇帝(中国最后一位最伟大的皇帝)在1683年统一了中国并与沙皇俄国签署了边界协议确定了双方的共同边界。在18世纪末,中国的经济非常繁荣,北京是世界上人口最多的城市,有100万人口之众。而1820年以后伦敦人口(1840年是200万,1900年是660万)逐渐超过了北京。国家的总人口也不断膨胀,从1700年的1.5亿上升到1800年的3.2亿。但在1750-1840年间,中国和欧洲的生产力水平的差距不断加大。此时中国失去了工业革命发展的机会。城市已经不能抵消国家的不断衰落。中国的城市资本主义仍旧关注于贸易方面。尽管农业有剩余,城市资产阶级并没有投资于工业方面,也不能利用技术革新来发展。城市的潜在发展动力被中央集权管理所限制,国家开始处于停滞和下降阶段。加之,政治的腐败和管理的落后,清朝统治由于暴政而丧失民心。这时的西方列强,在英国的带头之下,充分利用这一机会,强行要求中国开放市场,其中两次鸦片战争(1840-1842和1856-1860)强行把印度的鸦片引入中国。英国占领了香港并且与法国占领上海。偌大的一个中国(在1850年有4.3亿人口)变成了一个半殖民地的国家。此时各种起义频繁,如太平天国起义(1851-1865)。最后清朝(包括清皇后慈禧)被迫与西方列强签署了一系列不平等条约。但在世纪交替之际,新的知识分子阶层出现了,他们呼吁国家独立和政治民主。在1911年10月10日,清王朝被推翻,1912年孙中山在南京当选中华民国总统。

中华民国持续了38年,期间经历了许许多多的冲突,包括国内战争(军阀之间、国共之间)和抗日战争(1937-1945)一直到1949年的解放和中华人民共和国成立。在毛泽东领导下(到1976年),在建设一个独立的国家过程中,既取得了巨大成就,也经历了动乱。1990年代以后中国经济不断繁荣发展。在管理和财政方面,过去的20年是权力不断下放的过程。21世纪的中国城市是既富有而又充分地享有自治。城市的高额收入来自于市场导向的土地政策,使城市当局有能力迅速改善城市的基础设施。并且有能力积极应对由于工业化所产生了严

重的环境问题。政治上的权利下放和经济上的繁荣齐头并进，这一理念不断受到推崇。

由于与内陆地区的关系密切，中国的城市经济发展处于不断发展的状态，城市发展就像在中国大地上众多的花朵一样，通过能动的相互影响，即在中央集权和地方自治；官僚与主动；统一与多样性之间的相互作用，构筑了中国的发展态势。当今的中国城市如同过去的中国城市一样，仍旧是国家发展的动力和国家机器的精华部分，如果你在上海或长三角的其他城市呆上 1-2 周，你就会体会到这一点。

然而在欧洲的整个历史上，城市化与政治形势、经济发展之间的关系更为明显。欧洲的城市一直是经济发展（尤其是农业的进步）的动力，同时又是经济发展的得益者，并且往往企图在政治上获得自治。1750 年，城市化比例仅 12%。进入 19 世纪后开始增长。工业化革命后，欧洲城市才开始急剧发展。

2007 年，中国官方统计有 13.3 亿人口，其中 41% 人口约 5.45 亿居住在城市，百万人口的城市有 100 个。这 100 个城市生产了 3/4 的国民生产总值。古城西安和洛阳分别有 330 万和 160 万人口，上海有 1300 万人口，北京有 1100 万人口。中国东部的城市网络密集，但也比较均衡。从迅速增长的国民生产总值来看，整个国家仍处于城市化发展阶段。西部的城市虽缺少能动的的发展，但得到中央政府的关注和支持，包括不断改善内地和沿海之间的交通基础设施。平等和“和谐”的问题（包括社会的和区域的）都已提到日程。城市化的过程预计还要持续发展 40 年，到 2050 年中国的城市人口有可能达到 10 亿。

21 世纪的中国城市，应是经济繁荣，社会和谐，环境可持续，政治民主的城市。以史为鉴，面向未来，有助于面对今天的一系列挑战。

许多发展中国家，可从中国的历史发展中汲取许多经验。

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(附英文原文)

China, 3000 Years of Urbanization

Daniel Biau

The history of China, an immense country, is often described as a succession of order and chaos, of multiple kingdoms in permanent war among themselves and of centralized and stable empires, of fantastic achievements and of disastrous backward moves, of progress at the beginning of a new dynasty followed by stagnation, decline and fall in anarchy, opening the way to the next dynasty. According to some specialists the history of China illustrates quite well a fundamental dialectical principle, the law of the unity of contradictions.

Indeed the history of Chinese urbanization alternates phases of centralization and autonomy, of pyramidal and rigid structuring and involuntary liberalism. This process was entirely endogenous, i.e. it was not affected by any external influence until the 19th century (unlike the case of India for instance).

The real history starts with the Shang (1500-1050 BC, capital Anyang in present days Henan) and effectively with the Western Zhou (1050-770 BC). The Zhou create the feudal and patriarchal system. They develop the first ceremonial cities and the division between agricultural and urban labour. They establish the two cities which will be the capitals during almost two millennia: Chang'an, presently Xi'an (West) and Luoyang (East), separated by only 300 km, in the fertile basin of the Yellow River. In 770 BC the Zhou transfer the capital from Chang'an to Luoyang and become therefore the Eastern Zhou. The pendulum of power between the two neighbouring cities begins. But political chaos occurs, resulting from conflicts between warring states, mainly after 475 BC. In the meantime Confucius (551-479 BC) starts his teaching and preaches harmony and the power of knowledge. Out of anarchy, the great Chinese philosophies, Confucianism and Taoism, and literature, astronomy, medicine appear, at the time when Greece discovers or invents the same arts, the same sciences. Interesting coincidence. Confucius precedes Socrates by eighty years. Large walled cities with big earth fortifications and tiled roofs are developed. Counting more than 100,000 inhabitants (the size of Athens at that time). And they benefit from the increasing surplus of a dynamic agriculture.

With the very short- but long in the making- Qin dynasty (221-202 BC), the country reaches a turning point as it is unified for the first time by the first emperor, Qin Shihuang (Qin, which is pronounced "chin", gives the country its western name). The written language, measurement units, currencies are normalized. The Great Wall, the terracotta warriors buried at Lintong are the witnesses of this glorious era. The cities lose their autonomy, they become administrative prefectures (in total more than one thousand) which stabilize the country and constitute a solid hierarchical structure.

The Han dynasty is in fact the first great dynasty. It brings about economic prosperity through a centralization of decisions and lasts four centuries (206 BC - 220 AC). It continues the pendulum swing by transferring the capital from Xi'an (Western Han until 8 AC) to Luoyang in 25 AC (Eastern Han until 220). Luoyang then reaches 300,000 inhabitants. The Han invent paper, seismograph, chemistry and general anesthesia. The Han can be considered as the Chinese equivalent of the Roman Empire. Rome, the first world metropolis, is three times bigger than Luoyang around the year 100. But the decline of the Eastern Han closely precedes the decline of the Roman Empire. Another interesting coincidence. The fol-

lowing dynasties (Wei, Shu, Wu, Jin, Song, Qi, Liang, Northern Wei) are weak, and unstable. The Northern Wei import Buddhism from India. The Sui, new transition dynasty (581-618) bring back stability, they dig the Grand Canal (about 2000 kilometers) and build beautiful bridges in marble. They choose again Chang'an as their capital. In Europe this is the time of Constantinople (today Istanbul) hegemony.

Then the Tang take over. They are the second great dynasty which lasts three centuries (618-907). Among their achievements, one can find elegant pottery, gold and silver jewelry, a number of mausoleums, a silk road in full expansion, a sinicised Buddhism, one strong empress (Wu Zetian) and the organization of the territory in 300 prefectures. Under the Tang, the city of Xi'an, still under the name of Chang'an, is the largest city of the world (around one million people in the year 700). Modern town planning is invented there, over 84 km². The city will be used as a model for the emerging Korean and Japanese cities (Kyoto, Nara). In the South Guangzhou (Canton) grows and welcomes many foreigners. Poetry, music and painting flourish. Astronomy makes enormous progress. After a first phase of expansion, chaos and fragmentation restart in the middle of the 8th century, resulting in the fall of the Tang in 907, and worsen during the following fifty years. Chang'an fades.

The Song stabilize the southern bank of the Yellow River, taking Kaifeng (100 km east of Luoyang) for capital. These Northern Song remain in power for 166 years (960-1126). Simultaneously, the Liao (916-1125) dominate the region of Beijing while the Xia (1034-1227) occupy the North West. This is a time of territory sharing among major ethnic groups and of moving internal borders. In 1115 the Manchus arrive from the North-East and create the Jin state; they attack Kaifeng (which counts 400,000 people) in 1126. The dynasty totters; this is the very end of the Yellow River capitals. The Song abandon the Yellow River for the Yangtse, thus becoming the Southern Song (1127-1279). Hangzhou (under the name of Lin'an) becomes their new capital in 1138. In 1153 the Jin establish their capital in Beijing (renamed Zhongdu). The country is split in two parts but the Song remain a great dynasty, particularly at cultural level. Neo-Confucian philosophy, history, poetry, silk production, porcelain, international trade, roads and canals are thriving in the 11 and 12th centuries. Four essential inventions reflect the scientific supremacy of China: the compass, gunpowder, papermaking and printing appear and are quickly disseminated. China counts more than 10% of urban population, a slightly higher ratio than Europe. Between the 8th and 12th centuries China has witnessed a shift of population from North to South, due to recurrent instability in the North. While during the Han dynasty 80% of the population lived in the North, one thousand years later,

during the Southern Song, more than 60% of the population lived South of the Yangtse River. The centre of gravity of urbanization also moved towards the South. In Europe urbanization was also concentrated in the South, around the Mediterranean Sea (Italy, Spain, France), until the 16th century. Then it moved to the North-West (England, Netherlands) due to a rapidly increasing transatlantic trade.

The 13th century sees the birth of the third great dynasty, the Yuan (Mongol), which begins with Genghis Khan (1206-1227) and reaches its peak with Kublai Khan (1260-1294). In only 70 years the Yuan unify the country by force and go much beyond, up to India and the Black Sea. In 1234 they defeat the Jin. In 1272 Kublai Khan decides to make Beijing (under the name of Dadu) his capital and launches enormous renovation and construction works. Dadu becomes the capital of the world. At the same time dozens of cathedrals are being built in Europe, at the end of the Middle-Ages, but Paris, the largest European city, counts only 200,000 inhabitants in 1300. In both the East and the West the 13th century was a century of builders. The Yuan dynasty (1206-1368) should be remembered by its achievements in architecture, urban development and geography, as well as in figurative arts, astronomy, cotton textile and agriculture (many publications).

The fourth great Chinese dynasty is the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). It emerges out of the popular discontent against Mongol domination and taxes. Zhu Yuanzhang founds the new dynasty in Nanjing and conquers Beijing where his son Zhu Di (Yongle) retransfers the capital in 1421, after building the most splendid temples (Forbidden City, Imperial City, Temple of Heaven, etc). Beijing will count more than 600,000 inhabitants in the year 1500. The far-reaching expeditions of Admiral Zheng He (1371-1435) open maritime routes to the West, up to Africa. These expeditions are preceded those of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama by 70 years. In fact the glory of the Ming only lasts half a century.

China loses ground while Europe wakes up (it is the time of the Renaissance) but its arts and sciences remain dynamic and of the highest calibre. This is in fact one of the most interesting feature of Chinese history: the periods of political troubles are not synonymous of scientific and cultural decline, on the contrary it seems that scientists and artists (essentially urban) take advantage of the weakened central control to move forward, to innovate, to liberate their imagination and talents.

The fifth and last hereditary dynasty is the Manchus or Qing who, coming from the North-East (Shenyang), eliminate progressively the Ming forces by surfing on peasant insurrections. In 1644, the Manchus cross the Great Wall and take Beijing. Emperor Kang Xi, the last great Chinese emperor (in

power from 1661 to 1722) stabilizes and unifies the whole country in 1683 and signs a treaty with Russia to define the common border. At the end of the 18th century the Chinese economy looks prosperous, Beijing is the most populous city in the world with one million people, it will be overtaken by London around 1820 (London will reach 2 million in 1840 and 6.6 million in 1900). The country population has exploded, increasing from 150 million in 1700 to 320 million in 1800. The productivity gap between China and Europe increases during 1750-1840 and China misses the industrial revolution. For once Chinese cities are unable to replace the collapsing State. Chinese capitalism remains focused on trade. In spite of agricultural surpluses the urban bourgeoisie does not invest in the industrial sector and does not make use of technical innovations. City's potential initiatives are discouraged by the central bureaucracy. Stagnation and decline start. And as usual corruption replaces good governance, the Manchus become unpopular and tyrannical. The Western powers, led by the British, take advantage of this situation to force the Chinese to open their markets. These are the two Opium Wars (1840-42 and 1856-60) aiming at introducing the Indian opium on the Chinese territory. The British occupy Hong Kong and share Shanghai with the French. The great China (430 million people in 1850) becomes a semi-colony. Popular revolts, such as the one of Taipings (1851-65) fail. Inequal treaties are signed. But a new class of modern intellectuals appears at the turn of the century, they call for independence and democracy. The dynasty collapses after the uprising of 10 October 1911. In 1912 in Nanjing Sun Yat-Sen is elected President of the Republic.

The Republic is marked during 37 years by many conflicts, civil wars (between warlords and between communists and Kuomintang forces) and the war against the Japanese invaders (1937-45), then by the liberation and the creation of the People's Republic in 1949, the achievements and chaos of the construction of an independent country under the leadership of Mao Zedong until 1976, and by the economic boom of the 1990's which is still on-going. It has gone through a process of administrative and financial decentralization over the last two decades. Chinese cities of the 21st century are rich and autonomous. High incomes resulting from market-oriented land policies allow them to rapidly improve urban infrastructure and to address progressively the enormous environmental problems inherited from a forced industrialization. For the first time in history, the idea that political decentralization and socio-economic progress can go hand in hand is gaining credit.

And, thanks to close relations with their hinterland, they have brought about an almost uninterrupted growth of the economy. The cities have grown like hundreds of flowers on the vast Chinese territory and they have structured the Chinese

space through a dynamic interaction (quite dialectical indeed) between centralism and autonomy, bureaucracy and initiative, unity and diversity. However Chinese cities remain, today as yesterday, the engines of development and an essential sphere of the state machinery. Spending only a few weeks in Shanghai and in the other cities of the Yangtse delta is enough to be convinced of this reality.

In Europe on the other hand the correlation between urbanization, political situation and economic development is much more evident, all along history. European cities have been both the engines and the beneficiaries of economic growth (particularly agricultural progress), while always trying to be politically autonomous. But their demographic expansion did not start before 1750 when the rate of European urbanization was only 12%. European cities exploded in the 19th century as a direct result of the industrial revolution.

In 2007 China has officially a population of 1.33 billion inhabitants, including 545 million living in urban areas (41%) and one hundred cities above one million people. These 100 cities produce three quarters of the GDP. The ancient capitals Xi'an and Luoyang regroup respectively 3.3 and 1.6 million inhabitants, Shanghai agglomeration 13 million and Beijing 11 million. The urban network of East China is dense and quite balanced but the country is still under-urbanized (in view of its fast growing GDP). The Western cities, less dynamic, receive an increasing attention from the central government, including through the improvement of transport infrastructure between the interior and the coast. The issues of equity or "harmony", both social and spatial, are also high on the agenda. The urbanization process will continue at least over the next 40 years. The one-billion-urban threshold will probably be reached before 2050.

Chinese cities of the 21st century will have to be economically productive, socially inclusive, environmentally sustainable and politically democratic. A serious challenge that the lessons from history can help address, provided they are combined with a forward-looking vision of the future.

Many developing countries could learn a lot from the Chinese experience.

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