



Chiang Ching-kuo and the Regional Planning of Gannan under the Influence of Soviet Experience (1941-1945)

--The Planning Practice of Socialist Ideological Trend in Modern China

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In the early 1940s, regional planning theory and practice spread into China. Gannan Reform dominated by Chiang Ching-kuo was an important experiment and marked by socialist ideology from the Soviet-Russia. In Jiangxi Province, Chiang Ching-kuo formulated the regional development path of first social construction and post physical planning. As a proponent of Confucianism, he combined the Soviet-experience with traditional Confucian urban-rural governance rules of ancient China. Promoted by Chiang, the government formulated two five-year plans (1941-1949) in 1941 and 1943. Under planned economy system, government developed public and cooperative undertakings to construct various industries and built a model state as an example for China which attracted the attention of world. The plan was similar to the Five-Years Plan of Soviet and P.R. China, and had an obvious socialist character. Its annual plan and ten-systems were also similar to Chiang's Four-year Plan and Top Ten Construction in Taiwan in 1970s. Based on historical archives, research has focused on Chiang Ching-uo and Gannan Reform and explained that how the reform can combined the Soviet-experience, planned economy, Confucian experience with regional planning as the earliest regional planning in modern China in 1940s. It's an extremely important issue that has not been excavated.

Keywords: Chiang Ching-kuo, Gannan Reform, Soviet-experience, regional planning.

Introduction

Origin of Research

China began to be integrated into world in the middle of 19th century in Qing Dynasty. The material civilization and values created by Industrial Revolution exerted enormous impact on Chinese traditional ethics and way of life.

The entry of West did not only weaken Qing government's fiscal capacity of engineering construction, but also shattered its control over city management. Areas that were not under direct control of China sprang up and were expanded, such as concessions, treaty ports and settlements¹. In new urban districts that were far away from old one, westerners set up urban authorities, introduced municipal management measures, built structures of consulates, custom office and infrastructure including streets and parks, reshaping the urban space different from that in Chinese traditional society.

In the end of 19th century, Chinese people began to make urban planning, which started from the imitation of concession and focused on urban facilities construction such as building streets. Planning during this period mainly consisted of detailed plans such as road planning, residential planning and reconstruction planning. In 1920s, the urban planning theory of modern cities in West was introduced to China, since when China changed the old city reconstruction focusing on streets and municipal construction into comprehensive urban planning. Starting from the *THE CITY PLAN OF NANKING* drawn up by Henry K. Murphy, cities in China began to make general plan.

After World War I and Great Depression in 1930s, it was urgent to carry out post-war reconstruction and boost regional economy nationwide, which triggered off the rudiment of regional development planning system. China was influenced by the regional planning and combined it with experience accumulated in local area². From 1930s to 1940s, regional planning sprang up in many areas, with the trend of combined urban and rural planning becoming the mainstream. Meanwhile, influenced by socialist thought and the First Five-Year Plan of USSR, regional planning of planned economy mode came into being, such as Guangxi Planned Economy Experiment conducted by Qiu Zhizhong and Movement of Establishing New Hubei advocated by Chen Cheng. Led by Chiang Ching-kuo, Gannan Reform greatly impacted by USSR experience was an important practice.

Research Significance and Status



Studies on the development of planning will contribute to our understanding on the evolution of planning in modern China, so that we can explore the pattern of planning localization. In addition, to summarize the origin and development of regional planning will also be of great significance to the trend of provincial planning and coordinated regional development in China currently.

At present, studies on planning in modern China mainly concentrates on special cities including concessions, trading ports and metropolis such as Shanghai, Peking, Canton, Hankow, Nanking and Tientsin, while studies on small and medium-sized cities are also gradually increasing such Amoy, Lanchow, Ningpo and Suchow. Due to separation administration of city and country in China, 90% of planning history research focused on city-centred planning, while there were relatively few studies on provincial and regional planning such as Guangxi. Therefore, practice in Gannan, Jiangxi Province conducted by Chiang Ching-kuo in 1940s is regarded as the object of this study, supplement of which will be conducive to our understanding of evolutionary planning development in modern Chinese cities from “point” to “surface”.

Object of Research: Chiang Ching-kuo and Gannan Reform

As the son of Chiang Kai-shek, chairman of the Committee of Government of the Republic of China (GRC), Chiang Ching-kuo³ (Figure 1-1) studied in the Soviet Union in his youth, returned at the age of 27, and participated in political activities from Jiangxi, one of the three model provinces of GRC⁴.

Gannan, abbreviation of southern Jiangxi Province, is adjacent to Hunan, Guangdong and Fujian Provinces, accounting for one-fourth of the total area of Jiangxi. (Figure 1-2)

During his work, Chiang Ching-kuo reformed local construction and planning in Gannan. Within 6 years, great changes have taken place, which was praised as a political miracle during wartime. It was known as Gannan Reform.



Figure 1-1: Chiang Ching-kuo in Gannan period; Figure 1-2: Location of Gannan in Jiangxi Province.

Ideological Source: Soviet Planned Economic Experiment

Reviewing the Gannan Reform, we can find that government intervention in urban and rural construction and governance robustly featured planned economy. Featuring more or less USSR socialism, these measures combine collectivism, Confucianism and Fascism. Chiang Ching-kuo declared that he would turn Gannan into the model area of Three Principles of the People raised by Sun Yat-sen, which actually resembled a small socialist Soviet Union. His thought originated from his study in the Soviet Union in the early years as well as the conception of socialism.

Studying in the Soviet Union

In 1925, Chiang Ching-kuo went to Soviet Union at 15, studying in Moscow Sun Yat-sen University and learning from K. Radek, president of the university and Trotsky's loyal supporters⁵. Aspiring to disseminate the idea of socialist revolution around the world, Radek viewed the son of Chiang Kai-shek as the leader of Chinese



revolution and even the leader of the world revolution, so he taught everything he knew to Chiang. After graduation, Chiang Ching-kuo pursued advanced studies in Central Tolmatchev Military and Political Institute in Leningrad.

Soviet Planned Economy Experiment

In the administration era of Stalin, the Soviet Union abandoned new economic policies in the era of Lenin. The period from 1928 to 1932 marked the First Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union. Under the highly centralized planned economy system, political intervention boosted national industrialization, turning a large agricultural country into a planned economy aiming at large-scale industry. The theory on socialist urban construction and planning were also conceived in the process of implementation of the plan, and later developed and improved in the period of the second and third Five-Year Plan. During this time, Chiang Ching-kuo was studying in Moscow, greatly influenced by those thoughts. After graduation, Chiang once worked as an intern in Dynamo Power Plant and held a post as chief editor of *Worker's Daily* as well as factory director of heavy machinery shop, witnessing the urban construction under socialist system⁶.

Returning and Serving

In 1937, 27-year-old Chiang Ching-kuo finally returned after spending 12 hard years in Soviet Union. In the first meet with his father Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo put forward his aspiration to advance progress in spite of hardships⁷. However, Chiang Kai-shek declined his proposal due to his lack of experience. Upon returning to his hometown Xikou in Zhejiang Province, Chiang Ching-kuo studied classics of Confucianism and works written by Sun Yat-sen including *General Plan for National Reconstruction*, learning the theory of New Confucianism and Three Principles of the People.

In 1938, suggested by Xiong Shihui, president of Jiangxi Province, Chiang Kai-shek appointed Chiang Ching-kuo to take office in Nanchang. In March 1939 when Japanese forces were about to invade Nanchang, Xiong Shihui moved the government to Kanhshien, a city in south of Jiangxi (Gannan Area). Chiang Ching-kuo was appointed as the supervisor of Gannan.

In August 1939, Stalin signed non-aggression treaty with Hitler. Abandoning its invasion in Russia, Japan coveted Southeast Asian colonies that were plunged into European battlefield, attempting to establish new order in East Asia. With the ending of war in China, Japanese troops no longer occupied new area and stopped its military action of occupying Jiangxi. In China at that time, major cities including Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, and Nanchang had fell into enemy's hands. Changes of situation enabled Gannan to become a crucial place in terms of geography, which linked south and north. Chiang Ching-kuo once asserted that Gannan was a suitable place for resistance against aggression and the founding of the nation⁸. As a temporary safe place, Gannan offered sound conditions for the reform.

Chiang Ching-kuo and Gannan Reform (1939-1945)

Gannan Overview

Located in the upper reaches of Ganjiang River, Gannan bordered Baiyue to the south and Henan Province to the north. It was at the centre of five ridges and crucial to the development of Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong and Hunan⁹. Surrounded by hills and mountains, Gannan was a relatively independent area, crossed by Zhang River and Gong River, which flowed westwards into Yangtze River.

Administrating 11 cities and counties including Gan County, Dayu, Nankang, Xinfeng, Longnan, Dingnan, Qiannan, Shangyou, Chongyi, Anyuan and Xunwu, the district covered an area of 23,000 km² and had the total population of over 2 million, with its administrative office in Kanhsien. (Figure 2) Founded in 201 BC, Kanhsien city relocated many times due to chaos caused by war and flood. Consequently, it was located between Zhang River and Gong River in 552 AD, the history of which lasted for 1400 years. Kanhsien was high in the middle and low in surrounding areas, known as the city of tortoise because of its shape.(Figure 3) With the opening of Dayuling thoroughfare, an important regional trade thoroughfare, continuous progress was made in commerce and transportation in Kanhsien. Developing into the transportation crux of south eastern China, Kanhsien was known as a pass to four provinces. However, after the Opium War, coastal trade achieved development, hinterland shrunk, leading to the decline of Yulin thoroughfare and Kanhsien¹⁰.

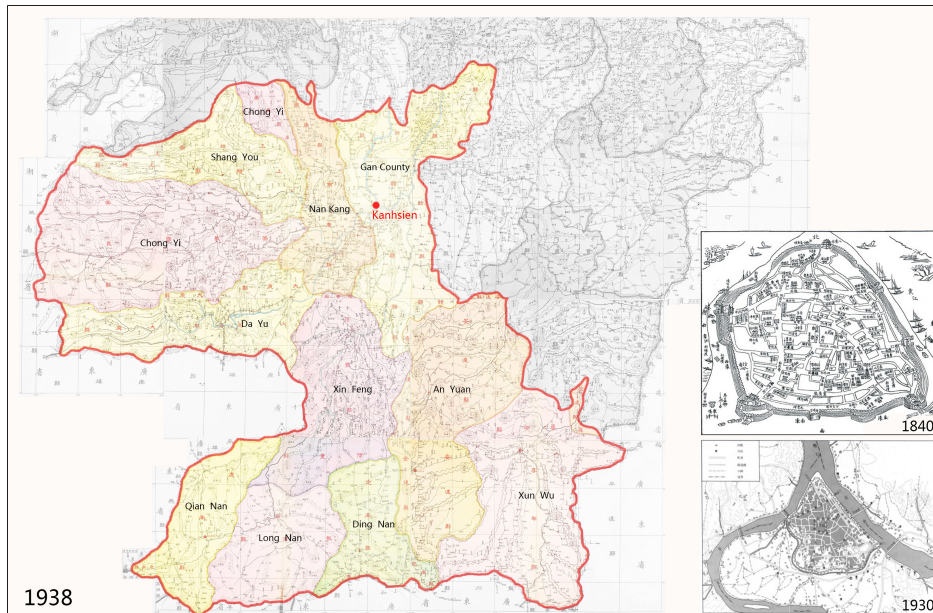


Figure 2: The 11 regions of Gannan and the ancient Kanhsien city in history.

Despite the fact that China experienced 10 golden-years for construction (1927-1937), there were powerful enemies outside and bandits and warlords at home, which left refugees destitute and homeless. In 1939 when Gannan was controlled by warlord and local bandits in Guangxi and Guangdong provinces, destitution, poverty, cultural backwardness and misery prevailed everywhere.

Social Governance Centered on Economy and Culture

Upon taking the office, Chiang Ching-kuo was so ambitious and positive that he put forward the slogan that building Gannan means building Jiangxi Province and even building new China. He also aspired to establish a Communism paradise without Communist Party. In view of status of Gannan, Chiang drafted the regional development path featuring socialist construction first and material planning second, attaching great importance to the socialist construction in economy, propaganda, organization and spirit.

(1)Economy

In view of the devaluation of paper currency and inflation, people live in great misery. Chiang Ching-kuo first stabilized national economy, adopted controlling economic policies and set up Gannan cooperative and transaction stores, controlling the sale of commodities, oil and rice, so that he could crack down on profiteers and eliminate the threat of soaring prices.

(2)Propaganda

Chiang Ching-kuo prioritized the importance of psychological warfare due to his studying in Soviet Union, so he spared no effort to apply media tools. At that time, under the call of “going to Yan’an”, a great number of young people rushed to Yan’an in northern Shanxi Province, where Communist Party and MAO Zedong were stationed, meanwhile some of them also went to Gannan under the call of Chiang Ching-kuo. Chiang started Integrity Daily, news agency, New Gannan press and New Gannan Bookstore, drawing the attention of talents and supporting him.

(3)Organization

Chiang Ching-kuo applied the Komsomolsk mode into Jiangxi Province, and told his father that youngsters in today's China were so passionate but lack of working methods and correct political line. He set up young cadre training class, advocating that youth organization should mainly consist of farmers, workers, students, teachers, freelancers, merchants and capitalists. Talents cultivated in this organization later became the pillar of the implementation of various policies in Gannan Reform.

(4)Spirit

Born in the same place with Wang Yangming (1472-1529), the representative of Confucianism in Ming Dynasty, Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo were all advocators of new Confucianism. In 1520s, when Wang Yangming took charge of Gannan, he drawn up *Local Rules and Regulation of Gannan* so as to improve social



morality. Combined with Bao and Jia household registration system of old China, the county regulation system became the ruling mode ensuring the stability of Gannan for 400 years. Chiang Ching-kuo imitated Local Rules and Regulation of Gannan and issued *New Gannan Rules*, promoting ideological and cultural construction in local area. To regulate people's daily life through Chinese traditional virtues and standard of conduct as well as spiritual education, bad custom in people's daily life was changed and openness in culture was also advanced. Through one year effort, fresh progress has been made in Gannan.

After conquering all these hardships, Gannan area gradually achieved social stability, and Chiang Ching-kuo also promoted his conception step by step. Since then to 1945, he began to developed economy, education and carried out reform and planning.

Two Regional Planning

Through what Chiang Ching-kuo had written in letters, it could be found that he always hoped to have the opportunity to transplant a soviet social mode in China. However, under the ideology and administration system of GRC, he had no chance to carry out his ideas, still less could he implement the soviet planned economy. He tried his best to utilize the slogan of building Three Principles of the People demonstration zone, protecting his dream of building a socialist Soviet¹¹. Two regional planning from 1940 are examples to show that.

The First Three-year Plan of New Gannan

In the Executive Meeting of Ganan held in November 1940, Chiang Ching-kuo put forward that he wanted to establish economic system of Three Principles of the People. He believed that “the reason why our economic system was different from the capitalist economic system was that we had plans.” Chiang launched Gannan Reform in Kanhsien, aspiring to turn Gannan into a demonstration area of Three Principles of the People. Under his effort, Establishing the First Three-Year Plan of New Gannan formulated at the meeting advocated that a long-term goals should be achieved¹², namely, turning poor and old Gannan into an advanced and prosperous new Gannan with high happy index¹³.

Maybe influenced by The General plan for National Reconstruction by Sun Yat-sen, many planning in the Republic of China era featured industrial and regional planning, among which Gannan Reform was no exception. The Three-year Plan consisted of ten industries including agriculture, forestry, industry, commerce, mining, transportation, education, culture, health and relief. (Table 1)

Projets	Measures				
Agriculture	Land reclamation	The building of farms	Promote cooperative organizations	Repairing and renovating irrigation and water conservation	Opening orchards
	Establishing new villages in rural areas				
Forestry	Forest resources protection	Building new Gannan	Expanding nursery	Tree planting competition	Control on timber sale
Industry	Setting up guiding institution of handicraft industry	Promote cooperative industries	Set up various factories	Rewarding industrial investment	Promote small family factories
Commerce	Building state stores	Setting up consumer cooperatives	practising small loan		
Mining industry	Exploiting mineral resources	Improving exploitation methods	Rewarding privately operated mine sites		
Transportation	Building roads and bridges	Regulating traffic order	Building telephone communication network	Building post communication network	Opening up county main road
	Improving road network	Building freight transport network	Dredging and realignment of rivers		
Education	Building middle schools	Building vocational schools	Building county and village schools	Building national schools	Setting up educational fund
	Building schoolhouses	Building libraries	Building stadiums	Building kindergartens	Rewarding donation to build schools
Culture	Circulating newspaper	Building bookstores	Building printshops	Publishing popular books	Building parks



	Advocating academic research	Building theatres			
Health	Building health centers	Setting up tuberculosis sanatorium	Building leprosarium	Improving environmental sanitation	Building public restrooms
Relief	Setting up almshouses	Setting up relief factories	Setting up orphanage	Setting up residence for people	Setting up woman factories
	Setting up relief fund				
Urban construction	Building food markets				

Table 1: Specific measures in *the Three-year Plan*

In the plan, it was required that 331 factories, 314 rural villages, 2,900 demonstration zones, 3,000 cooperatives, 6,043 water conservancy projects, 321 orchards and 3,000 new schoolhouses would be built and 1.33 km² barren land cultivated¹⁴. The core goal was not material construction, but to inspire people through material construction. Chiang Ching-kuo attracted coastal investment to Gannan to open factories through his personal influence. After the outbreak of Anti-Japanese War, a great number of coastal universities and colleges as well as enterprises moved to Kanhsien offering abundant human and industrial resources to the implementation of Three-Year Plan.

Before Chiang's coming, Guangdong warlord established government office in Kanhsien, carried out improvement in municipal administration, and drafted General plan of Municipal Administration Planning of Kanhsien, which was the first reform planning in its history. Imitating the municipal construction of Canton, the planning involved the building of arcades, parks, roads, markets and fire-fighting devices, so Kanhsien was also known as small Canton. Large-scale construction was once made in urban roads. From 1933 to 1935, 15 roads were open to the public, and the city wall no longer limited the development of cities. Connected with Ganyu highway and Gansui highway and distributed in the shape of net, these roads enjoyed 6.53 km and covered a construction area of 10,000 m². Because of turmoil and chaos during war from 1935 to 1941, the government failed to build new city roads.

After issuing the Three-Year Plan, city roads construction in Kanhsien reached the climax from 1941 to 1947. (Figure 3) From 1941 to 1945, 6 roads were built with total length of 2.18 km and total road area of 25,500m², and 6 bridges including Zhongzheng bridge, new Gannan bridge and Zhongxiao bridge. After Chiang Ching-kuo resigned, Yang Ming took the office and continued administrative policy advocated by Chiang. From 1946 to 1947, 8 roads have been opened, with the total length of 5.1 km and total area of 44,200 m². These roads made up structural framework of roads in Kanhsien up till now. (Table 2) In the process of expanding roads, the way of dismantling city walls to build roads was not adopted. Instead, followed the *THE CITY PLAN OF NANKING*, all city walls and city gates were preserved.

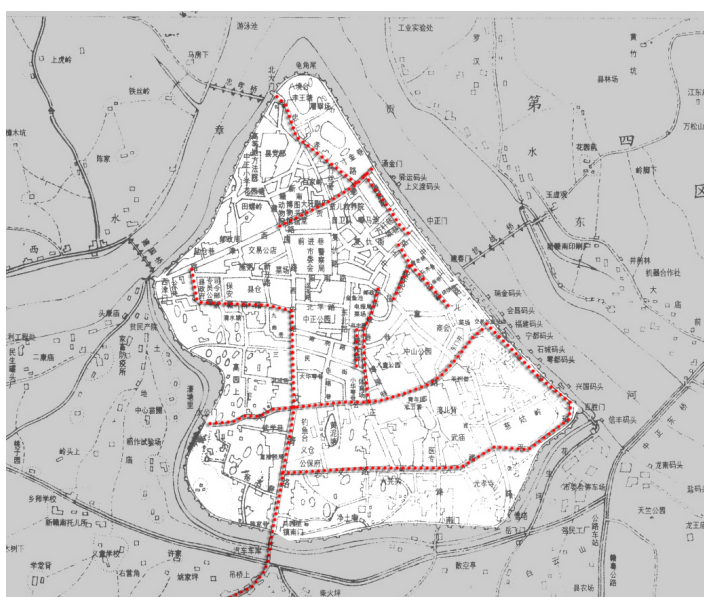


Figure 3: Road construction in the reign of Chiang Ching-kuo.

Name	Completion Time
New Gannan Road	1941
Sports Road	1941
Wenqing Road	1941-1947
Lianxi Road	1941
Zhanggong Road	1943
Dagong Road	1946
Healthy Road	1946
Bajing Road	1946
Houde Road	1947
Peace Road	1947
Big Huaxing Road	1947
Small Huaxing Road	1947

Table 2: Road built in 1941-1947



Gannan Reform and Three-Year Plan aimed at improving the city landscape and people's livelihood, so a number of buildings catering to people's living and war were set up, such as children village, Jiangxi Nursery, Zhengqi Middle School and Xinren factory. (Figure 4)



Figure 4: New buildings and street view in new Kanhsien, Gannan.

When the Three-Year Plan was about to finish in 1944, 2,800 schools, 657 farms, 1,996 water conservancy projects, 17,000 km of roads, over 5,000 bridges were built. The number of the unemployed decreased by 3 times compared with that of 1938, boosting economic development in Gannan, and Kanhsien became one of the 14 largest cities in the country at the time ¹⁵.

The Second Five-year Plan of New Gannan

In January 1943 when the First Three-Year Plan was about to finish, Chiang Ching-kuo issued The Outline of New Gannan Construction, preparing for the Second Five-Year Plan. In the same year, Gannan of Jiangxi Province enacted the Second Five-Year Plan of New Gannan, attaching the implementation schedule. In the Five-Year Plan, national defence was regarded as the key due to the need in wartime, and economic plan should be drafted on the basis of military demand.

Since Gannan had relatively weak industrial basis, Chiang Ching-kuo had clear understanding on what had been achieved in the First Three-Year Plan and high expectation of the Second Five-Year Plan. He believed that the Three-Year Plan can only finish the basis of construction. Other important tasks was about to be done in the Second Five-Year Plan.

In terms of the industry, the Five-Year Plan put forward learn soviet model, established heavy industrial base, developed agricultural industrialization and carried out agrarian reform so as to achieve industrial mechanization. To solve the problem of concentration of landholding in Gannan, Chiang Ching-kuo put forward the Executive plan of land Administration in new Gannan, established demonstration area, cooperative farms, rural new villages and enabled land-to-the-tiller through adopting yeomenry equalization of landownership policies of Three Principles of the People. In Anti-Japanese war, only 4 counties set up 6 yeomenry demonstration areas, levying 7.2 km² land and 1,116 yeomenries ¹⁶. The relatively mild land reform policies were first tested in Gannan, and were popularized in Taiwan after initial progress was achieved.

At the same time, the Five-Year Plan also attached great importance to education and spared no efforts to set up public educational buildings to train professionals and talents for region, such as library, science building, art building, kindergartens and schools.

Different from the Three-Year Plan, the Five-Year Plan set clear construction goals of population size, urban and rural area under administration and construction sequence, featuring initial modern city planning.

Modern city construction was put forward in the plan, namely, achieving city modernization and village urbanization and creating new living environment. Main roads including Dagong road, Ganjiang road and Wenqing road were built in Kanhsien at their centre. Various counties in Gannan were turned into modern standard cities and small commercial centres such as Yulu, Jiangkou and Shadi were rebuilt into modern cities. Satellite town of Kanhsien was thus formed and the population plan of Kanhsien was also enlarged to 500,000. (Figure 5)

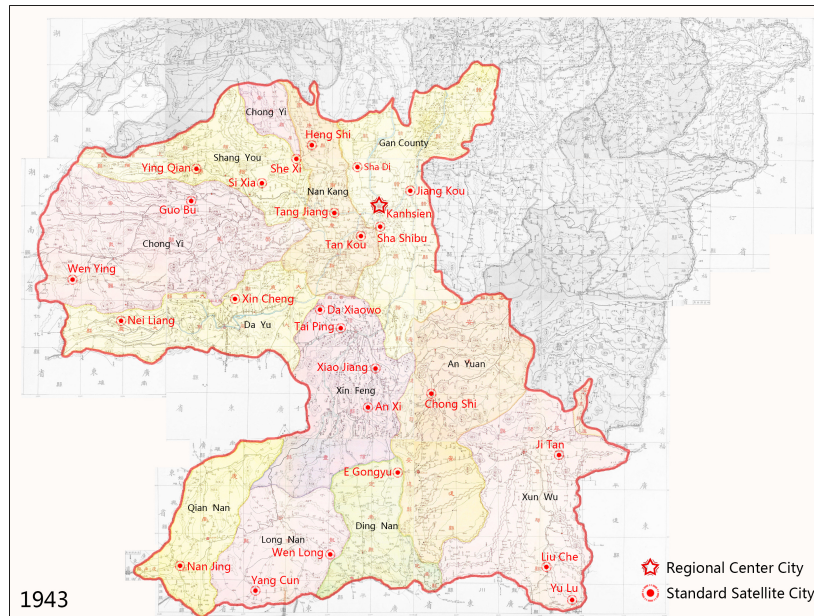


Figure 5: Concept of satellite towns.

11 counties administrated by Gannan regarded Dayu, Chongyi and Shangyou as NO.1 heavy industrial centre, Gan county, Nankang and Xinfeng as NO.2 heavy industrial centre, Longnan, Dingnan and Qiannan as light industrial centre and Xunwu, Anyuan as handicraft industrial centre. Counties set up astronomical observatory, broadcasting stations, and Niedu was renovated into a scenic spot. Recuperation village was built, and travel agencies were built in Longnan and Xinfeng. (Figure 6) It is proposed that Gannan would be turned into a paradise for people who worked within 5 years.

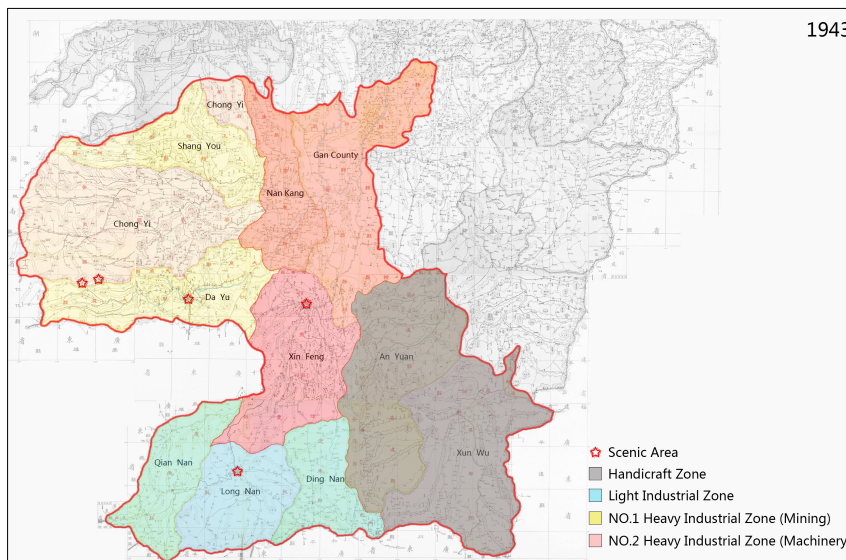


Figure 6: Layout of industrial space.

Evaluation of Gannan Reform

Remarkable achievement has been made since Chiang Ching-kuo took charge of Gannan, which was called as Gannan Model and won praise by others. There was even a saying that Gannan had great influence in post-war politics. Chiang Kai-shek was satisfied with the achievement made by his son, and he praised in the telegraph, "It has been 3 years since my son served as the administration commissioner, and I felt so pleased that he won people's love and respect for his achievement in social construction."



Compared with the governance of government in other areas, reform conducted by Chiang Ching-kuo was quite unique and drawn the attention of China and even the world. In particular, it was quite obvious when foreign visitors compared the backward Gannan with other areas in China. In July 1943, *Collier* took the lead to publish the article *Gissimo is Building a Model State as an Example for New China* so that Chiang Ching-kuo and New Gannan were known overseas¹⁷. Atkinson, journalist of New York Times, interviewed people in Gannan and published the article *Kanhsien Sets Aim for People's Rule*, in which he said that insightful personages in China preferred to talk about Chinese modernization, however, only Gannan was advancing it¹⁸. From the perspective of Atkinson, Kanhsien was the most modern and cleanest city in China.

Ta Kung Pao in Chongqing also reported it, showcasing that the progress of top-down reform in new Gannan was obvious. Certainly, achievement should also be attributed to the effort made by the authority. These changes were only a small fraction of changes in new Gannan¹⁹.

Since 1945, Chiang Ching-kuo resigned and worked in the central government, but he still frequently commuted Chongqing and Gannan. In spite of this, he cared about the Gannan reform and promoted the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan.

Unfortunately, Japan launched war in January, 1944 and occupied Kanhsien on February 5. Jiangxi Province was occupied by Japan, so the unfinished plan of Gannan Reform was postponed.

Conclusion: Characteristics and Influences

The Combination of Pluralistic Thought and ideology

As a legendary politician who integrates Chinese Confucianism, Soviet Communism, American democratic value, and Taiwan experience, Chiang Ching-kuo was a complicated governor. His attitude towards life originated from Chinese culture and his life experience in the underclass of Soviet Union. Like his father Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo was also a vindicator of Chinese traditional culture and the disciple of Three Principles of the People of Sun Yat-sen. However, China's political situation has made it necessary for him to become a warlord-style local consul, and it is precisely because of the nature of the warlords that it can effectively implement similar reforms. Urban planning of western modern cities, capitalism, soviet planned economy model, cosmopolitanism of Chinese tradition and socialism were all mixed and utilized in Chiang's practice, cantering on the goal of developing industry, building cities and forming unique administrative model, which was different from Chongqing of Kuomintang and Yan'an of Communist party. It was the most distinctive feature of Gannan Reform.

The Critical Continuation of Traditional China in Modern Times

Critical inheritance of Chinese traditional thought was also a feature of this reform. Before Chiang's practice, whether the country governance made by Wang Yangming through Local Rules and Regulation of Gannan or the new village movement advocated by Yan Xishan, Yan Yangchu and Liang Shumin in Zouping, Dingxian and Jiangning were focused on education, economy and culture but substantive rural and urban planning. On the basis of their experience, Chiang Ching-kuo issued and implemented the regional development path of 'featuring socialist construction first and material planning second'. Through this path, he accurately grasped the social status quo in the Gannan region and stabilized economic and industrial in a short period, which inspired a greatly improvement in rural and urban landscape and people's living standards.

Continuation of the Reform in Taiwan

When concluding the experience of Gannan Reform, Chiang once said that this experience should be respected and thought about how to be used in the future.²⁰ During the Taiwan period, the administration style of Chiang was still well-received by people like in Gannan time. When Chiang Kai-shek resigned, Chiang Ching-kuo governed Taiwan and drafted a series of Four-year plan and Six-year Economic plan, and advanced ten constructions. The influence of his administration in Gannan to his politics career could be dimly reflected by what he had done in this period.

Ten industries of Gannan Reform and ten constructions carried out when Chiang Ching-kuo took charge of Taiwan had much in common. Ten constructions, featuring obvious planned economy, was more Taiwan version of Stalin planned economy than new deal of Roosevelt. Therefore, Chiang's administration in Gannan was an important period for individual political development. It could be said that the achievements in Gannan period to some extent led to the development of Taiwan's economy, which also laid a solid foundation for Chiang's administration and rapid economic soar.

Epilogue



Gannan Reform resembled the local autonomy, which was a top-bottom reform based on government. Under the leadership of such a heroic figure as Chiang Ching-kuo, through strong government administrative intervention and self-development in a planned economy model is the establishment of self-government outside the national power structure. Though progress had been made in a short period, for instance, economic modernization was first advanced in provincial area and contribution was made to the modernization of Gannan, dissimilation of system was an obstacle impeding the development of Gannan local autonomy. This problem was solved after Chiang Ching-kuo took charge of Taiwan, and then local autonomy became indispensable part of power structure of the country, which could create benign interaction. Despite of various challenges, the Gannan Reform, as an exploratory regional planning practice, was influenced by western philosophy and kept distinctive Chinese tradition at the same time. This process is also the evolution of local planning in modern China.

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Disclosure Statement

We hereby declare that the reference to others' research productions in the paper, are reflected in the endnotes.

Notes on contributor(s)

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Endnotes

1. Lai Delin, Wu Jiang, Xu Subin, *The History of Modern Architecture in China*, 3-4.
2. Wu Tinghai. *Regional Planning in Modern China*, 10.
3. Chiang Ching-kuo was born on April 27, 1910 in Fenghua, Zhejiang Province, the son of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1925 he went to study in the Soviet Union and returned to China in 1937. After the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975, he took over the Kuomintang government and assumed the chairman of the Kuomintang. In January 1988, he died in Taipei at the age of 78. It has made important contributions to Taiwan's economic development and democratization.
4. The three exemplary provinces of the Kuomintang government: Guangxi, Jiangxi and Shanxi Provinces.
5. Leon Trotsky: Leader of the October Revolution, Lenin's comrade, the left-wing opposition. He was the actual creator of the new economic policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist planned economic experiment (the First Five-year Plan), whose policy is called The Permanent Revolution.
6. Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan*, 50-51.
7. Forman, *Gissimo Junior: Deals with Chiang Kai-shek's son*, 31.
8. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Building New Gannan with Hardy // The complete works of Mr Chiang Ching-kuo (Book 1)*, 91-92.
9. Chu Jingxin, *History of Gan County*, 3.
10. Liu Xinguang, *The Choice of the Imperial Route: The Change of Traffic Pattern of Five Mountains in Past Dynasties*, 80-90.
11. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Commissioner Chiang Talking on Improvement*, 181.
12. There are five objectives: everyone has clothes to wear, everyone has food to eat, everyone has a place to live, everyone has to work, everyone has the chance to read.
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Figure 2: *Database of the late Qing Dynasty*:
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Figure 4:

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Figure 5:

<http://iras.lib.whu.edu.cn:8080/rwt/GDT/http/M7THILUMNFSC675IPVYGK3DWF3SXP/mapInfo.aspx?mapId=4005>

Figure 6:

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