

# Garden City as a Techno-Spatial Assemblage under Wartime Urban Regime

## A Case of Jhongsing New Village, Taiwan

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### Abstract

Based on the 1950s-history of East Asian Cold War geopolitics, this paper illustrates how the idea of Western Garden City was techno-spatially reassembled by the Republic of China (R.O.C.) Government exiled to Taiwan to assist its wartime urban regime for enforcing air defence-evacuation strategy. We use Jhongsing New Village (JNV) – the seating of Taiwan Provincial Government – as a case owing to its status as not only the earliest detail new town plan in postwar Taiwan, but also a specific local (re)assemblage of hybrid planning legacies, new planning technology, and martial spatial politics – the Britian Garden City utopia, air raid experience and revanchist deployment of the Nationalist technocrats, and Japanese planning legacy in Taiwan – to shape a regional warfare evacuation town. JNV provided a place for experimenting cold war city through spatial components with variegated modernity threads, planning culture genealogies, and national contexts. Integrating the 1950s-historical materials of Taiwan's spatial planning with the viewpoints of urban policy transfer and regime theory, we propose the concept of “wartime urban regime” (WUR) to scrutinize the influence of the Martial Law on Taiwan's municipal governance. Connecting the Japanese colonial planning legacy and modernity imagination inherited by the planning technocrats, we explore the planning concepts, geo-strategic intentions, and institutional reassembling process of JNV and argue that, as a spatial device projecting WUR, JNV is a remixed product of cold war spatial planning providing a contested lab for multiple planning ideas – fulfilling air defence evacuation, compromising Japanese legacies and technocrat ideals, and learning new planning knowledges.

### Keywords

cold war city, planning legacy, techno-spatial assemblage, wartime urban regime, Garden City.

### How to cite

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## INTRODUCTION

As large human settlements, cities are closely related to war. Historically, one of the earliest urban functions was to provide defence to its inhabitants when enemy attacked. However, the relationship between city and war has received few explorations in urban studies and military science<sup>1</sup>. With the advancement of aircraft, since the late 19th century, as air-raid has gradually become emergent threats to cities. During the two world wars, air raid was used as a strategic instrument to destroy important military objectives while hitting the morale of enemy civilians<sup>2</sup>.

Cold War is a pivotal event changing postwar geopolitics. Its tension has caused confrontation among East Asian countries since the 1950s and still influences contemporary international order, urban-rural pattern, techno- social configuration, and spatial governing regime. Since 2000, several studies have explored Cold War urban experiences but seldom paid attention to East Asian cities except for a few works<sup>3</sup>. Even if some studies have focused on the importance of urban air defence-evacuation and resulting decentralized urban form in the face of bombing, most rarely touch on East Asian cities. East Asian counterpart is worthy of scrutiny because this region had ever encountered the most intensive confrontation during the Cold War and left some ‘forgotten wars’ determining current strained geopolitics across Taiwan Strait and Korea Peninsula.

In the Cold War context, this paper illustrates how the concept of ‘Garden City’ was techno-spatially reassembled by the exiled Republic of China (R.O.C.) Government (named as the Nationalist Government hereafter) to execute air defence-evacuation under wartime urban regime (WUR). We use Jhongsing New Village (JNV) – the seating of Taiwan Provincial Government – as a case owing to its status as not only the earliest detail urban planning in postwar Taiwan, but also a techno-spatial (re)assemblage of hybrid institutional legacies, new planning technology, and martial spatial politics – the Britian Garden City utopia, air raid experience of the Nationalist technocrats, and Japanese planning legacy in Taiwan – melding a warfare dispersal town. JNV provided a place for experimenting Cold War city through variegated modernity threads, planning culture genealogies, and national contexts. Integrating the 1950s-archivals of Taiwan’s spatial planning with the viewpoints of urban policy transfer and regime theory, we propose the concept of “wartime urban regime” (WUR) to scrutinize the influence of the R.O.C. Martial Law on Taiwan’s municipal governance. Connecting the Japanese colonial planning legacy and modernity imagination inherited by these planning technocrats, we explore the planning concepts, geo- strategic intentions, and institutional reassemblage of JNV and argue that, as a spatial device projecting WUR,

JNV is a remixed product of Cold War spatial planning providing a contested lab for multiple planning ideas – fulfilling air defence-evacuation, compromising with Chinese technocrat ideals over Japanese legacies, and learning new planning knowledges.

**SEP 21, 1948**

Taiwan Province Urban Planning Commission Organisation Regulations

- Chair: Director of the Provincial Department of Construction
- 12 committees are assigned by the Provincial Government Chairman from the following personnels:
  1. Director of the Department of Civil Affairs
  2. Director of the Department of Transportation
  3. Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry
  4. Director of the Department of Sanitation
  5. Director of the Land Administration Bureau (Dept. of Civic Affairs)
  6. Director of the Railway Management Bureau (Dept. of Transportation)
  7. Director of the Water Resources Bureau (Dept. of Construction)
  8. Chief Staff Officer (Garrison Command)
  9. 2 Provincial senators
  10. 1 representative assigned by the Central
  11. 2~4 Academics/ professionals

**NOV 1, 2020**

Urban Planning Commission Organization Regulations at All Levels

- Chair: the leader at respective levels – Ministry Interior, local governments, or township/country; in the municipal or county(city) government, its vice mayor or heads of responsible authorities may be appointed as chair.
- Vice-chair: chair appoints one from all committees.
- All-level Urban planning committees are assigned by leader at corresponding level from following personnels:
  1. The head of responsible agency or its accountable unit.
  2. The head of related agency, its accountable unit, or representative.
  3. Experts with professional experience
  4. 2 citizens concerning public welfare
- Except for the Urban Planning Committee (Ministry of Interior), committees from the item 1. And 2. Should not exceed one-half of the total number of members.
- Expert committees assigned by ministry of Interior and municipality government should be urban planning, urban design, landscapes, architecture, or transportation academics.

Table 1. Comparison of Urban Planning Commission: 1949 vs. 2020.

## AIR DEFENCE- EVACUATION UNDER WARTIME URBAN REGIME

### MARTIAL LAW AND THE RISE OF WARTIME URBAN REGIME

Urban regime is broadly used to analyse how a governing coalition is formed to achieve effective municipal agendas; it concerns not pursuing economic growth alone but consolidating regime compositions with varied policy goals and diversified interests<sup>4</sup>. Even if regime theory originates from the American liberal-democratic tradition, many new approaches have been used to illustrate regime formation with different socio-political backgrounds since the 1990s<sup>5</sup>.

Variiegated urban regimes enlighten us to reconsider Taiwan's WUR and its impact on urban planning in the early 1950s. During 1949-1987, Taiwan Provincial Martial Law was enforced by the Nationalist Government, which lost its mainland territory in the Chinese Civil War. Worring about further invasion of Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the Nationalist Government imposed military regulation on Taiwan. In this moment, stabilizing society and state security were prior to other policies. With burst of the Korean War in 1950, the US Government renovated cooperation with the 'R.O.C.' while ordering that the 7th Fleet cruised Taiwan Strait to prevent further warfare expansion<sup>6</sup>.

The East Asian warfare circumstances and martial control in Taiwan provided a garrison-state condition establishing WUR. Several historical planning regulations/documents reveal the specific municipal governance which prioritises military garrison and social security while practicing the goal of national defence through urban planning to assist the island martial regulation. For example, the organization of Taiwan Provincial Urban Planning Commission in the early 1950s, compared to current institution, was ordered to include military members. All committees were assigned by the Provincial Government Chairman while excluding civil-

ians concerning public affairs (Table 1). Over 1950s/60s, several terms of Taiwan Provincial Chairmen had military backgrounds or concurrently served as garrison positions (Table 2). Ministry of National Defence (MND) also forcefully directed urban planning based on air defence projects; moreover, MND was actively involved in reviewing urban plans and even required provincial municipalities for revising their urban plans to meet air defence standards<sup>7</sup>.

Provincial Government Chairman	Related Garrison Positions	Military Background
Kuo-Chen Wu Dec 21, 1949-Apr 16, 1953	Concurrently serving as Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison General Headquarters	
Hung-Chun Yu Apr 16, 1953-Jun 7, 1954	Concurrently serving as Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison General Headquarters	
Chia-Kan Yen Jun 7, 1954-Aug 16, 1957	Concurrently serving as Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison General Headquarters	
Chih-Jou Chou Aug 16, 1957-Dec 1, 1962	Concurrently serving as Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison General Headquarters (Aug 17, 1957-Jun 30, 1958; Secretary General of National Defense Council (Jul 1, 1954-Aug 8, 1957)	√
Jie Huang Dec 1, 1962-Jul 5, 1969	Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison General Headquarters (Aug 15, 1958-Nov 30, 1962); Minister of Defense (July 1, 1969-Jun 1, 1972)	√
Da-Qing Chen Jul 5, 1969-Jun 6, 1972	Commander-in-Chief of the Taiwan Provincial Public security Headquarter (Dec 1, 1962-Jun 30, 1964); Chief Commander of the Taiwan Provincial Public security Headquarter & Taiwan Army Control District Command (Jul 1, 1964-Jun 30, 1967); Minister of Defense (Jun 1, 1972-Jul 1, 1973)	√

Table 2. The Personnel Background of Taiwan Provincial Chairmen in the 1950s-60s. Source: 1. Taiwan Provincial Administration Information Hall; 2. Army Force Reserved Command Website: [https://afrc.mnd.gov.tw/AFRCWeb/Unit\\_en.aspx?MenuID=6102&ListID=2101](https://afrc.mnd.gov.tw/AFRCWeb/Unit_en.aspx?MenuID=6102&ListID=2101)

## AIR DEFENCE-EVACUATION AND URBAN DISPERSAL PROJECT

Throughout 1950s, cross-strait rivalry propelled the state strategy towards air defence-evacuation and urban dispersal decentralising political, economic, and administrative functions from Taipei to satellite subcentres. The atmosphere of martial control empowered the MND intervening in urban planning through air defence regulations. The Nationalist Government enacted Air Defence Act in 1937. In its 1948-Amendment, the Article V ordered that local air defence agencies, along of related military and state-owned-enterprise authorities, would be responsible for designing and improving urban construction for completing local air defence projects. In 1953, MND, together with the Ministry of Interior, issued the ‘*Guidelines for Urban Construction in Concert with Air Defence*’, which ordered that new/old urban development coordinated with local air defence agency even if Taiwan Provincial Government expressed several practical difficulties and legal contradictions with Urban Planning Act and Building Technology Regulations<sup>8</sup>.

In 1953, the 354th Executive Yuan Meeting enforced ‘*Taiwan Province Air Defence-Evacuation Implementation Regulations*’ on June 3 while, on July 29, discussing the ‘*Planning Outline for Evacuating Central Authorities from Taipei City*’ drawn up by the MND. Owing to fearing the possible bombing from CCP, the Nationalist Government formulated scenarios dispersing central agencies from the capital Taipei to surrounding suburban areas<sup>9</sup>. During the first cross-strait crisis (1954-55), the Nationalist Government signed the ‘*Sino- American Mutual Defence Treaty*’ with the US but lost

Zhejiang's Yijiangshan and Dachen islands due to the restricted air-force assistance from Taiwan. In 1955, the 398th Executive Yuan Meeting determined a dispersal project of central and provincial agencies – the *'Dispersal Project for All Agencies in Taipei City'* and instructed Taiwan Provincial Government relocated to central Taiwan. Considering uncertain warfare situation and bombing risk at any time, the meeting decided that Taiwan Provincial Government should instantly complete relocation to central Taiwan within six months while Chia-Kan Yen, the provincial chairman, suggested a step-by-step principle – to disperse several central and provincial agencies to suburban Taipei at the outset, then to vertically decentralise all agencies to assigned evacuative areas, and, if necessary, to transform provincial administration into wartime regime<sup>10</sup>.

In the context of East Asian Cold War, garrison-centred personnels of provincial administration and municipal legislation that favours urban air-defence over urban planning led to the emergence of WUR. Encountering the cross-strait warfare situation, WUR dominated Taiwan's municipal governance in the 1950s. To secure civilian safety and reduce the loss of state agencies, it is the Cold War geo-strategic consideration that legitimised the air defence thread of urban planning and fast transfer of foreign planning experiences. Throughout the 1950s, the most typical planning case reflecting this geostrategy is projected into the provincial government's relocation project, which is the JNV planning case that will be discussed in the next section.

## PLANNING THE PIVOTAL AGE – THE BUILDING PROCESS OF JHONGSING NEW VILLAGE

Threatened by the tense warfare situation, the 1950s was the 'pivotal age' determining the survival of 'R.O.C.' Before enforcing the evacuation project, provincial government had prepared several primitive dispersal schemes: constructing (1) 8 dugouts, (2) one joint administrative office in suburban Taipei – Waishuangshi, and (3) some classroom-type evacuation offices separating on the public schools in Beitou, Hsinjuang, Shulin, Yingge, Jingmei, Shindian, Tucheng, and Mucha during 1950-51<sup>11</sup>. With the national decision to disperse Taiwan Provincial Government to central Taiwan on April 28, 1955, "all provincial-level agencies will move their offices to the central area within six months. Several agencies highly related to the function of central agencies, such as Financial Bureau, Police Department, and Grain Bureau, will remain all or partial offices in Taipei"<sup>12</sup>. Meanwhile, "provincial government would actively establish a formal wartime regime while searching for an ideal location...because the dispersal would be long-term"<sup>13</sup>.

Following this national decision, provincial government established 'Taiwan Provincial Planning Commission for Dispersing to Central Area' responsible for evacuation missions. Dong-Ming Hsieh, the Chief-Secretary of Taiwan Provincial Government as well as the commission convener, assigned Yung-Mao Liu, the Deputy-Director of Construction Bureau, as the Chief-Engineer to seek for a suitable location among five central counties – Taichung, Changhua, Nantou, Yunlin, and Chiayi. Finally, provincial government determined to settle Taiwan Provincial Provisional Council, Education Bureau, and Public Health Bureau in Wufeng, Nilulangong, and Kengkou of Taichung County as the first evacuation district and rest agencies to Yinpankou of Nantou County as the second evacuation district (the seating of JNV)<sup>14</sup>.



Fig. 1. The Layout of Street System in JNV Plan. Source: EHEO, The Comprehensive Report, 28.

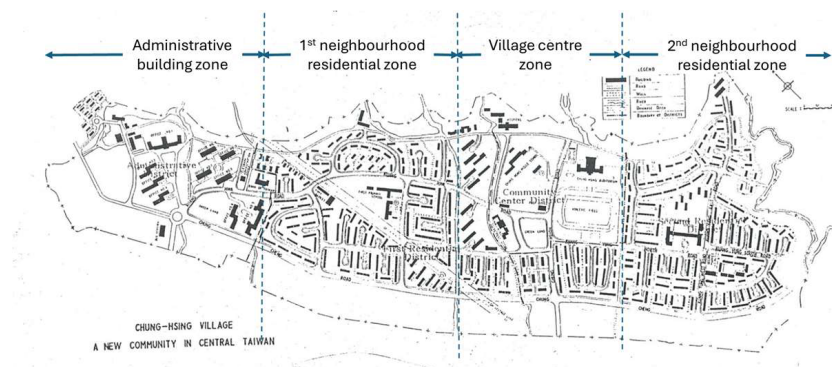


Fig. 2. The Layout of Main Buildings and Zoning Division of JNV Urban Plan. Source: revised the chart from EHEO, The Comprehensive Report, 153.

The planning of JNV was based on two major principles – (1) the idea of ‘ruralising urban area and urbanising rural area’ addressed by President Chiang Kai-Shek to reduce urban-rural disparity and (2) the ‘mode of British new town development combing “neighbourhood units” with “low-density development”’ advocated by Professor Mei-Shin Wu for air defence-evacuation<sup>15</sup>. For implementing urban planning, the committee also set up a temporary group, ‘Evacuation Housing Engineering Office (EHEO)’, in the Department of Construction, in which Ching-Rong Chang, the chief of the Civil Engineering Section, served as the director, Chi-Ming Gao and Shi-Huai Ni of the Urban Planning Group were responsible the ‘detailed plan’, and Hsiao-Yi He of the Construction Group enforced the ‘construction plan’.<sup>16</sup>

Before constructing JNV, the Chief-Engineer Yung-Mao Liu launched a pilot-project called Guangfu New Village (GNV) in the first evacuation district. It was a community-scaled plan resettling the staffs and their families of Education Bureau and Public Health Bureau. GNV was an experiment to testify engineering feasibility of office buildings and sewage treatment plant and later to enlarge the scale in the formal project (JNV)<sup>17</sup> (Liu’s oral record).

Type of Zoning	Major Buildings and Facilities
Administrative Building Zone	Government buildings: Provincial Government Building, Civil Affairs Offices, Financial Office, Construction Office, Agricultural and Forestry Office, Transport Office, Accounting Office, and Social Affairs Office; public services: postoffice, telcommunication office, and Taiwan Bank
1st Neighbourhood Residential Zone	Guanghua Elementary School and 1st Market
Village Centre Zone	Living facilities: Jhongsing High School, Centre Market, Jhongsing Hospital, Jhongsing Civic Hall (including hall, library, lounge, swimming pool), and playground; public services: police station, village joint office, water plant, electricity plant, postoffice, newspaper office, sewage treatment plant, and park; housing: single staff/labour dorms, and staff dependents dorms
2nd Neighbourhood Residential Zone	Living facilities: Guangrong Elementary School and 3rd Market; Housing: staff dependents dorms; Government buildings: Provincial Government Archival Offices
3rd Neighbourhood Residential Zone	Preserved area for following-up projects including an elementary school, a market, and a district for commercial use, as well as high-rise and low-rise dorms

Table 3. The Zoning Division, Major Buildings and Facilities in JNV. Source: EHEO, The Comprehensive Report, 23-24.

The blueprint of JNV was drawn up in 1955. Its planning area was 441.90 hectares. Deducting agricultural and protected areas, the usable area reached 253.62 hectares, which planned to accommodate around 17,700 to 24,700 people. Its per capita land area of JNV is approximately 102 to 143 m<sup>2</sup><sup>18</sup>. The planning schemes were following principles: (1) JNV is mainly focused on politics, supplemented by industry, commerce, and mining. A long-term construction plan will be implemented according to possible development trends. (2) The scope of the current plan need not to be too large. It is mainly based on the political needs of the provincial government and the daily needs of the evacuees. The neighbourhood allows for commercial activities and is linked to nearby urban planning to enlarge future development. (3) The plan should implement the construction of transportation and public facilities to attract immigrants and industrial and commercial prosperity in the future. (4) Government agencies should induce and support investment in surrounding area to exercise industrial and commercial development<sup>19</sup>. This plan also introduced the concept of zoning, including 7 zones – one administrative building zone, one village centre zone, and five neighbourhood residential zones (Table 3). Until 1960, administrative building zone, village centre zone, 1st neighbourhood residential zone, and 2nd neighbourhood residential zone was completed, and the 3rd neighbourhood residential zone were preserved for following-up development in the future. As for the 4th and 5th neighbourhood residential zones remained unacquired due to no emergent need for development currently.

The most significant feature of JNV is to remix multiple planning and design schemes. Taiwan Provincial Government had ever issued an English publication summarising the planning characteristics of JNV – zoning, provision of public facility, road network, and the neighbourhood unit<sup>20</sup>. Except for the concept of neighbourhood unit, the EHEO applied multiple detailed community planning techniques such as green belts, road functional level, superbloc with cul-de-sacs (Photo 1- Right), loops, crooked routes (U-shape or T-shape) (Figure 1) to reduce unnecessary traffic through communities while established adequate life facilities (Figure 2; Photo 1- Middle) widely adopted in the first generation of new towns in post-war Britain to support the self-sufficiency of daily life (Bureau of Construction Ministry of Interior, 1979: 61). Besides, the underground electric wires, water supply pipes (Figure 3) and sewage treatment systems

(Photo 1- Left) were the most prospect new techniques “rarely seen at that time even in foreign cities”<sup>21</sup> (Hsiao-Yi He’s oral record). Unlike the traditional engineering habit to complete road engineering construction and then the sewer and pipe construction, the specificity of JNV is that sewer system was finished and then the road construction was approved for implementation<sup>22</sup>.

## A NEW TOWN NARRATING URBAN GARDENING AS A WARTIME TECHNO-SPATIAL ASSEMBLAGE

Founded by Sir Ebenezer Howard, ‘Garden City’ is renowned in the discipline of urban planning. Although his thought is often labelled as utopian planning, it has profound influence on planning theory and practice around the world. Indeed, his ideal was practiced in the UK and has been seen as a pioneering thought inspiring the rise of new town movement<sup>23</sup> emulated by advanced and developing countries. Postwar Taiwan was no exception. JNV was planned to resettle agencies, personnels, and their families of Taiwan Provincial Government from Taipei. According to official statement, it was the first state-planned new town in postwar Taiwan<sup>24</sup>. It is also regarded as a new town paradigm of ‘urban gardening’ achieving international construction level<sup>25</sup> although the blurred terms, ‘new town’ and ‘Garden City’, maybe result from misunderstanding of local technocrats at that time<sup>26</sup>.



Photos. The Hole-Cover of Underground Sewer (Left); Civic Hall and Sports Ground (Middle); Cul-de-sac Design in a Neighbourhood Unit (Right). (Photographed by Cassidy I-Chih Lan)

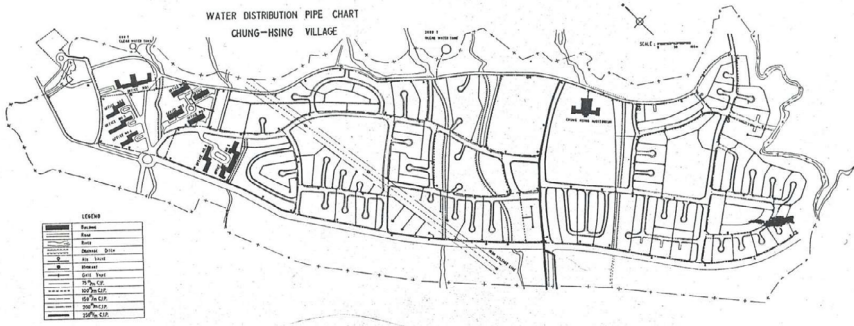


Fig. 3. The Underground Water Distribution Pipe Chart of JNV Urban Plan. Source: EHEO, The Comprehensive Report, 89.



Transplanting foreign planning cultures are normal exchanges of cross-national planning experiences. Learning/emulating advanced planning practices is common for developing countries lacking sufficient professionals and matured knowledges<sup>27</sup>. Planning culture is not an unchanged cultural essentialism but a hybrid evolving process which is driven by complex political, socio-economic, and internal/external factors<sup>28</sup>. In each place, any adoption of exotic planning techniques never abruptly emerges; instead, the transporting process must have a specific historical-geographical path the place inherits<sup>29</sup>. In the case of JNV, even if senior planning technocrats mentioned the reasons for adopting the idea of Garden City – it is a well-known planning case in the UK<sup>30</sup>, the process of absorbing and applying the experience may have a far-reaching historical frontier.

#### PLANNING KNOWLEDGES CULTIVATED IN THE R.O.C. MAINLAND PERIOD

Although some studies indicate that planners responsible for JNV project seldom had complete professional background of urban planning<sup>31</sup>, we argue that whether received orthodox planning education did not affect the emulation of Garden City because several ideas have been introduced and applied in Chinese cities during the mainland period.

American planning thought, first, had been adopted by the Nationalist Government and the most typical case was Nanjing's Capital Plan in 1929. The chief American architect – Henry Murphy – and his colleagues had applied advanced planning and design practices – zoning, road network, and neighbourhood unit – popular in the then US<sup>32</sup>. After the World War II (WWII), decentralising modes had ever been proposed in some major cities<sup>33</sup>. Planning technocrats in the late 1940s tried to combine several Western ideas relating new town into planning drafts despite most projects were partially realized owing to postwar financial scarcity and consequent Nationalist- Communist struggle. In other words, planning experiences during 1945-49 revealed that interrelated concepts, including zoning, open space, road network, and neighbourhood unit had been introduced diversly into decentralised urban patterns narrated as organic decentralisation, satellite city, or Garden City<sup>34</sup>.

Second, municipal works have been regarded as the cornerstone of national modernization since the early Republican years<sup>35</sup>. By then, civil engineers and architects were actively involved in projects for cityscape beautification, infrastructure works, and urban design. Even if urban planning as an independent profession was never systematically established in the mainland era, it was seen as a subtopic of civic engineering or architecture. Many of these 'taken-for-granted planners' had ever studied abroad. Facing the chaotic urbanization and socio-economic changes after the birth of R.O.C., they tried to take municipal works as a social solution and considered the city as a place to examine Western knowledge. Covering traditional, eclectic, and modern ideas, the thought diversification, remixing, and debates for architectural design and urban planning were the typical feature of municipal governance during the mainland era<sup>36</sup>. This socio-political context resulted in a milieu that technocrats tended to either diversly introduce, learn, and imitate advanced planning ideas or adapt foreign experiences to solve urban questions in the Chinese context pragmatically.

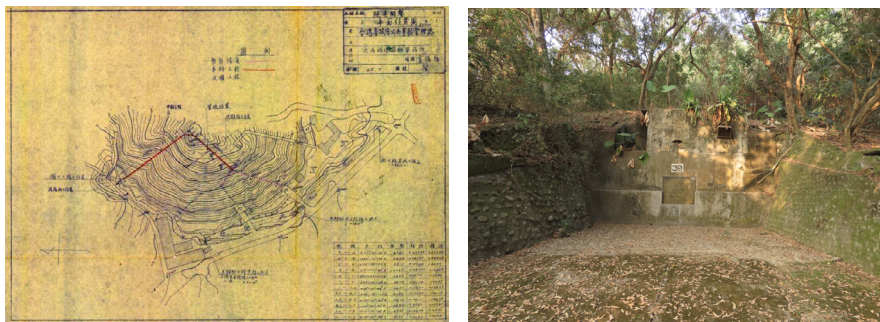


Fig. 4. The Hushan Air Raid Shelter Topographic Layout and its Current Remain of No.39-Exit. Source: Left – National Yunlin Technology University, The Cultural Assets Assessment, 6-26; Right – Photographed by Cassidy I-Chih Lan

Third, some technocrats and scholars with planning experience moved to Taiwan with the Nationalist Government after 1949 and played the role as successors to mediate and adapt their inherent planning expertise in Taiwan. In addition to the pragmatic spirit inherited from the intellectual genealogy in the mainland era, they tackled urgent urban problems brought by civil war refugees and driven by peasant immigrants with postwar urbanisation. Urban planning in Taiwan had a mature foundation in the Japanese colonial era. However, Japanese experts were expatriated after taking-over Taiwan by the Nationalist Government and lacked professionals to implement local planning practices. These Nationalist technocrats attempted to merged former colonial system and survey contemporary urban problems on the one hand while popularised planning knowledge and introduced new international expertise on the other<sup>37</sup>. Two important publications in 1952, *“Urban Planning Speech”* and *“Urban Planning”*, represented these expert’s attempt to spread urban planning ideas to the locals. The former was one of the “Modern Citizen Basic Knowledge Series” edited by Yi-Kui Chou, a land management professional and the principal of Taiwan Provincial Administrative College. The latter was the reprinted edition based on the second edition in 1939, the only Chinese self-compiled urban planning textbook during the mainland period<sup>38</sup>; its author was Xun-Xuan Chen, a civic engineer studying in France and the senior manager of Taipower Corporation. Both books introduced the concept of Garden City and the latter, extraordinarily, detailed for the relationship between air-defence and urban planning owing to the bombing experience during the WWII.

#### GARDEN CITY AS A STATE INSTRUMENT FOR URBAN AIR-DEFENCE

Among the technocrats moving to Taiwan, several planning experts having experiences of urban air-defence in the mainland era kept on claiming the importance of urban air-defence, which was asserted in the *“Taiwan Provincial Municipal Works Group Investigation Report”* in 1954. Based on the preliminary achievements of farmland reform and resultant economic growth, the report aimed at promoting urban land reform and preventing land and social questions from speculative urbanisation. However, it also proposed several concrete sugges-

tions about urban air-defence by using multiple ideas – organic decentralisation, neighbourhood unit, green belt, regional planning, and satellite city/federal cities – which are elements used in new town planning to disperse population and industries from congested urban centre<sup>39</sup>. Some ideas were also adopted in the planning reports for mainland cities during 1945-1949. In addition, Yi-Kui Chou and Xun-Xuan Chen were also group members. As for the group convener, Yu-Chun Lu, a prestige architect studying in France, had ever published several papers to discuss the importance of urban air-defence in the mainland era<sup>40</sup>. Meanwhile, the paper, “*A study on the issues for the postwar reconstruction of cities and towns*”, Lu published in 1945 had many ideas consistent with the “*Taiwan Provincial Municipal Works Group Investigation Report*” to analyse how to implement postwar reconstruction, urban planning, and air-defence projects<sup>41</sup>.

The authority of leadership cannot be ignored. To legitimise his ruling in Taiwan and the political status of the ‘R.O.C.’ as orthodox China, President Chiang Kai-Shek announced the “*Two Editions to the Principle of People’s Welfare: Education and Entertainment*” in 1953. One of his statements about urban planning is the concept of ‘ruralising urban area and urbanising rural area’. This notion focuses on “*the balanced urban-rural development to provide enough space and healthy environment for each household*”<sup>42</sup>. Chiang also asserted that “*our town and country planning should obey ‘ruralising urban area and urbanising rural area’ as the basic principle. For urbanising rural area, the most important mission is to deploy convenient public utilities in countries. For ruralising urban area, the central mission is to enjoy country scenery in cities*”<sup>43</sup>. Chiang’s claim about balanced urban-rural development is seemingly like Howard’s argument about three magnetics of town-country relationship (Howard, 1902/2010: 21). It is reasonable to postulate that Dr Sun Yat-Sen’s thoughts to found R.O.C. were also inspired by Howard’s assertion of Garden City<sup>44</sup>. In the context of authoritarianism, opinions from the leader, as an ideological foundation of state governance, were often seen as important guidelines. New town planning in Taiwan is without exception. The fact is reflected in the oral history record of JNV senior retirees that “*one of the principles for this engineering project forty years ago was to equally concern both peacetime and wartime. The other is to develop a new town based on the noble principle – ruralising urban area and urbanising rural areas*” (Mu-Du Lee’s oral record<sup>45</sup>).

Scrutinising the plan implementation, policy documents, and historical archives related to JNV project, we can apparently find that the local technocrats played the key agent to introduce, remix, and adapt various planning techniques from advanced countries. We do not argue that foreign actors were not important. Indeed, foreign experts might play a minor role in the planning process. According to Yung-Mao Liu’s oral record, except for the health officials of WHO, two American engineers, Joel I. Connelly and A. Dale Swisher, were invited to visit JNV for engineering investigation<sup>46</sup> and “*offered many useful suggestions*”<sup>47</sup>. In 1957, they published a short review in the journal *Public Health Reports* with the title of engineers of the United States Operation Mission, Taipei, briefly describing the visit of Taiwan’s technicians to Japan to inspect sanitary sewers and sewage treatment equipment<sup>48</sup>. Judging from this information, we can reasonably infer that the American consultants and WHO expertise should be targeting the underground sewer pipelines, water supply systems, and the sewage treatment plant – appearing in Taiwan for the first time even though no more information about these consultants can be found. These public health engineering matters also met Yung-Mao Liu’s profession.

Facing the warfare situation in the early 1950s, the strategic guideline of the state leader and inherited wartime experience forced planning technocrats to learn new planning concepts from abroad on the one hand and tried to calibrate new techniques following their past knowledge and background on the other. Most of the officials and bureaucrats had ever undergone Japanese air-raids in Chongqing, the second capital of R.O.C. during the WWII<sup>49</sup>. This historical context enabled the founding of Defence Corp and Hushan Air-Raid Shelter (Figure 4). First, the origin of Defence Corp can be traced back to the burst of the Second Sino-Japanese War. The Nationalist Government of R.O.C. announced Air Defence Law and established Air Defence Command in Nanjing in 1937 and then ordered each province to organise provincial civic defence command<sup>50</sup>. Taiwan Provincial Government initiated Air-Raid Defence Commission in 1951, which can be seen as the predecessor of Defence Corp<sup>51</sup>. Its office and simple air-defence equipment in JNV was formally set up in 1957. Most members were transferred from military, police, or intelligence agencies due to its special mission<sup>52</sup>.

Second, Hushan Air-Raid Shelter was not developed until 1959 and its stage-1 project was finished in 1965. The construction was mainly carried out by the military while the structure of shelter was designed by experts with experience in building large dugouts in Chongqing. Referencing the engineering of Chongqing during WWII, the shelter in JNV was equipped with exhaust fans, wireless telephones, meeting rooms, a wartime command centre, and bathrooms. Air-defence drills were held regularly every year. Provincial government employees had to cooperate with the drills to take refuge in caves. Staffs at the level of section chief or above could hold cave entry passes and had to enter the shelter to work during the drill<sup>53</sup>.

#### ASSEMBLING JHONGSING NEW VILLAGE TECHNO-SPATIALLY

From these historical-geographical clues, we can find that these local technocrats attempted to introduce Garden City as an ideal settlement to demonstrate a paradigm for modern urban life, but they also had to calibrate the concepts to meet the dispersal requirement of WUR and the strategic guideline from the state leader. The main promoter of JNV, unlike the public-private cooperative that Ebenezer Howard advocated in Britain, was Taiwan Provincial Government, which was responsible for financing, land acquisition, urban planning, building design, and construction. Frankling speaking, JNV was a state-led project whose main function was public administration and accompanying housing for civil servants and their dependents; that is JNV was an administrative community, lacking diversified industries that primary Garden City in Britain emphasised<sup>54</sup>. In addition to the above geopolitical considerations, the complex historical, political, social, and institutional factors faced by Taiwan at that time prompted multilateral knowledge circulation and learning paths, consolidating JNV as a unique techno-spatial assemblage.

First, the narrative, “New Village”, was not the invention of postwar Taiwan even if many military-dependents- quarters (*Juan-Cuns*; 眷村)<sup>55</sup> in Taiwan were called “new villages”. As early as 1939, the term ‘new village’ was used in the ‘*Dispersal and Construction Plan by Chongqing Dispersal and Construction Committee*’ to express the resettlement of government agencies, civilians, and industries in the suburban dispersal districts surrounding Chongqing. The basic

mechanisms for building agents, financing and pricing regulation, land acquisition, planned population for accommodation, and lost security were also announced in this plan; in addition, the plan also required that air-raid shelters and Defence Corps had to be established in each dispersal districts<sup>56</sup>. In the mainland era, establishing Juan-Cuns has become a scheme in some Nationalist troops as early as 1932 to accommodate military dependents and even to offer schools and military dependent factories but was not a unitary and systematic institution until the Nationalist Government moved to Taiwan in 1949<sup>57</sup>. In general, JNV was not characterised as a military-dependent-quarter but could be seen as a broadly defined *Juan-Cun*.

Second, the assembled process of planning technique was selected contingently. The reason to adopt Garden City as the planning concept for evacuated settlements was, on the one hand, knowledge that had been well-known in the disciplines of architecture and urban engineering in the mainland era and had been applied in some urban planning cases; on the other hand, it is an accident encounter. Yung-Mao Liu's oral record pointed out that in 1952, he used the funding from the U.S. aid to visit the UK for an inspection. The main purpose was to learn the mode of tap water management. Coinciding with the central government's instructions to evacuate the provincial government, he stopped by to visit the British Garden City cases. Meanwhile, engineering talents who used US aid to study in the United States, such as Shi-Huai Ni majoring in urban planning, Xiao-Yi Ho inspecting national housing, and Min-Ching Chen learning water supply and sewage treatment engineering, etc., returned to Taiwan one after another<sup>58</sup>. These young technocrats, cooperating with some architects and scholars moving to Taiwan, assembled each part needed for carrying out JNV project – urban planning, building design, housing construction, transportation network, and water and sanitary systems. These planning knowledges, taken as engineering technologies due to the historical background, were seen as the latest parts learned from advanced countries. Just as the comment of Liu's interview, “our planning in JNV was to learn the experiences of the UK and other countries and to complete the project by our native talents”<sup>59</sup>.

Finally, we cannot ignore the past education and experience shaping the personality of these experts that were influential on their selection of planning assemblage. A common personality trait among architecture and urban planning experts in the mainland era is that:

*“They were influenced by the social responsibility concepts of modernist architects in the international environment...and tried to intervene in social improvement with professional skills... The national, political, and social emotional states and needs are reflected from the material space...Based on the special historical transformation background of modern times ... [They] faced an extremely complex practical environment, especially between modern scientific concepts and traditional Chinese thoughts and systems. Under the collision, blending and compromise, how to combine subjective agency and passive adaptability to cope with the conditions and requirements of the times fully reflected their wisdom”<sup>60</sup>.*

From the planning experience of JNV, it is not difficult to discover that these technocrats moving to Taiwan, facing the pivotal era, still reflected this personality trait – the complex process of mixing national strategy, leaders' will and existing knowledge as well as absorbing new foreign techniques to transform local planning practice. Among them, planning technology will not be fully

applied to local experience, but will be compromised with geopolitical pressure, the guideline of the national leader, considerations of local conditions, and past urban air-defence experience to form the unique techno-spatial assemblage with constant adjustment, eclectics, compromise, and collision. These technocrats formed transborder knowledges and completed the techno-spatial assemblage transferring the British version of Garden City into Taiwan's cold war urbanism.

## CONCLUSIONS

For renovating national modernization, it is a common practice for urban planning in various countries around the world to refer to advanced foreign planning experience. However, transplanting planning knowledge is never about filling the vacuum of a given region with "advanced models", but about subtle negotiations and choices on both import-export sides of technology transfer. The formation of Taiwan's postwar planning knowledge and system, and even its specific practices, were closely linked to local needs, political and economic intentions of importers, and the strategic goals of exporters. This techno-spatial assemblage has contributed to the formation of contemporary planning system and even the dilemma of urban and regional governance.

It can be seen from the case of JNV that the formation of Taiwan's early postwar planning system was not a one-way export-import technology transfer, but involved geopolitical struggles under the Cold War context, national air-defence requirement, the definition of local urban questions, inherited knowledge of mainland era, and the influence of existing Japanese planning legacies. At least, in the early postwar period, we would say that it was not just a simple proposition that Taiwan's urban planning institution solely relied upon the former Japanese colonial system and the incapable state governance during the Cold War urgently needed to introduce foreign advanced planning techniques; instead, the learning, adjusting, imitating, and implementing practice was a complex techno-spatial assemblage.

The JNV project was not just a transplantation or mimicry of British Garden City. It was assembled from the modernization experience of municipal movements and war reconstruction in the mainland era, the review and renovation of Japanese colonial urban planning legacy in Taiwan, and the "advanced" perspective of US aid-funded experts learned from abroad. The resulting planning practice was hybrid. The socio-technological history of planning practice in JNV was a modernising path towards continuous transplantation, adjustment, and rectification of cross-national assembly components with diverse historical-geographical depth, thereby driving the transborder constitution of paradigm shift performing the planning techniques in early postwar Taiwan.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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