An Objective Evaluation of Political Meaning and Legitimacy of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist Government in Nanking’s Public City Construction (1927-1937)

Jianming Hu
Independent researcher, Hong Kong, China.

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Abstract
A number of scholars studying modern Chinese history have mentioned the peaceful decade in Nanking City from 1927 to 1937. This period is widely acknowledged as the "golden decade of Nanking" under the governance of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government. During the decade, several remarkable public constructions were initiated and completed, such as the Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum, among others. These projects showcased Chiang Kai-shek’s inspiration and determination to build an "exemplary capital". Notwithstanding previous research in the golden decade that highlighted the significant construction achievements in various facets of Nanking, the study of governmental legitimacy from the perspective of public construction is groundbreaking. Therefore, the study aims to uncover how public construction under governmental leadership has impacted governmental legitimacy. The paper will illustrate the definition and evaluation methods of the concept of legitimacy, as well as explore the potential development conditions before 1927 in Nanking. There are five perspectives to assess governmental legitimacy: 1) Urban Planning, 2) Education, 3) Large-scale infrastructure construction, 4) Legal system development, and 5) Park construction. The innovative study contributes to scholars expanding their insightful research on harnessing the concept of legitimacy and other political theories during the Republic of China or other historical periods.

Keywords
Legitimacy, Public Construction, Chiang Kai-shek, Political Meaning, Nanking, Nationalist government

1. Introduction
From April 18, 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek formally designated Nanking City as the capital of the Republic of China, to November 1937, due to the setback in the Battle of Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek and his troops had no alternative to retreat from Nanking and announced Chongqing as the wartime capital for the Sino-Japanese War. Historians in modern Chinese history believe the intermediary peaceful years in Nanking City from 1927 to 1937, acknowledged as the "golden decade of Nanking" under the governance of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government. As Nanking was the capital of the Nationalist government, Chiang Kai-shek went to great lengths to construct urban projects in Nanking to demonstrate governmental legitimacy. He was committed to developing it as an “exemplary capital”, hopping to it as if the brilliant Polaris twinkled in the vast night sky. The urban construction of Nanking had
progressed by leaps and bounds in the decade. Fantastic and splendid building projects, including Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum, Central Railway Station, and other government administration buildings, showcased Chiang Kai-shek’s ambition and determination for the construction of Nanking City. Under his inspiring instructions and edifications, the basic urban function was gradually formed, including banking, business, port, and public parks. Importantly, modern construction concepts got a great deal of attention from overseas returnees, who may be professional officials, intellectuals, capitalists, and architects. Comprehensive urban planning is unprecedented in modern Chinese history. For instance, the government erected various sophisticated urban systems, inclusive of flood control, education, and public security, based on the conduct of professionals. All in all, Chiang Kai-shek sought to upgrade Nanking in different facets to surpass the other mainstream cities such as Peking and Shanghai. An expeditious urban construction would demonstrate that China is on a tangible, rosy, and correct pathway under the leadership of the Nationalist government. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the construction concept of Nanking City manifested the progressiveness, advancement, and modernity, external Japanese threats still disrupted a ton of large-scale urban public projects. On April 23, 1949, the Chinese Communist Party liberated Nanking, getting the welcome of Nanking people. It alludes that the symbol of the legitimacy of the Nationalist government on the mainland - The Blue Sky and White Sun Flag on the top of the Nanking Presidential Palace - was also replaced by a Five-star Red Flag from the Chinese Communist Party. In terms of the actual results, it seems that Chiang Kai-shek’s political efforts were all in vain, and his tools of political propaganda were almost lost. For instance, all Kuomintang-background newspapers ran to the Taiwan Region. To historians’ surprise, some relics of Kuomintang exist in Nanking city today because of the smart and wise national leaders' deliberate actions after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. In contemporary, Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum and the Nanking Presidential Palace are still intact, but their partial political slogans and flags were removed, as a hot scenic spot for tourists and historians. Even though the final failure of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist government is deserved, the fair opinions by historians about the efforts of the Nationalist government in Nanking's construction are positive and valuable. It was a constructive reference towards the Chinese mainland and Taiwan regional regime after 1950.

2. The theoretical framework for the concept of legitimacy

In the realm of political science, legitimacy emerges as a central concern. This concept traces its roots back to Max Weber (1947) who posited that a political regime is driven to maintain its authority. According to Weber, there exist three types of legitimate authority: rational grounds, traditional grounds, and charismatic authority. Traditional grounds mean the mode of the traditional inheritor, where one attains orthodox status directly due to blood lineage. Rational grounds emphasize legal authority within an institution, organization, or group. Charismatic authority is more concerned about personal image, personality, and leadership. Subsequently, Huntington (1968) held that legitimacy comes from the acknowledgment of the majority of the people, so a well-functional government should consider the degree of legitimacy and satisfaction for the government among its people. Based on these explanations by social scholars, a robust theoretical framework can be defined - the methodology of the detailed evaluation of legitimacy involves measuring the national leader whose construction ideals, leadership within the governing body, the establishment of governmental or institutional rules to govern the people, and how the people perceive the management way of their government.

3. The potential development conditions before 1927

As early as 1920, Sun Yat-Sen also expressed his aspiration for urban construction in the English version of The

2 Ibid. P279.
3 Ibid. P299-300.
4 Ibid. P126.
International Development of China. He proposed that the constructors should initiate new embankments near the Yangtze River and Nanking City to defend against flood. He believed the land should be utilized by urban roads and public buildings. In 1923, educational urban planning also gained attention. Central University (now Southeast University) established the Department of Civil Engineering, with more than 30 courses, including urban planning, road planning, architectural planning, and architectural engineering. In 1926, the Nanking Municipal Plan was introduced, encompassing various aspects of the city in the local government tier, such as transportation, industry, commerce, public parks, housing, education, etc. It served as an irreplaceable blueprint for the occurrence of the Capital Plan in 1929.

Moreover, architectural pillars also played a significant role in the prosperity of Nanking. In the 1920s, numerous overseas talents returned to Nanking and conducted crucial construction projects. They assimilated the Western construction technology and traditional Chinese culture, thereupon completing momentous sino-western hybrid projects, such as Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum. Notable architects of that time included Yang Ting-Bao, Lu Yan-Zhi, Liu Dun-Zhen, and others. Yang Ting-Bao was in charge of 18 political public buildings, such as the Library of Central University, Kuomintang Party History Exhibition Hall, and so on. These buildings showcased classic Western style - White marble columns, arched doors, and rhomboid roofs are the standard main structures, evoking a solemn and sublime feeling. Coincidently, Chiang Kai-shek also underlined the "guidance in the political sphere" to project his imperatorial personal figure and domesticate the populace, thereby reinforcing the legitimacy of the government. The concept of the Western-style building was aligned with the government’s preferences, leading them to have an approbatory attitude toward the overseas returnees. The expertise of these talented individuals laid a solid foundation for future urban construction in Nanking.

4. The governmental legitimacy from the perspective of urban planning

Urban planning is the first step in constructing a modern city. During that time, Citizens often criticized the various flaws of Nanking City. Turbid water, dim lighting, and uneven roads were the most popular criticisms from citizens. However, a turning point occurred in 1928. To absorb progressive construction experience from the West, the National Capital Construction Committee invited American Architects, Murphy Henry Killam and Ernest P. Goodrich, as consultants to conduct the Capital Plan. Sun Ke wrote his vision in the preface of the Capital Plan.

"The construction of the capital is eyed by all persons. The capital is not only a pivot for issuing orders, but also a pivot for cultural essence. It suffices to gauge the cultural deposit of the country by observing the capital of a country."16

The Capital Plan covered a wide range of aspects, including road design, population, municipal administration, the style of building, tap water, flood control facilities, and more. However, implementing planning construction required adequate funding, which the government lacked. Therefore, the Capital Plan outlined the responsibilities of both the government and citizens in participating urban construction. The government took charge of most large-scale projects, while minor projects were undertaken by citizens. For example, the government handled the construction of administrative buildings in the central district. Transportation infrastructures, such as railways, stations, ports, and airports, were financed publicly by the government. The repair of roads was supported by beneficial citizens, who received subsidies from the central government. It was the first time the government and the people shared the

[16] Ibid. P57-58.
responsibility to implement specific urban projects, representing the ideology that the army and the people have a coincident heart, advocated by Chiang Kai-shek. Perhaps, urban layout is the best reflection of the political meaning of the city. The planning of Zhongshan Road included Zhongshan North Road, Zhongshan Road, and Zhongshan East Road, spanning a total length of 12 kilometers. These roads were named "Zhongshan" to commemorate the immortal spirit and thought of "Sun Yat-Sen", who is the bellwether of the Kuomintang and the Republic of China. In August 1928, the construction was launched. At the end of May 1929, the first phase of Zhongshan Road was completed on schedule. Subsequently, Zhongzheng Road and Central Road were completed by the constructors. These road names represented Chiang Kai-shek following the belief of Sun Yat-sen to act as the next national and governmental core. Other urban roads were planned to align parallel or perpendicular to these main roads, symbolizing the overall route of national ideology with Sun Yat-Sen’s thought as the essence of governmental thought. The main roads in the capital symbolized the overall route of a national ideology, and Sun Yat-Sen’s thought is the essence of governmental thought. By naming the capital after the father of the country, the political meaning was strongly emphasized throughout the streets and the city.

The urban layout also alludes to the citizens’ spirit, revealing abundant cultural connotations. The government indicated that the capital was the representative city for exhibiting Chinese Culture and Spirit. By observing and copying the Western-style buildings in the West, the visible construction may enhance citizens’ sense of identity in the city. Basically, the Capital Plan copied the pattern of Western planning, such as the use of a well-designed network of traffic roads to serve vehicles. Additionally, public parks and squares were erected following the concept of "public space", emphasized in Western cities. The focus on citizens-oriented public service was influenced by the Western democratic quintessence, adopted by the government. Sun Yat-Sen's Three Principles of the People, encompassing "nationalism", "people's rights", and "people's livelihood", were in line with the spirit of building public spaces, which denotes that the government starts to respect the rights of the people. Furthermore, the upgrade of road construction is congruous with the spirit of "people's livelihood", because urban planning should consider people's livelihood as the starting point. The method of Western-style planning demonstrated the ideological progression of the government, thereby mounting the political legitimacy of the government. In addition, when the government adopted Western-style planning, it also showed a willingness to incorporate and retain certain Chinese elements. In the sixth item of the Capital Plan, "Choosing the Architectural Form", it said that cultural public facilities such as libraries, museums, and lecture halls, are recommended to adopt "Chinese inherent forms", and listed four detailed reasons. Therefore, it can be seen that the government not only encourages the city to be westernized but also pays attention to preserving Chinese culture. The flexible urban planning accelerated Nanking to become a model of the city in the Republic of China and cemented the legitimacy of the Nationalist government.

5. The governmental legitimacy from the perspective of education construction

Education is one of the most effective ways to disseminate political ideals. Therefore, between 1927 to 1937, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government strongly supported the school construction in Nanking, creating a golden development opportunity for the education of the city. The government adopted the Ren Xu School System in 1922; that is, the government modeled the three-three-six school system from the United States, demonstrated to be workable and functional in the West, and provided a clear classification for ranging from primary to advanced levels. On this basis, the Capital Plan in 1929 formulated the location layout of primary and secondary schools. In 1933, the Nanking Building Regulation systematically stipulated the building types and functional settings of each school. After implementing these initiatives, the final effect is remarkable. In 1928, there were 53 primary schools in Nanking, but by 1936, this number had increased to 231. Similarly, there were 10 secondary schools in 1927, but 20 secondary schools in 1936. Higher education also experienced gratifying growth, with the number of universities increasing from 3 in 1927 to 6 in 1937. The stable social and urban climate fostered rapid development in Nanking's

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18 Ibid. P45.
20 Ibid. P60-61.
21 Ibid. P61-62.
22 Ibid. P63.
24 Ibid. P86.
25 Ibid. P91.
26 Ibid. P107-108.
education industry. Unsurprisingly, the government also grasped the opportunity to advertise its ideology. For instance, "Party-centered Education" and "Three People's Principles" were prevalent in classrooms in primary, secondary, and higher education institutions. In particular, the National Central Political University served as specialized institution for training officials for the party and government, while Central Army Military Academy was responsible for military training. These two schools were cornerstones for cultivating faithful Kuomintang leaders and supervisors. Even though institutions like the National Ho Hai Engineering University, the National Central Guoshu Physical Education Institute, and other higher education institutions may seem irrelevant to the politics, they are all established based on the interests of Kuomintang and the government. Therefore, students were inevitably indoctrinated in political thought by the government. Under the ideological education system, the government consolidated its ideological control over the students, thereby strengthening its legitimacy in Nanking.

In addition, to reinforce the combat effectiveness of the army, the institutions focused on training progressive military knowledge for students. In Chiang Kai-shek’s opinion, setting up military schools is the crux for producing officers, and training officers is the vital way to expand the army. Only training a muscular army is the pivotal way to maintain the unification of the country. Therefore, in response to Chiang Kai-shek's expectation, several military schools were established by the government. Nanking, the capital, became the main education base for cultivating core military forces, as if previously talented people were cultivated from the Huangpu Military Academy in Canton. During the decade, military education developed rapidly. By 1937, there were 20 military schools in Nanking. Besides, the classification of military work is a groundbreaking practice in the history of the Chinese Military. The Kuomintang army was divided into different categories, including supplement, engineering, infantry, artillery, surveying, medical, and others, which made the Kuomintang army more professional and knowledgeable. The multivariable training sites in military schools provided not only places for training hard skills, such as shooting ranges but also places for ideological and cultural indoctrination, with political thought offices and revolutionary history memorial halls serving as examples. Furthermore, the architectural style of military academies clearly conveyed political ideology and meaning. For instance, many large military education institutions in Nanking adopted simple modernistic architectural forms. On the one hand, their simple building style demonstrated the eagerness of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government to learn from the Western military. On the other hand, it also reflected the rigorous control in the political sphere, highlighted by Chiang Kai-shek in 1928. Every corner in Nanking was filled with the presence and stateliness of the army, uninterruptedly pumped into the legitimacy of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government.

6. The governmental legitimacy from the perspective of large-scale infrastructure construction

Large projects benefit the country and its people. In Chinese traditional thought about governing a country, if the ruler can eradicate the disasters that have plagued the people for hundreds of years, he will gain a good reputation from generation to generation. The Chinese myth of "Emperor Yu Tames the Flood" is the best testimony. Therefore, assuming that a regime hopes to obtain legitimacy and authorization from the people, it must set the priority to cope with the major issues in people's livelihood. The frequent disasters in modern Nanking were an annoying chronic social illness for the people. Therefore, the Nationalist government was also concerned with the construction of flood control in Nanking City. The Capital Plan proposed a plan to improve core waterways and another plan to construct urban ditches, respectively, attempting to tackle the flood problems in a variety of scientific and systematic methods. The waterway plan intended to improve the moat outside the city and Qing Huai River inside the city to enhance their utility. Setting up reservoirs to store water and dredging the riverbed were the prime initiatives of the waterway plan. Another specific plan, the plan of urban ditches, aimed to solve the inconvenience of rainwater and sewage for the citizens. The Capital Plan explains that ditches are necessary to discharge rainwater and sewage because a large volume of rain and sewage will inevitably accumulate in the urban interior, leading to significant impacts. Therefore, modern cities should prioritize the planning of ditches to effectively manage the drainage of rainwater and sewage.

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27 Ibid. P110.
28 Ibid. P107-108.
29 Ibid. pp. 117-118.
30 Ibid. pp. 122-123.
32 The original text is "渠道為宣泄雨水及污水必需之具，規劃稍欠完善，此項雨、污水，不免停積內地，影響至為重大，故近代都市，莫不注重於渠道之規劃", cited by Ibid. P19-20.
Besides, the Capital Plan indicated that draining rainwater and sewage should flow to 40 drainage areas in the north, south, and outside of the city, and finally flow into Xuan Wu Lake and the Qing Huai River. After 1932, the government began to implement the plan. Nevertheless, the first stumbling block is the funding issue. In 1937, the former Nanking mayor Liu Ji-wen recalled his hardship and said, "When I embarked on the preparations for construction, there was no municipal construction fund or specialized working office at my disposal. only received an initial expenditure of 3,000 Yuan from the headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army. During that time, the financial revenue of the municipal government relied on the vehicle tax, which amounted to approximately 10,000 Yuan per month. Consequently, all governmental expenditures were funded by this revenue source. Despite having finished many tasks, external observers only could see my effort in the construction of the Nationalist Government Road."33

Luckily, the complexity of the shortage of funding did not hinder the progress of construction; instead, significant advancements were made. Between 1929 and 1936, a total of 17 embankment projects in Nanking were completed, resulting in larger embankments along the urban interior and exterior areas34. Concurrently, the government has successively conducted dredging in the Chin Huai River, Jin Chuan River, and other rivers and lakes. According to the statistics, a total of 8 waterways projects were completed from 1935 to 193735. In October 1936, the Nanking Municipal Engineering Affairs Bureau confirmed that more than half of the drainage projects were completed36. A series of measures have yielded unexpected results. When the flood season commenced in 1935, the employees from the Engineering Affairs Bureau implemented emergency measures to ensure a rapid decrease in water levels and prevent flooding of the embankment. The success of these effective projects and measures earned people's credit, thereby significantly bolstering the governmental legitimacy in Nanking.

Besides, the water supply project was also in full swing at that time. Prior to the establishment of the capital in Nanking, the citizens had relied on well water for their needs. However, contamination of this well water by rubbish made it turbid and prone to causing various diseases. In 1931, the personnel of the Nanking Health Bureau investigated 2,757 wells in the city and found that all selected samples were contaminated with coliform bacteria. It was unimaginable that the citizens had been drinking and using the well water for so many years. Recognizing the detrimental effects of well water, the government initiated the construction of a tap water system in February 193037. This comprehensive engineering project included the construction of a powerhouse, a filtration system, waterpipes, and a reservoir on Qing Liang Mountain38. By April 1933, the first phase of the tap water project was officially completed, and the quality of the tap water met the required criteria. Initially, the public response to the availability of tap water was indifferent. To encourage its usage, the government actively promoted and introduced various incentives, resulting in a significant increase in the number of users. By the end of March 1935, there were more than 1,600 family users. At the end of February 1926, the number increased to over 3,000 family users, accounting for about 67% of the total family users in Nanking. The widespread adoption of tap water directly reduced typhoid and cholera, which are related to polluted well water. The effort from professional officers and engineers improved urban sanitation39. Withal, the popularization of tap water also drove the fire control construction in Nanking. At the end of December 1936, the number of hydrants in Nanking was 621. The widespread availability of fire control facilities and equipment in Nanking brought convenience for the populace and firemen40. Therefore, the citizens discovered that the ongoing construction projects had increasingly transformed the old city into a modernized one under the leadership of the Nationalist government, affirming governmental legitimacy.

7. The governmental legitimacy from the perspective of legal system construction

Due to its status as the capital of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government, the police system in Nanking was

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33 The original text is “當籌辦之始，並無市政經費，亦無辦公地址，只向國民革命軍總司令部領取開辦費三千元。當時市政府之財政收入，僅有車捐一種，每月一萬餘元，一切市政事業之支出，皆取給於此。在此數月間，凡百草創，外間所能目睹之工作，惟開築國府路一段而己”
34 Ibid. P52-53.
36 Ibid. P64-65.
38 Ibid. P29.
39 Ibid. P52.
40 Ibid. P56.
undoubtedly the most important part of Chiang Kai-shek’s regime, symbolizing its power. From 1927 to 1937, a significant number of people from various sectors, such as political parties, government, military, commerce, agriculture, and industry, flocked to Nanking. The problems of social security became increasingly severe. Therefore, constructing a comprehensive legal system was seen as one of the antidotes to establish the legitimate discourse of the Nationalist government. The Nanking Public Security Bureau was established in 1927 to administer power in Nanking, and it was affiliated with the Nanking Municipal Government. Nonetheless, in 1929, given centralizing power, Chiang Kai-shek took away its command, by renaming it as the Capital Police Bureau. Chiang Kai-shek rearranged it to be a subsidiary of the Ministry of the Interior, thereby directly controlling Nanking. The Capital Police Bureau detailed the duties of the police in detail, including public security superintendence, household registration superintendence, traffic superintendence, fire control superintendence, social morality superintendence, and citizen admonishment. Subsidiary branches were established in different districts of the city, and police stations were set up in counties and townships. These measures shaped the urban police system and enhanced the legitimacy of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government.

It is worth noting that issues related to opium and prostitution were significant concerns for social security that troubled both the people and the government. To suppress the rampant prostitutes, the government adopted a management system for prostitutes. The government successively announced, "Regulation on levying prostitution tax by the Finance Bureau" and "Regulation on levying prostitution boat tax by the Finance Bureau" to standardize the management of prostitutes. The first person to pay the levy was required to provide two four-inch bust photos for the police station to record as informal proof of identity. The regulations also incentivized the police by granting them 20% of the fine, with 50% of the fine going to the police institution, for arresting prostitutes who violated the regulations. The allocation of fines motivated the police to actively enforce the law, gradually improving the chaotic social situation. From September 1927 to the first half year of 1928, a total of 26,203 Yuan was collected in half a year, accounting for 12% of the total tax revenue in the city, exceeding even more than business tax revenue. Managing prostitutes thus increased the legitimacy of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government and provided stable and significant revenue during the early construction phase of Nanking, which could be allocated to other public projects, thereby alleviating the plight.

Another critical social problem was opium. Before the Nationalist government established the capital in 1927, the drug problem in Nanking was widespread. In 1928, every twenty households had one household involved in opium sales, totaling 4,443 households. To overcome the obstacle, the government established a legal system to ban opium. In April 1928, the "Provisional Regulation of Banning Opium by the Ministry of Finance" and the "amendment to the regulation of banning opium regulation" were introduced to regulate the transportation, sale, and use of opium. As Nanking served as the capital of the Republic of China, Nanking’s executors intended to act as an exemplar in the field of opium prohibition. On July 1, 1928, the Nanking Municipal Government formally announced a comprehensive opium prohibition. Therefore, from January 1928 to September 1929, Nanking Customs seized a total of 23,974 “liang” of opium. The police station was responsible for rigorously inspecting opium sales and other substitutes, ensuring that offenders were brought to justice. Additionally, a new regulation implemented in June 1930 prohibited government officials from smoking opium or protecting opium smugglers. To further deter drug use, the government required the Education Bureau, the Social Affairs Bureau, and the other related parties to publicize the dangers of drugs. The Social Affairs Bureau forced cinemas to display anti-drug slogans and organized propaganda teams to issue anti-drug leaflets in various institutions. In 1934, the Nanking Municipal Government instructed the Public Health Affairs institution to open hospitals for the purpose of addiction treatment. It promulgated a load of laws to send arrested drug addicts to the hospitals. According to statistics in 1934 and 1935, there were 4,134 and 9,384 drug addicts, respectively. The scale of arrests of drug addicts continued to expand, leading to a decrease in the number of drug addicts in Nanking. It is worth noting that the strict enforcement of the opium ban was greatly influenced by Chiang Kai-shek’s personal aversion to drugs. Considering that Nanking was the capital of the central

42 Ibid. P80.
43 Ibid. P83-84.
44 Ibid. P98.
46 Ibid. P102.
47 Ibid. P103.
government, it was natural for the implementation to be rigorous. The effective policy of banning opium also enhanced the government's legitimacy in Nanking.

8. The governmental legitimacy from the perspective of park construction

The genesis of the park can be traced back to the royal hunting grounds in seventeenth-century London, which served as the precursor to modern parks. Park is the typical case in the concept of "public space", which was linked to the democratization wave in Europe and America during that time. In the early twentieth century, the United States and Europe further developed parks into modern urban spaces, incorporating elements of natural landscape and artificial recreation facilities. Simultaneously, the speedy development of Western parks enlightened overseas Chinese students. They introduced the concept of the "public park" in a publication, which is "Zhejiang Chao" in 1903, and the term "park" was also used in reports on Nanking’s development in Ta Kung Pao in 1904. Henceforth, the park was embraced by various modern cities in China. The conditions and environment at that time impelled the Nationalist government to take further measures regarding project construction, affairs management, and settlement of political symbols for public parks to quickly mount the credibility of the people for the government, thereby increasing the government's legitimacy.

From 1927 onwards, various governmental departments and officials were involved in the construction and development of public parks. The "Provisional Regulations of the Nanjing Special City", published on 6 June 1927, assigned the Education Bureau with the responsibility of preserving historical heritage, public recreational facilities, and social education. The Education Bureau oversaw the expansion of monuments for fallen soldiers, children's playgrounds, cinemas, and swimming pools. In December 1928, the Park Management Bureau officially took over the responsibility of the Education Bureau, representing a more mature and professional approach to park management in the capital. The Park Management Bureau was responsible for formulating park regulations, maintaining recreational facilities, executing horticulture, charging visiting fees from visitors, and requesting the budget from the heads. Besides, the other governmental organizations, including the Municipal Engineering Affairs Bureau, Land Bureau, Finance Bureau, Capital Police Bureau, and Capital Construction Committee also supported the functional needs of the Public Park Management Bureau and participated in the construction and maintenance of public parks.

Notwithstanding Chiang Kai-shek was not always concentrated on the planning, progress, and other major things about the Nanking Park construction, his participation indirectly made the municipal officials stressed, thereby pushing the construction effectively and frugally. He reviewed and supervised the construction many times in the decade, and believed that the capital's landscape represents the state's appearance, the obligation of government, and the publicity of political ideology. In 1937, numerous public parks were opened to citizens, including Xuan Wu Lake Park, Bai Lu Zhou Park, the Central Political District Park, and Qing Liang Mountain Park. Lots of anecdotes, news, and activities happened in these parks and livened up the atmosphere of the city. The constructed parks also provided precious leisure space for the citizens, thus boosting their sense of identity for the city and good feeling toward the government.

It is notable that the parks are also the best channel for expressing political thoughts. Chiang Kai-shek believed that capital construction should prioritize educating people about the country, government, and Sun Yat-Sen. The most prominent example of this was the Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum, located near the Ling Gu Temple, the Ming Xiao Mausoleum, forming an integrative large-scale scenic complex with strong political symbolism. Certainly, the core theme in the area was a commemoration of Sun Yat-Sen. In addition, the First Park featured a commemorative political symbol, which is a memorial temple to martyrs in the Battle of Long Tan, along with a memorial tower incorporating slogans from Sun Yat-Sen for political education. Ubiquitous political symbols became the best medium of instruction for educating citizens to love their government, party, and country sincerely. Similar commemorative facilities and political symbols were strategically placed in other parks as well. When the citizens visited these commemorative facilities, they were awed and agreed with the national ideology, army, and leaders. Therefore,
the Nationalist government masterly implanted the political symbols in public parks, accordingly zooming the degree of governmental legitimacy.

9. Conclusion

Notwithstanding the fact that the Nationalist government constructed a series of significant milestones and feats to benefit the citizens comprehensively during the peaceful decade, the limitations of the Nationalist government are still undeniable. Some relevant academic research also showcases that not all Nanking people got the benefits from the rapid urban development and modernization. A historian, Lipkin Z., exposed that certain minority groups, such as influential refugees and rickshaw pullers, faced countless neglect from the officials and governmental leaders during the decade. The Nationalist Government played a leading role during this decade. It did create a precious atmosphere of high-degree legitimacy. Nonetheless, the degree of legitimacy varied over time. According to the theoretical framework of legitimacy, the governmental legitimate authorization depends on the people. After the 1945 Japanese Surrenders, The Chinese Communist Party gradually won the support of the masses, encompassing a large proportion of peasants and intellectuals. In contrast, Chiang Kai-shek quickly fell into the "Tacitus Trap" because of official corruption, inflation, and economic recession from 1948 to the first half of 1949. On October 1, 1949, the establishment of the People's Republic of China was declared by Chairman Mao Ze-Dong. The Chinese people chose the Chinese Communist Party and its government, following the leadership of the New Chinese government for the past 75 years. These facts have proven that the ultimately qualified Sun Yat-Sen's successor was the Chinese Communist Party, and charming Chairman Mao won the Chinese people's advocacy finally. Nowadays, China is a rising tremendous dragon. The Chinese rise should be attributed to every Chinese persistent struggle and high demand for governmental governance. Nevertheless, the contribution of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government to Chinese urban modernization should not be belittled. The five dimensions, containing urban planning, education, large infrastructure, legal system, and park in the systematic evaluation, distilled a general remark that Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government did well from 1927 to 1937.

In simple terms, the legitimacy of a governmental and national leader is derived from the support of the masses. These historical facts in modern China resonate with the core ideas of Max Weber and Huntington regarding the concept of governmental legitimacy. They demonstrate that the theory is correct, classic in nature, reasonable, durable, significant, progressive, and promotable. Evaluating the legitimacy of regimes across different historical periods remains an ongoing topic. Historians will find inspiration to pursue cutting-edge interdisciplinary research in history by combining classic and derivative theories in future historical studies.

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