

The New County System* **

Tun-jou Ku

Part I

The Hierarchy of the "New Hsien System"

A. Motivation of the New Law Known as the "New Hsien System"

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the problems of national resistance and national reconstruction on the one hand and development of local self-government on the other became linked together. The former could be facilitated only through a conscientious fostering of the latter. Fully aware of this, the government immediately set to work to create a form of local organization which would assist in the solution of these problems. A primary step in this direction was the move towards cooperation between major political parties. But cooperation of parties as a method of strengthening the government was insufficient without the absolute confidence of all classes of people. As a means of furthering the united political front as well as of soliciting popular support and encouraging the mobilization of the people, a national popular assembly, the People's Political Council (國民參政會), was convened in 1938. This measure was only a preliminary step. Meanwhile the government with its experience of repeated attempts at reforming the county government and carrying out the policy of home rule often declared itself in favor of a thoroughgoing modification of the local government and the substitution of a system characterized by a large measure of flexibility. But before the end of 1939 little in this direction had been accomplished and the people continued to live under a regime which was built upon the deeply rooted traditions of governmental centralization. The beginning of the Japanese War witnessed a period of stalemate and suspense. Local autonomy for the *hsien* was practically non-existent, and in consequence of this, the *hsien*,

* Grateful acknowledgement is made to Dr. Clarence B. Day, formerly Dean of Hangchow University; Professor Wallace S. Sayre of Columbia University; Mrs. David B. Stout of the State University of New York at Buffalo; and Professor Ivor N. Shepherd, my colleague now at Tunghai University for their kind editing and valuable comments. The author is, however, solely responsible for any mistakes made in this article.

** Readers interested in further information about the *Hsien*, the Chinese county, are advised to consult the following articles written in English by the same author:

1. "Experiments in Local Government," in the *Yenching Journal of Social Studies*, v. II, n. 1. July, 1939. Published by Yenching University, Peking.
2. "The Evolution of the Chinese *Hsien* Government," in *Chinese Culture*, v. II, n. 3. December, 1956. Published by Chinese Culutral Research Institute, Taipei.
3. "The *Hsien* Government in the Chinese Political System, in *Chinese Culture*, v. I, n.2. October, 1957
4. "Nationalist Attempts at Reforming County Government," in *Tunghai Journal*, v. VIII, n. 2. August, 1967. Published by Tunghai University, Taiwan
5. "Hsinchuang Village: A Study of A Taiwanese Village in the Political Context of Lungching Township," in *Chinese Culture*, v. VII, n. 2. July, 1966

like the provinces, remained mere administrative divisions whose governments were completely in the hands of an appointed officialdom. It was against this background that the government decided to introduce some sweeping reforms which did actually open the way for giving more self-government to the *hsien*.

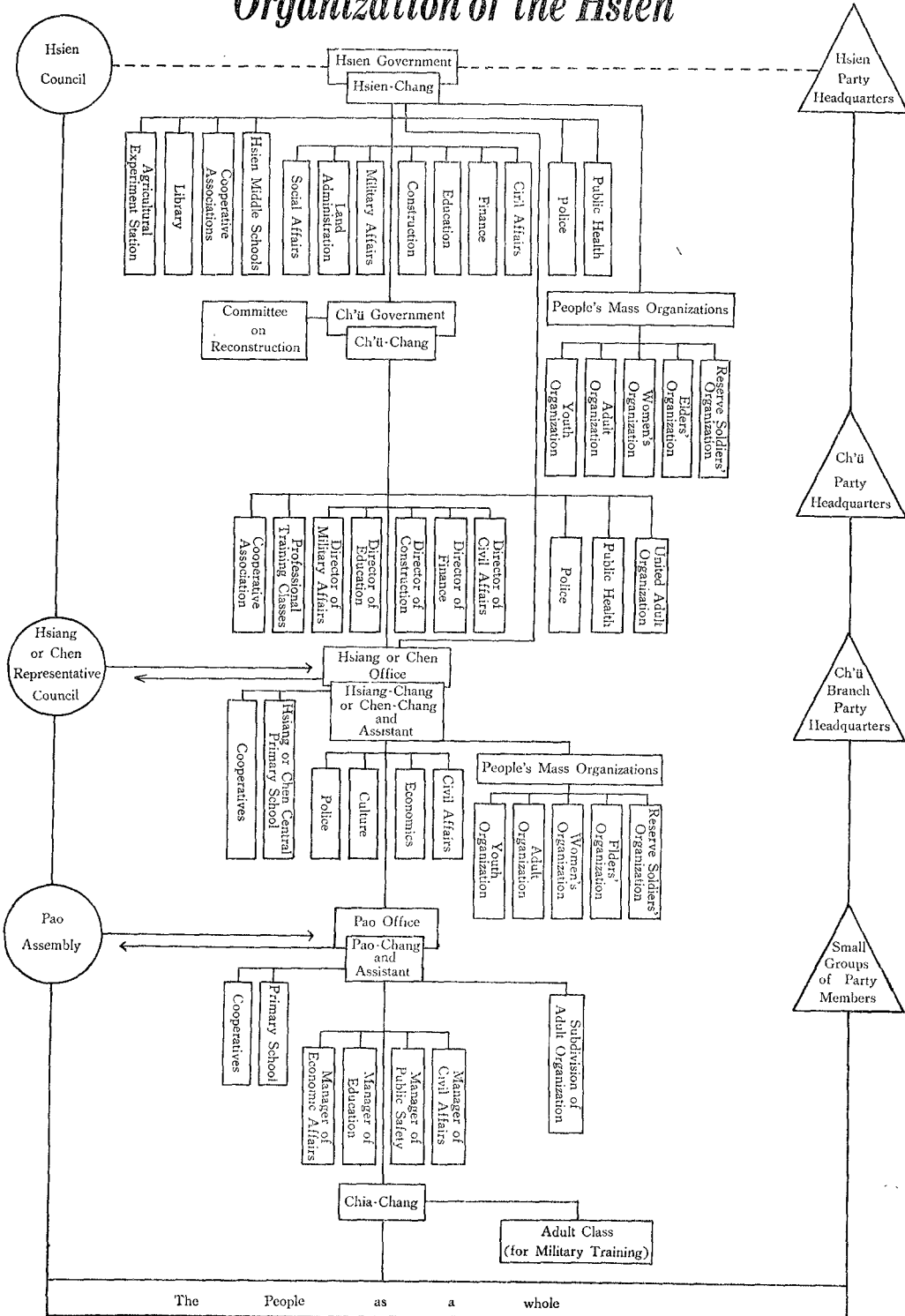
Nothing of permanence could be achieved without popular participation in politics, especially through local self-government. Establishment of local self-government would not only reduce the burden of the Central Government but would also strengthen the cooperation between the people and the government. The development of self-governing organs, therefore, shared equal importance with national resistance and reconstruction as motivating principles of the 1939 legislation, popularly known as the Law of the "New *Hsien* System."

The new law, which was finally promulgated on September 19, 1939, was the culmination of a number of carefully-taken steps. In 1938 the government, with the approval of the People's Political Council, had issued the *Kang Chan Chien Kuo Kang-Ling* 抗戰建國綱領 (Outline of National Resistance and National Reconstruction), which emphasized, among other things, the administration of the *hsien*. In article 13 it is advocated that the *hsien* be made a unit by which the local defense machinery could be strengthened and the political maturity of the people increased so that local self-government might be established as a stabilizing political and social force during wartime and a preparation for constitutional government in peacetime.¹ In a speech on April 8, 1939 to the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fourth Central Executive Committee of the Kuo-min Tang on the improvement of party work and the adjustment of the relations between the party and governmental organizations, General Chiang Kai-shek, who was then the chairman of the Military Commission and in effect the head of the government presented a chart outlining the various organs of local government and of the Kuo-min Tang and showing their relationships.² Basing their discussions on this chart and its accompanying explanation, many government officials, leaders of political parties and specialists in local administration met together and studied the proposed reforms in the light of previous experience. The "New *Hsien* System" known as the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao* 縣各級組織綱要 (Outline of the Organization of the *Hsien* and its Sub-divisions), was planned by the Executive Yuan to go into effect on January 1, 1940. Szechuan was the first province to put the new orders in force, and all provinces were given a designated period of time, at first six later three years, to carry out the plans under the new law.

The Outline,³ which superseded the *Organic Law for Hsien Government* of 1929, represented

1. Lo Wen-mo 羅文謨 (comp.), *Ti-Fang Tse Chih Chung-Yao Ts'an-K'ao Ts'ai-Liao* 地方自治重要參考材料 (Important Source Materials Concerning Local Self-government), published by the Association for the Advancement of Local Self-government of the Szechuan Provincial Kuo-min Tang Headquarters, Chengtu, 1940, p. 23-34.
2. The diagram accompanying this article is a translation of the main part of the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kuan-Hsi Tu* 縣各級組織關係圖 (Chart of the Relationships and Organizations of the *Hsien* and its Sub-divisions). This chart is the result of a careful study growing out of General Chiang's original *Hsien I Hsia Tang Cheng Chi-Ko Kuan-Hsi Tsao Tu* 縣以下黨政機構關係草圖 (Chart Showing the Relations between the Party and Governmental Organizations in the *Hsien*).
3. To call this important law "Outline" is in a sense a misnomer; for it had been enacted through regular channels. For particular provisions of the Outline and its supplementary laws, see the *Hsin Hsien Chi Fa Kwei Hui Pien* 新縣制法規彙編 (Collection of Laws and Regulations Concerning the New *Hsien* System), v. I, Tsung Chung Book Company, Shanghai edition, 1946.

Organization of the Hsien



a serious attempt by the National government to check the degenerating tendencies of local bureaucracy. It tried to indicate lines along which the people of the *hsien* might be trained for the enjoyment of local liberty. One of the principal aims of the new enactment was to secure for every province considerable latitude in selecting for each of its *hsien* a suitable form of organization from among the different ones stipulated in the Outline.⁴ This slight but significant modification of policy had many far-reaching administrative implications. It tended to discourage futile attempts at uniformity of statutory regulation regardless of the varying conditions in the local areas. It also presented several sets of solutions which might be applied *in toto* or separately.

B. The Hierarchy of the "New *Hsien* System"

The nature of the "New *Hsien* System" can best be understood through an analysis of the new organization of the *hsien* as it appeared in the law promulgated in 1939 and on the chart which accompanied it. The hierarchy of *hsien* government was to remain practically the same as in the past,⁵ but there were several notable differences in the organization within the several divisions. A point of primary importance was reaffirmation of the *hsien* as a local self-governing unit.⁶ Although the *hsien* was thus identified in the *Chien Kuo Ta Kang* and the *Ti-Fang Tzu Chih K'ai-Shih Shih-Hsing Fa* 地方自治開始實行法 (Initial Work in Local Self-government),⁷ the *Hsien Tsu Chih Fa* of 1929 had nothing in it regarding this aspect, apparently interpreting the *hsien* to be merely an administrative organ under the central and provincial governments. As a result of this reemphasis on the *hsien* as a local self-governing unit, under the new law it was definitely regarded as a legal person or a public corporation.⁸ The *hsien*, therefore, was in a position to enjoy legal rights and obligations in the same way as a *commune* in France or to some extent as a county in the United States.

1. The *hsien*

The *hsien* government itself, as conceived under earlier laws, was augmented by several new sections. In addition to the fundamental divisions of Civil Affairs, Finance, Education, and Construction, two more groups were included. The first group consisted of Military Affairs, Land Administration, and Social Affairs;⁹ these had the same status as the four regular sections. The second group contained the Public Health and Police Offices, the *Hsien* Middle School, the Library, the Cooperative Association, and the Agricultural Experiment Station.¹⁰ Of the first group

4. *Infra* Part I, B, 1, p. 4-10 and Part II, A Table of the Sections of the New County Governments of Eight Provinces, p. 20-22.

5. The *hsien* 縣, the *ch'u* 區, the *hsiang* 鄉 (rural township), and the *cheng* 鎮 (urban township) remain the same. The *lin* 鄰 (neighborhood) and *lu* 閭 (five *lin*) as basic units of organization have been replaced by the *chia* 甲 (ten households) and the *pao* 保 (ten *chia*).

The old law as a whole remains in effect except for regulations which are in conflict with those of the new law.

6. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 1, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

7. This instrument was prepared by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. For details see *ibid.*, p. 9-13.

8. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 5, in *ibid.*

9. Art. 8, in *ibid.*

10. These were not mentioned in the regulations but were indicated on the chart.

the Land Administration and Social Affairs Sections were optional, but that of Military Affairs was practically required, as at the beginning in Szechuan,¹¹ and later on in many other provinces. Of the second group all the sections except the Police Office, the Lirabry, and the *Hsien* Middle School were designed to meet the needs of the people during wartime.¹² Supplementing the section on Military Affairs, which provided for conscription and military training, were the Public Health Office which especially provided care for the wounded and the Cooperative Association and Agricultural Experiment Station which were to help with the wartime economy program. Although the formation of these sections was the direct result of the war situation, they would be continued in peace time if their existence was justified. Among those most likely to become permanent would, in all probability, be the Agricultural Experiment Station, because even in peacetime the people, most of whom were peasants, would continue to need the kind of useful service it provided. At that time the formation of cooperatives was important, but after the war there might be less need for so many such organizations. The agricultural cooperatives were probably of greatest permanent value; but the necessities of war also brought about the establishment of industrial cooperatives, which became increasingly important. These, however, would lose much of their usefulness when the war was over, international trade was restored and large scale industry was developed.

The addition of these new sections influenced to some extent the duties of the *hsien-chang*. Formerly, many of the functions now included in the recently-established sections were the direct responsibility of this official. This transfer of responsibility to the new sections left him free for his main task, the execution of self-government in the *hsien* and the active leadership in the mass organizations indicated in the chart. As a secondary function he also had to carry out the duties entrusted to him by the central and provincial governments, acting under the direction of the latter. It was explicitly stated that when the magistrate carried out duties assigned to him by higher levels of government, he should make it clear that these matters fall outside his regular jurisdiction.¹³ This was an attempt to distinguish between his primary and secondary functions and to emphasize the fact that his main duties were concerned with the self-government of the *hsien*. This regulation was made necessary because in the past the central and provincial governments had entrusted so much work to the *hsien-chang* that it was impossible for him to perform his own tasks efficiently.

2. The *Ch'ü*

From the point of view of organization there were theoretically only two grades of local self-governing bodies, the *hsien* and the *hsiang* or *chen*;¹⁴ but in fact between these there was another

11. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao Shih-Shih Shang Ying Chu-I Shih Hsiang* 縣各級組織綱要實施上應注意事項 (Important Points in Carrying out the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*), Art. 2, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

12. Even the principal of the *Hsien* Middle School served as commander of the *hsien* militia.

13. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 7, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

14. Art 4, in *ibid.* The *hsiang* is a rural community of 1000 households in principle; it may, however, range from 216 to 3375 households; the *chen* is a market town of the same size.

administrative unit, the *ch'ü*, comprising from 15 to 30 *hsiang* and *chen*.¹⁵ A glance at the past history of the *ch'ü* reveals divergent opinions regarding this form of organization. One belief was that the *ch'ü* should be abolished entirely since its existence between the *hsien* and the *hsiang* or *chen* made direct contact between the latter two units difficult and since the small *hsien* or those with limited financial resources could not afford another wheel in the government. Even should such an intermediate organization be desired, it need not be so formal; a committee of united *hsiang* would be sufficient. The other point of view, formerly advocated by General Chiang and his associates,¹⁶ was that the larger *hsien* at least were to have *ch'ü* governments instead of *ch'ü* offices so that these could assist the *hsien* governments with specific duties. The new plan was a compromise. All *hsien* must be divided into *ch'ü* for convenience in *hsien* administration, but the decision as to whether or not to have a *ch'ü* government rested with the *hsien*.¹⁷ In general, they were allowed to exist only in larger *hsien*. During the war the *ch'ü* was instituted chiefly for military purposes and, therefore, was temporary. The *ch'ü* was not a governmental grade under the *hsien* but was only a branch of the *hsien* government with certain responsibilities.

Its functions were five in number and were set forth as civil, financial, constructional, educational, and military.¹⁸ It is apparent that the *ch'ü* was of importance primarily from a military point of view. Two sections, Military Organization for Adult Education and the Public Health Service—both indicated on the chart—were planned for military use. The Cooperative Associations and Professional Training Classes were also means toward achieving a workable wartime economy through accelerating production. Should conditions require it, the *ch'ü* were empowered to organize committees which could make suggestions regarding the work of rural reconstruction.¹⁹ The status of these committees was however not made clear. In this connection as in regard to other duties of the *ch'ü*, the division of the *hsien* into these smaller units did not seem justifiable. Since the *hsien* was a rural rather than an urban institution and rural reconstruction was one of the most important branches of its work, it seems strange that such an important duty was entrusted to such an optional and impermanent organ as the *ch'ü*.

3. The *Hsiang* or *Chen*

The *hsiang* or *chen*²⁰ was a subdivision of the machinery of self-government in the *hsien*. General Chiang indicated its importance in the new legislation when he said that under the old system there had been nothing below the *hsien* which could be reached by the central government. Previously, the *hsiang* or *chen*, although existing as separate units, were not well organized, and lack of money and a consequent lack of officials caused them to be of small value as administra-

15. Art. 24, in *ibid.*

16. Tun-jou Ku, "Experiments in Local Government", in the *Yenching Journal* of Social Studies, V. II, n. 1, Peiping, July, 1939. p. 85-87.

17. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 25, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

18. Art. 26, in *ibid.*

19. Art. 28, in *ibid.*

20. Art. 29, in *ibid.* As a rule, a *hsiang* or *chen* is made up of 10 *pao*; a *pao* is made up of 10 *chia*; and a *chia* consists of 10 households. An average of five persons in each house would bring the average size of a *hsiang* or *chen* to about 5000. Such a community is a suitable economic, cultural, and political unit to support a small government.

tive units. With the new law, the *hsiang* or *chen* like the *hsien*, was regarded as a legal person with the right to make contracts and own property. As a result, the *hsiang* or *chen* office, together with the *hsien* government, had an equal status before the law with the upper grades of the government. They were no longer mere tools of the central and provincial governments, but they had their own rights and obligations as legal persons. This was an indication of administrative decentralization.

The administrative structure of the *hsiang* or *chen* was not unlike that of the *hsien*. A *hsiang-chang* 鄉長 or *chen-chang* 鎮長 was the head of this organ of local government which was called the *hsiang* or *chen* office. He was assisted by one or two vice-heads. These officials were all elected by the representative council of the *hsiang* or *chen*,²¹ a body similar to the *hsien* assembly in organization and method of election. The *hsiang* or *chen* government had four branch offices, Civil Affairs, Cultural Affairs, Economic Affairs, and Police. For each branch there was a director (*ku chu-jen* 股主任) and a number of secretaries.²² These directors, secretaries and the *hsiang*-or *chen-chang* worked together as an administrative council.²³ In addition, a primary school was included as a permanent part of the government's plan, whose significance lay in its inclusion of primary and "social" education or education for adults as well as for children and in the fact that it had definite official responsibilities toward the *hsiang* or *chen* office.²⁴

4. *Pao* and *Chia*

The general use of the *pao-chia* system as a basis of *hsiang* or *chen* organization was a radical change in the organization of local government, although the *pao-chia* as a political institution had had a history of at least 1000 years.²⁵ The failure of the old organization in the last days of the Ch'ing Dynasty to bring about desired results was due in part to the local governments and the unpreparedness of the people. The multiplicity of self-government regulations²⁶

21. Art. 31, in *ibid.* For election, these officials must have one of the following qualifications: special training in local government in a special school and the passing of an examination in this field; the passing of the general civil service examination; position of fourth rank in the government; graduation from a normal school (junior middle school grande) or from a school above this; and a good record of responsibility in local affairs.

22. Art. 32, in *ibid.*

23. Art. 36, in *ibid.*

24. Arts. 32 and 34, in *ibid.*

25. The *pao-chia* system was formally inaugurated in 1070 by Wang An-shih 王安石 of the Sung Dynasty. It was extensively adopted as a means of local self-protection during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643), especially under the advocacy of the eminent statesman and philosopher, Wang Shou-jen 王守仁. Under the Ch'ing Dynasty the *pao-chia* system was used for different purposes at different times. From *Shun-chih* 順治 (1644-1661) to *K'ang-hsi* 康熙 (1662-1722) it was chiefly used for census taking. Through the times of *Ch'ien-lung* 乾隆 (1736-1795) it was important for local self-protection; but later the system degenerated into uselessness. The National Government revived the *pao-chia* system to serve both as a means for local self-defense and as a part of local government. See Ku, *op. cit.*, p. 84, foot-note 39.

26. The Central Government had promulgated over 40 kinds of regulations on local self-government, including 957 articles. These figures do not take into account the related regulations and the detailed rules for putting the laws in to effect by the provincial governments. See *Ti Erh T's'u Ch'uan Kuo Nei Cheng Hui-I Pao-Kao Shu* 第二次全國內政會議報告書 (Report on the Second National Conference on Home Affairs), p. 275.

and the inefficiency of the officials in carrying out such a basic procedure as census taking²⁷ contributed to the lack of public interest in self-government and caused the people to regard as important only the fundamental need for peace and order within the community. The machinery of self-protection had long centered around the *pao* and the *chia*, and to adopt these same units for purposes of the new regulations on self-government was a step back into tradition. Apparently the Western method of government by elected officers could become a reality only when introduced in collaboration with the time-honored concept of society based on the family. The duplication in many places of self-protection and self-government regulations facilitated the use of the *pao-chia* as an entity in the organization of local government within the *hsien*.

According to the regulations, there was a *pao* office headed by the *pao-chang* 保長 and his assistant, both of whom were elected by the *pao* assembly.²⁸ The office had two to four secretaries (*kan-shih* 幹事) to take charge of Civil, Economic, and Cultural Affairs, and the Police.²⁹ A *pao* primary school and cooperative association were also to be included.³⁰ Under the *pao* is the *chia* with a *chia-chang* 甲長 elected by an assembly of the heads of the households³¹. This assembly is at the bottom of the hierarchical structure of the *hsien* system.

C. The Popular Assemblies and the People's Mass Organizations

The popular assemblies and the people's mass organizations which were included for each grade under the *hsien* were evidence of the serious way in which the Central Government was going about the task of bringing about local self-government. The system of popular assemblies was a structure built from the bottom up. The first of these groups was a committee of the ten heads of the households within the *chia*. By thus using the family as the basis of organization, election was not necessary at this stage, and efficiency and responsibility were assured.

That the return to the family as a basis unit was in one sense a step backward was recognized by the framers of the new law, but it was believed that political and social conditions would have to change before political institutions could follow. Doubtless China will in the long run turn to a more Western method of representation since she seemed to be following this course in so many other ways; but for the time being it was expedient to make use of an institution which was the logical corollary of existing conditions. At the same time, there was a *chia* assembly, which

27. In the past these all-important census reports were little more than estimates as they were made by uninterested *hsien* officials. The *pao-chia* was the best unit with which to work because it was most closely connected. Under the new regulations the organization of the *pao* and *chia* and the taking of the census were usually carried on concurrently.

28. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 47, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.* These officials must have one of the following qualifications: graduation from normal school or junior middle school or equivalent training and ability; service in the government or in educational and cultural organs for more than one year with a good record; proper training with satisfactory attainment; or work in local public affairs. The aim was ultimately to have local men, but at the beginning these leaders might come in from outside.

29. Art. 50, in *ibid.*

30. Art. 49, in *ibid.* Until economic and other conditions have improved sufficiently to make other arrangements possible, the *pao-chang* served concurrently as principal of the primary school and commander of the *pao* militia.

31. Art. 54, in *ibid.*

convened only when necessary, and included all residents in the *chia*.³² This assembly was, therefore, a completely democratic and modern institution. This was important as it was a step toward active participation in the government by all the people.

The next step was the *pao* assembly composed of one representative from each household within the *pao*³³ bringing the membership to about 100. The *pao* assembly had the dual function of representative organization and training instrument since all the members were elected. As in all probability the representatives would be none other than the heads of the households, here again lay the opportunity of combining the traditional method of representation through the family with the innovation of an election. The higher levels of government, the *hsiang* or *chen* had their own assemblies made up of two representatives from each *pao* under their jurisdiction. These members, usually about 20 in number, were elected by their respective *pao* assemblies.³⁴ This was the beginning of a limited form of election. Each *hsiang* or *chen* assembly in turn elected one representative to the *hsien* assembly.

In an attempt to have the members of these *hsien* assemblies representative of a cross-section of the people, professional representation was added to the ordinary regional representation. No definite limits were set to the size of the *hsien* assemblies, but it was clearly stated that the professional representation was not to exceed 3/10 of the total.³⁵

This system of popular assemblies had many advantages, not the least of which was the fact that those of the lower grades were in a position to assist materially in carrying out the regulations and orders issued by the *hsien* and in obtaining the understanding and support of the people.

While the chief function of the popular assemblies was to supervise the different grades of government in the *hsien*, the people's mass organizations aimed to train their members in various kinds of service to the country. Here the masses were taught to understand the principle of "No taxation without representation". As shown in the chart, the system of mass organizations was even more complete than that of popular assemblies since the mass organizations appeared at each level of government. In general, they were organized according to differences in age and sex rather than profession. During the war the government was interested in composite organizations rather than mere professional groups as the former would go further toward meeting the immediate needs of the nation.³⁶

The importance of these mass organizations was proven by the fact that they were placed under the direct supervision and direction of the heads of the different grades of government. As General Chiang had indicated, those groups most necessary for the work of national resistance and reconstruction were the adult organizations and the women's organizations.³⁷ These, therefore, were the first to be organized and trained. All mass organizations were organized step by step,

32. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 55, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

33. Art. 52, in *ibid.*

34. Art. 38, in *ibid.*

35. Art. 15, in *ibid.*

36. Professional groups meeting the needs of the people were by no means to be neglected. Many of these were already in existence, although they were neither well-organized nor particularly active.

37. Chiang Kai-shek, *Ch'ueh Ting Hsien I Hsia Ti-Fang Tsu-Chih Wen-Ti* 確定縣以下地方組織問題 (Problems of Local Organization under the *Hsien*), in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

from the bottom up, so as to have a stable foundation. Popular organizations in the past, such as farmers' associations and women's associations, were found only within the *hsien* city; and the government or party officials in charge of such work seldom ventured into the villages to work. As a result, these isolated groups centered in urban communities were practically valueless. The new regulations included these mass organizations as integral parts of the whole machinery of local government; and full attention was given to the smallest organizations within the *hsiang* or *chen*, the *pao* and *chia*, which were, hereafter, to be regarded as integral parts of the whole.

The adult organizations, including as they did the most responsible members of society, were given special care. Emphasis was placed on civic and professional aspects as well as on military training, so that the value of these groups would not be limited solely to time of war.⁸⁸ In this way the people themselves were trained to control such elements in their midst as opium smokers, gamblers, and idlers as well as to participate in all self-governing activities. In no other way could there be developed any real cooperation between the government and the people and any political consciousness in the masses.

Part II

The Special Features of the "New Hsien System"

D. Economic and Financial Provisions

So much for the hierarchy of the New *Hsien* System; now to consider its special features. Besides the popular assemblies and the people's mass organizations which were indeed special features of the "New *Hsien* System", another important aspect of the law and one upon which its ultimate success largely depended was its provision for the solution of *hsien* economic and financial problems. Any discussion of self-government or even of efficient local administration is merely empty talk unless the conditions of the people are improved sufficiently to make their support possible. In the past the *hsien* had had two outstanding financial difficulties. In the first place it had had too little money at its disposal. Until the establishment of the Republic, the central government alone was in charge of finance; and there was local finance only in the sense of the people's having to contribute money to be spent as the central government wished. As far as the people themselves were concerned, the situation was aggravated by the fact that the local government had developed many illicit ways of collecting money for its own use. In 1913 a draft of the law regulating both central and local taxation separated the two. This draft was proclaimed by the government and, although not passed by the legislative body, was generally observed by the central and local governments. These regulations marked the beginning of independent local finance, as they stipulated the surtax was to be provincial tax.⁸⁹

Again, in 1928, after the establishment of the National Government, an order was issued stating that the income and expenditure of the central and local governments should be clearly

38. *ibid.*

39. T'an Hsien-Ch'eng 譚憲澄, *Ti-Fang Ts'ai-Cheng* 地方財政 (Local Finance), Shanghai, 1939, p. 33.

separated. The great change brought about by this legislation was the assignment to the local government of the land tax.⁴⁰ Other taxes, such as those on property transactions, on pawn shops, and on butchers, and the proposed tax on business, were all assigned to the province and classified as local taxes; but this revenue went to the province rather than to the *hsien*. As the basic unit of local self-government, accordingly, the *hsien* found it very difficult to carry out all its duties with the small amount of money at its disposal.⁴¹ The result was the *hsien* government with its meagre income could support only a few of the officers which were needed to carry out its work efficiently, and no definite person could be assigned to a definite number of tasks. This kind of financial system in local government has been described as "an up-ended pagoda" both the money and the power being given to the province. This absence of either money or power was an important reason for the lack of improvement in *hsien* administration. Without a solution of this problem no effective reform could be expected.

Legislation of the thirties and forties made some strides in this direction. Especially after the outbreak of the Japanese War many duties were assigned to the *hsien* which made necessary the expenditure of additional money. This could be raised only through the collection of *hsien* taxes. As a result there was an excessive number of taxes. For example, in Chin *hsien* 欽縣 Kwangtung, there were 54 kinds of taxes which were approved by the financial department of the province. In addition, there were numerous taxes which were not formally approved.⁴² Such taxes imposed an unbearable financial burden on the people. Study, discussion, and experience have resulted in the suggestion of three possible methods of reform. The first of these, the reduction of expenses within the provincial government through the amalgamation of departments, was put into effect in accordance with the regulations of 1934, the *Sheng Cheng-Fu Ho Shu Pan Kung Pan-Fa Ta-Kang* 省政府合署辦公辦法大綱 (General Principles for the Consolidation of the Departmental Offices of the Provincial Government). This simplification of the provincial government reduced the expenditure of the province and left more money for the use of the *hsien*.⁴³ A second possible

40. *Ibid.*, p. 35

41. The unequal distribution of revenue between the provincial and *hsien* governments can be illustrated by a statement of the budgets of four provinces for the year 1933. This is to be found in General Chiang's instructions regarding general principles for the consolidation of the departmental offices of the provincial government:

Province	Provincial gov't and the four departments	<i>Hsien</i> Government	Number of <i>Hsien</i>	Average expenditure for each <i>hsien</i>	
				Corrected figure	original figure
Honan	911,000 +	1,091,000 +	111	9,282 +	9,830 +
Hupei	1,119,000 +	880,000 +	70	12,571 +	12,600 +
Anhwei	1,010,000 +	957,000 +	61	15,689 +	15,700 +
Kiangsi	813,000 +	1,132,000 +	81	13,975 +	13,800 +

Ch'eng Mao-hsing 程懋型, *Ch'ao Fei Ti-Fang Hsing-Cheng Chih-Tu* 剿匪地方行政制度 (Local Administration in the Bandit-Suppression Areas), P. 34.

42. See Lou T'ung-snn 樓桐蓀, *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao Shih Lun* 縣各級組織綱要釋論 (An Exposition of the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu Chih Kang Yao*), in the *Hsin Hsien Chih Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Ti Li-Lun Ho Shih-Shih* 新縣制各級組織的理論和實施 (Theory and Practice of the New *Hsien* System), Chengtu, 1940, p. 60.

43. For details, see Ku, *op. cit.*, p. 76-78.

method of reform was to remove part of the financial duties of the *hsien* and assign them to the central and provincial governments. The third suggested alteration, more far-reaching in its significance, was the assignment of revenue from certain definite taxes to the *hsien*. The new law combined the second and third methods, making five specific provisions:

(1) All expenses for duties belonging to the central and provincial governments but performed by the *hsien* were to be charged to the respective governments, and the money to pay these expenses was not to be collected in the *hsien*.

(2) If, as a result of poor land and sparse population, the *hsien* was unable to raise enough money to carry on its government, it might be subsidized not only by the provincial government but also by the national government if this money was used for the work of developing the *hsien*. In *hsien* which were in a slightly better condition financially but were still unable to support themselves entirely, subsidization was to come from the provincial government.

(3) The kinds of taxes or other sources of income within the *hsien* revenue which were to go to the *hsien* government were to be carefully enumerated. They included the following:

(a) Part of the land tax. Before the land tax law was put in force, the total surtax under the old form of land tax was to go to the *hsien*. This was not a new idea, as in the past it was the only source of income for the *hsien*. After the registration of all the land, the tax and the surtax on the land in the *hsien* which had not previously been registered were to be sources of revenue for the *hsien*.

(b) 3/10 of the stamp revenue.

(c) The tax on improvements of the land. Before this new land law were put into operation the *hsien* received the tax on houses (*fang ch'uan* 房捐), a tax paid by owners based upon the rents received. This new tax was to include all kinds of improvements made on buildings built upon the land in question.

(d) A part of the business tax. This tax was also in process of revision. Until this was completed, the *hsien* had the entire income from the tax on butchering and about 20% of that from the old business tax.

(e) The income from the public property of the *hsien*.

(f) The income from *hsien* public enterprise, and any other legal taxes which were permitted by the higher level self-government.

(4) The financial system itself was to be improved in several ways. In the first place money was to be both collected and spent by the *hsien* government and not by its bureaus or sections. Secondly, the *hsien* government must have a general plan for the fair and careful distribution of the income, and the budget and financial report must be submitted to the *hsien* assembly or, if it was not yet established, through the *hsien* administrative council to the provincial government for its approval. Thirdly, a *hsien* treasury was to be established and legal methods of accounting and auditing adopted.

(5) The *hsien* was to be permitted to issue *hsien* bonds with the approval of the provincial government.⁴⁴

44. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 18-23, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*.

All these regulations related to improvements of the financial structure; but the law did not stop here. It laid special emphasis on ways of increasing production; for unless the people were given more financial security, the new system of taxes would not only fail to solve the financial problems of the *hsien* government but would also incur the dissatisfaction and criticism of the people. Before 1940, or thereabouts, the *hsien* government was not particularly interested in developing the wealth of the community. Such a method of increasing the income of the government seemed too remote, and the *hsien* officials felt the necessity of getting money immediately. Later on, however, this method was emphasized not only because of the *hsien's* own financial needs but also because of the encouragement of the central government. The latter had seen the possibility of solving the national economic problems of the period of the Japanese War as well as of paving the way for reconstruction in the future. As a consequence, there were established the economic divisions mentioned above — agricultural experiment stations, cooperatives, classes for professional training, and committees on rural reconstruction within the *ch'ü*.

Not only had the financial system of the *hsien* been altered; that of the *hsiang* or *chen* had also undergone a thorough change. As a grade of local self-government its financial structure had been kept fairly independent of the *hsien*. According to the new regulation, the income of the *hsiang* or *chen* was to come from five sources: (1) The income granted by law; (2) the income from the public property of the *hsiang* or *chen*; (3) the income from the public enterprises of the *hsiang* or *chen*; (4) subsidies from higher levels of government; and (5) other temporary assessments approved by the *hsiang* or *chen* assemblies and by the *hsien* government.⁴⁵

Attention had also been paid to the method of increasing productivity within these smaller units. A first step in this direction was for the *pao* assemblies and the public organizations of the *hsiang* or *chen* to check all public property. In the *chen*, public property included the publicly-owned vegetable storehouse, the public buildings, the public lavatory, the public land, the public granary, and the grain stored in it. In the *hsiang*, public property included public forests, farms, pasture lands, dykes, channels, and mill-wheels, fish ponds, mulberry groves and places where silk worms are kept, the publicly-owned vegetable storehouse, the public lavatory, public lands, hills, roads, ferry boats, granaries and the grain stored therein, brick kilns, limestone quarries, and small mines. When the list was complete, all people in the *pao*, *hsiang*, or *chen* had to contribute a certain amount of labor toward keeping this property in good condition. Those who were unable to work must hire others to take their places. The representative bodies would also appoint committees on property to supervise this property and make reports from time to time. The income from these sources was to be included in a budget to be prepared by the *hsiang*-or *chen*-*chang* and the property committee, passed by the *hsiang* or *chen* assemblies, and finally approved by the *hsien*. The fact that this budget was afterwards incorporated into the *hsien* budget meant that *hsiang* or *chen* finance was only half independent; but its complete independence might come in time. This tendency towards independence in finance was another example of the method by which the new law trained for democracy in local government.⁴⁶

45. Art. 41, in *ibid.*

46. Arts. 42-44, in *ibid.* See also, Lei Yin 雷殷, *Hsien Ko Chi T'su-Chih Kang-Yao Shih-Shih Chen-Hsu* 縣各級組織綱要實施程序 (Program for Carrying Out the *Hsien Ko Chi T'su-Chih Kang-Yao*), in the *Hsin Hsien Chih Ko Chi T'su-Chih Ti Li-Lun Ho Shih-Shih*, (The Theory and Practice of the *New Hsien System*), p. 39-45, particularly p. 43.

E. Cooperation between the local government and the Kuo-min Tang

In order that this training for self-government might result in high achievement and the tasks of national resistance and national reconstruction be carried on successfully, there had to be cooperation between the different branches of the government and between the party and the government. In the past there had been considerable cooperation between the government and the party on the central government level but not between the local governments and the Kuo-min Tang. The distrust of the local governments came from the fact that in the past the party officers either made trouble within the *hsien* under the protection of the party name or merely had a negative limited supervisory function. The *hsien* government had reason for its feeling that party members and officials were to be "respected like Buddhas but watched against like thieves."

The new law made no explicit statement on the question of readjustment of local government and party relations; but the necessity for a change in the attitude of the party toward the *hsien* and in the cooperation of the two organizations had long been recognized. The party officials had been asked to help the *hsien* by making the laws and orders understood by all the people and to set a good example in the observance and carrying out of the law. They were to cooperate with the government just as the Y.M.C.A. does with the Church. The new measures made one contribution to party organization by extending it through the entire system of government including the *pao*. Formerly, the headquarters of the party within the *hsien* were in parallel with the *hsien* government, the *ch'ü* party headquarters in parallel with the *ch'ü* office, and the headquarters of the party belonging to the subdivisions of the *ch'ü* in parallel with the *hsiang* or *chen* offices. Under the subdivision of the *ch'ü* the party system stopped and the activities of the *hsien* below the *ch'ü* had no immediate connection with the party. Under the new plan, however, a small group of party members was set up in parallel with the *pao* office. However, the new plan had a network of party members⁴⁷ under the direct control of the *hsien* party control committee. It was the hope of the sponsors of the new regulation that this supervision by party members would arouse a new interest and feeling of responsibility in *hsien* politics and that all party members would become ready assistants of the *hsien* government and good leaders of the people.

F. Further coordination and centralization

Another carefully devised plan of coordination was that between the administrative and representative bodies. The *hsien-chang*, although for the time being not elected by the *hsien* assembly or the electorate, had to have his budget and any proposal for issuing *hsien* bonds approved by the assembly. This made his relation with the representative body quite close. The relation of the *hsiang*- or *chen-chang* with the *hsiang* or *chen* representative bodies was still more significant as he was not only elected by the assembly but also might be the chairman of the latter organization.⁴⁸

47. The abridged chart published herewith lacks the diagram of the network of control of Party members which appears on the original chart. Supra p. 2 and foot-note 2.

48. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 39, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

The *pao-chang* and *chia-chang* had a similarly close relation with their representative bodies as they were elected by the *pao* assembly and the committee of household heads respectively.

The centralization of powers in chief official at the different levels of government and the coordination between the different departments in the administration were also strongly emphasized. As mentioned elsewhere, the *hsien* government was reorganized in 1935 through the abolition of the various bureaus and the establishment in their place of *k'o* or sections of lower status. In the matter of finance the *hsien* government became the sole authorized receiver of income and the only body permitted to make expenditures.⁴⁹ With the same aims in view which prompted the reform of the *hsien*, the new law made some needed changes in the organization of the *hsiang* and *chen*. The *hsiang*- or *chen-chang* was to hold concurrently the positions of principal of the central primary school and commander of the militia.⁵⁰ The deputy *hsiang*- or *chen-chang* was also responsible for the work in the *hsiang* or *chen* offices and for civil, police, economic, and cultural affairs as well as for census-taking.⁵¹ In the *pao*, the *pao-chang* also was to hold concurrently the comparable positions and might in addition, be elected as chairman of the *pao* cooperative.⁵² The deputy *pao-chang* and the teachers in the citizens' school were to be responsible also for the administrative work connected with civil, police, economic, and cultural affairs in the *pao* office.⁵³

This centralization and coordination had three definite results: (1) There was a clear concentration of power and more efficient administration because the head could not avoid duty and responsibility. (2) This form of government, as indicated by both General Chiang and Vice minister of the Interior Lei Yin, proved more economical, one of the important reasons for the arrangement.⁵⁴ The same building for example, was used both as a school and as a government office. (3) A change for the better took place in the work of government and education. According to the new plan much better work was done by the school and its political significance was greatly enhanced. Education in the past had been of the "closed door" type, which went on in school but was of little value outside. Under the new law, education was being used as a means toward the end of national solidarity and reconstruction. Those who were connected with education could work under the direction of a unified administrative body for the organization and training of the masses. Thus the entire population became the object of education, the community became the school, and the practical problems and social phenomena the materials for instruction. The aim of primary education was to train the people to live and to work with others for the common good as well as for personal interest. The plan required the teachers of the *hsiang*, *chen* and *pao* to be responsible not only for work in the government but also for other kinds of social work such as the New Life Movement, cooperatives, and the work related to public property. The duties of the schools were enlarged as well. In addition to regular class work and extra-curricular activities, they were to assume other kinds of educational work such as mass education, short-period courses, and

49. Tun-jou Ku, *op. cit.* p. 85.

50. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang Yao*, Art. 34, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

51. Art. 24, in *ibid.* and Lei Yin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

52. Art. 34, in *ibid.* and Chiang Kai-shek: *Ch'ueh Ting Hsien I Hsia Ti-Fang Tsu-Chih Wen-T'i* 確定縣以下地方組織問題 (Problems of *Hsien* Organization), in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*

53. All these elected officials had to undergo special training after election. See also Lei Yin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

54. Lo wen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 24-42.

rural education. The schools enrolled both children of school age and adults.⁵⁵ Education became, therefore, a civic instrument with the military and "spiritual" mobilization of the people as an ultimate goal.

G. Execution of the Law

The successful execution of this law was due mainly to three factors: First, it was a plan formulated in the light of past experience, both successful and unsuccessful, and many of the stipulations were merely a recognition of existing conditions. As stated elsewhere, the general structure of the system of *hsien* government remained practically the same as before with the exception of the replacement of the *Lü* and *lin* with the *pao* and *chia*. The adoption of the *pao-chia* system was the result of careful experiment in the bandit-suppression zone. Making the *hsien* the basic unit of local self-government and the *hsien* and *ch'ü* the two grades of local government were merely reaffirmations of important decisions made in the past. The new plan for the *ch'ü* was in fact a compromise between the extreme view on the one hand that the *ch'ü* office should be abolished and on the other that a independent *ch'ü* government should be set up. The *hsiang* or *chen* were only new names for what was known as the united *pao* in Szechuan and was an established institution in most parts of China. The careful and conservative design for the popular assemblies was also the result of past experience.⁵⁶ Second, the duty of the government to carry out the plan was clearly shown by the fact that a time limit was set for the work. The original six years was reduced to three years by order of the Executive Yuan, and a month to month plan for carrying out the work was formulated by the Supreme Defense Council 國防最高委員會.⁵⁷ The third factor making for the success of this new plan was its flexibility. An example of this was the treatment of the different grades of *hsien*. The average area of a *hsien* was so large⁵⁸ that it was difficult for a single *hsien-chang* to administer it properly. The fundamental solution to this problem should ordinarily have been to decrease the size of the *hsien* so that self-government might be carried out more satisfactorily and each *hsien* might have an equal opportunity for development; but at that time such a thorough-going change could not be effected, so a remedy had to be devised to meet the immediate need. One of the methods was to divide the *hsien* into different grades. This means of solving the problem had been used before. According to the law of 1929 there were three grades, divided according to area, amount of administrative work, population, and finance. Changes in local economic and other conditions and in communications caused certain provinces to adopt

55. *Ibid.*, p. 24-25.

56. Tun-jou Ku, *op. cit.*, p. 82-87.

57. *Infra*, p. 17-20.

58. *Nei Cheng Kung Pao* 內政公報 (The Official Gazette of the Ministry of the Interior), 1936, v. 9, no. 1, p. 236, gives a table in which 1,871 *hsien* and government bureaus 設治局 were divided into 21 classes according to area. There is another table in which 1,902 *hsien* and government bureaus were divided into 24 classes according to population. According to these two tables, the size of the *hsien* varies from less than 1,000 to more than 100,000 sq. *li* in area and from less than 10,000 to more than 1,000,000 persons in population. The average size of the *hsien* is, therefore, from 12,656 to 12,943 sq. *li*, with a population of from 205,589 to 236,340. In comparison with units of local government in other countries, the *hsien* is quite large. (One sq. *li* is equal to 0.0961 sq. miles.)

individual plans. Kwangsi and Chekiang, for example, divided their *hsien* into five and six grades respectively before the announcement of the new law. But the old method of grading could not meet the new needs growing out of conditions arising after 1937. The new divisions of from three to six grades were planned with special attention to the population, local situation, and strategic military importance of the various *hsien*.⁵⁹ The wealthy *hsien* or those highly developed economically would have a more complex government, while the poorer *hsien* would have a simpler form; but each would have its own needs attended to rather than having to fit into a pattern prescribed arbitrarily and rigidly from above.⁶⁰

The flexibility of the regulations could also be seen in the reorganization of the *ch'ü*. The size of a *ch'ü* might vary from 15 to 30 *hsiang* and *chen*. Furthermore, the bigger *ch'ü* could have a *ch'ü* government, while the smaller ones need not go to this added expense.⁶¹ For the *hsiang* or *chen* and *pao* and *chia*, the organization had originally been based on a decimal progression which would have been quite rigid. Provision was now made, however, for a *hsiang* or *chen* of from 6 to 15 *pao*; a *pao* of from 6 to 15 *chia*; and a *chia* of from 6 to 15 households.⁶² In the case of the *pao*, there was also the so-called "united *pao*" which was smaller than the *hsiang* or *chen*. In this way two or three *pao* with fairly large populations and conditions which seemed to further close cooperation might form a unit with a common citizens' school, a cooperative association, and a granary, and have a senior *pao-chang*, elected by the component *pao*.⁶³

Furthermore, a detailed work program was carefully mapped out by the National Government. The provincial government was required to complete the preparatory work during the first half year and the *hsien* government to complete its initial work in the second half year. According to the measures, each *hsien*, within six to eight months after the pronouncement of the regulations, was to do the following under the direction and supervision of the provincial government and the administrative inspector: reorganise the personnel and strengthen the staff of the *hsien* government; establish the *ch'ü* governments where necessary and select the proper personnel as officials, prepare the necessary regulations, charts, tables, forms, etc. necessary to carry out the new law; call meetings of the officers of the *hsien* government and the *ch'ü* governments so that they might make a careful study of these regulations and charts and gain an understanding of their reasons, methods, and procedures; give all the officers of both the *hsien* and *ch'ü* governments the training in "spiritual mobilization" and the New Life Movement so that they might be enthusiastic about the new reforms and thus increase their efficiency.

Within the eighth and ninth months, each *hsien* government, under the direction of the provincial government and the administrative inspector was to reorganize and strengthen the personnel of the *hsiang* or *chen*. (These officials were already in office; this process involved a reselection of men well-fitted for the positions.), call together the heads of the *hsiang* or *chen* and instruct

59. *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, Art. 2, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*.

60. Art. 2, in the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao Shih-Shih Shang Ying Chu-I Shih-Hsiang* 縣各級組織綱要實施上應注意事項 (Important Points in Carrying Out the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao*, in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 35. See also Table *Infra*, p. 20-22.

61. *Hsien Ko Chi-Tsu Kang-Yao*, Art. 24-25, in *ibid.*, p. 31.

62. Art. 29, 45, 53, in *ibid.*, p. 31, 33, 34.

63. Art. 46 in *ibid.*, p. 33.

them in the terms of the new law and in the ideals of "spiritual mobilization" and the New Life Movement, and dismiss those who were incompetent.⁶⁴

By the end of the first year, the following initial work was to be completed by the *hsiang*, the *chen*, and the *pao*: the *hsien* government and the *chü* government should have helped the heads of the *hsiang*, *chen*, and *pao*, training them with the work of accurate census-taking by which every person would be identified with a house, each house with a *chia*, each *chia* with a *pao*, and each *pao* with a *hsiang* or *chen*. After the census had been taken, simple maps of the *hsiang* or *chen* and the *pao* were to be prepared to facilitate the location of the fields, lands, hills or mountains, and bodies of water which were to be looked after by various organizations. The new head and vice-head of each *hsiang* or *chen*, the commander of the militia, and the principal of the *hsiang* or *chen* central school were to be appointed, the staff of the school strengthened, and equipment provided. After the appointment of the head of the *hsiang* or *chen* and the reorganization of the *hsiang* or *chen* offices, these heads were to go to the *pao* and assist the heads of the *pao* to convene the *pao* assembly. The representatives of the *hsiang* or *chen* assembly were to be elected, thus forming this representative body. At the same time the new heads of the *pao* were elected. These men were to go to the *chia* and convene the *chia* assembly and assist in the election of the new head of the *chia*.

After all this had been accomplished, the heads of the *pao* and of the *chia* were to work together to accomplish the following duties: the inspection of and report on family and individual movements within each *chia*, the explanation and enforcement of governmental regulations, the teaching and direction of residents of the *chia*, and the carrying out of public welfare work within the area. The *chia-chang* was to compile a list of the names of the elders of each household in the *chia*; this was to serve as the basis for the roll or record of the households within the *pao* which was to be made by the *pao-chang*.

All adults were to be divided into two groups, one made up of adults from 20 to 35 and the other of those from 36 to 45 years of age. These were to be organized into two militia corps. If the head of the *pao* had had military training, he was to teach the adults a simple form of military drill, but the militia corps was more important for its civic than for its military training. Such training was to be carried on at a time which did not interfere with farmwork.

The *pao* assembly was to select public buildings, such as family temples, and direct necessary repairs on these so that they might be used by the *pao* citizens' school. (This school was to be for all adults, either male or female, without previous education and for all children of school age.) Should no such public buildings be available, the houses of the more wealthy families within the *pao* might be used for this purpose or temporary mat sheds might be constructed. Afterwards, the people were to contribute money, labor, or material for the building of new schools; the desks and chairs were to be provided by the pupils.

After the establishment of the *pao* office and the *pao* citizens' school, a simple medicine box was to be provided and one of the teachers in the school was supposed to be given enough training to render simple medical service. If this project proved too expensive for one *pao*, a

64. The *Hsien Ko Chih Tsu-Chih Kan-Yao Shih-Shih Pan-Fa* 縣各級組織綱要實施辦法 (Measures for Carry-ing Out the *Hsien Ko Chih Tsu-Chih Kan-Yao*) in Lo Wen-mo, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42.

number of *pao* might have such an arrangement in common. The *hsiang* or *chen* should have a clinic with a physician who had some training in Western medicine. If such was not available, a man with some experience in Chinese medicine could serve for the time being.

In an attempt to improve the economic condition of the people within the *hsien*, the *hsien* government was to ask all financial groups who were interested in lending money to the farmers to organize within each *pao* or among several *pao*, a *pao* cooperative branch for credit, consumers' cooperation, transportation, and storage service. In each *hsiang* or *chen* there was to be a cooperative society which would be the center of the *pao* cooperatives. In case the *hsiang* or *cheng* lacked sufficient money to carry on its work of self-government, the *pao* assembly must be convened with the purpose of making a clear examination of all the *pao* property and the fields, hills, and other land and whatever bodies of water there might be that had no owners. These were to be made the public property of the *pao*. The *hsiang* or *chen* would carry on the same process under the direction of the *hsien-chang* or *ch'ü-chang*. Income from this public property was to furnish money for *pao*, *hsiang* or *chen* self-government. Additional income was to come from the proceeds of enterprises undertaken as compulsory labor projects by all inhabitants of the *pao*, *hsiang* or *chen*. Telephones were to be established between the *hsiang*, or *chen*, and the *ch'ü* to facilitate the transmission of official communications. Roads running between the *hsiang* and *ch'ü* and the *ch'ü* and *hsien* were to be constructed for purposes of easy communication between the seats of government and for the transportation of agricultural products. Similar roads between the *hsiang* and the *pao* were to be built as circumstances permitted.⁶⁵

These fundamental steps toward local self-government having been completed within the first year, they were to be followed by periodical visits from higher officials and conferences between the popular assemblies and the administrative officers of the *hsien*.⁶⁶

To help accelerate the enforcement of the self-government measures, a series of supplementary regulations was promulgated. The earlier and more important of these were as follows:

In July, 1941, the National Government promulgated the *Ko Sheng Shih-Shih Hsien Ko Chih Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao Tu-Tao K'ao-Ho Fang-An* 各省實施縣各級組織綱要督導考核方案 (A Plan for the Supervision, Guidance, and Examination of the Work of Carrying Out the *Hsien Ko Chi Tsu-Chih Kang-Yao* in Different Provinces). In August, 1941, the National Government issued four additional regulations: (1) *Hsien Ts'an-I Hui Tsu-Chih Chan Hsing T'iao-Li* 縣參議會組織暫行條例 (Provisional Regulations for the Organization of the *Hsien* Assembly), (2) *Hsien Ts'an-I Yuan Hsuan-Chu T'iao-Li* 縣參議員選舉條例 (Regulation Governing the Election of Members of the *Hsien* Assembly), (3) *Hsiang Chen Tsu-Chih Chan-Hsing T'iao-Li* 鄉鎮組織暫行條例 (Provisional Regulations for *Hsiang* or *Chen* Organization), and (4) *Hsiang Chen Min Tai-Piao Hsuan-Chu T'iao-Li* 鄉鎮民代表選舉條例 (Regulation Governing the Election of Members of *Hsiang* or *Chen* Assemblies). These regulations were necessary for the organization of the new *hsien* system. The insistence of the government on the speedy creation of local representative institutions found expression in one of the most important resolutions of the twelfth plenary session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuo-min Tang which was held in May, 1944. In this notable

65. *Ibid.*, p. 42—46.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 46—48.

resolution it was provided that popularly elected assemblies should be established in all the *hsien* before the end of the year 1944 and that in the event of this being prevented by peculiar circumstances, steps should then be taken to set up representative organs of a provisional nature.

The "New *Hsien* System" was adopted and carried out in different *hsien* for about ten years (1939-1949). It was carried out in the first five years in unoccupied China only, but in the next five years, after the V. J. Day, it was extended to the whole of China. For the first period an appraisal of the results of the enactment can be made from the statistics compiled by the Ministry of the Interior bearing the date, September 1, 1943.⁶⁷ Of course all the reports tend to emphasize the encouraging rather than the discouraging features. Out of the total number of twenty-eight provinces, no less than sixteen were engaged in the enforcement of the *Outline*. Speaking in terms of the number of *hsien*, out of 1,288 *hsien* in unoccupied China, this important enactment was successfully applied to 1,128, the remaining 160 being handicapped by peculiar local conditions. The following table may give some idea of the extent to which the "New Hsien System" was carried out in the sixteen provinces:

*A Table of the Hsien Where the Outline was Enforced*⁶⁸

Province	Number of <i>Hsien</i>	Number of <i>Hsien</i> where the <i>Outline</i> was enforced
Szechuan	137	137
Yunnan	112	112
Kweichow	78	78
Hunan	76	76
Hupeh	70	60
Kwangtung	97	66
Kwangsi	99	99
Kiangsi	83	69
Fukien	64	64
Honan	111	67
Anhui	62	38
Sikang	46	35
Shensi	92	74
Kansu	68	66
Chinghai	17	11
Chekiang	76	76

Another table may give us some idea of the variety and extent the administrative activities of these reorganized county governments in eight provinces during the war years.

A Table of The Sections of the New County Governments of Eight Provinces

A. The traditional, basic sections:

67. A General Report on the Enforcement of the *Outline* of the Organization of the *Hsien* and Its Subdivisions, published by the Ministry of Interior, September 1, 1943.

68. These figures are taken from the above Report of the Ministry of Interior, op. cit., p. 15.

	The Secretariat	Civil Affairs	Finance	Educa-tion	Construc-tion	Treasury	Police
Chekiang*******
Fukien*******
Hunan*******
Anhwei*******
Szechuan*******
Kwangtung*******
Ningsia*******
Chinghai	.....*	Civil & Military Affairs	Finance Construction & Land	Education & Social Welfare	*	

B. The newly added basic sections:

	Military	Co-operatives	Public Health	Tax	Agricul-ture	Opium Prohibition	Hsien Cash Treasury
Chekiang*******
Fukien*******
Hunan*******
Anhwei*******
Szechuan*******
Kwangtung*******
Ningsia*******
Chinghai*******

C. The optional sections:

	Land	Social Welfare	Construction	Judicial	Total (A+B+C)
Chekiang	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	8-9
Fukien	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	12-14
Hunan	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	10-12
Anhwei	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	10-13
Szechuan	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	9-12
Kwangtung	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	11-13
Ningsia	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	6
Chinghai	.....*	.....*	.....*	.....*	4-5

The above table is compiled from:

(1) *Chekiang Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 浙江省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of Hsien Government in Chekiang Province, Art. 4).

(2) *Fukien Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 福建省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of Hsein Government in Fukien Province, Arts. 5-8, 13 and 15-18).

(3) *Hunan Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 湖南省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of Hsien Government in Hunan Province, Arts. 3, 4, 9 and 10).

(4) *Anhwei Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 安徽省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of Hsien Government in Anhwei Province, Arts. 6, 13, 19, 20, 24-25).

(5) *Szechuan Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 四川省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of *Hsien* Government in Szechuan Province, Art. 6).

(6) *Kwangtung Sheng Hsien Chen-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 廣東省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of *Hsien* Government in Kwangtung Province, Arts. 5, 6, 14, 20-23).

(7) *Ningsia Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 寧夏省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the Organization of *Hsien* Government of Ningsia Province, Arts. 5, 6 and 14).

(8) *Chinghai Sheng Hsien Cheng-Fu Tsu-Chih Kuei-Cheng* 青海省縣政府組織規程 (Regulations for the organization of *Hsien* Government in Chinghai Province, Arts. 7, 8 and 12).⁶⁹

The significance of the above examples was four fold: firstly, the first five sections in the table had become a pattern and an established form of county government since the law of 1927, serving as a conservative element in the new law of 1940; secondly, in spite of this, the number of section in a county Government was not rigidly prescribed; thirdly, the counties were free to emphasize certain activities and to organize them into sections as they deemed necessary; and, fourthly, while the "sections" were being somewhat uniformly adopted, "bureaus" and "offices" such as Police Bureaus or Offices, Public Health Yuan or Stations, and Tax Bureaus, Sections or Sub-sections were not entirely ruled out. The new system was indeed highly adaptable and flexible.

Regarding the local representative bodies, the wide-spread adoption of the popular assemblies is also to be noted. In 1946, a year after V. J. Day, the different grades of local assemblies were successfully established:

- 1) 1,223 counties had their county assemblies;
- 2) 265 counties had their provisional assemblies;
- 3) 29,097 *hsiang* and *chen* (rural and urban townships) had their representative assemblies; and
- 4) 334, 480 *pao* or villages had their "town meetings".⁷⁰

Apart from the communist infested regions local self-government could be found all over China, including Taiwan, where further progress in democracy has been made recently.

It should, however, be realized that figures alone do not always give a true picture. The true picture is rather difficult to construct. Certainly the elaborate scheme of local reform met with general support. But a sudden change-over from a system which had been in force for centuries

69. *Hsin Hsien Chih Fa-Kuei Hui-Pien* 新縣制法規彙編, (The Collection of Laws and Regulations Concerning the "New *Hsien* System", v. I. Compiled by the *Hsien* Planning Committee of the Executive Yuan and published by Cheng Chung Book Company, Shanghai ed., 1946, p. 87-138.

For the *Hsien Cash* Treasurary, see my article entitled "Nationalist Attempts at Reforming County Government", Part II, Section E, in *Tunghai Journal*, v. VIII, n. 2, particularly p.42 and the foot-note on p. 82.

In Kwangtung, the provincial government was permitted to amalgamate and postpone the establishment of some of the sections including even the Civil Affairs Section and the Finance Section according to the special needs of different counties.

Smaller counties might be permitted to have only a Secretariat, a Civil Affairs Section and a Finance Section in its county government.

70. Chou Hung-Jan, *Chung Kuo Min-Chu Szu-Siang Yun-Tung Shih* 周 中國民主思想運動史 (A History of the Chinese Democratic Thought Movement). Taiwan, 1964. P. 411-412.

involved radical recasting of the political framework, the immediate allocation of funds, and the reorganization of trained personnel. Since conditions varied from province to province, the actual operation of the *Outline* naturally exhibited a great deal of variation. As mentioned before, the provinces were instructed to establish popularly elected assemblies in the local *hsien* as well as in the smaller local areas, and to compel the people to attend meetings and to exercise the electoral right. Something somewhat short of full participation by the local citizens in local public affairs might, for the time being, be considered as a reasonable fulfilment of the government's wishes. The "New *Hsien* System", though limited by circumstances, had nevertheless proved to be an effective means for national resistance and national reconstruction.

新 縣 制

顧 敦 錄

本文在“訓政初期推行地方自治的檢討”一文之後，繼續就對日抗戰時期實施的“新縣制”加以分析。上編闡述縣、區、鄉、鎮、保、甲行政組織的強化和彈性化，和各級人民代表機關的成立以及民衆團體的組訓，為增進地方行政效率和推行地方自治雙管齊下的辦法。下編專論縣鄉鎮財經的新措施，和基層黨政機關的相互合作，尤為“新縣制”的特色所在。全國人力物力，藉以集結，達成支戰決勝的目的。影響所及，並為實現臺省地方自治的章本。

The New County System

Tun-jou Ku

At the beginning of the article entitled "Nationalist Attempts at Reforming County Government" in the *Tunghai Journal* v. III, n. 1, Taiwan, July, 1967, the author divided the development of Chinese local government on the county level into four stages. The article as a whole covers the first two stages, that is, (1) the government's initial attempt at reform under the law of 1929 and (2) some new readjustments made since the law of 1935. The present article is going to make a study of the "New *Hsien* System" carried out in the third stage of China's local government program. Part I of the article treats of the hierarchy of the New *Hsien* System, both administrative and representative, and Part II deals with the special features of its economic and financial provisions and of the cooperation between the local government and the Kuo-min Tang during and after the Sino-Japanese War. In this 10 years, the "New *Hsien* System" had endured the war and prepared the way for a constitutional government in 1946.