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## An aspect of Taiwanese Linguistic Space and the Language Policy during the 1950s: The Intrusion of an Indifferent Governor against Its Will\*

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### Introduction

During March 1950, less than four months after moving the capital of the Republic of China to Taipei on the island of Taiwan and immediately after being reinstated as president of the Republic, Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 embarked on his long-held hope of “rebuilding” of the Kuomintang 國民黨 (hereafter KMT) party, ostensibly at the request of the Party’s central leadership. This “reconstruction” was in fact a set of organizational reforms implemented based on Chiang’s own perceptions that the problems within the Party brought about the military defeat the KMT forces has suffered on the Mainland, and intended to remold the Party into a “fighting force” for realizing a “counter invasion of the mainland” (Fangong Dalu 反攻大陸) [Matsuda 2006: 83]. Then on 22 July, at a special meeting of the KMT Central General Affairs Committee, a “Party Rebuilding Proposal” (Bendang gaizaoan 本黨改造案) was approved and a Central Rebuilding Committee was formed to replace the Central Executive and Central Supervisory Committees, which had been the Party’s core organizations up until that time. In a speech given on 14 August, entitled “Directions in Which the Party Should Be Striving” [Qin 1974: 1723–1725], President Chiang stated that the “rebuilding” program was an experiment in not only eliminating conflict within the Party, but also bringing the Party and the people of Taiwan closer together.

As to how the relationship between the KMT and the Taiwanese people was to be handled, or how the Party was to gain a hold on the Taiwanese people, the elite of the KMT’s Party-State regime (Dangguo Tizhi 黨國體制) was intent on taking direct control over the populace down to its most “peripheral” elements. In concrete terms, this agenda included such measures as 1) setting up Party organizations at the lowest levels of government—villages (xiang 鄉) and towns (zhen 鎮)—and manning their staff with professional Party agitators representing KMT’s Party-State regime, 2) setting up “Political Consolidation Teams” (zhengzhi zonghe xiaozu 政治總合小組) under strict KMT orders within all levels of local government, 3) infiltrating the agricultural cooperatives (nonghui 農會), the dominant organizations in rural Taiwan, and 4) permeating Taiwanese society directly through setting up “Civil Affairs Stations” (minzhong fuwuzhan 民衆服務站) to provide such services as drafting contracts, filling out applications and giving legal advice to members of local rural communities.<sup>1</sup>

From the above events and policy decisions, it should become clear that the decades of the 1950s and 60s in Taiwan would be a period of extensive “Sinification” of its populace,<sup>2</sup> a time during which the capability of challenging the KMT’s Party-State regime from within Taiwanese society was still very weak. One of the means of taking direct control over the populace down to its most “peripheral” elements was the proliferation of the Republic’s designated “National Language” (Guoyu 國語, better known as Peking Mandarin) under the regime’s school education policy fueled by “Sinification.”<sup>3</sup>

However, the “National Language” did not thoroughly penetrate into the predominantly Taiwanese-speaking village community level, as pointed out by Bernard Gallin (aka Ge Bana 葛伯納), the pioneering ethnographer of rural Taiwan. According to Gallin’s field surveys conducted during 1957 and 1958 in the anonymous village he calls

“Xiaolong-cun” 小龍村, located in the western coastal plain of Taiwan, the “coercive” education promoted by the KMT national regime had resulted in almost all the village’s students being able to speak the “National Language.” In addition, the relatively younger portion of middle-aged villagers, who traveled to Taipei on business or served in the armed forces, came to use a simplified form of the “National Language” in their work. Nevertheless, as of 1958 in Xiaolong-cun and its rural vicinity, children entering school could only speak Taiwanese during the initial grades, and although youth from the upper grades to about 26 could speak the “National Language” in addition to Taiwanese, the level of expertise was not uniform. Finally, none of the villagers over the age of 45 could speak the “National Language” or Japanese in any way, shape or form.<sup>4</sup>

The present article will take up the question of in what manner the governors and governed in Taiwanese society responded to such a language gap, using examples such as Taiwanese language courses for “mainlanders” (*waishengren* 外省人), the propaganda campaigns to Taiwanese radio programming and the production of Taiwanese movies during the time. What will become clear is that while the governors in their private interactions and spaces outside of the schools recognized with no particular enthusiasm the need for the Taiwanese language, from the practical viewpoint of “governance” they were forced to keep those views to themselves.

## 1. The Study of Taiwanese by “Mainlanders”

During the KMT party reform era, Chiang Kai-shek directed all those who had come from the mainland with him to learn Taiwanese, as reported in the 1 June 1950 issue of the Japanese language newspaper *Junmin Dao-bao* 軍民導報<sup>5</sup> (the original of the following passages written in Japanese).

On the 30th, taking advantage of the opportunity of the Provincial Cities Mayors Convention, President Chiang, together with Chairman Wu and Civil Governance Agency Director Yang gathered the mayors together at the Executive Offices to give them the following friendly advice.

1)(omitted) 2) During the ongoing efforts to further propagate the National Language education, I strongly advise you, mayors, administrators and the other administrative personnel from the mainland provinces, to do the best you can to learn the language of the province of Taiwan, in order to break down barriers and communicate with local people... 3)(omitted) 4)(omitted)

The bulletin of the provincial government, *Taiwan-sheng Zhengfu Gongbao* 臺灣省政府公報, reiterated such sentiment, by reporting:

While administrative directives are inevitably issued in print, the staff of all provincial government agencies consist of many employees of Taiwan descent and just as many from the mainland. In consideration of the need to approach the people directly when implementing those directives, beginning on 1 July, all employees who do not understand Taiwanese will be required to attend languages classes appropriate to their present proficiency [“Wei dingban... 1950: 1124].

On 24 June 1950 *Taiwan Xinshengbao* 臺灣新生報 also explained the significance of the measure.

Taiwanese Training Units will be set up at the Provincial Government Secretariat, Civil Affairs Department, Fiscal Department and Personnel Office. Official announcement of the start of the program will be made at the conference room on the 2nd floor of the Government Office building... The initiation of the program, which came down from the highest echelons, is designed to erase the language gap between mainlanders and natives within a matter of a few months. Similar programs will be started soon in other agencies throughout the Province, and no doubt have a tremendous impact on both the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet movements and the strengthening of the national solidarity and spirit.<sup>6</sup>

A few days before the opening of classes, a Taiwanese primer for mainlanders was published under the title *Shiyong Taiyu Huihua* 實用臺語會話 (Practical Taiwanese Conversation), described by *Xinshengbao* as follows:

...the course instructor [of the Taiwanese Training Unit] will be none other than Lin Shaoxian 林紹賢, known throughout the Province for his excellent translation work. The textbook, *Shiyong Taiyu Huihua*, which was edited by Lin himself and has been reported to be extremely useful, uses both Taiwanese pronunciation marking and romanization. It makes detailed explanations simple to understand, concerning the characteristics of Taiwanese as well as the best way for National Language speakers to learn the language, based on scientific linguistic theories...<sup>7</sup>

In the “Introduction” (zhuyan 諸言) written by the authors Lin Shaoxian and Lin Shaohao 林紹豪, the following advice is offered to National Language speakers with the words, “If the student learns by our intuitive method using essentially National Language pronunciation (you must abandon all notion that you are learning a foreign language), he will be able to master Taiwanese in a short period of time. But we are not miracle workers” [Lin S. 1953](from the archives of the National Chengchi University Library). In the “Explanatory Notes” section, we find, “The pronunciation used herein is based on Amoy [Fujianese]. Also, we have adopted Taiwanese romanization, which was popular for a few decades throughout Taiwan and at the Minnan Church of Christ.” Also mentioned is that the 1950 first edition was a revision of the textbooks which had been formerly used in various circles. During this time other language textbooks geared to mainlanders were also published, such as Chen Lianhuan’s 陳璉環 *Taiyu huihua* 臺語會話 (Taiwanese conversation; stored at National Central Library, Taiwan) [Chen L. 1950].

This text is divided into 24 lessons, whose left-hand leaf transcribes Taiwanese words in the Mandarin Bopomofo alphabet and right-hand leaf features the Chinese characters corresponding to the Taiwanese sound. Chinese characters not used in the “National Language” curriculum are noted as such. For example, the right-hand leaf of Lesson One reads,

一早晨會面 (Conversation in the Morning)

△ 章先生啊、你即<sup>1</sup>早!

○你嗎<sup>2</sup>真善早<sup>3</sup>!

△ 早起天氣真好否<sup>4</sup>?

○是阿,較早起来,人精神感覺有加真爽快。你吃没?

△ 吃飽啦!

(Notes)

<sup>1</sup> 即：這麼 <sup>2</sup> 嗎：也 <sup>3</sup> 善早：能早 <sup>4</sup> 否：語助詞

Beginning on 1 July, all employees except of Taiwanese descent were to attend classes between 8:30 and 10:00 AM every Wednesday and Saturday.<sup>8</sup> According to the research done by Sugano Atsushi 菅野敦志, it was after the formation of the “Taiwanese Training Units” that “the study of Taiwanese by civil servants reached its pinnacle, as central and local administrative agencies alike all provided classes” [Sugano 2006: 87]. One contemporary news article commented on the Unit’s program as follows:

Taiwanese Fever: Even Chairman Wu Pulls Up a Desk

It was on 1 July that Taiwanese Training Units were set up at all government agencies for all mainlander civil servants to attend classes in the local language, including Chairman Wu and all the agency directors, who joined their classmates in lessons beginning with how to count to five: it 一, jī 二, sam 三, sì 四, ngóo 五.<sup>9</sup>

Then the Unit was disbanded on 17 October of the same year, followed by a farewell ceremony attended by 300 guests, including Provincial Chairman Wu Kuochen 吳國禎, sponsored by the Provincial Government’s Secretariat, Civil Affairs Department and Personnel Office [Hsueh 1993: 123]. In his address before the gathering, Wu told his audience:

While I would like to address you today in Taiwanese, but I am afraid I cannot, but we all are extremely pleased by our opportunity to study the language. Native Taiwanese (*benshengren* 本省人) are studying the National Language, and we mainlanders are studying Taiwanese. This is an excellent way to achieve a meeting of minds among us all. I encourage all of you to continue your studies.

The ceremony was followed by a Taiwanese speech contest, in which the top five speakers were awarded prizes.<sup>10</sup> Other examples of central government agencies bureaucrats studying the local language include a record of native Taiwanese officials in the Department of Education teaching Taiwanese to mainlander personnel other than the department head [Yang 1983: vol. 2, 347–348], and the civil service’s official training agency, Taiwan Province Training Unit (Taiwan-sheng Xunliantuan 臺灣省訓練團), including “National Language” and “Taiwanese” courses in its curriculum of 1959.<sup>11</sup>

Jen Yute 任育德 in her research on this series of activities notes their effectiveness on the ground at the lowest levels of administration, arguing that the “mainlanders” who formed the core of the KMT perceived that language learning contributed greatly to their operations in Taiwan [Jen 2005: 168]. Quoting one mainland-born Party leader as saying, “It was because of my studying pure standard Minnan 閩南 that the local people came to know me as a native Taiwanese,” Jen characterizes the practice of Taiwanese as a means of becoming more familiar with local people, and speaking Japanese and local dialects as a way for Party leaders to approach the Taiwanese people on a personal basis [Jen 2005: 168]. Another Party Central Committee Member Guo Ji 郭驥 had the following to say about local Party district leaders after an inspection tour in southern Taiwan in the 1960s.

“Many of them speak Minnan; and a few are conversant in Japanese and the hill dialects... Several have

intermarried with local women, which made it easier to master Minnan and pronounce it properly.” There was also a directive at provincial bureaus to master Minnan within six months, conducting oral testing and requiring those who failed it to study 3 more months for a second test. Anyone failing it would either be transferred out or terminated [Guo 1962: 3–4] (Quoted in [Jen 2005: 168]).

This type of attitude also appeared within the police force, as one mainlander police officer assigned to a local patrol began Taiwanese lessons as soon as he arrived in 1950, continuing his study for half a year, in the hope of communicating with the people of the local community. After graduating in the 7th class of the Department of Police Officers (Jingyuan-ban 警員班) in the Taiwan Province Police Academy (Taiwan-sheng Jingcha Xuexiao 臺灣省警察學校) at the age of 20, Lu Yujun 盧毓鈞 was assigned to duty at a police box in Yingge 鶯歌, joining four other middle-aged officers who had served during the Japanese colonial period. Despite being taught at the Academy to serve the people diligently, Lu was criticized for being *waishengzi* 外省仔 (mainlander), not being able to speak the local language, unable to perform his duties and being of no use to the patrol. Remembering the words of his father upon departing Qingdao 青島 in 1948—“Whenever you meet with despair, reflect upon your own actions”—Lu decided to learn Taiwanese. Not only did his lack of Taiwanese proficiency alienate him from the local community, but also led to friction with the four officers who had served since colonial days. What Lu did was to request his police box partners to give him one lesson in Taiwanese in exchange for four hours of extra duty.<sup>12</sup>

The same was true of the armed forces, which offered Taiwanese courses for the purpose of winning cooperation from the local populace. For example,

(Written in Japanese) Despite its strict military discipline which deeply impressed the local community, the Jiulong 九龍 Regiment garrisoned in Suao 蘇澳 Town [Yilan 宜蘭 County, NE Taiwan] was unable to overcome the inconveniences posed by not understanding the local language, so it set up a Taiwanese training center in the Town, where Town Postmaster Li 李 and Chen Yuanyong 陳元勇, a journalist for *Gonglunbao* 公論報 stationed at Suao, started to teach a course on the 20th.<sup>13</sup>

And regarding the Taiwanese course for the troops garrisoned in Donggang 東港 Town in Kaohsiung 高雄 County (SW Taiwan),

It was organized by intellectuals from all fields based on the idea that the community should respect the troops, and the troops befriend the community. In particular the course was geared towards training door-to-door teams in how to canvass the neighborhoods seeking their cooperation with the garrison.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, not every mainlander was enthusiastic about learning Taiwanese. There were those with superiority complexes who dealt with the local people as their betters, causing feelings of alienation from the Party in local communities. For example, on the occasion of the convening of the district assembly in Taipei 臺北 County, the chairman requested the other assembly members not to speak in dialect, and raised a question as to why Taiwanese members had not learned the National Language. To this question Wang Yiwen 王以文 retorted, “And why haven’t you made the effort to learn Taiwanese for several years since arriving in Taiwan!” Wang had occasion to characterize the top brass of the Party’s county-level organizations with the words, “All of them to

some extent looked down upon the Taiwanese out of conceit” [Chang Y. and Kao 1996: 95] (Quoted from [Jen 2005: 169]).

Nevertheless, what can be concluded on the whole is that the idea of mainlanders studying Taiwanese was based on the practical viewpoints of 1) the KMT permeating Taiwanese grassroots society and 2) the use of Taiwanese in work situations requiring a communication with local communities. This is probably why Taiwanese itself and those who were able to communicate in it were not necessarily considered a very important aspect of the Party’s agenda.

In any case, soon the KMT would no longer make any demands concerning proficiency in Taiwanese. In an interview with Wu Nai-teh on 21 May 1984, Mr. Zhou, a Service Station manager of Dragon Township who was born on the mainland and around 50 years old at the time of the interview, stated in fluent Taiwanese:

At first, they [KMT mainlanders] spoke the dialect in order to get closer to the people. It was only when they were speaking in dialect that they thought the people would identify with the Party. The elite Party leaders had to learn the dialect in order to speak directly to the people. It’s outright embarrassing, but today the Party doesn’t require its leadership to learn the Taiwanese dialect. When I began working for the Party, you had to pass an examination in the Taiwanese dialect [Wu N. 1987: 60].

Here it should be noted that in 1946 the Taiwan Provincial Consultative Council raised opposition to banning the use of Japanese and called for all mainland civil servants to learn Taiwanese, but its proposals were not adopted by the government [Ka 2003: 200]. From that time on into the 1950s, attitudes concerning Taiwanese would indeed change; however, a newly discovered source informs us that as of 1948, KMT’s Natural Resources Committee (Ziyuan Weiyuanhui 資源委員會) set up a “Taiwanese training unit” at Taiwan Paper Industries, Ltd. (Taiwan Zhiye Youxian Gongsi 臺灣紙業有限公司), indicating that employees coming from the mainland were attending language classes. In concrete terms,

For the purpose of achieving rapid progress in plant operations by narrowing the language gap, despite the fact that already many other “Taiwanese training units” have already been organized, we urge everyone from the mainland to take it upon themselves to attend, and especially for Party leaders to take the initiative in learning Taiwanese.<sup>15</sup>

Such sources and recent research has firmly established that even during the early postwar era (1945–1949) mainlanders were still being required to learn Taiwanese, when deemed necessary.

## 2. Radio Broadcasting in Taiwanese

Circumstances similar to having to use Taiwanese in daily conversation due to the insufficient diffusion of the “National Language” also clearly characterized the radio broadcasting industry during the 1950s, requiring two separate stations for the “National Language” (Chinese) broadcasts (Diyi Guangbo 第一廣播) and for Taiwanese broadcasts (Dier Guangbo 第二廣播). Taiwanese was utilized based on the perception that it was necessary in informing the people of government directives and getting them involved in the effort to raise rural labor



productivity.<sup>16</sup> Both stations not only aired their programming through local Taiwanese affiliates, but also broadcasted all over the mainland.<sup>17</sup>

All of the programming was essentially based on the KMT ideological concepts of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet resistance, as well as Sun Yat-sen's 孫文 Three People's Principles (*sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義) ideas of government of the people (*minzu* 民族), by the people (*minquan* 民權) and for the people (*minsheng* 民生).<sup>18</sup> The idea was to instill in the Taiwanese people the idea that there were "enemies" lurking just off their shores. For example, in the program entitled "Taiwan Digest" (Taiwan weizhai 臺灣文摘) aired over both stations, the People's Republic of China was portrayed as a hostile nation. In one episode entitled "Who the Russians Really Are," (Eguoren de zhenxiang 俄國人的真像) it was stressed that in order to oppose Communism and resist the Soviet Union, it was necessary to understand all the circumstances under which the Russian people live, introducing a piece written by a former US ambassador to the Soviet Union who was then working in the field of psychological operations for the US Navy as of 1953. Such statements were made as:

Soviet propaganda will warn its citizens of South Korea's threat to North Korea, then of the Americans' war of aggression to aid the South. Its ingenuity leaves no room for suspicion... The gang of brigands led by Zhu [Zhu De 朱德] and Mao [Mao Zedong 毛澤東] will not hesitate to send Chinese men to their deaths in defending North Korea against the Americans.

And such questions were asked as:

What sort of religious beliefs do the Soviet citizens hold?  
 What is the popular entertainment for the Soviet citizens?  
 What kind of relationships exist between the sexes in the Soviet Union?<sup>19</sup>

In an episode entitled "Russia, A Haven for Criminals" (Eguo: Fanzuizhe de tiantang 俄國：犯罪者的天堂), listeners were told,

Russia is a police state.  
 Russia is a heaven for criminals.  
 The whole country from top to bottom is overrun with crime.  
 The political police are so busy maintaining Stalin's tyranny that they have no time to arrest thieves and common criminals.  
 Because of the government's system of rationing, it is impossible for anyone with money to purchase the necessities of life by legal means, so they go to the black market.  
 The Communist Party ignores crime, because as far as it is concerned, the masses aren't even human.  
 As long as the masses show no opposition to Stalin, they can do whatever they like.<sup>20</sup>

A program entitled "Network Programming" (Lianbo jieri 聯播節目)<sup>21</sup> broadcast at 8 o'clock in the evening nationwide would begin with the news in the "National Language," then repeated in Taiwanese, followed by "Special Programming" (Tebie jiemu 特別節目)<sup>22</sup>, "Anti-Communist Songs" (Fangong gequ 反共歌曲), "Regional Arts and Entertainment" (Difang zaji 地方雜技), "Current Events" (Tan tianxiashi 談天下事), "Strange Happenings

around the World” (Jinshi qitan 今世奇談), “A Look through the Iron Curtain” (Tiemu toushi 鐵幕透視)<sup>23</sup>, “Peking Opera” (Zhongguo guoyue 中國國樂), “The Week in Retrospect” (Yizhou shishi shuping 一週時事述評) and “Popuri” (Hunhe jiemu 混合節目)<sup>24</sup>, all broadcasted in the “National Language.” In Taiwanese broadcasting, original Chinese programs would be presented with Taiwanese scripts, such as news, “Sun’s Three Principles are Alive and Well in Taiwan” (Sanmin zhuyi zai Taiwan 三民主義在臺灣)<sup>25</sup>, “The Truth about the Mainland” (Dalu zhuanzhen 大陸傳真), “Services Being Provided for Our Listeners” (Tingzhong fuwu 聽眾服務), “Platform for Listeners” (Tingzhong luntan 聽眾論壇), “Official Government Report” (Zhengling baodao 政令報道), “Current Analysis” (Shishi fenxi 時事分析), and “Lectures on Culture” (Xiuyang jiangzuo 修養講座). For example, one Taiwanese program entitled “The Mainland and Taiwan” (Dalu yu Taiwan 大陸與臺灣) featured scripts written by Jiang Junzhang 蔣君章, vice chairman of the Central Party Rebuilding Committee’s Fourth Sub-Committee, aiming at helping the Party’s Taiwanese comrades better understand Taiwan’s close relationship with the mainland in terms of its historical roots and geography [Zhang Ruiyu 1955: 49–54].

Despite such efforts, those who took charge of radio broadcasting consisted mainly of mainlanders, meaning that Taiwanese programs geared towards the KMT ideological indoctrination had definite limits. For example, there was the Diyi Guangbo’s program “Anti-Communist Melodies” (Fangong xiaotiao 反共小調), which tried to put ideologically charged lyrics to folk and popular songs familiar to most Taiwanese. Tunes describing the terrible situation of the “den of thieves” (*feiqu* 匪區, i.e. the People’s Republic) and performed by such mainlanders as Zu Kang 祖康<sup>26</sup> and Feng Anni 馮安妮<sup>27</sup>, were aired with such derogatory and patriotic titles as “The Communist Party, My Arch-Enemy” (Gongchandang shi women de siduitou 共產黨是我們的死對頭), “The Burma Flying Corps” (Dianmian youjidui 滇緬游擊隊), “Yellow Tree of Wisdom Blossoms” (Huaihuahuang 槐花黃), “I’m Going to Marry a Soldier Boy” (Wo xuan zhanshi zuo xinlang 我選戰士做新郎), “Tea Harvest Song” (Caicha shange 採茶山歌), “Tune for Soldiers and Farmers to Whistle While They Work” (Bingnong duikouqu 兵農對口曲), “Spring Returns to the Plum Trees on the Hill” (Meigang chunhui 梅崗春回), “Crush the Lying Pinocchios” (Da dabizi 打大鼻子), “Love Letter to My Soldier Boy” (Wo gei zhanshi xie qingshu 我給戰士寫情書), “What Sweet Smelling Flowers” (Shenme huaerxiang 什麼花兒香) [Yi 1953: 28]. Since all of this type of anti-Communist programming was created by mainlanders and thus aired by Diyi Guangbo only in the “National Language,” doubts arise, at least in this writer’s mind, as to any real ideological effects on listeners who did not understand the “National Language.”

On the other hand, there was plenty of Taiwanese entertainment programming available on privately-owned radio stations: for example, “Stage Drama in Local Dialect” (Fangyan huaju 方言話劇) of China Radio (Zhonghwatai 中華臺), “Taiwanese Comedy Hour” (Taiwan xiju 臺灣戲劇), “Events in the Personal Lives of Taiwanese” (Taiwan minjian gushi 臺灣民間故事) and “Minnan Pops” (Minnanyu liuxing gequ 閩南語流行歌曲) of Minsheng Radio (Minshengtai 民聲臺), and “Taiwanese Opera” (Taiwan gezixi 臺灣歌仔戲) of Minben Radio (Minbentai 民本臺) [“Ziyou Zhongguo beibu... 1955: 34–39]. There was also a program on Huasheng Radio (Huasheng Diantai 華聲電臺) featuring readings of well-known Chinese literary works (Mingzhu xuanbo 名著選播), like *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳 (Water Margin) rendered into Taiwanese.<sup>28</sup>

There were also Taiwanese programs geared towards rural Taiwan. “Good Country Life Programming” (Hao nongcun jiemu 好農村節目) aired on Dier Guangbo was aimed at the farm community in cooperation with the Broadcasting Corporation of China (Zhongguo Guangbo Gongsì 中國廣播公司), the Agriculture Revival Association (Nongfuhui 農復會) and the Taiwan Sugar Corporation (Taitang Gongsì 臺糖公司), featuring information on agrarian knowledge and cultivation know-how in the hope of improving productivity. The program also included



agricultural news, music, singing, drama and advice about everyday life for the purpose of providing useful information to the farmers.

A typical program unfolded something like the following:

“Agricultural Report:” The latest agricultural news of the day, covering what was happening in rural communities throughout Taiwan, market conditions and commodity prices.

“Rural Interviews:” On-the-spot reports from villages covering characteristic harvest results and interviewing model farm families to talk about their successes and lifestyles.

“Better Agriculture:” A technical spot introducing new technology in cultivating, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry, as well as knowledge about agricultural management.

“The Rural Experience:” Guests invited from various rural communities sharing their personal experiences in light of regional differences with respect to topography, ecology and cultivation-harvesting methods.

“Country Music:” A lineup of hill songs, folk music, tea harvest chants etc. popular throughout Taiwan as well as regional and pop music, selected and arranged by experts.

“Country Life” (Hao nongcun 好農村) Music: Musical program starring rural community members sharing their feelings about agrarian life. Background music arranged especially for rural Taiwan and performed by the Symphony of Broadcasting Corporation of China (Zhongguang Guoyuetuan 中廣國樂團). Also featuring such rural dramatic arts as opera, Potehi puppetry (*budaxi* 布袋戲) and northern and southern style wind and string ensemble music. All songs are sung by agrarian folk or performed by professional musicians.

“Drama:” Feature scripts written against the backdrop of rural life with didactical themes. For example, “Dreams of Youth” (Qingchunmeng 青春夢) is about a country boy who migrates to the city, only to be entangled in the web of materialism and consumption, causing his downfall; or “Men Decide Their Own Fate” (Rending shengtian 人定勝天), in which the protagonist suddenly falls ill and chooses to rely on a physician, instead of praying to the gods or the buddhas, to regain his health.

“Life’s Common Sense:” Advice and hints for rural women about all aspects of everyday life, including sewing, cooking, child raising and improving life in the home.

“Agrarian Question Box:” Agricultural experts and experienced farmers answer questions concerning cultivation.<sup>29</sup>

Much attention was paid to the Taiwanese used in the program as the language of rural communities, including their unique colloquialisms, because if it was too cultured, farm families would not listen, and if it is too vulgar, it would eliminate the program’s educational value. Therefore, the scripts were not directly translated from Chinese into Taiwanese or Hakka, but rather created by writers, reporters and announcers with agricultural experience and knowledge of rural speech patterns [Chan X. 1956b: 28].

There was also a radio station, Chinese Agrarian Radio (Zhongguo Nongmin Guangbo Diantai 中國農民廣播電臺), devoted exclusively to rural Taiwan, broadcasting in both the “National Language” and Minnan. Published on the occasion of the station’s establishment on 26 March 1954, its “Statement of Purpose” concerning its intention to serve the Island’s agrarian communities reads as follows.

After the move of the Government to Taiwan, there have been important reforms implemented in agricultural

policy and great progress made in production technology; however, educating agrarian communities is still insufficient. Radio is an excellent tool for the diffusion of knowledge, and will be very effective in educating rural listeners who are mostly illiterate (wenmang 文盲; sic.)... Our ultimate goal is to put Chinese agriculture on the road to modernization, on the basis of which industrial China will be built.

The station's programming can be broken down into the following categories.

1. General education: "National language" and English courses, religious instruction, homemaking, child education, advice on everyday life, cultural edification etc.
2. Agricultural education: Agrarian talk shows, village child care, village sanitation, 4-H campaign (Sijian Yundong 四健運動), agricultural Q&A etc.
3. Agricultural technology: Food crops, specialty crops, soil and fertilization techniques, horticulture, animal husbandry, fishing, forestry etc.
4. News and current events: Important local and world news, agricultural news, commodity prices, the present state of agricultural cooperatives, "Today on the Mainland," Latest movements of the "Communist brigands" on the Mainland etc.
5. News analysis and commentary: Current events analysis, commentary on current events, analysis of current agriculture around the world etc.
6. Entertainment: Music, stage drama, poetry readings, miscellaneous performing arts, motion picture reviews, literary readings etc. [Zhang M. 1955: 155–157]

### 3. Taiwanese Motion Picture Entertainment

Taiwanese language entertainment extended beyond radio programming into motion pictures. According to veteran "National Language" movie producer Sha Yungfong 沙榮峰 (b. 1921 in Jiangsu Province), during the 1950s there was only one movie theatre in Taipei showing "National Language" films [Sha 2006: 68]. Since most of the audiences could not understand the "National Language" dialogue, narrators had to be hired to vocally translate into Taiwanese. While this service was of great help to members of the audience who did not understand the "National Language," for those who could follow the dialogue, it was a huge distraction. Instead, Sha Yungfong decided to dispense with narrators and use slide subtitles, like in the Western films. The slides would contain simplified summaries, with three lines of the original script condensed into one. Although the task of making the slides was not an easy one, the audience response was excellent and revenue increased as a result [Sha 2006: 60].

In other words, films in Taiwanese were in much greater demand as entertainment than those in the "National Language." For example, the big hit of Ho Chiming's 何基明 Taiwanese talkie "Love Amongst War" (Xue Pinggui yu Wang Baochuan 薛平貴與王寶釧), which was invested and produced by the native Taiwanese, attracted the attention of other investors, who realized the profitability of film industry and began competing to make Taiwanese language films [Misawa 2008: 376]. Huang Jen 黃仁 quotes the following four reasons for the major hit of "Love Amongst War:"

1. During that time rural women were given more leisure time and spending money as the result of foreign aid

- loans from the United States (*meiyuan* 美援) and agricultural reform.
2. Being the first film of its kind to be produced by the native Taiwanese, it had great novelty and familiarity.
  3. Movie-goers, who had become tired of inferior-quality films in Fujian dialect and poorly enunciated Minnan, were re-energized and refreshed by the appearance of a genuine Taiwanese language film.
  4. The film could be fully appreciated by female movie-goers from rural areas at the time, who did not possess the ability to appreciate Western, Japanese and Chinese (i.e. “National Language”) films [Huang J. 1994: 6–8] (Quoted from [Misawa 2008: 376–377]).

According to Lu Fei’s 盧非易 calculations, a total of 21 Taiwanese language films were produced during 1956 by eight different production companies, and during the period 1955–59, 178 were produced in contrast to one-third the number of “National Language” films released [Lu 1998: 78–81].

It was on 1 November 1957 that the *Zhengxin Xinwen* 徵信新聞 newspaper company (predecessor to *Zhongguo Shibao* 中國時報) held a film festival entitled “The Taiwanese Language Film Exhibition” (Taiyupian yingzhan 臺語片影展), featuring 31 films to be judged by the paper’s publisher Yu Jizhong 余紀忠 and fourteen movie critics for awarding the Golden Horse Award (Jinma-jiang 金馬獎) for best picture, while the newspaper’s readers voted for the best actors to award them the Silver Star Award (Yinxing-jiang 銀星獎) [Yu 1993: 270]. The event definitely symbolized the surge in popularity that was happening in the Taiwanese language film genre.

Two years later, however, when catastrophic flooding struck south central Taiwan on 7 August 1959 (8.7 Shuizai 八七水災; 8.7 Flood), the Provincial Government was forced to expend the equivalent of the its annual budget on disaster relief. The flooding was especially disastrous for the Island’s motion picture industry, since the main market for Taiwanese language films was struck most heavily. At the same time bootlegged Japanese and low budget films were inundating movie theatres throughout both urban and rural Taiwan. Combined with the underdeveloped technical skills and poor quality of the productions, the Taiwanese movie genre was being threatened with extinction, as only 21 films were released in 1960 [Lu 1998: 85].

However, come 1962, the number of releases jumped to 120 from a mere 37 of the preceding year, owing to the recovery of the flood-stricken region and the industrial boom of the 1960s, which greatly enlarged and enriched the Island’s market consumption economy. On the fiscal front, the surcharge on ticket prices decreased with the discount of the film tax and the disappearance of the mandatory donation for flood relief, and tariffs on imported film production equipment was reduced by 10–20%. It was also a time when the importation of foreign language films was on the wane, and regulations on bootlegged Japanese films were strictly implemented [Lu 1998: 111–112].

Such favorable circumstances did not go unnoticed by the KMT regime, which responded with measures to oust Taiwanese language films from the Island’s theaters. In the words of filmmaker Ho Chiming (b. 1917 in Taichung/Taichū 臺中), in response to an interviewer who asked him, “It was under the emergency powers act that you closed down your movies studio, right? In other words, did some directive come down banning the production of Fujian language (i.e. Taiwanese) films?,” replied

It wasn’t that formal. They didn’t make any official pronouncement, but there was a measure called *fudao* 輔導 (sic.; i.e. providing incentive) in Mandarin. They strongly supported and subsidized any Mandarin films and films produced by government agencies, and gave them top priority. But for Taiwanese language films, the censorship was strict across the board, no matter what they were about. Of course, inappropriate language is

a serious matter. They wouldn't do anything to support our films, provided no *fudao*.<sup>30</sup>

In other words, the government attempted to suppress the Taiwanese language film genre by giving top priority and financial assistance to “National Language” films. In response, Taiwanese language filmmakers appealed to the KMT regime that they were making significant contributions to the Party's propaganda efforts and should be allowed to continue film production [Zhen 2001: 126].

In the midst of such exchanges between the government and Taiwanese language filmmakers, a momentous event occurred in the Island's entertainment industry with the arrival of television broadcasting in 1962. In order to attract more and more viewers, TV stations aired more and more programs presented in the “dialect,” which then gave rise to a debate over the proper proportion between “National Language” and “dialect” programming [Morita 2009a]. However, in the midst of promoting the wider diffusion of the “National Language” in schools and other institutions, the demand of the Taiwanese people for entertainment was, like Taiwanese language films and “dialect” programming on TV, tied to commercial profit-making and government revenue, a fact at odds with the thinking of the mainlander ruling party with respect to language.<sup>31</sup>

## Conclusion

During the early years of the postwar era, Taiwan was a multilingual society where Japanese, Chinese (Mandarin) and local dialects were utilized in everyday speech and the mass media, and it was not easy for the Taiwanese society to abandon Japanese in favor of Chinese in some fields [Ka 2007: 64]. Specifically, while the “National Language” was used to communicate in such instruments as government documents, newspapers and personal correspondence, the general public was still speaking Taiwanese and Japanese, due to the insufficient dissemination of the “National Language”. Against such a backdrop, from the standpoint of the Island's new governors who transferred the central government of the Republic of China there at the end of 1949, there were not only efforts to learn Taiwanese in order to facilitate governance, but also the need to face the reality of having to actually come into contact with the people of Taiwan, as seen in government directives delivered in Taiwanese and articles published in the Japanese language newspapers cited above. Moreover, the majority of the Taiwanese society at that time, who had been born under Japanese colonial rule, demanded everyday entertainment in its own native language. Therefore, between the spaces such as schools with rules banning the use of Taiwanese and the external space surrounding them, there developed a large gap in the degree in which the “National Language” had been disseminated, making it perfectly understandable why Taiwanese would continue to exist in such a society. That is to say, while one ruling language (i.e. the “National Language”) tried to dominate in Taiwan in the 1950s so that the Island's other languages (such as Taiwanese) would naturally wither away,<sup>32</sup> it was hampered by the practical necessity on the part of the government to respond to people who spoke nothing but Taiwanese. It is not difficult to conclude that the very fact of Taiwanese remaining so viable on a wide scale in that society gave rise to the precondition for its utilization in such venues as election campaign speeches [Wakabayashi 2008: 143, 158] and commercial television programming.<sup>33</sup>

## Notes

- \* This article is an English translation of the author's "Tōchisha ga kanshōsuru hitsuyō wo kanjinai/kanshō shikirenai Taiwango no kūkan: 1950 nendai Taiwan niokeru gengo seisaku no ichi sokumen" 統治者が干渉する必要を感じない / 干渉しきれない台湾語の空間：1950年代台湾における言語政策の一側面 (*Tenri Taiwan Gakuhō* 天理臺灣學報 21: 25-39, 2012), translated with a permission from Tenri Taiwan Gakkai 天理台湾学会. The original Japanese Version is an enlarged and revised version of several sections of Chapter II of the author's doctoral dissertation [Morita 2011], by which he received a doctoral degree in July 2011. It also includes findings from research conducted while serving as an overseas research fellow (*kaigai tokubetsu kenkyūin* 海外特別研究員) funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 日本学術振興会) and as a junior fellow at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku Ajia Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyūjo 東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所) during 2011.
- (1) [Wakabayashi 2008: 104]. That being said, the Party-State regime by no means abandoned efforts to directly permeate local governance from above. While there were at first attempts to win the hearts of the people and control local politics by providing services like the "Civil Affairs Stations," the KMT gradually replaced locally born personnel with people directly trained by the Party-State regime even in the field of elected officials, once it was felt that the party organization had gained traction [Wakabayashi 2008: 140].
- (2) For the native Taiwanese, "Sinification," or the process of "learning to be Chinese," was also their attempt to assimilate themselves into what governing elites regarded to be the national mainstream culture and language of the Republic. See [Wakabayashi 2008 78–79].
- (3) Within this process, such actions, also seen in other countries and regions, as punishing the use of "local dialect" in the schools were taken. See [Morita 2009b].
- (4) [Gallin 1979: 23–24]. Gallin also estimated the village population at around 600 persons, speaking mainly the Minnan dialect and originally hailing from Quanzhou 泉州, Fujian Province some 200 years before.
- (5) *Junmin Daobao*, 1 June 1950, front page (Folded into *Taiwan Xinshengbao* of the same date). Microfilm stored at the Taiwan University Library.

Concerning the nature of this Japanese newspaper, Ka Girin 何義麟 writes,

*Junmin Daobao* was published every other day under the editorship of the Defence Department's Political Affairs Section (Guofangbu Zhengzhibu 國防部政治部), beginning on 1 June 1950. The newspaper was at first edited and printed in the office of *Xinshengbao*, and inserted in either *Xinshengbao* or *Zhonghua Ribao* 中華日報, then from 1 December of that year was published separately. The editorial of the 11 June 1950 issue of *Zili Wanbao* 自立晚報, entitled "Utilizing Japanese as a propaganda tool," stated, "...on Taiwan the grasp of the National Language [Mandarin] by the general public is nowhere comparable to its grasp of Japanese. Using Japanese as an aid for the purpose of achieving effective mobilization of the people, as well as for the propaganda effort to be universally accepted, is unavoidable given the present situation throughout the Island." In actuality, *Junmin Daobao* was no ordinary newspaper, but the organ of the military (Defense Department), whose pages were filled with articles centered on propaganda extolling the merits of the KMT's anti-Communist policies. On the day that the paper was first published independently from *Xinshengbao*, an article read, "...Our aim is to strengthen anti-Communism and resistance against the USSR. In order for the native Taiwanese in the villages and mountain regions who cannot read newspapers printed or radio programs broadcasted in the National Language to be informed of all the affairs of state and their own obligations, we offer this newspaper at an extremely affordable price, in order not to heavily burden our readers financially..." The slogan appearing on the front page read, "Let's Give It Our All! For Livelihood and Freedom. Let's Stand Tough! To Safeguard Taiwan as the Bastion Against Communism," thus instilling within its Taiwanese readers the distinct feeling that they had just entered another era of "Wartime Mobilization." [Ka 2007: 68–69].

- (6) *Taiwan Xinshengbao*, 24 June 1950, page 6.  
 (7) *Taiwan Xinshengbao*, 29 June 1950.  
 (8) *Taiwan Xinshengbao*, 1 July 1950, page 6.

- (9) *Junmin Daobao*, 3 July 1950, page 2, from the archives of Taiwan Branch of the National Library.
- (10) *Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報, 18 October 1950, 5th edition. Although the article does not mention who was in attendance, from *Taiwansheng Zhengfu Gongbao* cited above and [Huang S. 1995: 104], we can tell that they were members of the military and civil service establishments stationed in Taiwan.
- (11) [Tsao 2005: 107]. Cao also mentions that such a curriculum existed only at that particular moment in time.
- (12) [Chang J. and Cao 2011: 25–27]. Born in Pingdu 平度 City, Shandong, in 1938, Lu would serve in the police force for forty years and attain its highest post of Director-General of National Police Agency (*jingzheng shuzhang* 警政署長).
- (13) *Junmin Daobao*, 29 June 1950, 2nd page.
- (14) *ibid.*, 7 July 1950, front page.
- (15) “Ziyuan Weiyuanhui zai Tai ge danwei shezhi Taiyu Xunlianban” 資源委員會在臺各單位設置臺語訓練班 (Natural Resources Committee setting up “Taiwanese training units” at its various departments in Taiwan), stored at Academia Historica (Guoshiguan 國史館), Catalogue No. 003000027231A.
- (16) Taiwan Broadcasting (Taiwan Guangbo Diantai 臺灣廣播電臺) radio programming schedules.

Diyi Guangbo (Chinese): News, Morning talk, Educational radio, Free conversation, Women’s hour, Children’s programming, Minnan language lessons (in the “National Language”), English language lessons (in English and the “National Language”), Central Reform Committee report, Public opinion news, Program for the Association for the Assistance and Guidance of Secondary Education (Zhongdeng Jiaoyu Fudaohui 中等教育輔導會), Electric power service message, Morning music, poetry discussion and light music, Afternoon Peking opera, Afternoon songfest, Evening music performance, Evening songfest and Western music, Literary readings, Evening Peking opera, Drama etc.

Dier Guangbo (Mostly in Minnan): News, Hill region news (in Japanese for hill region listeners), Morning talk, Women’s hour, Educational radio, Free conversation, Children’s programming, Lectures on culture, Lectures on the “National Language” literature, Common sense of the hill region (in Japanese for hill region listeners), English lessons (in English and the “National Language”), Agricultural report, Central Reform Committee programming (“National Language”), Public opinion news (“National Language”), Morning music, Light opera, Peking opera, Live musical performance, Folk music, Chamber music and Taiwan theatre, Hakka news (in Hakka), Miscellaneous music programming, “National Language” lesson with Prof. Qi Tiehen 齊鐵恨 (18:30–19:00), Transportation services, Urban news (19:00–19:10), Light music, Public opinion news, Station digest, Discussion of world events, Taiwanese songfest, News, Peking opera, Literary readings, Western music ([Wu D. 1968: 279–280; “Ziyou Zhongguo Guangbo... 1953: 14–15].

Dier Guangbo was on the air between 17:30 and 23:30.

The source periodical *Guangbo Zhoukan* 廣播周刊 was originally a mainland publication, but was not the first magazine to cover radio broadcasting. In September 1934, the KMT’s Central Broadcasting Bureau (Zhongyang Guangbo Wuxian Diantai Guanlichu 中央廣播無線電臺管理處) released the weekly *Guangbo Zhoubao* 廣播週報 in order to increase its listening audiences in China’s coastal regions. The magazine featured speeches by intellectuals, regional program schedules, facts about the broadcasting industry and sheet music to popular songs. Given the fact that 20,000 copies of each issue were released and publication continued intermittently until 1948, it seems to have enjoyed popularity among at least a portion of radio listeners. Its publication was suspended at issue No. 150 (Aug. 1937) due to the Sino-Japanese War. It was then revived in Zhongqing in January 1939 with the release of No. 151, but due to damage sustained by its printers as the result of bombing raids, it was again suspended at issue No. 196 (May 1941). From that time on the Central Broadcasting Bureau’s publications were limited to the intra-bureau newsletter, *Guangbo Tongxun* 廣播通訊, totalling around 20 issues. Then at the end of the war, *Guangbo Zhoubao* was re-released in May 1946 (No. 197), continuing in circulation until December 1948 (Issue No. 312) [Kishi 2006: 39, 56].

The success of *Guangbo Zhoubao* made possible the publication of *Guangbo Zazhi* 廣播雜誌 in Taiwan. In 1952, the further development of the radio industry in Taiwan made it necessary for a periodical magazine, resulting



in the release of *Guangbao Zhoukan* on the festive day of Guangbojie 廣播節, 26 March 1952. However, the magazine soon ran into funding problems, resulting in the suspension of publication, and then was revived as *Guangbo Zazhi* on 1 July [Wang 1955: 168]. To this author's knowledge, publication continued up through 1967. Its 16-page layout began with commentary on radio from the editors or some industry pundit, followed by such features as a listing of the available stations, programming schedules, introduction of announcers, upcoming programs, government directives and translated manuscripts soon to be broadcast, radio theatre scripts, facts about radio equipment and the industry, jokes, strange happenings from around the world, letters to the editor as well as introductions to American television and motion picture actresses. It occasionally included the reports of the events at the stations, cartoons, sheet music to anti-communist music and radio lessons, and at the beginning of every seasons provided the program schedules of each station for the season [Lin G. 2009: 152].

- (17) Diyi Guangbo: Huanan 華南, Huadong 華東, northern central Taiwan, upper northern Taiwan, South Seas (Nanyang 南洋), Japan, throughout the mainland, throughout Taiwan.  
 Dier Guangbo: Huanan, Huadong, northern central Taiwan.  
 Taizhong Guangbo Diantai 臺中廣播電臺 (Central Taiwan Radio Broadcasting): Huanan, central Taiwan (Relaying Dier Guangbo programs).  
 Tainan Guangbo Diantai 臺南廣播電臺 (Southern Taiwan Radio Broadcasting): Huanan, southern Taiwan (Relaying Dier Guangbo programs).  
 Gaoxiong Guangbo Diantai 高雄廣播電臺 Gaoxiong Radio Broadcasting): Huanan, southern Taiwan (Relaying Diyi Guangbo programs).  
 Jiayi Guangbo Diantai 嘉義廣播電臺 (Jiayi Radio Broadcasting): Huanan, lower central Taiwan, upper southern Taiwan (Relaying Dier Guangbo programs).  
 Hualian Guangbo Diantai 花蓮廣播電臺 (Hualian Radio Broadcasting): Hualian 花蓮 city proper (Relaying Dier Guangbo programs).  
 Taidong Guangbo Diantai 臺東廣播電臺 (Eastern Taiwan Radio Broadcasting): Taidong 臺東 city proper (Relaying Dier Guangbo program) (“Zhongguo Guangbo Gongsu Taiwan guangbo diantai guangbo shebei gaikuang yilanbiao” 中國廣播公司臺灣廣播電臺廣播設備概況一覽表 (Listing of China Broadcasting Company affiliate stations and facilities), 1<sup>st</sup> April, Mingguo 39 (1949), in [Wu D. 1968: 287]).
- (18) All of the items in “(Mingguo) 41 niandu ben gongsu yewu fangzhen” (民國) 四十一年度本公司業務方針 (1951 Corporation Operations Policy Statement), published by the Broadcasting Corporation of China (Zhongguo Guangbo Gongsu 中國廣播公司), were geared to anti-Communist, anti-Soviet resistance, in particular the following:
1. Disseminating propaganda to promote Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles and anti-Communist ethics.
  2. Exposing every atrocity committed by the “Communist brigands” (*gongfei* 共匪).
  3. Exposing the Soviet invasion plot.
  4. Calling upon the people of free China (i.e. Taiwan) to actively participate in the efforts to end the chaos.
  5. Calling for the utmost effort in the anti-Communist counterattack operations among Republican comrades in the mainland “den of thieves.”
  6. Debunking all false propaganda of the Communist brigands aimed at deceiving the people.
  7. Programming closely related to the issues of education, culture and economic livelihood of the nation's citizens.
  8. Reporting what is happening in the progress towards a free China to fellow nationals overseas and the world at large.
  9. Expanding services to listeners [Wu D. 1968: 325].
- This same policy with slight revisions was published annually.
- (19) *Guangbo Zhoukan*, vol. 4, no. 6, 1953, p.1.
- (20) *Guangbo Zhoukan*, vol. 4, no. 8, 1953, pp. 1–2.
- (21) In the Spring of 1950, when the Central Party Rebuilding Committee assumed the leadership of KMT radio broadcasting operations, it established the Broadcasting Operations Assistance and Leadership Conference (Guangbo Shiye Fudao Huiyi 廣播事業輔導會議) to discuss such issues as how music programs could incorporate anti-Communist content and how news programming could step up its anti-Communist reportage, resulting in this Committee-sponsored program, which started on 10 October (Guoqingjie 國慶節) of the same year [Zhang R. 1955: 49–54].

- (22) Scheduled for Sundays, including Peking opera, radio dramas, local arts and entertainment and live musical performances [Zhang R. 1955: 49–54].
- (23) Accounts of “Courageous freedom-loving soldiers who in their pursuit of liberty personally experienced atrocities committed by the Communist brigands, told in a weekly chapter-by-chapter novel format with commentary” [Zhang R. 1955: 49–54].
- (24) Scheduled for Saturdays, and including poetry recital and singing performances, teaching listeners the lyrics to anti-Communist songs and telling stories of anti-Communist heroes [Zhang R. 1955: 49–54].
- (25) Broadcast first in the “National Language,” then again in Minnan. It emphasized the Three Principles left behind by the “Father of the Nation” (i.e. Sun Yat-sen) as a basis of the Taiwan Provincial Government’s various policies, in an appeal to listeners that the lives of people of Taiwan had been significantly improved thanks to the 375 Rent Reduction (375 Jianzu 三七五減租) implemented for tenant farmers and employment insurance provided for industrial workers [Zhang R. 1955: 49–54].
- (26) A 26-year old native of Chao 巢 County, Anhui Province, who had graduated in the first class of Special Service School (Teqin Xuexiao 特勤學校) and was then employed at the Motion Picture Studio (Dianying Zhipianchang 電影製片廠) [Yi 1953: 28].
- (27) A native of Kaifeng, Henan Province [Yi 1953: 28].
- (28) This program was hosted by Zhou Hengguang 周恆光, the head of Huasheng Diantai’s programming department, a native of Zhejiang and rumored to be a linguistic genius. Zhou had originally hosted Minshengtai’s 民聲臺 program on stories about everyday life broadcast in Minnan, which was said to be very popular among Taiwanese listeners (*Guangbo Zazhi*, vol. 10, no. 11, 1956, p. 5).
- (29) [Chen X. 1956: 14–15]. The author Chen Xiaotan 陳小潭 was also the program’s manager, a native of Amoi, Fujian Province, and fluent in the “National Language.”
- (30) Yagi Nobutada 八木信忠 et al., Interviews with Mr. Ho Chiming, 3 June and 11 November 1993 at Nihon Daigaku Geijutsu Gakubu 日本大学 芸術学部 (The College of Art , Nihon University), p. 37. From Chinese Taipei Film Archive 國家電影資料館.
- (31) In addition to radio, films and TV entertainment programming in Taiwanese, there was also the Taiwanese popular music scene. In the postwar Taiwanese society, Japanese popular song genre but sung in Taiwanese was still popular as a remnant of Japan’s multi-layered colonial rule in Asia, while “National Language” popular songs which appeared as the consequence of the spread of pop culture, was virtually unheard of by the greater majority of the Taiwanese public. Those who had lived under such multi-layered colonial rule were composing music in the style of their Japanese colonizers, thus drawing a clear line of cultural division with new incoming ruling class of mainlanders. The origins of the Taiwanese popular song genre is closely related to mass *ressentiment* on the part of the powerless colonized towards their colonizers. For a more detailed discussion on this point, see [Chin 2010: 282].
- (32) Take for example the spread of French into non-French regions such as Bretagne and Occitan. At the first stage, French spread in the urban areas to become a predominate language, with Brezhoneg or Occitan used as a secondary means of communication, while either Brezhoneg or Occitan was the only means of communication in the rural areas. Then at the next stage, French became the sole language in the urban areas, while the people of the rural areas became bilingual, then gradually switching to French only. That being said, recent linguistic revival movements may lead to reversing the process somewhat. See [Sunano 2007: 69]. In the case of postwar Taiwan, moreover, the policy of transforming former “Japanese subjects” born under the Japanese colonial regime into “Chinese citizens” understanding the “National Language” was not thoroughly enforced, as the actual historical development shows [Morita 2008: 54].
- (33) Concerning the existence of “Japanese” in postwar Taiwan, not covered in the present article, see [Ka 2007] and the research done by Misawa Mamie (see below). Briefly, Japanese existed as a language pertaining to the entertainment industry for those Taiwanese born under Japan’s colonial regime. Despite the fact that “Japanese films” were considered by the KMT Government to be “venomous” (*zaodu* 造毒) and thus in need of extermination, after the outbreak of the Korean War, the KMT regime, which had firmly established governance over Taiwan with assistance from the United States, found itself dependent on both the United States and its ally Japan economically, in particular regarding foreign trade. Therefore, the import of Japanese films, while distasteful to the KMT, was permitted, and then enthusiastically

welcomed by former colonial subjects of Taiwan, as demonstrated in the example of the trade fairs for Japanese films. See [Misawa 2010]

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