THE
MODERN CHINESE PRESS
ON TAIWAN

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In Partial Fulfillment
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Hwa Shu Long
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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate Faculty, have
examined a thesis entitled

THE MODERN CHINESE PRESS ON TAIWAN

presented by

Hwa Shu Long

a candidate for the degree of

Master of Arts

and hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Albert T. Scroggins
Maurice Uslaw
R.W. Lansford

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

To understand the modern Chinese press on Taiwan, it is helpful to know something about the geographical surroundings and history of that island. Taiwan, known as Formosa to Westerners, is a semi-tropical island of 13,837 square miles, oblong in shape, lying off the China mainland and straddling midway the sea lanes between the Philippines and the Ryukyus.

The island was ceded to Japan at the end of the first Sino-Japanese war in 1895, under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and was returned to the Republic of China after the Second World War, in 1945, in accordance with the Cairo Declaration of 1943. When Chinese Communists seized the China mainland in 1949, the Chinese Central Government moved to Taiwan and has since made it the center of Free China's anti-Communist resistance and a bastion of democracy in the Far East.

When the Chinese Central Government took over the island in 1945, there was only one newspaper on the whole island. It was the Taiwan Hsin Pao, a Japanese-language daily with a circulation of a little more than 100,000 against a population of 6,000,000.

The first and foremost problem confronting the early

newspapermen coming to the island was the language difficulty, since Japanese was the only language allowed during the Japanese occupation. In fact, most of the islanders could neither read Chinese nor speak mandarin when the island was returned to China.

With the popularization of the Chinese language by the provincial government and with the Central Government retreating to the island following the Communist seizure of the mainland, newspapers began to boom on the island. In 1947, there were seventeen dailies. However, in the years following, only half of them survived. Today, according to the China Handbook 1956-57, there are altogether thirty-two newspapers currently being published on Taiwan. The total daily circulation of all the newspapers combined is estimated to be 336,706 and the population is approximately 10,000,000.

If an enlightened public is the best security of a nation, then that enlightenment is a task which newspapers must shoulder. Today, in the face of continual Communist threats in the Far East, the role of the Chinese newspapers is all the more important in enlightening the public to the dangers and prospects. While the Republic of China is endeavoring to adopt the democratic form of government, the position of the Chinese newspapers as a medium to reflect and shape public opinion deserves serious re-evaluation. In view of these facts, a study of the modern Chinese press on Taiwan probably is as justifiable as it is necessary.

The purpose of this study is two-fold. One is to present facts about the present conditions of the Chinese press on Taiwan whereupon the Republic of China is based. The other is to evaluate the developments and limitations of the Chinese press as it tries to become a more effective and stronger means of mass communication on Taiwan.

Importance of the Study

The study is limited principally to newspapers, both Chinese and English-language dailies, currently being published on Taiwan. Magazines and other forms of publications are not included. To limit the scope and to select newspapers that are more representative of the modern Chinese press, only the leading dailies are sampled for study. Mention must be made that although there are thirty-two newspapers published in the Republic of China, nearly all the leading newspapers are centered in Taipei, chiefly because Taipei, being the capital, is the political, economic and cultural center of the nation. In addition, important news agencies and news services are covered to show how the newspapers are provided with the facilities of these growing agencies. Other phases of the modern Chinese press, such as freedom of press, conditions of advertising and circulation are also covered.

Source of Data

Much of the information for this thesis was gathered from publications concerning Chinese journalism. These

publications, ranging from newspapers and magazines to periodicals, business reports and directories, form the backbone of this study. Correspondence with editors and concerned personnel of some of the newspapers and news agencies further contributes to the study with valuable first-hand information.

The sources of data in the form of publications used are these:

China Handbook, 1956-57-A reference book, mainly a record of what the Central Government of the Republic of China accomplished in 1955. The book contains a section which deals exclusively with the present conditions of the Chinese press on Taiwan. Much of the information with regard to persons discussed in this study is taken from the chapter on who's who in China.

Pao Hsiu-Pao Hsiu, meaning journalism, is a periodical devoted to the study of journalism. It is the Chinese equivalent of the American Journalism Quarterly except that Pao Hsiu is published only twice a year. The periodical contains articles on nearly all phases of journalism, both Chinese and international.

Ten Years in Taiwan-This publication by the Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao contributes much of the information needed in covering the Hsin Sheng Pao and the development of Chinese journalism since 1945. "The Taiwan Press in the Past Ten Years" and "The Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao in the Past Ten Years" are two articles that provide much valuable

information.

Central Daily News special edition, March 12, 1957- The special edition issued in honor of both the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Central Daily News and also its eighth year of publication on Taiwan has a special section which is devoted to the development of the Chinese press over the past years. In fact, much of the information concerning the history and development of the various newspapers is based on articles in this section.

Business Correspondence of the Central News Agency- Coverage of the Central News Agency, the largest news gathering agency in the Republic of China, is based on the 30th anniversary edition of the business correspondence.

Journalism Quarterly- Much of the information in the chapter on freedom of the press is taken from an article entitled "How Free Is the Press in Free China," in the fall, 1956, issue of the Journalism Quarterly.

East and West- This English-language monthly published by the Sino-American Cultural and Economic Association, was used for quotations relative to freedom of the press.

Directory of Taiwan 1958- This publication is valuable in that it gives general information about the history and development of the various aspects of the island. A list with the names of all the publishers and directors of the newspapers and news agencies is included.

Mention must also be made that much valuable information about the various aspects of the Chinese press is made available through personal interviews with editors, reporters and responsible personnel of some of the Chinese newspapers, who are currently doing research in journalism at the University of Missouri.

Organization of the Study

The study is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter II deals with the organization in general of the Chinese press. A chart showing the organizational system of the Central Daily News, the most influential newspaper on Taiwan is provided. Chapter III is given over to the major morning newspapers, namely: the Central Daily News, Hsin Sheng Pao, China Daily News, United Daily News, Credit Information and Kung Lun Pao. Chapter IV covers the two English-language dailies, the China Post and China News; the latter is a mimeographed paper. The evening newspapers, Tah Hwa Evening News, Tzu Li Evening Post and Min Tsu Evening News are covered in Chapter V. Chapter VI which deals with the Chinese news agencies and information services includes the Central News Agency, Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance, China News and Publication Service, Ltd., Government Information Office, the Office of Information, Ministry of National Defense, the Information Department of the Taiwan Provincial Government and others. Freedom of the press is discussed in Chapter VII. Adver-

tising and circulation are presented respectively in Chapters VIII and IX. In view of the fact that translation of foreign news is an indispensable operation in the Chinese press in order to make international news digestible to Chinese readers, Chapter X is devoted to that effect. The final chapter is a conclusion which both summarizes that which has been discussed and also attempts to point the direction toward which the modern Chinese press should strive.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHINESE NEWSPAPER

The most common form of newspaper ownership on Taiwan is the corporation.¹ This is true on all the important newspapers, both private and public-owned. The chief reason for this is that the corporation is the type of organization that can accumulate a large amount of funds from investors. As most of the modern Chinese dailies are large-scale businesses, they require adequate capital to operate.² Another reason is that the newspaper, like other enterprises, is a business in itself. As a business, it naturally looks forward to expansion.

I. THE ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM

Although the objectives of the modern Chinese newspapers are as varied as they are different in titles, they generally follow the same organizational system. Under this system, control is maintained in graduated levels with each stratum having its final authority. The departments are headed by executives who are directly responsible to a

¹P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Management in China (manuscript).

²Ibid.

superior executive, but each is given full responsibility and authority within his own department. The system constitutes the following:

A. Stockholders' Conference--According to the Chinese laws for corporation organization, the stockholders' conference is the highest authority in a corporation. On privately owned newspapers the stockholders are the paper's investors; on party-owned newspapers the stockholders are representatives from the party. On the Central Daily News, for example, a newspaper operated by the Kuomintang, the highest authority on the paper is the conference representing the stockholders from the Kuomintang.³ These stockholders actually do not own the stocks themselves; instead, they represent the interests and rights of the party. Stock of the Central Daily News is not for sale in the stock market. However, in the case of the Chung Hwa Daily News (China Daily News), also a Kuomintang-operated newspaper, its stocks are purchasable. The Chung Hwa Daily News has a total of 2,100 shares of stock, of which 500 belong to outside investors.⁴ At the stockholders' conference each share of stock has one vote. Thus, the more shares an investor has, the more powerful he becomes at the

³P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Management in China (manuscript)

⁴Interview with P. Y. Hao, former director of south edition of China Daily News, November 18, 1957.

conference.

B. Board of Directors--Although the stockholders are owners or representatives of the newspaper, it is impossible for all of the stockholders to run the newspaper. Thus, a number of persons have to be selected from the stockholders to form a board of directors to act on behalf of the stockholders for their rights and interests.⁵ In the case of party-owned newspapers, the stockholders represent the rights and interests of the party.

The president of the board of directors is elected from this board. The board of directors appoints the general manager of the newspaper as well as determines the paper's overall policies. In addition, it is also responsible for electing several members from among the stockholders to set up a supervisory committee to ensure proper operation of the paper with particular interest in the paper's financial matters.

C. The General Manager--The general manager is appointed by the board of directors. He is the chief executive of the newspaper, and is responsible for matters such as personnel administration, budget estimating and, most important of all, for implementing the policies laid down by the board of directors. On most of the newspapers,

⁵P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Management in China (manuscript).

the general manager is from among the members of the board of directors, whereas on papers like the Central Daily News, the general manager usually is appointed by the party. The general manager in his capacity as the chief administrator of the paper is authorized by the board of directors to appoint qualified persons to the various departments. On some of the other papers, such appointments have to be approved by the board of directors.⁶

Assisting the general manager is an assistant manager who is also appointed by the board of directors.

D. The Publisher--According to the publishing law of China, every newspaper has to have a publisher to handle all legal matters involving the paper. On papers like Hsin Sheng Pao and the China Daily News, the publishers are the presidents of the board of directors. In the case of the Central Daily News, the general manager is the paper's publisher. However, on the United Daily News, the publisher is elected from the board of directors.⁷

II. DEPARTMENTAL FUNCTIONS

There are usually two departments under the direction of the general manager, the editing department and the

⁶P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Management in China (manuscript).

⁷Ibid.

management department. Apart from these two departments, there are four other establishments: the editorial room, the secretariat, the accounting room and personnel administration.⁸

The editing department is responsible for gathering news. Included in its functions are culling news, editing copy, writing headlines, selecting features, cartoons and photographs. Editing, news, morgue and translation are the usual divisions under this department. In addition, it supervises the paper's stringers and foreign correspondents.

The management department directs advertising, circulation, mechanical work, administrative affairs, job printing and maintains branch offices in areas where the paper is circulated. The functions of the branch offices include soliciting circulation, selling advertising space and gathering local news. These offices are set up in cities adjacent to where the paper is operated. Executives of the branch offices are not on the payroll of the paper, but are paid commissions on the basis of their soliciting efforts.

The editorial room directs the editorial page and oversees all matters pertaining to the newspaper's policies. The chief of the room is either a well-known writer or a man of high scholastic standing. As editorials are

⁸P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Management in China (manuscript).

still enthusiastically read by the Chinese newspaper readers, this room usually enjoys a supreme position on the newspaper. There are three or four editorial writers besides the chief editorial writer on most of the major morning newspapers. Each of these editorial writers is a specialist in one particular field. For example, the Central Daily News has five editorial writers specializing in such areas as the military, foreign affairs, politics, commerce and economics or other fields. This specialization enables each editorial to be expertly handled. When an occasion arises regarding newspaper policy on a certain problem, frequently a meeting of all concerned is called so that a final decision can be reached.⁹

The chief function of the secretariat is to handle all secretarial work for the general manager, which includes keeping files, drafting documents and making recommendations to the general manager on administrative affairs. Heading the secretariat is a chief secretary whose authority sometimes is only second to the general manager or the assistant general manager.

The accounting room is an independent establishment. Organizationally, it is under the general manager; however, it takes orders directly from both the board of directors as well as the supervisory committee.

⁹Interview with P. Y. Hao, October 25, 1957.

The auditors and accountants are controllers of the newspaper's financial matters. Their main duties include: (1) general accounting, (2) departmental record-keeping, (3) cost finding and (4) budget estimating. All the key officers of this division are often appointed jointly by the board of directors and the supervisory committee. In some cases, they are appointed by the supervisory committee solely.¹⁰

Another independent establishment is the personnel administration which is in charge of promotion, job evaluation, transfer, merit-rating, retirement, pension and welfare for the newspaper's employees. Like the accounting room, the personnel administration is under the control of the general manager and the board of directors as well as the supervisory committee. The purpose of this multi-control is to prevent the general manager from using too many of his own associates, and to develop a sound personnel system within the newspaper.

The manifestation of the newspaper organization depends on how properly the organization is manned. Definite division of responsibility, competent personnel administration and full co-operation among the departments are essential to a successful operation on a newspaper. Lacking them, even the best type of newspaper organization is

¹⁰P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Organization in China (manuscript).

void.¹¹

III. PROBLEMS IN CHINESE NEWSPAPER ORGANIZATION

With authority being assigned by ranks or titles in a delegation of higher and lower positions, the Chinese newspaper is organized in the form of a pyramid. The most obvious problem in this pyramidal type of organization is that it places more control within the newspaper than it renders freedom of operation among the departments and various other divisions. However, there are other problems:

A. Nearly all the major newspapers on Taiwan are morning papers. As such the editing department does not work at the same time as the management department; the former works at night and the latter in the daytime. The different working schedule frequently prevents full coordination between these two departments. Besides, these two departments are parallel in the organizational channel. The flow of work is often jeopardized because each of the two departments has its own objectives which sometimes conflict with the other. For instance, when the business department wants to increase advertising in the paper, the editors may justifiably insist that news should occupy more

¹¹P. Y. Hao, Newspaper Organization in China (manuscript).

space.¹²

B. Although the editing department works at night, the editorial writers are on the day shift. Thus, an editorial often shows a lack of co-ordination with the news because of new developments after the editorial has been completed.¹³

C. Under the circumstances where the newspaper's finance is controlled by an independent establishment, freedom of operation by the management department is hindered. The department cannot aggressively launch any project that is not on the approved budget.

D. The mechanical set-up on the Chinese newspaper is not a full department as on many large American newspapers. It is only a division under the direction of the business department even on the largest Chinese newspaper. However, from the standpoint of operational convenience, it should be either under the editing department or be elevated to a full department as on many of the American newspapers.

E. The secretariat with the chief secretary in charge actually becomes the general manager's chief of staff. He is empowered to decide administrative matters and is only second to the general manager in authority.

¹²Interview with P. Y. Hao, October 25, 1957.

¹³Interview with P. Y. Hao, October 25, 1957.

Co-operation among the departments may likely be hindered if the chief secretary is incompetent or holds too much power in his hands.

F. The type of newspaper organization now popular in the modern Chinese press normally requires a large number of people. However, typesetters comprise a large percentage of the employees. For example, on the China Daily News (southern edition) fifty of 211 employees (excluding carriers and stringers) are typesetters.¹⁴ This is due to the fact that Chinese words are composed not of alphabets, but of characters. In fact, each word is represented by a character and there are as many as 9,000 characters in common use. The complicated Chinese language makes the linotype machine impractical in China. At present, all typesetting is done by hand; this requires many typesetters and much space in the composing room, particularly for type storage. This system is expensive in both time and money. According to Y.P. Hao, former director of the southern edition, China Daily News, the most efficient typesetter can set only about twenty-two words a minute. The development of a linotype machine suitable for the Chinese language has long been a coveted idea, for not only would it materially minimize the great number of personnel required, but it would also speed up operations.

¹⁴Ibid.

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graph TD
    A[Stockholders' Conference] --> B[Board of Directors]
    B --> C[Standing Board of Directors]
    C --> D[President of the Board of Directors]
    D --> E[Publisher]
    E --> F[General Manager]
    F --> G[Assistant General Manager]

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Supervisory Committee

Standing Supervisors

Auditors

Management Department

Secretariat

Accounting
Room

Personnel
Administration

General Affairs Division:

General affairs section

Material section

Cashier's section

Business Division:

Circulation section

Advertising section

Branch offices

Mechanical Division

Typesetting room

Pressroom

Stereotype room

Photoengraving room

Job Printing Division

CHAPTER III

MAJOR MORNING DAILIES

The Central Daily News

The Central Daily News, known as Chung Yang Jih Pao to the Chinese, is the official spokesman of the Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, of which President Chiang Kai-shek is the leader. The Daily News has been the largest and the only continuously published newspaper for the past twenty-nine years in the Republic of China, now on Taiwan.

It was founded originally in Canton in 1926 by the Revolutionary Party, forerunner of the Kuomintang, at a time when the integrity of China was threatened by the Chinese warlords who had occupied vast territories for personal gains without supporting the central government.¹

The paper in its early stage was established with the responsibility to campaign for a united China. After the sweeping victory of the Revolutionary Army, the Daily News was moved in 1929 to Nanking where it made its first appearance on February 1 the same year, thenceforth assuming its career as the leading and authoritative news-

¹Paul H. C. Wang, "A Historical Study of the Chinese Press of 3,000 Years" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Missouri, Columbia, 1955), p. 88.

paper in China.² Later, the Daily News was developed into a gigantic chain of newspapers throughout the nation with all the chain papers carrying the same name plate, Chung Yang Jih Pao, although published under separate managements.

In 1937 the Nanking Central Daily News moved to Chungking, the wartime capital of China, in the wake of the government to take up its new role in enlightening the public against Japanese domination.³ Acute material shortages (particularly in newsprint), constant threat of air raids, and frequent interruptions of power and water supply caused by enemy bombings were among the hazards confronted by all the newspapers in wartime Chungking. The Central Daily News, despite its support from the party and its being a leading newspaper, was exposed to these same difficulties. The Daily News during the war printed its paper in a dark, narrow and damp air raid tunnel, using ten flat bed presses so that the paper could come off the press faster and be ready for delivery on time.⁴

The Japanese bombings of Chungking on May 3-4, 1939,

²Central Daily News, March 12, 1957 (28th Anniversary special edition).

³Ibid., March 1, 1956.

⁴Ibid., March 12, 1957.

turning the major part of the city into flames and ashes, paralyzed nearly all the city's newspapers. To evaluate the situation, the directors of the Chungking newspapers met the next day. The result was that a "United Edition" would be put out jointly by all the newspapers. Nine dailies, all morning newspapers, joined this united front. They were: the Central Daily News, Ta Kung Pao, Shih Tze Hsin Pao, Tsao Tang Pao, Hsin Chu Pao, Hsin Ming Pao, Si Nan Jih Pao, Shan Wu Jih Pao, Kuo Ming Jih Pao and later the Communist party organ, Hsin Hwa Jih Pao also joined the ranks.⁵ Tsang-Po Cheng, then director of the Central Daily News, was elected to head the joint committee for the "United Edition." The first issue of the "United Edition" came out on May 7, the day following the joint meeting of the directors. The joint efforts of the newspapers to keep the people informed of the news under adverse conditions, the abandoning of individual newspaper's policies, and the responsible attitude of the newspapermen working under enemy bombing and on meager salaries were among the factors that constituted the so-called "Chungking spirit."⁶ However, when member newspapers completed their evacuation plants in the suburbs of the city, the "United Edition" was suspended on August 12, 1939 after a period of ninety-

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

nine days of joint operation. Thereafter, the ten partners resumed their individual publications. The years in Chungking were adverse for newspaper publishing, but the Chinese press was never discouraged. To meet the newsprint shortage, for instance, a native-made paper, dark, harsh and inferior in texture, was developed to substitute for the regular, imported newsprint.⁷

When the government moved back to Nanking after V-J Day in 1945, the Central Daily News resumed its publication in Nanking after eight years' absence. Unfortunately, four years later the Communist rebellion on the China mainland forced the Daily News into another exodus, this time to Taiwan. The first issue of the Taiwan Central Daily News came off the press on March 1, 1949, assuming its role once again as the official organ of the ruling party, the Kuomintang.

The advent of the Central Daily News gave great impetus to the Taiwan press. First of all, the Daily News, being an authoritative newspaper representing the party and the government, caused all other newspapers in Taipei to change from local newspapers to newspapers characteristic of national interests. Secondly, the supreme performance of the Daily News' printing equipment stirred a competition among all the other newspapers for better printing facili-

⁷Ibid.

ties and for typographical improvement. Thirdly, the use of color in advertisements, attracting many advertisers to the Daily News, resulted in a vogue of using color in advertisements in other newspapers. Fourthly, the Daily News pioneered in the use of comic serials; and lately, the addition of special pages and Sunday magazines to its contents has also influenced other newspapers.⁸

Of the Daily News' twenty-nine years of publication, Hsin-Yeh Ma, a graduate of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri (A.M., '45) was for seven years the director. At first, the paper, being an official organ, was subsidized by the Kuomintang. However, after Ma took the post of publisher, the paper became a success both financially and journalistically. The year 1948 marked a great improvement in the paper. A Goss high-speed rotary press was bought in the United States and installed. The new press, the first of its kind ever used in Asia, is capable of printing 120,000 copies per hour. With the new press, the paper improved remarkably in typography.⁹

When the paper resumed its publication in Taipei, it had only one piece of property that it could call its own--the Goss printing press it had moved out from the mainland. The paper then did not even have enough funds to pay its

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

employees' salaries. Despite all the difficulties confronting the paper, the first issue came out on March 12, 1949.¹⁰

Unfortunately, a fire on November 11, 1949, swept from a neighboring building, a restaurant, and burned down the entire establishment of the Daily News. But the paper continued to publish in the midst of devastation. The scene of its newspapermen working in the rain under umbrellas in the days after the fire was so miserable that it would long be remembered by its readers. Fire is destructive, but there is a Chinese superstition that fire, though destructive, will eventually bring prosperity to the victim. The paper did become prosperous later. But apparently, the old superstition could not work any miracle. It was the untiring efforts of the paper's workers that made the Daily News prosper. The destroyed building was soon rebuilt. New projects were added to the paper with the completion of the new building. A special plane was chartered to deliver papers to the other parts of the island. Overseas editions for Hongkong and New York were started. Comics, drawn by the Liang brothers, two famous artists, were added to lighten the contents of the Daily News. At that time Ma used to say to his colleagues that if the circulation could reach 2,000, then the Daily News

¹⁰Ibid.

could survive. Three years later the paper not only owned a spacious building with an efficient printing plant, but it had also built more than a hundred residences for its employees. In addition, circulation had increased to 50,000 and advertising revenue was at a new high.¹¹

The Central Daily News is noted for its competency in news coverage and its authoritativeness in editorial eloquence. As a daily which represents the Kuomintang, the Central Daily News expresses the views of the government and the party.¹² The editorial stand of the Central Daily News can be summarized as follows:

(1) Advocating democracy, freedom, humanity, peace and world brotherhood and anti-Communism.

(2) Encouraging the endeavors in all fields for the recovery of the China Mainland and offering suggestions and advice toward that direction.

(3) Serving as a bridge between the people and the government.

Because of newsprint shortage and financial limitations, all the Chinese language dailies on Taiwan are six-paged. However, on special occasions such as National Anniversary Day and New Year's Day, the newspapers traditionally issue "extras."

¹¹Ibid.

¹²China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 189.

Normally, the first page of the Daily News contains important news of the day, both national and international, with the bottom of the page reserved for advertisements. The second page carries the editorials and is also given over to national and international news of secondary importance. The third page is local news, weather reports, financial news, and market reports. Page four contains photographs and a supplementary section which is noted for its light amusing essays, short stories, poems, travel sketches and book and movie reviews. Page five is community news while the last page is predominantly advertising.

The Central Daily News weekly issues a women's page, a children's page and a map page. The women's page is devoted to subjects such as: love and marriage, family life, housekeeping, family health and medical care, cooking and sewing, child psychology and education. The children's page has two major parts in its contents. The first part contains stories, comics and sketches. The second part is the school children's contributions which include stories, drawings and compositions.

The weekly map page is aimed at helping the readers to understand the current world issues with reference to their geographical backgrounds. Each issue is concentrated on one particular territory where a big issue is at stake. The page usually contains maps, descriptions of the geographical situation and an analysis of the political,

economic and military conditions there.

The Daily News has contributed in promoting public welfare in the past few years. In 1955, for instance, it founded the readers' scholarships which were open to the public on a competitive basis. The total amount of scholarships in that year was NT\$30,000 (approximately \$1,000 U. S.) A committee composed of distinguished educators and scholars was set up to decide scholarship winners.¹³

The Daily News also extended its concern to the victims of a flood on the China mainland in 1954. A chest for raising relief funds was sponsored and NT\$80,000 in cash was collected plus food and clothes. With the money the paper bought tons of rice and had it air-dropped to the flood victims trapped behind the Bamboo Curtain.¹⁴

When the Taipien, a battleship, was sunk by the Communists in the fall of 1954, the Daily News launched another campaign for raising funds to buy another battleship. This time the funds rocketed to NT\$12,000,000. The Chinese Navy, on the occasion of the paper's 10,000th issue, presented a model ship to the paper. The ship was christened "Readers of the Central Daily News."¹⁵

Although the Daily News is a party-owned newspaper,

¹³Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

it is an authoritative newspaper on Taiwan, widely circulated and respected. It is the only paper on Taiwan that now has an international edition which is air-mailed daily to Chinese readers overseas. It is an authoritative newspaper in the Republic of China, and its triumph owes a great deal to the efficient management of its various publishers, its authentic and wide coverage of news, its devotion to public service, its well-written and authoritative editorials, its handsome typography, its rich and varied contents. Today, the Central Daily News has cooperated effectively with the government in defiance of Communism. It stands firmly by the government and the Kuomintang and fights determinedly for national independence, for human liberty and for democracy. As Free China's leading newspaper, the present-day Central Daily News represents the will and spirit of both Chinese journalism and the Republic of China in voicing the ideals of a free world.

The Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao

The Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao (meaning New Life Journal) is an official organ of the Taiwan Provincial Government. It was the first newspaper published on Taiwan after the island was returned to the Republic of China.¹⁶ The first

¹⁶Ibid.

edition of the paper came out October 25, 1945, when the Chinese Government formally accepted the surrender of the Japanese military government on Taiwan. October 25, 1945, was a big day in recent Chinese history, for it marked the return of the Province of Taiwan to the Republic of China after fifty years of occupation by the Japanese. To the islanders of Taiwan, this date meant even more. It meant the beginning of a new life for them. It also signified that Chinese culture was to be reborn on Taiwan, for under Japanese rule, the use of the Chinese language was prohibited. It was on account of these facts that the paper was named the Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao.¹⁷

Hsin Sheng Pao, as it is thus called, took over the facilities of the Taiwan Hsin Pao at its establishment. The Taiwan Hsin Pao was a result of the consolidation of six Japanese newspapers in 1944. The consolidation was ordered by the Japanese military at a time when they wanted to economize on the island's materials and to control more fully the press on Taiwan. Thus, there is no connection between the old Taiwan Hsin Pao and the existing Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao except that the latter took over the former's facilities. Hsin Sheng Pao is an entirely new paper.¹⁸

¹⁷ Jan-Tze Shieh, Ten Years on Taiwan, 1954, p. 280.

¹⁸ Ibid.

The first issue of the paper had four pages with advertisements on the front page, news on the second and third pages, news in Japanese on the fourth page and advertisements at the bottom. Highlight of the news in the first issue was the arrival of the Governor of Taiwan from the China mainland. The news was given generous space and printed against a black background in reverse printing.¹⁹

To enunciate its mission to the readers, the Hsin Sheng Pao, in an editorial printed in the first issue, said:

Editorially and reportorially, the Hsin Sheng Pao is a Chinese newspaper in the sense that it will speak for China. It will from now on use the standard Chinese language to continuously introduce Chinese cultures, to cover elaborately the national news, to convey and explain government orders and regulations, and to reflect the opinions of the Taiwanese.²⁰

In its early issues the Hsin Sheng Pao reserved one fourth of its space for printing news in the Japanese language.²¹ This was because of Taiwan's 50 years of Japanese occupation, during which time the Chinese language was prohibited. Besides, most of the islanders, especially the younger generation, could not read Chinese, though they were able to speak the native dialect, which is similar to that used in the southern part of Fukien Province.

¹⁹Hsin Sheng Pao Business Report, October 25, 1956, p. 3.

²⁰ Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

²¹Hsin Sheng Pao Business Report, op. cit., p. 1.

The Japanese-language section was abandoned one year after the paper's birth.²² This was made possible through the continued efforts by the provincial government and various educational circles to popularize mandarin Chinese, the standard or official Chinese dialect. However, much credit must be given to the enthusiasm of the islanders in learning the standard dialect.

The first director of the Hsin Sheng Pao was Wan-Chi Lee, a journalist educated in France, who took over the Taiwan Hsin Pao at the end of September, 1945. In 1947, the paper was organized into a corporation with Lee as director of the paper. The Hsin Sheng Pao Corporation, Ltd., however, was formally organized in May, 1949.²³ Jan-Tze Shieh, a graduate of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri (A.M., '45) was named director. To expand its business, the Hsin Sheng Pao established a southern edition at Kaohsiung on June 20, 1949, to serve the readers in the southern part of the island.²⁴

When the Hsin Sheng Pao first took over the facilities of the Taiwan Hsin Pao, the whole mechanical department was in bad shape because during the Second World War,

²²Jan-Tze Shieh, Ten Years on Taiwan, p. 280.

²³Ibid., p. 282.

²⁴Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

the plant was badly bombarded. It was estimated that at least five 1,000-pound bombs had hit the plant, which left the place desolate and devastated.²⁵ It was under these adverse circumstances that the printing plant was taken over by the present Hsin Sheng Pao. However, when Jan-Tze Shieh became the director of the paper in 1949, new equipment was bought. Meanwhile, old facilities were repaired and replenished with new parts. Among the equipment taken over from the Taiwan Hsin Pao was a printing machine called R. H. rotary press. It was made by a Japanese manufacturer who bought the blue-print of the machine from America. The machine, capable of printing 72,000 copies per hour, had been put in active service in 1954.²⁶

The year 1954 was an important milestone in the development of the Hsin Sheng Pao. New equipment bought at the expense of approximately \$129,000 (U. S.) was installed in a new building whose construction cost the paper \$78,000 (U. S.). The most important equipment purchased was a printing press designed and made in Japan especially for the Hsin Sheng Pao. It was christened "The Hsin Sheng Pao N. F. A. super-speed multi-color rotary press." The new press is capable of printing 120,000

²⁵Hsin Sheng Pao Business Report, October 31, 1952.

²⁶Ibid., November 31, 1952.

copies per hour, and the main motor of the press has seventy-five horse power.²⁷ The new press not only has improved the paper's typographical appearance, but has also enabled it to use color in its advertisements and multiple colors in news pictures. In an article entitled "The Build-up of Hsin Sheng Pao in the Past Nine Years" which appeared in the October 25, 1954, anniversary issue, the paper said that with the installation of the new press, the first of its kind in Asia, a remarkable progress in printing technique with regard to clearness, beauty and speed was anticipated. In fact, the new press would mark a new era in Free China's printing history, it added.²⁸

Attempting to fulfill a double duty, to inform the public as well as to serve the people, the Hsin Sheng Pao established a readers' service department in 1950. Its purpose is to build up a tie between the paper and its readers and to extend various services to them. The department offers travel service, sponsors recreational activities, contests, answers inquiries from readers and sounds out public opinion. Among its appreciable functions is a studio service where readers can order prints

²⁷Hsin Sheng Pao (Ninth Anniversary edition), October 25, 1954.

²⁸Ibid.

of pictures seen in the paper.²⁹

With regard to revenue, the paper's business report dated November 30, 1952, stated that the Hsin Sheng Pao, in the course of 1952 had made NT\$0.50 (equivalent to two U. S. cents) at the fraction of every second. The same report predicted that this figure would nearly be doubled in 1953.³⁰

In competing with other newspapers on circulation and public services, the Hsin Sheng Pao has endeavored to achieve the following:

(1) To sound out and reflect public opinion. The Hsin Sheng Pao considers that the foundation of democracy will not be solid if people are only told what to do, and not given a chance to express their opinions freely. Whether or not people can express themselves to the fullest extent will depend on education to make their expression possible and effective. In view of the fact that not all the people are sufficiently educated, the Hsin Sheng Pao is endeavoring to search for and to reflect public opinion.³¹

²⁹Hsin Sheng Pao Business Report, October 25, 1956.

³⁰Ibid., October 31, 1952.

³¹Ibid.

(2) To expand the circulation to the rural areas. As the paper has to make use of its limited available space to cover almost all the important events that happened in the world, the kind of language used in the paper tends to be concise and terse. As a result, the paper's circulation has been limited to large cities and among the intellectuals. The Hsin Sheng Pao, however, is determined to reach the people living in the rural areas: farmers, laborers, fishermen and the like. This if fulfilled, will not only raise their educational status, but also will keep them informed of and interested in current news. To achieve this, the paper realizes that it is essential to make the language more readable to the less educated. Meanwhile, news about the activities of these people is to be given better coverage so as to make them interested in reading the Hsin Sheng Pao.³²

(3) To improve the contents. Editorially, the Hsin Sheng Pao supports and is responsible for circulating government policies. Articles written by experts and scholars to form and influence the formation of current cultural patterns appear daily under the "Special Column." In treating international news, speed and accuracy are of utmost importance. Local and community news are to be

³²Ibid.

given elaborate coverage, particularly in out-of-town editions. With regard to society news, the Hsin Sheng Pao emphasizes morality, denouncing the evil and praising the good.³³

After years of continuous progress, today the Hsin Sheng Pao, with its new printing equipment and new buildings, is a newspaper of the largest-scale on Taiwan.³⁴ As an official organ of the Taiwan provincial government, the Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao has a dual responsibility: to convey government administrative orders to the people and to establish a bond of understanding between the government and the people in addition to its basic journalistic mission.

The China Daily News

The China Daily News (Chung Hwa Jih Pao) is one of the four largest newspapers on Taiwan. It was founded by the Kuomintang in 1946 at Tainan, a city in the southern part of the island. As most of the major newspapers were then, as now, centered in the north, particularly in Taipei, the establishment of a news medium in the south was needed. Recognizing the situation, the Kuomintang

³³Hsin Sheng Pao, October 25, 1945.

³⁴Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

established a newspaper. The paper was the China Daily News which made its debut February 22, 1946.³⁵ Han-Tsao Liang, now the president of the China Broadcasting Company, was the chairman of the board of directors while Kuan-Chun Lu, former government information official, was the first director. Although the Daily News is a party newspaper, it is financed by both the party and the people. In fact, one fourth of the entire capital is invested by the local people, while the rest comes from the party.³⁶

When, at the end of 1948, the military situation on the China mainland was going from bad to worse and the government was losing ground, Director Lu resigned, leaving the Daily News in a state of confusion.³⁷ In October the following year, a stockholders' conference was called to reorganize the newspaper in order to put it back on its feet. Tao-Fan Chang, now the speaker of the Chinese Legislature Yuan (equivalent to the United States Congress) was elected chairman of the board of directors, and Cheng-Tung Lien, now the commissioner of the civil affairs department of the Taiwan Provincial government, became the director of the Daily News.³⁸

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Interview with Pin-Yan Hao, former director of the southern edition of the China Daily News, February 5, 1958.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Pin-Yan Hao, A Business Report to the Board of Directors of the China Daily News, June, 1956.

The Daily News' rival is the Hsin Sheng Pao. Both had competed vigorously for years on circulation. The Daily News, being in the south, attempted to broaden its circulation to the northern part of the island, while the Hsin Sheng Pao, published in Taipei, tried to spread its circulation to the south. They both used rail transportation to ship their papers, but it was late in the afternoons when they reached their destinations. Later the Hsin Sheng Pao established a branch office in Tainan and published a southern edition there. The Daily News followed suit and established a northern edition with a branch office in Taipei.³⁹ Competition had brought an increase to both papers' circulations, but it was the readers who were actually benefited because in the process of competition both papers had to improve their contents and quality to attract more readers.

In 1955, Sheng-Fen Tsao, after returning from the United States where he studied at the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, was appointed director of the northern edition. Tsao, a graduate of the National Chengchi (Political) University in 1938, was at one time personal secretary to President Chiang Kai-shek.⁴⁰

³⁹Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

⁴⁰China Handbook, 1954-55, p.741.

Foreign correspondents stationed in Taipei used to qualify their dispatches home as being from authoritative sources. These so-called authoritative sources usually were Tsao.⁴¹ The southern edition had been headed by Pin-Yan Hao since 1950 until he left in 1957 for further study in journalism at the University of Missouri. Y. B. Hsu, a veteran newspaper man, educated at the National Chengchi University, succeeded Hao.

Like most of the other Chinese newspapers, the first page of the Daily News carries domestic or important foreign news. The second page is predominantly occupied by foreign news and the third has local news. Page four provides financial and sports news. Page five contains community news compiled from the reports of stringers. Page six is the entertainment page with its space predominantly occupied by movie advertisements. The entertainment section contains light, familiar essays, feuilletons, serials and comic strips.

The contents of the northern and southern editions vary primarily only in local news and advertisements; also the southern edition has more human interest stories than the northern edition. However, the chief difference that makes the southern edition more profitable than its sister

⁴¹Interview with Pin-Yan Hao, February 7, 1958.

paper, lies in its community news. As the three neighboring cities, Kaoshiung, Pingtung and Chiayi, are prospective markets, the Daily News, in order to expand its circulation to these cities, has set up a system by using three different editions, each carrying the news slanted to meet the interest of the readers in that particular city. As people are interested in their local affairs, their own activities and their own news, this device has greatly boosted the total circulation of the southern edition. In fact, an increase of 6,000 copies was added to the paper's circulation following the adoption of this method.⁴² This method of increasing out-of-town circulation was introduced by Pin-Yan Hao in 1952, two years after he became director of the southern edition.

The two editions of the Daily News, though varying somewhat in news content and advertisements, carry the same editorial. Usually the editorial is written in the south and transmitted to the northern office by telephone or telegram. The sameness of their editorials further indicates that both editions are actually one paper supporting the same editorial policies.⁴³ Another important feature of the editorial section is the special articles. Trans-

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., February 11, 1958.

lated from foreign magazines or newspapers or written by experts in the form of commentaries, these articles cover a wide range of subjects such as: politics, international affairs, educational problems, science and travel.

The basic principles of the news policy of the China Daily News can be summarized thusly: anti-communism, freedom, democracy, social reform and scientific developments.⁴⁴ These principles are adopted in the Daily News' editorial policies.

An editorial published on October 10, 1957, the Chinese National Anniversary Day, illustrates the paper's editorial policy. On such a day the Chinese newspapers have made it a rule to express their views toward big issues or to reiterate their stand on editorial matters.

There were two editorials in the Daily News in its October 10, 1957, issue. The topics were entitled: "A Message for the Celebration of the National Day" and "The New Mission of the Eighth Convocation of the Kuomintang."

The first editorial said in part:

Today is the National Birthday of the Republic of China. Forty-six years ago, the Nationalist Party under the leadership of our National Father, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and founded the Republic of China. Since then, the party has devoted itself to building the nation up along the lines of democracy.

⁴⁴Pin-Yan Hao, Business Report, June, 1956.

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The history of the Republic of China has been written in blood and tears. Within the period of forty-six years, we have confronted the ruthless warlords, the Japanese military aggressions and the rebellion of the Chinese Communists. These unfortunate factors have made what our nation is today. But the freedom and independence of our nation, the democratic way of life, and the promotion of our living standard are the wishes of the people as well as the assertions of our National Father.⁴⁵

The editorial concluded by saying, "If we believe these assertions truly, and strive for them positively, we will eventually be able to destroy Communism and obtain final victory."

The editorial under the title "The New Mission of the Eighth Convocation of the Kuomintang" had this to say:

It was the Nationalist Party, under the guidance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, that overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and founded the Republic of China. It was the Nationalist party under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek that stampeded the warlords and established the National government. It was again the National government under the leadership of President Chiang that fought against the Japanese domination and obtained the final victory. Yet it was also the National government that lost the whole China mainland to the Communists. It is therefore the duty of the Nationalist party to destroy the Communist tyranny, to recover the Chinese mainland and to reconstruct the nation in accordance with the Three People's Principles.

A great number of the colleagues of the Nationalist party had dedicated their lives to the cause of the revolution in overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty, in crushing the ambitions of the warlords who stood in the way of a unified China and in resisting the Japanese aggression. What was the purpose of these men sacrificing themselves? It was all because they

⁴⁵A translation from the China Daily News (Southern edition), October 10, 1957.

believed that only the Three People's Principles can save China and that they therefore struggled and sacrificed their lives in order that these principles could be realized.

The purpose of the Three People's Principles is to constitute a government which is of the people, by the people and for the people. Now that the eighth convocation of the Nationalist party is being held, we hope it will work out some practical measures to recover the China mainland and to guide the nation toward realizing these principles.⁴⁶

The daily circulation of the northern edition is around 15,000 while the southern edition has a circulation that approximates 25,000. Although there are no special editions on Sunday, the Sunday issues of the northern and southern editions sometimes reach 17,000 and 30,000 copies respectively.⁴⁷

The United Daily News

The United Daily News is the result of the amalgamation of three morning newspapers, the People's Daily News, Min Tsu (national) Pao and the Economic Times.⁴⁸

The merger came in 1951 when the three papers were near bankruptcy in the face of rising production costs, slumping circulations and keen competition by other news-

⁴⁶China Daily News (Southern edition), October 10, 1957.

⁴⁷Pin-Yan Hao, Business Report, June, 1956.

⁴⁸China Handbook, 1944-55, p.190.

papers on Taiwan. Ting-Li Lin, Tien-Wu Wang and Ngou-Nien Fan, publishers respectively of the People's Daily News, Min Tsu Pao and the Economic Times met one day and decided that a united edition published under the partnership of the three failing newspapers probably would bring about a better future for their journalistic ventures. Because the merger would cut down production costs, eliminate extra personnel and moreover, they could concentrate their brains on the publishing of one newspaper instead of struggling individually for existence.

The idea of merger was of course a risk but the three publishers decided to try it. Thus the merger was effected and the combined efforts of the three men materialized on September 16, 1951, when their first issue made its appearance. It was then named the United Edition with the titles of the original three newspapers compressed in the new nameplate. Later, however, it was changed to the United Daily News and in 1958 the titles of the three partner papers were deleted. This signified that their union has since become permanent.

The merger has brought a new life to the newspaper. Indeed, the United Daily News is an entirely new journalistic venture in the history of the Chinese press on Taiwan. Organizationally, the paper was made into a corporation. The three partners alternate in the posts of president of the board of directors, publisher and director.

As a corporation, the paper divided its stocks into four equal shares, one for each of the three partners and the fourth is distributed to its employees as a bonus every year.⁴⁹ The bonus awarding system is designed to make the employees feel that they are part of the business and that the success of the paper concerns all the staffs of the paper.

The United Daily News is a lively, vigorous and attractive newspaper. Its contents are compact and varied. As a newspaper slanted to the welfare of the ordinary people, it lays great emphasis on society news, economic and financial news. The emphasis on crime, sex and social scandals has brought the paper a name as an advocate of sensationalism. While there is no evidence to prove that the paper owes its popularity to its rather famous society news, it is certainly evident that society news is one of the main features that distinguishes the United Daily News from other major morning newspapers.

Good coverage of economic and financial news, nonetheless, is another important feature of the United Daily News. The paper is very popular among commercial and industrial circles. In fact, the usual place for editorial, national and international news in most newspapers,

⁴⁹The United Daily News, a brief introduction to the paper, obtained through Teh-Wei Fu, April 5, 1958.

page two, is devoted to financial news in the United Daily News except for the bottom of the page which is occupied predominantly by classified advertisements. The page normally contains a daily report of the Taipei market, listing the prices of commodities, food, chemical materials, medicine and construction materials. A small but compact section deals daily with the fluctuation in the Taipei stock market. The fish market and the commercial situation of Kaohsiung, a port at the southern tip of the island, are regular entries of the page. A column entitled "A Casual Talk on Economy" virtually has become the financial page's editorial. In pointing out to the government the severe consequence that might result from the unrealistic promulgation of regulations governing financial and monetary affairs, the column said on September 13, 1957:

In the past regulations governing financial and monetary affairs were drafted without negotiating with the physical conditions. Therefore when it came to execution, they confronted opposition and hazards. As a remedy, the regulations were amended with orders so as to rectify the mistakes. However, when too many patches were made on the original regulations, implementation would become even more complicated. The more complicated they became, the less would they be adopted...As the effects of regulations concern the welfare of many, they should be delineated with greatest care right from the beginning....

In response to the financial authorities' plans to expand overseas market for industrial products, the column had this to say in its September 11, 1957 talk:

Industrial products should first be distributed to meet the domestic demand. Exportation should come

only when there is an extra surplus after domestic demand is met. The standards for products of home use and exportation vary. The question is now whether the native product's price and quality are on a par with the international standard. If the answer is yes, exportation is justifiable so long as there is a flow of supply. However, if the answer is a negative one, there is no use of enforcing the expansion plans. Even if the expansion should be done by force, it would not work.

The United Daily News is said to have risen in prestige following the publication of a series of editorials in June, 1954, discussing the political situation, past and present, in China. The editorials, all entitled "New Cabinet, Old Problems," were published when Premier O. K. Yui⁵⁰ took office. The outspokenness and boldness of the United Daily News in publishing these important articles were said to have aided in bringing the paper into its present position as one of the major morning newspapers on Taiwan despite its sensationalism in the treatment of society news.⁵¹

Carlton Culmsee, head of the journalism department at Utah State Agricultural College and visiting professor at the Graduate School of the National Chengchi University, Taipei, for one year, had this to say about the United Daily

⁵⁰O. K. Yui, a graduate of St. John's University, Shanghai, was mayor of Shanghai in 1937, Minister of Finance 1944-48, Governor of Central Bank of China 1948-49, chairman of board of directors, Bank of Taiwan 1952, Governor of Taiwan 1953-54.

⁵¹Interview with Ho-Chin Peng, March 20, 1958.

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The vernacular United Daily News spoke out even more boldly than Kung Lun Pao [a private daily]. The directors of the paper are listed as Lin Ting-li, Fan Ngou-Nien, and Wang Tien-wu. Because the first-named was recently convicted of selling food-stuffs illegally (this case had no connection with his publishing activities), the paper is in a dubious sort of limelight. But although the dominant influence in the paper is said to be exerted by Kuomintang members, criticisms of government have been forthright.

The paper has, for example, criticized certain Chinese diplomats, not hesitating to name names. After praising an able type of man, the paper turned to the other extreme. The writer named examples of each, and then declared of the latter sort: "They get into diplomatic service through political channels or special relations. Such people should not be entrusted with important diplomatic posts. They are good for nothing...."

In response to President Chiang Kai-shek's calling for criticism on October 15, 1956, the United Daily News carried an article written by Heng-Tai Tu, an economist. The article, urging the government to restore free enterprise, was summarized in the East and West's December, 1956, issue:⁵³

Tai called upon the government to restore free enterprise to the nation's economy. Mr. Tai lamented the unbalanced dependence of the economy on U. S. aid. Tai indicated that the four year Economic Plan which ends this year has not succeeded because, while production has risen considerably, it has not kept pace with the growth in population in Taiwan. Tai pointed out that government regulation had failed in

⁵²Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1956.

⁵³East and West (a Sino-American Cultural and Economic Association publication), December 1956, p. 16.

its efforts to control the production and distribution of cement and coal, had caused overproduction in various protected industries, and had been unable to attract foreign capital. Mr. Tai saw in free enterprise the answer to Taiwan's economic problems. The writer defined free enterprise as including the freedom to start business, acquire the means of production and to market the product. Tai advised the government to take two steps to improve the business situation; one, control the price structure; two, prevent the rise of monopolies.

The United Daily News' news policy is based on public appeal, free expression and is slanted to the taste of the ordinary people. Local news rather than international news is given greater emphasis. In addition, its language is slanted to the educational background of the average people.

The paper maintains a full-time correspondent in New York who regularly airmails back features and special articles about the current political development in the United Nations as well as in the United States. Off and on he writes about the various aspects of life in the United States. The paper also has correspondents in Tokyo and Paris. For out-of-town news, the United Daily News maintains 150 correspondents and stringers in the various cities and towns on the island.

The United Daily News has a lively supplementary page. Contents of this page are entertaining in nature. Short stories or serials written by local writers or translated from foreign publications, movie reviews, pictures of local and Hollywood movie stars and their

stories are the usual tenants of this page. Every Monday there is also a women's page entitled "Women's Life." Articles in this page deals mostly with love, family, child care and housekeeping.

Although the United Daily News carries no comic strips at present, it frequently reprints political cartoons from foreign newspapers such as the San Francisco Chronicle and the London Daily Mail. For each cartoon used the United Daily News gives credit to its source.

Advertising revenue is one of the chief elements that has brought the United Daily News to its present prosperity. Unlike other major morning newspapers on the island, the United Daily News devotes a third or more of its front page to advertising. Except on page three and page six, which are occupied respectively by local, society news and the supplementary page, every other page has advertisements. Moreover, page five is given over exclusively to movie advertisements. Red color is extensively used in the advertisements. Although this makes the page look in poor taste typographically, nevertheless the advertisements are eye-appealing.

Circulation of the United Daily News has been growing rapidly since the amalgamation. Although an accurate figure is not available, the United Daily News is said to have a daily circulation of approximately 50,000. Ti-Wu Wang, the present publisher, said on September 16,

1957, on the occasion of the paper's sixth anniversary: "Not only outsiders were surprised by the unexpected progress we have made, but even we ourselves could not believe our own achievements." Liberal views, outspokenness, good coverage of economic news, popular appeal, boldness in exposing background information about politics, emphasis on local news, and its concern over the welfare of the ordinary people are the elements that have paved the way to prosperity for the United Daily News.

The Credit Information (Cheng Hsin Hsing Wen)

The Credit Information, similar in nature to the Wall Street Journal, is the one and only financial newspaper on Taiwan. Popular as a market guide among the Chinese merchants, it is one of the two largest privately owned dailies on the island, the other being the United Daily, a paper originally consolidated from three independent dailies.

Founded in 1950 and financed by the Committee on Materials Supply under the Taiwan Provincial Government, the Information was an official bulletin intended to keep the commercial circles abreast of both the economic and financial situation on the island.⁵⁴ The Information, when first published, was mimeographed, highlighting the

⁵⁴The Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

daily financial developments with particular interest in analyzing the market and in the fluctuation on commodity prices. In March the following year, the paper was suspended by the committee. However, Chi-Chung Yu, an English-educated student and former staff member of the Committee, came to the rescue. Yu raised enough money to take over the paper and continued its publication with himself as the publisher.⁵⁵ Thus the paper's ownership was transferred from official to private.

When Yu first took over the Information, the paper did not face a prosperous future. Financially, it now lacked the former backing of the provincial government. Furthermore, it had to compete with the Economic Times, a financial newspaper in regular format since 1947. However, the Times was short-lived and was consolidated in 1951 with two other newspapers to become part of the present United Daily News.⁵⁶ The consolidation left the Information as the only financial newspaper on Taiwan.

Blessed with no competition on the one hand and through the efforts of the business-minded publisher on the other, the Information strove hard to build itself a reputation as a reliable source of financial information.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

In 1954, the Information for the first time became a newspaper of regular format with four pages while it attempted vigorously to improve its contents.⁵⁷ To make the paper distinctively different from other newspapers, Publisher Yu established a quotation division to deal exclusively with the daily market situation, reporting the commodity prices and analyzing the market fluctuation. The addition of this division undoubtedly promoted the paper's position as an authoritative financial newspaper.⁵⁸ The year 1955 marked another expansion. The Information increased from four pages to six pages, thus joining the ranks of the other six-page dailies. Because of a shortage of newsprint, six pages is the standard size for dailies, under government regulations.

The title of the Information is self-explanatory with regard to its contents. In fact, commodity prices, foreign exchange rates, market fluctuation, stock markets, industrial achievements and the international market situation are the major features of the Information's contents. However, in order to meet general taste, a daily society page, a daily comic strip and a picture-page in-

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Interview with C. C. Cheng, former reporter of the Credit Information and now a graduate student at the University of Missouri, February 5, 1958.

sert, which appears regularly with the Monday paper, have been added. These new additions make the paper more lively and amusing to read. Editorially, the Information advocates industrialization and economic reconstruction on the island and calls for improving the livelihood of the people.⁵⁹ Despite its declared policy, the paper is an advocate of sensationalism. Society news, crime and sex are usually played up to whet the taste of its readers. The Information is also active in launching campaigns. In December, 1957, for example, the paper sponsored a local movie contest to select the best Taiwan dialect movies as an act toward promoting local industry. The act was one of the promotion techniques used to attract the public's attention and also to build up its circulation and advertising revenue.⁶⁰

Like most other newspapers, the Information's revenue comes from two sources, circulation and advertising. Both sources occupy equally important positions in the paper's financial standing. The United States economic aid programs perhaps have indirectly helped to build up the paper. For with the advent of the economic aid, industry and commerce flourished. The result was that more adver-

⁵⁹The Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

⁶⁰Interview with C. C. Cheng, February 5, 1958.

tising space was demanded of the paper, and that more people became interested in the economic and industrial expansion on the island.⁶¹

The Information is a multi-colored newspaper using red, black and blue ink. Printing is done on an old Japanese-made rotary press. As its printing equipment is not as modern as that of the other large dailies, typographically there is much room for improvement. However, the fact that the nameplate is red and its advertisements are red further causes the general make-up to look uneven and lack neatness. The use of red color in advertisements suits the taste of the merchants who feel that red is more eye-appealing. Unfortunately, the appeal is made at the sacrifice of good taste in typography.

Organizationally, the Information is a corporation, but in effect it is under the control of the publisher who, besides delineating the paper's policy, is responsible both for the printing and business side of the paper.⁶² The Information has about 200 employees distributed among its three departments: the news-editorial, business and mechanical. However, a majority of the employees are typesetters, an irremediable situation common to all the

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

Chinese newspapers on the island.

Under Yu's continuous management, the eight-year-old Information Credit has become a reputable newspaper in Free China, having a good coverage of general news while remaining basically a financial paper. The paper is well-circulated among the business and industrial circles, which credit it with comprehensive news reporting and reliable, up-to-date financial information.⁶³ While a definite circulation figure could not be made available, the Information was said to have printed 25,000 copies each day through July, 1957.⁶⁴

Kung Lun Pao

The Kung Lun Pao is a private morning daily published in Taipei. It was founded on October 25, 1947,⁶⁵ by a Taiwanese, Wan-Chu Li, who received his education in France at the University of Paris. Li has served as deputy speaker of the Taiwan Provisional Provincial Council, member of the Taiwan Provisional Provincial Assembly, director and chairman of the board of directors of Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao.⁶⁶ His association with the political

⁶³Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

⁶⁴Interview with C. C. Cheng, February 5, 1958.

⁶⁵Central Daily News, March 12, 1957.

⁶⁶China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 717.

forum on Taiwan has made him well acquainted with the various aspects of political affairs on the island. In addition, his early connection with Hsin Sheng Pao as first director of the paper was helpful in preparing him for operating a private newspaper, the Kung Lun Pao.

As the Kung Lun Pao, meaning public commentary, is published by a Taiwanese, it is essentially a local newspaper. As such, society and financial news as well as local affairs are given greater attention. However, the paper is also regarded as one of the more outspoken critics of the government.⁶⁷ Since Li is a member of the Young China Party, one of the two minority parties in the Republic of China, the Kung Lun Pao frequently reflects the opinions of the party, although it is not an official organ of the party. Nevertheless, the paper is both bold and straightforward in criticizing the government.

In response to President Chiang Kai-shek's request for criticism on October 15, 1956, for example, the Kung Lun Pao carried an article written by Mu-Chia Sun, a journalist, which was summarized in the East and West, an English-language monthly magazine published in Taipei, as follows:

Mr. Sun observed that this is the first time in his more than thirty years of political activity in China that the President has appealed to public opinion. The growth of bureaucracy in China has

⁶⁷Carlton Culmsee, "How Free Is the Press in Free China?" Journalism Quarterly, Fall, 1956, p. 495.

been one of the chief deterrents [sic] to political progress, commented Mr. Sun. He criticized the President, in part, for assuming the full responsibility of government control and not permitting subordinates to make policy decisions within their own spheres of activity. Sun also criticized the subordinate government leaders for not assuming their responsibilities. Mr. Sun recommended the following measures to improve the situation: (1) lift all restrictions on freedom of speech, (2) release those who have been imprisoned for blunt speech, (3) establish an investigation bureau of public opinion, (4) nominate Kuomintang candidates by party free election, (5) encourage opposition parties, (6) convoke the National Salvation Conference, (7) establish a projecting council to review and initiate government policy.

The Kung Lun Pao is frank in commenting on public affairs. In criticizing the decline of enthusiasm in local elections in 1956, the Kung Lun Pao asked bluntly in an editorial if the apathy were not due to the fact that Kuomintang candidates were usually unopposed.⁶⁸

As another example of the paper's boldness in revealing administrative inefficiency, the Kung Lun Pao based an editorial on the "Yellow Ox" or movie ticket scalper, declaring that existence of the problem reflected administrative inefficiency. It asserted, "Nobody dares to or can take thorough going measures to stop the yellow oxen...."⁶⁹ It further added:

This reflects the many handicaps in administrative inefficiency. The handicaps show that something is

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

out of tune with the many efforts at progress now on in Free China. If we do not try to cure this disease which makes one afraid of duties, afraid of reforms, unable to concentrate the responsibility but fond of perfunctory things, no troubles can ever be solved smoothly. Yellow oxen are just one simple example.⁷⁰

The Kung Lun Pao is the lowest-circulated among the major Chinese-language morning papers. The present daily circulation is estimated at 5,500. The low circulation figure naturally affects the paper's advertising patronage. While no statistics regarding its advertising revenue are available, it is apparent that the Kung Lun Pao can hardly compete successfully with other major newspapers such as the Central Daily News, Hsin Sheng Pao and the United Daily News. Its low advertising revenue may be attributed in part to the fact that the Kung Lun Pao does not use red color in its advertisements, which is a vogue among almost all other Chinese newspapers, including some of the evening newspapers.

Typographically, the Kung Lun Pao is not attractive. Because of the lack of modern facilities, its printing is not on a par with that of other newspapers. Despite its physical weaknesses, the Kung Lun Pao is highly regarded for its outspokenness, straightforwardness and boldness in criticizing the government and in pointing out

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 495-496.

administrative defects. In a country which is trying to learn the ways of democracy, the existence of such a newspaper as critic of the government administration is necessary and highly desirable.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILIES

The China News

The advent of English-language newspapers on Taiwan was in answer to the need caused by the increasing number of diplomatic missions to Free China. The foreign population, particularly American, increased steadily in the years after 1951 when Taiwan's strategic value in the Pacific Ocean was recognized by the free world in the face of successive Communist threats in that area.

The first answer was the China News, a privately-owned daily published by the China News and Publication Service. Founded in 1949 by a group of refugee newspapermen who fled to Taiwan in the wake of Communist seizure of the China mainland, the newspaper is mimeographed and compiled in the form of a bulletin usually containing twenty-five or more pages. Stanway Cheng, a graduate of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri (A.M., '37) since its founding has been director and editor of the paper. Carrying under its name-plate the slogan, "An enlightened public is the best security of a nation," it had a paid circulation of 5,500 up to December, 1957.¹ Sold at NT\$2.00 a copy (equivalent to a United States

¹Memorandum dated December 1, 1957, from Stanway Cheng.

nickel), the China News is the highest-priced newspaper on Taiwan.

It used exclusively news dispatches from the Associated Press and the Reuters at its start, but later when its circulation increased, it began to carry domestic news and a commentary. English translation of the major Chinese newspapers' editorials also appeared daily in the paper.²

As all the important newspapers in Taiwan are morning papers, the China News, being issued each day in the early afternoon, carries much fresher news than any of the other newspapers in Taiwan. On this account, it enjoys popularity among the island's English-reading public which consists of both foreigners, mostly Americans, and Chinese intellectuals.

Because of its independent and objective stand, the China News has often been regarded by both the foreign population in Taiwan and the overseas Chinese as a mirror of a free but responsible press in Free China. The China News has often been critical of government policies and administration, yet it fervently supports the nation in its overall policies of democracy and anti-communism.

"I must say ours is a very small paper but we are aggressive in our reporting and outspoken in our views. Of

²Central Daily News (Taiwan), March 12, 1957.

course, we are warmly supporting our government when there are big issues at stake. Off and on, we offer criticisms and suggestions. They are all done in good faith and with the best of intentions," said Stanway Cheng, the publisher.³

Good coverage of news, objective reporting and a fair and outspoken editorial policy have made the China News a reliable and authoritative source of information about Chinese affairs. Many foreign correspondents stationed on Taiwan have made it a practice either to quote or use the China News stories in their entirety in their dispatches. The American Embassy, the United States Information Service, the Mutual Security Mission of China under the International Cooperation Agency as well as other foreign and diplomatic missions in Taipei have depended on the China News for background information about China. The American Embassy alone sends many copies of the China News to the State Department through its diplomatic pouch everyday.⁴

The China News maintains an overseas edition which is airmailed daily to all parts of the free world. The airmail edition, consisting of both domestic news and

³Letter from Stanway Cheng, dated December 1, 1957.

⁴Memorandum from Stanway Cheng, dated December 1, 1957.

commentaries is sent out in large numbers by foreign missions to report the state of affairs inside the Republic of China to their home governments. Chinese organizations maintaining branch offices abroad also use the airmail edition to keep their staffs informed of what is going on back home.⁵

The airmail edition has been used extensively by the Chinese News Service in New York City which provides a bulletin service to American newspapers and interested organizations and individuals. The Chinese News Service in London also uses the airmail edition as a blueprint in its information service. Both news services are under the direction of the Government Information Office in Taipei.⁶

The news carried by the China News is broadcast daily by the Voice of Free China, a government-operated broadcasting station, to the outside world. The Central News Agency uses the China News for its daily newscast to Southeast Asia. The U. S. Armed Forces Radio Station in Taipei, as well as other private broadcasting stations using the English language, also rely on the facilities of the China News in their news programs.⁷

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

In comparison with the circulation status of other important newspapers in Taiwan, the China News probably is the least-circulated newspaper. Although it carries both display and classified advertisements, the advertising revenue is low. This is because of the handicap of mimeographing which physically limits the attractiveness in advertising make-up so easily done in newspapers of regular format. Therefore, at present the paper is barely self-supporting.⁸ Even so, the paper is nevertheless a vigorous medium of a free press. Director Cheng, in commenting on the financial status of the paper, says, "Being self-supporting and independent is the best asset of the China News."⁹

Although the China News is published in a mimeographed format, it is a complete newspaper in nearly every other way--with news, editorials, advertisements and a daily financial report. It is not, of course, able to carry pictures. The China News, however, in its long-range plans, has under consideration publishing in regular newspaper format. The deterrents to such an attempt at present are basically financial; as director Cheng points out, "The economic conditions on Taiwan and the still limited

⁸Letter from Stanway Cheng, dated December 1, 1957.

⁹Ibid.

circulation figures tend to discourage us from embarking on a more ambitious adventure."¹⁰

Of all its limitations, the China News, one of the only two English dailies in Taiwan is "a popular and influential news service in Free China."¹¹

The China Post

The first regular-sized and printed English-language newspaper on Taiwan is the China Post. It was founded by a husband and a wife, Mr. and Mrs. Y. P. Huang. Mrs. Huang, a graduate of the School of Journalism, Columbia University, is the publisher, while Mr. Huang, a journalist trained in Tokyo's Meiji University, handles the business side of the Post.

The Post was founded with an idea plus enthusiasm. The idea first emerged when the Huangs, having moved to Taiwan after the Communist seizure of the China mainland, realized that an English-language newspaper would be of great service to the English-speaking population on the island, then limited to about one thousand, in familiarizing them with the conditions in Free China. The idea materialized when the Huangs and their friends scraped

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹China Handbook, 1956-57, p. 216.

together the equivalent of about \$5,000 (U.S.) in the fall of 1952. With this meager capital, they rented a flat-bed printing press and hired a dozen typesetters. After registering with competent government authorities, "The only English-language newspaper in Free China" as the Post carries underneath its nameplate, made its debut on September 3, 1952.¹²

The first issues of the Post were poorly edited, inferiorly printed, and full of typographical errors. However, the combined efforts of some thirty-nine people, using primitive methods, managed to keep the paper alive. Sixteen of the thirty-nine people were not on the Post's regular staff. Of the twenty-three regular staff members, fifteen were typesetters, two were pressmen and the rest were proofreaders, clerks and office boys. The editorial staff consisted chiefly of "volunteers" who were enthusiastic in helping to publish an English-language newspaper, the first of its kind on Taiwan. The "volunteers" wrote, translated, and edited. Some worked two hours a day or longer and received either a nominal allowance or practically nothing for their work.¹³

The person responsible for splicing the paper

¹²Interview with Helen Yu, sister of the Post's publisher and former reporter of the Post, December 26, 1957.

¹³ Ibid.

together was Publisher Nancy Huang. Working as many as sixteen hours a day, she did all the page layout and handled most of the advertising and circulation matters. In addition, she covered news beats during any available spare time. When the paper was begun, a foreign news agency reported that "the sponsor of the new daily is supposed to be David Kung, son of a prominent Chinese millionaire who was finance minister during the war, Dr. H. H. Kung." The agency further pointed out that though the reports "could not be confirmed, the information is said to be quite reliable."¹⁴

In reply to the report, the Post made the following statement:

1. It is herewith announced that China Post is an independent newspaper enterprise. Its entire capital comes from the investments of some of the people who are now working on the China Post.
2. China Post had one ideal which it will try to live up to--to advocate the freedom of press.
3. Staff members of the China Post absolutely refuse to be used as the publicity instruments of any individual and of any private or public organizations.
4. For our financial backing we completely rely on our business. This publication will be suspended if we cannot make it self-supporting.¹⁵

The fact that a newly-founded newspaper had to

¹⁴CNA-INS dispatch in China News, September 3, 1952.

¹⁵China Post, September 8, 1952.

declare that "This publication will be suspended if we cannot make it self-supporting" alone helps to prove that the Post is a private, independent paper free from any strings.

The Voice of America on April 28, 1953, in introducing the China Post to its listeners, listed the difficulties confronting the paper as follows:

First of all, there was a shortage of English-language editors and writers.

Then, there was no linotype in Formosa....

A third important reason was the uncertainty of revenue which can insure the financial independence of a newspaper. The typical newspaper in the United States depends on advertising for the bulk of its revenue. In Formosa, industry had not yet learned to rely on advertising to sell, thus no newspaper could count on advertising as a major source of revenue.

It was through trial and error that Publisher Huang and her colleagues challenged the difficulties which to a newly established foreign-language paper were almost never ending and continually arising. However, the efforts they put into the enterprise eventually bore fruits. Financially, the Post came out of the red in May, 1955, and business flourished and circulation grew.¹⁶

True, there was a shortage of English-language editors in Taiwan. However, the Post has in the course of

¹⁶Interview with Helen Yu, December 27, 1957.

the years since its founding recruited several competent English editors and writers on the island. The editor-in-chief, C. J. Chen, (B.J. '24) for example, is a graduate of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. Other senior editors on the Post's editorial staff are mostly former students in America, familiar with the American way of newspapering. The Post also has an American columnist, Joe Brooks, on its staff. Brooks for five years has written the column "From a Yankee's Notebook," a gossip column.

The Post's type is set by hand. There are thirty compositors who work in two shifts. It takes about nine hours for them to complete a day's work. An automatic typesetter casts all the type needed for the paper at a speed that allows complete replacement of new body type every five days, and of most headline type every two weeks. The Post has recently bought three linotypes, but they are used only for job printing at present. As the use of a linotype would greatly change the format of the paper, and as there is a shortage of trained linotype operators in Taiwan, the Post has hesitated to use its new equipment for newspaper production.¹⁷ Printing is done on a 21 1/2 inch Marinoni rotary press which can produce approximately

¹⁷Ibid.

8,000 copies an hour.

Thirteen months after its debut, the Post was able to alter its size from a half sheet of two pages to a full sheet of four pages. By adopting small body type and an extremely condensed writing style, the editors of the Post have managed to present a fair and complete coverage of current events, both national and international. The Post depends largely on the United Press for its international news; this is supplied by teletype. News through Morse code of the Associated Press, the International News Service and the Central News Agency of China are also used, but to a lesser degree. Most of the local and state news is gathered by the Post's own reporters. An average of one-fifth of the four-page Post is occupied by advertisements. The remaining columns are devoted to editorial matter including one or two editorials, feature and special articles, news, two comic strips, "Beetle Bailey" and "The Flop Family." New attractions, such as news pictures, political cartoons have also been added to the paper.

The expansion from two pages to four pages and the improvement in quality necessitated an increase in production costs. Yet, advertising did not keep pace with the increasing circulation because of the limited size of industry and trade on Taiwan, and because Chinese merchants still did not believe in the effects of advertising. Thus, for more than twelve months the management, confronted

with the mounting expenses of the news-editorial department on the one hand and the small income from advertising on the other, simply could not make financial ends meet. For a time the accumulated debts seriously threatened the existence of the paper.¹⁸

Although the situation was bad, the prospects were not dim. The four-year reconstruction plan launched by the Chinese government with the support of the United States aid program, starting in 1953, began to show good prospects for the island's economy.¹⁹ The government was then aware that an economic and industrial build-up was mandatory in transforming the island into a stronghold in defiance of Communist aggression. With economy strengthened, new business began to boom, which meant more advertising revenue to the Post. Meanwhile, with the strategic value of the island further recognized as essential to the chain of defense in the Pacific, American military and diplomatic personnel increased in number. This meant more circulation to the paper. In fact, by the end of 1955, advertising revenue had doubled that of 1953, and circulation had increased to 6,000, also doubling the 1953

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 377.

record.²⁰

At this point, the management was faced with another serious problem. The low-speed, flat-bed printing press was unable to meet the demands of increasing circulation. Yet the profits made did not encourage the purchase of modern equipment. After months of careful planning and negotiation, however, a loan equivalent to \$10,000 (U.S.) was made available to the Post from the Bank of Taiwan. This plus the Post's own savings, enabled it to buy an old but more efficient printing press and a new building providing better working conditions for the staff. Although the newly bought rotary press could meet the increasing circulation, it left much to be desired so far as the quality of printing was concerned. The printing was not sufficiently clear and the finished product was below par in comparison with the accepted standards of a modern American newspaper.²¹

The year 1956 was marked by expansion and reorganization. The business department, for example, which had been limited to a few clerical assistants before, was strengthened with the addition of a circulation manager who took positive measures in increasing circulation. A

²⁰Interview with Helen Yu, December 28, 1957.

²¹Ibid.

general manager was appointed to take charge of the overall business side of the Post. Business and circulation agencies were established in Tokyo and Hong Kong as preliminary steps in expanding business abroad. Plans for establishing agencies in America and the Philippines were also contemplated. An example of the Post's foreign expansion in 1957 was the signing of a year's advertising contract with two American firms, the Winston Cigarette Company and the Trans-Oceanic Airways of California.²²

The present circulation, as of December, 1957, was 10,000.²³ This is considered a fairly good-sized circulation since the Post is a foreign-language newspaper. It publishes seven days a week, but without special Sunday editions as most of the American dailies do. The Post's readers consist mostly of the foreign population on Taiwan, mostly Americans, and a large number of influential individuals, government officials, civic leaders and intellectuals who find it more convenient to read international news through an English medium.²⁴

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

CHAPTER V

EVENING NEWSPAPERS

There are four evening newspapers on the island of Taiwan. All of them are published in Taipei with the exception of Chung Kuo (China) Evening News which is a local paper in Kaohsiung. The three Taipei evening newspapers are: Tah Hwa (Great China) Evening News, Tze Li (Independence) Evening Post and Min Tsu (National) Evening News.¹

At first the evening papers did not enjoy good circulations. Later, the increase in population following the retreat from the mainland gave impetus to their circulations. Sensationalism, a characteristic common to all the evening papers, plus cartoons, comics, entertaining essays, and feullitons also have contributed measurably in their success. Although the evening papers contain the latest news, both national and international, their coverage of the news is brief and concise. Local news, particularly society news, is given great emphasis. Terseness, brevity and liveliness are the characteristics of the writing style in the evening papers.

The evening papers are home-delivered. But they

¹Central Daily News (28th anniversary special edition), March 12, 1957.

are also sold in the streets by newsboys hawking at passers-by. At the middle and end of every month, all evening papers enjoy greater patronage, because the Liberty Lottery, sponsored by the Bank of Taiwan, announces its results in the afternoons of these two days. Therefore, all the evening papers issue extra editions on these two days carrying the results of the lottery. These are the heydays for both the lottery winners and the evening papers' circulations. The evening papers are priced at 0.60 NT per copy (equivalent to less than \$0.002 U.S.), but usually the rate shrinks as the evening gets late.

Tah Hwa Evening News

The founding of the Tah Hwa Evening News in 1950 was a result of the combined efforts of thirteen men. The men, all of them professional journalists, felt that a full-fledged evening newspaper was needed in Taipei, the growing metropolis on the island. Thus, after six months' preparation and planning, their paper made its debut on February 1, 1950, in Taipei.

The paper started out with a meager capital. Each of the thirteen men contributed \$1,000 NT (equivalent to approximately \$66 U.S. then) which was about the total of his two months' salary.² Typesetting then was consigned

²A Brief Introduction to Tah Hwa Evening News, a mimeographed pamphlet issued by the News, Spring, 1958.

to a printing firm, but printing was done at the plant of the Central Daily News. The news side of the paper--gathering of news, editing, proofreading and other phases of newspaper publishing--was distributed among the thirteen partners who then drew no pay for their services.

As business progressed after six months of publication, the partners reorganized the paper into a corporation. Meanwhile, a sizable capital obtained through loans facilitated the paper's growth in the ensuing years. The year 1956 marked a great change in the paper's ownership and organization. Prosperity enabled the paper to distribute stock to employees and workers who had long, meritorious service records with the paper. Meanwhile, employment increased. At present, there are sixty-nine stockholders, forty-two employees and seventy workers; in addition, there are others who work on commissions, such as advertising solicitors.³

The year 1956 saw another milestone in the paper's expansion. A new printing plant was erected. The plant, along with a rotary printing press bought in Japan, cost the paper \$2,000,000 NT (equivalent to more than \$50,000 U.S.), of which two-thirds was paid from the revenue made from circulation and advertising over the past years; the

³Ibid.

rest was obtained through a loan from a bank.⁴ Prior to April 30, 1956, printing was done by the Central Daily News. After that date, the paper did its own printing.

The present circulation according to a report from the Tah Hwa Evening News, is around 20,000 on weekdays, whereas on Sundays, the circulation approximates 25,000. Advertising takes up one-fifth of the total space. Eight-tenths of its advertising is from commercial firms, while the rest is from government bulletins. Although the paper is a profitable business, advertising revenue only constitutes 39.5 per cent of the total income with the rest being made up by circulation.⁵

Issued seven days a week, the Tah Hwa Evening News is four paged and tabloid sized. On Sundays, a picture news sheet is added. Limited space, however, does not restrict the variety of its contents. The paper, as a matter of fact, contains everything from an editorial, news both national and international, to cartoons, comics, short stories, serials, poems, translations and miscellaneous writings. Varied contents and limited space do not seem to encourage co-existence. But the Tah Hwa Evening News adopts a style which emphasizes simplicity and con-

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

ciseness. All news gathered is rewritten by rewrite men to fit into its peculiar style of writing. In its news coverage, local events are given great emphasis. In addition, news of human interest or spicy qualities are played up.

As the paper is a privately owned business, it is independent in its opinions. However, editorially, it is anti-Communist and an advocate of scientific development, the democratic way of life and freedom. Because of its independence, the paper is free from influence or interference from any source.⁶

The success of the paper as a tabloid-sized evening news sheet, apart from its varied and lively contents, lies perhaps in its management. The high efficiency of its operation has largely resulted from the fact that nearly all members of the paper, employees and workers alike, are stockholders in the paper.⁷ Thus, the success and failure of the paper directly affects their interests. This mutual interest is the key to the paper's success in business. At present, the paper is under the directorship of Hsiu-Yeh Keng, a veteran journalist, while Chien Chen, who was a graduate student (1954-55) at the Missouri School of Journalism, is the managing editor.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

Tze Li Evening Post

The Tze Li (Independence) Evening Post, an evening newspaper founded October 10, 1947, on the occasion of the Chinese National Anniversary, was not an immediate success. In fact, publication was twice suspended because of financial difficulties, and the paper was twice reorganized. But the paper's circulation climbed gradually. The year 1956 saw the paper augment its facilities by purchasing a rotary press from Japan to improve its typographical appearance.⁸

Despite the fact that all the other evening newspapers are tabloid sized, Tze Li Evening Post is the only four-paged, regular-sized paper in the evening field. More space enables the paper to use larger type both in contents and in headlines than other newspapers. Local news, particularly society news, is well covered. However, like other evening newspapers on the island, entertaining qualities in the contents are emphasized. In fact, the Evening Post, because of its space, carries more serials, feuilletons, cartoons and other types of entertainment than other evening newspapers.

Tze Li Evening Post with Yu-Chia Lee as the director is a privately owned newspaper. Its editorial attitude

⁸Central Daily News (28th anniversary special edition), March 12, 1957.

is characterized by independence and outspokenness.

For example, in discussing China's foreign policy, the Evening Post on December 18, 1955, scorned the abject view that "a weak country has no diplomacy." It said that "this wrong conception....has done great harm to the national rights and interests since the Manchu Dynasty." Moreover, the paper stoutly maintained that if the authorities responsible for formulating foreign policies have this false conception, "they should be regarded as advocates of national suicide and slaughters of national life."⁹

When the Cabinet proposed a revision of the Publication Law in March, 1958, whereby the government would be allowed to revoke the license of a newspaper if the government-issued license was improperly used repeatedly, the Evening Post flatly called the revocation of license "a death sentence" for the newspapers. Quoting the explanation of the Minister of Interior that the revision was designed to protect freedom of the press, the Evening Post asked, "What does protection mean if the government adds to the Publication Law a new article by which the government is entitled to revoke the license of any newspaper at any moment?"¹⁰

⁹Carlton Culmsee, "How Free Is the Press in Free China?" Journalism Quarterly, Fall, 1956, p. 496.

¹⁰China Post, April 13, 1958.

Min Tsu Evening News

The Min Tsu (National) Evening News was originally the second edition of Min Tsu Pao. The latter, a morning daily, was later amalgamated with two other failing newspapers to become the present United Daily News. It was not until the end of 1950 that the second edition of the Min Tsu Pao formally emerged into a full-fledged evening newspaper.

The reason the Evening News was not merged with the Min Tsu Pao is that the Evening News was on a better ground financially. In fact, it was said to be one of the first papers on the island to have used cartoons successfully. The cartoons were attributed among other things to have increased the popularity of the paper. Mention must be made that the cartoons, frequently political in tone, reflect the editorial policy of the paper.

As a tabloid-sized evening paper, the Evening News has a good circulation in its field. According to an article entitled "The Press" in the Chung Hwa (China) Year Book, 1957, the Min Tsu Evening News was estimated to have a circulation of 13,000.¹¹ To make the fullest use of its limited space, the Evening News is one of the few papers on the island that uses the space in between the inner two

¹¹Chung Hwa Year Book, 1957 (Taipei: China News Press), p. 70.

CHAPTER VI

NEWS AGENCIES AND INFORMATION SERVICES

Central News Agency

The Central News Agency, known by its abbreviation CNA, is the Republic of China's largest news service. It was only a six-man organization under the Kuomintang Publicity Board when the agency was founded in 1924 in Canton, capital of Kwangtung Province. This news agency was established to keep the people duly and accurately informed of the domestic situation as well as the international.

The history of the Central News Agency has been coincidental with the ups and downs of the Republic. In July, 1926, two years after its birth, the agency entered into a new era in its information service when President Chiang Kai-shek, then the commander-in-chief of the National Revolutionary Army, led his men in the historic Northern Expedition to do away with the warlords then standing in the way of a unified China.¹ The expedition necessitated the agency to engage for the first time in organized war reporting and in transmitting government orders.

When the National Government established its new

¹Business Correspondence of Central News Agency (30th Anniversary special issue), Fall, 1954.

capital in Nanking in 1927, the agency moved there from Canton and began to emerge as a full-fledged news agency.² The Japanese invasion of Manchuria, northeastern part of China, in 1931 gave new impetus to its growth. The Kuomintang, realizing that launching a campaign of words was equally as important as the military resistance, decided to strengthen the agency's organization and charge it further with duties of mass communication.

The appointment of T. T. Hsiao to the directorship brought new life to the agency. The then 38-year-old director, already active among the ranks of revolutionaries, was a dynamic worker from Hunan, Central China. As a young man Hsiao had published at first handbills and then a newspaper for factory workers designed to inspire them to join the revolution.³ He had come into newspaper work through his belief in the revolution which was aimed at overthrowing the corrupted Chin Dynasty and establishing the new republic. Upon his appointment, Hsiao gave up all his other duties and devoted his time wholeheartedly to transforming the agency into a modern news service. He laid down three basic principles before he took the

²Ibid.

³Interview with I-Wen Hsiao, son of T. T. Hsiao, May 8, 1958.

directorship.⁴

1. CNA should move out of the Kuomintang party headquarters and through its own efforts and in co-operation with society and newspapers strive to become a cultural enterprise; 2. CNA should be empowered to make independent decisions on choice of news without outside interference and its news should be based on speed and accuracy; and 3. CNA should be permitted to pick its own employees based on merits.

All three principles won unanimous support from the Kuomintang authorities. The change was significant in that it had enabled the agency to enter the field of professional journalism, to gear its work toward serving society and to adopt a free enterprise type management.

To bring the above-mentioned principles to fruition, Hsiao planned to set up a radio news network in seven major cities--Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin, Hankow, Hong Kong and Sian; and a ten-year expansion plan. Both plans met party approval, and the radio networks were set up one after another. This had enabled CNA to keep pace with the other news agencies in the world, particularly in radio communication.

The years from 1930 to 1936 saw continuous expansion in CNA. Its personnel alone increased from twenty-five to 350 and the agency's branch offices from four to twenty-three. Its news antenna penetrated from the coastal

⁴CNA--Past, Present and Future, Taipei, 1954
(Pamphlet in English published by the Central News Agency).

cities into the hinterland. Another improvement made during this period was the establishment of news networks in London, Paris, Tokyo, and New York. However, the unprecedented achievement made within these years was the acquisition of distribution rights of foreign agencies' news in China. The agencies were: Reuter News Agency, French Havas News Agency, the Germany Transocean News Agency, the United Press and the International News Service.⁵

The significance of these developments lay not only in the expansion of news sources and the augmentation of its organization, but was regarded more in terms of speeding up the flow of international news exchange.

The eight-year war of resistance against Japanese domination served as a trial to the news agency. The successive victories scored by the Japanese at the beginning of the war forced the National Government to move from Nanking to Hankow in November, 1937, and again to Chungking in October the next year. As the government moved from place to place, the agency followed in its wake and fulfilled its duties faithfully. For instance, at the start of the war, the Japanese bombed and destroyed the CNA's headquarters and other branch offices in the major

⁵Ibid.

cities. As many as eight CNA staff members were killed in line of duty by enemy bombings.⁶

Three features during the war years deserve attention. One was the continuous struggle behind the enemy lines to maintain underground reporting. In order to report the conditions on the various war fronts, CNA reporters working in the news outposts were the last to evacuate with the rearguards of the national troops. They even worked behind enemy lines. In Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai, for instance, CNA correspondents and radio operators worked in secrecy after these cities were occupied by the Japanese. The Tientsin bureau, for instance, was maintained for as long as five years. Through underground radio stations CNA men kept news flowing to the main office. These stations were repeatedly raided by the Japanese secret police and many CNA reporters were arrested or killed. But when one fell, another volunteered to take his place. The Hong Kong and Singapore bureaus were closed only after their occupation by the Japanese. Many of the agency's staffs underwent dangers and risked death to reach Chungking, the wartime capital of China. Others went into hiding for years before breaking through the enemy lines.⁷

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

The second feature was the fast development of war reporting. On the various war fronts, CNA sent out more than twenty teams of war correspondents, each team being equipped with portable radios. Some were ~~worked~~ on the front lines under constant enemy fire. Others penetrated enemy lines and operated with guerillas. On other war fronts, CNA war correspondents were active in General Joseph W. Stilwell's Burma Command, Admiral Louis Mountbatten's Southeast Asia Command, the United States Fourteenth Air Force, Italian Battlefront, Southwest Pacific Theatre, Central Pacific Theatre and the European fronts. Norman Soong, a graduate of the School of Journalism (A.M., '35) University of Missouri, was the first and only Chinese newsman to ride with the superfortresses that bombed Japan and Northeast China. Other CNA war correspondents participated in beachhead landings with the United States Army and Marines in the Pacific.⁸

The third feature was the supply of background information of the war to foreign correspondents. CNA, being the leading news service, dutifully became the main source of Chinese war news for them. The China Fortnightly, a magazine published by CNA, became a valuable source of information about wartime China.⁹

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

Adverse conditions of the war did not, however, destroy the spirit of the Central News Agency. On the contrary, not only did it withstand the test, but it grew stronger and stronger as the war progressed. In all eight years of war, the agency never for a day suspended its supply of news to newspapers at home and abroad. Furthermore, CNA expanded from twenty-three domestic branch offices to thirty-nine; from four overseas offices to eleven. Its personnel increased from 350 in 1936 to 1,250 in 1945.¹⁰

The years 1946 to 1948 saw the expansion of the Central News Agency. The unconditional surrender of Japan in August 15, 1945, opened a promising future for the agency.

In April, 1946, the agency moved from Chungking to reestablish its headquarters in Nanking. Before its removal the agency had sent veteran correspondents to the Battleship USS Missouri, to Hong Kong, Hanoi, Nanking, Taiwan, and various strategic points in the mainland to cover the Japanese surrender and to report the grand finale of World War II. Meanwhile, other CNA reporters were rushed to all major cities to take over the facilities of the news agencies the Japanese had established during the

¹⁰Ibid.

occupation. Thereafter, nineteen domestic branch offices and eight overseas bureaus were either reopened or newly established.¹¹

The Communist revolt in 1948 halted the fast growth of the agency. Immediately before the seizure of the China mainland by the Communists, the agency had fifty-two domestic branch offices, twenty-five foreign bureaus and 2,654 staff members and employees.¹² On the business side, two important projects were launched. One was the erection of a modern radio station in Nanking. The new communication center comprised fifteen buildings, housing two powerful 20-kilowatt units and eight other small transmitters. Through the sky-scraping radio towers, CNA news could reach every corner in the world. The other project was the construction of a seven-story main office. The building was to be equipped with all facilities of a modern news agency. Two floors were to be designated for accommodation of foreign correspondents and visiting Chinese newsmen.¹³

While the building was still under construction, the Chinese Communists seized most of the China mainland. In January, 1949, the Central News was again on the road,

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

following the government on another exodus.

Mention must be made of the reorganization of the agency into a business enterprise. The agency was placed under control of the government in 1948. It was then planned that within a reasonably short period the agency should become the "Associated Press" of China under the joint control of all Chinese newspapers.¹⁴ However, because of the adverse conditions in the face of Communist full-scale revolt, the plan was temporarily shelved, although the principle has never been given up.

In fact, working as a first step toward converting the Central News Agency into the "Associated Press of China," a nine-member supervisory committee, equivalent to the board of directors of a business firm, was formed in October, 1950, after the agency's removal to Taipei.¹⁵ The committee, composed of newspaper publishers and information officials, was headed by T. T. Hsiao, who had been director of the Central News Agency for eighteen years. In Hsiao's place, Hsu Pai Tseng, former deputy director of Government Information Office, took the directorship.

The past eight years on Taiwan has brought new life to the Central News Agency. Constant improvement in news

¹⁴China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 191.

¹⁵Ibid.

coverage, in communicative methods and steady expansion in business have been exerted. Among the achievements made was the establishment in 1953 of a Western European Bureau, which made possible the extension of its news network from London to Paris, Berlin, Bonn and to the very edge of the Iron Curtain.

At present the Central News maintains the following bureaus:¹⁶

Domestic: Quemoy, Makung, Kaoshiung, Tainan, Taichung, Hualien and Keelung.

Foreign: New York, San Francisco, Washington, Paris, Berlin, Bonn, Madrid, Singapore, Bangkok, Manila, Tokyo, Seoul, Hong Kong and Macao.

Organizationally, the agency has five departments. They are: editorial, English, reporting, communications, and translation and compilation departments.¹⁷

The editorial department, in addition to editing the daily Chinese newscasts, devotes sixteen hours every day to keep a continuous flow of domestic and international news to all the local newspapers and broadcasting stations.

¹⁶CNA--Past, Present and Future, 1954.

¹⁷Business Correspondence of Central News Agency (30th Anniversary special issue), Fall, 1954.

The English department is responsible for drafting and sending out English newscasts. Apart from this, it is responsible for training foreign correspondents. In fact, eighty per cent of Chinese newsmen working abroad were trained by this department. Proficiency in the English language and in typing are the pre-requisites for personnel working in this department.¹⁸

For news gathering, the head office in Taipei depends on the reporting department. However, when major news breaks occur abroad, a mobile force composed both of the reporting and English departments are sent there. These fast-moving forces either cover the stories or reinforce the local bureaus.

The work of the communications department is divided into two categories: communications and engineering. The former is responsible for receiving news reports from the branch offices, foreign news agencies and for sending newscasts to CNA subscribers. The latter is chiefly responsible for the maintenance, repair, technical planning and improvement of communication techniques. One of the recent improvements in communicative methods was the installation of a Japanese facsimile machine in June, 1952, replacing the old coding and decoding system. Beginning

¹⁸Ibid.

in November, 1953, the agency had put into use its previously purchased radioprinter machines to receive United Press news. Through the control center in the agency, news is relayed to teletypes installed in the various Taiwan newspapers with which CNA has contacts.¹⁹

The Central News Agency, with a past history of thirty-three years, is undoubtedly Free China's oldest and largest news agency. In all these years, it has worked toward serving the public with reliable, first-hand information, and toward promoting international exchange of news. To the Chinese, CNA stands for speed and accuracy in news reporting. A telegram from the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain on the thirtieth anniversary of the Central News in 1954 perhaps may indicate the position of the Central News in its alliance with other world news agencies. The telegram, translated in part, reads,

As a supreme news agency in Free China, the Central News Agency has a most important mission--to report to the free world the situation developing daily in these adverse areas....The future of the free people everywhere relies on a complete understanding among themselves. This understanding can only be made possible through a continuous and free exchange of true information. While extending our good wishes on the thirtieth anniversary of the Central News Agency, we hope this valuable contribution (on the part of the CNA) toward world peace will be continued.²⁰

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

The Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance

The Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance was organized in 1949 as an international news-gathering agency operating in Asia.²¹ It was started by two alumni of the School of the University of Missouri, Kyatang Woo and Norman Soong. Woo (B.J.'35), former managing editor of China Press, an English-language daily published in Shanghai, and later news editor of Shanghai Shun Pao, was the executive editor while Soong (A.M.'35), former chief of the Tokyo Bureau of the Central News Agency, was the managing editor. Later, Kyatang Woo left the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance and is now editor of the English-language Hong Kong Standard in Hong Kong.

The idea of establishing the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance occurred to the two classmates after the Communist seizure of the China mainland. They realized that a news agency, independently organized and operated by Asians reporting objectively the news in Asia, was needed.²² It was then felt that news coverage of Asia, done by foreign news services, was often prejudiced and slanted to the needs of foreign newspapers, leaving considerable room

²¹China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 191.

²²Wei-Tung Ting, "The Development of the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance," Pao Hsiu, 1951, p. 147

for better coverage and more authentic interpretation.²³ As a news agency operated by Asians, the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance therefore aimed at serving Asian newspapers with good coverage of news happening in Asia.

The physical press conditions in post-war Japan were also instrumental in inspiring the founding of the Alliance. It was first established in Tokyo at a time when the press in occupied Japan, being unable to send newsmen abroad, was eager to see the establishment of an Asian-operated news organization that would report the news, particularly about the changes on the China mainland, reliably and objectively. The Japanese interest in the changes on the China mainland, caused by the Communist rebellion, had an early beginning. Before the fall of Nanking and Shanghai to the Communists, at least four well-trained Chinese newsmen were employed by some of the major Japanese newspapers to cover the mainland conditions. In view of this situation, the Alliance began its service by providing systematic news reports about the China mainland and other parts of Asia to the Japanese newspapers. The reports, being objective and avoiding propaganda elements, had won the confidence of the Japanese press. This greatly facilitated the development of the Alliance.²⁴

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

At the start, the Alliance's operation was limited only to providing correspondence, features and news photographs. Later, as business progressed, it began to furnish regular news~~cast~~ service in Tokyo, Taipei, Manila and Hong Kong. Moreover, it successfully recruited membership newspapers from countries and territories all over Asia: China, Japan, The Philippines, Hong Kong, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Burma, India and Pakistan.²⁵

The outbreak of the Korean War brought new impetus to the growth of the Alliance as evidenced in its increase in news dispatches. The expansion during this period is accounted for largely by the ability and enthusiasm of the two Missouri alumni. It was said that their office in Tokyo was then like that of a military headquarters. A 1/250,000 Korean map was hung on the wall. The map was dotted with little red and blue flags showing the current developments of the war.²⁶ Both Woo and Soong made frequent trips to the battlefronts in Korea to obtain first-hand information. Woo was a fast writer. Once, after a press conference at which President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea presided, Woo wrote his report in ten minutes after he and other reporters were taken to their

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Kwan-Chuen Lu, "Newsmen in Korean War," Pao Hsiu, 1951, p. 108.

quarters. He was the first to send his report to Tokyo while other reporters were lined up for their turns to use the telephone booth.²⁷

The news-gathering technique of the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance concentrates only on the most important issues. For instance, when General MacArthur was relieved of his duties in the Far East, the Alliance put all its efforts on this single event. When the armistice talks began in Korea, it switched its focus of attention to Panmunjon, the place where the talks were held. To further illustrate this news-gathering technique, it was Norman Soong who was first on hand to discover and photograph the Communist movement in areas contradictory to the neutralization agreement. This had caused General Ridgway, the supreme commander of the United Nations Forces to order that the talks be terminated. The mobile Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance is always on the go whenever or wherever a major news story breaks. At the signing of the Japanese Treaty in San Francisco in September, 1951, Norman Soong and Kyatang Woo were there. All these examples show that the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance displays news initiative and enterprise.²⁸

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Peng Yao, "On Comprehensive Reporting," Pao Hsiu, January, 1952, p. 62.

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²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Peng Yao, "On Comprehensive Reporting," Pao Hsiu, January, 1952, p. 62.

The outstanding service of the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance during the Korean War brought renewed recognition to the organization from the Asian press. PANA, the abbreviation of the organization, has become well known to the newspaper readers since the Korean War.

One of the biggest merits of the Alliance is that it is an entirely private organization. As such, it has no connection with the Chinese government and therefore its reports are objective and independent except that the Alliance is anti-Communist. The independent stand of the Alliance is the biggest asset of the organization and its reputation as a reliable news source has been built on this. In news-writing, the Alliance is noted for its fresh, lively and vigorous style, and its features are injected with strong human interest. Most of the agency's news file is sent out in the English language.

Thus, today, the Pan-Asia Newspaper Alliance is one of the most outstanding news agencies in Asia. An international news agency, the Alliance serves fifty-six newspapers and eleven periodicals in twelve countries and maintains news bureaus in the following cities: Seoul, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta, New Delhi, Karachi and Djakarta.²⁹

²⁹China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 191.

The China News and Publication Service, Ltd.

The China News and Publication Service, Ltd. is another privately owned news agency. It was founded in June, 1949, by a group of liberal Chinese refugee newspapermen from the mainland,³⁰ namely, James Wei (the present publisher), Stanway Cheng and others.

The Service, which publishes the mimeographed China News, an English-language daily, distributes both foreign and domestic news. The mimeographed sheet is in actuality the establishment's principal release. The Service is the sole distributor of Reuter news on Taiwan. Besides being an agent for the International News Service of America on Taiwan, Stanway Cheng, the director of the Service, is a correspondent for this American news agency.³¹ With the co-operation of two Chinese dailies, the Service also contracts for the exclusive use of the Associated Press worldwide service in the Taiwan area.³² Because of the personal relations of the Service's publisher and director with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Service is renowned for its authoritativeness in the coverage of

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Taiwan Directory, 1955, p. 60.

³²Letter from Stanway Cheng, March 8, 1958.

diplomatic news.

The China News and Publication Service serves practically all the leading Chinese-language morning and afternoon newspapers published on the island. More than ten newspapers are buying daily China News international and domestic news services.³³ To cover international news, the Service at present maintains correspondents in Hong Kong, Tokyo, Beirut and New York.

The China News and Publication Service is still a growing news agency, and it is equipped with radio teleprinters which enable it to supply its clients with news in the original form from all over the world. This service makes it possible for the clients to select from among the full and original news copies.

As a modern news agency, the China News and Publication Service also maintains telephone service to a number of special clients for both foreign and commercial spot news. The telephone subscribers are provided with up-to-the-minute tip-off service day and night.³⁴

Because of the limited size of the English-reading public on Taiwan, the operation of an English news service is necessarily confined to a small scope. Nevertheless,

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

the China News and Publication Service, along with other news enterprises on the island, is looking forward to making constant improvements in order to get worldwide news into the island through the fastest channel. Although modern communication facilities are expensive, the importance of such modern means as the radio teleprinters is not overlooked. Stanway Cheng, in reflecting on the need of modern communication facilities by the Chinese press on Taiwan, said, "Most of the papers here are served with radio teleprinter service although sometimes they can hardly afford to pay for such modern mass communication service."³⁵

To provide its readers a general picture of the various aspects of the island, the China News and Publication Service annually publishes a Directory of Taiwan in English. The directory, containing factual and up-to-date information both in words and pictures, fills a need of the English-reading residents as well as tourists, for vital information about Taiwan.

Government Information Office

The Government Information Office is the official spokesman of the administration. Organizationally, it is

³⁵Ibid.

under the Executive Yuan, the highest administrative organ of the Central Government of the Republic of China. Head- ing the Office is Dr. Sampson C. Shen (D. Litt, '45, Benares University, India), former secretary to President Chiang Kai-shek.³⁶

The operation of the Government Information Office is divided into three departments. The First Department takes charge of domestic publicity and liaison work with the Chinese press and issues press releases for the government. It also issues statements for the President and Vice-President of the Republic, the Premier, and the ministers of different ministries. The Second Department is responsible for international publicity. It issues publications in English and in several other foreign languages for distribution abroad. In addition, it also translates into English important speeches made by government leaders and other reference materials. As part of its duties, the department also provides publicity and reference materials for Chinese missions and consulates abroad. Material-collecting and research are the duties of the Third Department. One of the department's chief functions is to translate materials in foreign languages into Chinese for distribution among the related organi-

³⁶China Handbook, 1956-57, p. 758.

zations and government offices for reference use. Apart from these three departments, there is also a Public Relations Section which is responsible for making arrangements for foreign visitors and reporters to visit Free China and rendering free services to resident foreign correspondents.³⁷

The Government Information Office holds regular press conferences every Friday and such other press conferences as the occasion may dictate. Usually there are two kinds of conferences. One is given by the chief of a government department, who answers questions concerning his own department, while the other is given by the military and foreign affairs spokesman. There were sixty-four such press conferences held in 1955. Meanwhile, in the same year, 296 foreign correspondents made use of the various services and facilities provided by the Office. Following is the breakdown of the foreign correspondents by nationalities:³⁸

U.S.A.	219	Germany	3
Britain	29	Denmark	2
Japan	10	Switzerland	2
France	9	Vietnam	2
Korea	9	India	1
Australia	4	Italy	1
Philippines	4	Sweden	1

³⁷Ibid., pp. 216-217.

³⁸Ibid., p. 217.

The Information Office maintains several offices abroad. The Chinese News Service in New York, for instance, is one of its foreign operations.

Other News Agencies and Official Information Services

- (1) The Office of Information, Ministry of National Defense.

The Office of Information, founded January 1, 1956, is an organization under the Ministry of National Defense. Its primary mission is to provide a free flow of unclassified military information to the public through various news media.³⁹

As an official military news source, its releases are mainly in the form of combat bulletins, war news or stories and also news pictures. The Office keeps close contact with representatives of all newspapers and news agencies and answers queries on combat information and verifies news reports concerning military affairs.⁴⁰

One of its functions as a military information service is to process newsmen's requests for visits to military bases and installations, and to escort them to such visits. In addition, it also arranges the representation of the press at important military ceremonies

³⁹Ibid., p. 218.

⁴⁰Ibid.

and maneuvers and conducts newsmen's tours to the military bases on the offshore islands. ⁴¹

(2) The Information Department of the Taiwan Provincial Government

The Information Department was established on August 21, 1947. It daily issues press releases, statements, and news pictures for the Governor's Office and various departments, bureaus, and offices of the Provincial Government. The Information Department is also responsible for handling the registration of newspapers and magazines published on Taiwan. Among other official functions, the Information Department edits and distributes various pamphlets and pictorials to acquaint the people with the developments in the province and the progress of the provincial administration. A movie studio which produces newsreels as well as documentary films for free exhibition is also under the management of this department. ⁴²

(3) The China Union Press

The China Union Press is a news agency engaged in gathering news from the China mainland and information from behind the enemy lines. ⁴³ It is an authoritative

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., p. 219.

⁴³Ibid., p. 216.

news agency in these fields. Because its news releases are reliable, foreign correspondents in Taipei often quote or use the China Union Press' news reports as a source of information for facts about the China mainland. Some of the Hong Kong newspapers are also clients of the China Union Press.⁴⁴ The press now maintains branch offices both in Hong Kong and Bangkok. The director of the China Union Press is Chi Hsieh.

(4) The Cheng Hsin News Agency

Besides publishing the Cheng Hsin Hsing Wen (Credit Information), the only newspaper on the island that is slanted primarily toward financial news coverage, the Cheng Hsin News Agency specializes in financial, commercial and economic news.⁴⁵ It is a privately owned news agency.

⁴⁴Yao, op. cit., p. 64.

⁴⁵China Handbook, 1956-57, p. 216.

CHAPTER VII

FREEDOM OF PRESS IN CHINA

A. Constitutional Guarantees of the Press

There have long been controversies as to whether or not the Chinese press on Taiwan is free. Called Free China in contrast with the tyrannical Communist regime on the mainland, the Republic of China has a constitution guaranteeing freedom of the press. The Chinese Constitution, promulgated on January 1, 1947, has two specific articles dealing with the press freedom.

Article XI reads: The people shall have the freedom of speech, academic instructions, writing, and publications.

Article XXIII reads: All the freedoms and rights enumerated in the preceding Articles may not be restricted by law, except for reasons of preventing infringement upon the freedoms of other persons, averting an imminent crisis, maintaining social orders, or advancing general welfare.¹

After the promulgation of the Constitution, the Legislative Yuan undertook to revise the old press law, which has been in force for the previous fifteen years. Long and hot debates continued in the Legislative Yuan in its successive sessions. It took almost five years to finish the work and a revised press law was eventually

¹China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 187.

enacted in April, 1952. The main features of the law remained unchanged.²

In the first place, it provides a system of registration for all publications, including newspapers, magazines, and other printed matters. The qualifications of a publisher or an editor are also listed.³

Secondly, it stipulates certain conditions under which a publisher shall be punished: for example, to commit, or to incite others to commit, crimes of treason, insurrection or espionage; to disturb, or to incite others to disturb, the public order; and to commit, or to cause others to commit, acts of moral turpitude.⁴

Thirdly, it provides that in time of war or an emergency, when the government, as authorized by the Constitution, takes measures to deal with any unforeseen crisis, it may ban or limit the publication of certain items, such as military, political, or diplomatic secrets, which tends to endanger public security.⁵

B. Press Freedom on Taiwan

The Chinese government on Taiwan, endeavoring to

²Ibid., p. 188.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

democratize the republic, is aware that a free press is indispensable if democracy is to prevail. However, against a background of overlapping crises arising notably from the Japanese aggression up to the recent Communist rebellion, a ripe fulfillment of democratic ideals on the American plan is not considered feasible. In fact, even at present Free China is still at war with the Communist Peiping regime. War makes it necessary for a country to restrict its press because the security of the country hinges to a large degree on the control of information salutary to the enemy. Yet, the Chinese press on Taiwan enjoys the amount of freedom as guaranteed by the Constitution and cautions against the limitations prescribed in the press law.

Testimony by Ernest Hoberecht, United Press vice president, who had had 15 years of journalistic experience in the Far East, may be of interest.

I know, he said, that in these countries (The Republic of China and the Republic of Korea) as well as many other Asian countries there are many people fighting hard to maintain free press....As far as press reports are concerned, I would say foreign correspondents in Free China and South Korea have and are still enjoying complete freedom.⁶

Examples of what has been printed by newspapers on

⁶Carlton Culmsee, "How Free Is the Press in Free China," Journalism Quarterly, Fall, 1956, p. 493.

Taiwan provide more concrete evidence of effective freedom of expression and independence of the Chinese press.

The English-language China Post is a supporter of the government and of patriotic and anti-Communist activities, but sometimes it voices strong criticism of the government and the Kuomintang.

In the winter of 1955-56, for example, when the national legislature held a series of secret meetings, the Post, in its editorial, stated that such sessions violated

the basic spirit of the law-making body which, constitutionally, represents the general public....

That some meetings on foreign policy or military build-up should be held in secrecy is justifiable. But there are closed meetings on purely domestic issues....We think that the secrecy of such meetings is far from justifiable....

We fully agree with law-maker Sa when he said that sessions of the Legislative Yuan should be held open unless there are absolutely necessary reasons for secrecy. Let's not forget these qualifying words, absolutely necessary.⁷

On April 1, 1956 the China News, the mimeographed English-language daily, carried a "Stop Press!" story headlined, "Mao Denounces Stalin as Double-Crosser." It was made to appear that Peiping had broken a week-long silence concerning Khrushchev's attack on Stalin. Later that day two Chinese-language newspapers, including the

⁷Ibid., p. 494.

Kuomintang-sponsored Central Daily News, printed translation of the News story. The original story in the News was a hoax and, although the Chinese delight in a joke, some high officials evidently were not amused at being made "April fools." The Taipei correspondent for Agence France Presse, in a story in the Hong Kong Tiger Standard, an English daily operated by overseas Chinese, reported:

The entire Kuomintang....was taken in by the fabricated story. Even President Chiang Kai-shek took a deep interest....It turned out, according to the report, the publisher who printed the translated version have become involved in hot water with the Presidential Office.⁸

If this was true, the News editors showed no contrition or anxiety at the results of their prank. On April 4 the News carried an editorial entitled "Local Elections Slipping," describing a "lack of enthusiasm among those eligible to vote for magistrates and sub-district chiefs in Taichung and Tainan counties." The editorial held that dominance of Kuomintang as the best explanation of the facet that fewer than 20 per cent of the voters cast "their sacred ballots." The editorial went on to say:

There were usually no contenders except the lone candidates backed by the ruling party. Due to maneuvering by party-workers, most of the other rivals either dropped out abruptly or were prevailed upon to give up the race....

⁸Ibid., p. 495.

We must check and counter such passive resistance on the part of the voting public in the local polls. Otherwise, we could not consider local self-government is making progress on the island after the initial success.⁹

The Chinese-language dailies are equally critical of the government. Among them, Kun Lun Pao is regarded as one of the more outspoken critics. The paper is privately-owned and published by a Taiwanese, Li Wan Chu, who received his education at the University of Paris in France.¹⁰ Like the China News, the paper discussed the decline in enthusiasm in local elections, attributing the apathy to the fact that Kuomintang candidates were usually unopposed.¹¹

The vernacular United Daily News is even more outspoken than Kun Lun Pao in criticizing the government. On June 25, 1954, an editorial in the United Daily News inveighed against the government's foreign policy by saying:

After the Yalta Conference of 1954, China was placed in an unenviable position. Why did our government conclude a "Treaty of Friendship" with Soviet Russia when we could forecast the Red peril threatening our country? After we had established all unequal treaties through eight years of anti-Japanese war, why should we conclude with Soviet

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 717.

¹¹Culmsee, op. cit., p. 495.

Russia such a new treaty impairing our territorial integrity and political independence?....In the last 20 years, Chinese foreign policy has been in a state of vacillation.¹²

The Free China Fortnightly, a Chinese-language magazine once edited by the scholarly Hu Shih, ambassador to the United States from 1942 to 1945 and former president of the University of Peking, is rated by some as "Exhibit A" among Free China's free publications.¹³

Frank and bold, the magazine in an article entitled "Leave It to the Judgment of History?" criticized Premier O. K. Yui after he had shrugged off a legislator's inquiry about government administration and problems of the people's livelihood. The magazine responded differently when the premier said that only history could pass an objective judgment on the achievements of government officials "who had placed their entire spiritual and physical energy at the service of the government." The article in the Free China Fortnightly retorted by saying:

Although we love and support Premier O. K. Yui, we love our country more. Since Premier Yui's cabinet was formed about 20 months ago,....what exactly has it accomplished so far?....As far as impartial public opinion can judge, among higher officials there are not a few who are dawdling and incompetent and utterly unqualified for their responsible jobs. Can Premier Yui close his eyes

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 497.

to the doings of these people and leave their "achievements" to the judgment of history?¹⁴

The Central Daily News, a Kuomintang party organ, does not lag behind when the subject of press freedom is discussed. On September 1, 1957, the annual Newsmen's Day, the Daily News carried an article entitled "On Freedom of Press" which said in part:

Not only we journalists should enjoy the freedom of press and not abuse it, but the society and the government should also respect that freedom and not fear it. Thus the freedom of press, not abused and feared, will manifest its function as the foundation of democracy.¹⁵

C. Government Promotion of Freedom of Expression

The examples cited in the preceding section will give evidence of the degree of freedom the press has on Taiwan. However, they show only how dutifully the press has been working to maintain such freedom in a country where democracy is still in its infancy. The following examples will show how important the government concerns public opinion.

On October 15, 1956, President Chiang Kai-shek called upon the nation to criticize the government and the President himself with respect to six facets of state

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Central Daily News, September 1, 1957.

affairs:¹⁶

(1) What should be done or undone to convert Taiwan into a model province where the Three People's Principles is carried out in earnest?¹⁷

(2) How to increase the effectiveness of the four reform movements (political, social, economic and educational) and reduce the evils of political manipulation and bureaucratism?

(3) How to enforce wartime austerity and avoid extravagance in wartime living?

(4) Practicable suggestions on how to rally all anti-Communist and anti-aggression forces and bring about a unity of minds among the Chinese people?

(5) What courses of action should be allowed in the anti-Communist struggle and in the effort to recover the China mainland?

(6) Constructive criticisms of the President's private and public life and conduct.

The following is the summarized form of some of the criticisms and suggestions that have appeared in the Taiwan press:

Dr. Hu Shih, former president of the University of

¹⁶"Taiwan Commentary," East and West (a Sino-American Cultural and Economic Association publication, published each month by Chen En-cheng), Taipei, Taiwan, December, 1956, p. 14.

¹⁷The Three People's Principles, originated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic of China, stress nationalism, people's rights, and people's livelihood. They form the basic political doctrine of the Kuomintang and constitute the highest guiding principles of the Chinese government.

Peking, wrote in both the Central Daily News and the Free China Fortnightly that President Chiang Kai-shek should depend more on his subordinates in the government and not to retain such tight control over the conduct of the government. He also pointed out that the Chinese Constitution does not vest executive authority in the President but in the Executive Yuan.¹⁸

Free China Fortnightly called upon the President in its editorial to prepare the nation to govern itself without having to look always to the President for every facet of leadership. The editorial suggested that the President consider three tasks:

One, to prepare the nation to select candidates to succeed the President by encouraging the emergence of strong opposition parties which will provide the mechanism for choosing the candidates; two, to provide for the establishment of a responsible cabinet, responsible to the people in general rather than to the President personally; three, to nationalize the armed forces by dispelling the loyalty of officers and troops to individuals and transferring that loyalty to the nation as a whole.¹⁹

Pei-Ho Tsai, chairman of the Chinese Red Cross, in Hsin Sheng Pao (New Life Journal), advised the President to limit his activity to commanding the armed forces, to making only top-level decisions and to delegating all

¹⁸"Taiwan Commentary," East and West, Taipei, December, 1956, p. 14.

¹⁹Ibid.

other matters to his subordinates.²⁰

Tzu-Shui Mao, professor of National Taiwan University, cited in Free China Fortnightly that freedom, democracy and obedience to law are the modern trinity and attributed the loss of the mainland to failure of the government to observe this trinity. Mao stated that the government must set the example for the people by strictly adhering to the letter of the law.²¹

Chi-Tien Chen, a Youth China Party leader pointed out in the United Daily News that the ruling party had not permitted the minority parties to engage in peaceful activities before and during the Sino-Japanese War and that the two minority parties (the other being the Democratic Socialist Party) had not enjoyed a normal development. He suggested that the ruling party could facilitate the growth of the minor parties by four courses of action:

One, by protecting the freedom of expression; two, by giving help to private newspapers; three, by encouraging opposition candidates in all local elections; four, by encouraging the members of the Control and Legislative Yuans to freely express their opinions.²²

The Kuomintang-sponsored Central Daily News was

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 15.

²²Ibid.

also involved in the rally. It carried an article by Chiang Yun-tien, a leader of the Democratic-Socialist Party, which dealt with converting Taiwan into a model province under the Three People's Principles. Chiang commented that the principles of nationalism should differ from that of Naziism and Fascism by being non-exclusive. Referring to democracy, he advised the Kuomintang to abandon its paternalistic control of the nation and to allow the people to rule themselves. Chiang held that in order to realize the Three People's Principles on Taiwan the Kuomintang would have to abandon its special position and carry out these reforms: respect the people's rights and personal freedom, refrain from using government machinery to further its partisan program, free all military and security personnel from party alignment.²³

Meng-Wu Sa, dean of the National Taiwan University Law School, blamed bureaucratism for most of the political trouble of the government. It is the system, he pointed out, that makes the officials irresponsible and which must first be reformed so as to facilitate political achievements. To solve the problem of bureaucratism, Sa offered two points: one, assign one job to one agency to avoid overlapping and duplicating functions; two, clearly define

²³Ibid.

jurisdiction of agencies.²⁴

Fu-Kuan Hsu, professor at Tunghai University, elected to discuss the sixth point on which the President desired criticism--criticism of the President's personal conduct. Hsu's article, printed in the Free China Fortnightly, was summarized in the East and West, an independent English-language monthly.

Hsu noted that the President's strong will, backed by moral strength, has developed a stubbornness which [Sic] often serves the nation poorly. Hsu asserted that the President's advisers and assistants have served him badly by carefully screening all information that comes to his attention so as to avoid upsetting the President. This has only served to widen the discrepancy between the President's view of things and the reality of things. He also criticized the President's inability to take honest advice. He also found fault with the members of the government who use the President's name to accuse opposition elements of opposing the President and thereby becoming traitors to the party.²⁵

The bold and straightforward attitude of the Chinese press in their criticism of the administration and the President further suggests the extent of freedom the press enjoys on Taiwan. There is no press censorship of any kind before a newspaper is printed. But all printed matters are checked by the security officers after their publication.²⁶ As war is still on, "one might expect

²⁴Ibid., pp. 15-16.

²⁵Ibid., p. 17.

²⁶China Handbook, 1954-55, p. 188.

restrictions on the release of information of military value, and certainly there is the type of censorship at the source in Taiwan."²⁷ The editors are held responsible for the printed words. There are no statutes limiting press freedom as to what to play up and what no to, but in the face of Communist aggression the newspapers are not expected to print materials that would give aid and comfort to the enemy. As public informants and carriers of ideas and opinions, the newspapers are expected to raise morale, foster an anti-Communist ideology and enlighten the public.

The Kuomintang is often criticized as sponsors of party press. In fact, some of the largest-circulation newspapers on Taiwan are party-operated and there is one, the Hsin Sheng Pao which is sponsored by the Taiwan Provincial Government. Yet their roles are not merely official organs of the party, they serve, with their diverse opinions on various subjects, to enlighten the public.

Carlton Culmsee, dean of humanities and sciences as well as head of journalism department of Utah State College, wrote in the Journalism Quarterly (Summer, 1956) after a year's stay on Taiwan:

Among the publishers and executives of some of these privately operated newspapers are Kuomintang party members. But it is unwise to assume that the

²⁷Culmsee, op. cit., p. 499.

party has in all ways a monolithic character. On the broad aim of reuniting China it is safe to say that virtually all are agreed, but on certain other issues and on means and methods there is considerable disagreement....²⁸

Concluding his article entitled "How Free Is the Press in Free China," Professor Culmsee said:

The Chinese Constitution gives them [the journalists] a basis on which they can build. Within and without the Kuomintang there are genuinely liberal elements, working toward freedom. These are elements we can not ignore.²⁹

The Chinese Publication Law which was officially made public on December 16, 1930, has been revised many times. But the main features and the spirit of the law have remained virtually unchanged. The last revised version was enacted in April, 1952, after almost five years of debates and discussion in the Legislative Yuan, the law-making body in the Chinese government.

Recently, however, a proposed revision of the Publication Law, drafted by the Ministry of Interior, was introduced to the Legislative Yuan for passage by the Cabinet on March 28, 1958. The proposed bill revised eighteen of the forty-five articles while two more articles were added. The most important points in the bill were summarized in the April 13 issue of the English-language

²⁸Ibid., p. 500.

²⁹Ibid., p. 501.

China Post as follows:

If a newspaper publishes anything which the government thinks should not have been published, that newspaper may be given a warning; three successive warnings will make the paper liable to suspension of publication for a certain period of time, and three successive suspensions will automatically be followed by cancellation of its registration.

This has touched off a wide-spread indignation among the Chinese newspapers and pressmen. However, according to Chiung Chin Tien, Minister of Interior, the government has no intention to restrict freedom of the press. In a statement issued through the Central News Agency, he urged the press not to misunderstand the main purpose of the proposed revision of the Publication Law which was designed "to prevent yellow journals from flooding the market." He explained that the revision "does not grant city and Hsien (equivalent to United States county) government the right to close down any newspaper or magazine." They cannot close down any publication unless it is approved by the Ministry of Interior, he added. On the contrary, he said, the proposed revision is meant to protect freedom of the press by limiting the wide circulation of improper publications. Commenting on the revised article which grants the government the right to revoke the registration card of any publication, Tien said that from the legal point of view, the government is entitled to revoke the registration card which it has granted to a publisher

if that card has been used improperly or illegally.³⁰

The Chinese press, particularly the private newspapers, on the other hand, bitterly accused the government of depriving the press of freedom.³¹

In an editorial entitled "We Protest with Grief," the influential United Daily News said that "Any law which grants the government the right to close down a newspaper is unconstitutional, and hence can never be found in any democratic country."³²

The independent Kung Lun Pao in an editorial opined that "if newspapers which are already in distress have to worry about possible cancellation of their license, they will be able to do nothing but keep silent."³³

The China Post in an editorial entitled "In Defense of Freedom of Press," declared on April 13:

The passage of the proposed bill....would place in the hands of the government a dangerous weapon which could be used by undemocratic, narrow-minded unscrupulous officials for throttling all publications, good or bad. There are many officials in the present government about whose sincerity we do not have the slightest doubt-especially those who were also pressmen not so many years ago and who therefore are well acquainted with the difficulties confronting those engaged in the journalistic profession. But there are also officials who cannot be trusted....

³⁰China Post, April 12, 1958.

³¹Ibid., April 13, 1958.

³²Ibid., April 14, 1958.

³³Ibid.

...The requirement that a newspaper or magazine must be registered with the government before it can be published is in itself an infringement of this freedom.

...We wish to express the following hopes: (1) We hope that government will realize the needlessness of the proposed revision of the Publication Law and voluntarily withdraw the bill it has submitted to the Legislative Yuan. (2) We hope the farsighted members of the Legislative Yuan will refuse to pass the bill if the government fails to withdraw it. (3) We hope the public, including our readers, will employ all means lying within their power to support the struggle of Chinese pressmen against the placing of further restrictions on freedom of the press in this country.

To counteract the proposed revision of the Publication Law, the Taipei Newspaper Association met on April 12 in an attempt to prevent the passing of the bill. In addition, efforts were being exerted to urge the Cabinet to withdraw the bill. A resolution was reached at the meeting to:

(1) Appoint a delegation to present the views of the newspapers on the bill to Premier O. K. Yui and Vice Premier Shao Ku Huang. (2) Appoint a special group to study the details of the bill and make comments thereon on behalf of the newspapers. (3) Hold a tea reception next Tuesday to exchange views on the bill with legislators elected by press circles and those who have worked in the newspaper business. (4) Issue a declaration and draft a letter to the Legislative Yuan to denounce the bill.³⁴

The passage of the bill is up to the decision of the Legislative Yuan, the top law-making body in the Republic of China. The legislators, according to a China

³⁴Ibid., April 13, 1958.

Post report on April 13, assured local pressmen that the Legislative Yuan would handle the proposed revision of the Publication Law with great care and give it a "fair and reasonable consideration to ascertain whether it is contradictory to the spirit of the Constitution of the Republic of China."

On April 14, the Post carried a front page report in which it viewed optimistically the favorable support from the legislators:

The consensus of opinion of the three conveners of the committees on Home Affairs, Education, and Civil Criminal and Commercial Laws of the Legislative Yuan, which have been charged with the task of examining the draft bill for revising the Publication Law, is that the Legislative Yuan will meticulously handle the draft bill in favor of freedom of the press.

The case is still developing at present. Thus, the results are not known. But from the information gathered, the efforts made by the Chinese newsmen seem to have already drawn favorable support and sympathy from the Legislative Yuan which will make the ultimate decision. The efforts of newsmen in counteracting the adoption of the proposed Publication Law prove that whenever freedom of the press is in question in China, there are always men who will fight desperately to prevent its infringement.

CHAPTER VIII

ADVERTISING

Advertising and circulation constitute the principal revenue of newspapers on Taiwan. Generally, 35.4% of the total space in the dailies currently published on the island is given over to advertising. The ratio between circulation and advertising varies greatly from paper to paper. Although there has been no accurate data available about newspaper advertising, one source indicates that the revenue derived from advertising constitutes 45 to 55% of the total income in such leading newspapers as the Central Daily News, Hsin Sheng Pao, China Daily News and the United Daily News.¹ However, in the case of smaller newspapers, the situation is not so prosperous.

As advertising occupies such a high percentage of space and contributes importantly in finance, most of the Chinese newspapers today rely on advertising revenue for existence. An article entitled "The Trend of Newspaper Advertising" published in the October, 1953, issue of Pao Hsiu, a magazine devoted to the study of journalism, had this to say with regard to the dependence of Chinese newspapers on advertising for existence:

¹0a Chen, "Taipei Newspaper Advertising," Pao Hsiu, December, 1957, pp. 96-97.

If there is no advertising in a newspaper, the thirty to fifty per cent of the space thus vacated will have to be filled up by the editorial department. This, although feasible, will be very costly to the newspaper. However, if there is no advertising revenue, the effect will be so serious that no newspaper is capable of solving the problem. The existence of a paper will be threatened if advertising revenue is cut off.²

Advertising not only makes up a major income for most of the Chinese newspapers, but it also contributes in reducing the price of a newspaper. According to an estimate revealed in the article "The Trend of Newspaper Advertising," the production costs of a copy of newspaper generally exceeds its unit price by fifty per cent or more. This illustrates that were it not for the revenue of advertising, the unit price of a Chinese newspaper would have been fifty per cent higher. Since the present price of all the morning papers on Taiwan is 0.80NT (equivalent to \$0.022 U.S.) without advertising revenue the price would have to be 1.20 NT (equivalent approximately \$0.04 U.S.)

Nearly all the Chinese newspapers on Taiwan carry advertisements at the bottom of the front page, usually occupying one-fourth of whole space. The column space immediately underneath the nameplate is also sold for advertising at a higher rate because of its prominent

²Chien-Chu Pei, "The Trend of Newspaper Advertising," Pao Hsiu, October, 1953, p. 65.

position. As a rule, high rate is charged for advertisements on the front page. Advertising on the front page usually contains matrimonial announcements, department store sales and medicine advertisements. All the rest of the pages except the local news page and the supplementary page carry advertisements.

Because of newsprint shortage, extravagant use of the limited space for advertising purpose is unjustifiable. Therefore, instances where a full page is devoted to a single advertisement as in many American newspapers is rare, and even a half page is seen only occasionally. Instead, most of the advertisements are modest in size with little display qualities. Oa Feng Chang, advertising manager of the China Daily News, said in an article "The Crisis of Free China's Newspaper Advertising" which appears in the March, 1953, issue of the Pao Hsiu:

If a newspaper wants to carry more and better advertisements, it should pay attention to the qualities of its advertisements, that is, advertisements should be small rather than large.... Higher rates should be charged on large advertisements. To do this, not only will it reduce the waste of space, but it will also help to boost the prestige of a newspaper; and at the same time, it will not affect the advertising revenue.³

The bulk of advertising in Chinese newspapers comes from commercial firms, governmental bulletins,

³Oa Feng Chang, "The Crisis of Free China's Newspaper Advertising," Pao Hsiu, March, 1953, p. 105.

bidding announcements and legal notices. Commercial advertising is largely from movie houses, pharmacies, department stores and restaurants. Advertisements of super markets, frequently seen in American newspapers, are never seen in Chinese newspapers. Although Taiwan has no American-style super markets, vegetables, meats and rice are seldom seen advertised in the vernacular newspapers. Government bulletins, mostly from the provincial and municipal governments, are usually administrative orders or regulations that concern the public. The municipal government of Taipei, for instance, periodically announces the deadline of tax payments through newspaper advertising. Matrimonial announcements, advertisements rather than society news items as in the case of American newspapers, takes up a considerable amount of the advertising space, particularly on holidays. The society page in any Chinese newspaper rarely carries wedding news with the exception of that of people whose names make news. Red, considered a lucky color by the Chinese, is extensively used in these announcements. The space immediately underneath the nameplate is a preferred position for this purpose.

Movie advertisements are the only ones that use illustrations frequently. In some of the newspapers like the United Daily News, an entire page is given over to movie advertisements. Large, display type faces are used

to attract attention in these advertisements. American movies, enjoying a mounting popularity on the island, are usually advertised with both the English titles and their Chinese translations. Portraits of the movie stars are also printed. Compared with other advertisements, movie advertisements are more artistically designed.

Classified advertising is underdeveloped in most of the Chinese newspapers, which commonly carry only twenty or less of the short advertisements. The only newspaper that has many classified advertisements is the Central Daily News. Although it would be inadvisable to jump to the conclusion that the reason for this is that the Central Daily News is the best newspaper on the island, undoubtedly it does indicate the prestige the Central Daily News enjoys. The categories under the classified advertising fall generally into: legal notices, real estate for sale, houses or rooms for rent, sales, personals, lost and found and job opportunities. However, it is the real estate that composes a big percentage of the classified advertisements in most newspapers. This is especially true on weekends when prospective buyers have time to make visits. Black bold-face type is used in classified advertisements to arrest the attention of the readers.

Color, usually red, is extensively used in advertising. The over-use of the red color tends to ruin the

integrity of the paper's typographical appearance. As Chinese is read from top to bottom and from right to left, most of the advertisements are laid out in the form of parallel columns.

Commerce and industry are not highly developed on Taiwan. The reciprocal effects of advertising to stimulate the growth of commerce and industry have not yet been made convincing to the Chinese merchants. A survey made in 1953 showed that more than fifty per cent of Taiwanese merchants engaging in native production had not developed the habit of advertising their merchandise.⁴ To remedy this situation, newspapers customarily employ advertising solicitors to expand advertising patronage. The solicitors are not on the pay roll of the newspaper and their income depends on the commission they receive from their soliciting efforts.⁵ Although the use of these solicitors has brought immediate results to newspapers, their unguided enthusiasm has done great harm to the papers too. An article on the crisis of Free China's newspaper advertising had this to say with regard to the qualities of these solicitors:

The advertising solicitors have not developed the habit of searching for advertising clues from the news. Nor, have they done anything to pursue

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

those merchants who do not have the habit of advertising their merchandise. Instead, often it is the case that when the solicitors of various newspapers spot an advertisement in one paper, they would all go to see the advertiser to solicit patronage in the papers they represent. This has brought extreme uneasiness and anxiety to the patrons. As a consequence, the merchants would simply refuse to advertise in any newspaper. Even when the merchants feel it is necessary to advertise, they would place a modest advertisement once or twice in a more agreeable newspaper so as not to stir the attention of other solicitors.⁶

In order to attract more advertising, it has become a general practice for Chinese newspapers to give discounts to their patrons. However, the discounts are given at random without adhering to proper principles. The discount system has been adopted to satisfy the psychology of the advertisers. But as there is no adequate standard regarding the amount of discount to be given to a certain patron, the patrons can hardly be satisfied. Instead, they demand further discounts. Oa Feng Chang, advertising manager of the China Daily News, wrote in the March, 1953, issue of the Pao Hsiu:

Personally, I advocate the discount system. But in its handling, we should use it as a means to adjust the advertisements of different natures. Because the functions of a newspaper lie in spreading news, and leading society toward progress, any information salutary to the public must not be omitted. Information salutary to the public may be printed without any charge, whereas information

⁶Ibid.

useful only to a few should be charged....The retaining of the discount system will be helpful in bringing steady revenue to the papers. Unfortunately, some of the newspapers give discounts indiscriminately to all the patrons, and the rate of discount is frequently irregular. Furthermore, in the midst of keen competition, it has been the practice that when one newspaper gives a twenty per cent discount, its rival would make it a thirty per cent discount. This has cast great confusion on the patrons and encouraged them to make further bargaining for lower rate.⁷

The news value of the advertising not only has often been neglected by the merchants, but even by the newspapers themselves. However, the advertisements in the Chinese newspapers contain a high potency of news value. For instance, bidding announcements are important news to the prospective merchants and contractors. College and university entrance examination notices to the island's thousands of middle school graduates each summer is important news. In addition, such other announcements as movies, commercials, government bulletins, matrimonial announcements, funeral notices, legal notices all contain news value. However, the co-ordination between news and advertising is not well handled. In his article "The Crisis of Free China's Newspaper Advertising," Mr. Chang said in part:

Speaking of co-ordination, it is essential that the attitudes of the news and the advertisement

⁷Ibid., p. 104.

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⁷Ibid., p. 104.

should be consistent....I once read an advertisement in a paper introducing some well-known physician. But, in the same issue an article on the supplementary page says that the physician is a quack. This certainly would have confused the readers.⁸

Discussing the technique of arranging the advertisements, Mr. Chang had this to say:

In editing and arranging the advertisements, the editor has to take the nature of the advertisements into consideration. In certain cases, advertisements of the same nature should be put together, whereas in other instances, the arrangement should be quite the opposite. For instance, two perfume manufacturers may advertise in the same paper and on the same day. It may also happen that both their copy stresses that their perfumes are the most fragrant, of the best quality and also the cheapest. If both advertisements should be put side by side, not only neither of the manufacturers would be satisfied, but the readers would also be confused deciding which brand is better. On the contrary, if two department stores give sales, then it is justifiable that their advertisements be put together so that the store owners may enter into real competition and also that the readers may benefit by a fair comparison.⁹

Advertising copy in Chinese newspapers leaves great room for improvement. Information about the advertised items is either insufficient or not specific enough to attract customers. In pointing out the defects of Chinese newspaper advertising and the new role of advertising, the article entitled "The Trend of Newspaper Advertising" said in part:

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 105.

In addition to helping with the sale of merchandise, today an advertisement should be equipped to transmit economical knowledge as well as information about the merchandise. This illustrates that advertising has changed from its former position as a subordinate to production firms to an independent medium between production and consumption.

Henceforth, advertising should be directed at the needs and wants of the consumers. A scientific analysis as to the economical value, direction for use and the components of an advertised item should be made available in the advertisement so that readers may be sufficiently convinced and aroused to purchase the item. It is only natural that consumers lacking an adequate knowledge of a merchandise will not avail themselves of an interest to buy it no matter how good the merchandise may be.

Some of the advertisements, especially those for medicine, have no elaborate explanation other than the name of the manufacturer and a few slogans. This is contrary to scientific methods. To the advertisers, this will not bring about the results as anticipated. Besides, it is a waste of money. On the part of the newspaper that carries the advertisement, it may be interpreted as being lukewarm in its service to the public. Therefore, in the case of medicine advertising, the advertisement should at least give an explanation as to the contents of the medicine, its functions and the directions for use. Stereotyped slogans alone cannot arouse the interest of the prospective buyers.¹⁰

Limited space, negligence by the merchants, and a lack of artistic taste in layout are the greatest weaknesses in Chinese newspaper advertising. The fact that advertising occupies more than thirty-five per cent of the space in most Chinese newspapers, and the fact that the very existence of the Chinese newspapers depends on ad-

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 66-67.

vertising revenue indicates that improvement in advertising technique can be anticipated.

CHAPTER IX

CIRCULATION

Compared with American newspapers, circulation is more important to Chinese newspapers in the matter of income. It is not upon advertising but primarily upon circulation that the prestige of a Chinese newspaper depends.¹ Although advertising revenue has gradually constituted an important income to Chinese newspapers, it is upon the foundation of circulation that the advertising revenue is built.

The fact that commerce and industry are not highly developed on Taiwan and the fact that Chinese merchants have yet to be convinced of the effects of advertising further reveal that Chinese newspapers emphasize circulation for existence. A newspaper with a good circulation status is in a favorable position to solicit advertising. Advertising revenue has been on the increase in large newspapers like the Central Daily News and Hsin Sheng Pao whose advertising revenue have attained forty-five per cent of the total income with the remainder being made up from circulation; this phenomenon, however, is limited only to these and a few other exceptional cases with which other

¹Chu-Hsin Chen, "Circulation and Advertising - Which is More Important?" Pao Hsiu, December, 1956, p. 86.

newspapers cannot compete very well.²

Circulation figures of Chinese newspapers are kept as confidential information. In the face of keen competition, it is natural that such information, if revealed, might affect the advertising prospects of those newspapers that have low circulations. There is no such organization as the Audit Bureau of Circulation on Taiwan; therefore, accurate circulation figures cannot be made available from an official source. However, according to Pin Yan Hao, ~~former~~ director of the southern edition of the China Daily News and member of the board of directors of the National Newspaper Association of China, the circulation figures are roughly estimated as in the following table. The National Newspaper Association of China was one time in charge of distributing newsprint to all the Chinese newspapers; the distribution was based on the claimed circulations as well as the investigation of the association. The figures below, though by no means exact, are correct to the best knowledge of Mr. Hao. While the table is far from being complete in its coverage, it perhaps may serve to outline the general circulation picture of the Chinese press on Taiwan:

<u>Central Daily News</u> , Taipei	65,000
<u>Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao</u> , Taipei	38,000
<u>Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao</u> , Kaohsiung	17,000

²Ibid.

<u>China Daily News</u> (northern edition)	15,000
<u>China Daily News</u> (southern edition)	25,000
<u>United Daily News</u> , Taipei	50,000
<u>Credit Information</u> , Taipei	22,000
<u>Kung Lun Pao</u> , Taipei	5,500
<u>Tah Hwa Evening News</u> , Taipei	27,000
<u>Min Tsu Evening News</u> , Taipei	13,000
<u>China Post</u> , Taipei	10,000 ³
<u>China News</u> , Taipei	5,500 ⁴

There are thirty-two newspapers including two English dailies currently being published on Taiwan. The total daily circulation of all these newspapers is approximately 336,706 according to an estimate made in Pao Hsiu, an authoritative magazine devoted to the study of journalism.⁵ This suggests that about one out of every thirty-four people on the island reads a daily paper. It must not be overlooked, however, that each copy of a Chinese newspaper circulates widely. Although many Chinese cannot read or speak mandarin, all members of educated families usually read each newspaper to which the family subscribes. Too, it should be remembered that the average family consists of about six persons. It is also a general practice of Chinese offices, both official and private, to subscribe to several newspapers for their employees. In addition, newspapers are posted in such places as the park and city

³Interview with Helen Yu, former reporter, China Post, December 26, 1957.

⁴Memorandum dated December 1, 1957, from Stanway Cheng, director and editor of China News.

⁵a Chen, "Taipei Newspaper Advertising," Pao Hsiu, December, 1957, p. 102.

hall where a large number of people may read them.

With regard to the classifications of readers of the Chinese newspaper, there is no data available other than that from the Central Daily News. The Central Daily News made an analysis of the occupations of its readers in 1953 and the results were tabulated as follows:⁶

Military	16	%
Political	14.5	%
Educational	13	%
Cultural	12	%
Police	10	%
Business	9.5	%
Students	8	%
Transportation	6	%
Industrial	4	%
Agricultural	4	%
Others	2.5	%

The above table indicates that the military comprises the highest percentage of the Central Daily News' reading public, while industrial and agricultural workers constitute the lowest. The fact that business occupies only nine and one half per cent suggests that Chinese merchants have yet to be convinced of the effects of newspapers, particularly in relation to advertising. If the above table can be thought of as representative of the general situation on other newspapers, it may be said that the table serves to point out the directions to which circulation efforts should be exerted.

⁶The Annual Report of the Central Daily News, 1950 through 1956.

All the six-paged newspapers on Taiwan are sold at \$0.80 N.T. (approximately \$.022 U.S.) per copy or \$24 N.T. (approximately \$.66 U.S.) per month for subscription. The dailies, all published seven days a week, are home-delivered to their subscribers by bicycle-riding carriers. Morning newspapers are mostly delivered before 8 A.M. each day. But they can also be bought from magazine stands or by street sales. The evening newspapers are also home-delivered. Apart from that, they are sold through hawking by newsboys in public places like railway or bus stations, restaurants or on the street. For out-of-town delivery, the morning newspapers are shipped by rail, truck or air. Most of the large newspapers have their own trucks standing by for out-of-town delivery in the event there is a delay in press time or the schedules of public transportation systems are missed. The Central Daily News is the only newspaper on the island that has its own airplane for delivering its newspapers to readers in the southern part of the island.⁷ Customarily, subscription fees, charged usually by the month, are paid at the end of the month rather than the beginning. Large newspapers like the Central Daily News and Hsin Sheng Pao maintain in various towns circulation agencies which are responsible

⁷Central Daily News, March 12, 1957

for soliciting and delivering papers to readers in their respective areas. These agents are not on the regular payroll of the newspapers, but are paid commissions according to their efforts in soliciting subscriptions.

Chinese newspapers generally use both the little merchant plan and regular employee basis in their carrier system. The former plan is mostly used for street sales. Newsboys, under this plan, derive a profit by buying the papers at a discount and selling them at the regular price. Under the employee plan, carriers are assigned different routes to deliver papers to subscribers and are paid on a monthly salary basis. Carriers working on the latter plan are mostly college students who can cover their routes in about two hours each morning and can be ready for class attendance at eight o'clock.⁸

The variance in circulation figures among the Chinese newspapers is worthy of study. There is some question why, under the present circumstances when all major morning newspapers are restricted to six pages and the news sources and prices are practically the same, there should be such difference in circulation figures. This difference is usually attributed to the variance in typographical appearance and in content. Mr. Hen Dien Lo, in an article

⁸Interview with Ho Chin Peng, former editor-in-chief and city editor of the Central Daily News, April 2, 1958.

entitled "The Cause and Effect of Circulation," published in the March, 1953, issue of the Pao Hsiu (similar to the Journalism Quarterly), had this to say:

The variances in circulation status among the Chinese newspapers should be attributed fundamentally to the varied typographical appearance and contents of a newspaper. The readers' eyes are sharp. Typographical appearance has a great significance on circulation. Speaking of contents, it is only natural that the readers will stop reading a newspaper whose contents are not to his interest. There is no definite standard so far as typographical appearance are concerned. It is entirely up to the choice of the readers.

But contents are most essential in relation to a paper's circulation. They are the crystallization of reporters' brain and leg work. If they report accurately without missing the day's important events and if their paper has everything that others have and at the same time contains some special news solely which others do not have or much inferior in their coverage, not only will this show that the reporters of this paper are superior to others, but it will also attract more circulation to the paper.⁹

The question as to whether there remains any room for circulation expansion in view of the present total circulation of all the newspapers on the island is debatable. Observations made by the Chinese press in general hold that there can be no measurable increase in circulation. However, in comparison with the newspaper circulation status during the Japanese occupation, considerable room remains for improvement. There are more newspapers now on the island than there were during the Japanese occupation. Then

⁹Jen-Kien Lo, "The Cause and Effect of Circulation," Pao Hsiu, March, 1953, p. 101.

why is it that the present circulation is lower than it was before? The chief reason rests with the language. Although the government has exerted every effort to encourage the Taiwanese to learn Chinese, successful results are in evidence only in the younger generations, students and urban dwellers. On the contrary, farmers, workers and merchants living in the rural areas not only cannot read but also cannot speak Chinese mandarin. This situation has relentlessly hindered the circulation expansion of the Chinese newspapers in the rural areas where there are more than two million farmers. The government, however, is steadily improving language conditions.¹⁰

The economic factor also has handicapped newspaper circulation expansion. The monthly subscription rate of a Chinese newspaper, standardized at \$24 N.T. (equivalent to approximately \$0.66 U.S.) is too costly for most laborers. The situation is even more conspicuous in the rural areas where the prices of agricultural products are low and the farmers cannot afford to subscribe to a newspaper. This is another reason why newspapers cannot be widely circulated in the rural areas. To further complicate matters, lowering of the circulation rate is not realistic in the face of mounting production costs and moderate advertising

¹⁰Jen-Dien Lo, "On Circulation of Taiwan Press," Pao Hsiu, August, 1952, p. 101.

revenue.¹¹

The Chinese newspapers, existing in such adverse conditions as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, are not discouraged in their efforts for circulation expansion. In fact, the keen competition among the Chinese newspapers has physically improved the quality of Chinese newspapers. As one paper strives to get higher circulation than another, it tries to improve its typographical appearance, enrich its contents, report elaborately and accurately, and also reflect public opinion faithfully. Furthermore, all the newspapers have been trying to improve their printing facilities so that their papers may look distinctive and pleasing to the eye. The keen competition has also resulted in a number of promotion methods. One of the methods has been to present papers to prospective subscribers without charge for a period ranging from three days to ten or even fifteen days.¹² But the most frequently used method in obtaining new subscriptions is dependant on the soliciting efforts of the newsboys.

The position of the circulation manager on a Chinese newspaper has not been given the proper attention it deserves. Normally, his operation is only a section

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

under the business division of the management department. Jen-Dien Lo, in an article entitled "On Circulation of Taiwan Press," published in the August, 1952, issue of the Pao Hsiu, had this to say about the circulation manager's position:

The economy of a newspaper depends on circulation. This is not only true on Taiwan, but also elsewhere in the world. Thus, the position of a circulation manager should be re-evaluated because the prosperity of a newspaper relies on him....In his frequent contact with readers, the circulation manager is the one that understands the needs and wants of readers, and knows what changes in typography and contents should be made so that circulation may be increased. In the face of keen competition with other newspapers, he is usually well informed of the circulation status of other newspapers and is aware of proper ways to deal with the competition. His suggestions will virtually hit the nail right on its head. The organization in a Chinese newspaper is usually top-heavy and the circulation office is not fully developed.¹³

The future of better newspaper circulation on Taiwan is hinged on self-sufficiency of the newspapers, greater production and rationing of newsprint, popularity of the language and the still lower price of newsprint as well as newspaper so that the masses may be able to purchase the newspapers. But the most important measure to expand circulation, according to Jen-Dien Lo, is to slant every newspaper to a specific group of readers¹⁴ so that the newspapers may all prosper instead of struggling with one another for a larger share of the reading public.

¹³Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁴Ibid.

CHAPTER X

TRANSLATION OF FOREIGN NEWS IN CHINESE PRESS

Foreign news comprises an important part of the contents of Chinese newspapers. Normally, one-sixth of the space in most Chinese newspapers is allotted to foreign news. But foreign news, mostly arriving in English, has to be translated into Chinese before it can become part of the contents of a Chinese newspaper.

Nearly all the major dailies on Taiwan have translators on the staff. The job of the translators is primarily to translate news received from foreign news services or agencies, as well as articles in foreign newspapers or magazines. Eighty per cent of the international news in Chinese newspapers is provided by foreign news services.¹ The rest comes from the facilities of the local news agencies or the newspaper's own foreign correspondents. The importance of the job of translation has steadily become greater in proportion to the fast development of world events.

The range of foreign news received by Chinese newspapers may include anything--politics, military affairs, economics, social events, culture, science and many others.

¹Yui-Lang Lin, "On Translation," Pao Hsiu, Taipei, October, 1953, p. 54.

Not only can translators not master all these fields, but even an expert specializing in one field may not know everything in his particular field of interest. Nevertheless, the translator has to translate things that are entirely outside his particular field of knowledge. In addition, he is expected to know almost everything, because he cannot expect his readers to understand his translation if he himself does not know it. However, even if a translator has a wide background of knowledge, it is still not enough, for the development of the world events is ever-changing and never-ceasing. A translator must keep track of them in order that he may effectively inform his readers when the news comes in.

A. Principles of Translation

There are two methods in translation used in Chinese newspaper offices: literal translation and comprehensive translation.

In literal translation, every word in the original has to be fully treated, so that the meaning can be reproduced in the fullest form. The other method requires only the presentation of the meaning without following the original word by word or sentence by sentence. The method used in translating foreign news is between the two mentioned; however the former is preferred because a trans-

lator must be faithful to the original writer.² The faithfulness is, more or less, a moral obligation and is regarded as one of the most important creeds that every translator should observe.

Literal translation, however, is often criticized as being unreadable or not like pure Chinese, since the translation is influenced by the grammatical structure of the original language.³ Translation done by the other method, however, tends to lose the original flavor.

The type of language used in newspaper writing, whether it is in English or Chinese, is characterized by its simplicity, clearness and vernacularism. The language used in translation should likewise possess these characteristics, which will enable the readers to find the translation easy to read and understandable.

Timeliness is an important factor in the work of translation. A translator should be a fast worker so that his translation may reach the readers while it is still timely. Usually, a translator is facing before him a big pile of news copy.⁴ He cannot afford to delay, for news keeps pouring in continually.

²Yui-Lang Lin, "On Newspaper Translation," A Collection of Essays on Journalism, 1955, p. 140.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

A translator working on a Chinese newspaper is also responsible for culling and verifying foreign news. This is the reason why a translator is called foreign news editor on some of the newspapers.⁵ But culling news is no easy job, and there should be standards in news selection. Thus, a translator must bear in mind the editorial policy of the paper with which he is working. The important thing, of course, is his proficiency in distinguishing the most important from the more important, the newsiest from the newsier. There is no code that guides these judgments except experience.

To summarize, the principles of translation are:⁶

(1) Be faithful to the original writer. Translate only what the original writer says, nothing more and nothing less.

(2) As the translation is for others to read, the translation must be readable. Possible misunderstandings must be avoided.

(3) Be accurate. If there is any doubt about the accuracy of a translation, it is better to iron it out before it reaches the readers.

(4) Try to think the way the original writer thinks. Only when the translator thinks and feels the way

⁵Lin, "On Translation," Pao Hsiu, October, 1953, p. 55.

⁶Yui-Lang Lin, "On Newspaper Translation," A Collection of Essays on Journalism, 1955, p. 141.

he does, will he be able to fully express his idea effectively.

(5) Be prompt. Translators must be fast workers to make up time lost through transmitting news in one language for use in a paper of another language.

(6) Make sound judgment in culling and verifying foreign news.

B. Difficulties in Translation

A translator who works for a paper must master the type of English used in newspaper writing in addition to his competency in Chinese news writing. Thus he must be able to use the proper Chinese words to express the thought of the original writer.

Mistakes are often found in translations. A translation may deviate from the original in meaning because the words chosen are not proper or not forceful enough. Even an experienced translator makes mistakes. The reason for this is that the original writer and the translators may not be "in tune" in their thinking. It is therefore natural that they think differently toward the same piece of writing. Factors that lead to mistakes in translation are usually due to the following:

(1) Mistakes from the barrier of thinking--A man's thinking is more or less influenced by his habitual mode

of thinking and also by his cultural background. It is natural that a world of difference exists between thinking based on the Eastern as opposed to Western cultures. Needless to say, a big difference inevitably exists in the thinking of a military man and a philosopher, or between a scientist and a lawyer. A translator who attempts to translate a speech by a politician must, first of all, forget about his own habitual way of thinking and try to approach the thinking of the politician. In other words, he has to think the way a politician thinks. By so doing, he can reach a better and closer approximation of the meaning of the original writer. Thus, his translation should appear more natural and closer to the original, instead of having the look of being pushed or forced. But no matter how closely one thinks the way another thinks, the barrier of the two sets of thinking remains. It is, therefore, no wonder that an article, when given to ten translators, will be translated into ten different versions. It is dangerous to translate something with which one is not familiar. The chances are that he may twist, or even contradict the original meaning. In translation work, a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.

(2) Mistakes due to the language difference--Every language has its own peculiar background and spirit although there may be places where they have common attrib-

utes. But they are still different languages. To be able to understand the face meaning of individual words is far from being sufficient, for meaning changes as the situation in which a word is used varies. Each word has its history and origin. To be able to master the English language, one must study the history, culture, religion, philosophy and legends of the English-speaking people. English words and phrases in common usage have many different origins. For instance, the phrase "Achilles heel" is a figure of speech and refers to a Greek legend. The phrase "Milky Way" may also serve as an interesting example. If a translator did not know what it really meant, he would certainly think it was a road split with milk when actually it represents a natural phenomenon in the sky. To translate these phrases correctly, one has to know the background information. Surface meaning can be deceiving.

(3) The difficulty in finding the proper wording equivalent to the original--Being able to understand the words of one language does not mean that one can express them fully in another. The peculiarities of one language may be such that another language cannot do it justice in translation.

(4) The translator's viewpoint influences his translation--The viewpoint of the translator oftentimes is shown in his translation. For instance, if he is a member

of the Anti-Saloon League, naturally he tends to put his own thoughts, however slightly, into his translation of an article about how people got drunk on New Year's Eve at Time's Square. Of course, he has no right to change the description in the original, but he may inject a rather weak tone into the translation, although the translation may appear correct.

(5) English and Chinese are languages of two different origins. The former is alphabetical while the latter consists of characters composed of strokes and symbolic signs. Ideographically, there is no similarity between the two. To translate English into French or Spanish perhaps is easier than translating it into Chinese because these European languages are similar so far as linguistic elements are concerned. Moreover, the difference between Chinese and English (or other European languages) in grammatical rules, in sentence structure, in order of words and in syntax further makes translation a demanding job.

CONCLUSION

The modern Chinese press on Taiwan emerged after World War II when the island was returned to the Republic of China. During the short span of fourteen years, the press on Taiwan has made remarkable gains both in quality and quantity. At the time the Chinese government took over the island in 1945, there was only one newspaper on the whole island. However, three years later there were seventeen dailies being published. Although half of them declined, new ones have arisen. Today, there are thirty-two registered newspapers on Taiwan and Penghu, an off-shore island, (including two English-language dailies), 266 periodicals, and 27 news agencies. In the city of Taipei there are twelve morning and three evening newspapers and several large news agencies, according to statistics in the China Handbook, 1956-57 edition.

Of the 32 registered newspapers, the four greatest in terms of circulation and scale of facilities are the Central Daily News, Taiwan Hsin Sheng Pao, China Daily News and the United Daily News. Except for the United Daily News, which is a privately owned newspaper, the other three are either Kuomintang owned or connected with the party. In the case of the Hsin Sheng Pao, which was incorporated in 1953, the provincial government has been the largest stockholder. Viewing this situation, one naturally might

believe that both the Kuomintang and the government dominate the Chinese press. However, these party or government newspapers have great freedom in evaluating and criticizing the government and party. Nor do they reflect a rigidity of control or thought patterns. As a matter of fact, they are sometimes criticized for a lack of uniformity or consistency. Dr. Carlton Culmsee wrote in 1956 of these newspapers:

Among the publishers and executives of some of these are Kuomintang party members. But it is unwise to assume that the party has in all ways a monolithic character. On the broad aim of reuniting China it is safe to say that virtually all are agreed, but on certain other issues and means and methods there is considerable disagreement. The newspapers show a diversity of viewpoint on various subjects, some with Kuomintang stalwarts in high places do not always sing small on government policies.¹

The same author wrote in Quill, a magazine for journalists, in June, 1957:

But Chinese on Formosa take actions and attitudes toward KMT [Kuomintang] which no one in Russia, for example, could take toward the Communist party. Several of the privately owned newspapers, even some published by party members in good standing, sometimes analyze the party and KMT men in government with considerable frankness.²

The privately owned press on Taiwan is quite impor-

¹Carlton Culmsee, "How Free Is the Press in Free China?" Journalism Quarterly, Fall, 1956, p. 500.

²Carlton Culmsee, "Formosan Press Is Still Under Kuomintang Thumb But Is Winning Freedom," Quill, June, 1957, p. 15.

tant. The most significant of these are United Daily News and Kung Lun Pao and the English-language papers, China Post and China News. These newspapers are quite outspoken on many subjects and frequently criticize the government.

There are no laws curtailing press freedom and no censorship except safeguards of certain military information.³ The Constitution of the Republic of China, promulgated on January 1, 1947, guarantees freedom of the press. However, as the Republic of China is still at war with the Communist Peiping regime, all printed matter is checked after publication. All the newspapers are anti-Communist and support the nation's struggle against Communism and their editorial policy is attuned to that effect voluntarily. As a matter of fact, national interests are always considered over and above anything else. The Chinese government feels the practice is justified because any information salutary to the Communists or tending to disturb the peace must be checked in order to preserve national security. As a rule, all newspapers, along with other publications or printed matter, are registered before publication with competent government authorities, namely the Ministry of Interior and the Information Department of the Taiwan Provincial Government. At the present time,

³Ibid.

newspapermen on Taiwan are greatly concerned about the proposed press law, which they feel would tend to jeopardize freedom of the press. But this law may not pass the Legislative Yuan, the Chinese law-making body.

Because of the shortage of newsprint, the government stipulates that all newspapers on Taiwan, either under official or private ownership, limit their consumption of newsprint to six pages per single copy, except on occasions like the National Holiday when additional pages may be allowed. This restriction became effective in 1950 when foreign exchange was difficult to obtain. Prior to 1950, however, newsprint had been imported from Canada, Australia and other countries. The government is said to have taken steps to encourage the production capability of newsprint mills, but the increase in circulation has been more rapid than that of production capability. Thus, the expansion of page numbers remains as a future possibility.

Space restrictions naturally has hindered the development of newspapers, but it has also helped to improve the newspapers. As a matter of fact, all the papers have tried desperately to improve their quality and typographical appearance within the same amount of space so as to win more circulation. Qualitative improvement has brought prosperity to some newspapers, but it is the readers who have benefitted with better papers to read.

Although the circulation of each individual newspaper varies from time to time, the total combined circulation of the newspapers is approximately 336,000. As the present population of Taiwan approximates ten millions, the total circulation suggests that every thirty-fourth Chinese reads a newspaper. However, mention must be made of the fact that the average Chinese family usually consists of four adults and three or more children who read each copy of a newspaper. Besides there are numerous copies posted at public places and both private and public organizations provide newspapers for their employees to read. Even so, the present circulation leaves much room for expansion.

Advertising, which constitutes the dominant part of the income of American newspapers, has yet to be developed in the case of Chinese newspapers. According to an estimate made in the Pao Hsiu, advertising revenue of the leading Chinese newspapers like the Central Daily News, Hsin Sheng Pao, China Daily News and the United Daily News constitutes 45 to 55 percent of the total income. But on smaller newspapers, the situation is not quite so good. As greater attention and efforts have been paid in recent years to the importance of advertising, this revenue has gradually constituted an important part of the income of many Chinese newspapers. Most of the advertising revenue comes from movie houses, pharmacies, commercial concerns

and government at all levels which frequently places bulletins and official announcements in the newspapers. The Central Daily News, because of its long history and prestige, enjoys the most advertising patronage, particularly in classified and matrimonial advertisements.

All type for Chinese newspapers is hand-set. Because every Chinese word is a character which comes in a square and consists of different strokes, linotype machines for typesetting Chinese newspapers have not yet been devised. Typesetters are probably the hardest-working people on Chinese newspapers because of the complicated nature of the job.

Apart from language, the most evident difference between a Chinese newspaper and a Western one lies in the way it is read. The Chinese newspapers are read from right to left and from top to bottom. Thus, the front page of a Chinese newspaper is the back page of a Western one. Another distinguishing feature is that the nameplate, usually written by a prominent person with excellent penmanship, always appears at the upper right hand corner of the front page.

Democracy requires a close relationship between the people and the government and moreover a knowledge of what is going on both inside and outside the country. On Taiwan, this knowledge is mostly channelled by newspapers. Today, the literacy rate on Taiwan is among the highest

in Asia, and Chinese newspapers have contributed greatly to the improved literacy. As China is adopting a democratic way of life, the understanding of national as well as international affairs by the average person is fundamental if democracy is to prevail. Such understanding continues to be spread largely through newspapers. It is a truism that an enlightened public is the best security of a nation. Today, in the face of Communist aggression and threats, such an enlightenment is needed by the Chinese people, and the Chinese newspapers are responsible for answering that need.

Although the Chinese press has been making tremendous improvements, long years of war and the recent Communist aggression have hindered the pace of its progress. In comparison with journalism of other countries, particularly the United States, there remains for the Taiwan press the possibility for great advances in publishing techniques. Typography, news coverage, advertising, circulation, photo-engraving, organization and management, newsprint, freedom of press--these are among the many areas in which the Chinese press must continue to improve.

Today, the trend in the Chinese press is to follow American patterns. This is true since a great number of the key men in Chinese journalism are American-educated, and a majority of them are graduates of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. Among Chinese

journalists, the Missouri School of Journalism is held
in the highest esteem.

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