

“De-Japanization” and “Re-Chinization”: A Discussion of the KMT Government's Mandarin Campaign in Taiwan after the Restoration of Taiwan and Its Effectiveness

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ABSTRACT: In 1945, Japan was defeated, and Taiwan was returned to China. After the Republic of China (ROC) government took control of Taiwan, it started to implement a cultural policy focused on “De-Japanization” and “Re-Chinization,” emphasizing the promotion of the National Language (Mandarin) as the main goal, while also eliminating the use of the Japanese language in Taiwanese society. However, for various reasons, the KMT government's efforts to promote Mandarin in Taiwan were limited, and the incomplete “De-Japanization” process continued to preserve Japanese influences in Taiwanese society.

KEYWORDS: Taiwan; Mandarin Movement; De-Japanization; Re-Chinization

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1945, Japan was defeated and Taiwan was restored. Chen Yi took over Taiwan on behalf of the Republic of China (ROC) government, beginning another historical process of De-Japanization and Re-Chinization in Taiwan's history. During this process, the term “National Language” becomes especially significant. “De-Japanization” means not only removing the colonial traces left by the Japanese on the land but also eliminating the influence of the Japanese ‘National Language’ (Japanese) in Taiwan and replacing it with Mandarin, which had already been developing on the mainland during the period of cross-strait separation. The paper will explore why the KMT government prioritized Mandarin as the main way to “Re-Chinization” Taiwan after taking control of the island and examine the effects of this strategy.

II. THE MANDARIN LEARNING BOOM OF THE TAIWANESE PEOPLE AFTER THE RESTORATION

In the 1940s, the Pacific War began. The development of this war led some people in Taiwan to think about their future after leaving Japanese colonial rule. After the Pearl Harbor Incident in 1941, the United States declared war on Japan. Immediately afterward, the government of the Republic of China (ROC) also declared a state of war, stating that “all treaty agreements and contracts involving relations between China and Japan shall be nullified” (“Bulletin of the Chinese Government’s Declaration of War on Japan”, 1941) This declaration of war was also the Chinese government's declaration of the abrogation of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which had led to the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. In 1943, the Cairo Conference was held, and China, the United States and Britain reached a consensus on joining hands to counter-attack Japan, and issued the Cairo Declaration, “so that the territories stolen by Japan from China, such as the four northeastern provinces, Taiwan, and the Pescadores Islands, etc., will be returned to the Republic of China” (“Cairo Declaration”, 1943) The publication of the Cairo Declaration marked the official announcement by the Chinese government to the international community that the recovery of Taiwan had become an established goal.

During the fifty years of Japan's occupation of Taiwan, in order to maintain its dominance, it actively promoted the Japanese language among the Taiwanese people in an attempt to assimilate them into the Japanese population. Until the end of the colonial period, its language policy had profoundly changed the linguistic ecology of Taiwan. According to the observation of language scholar Wu Shouli, the sociolinguistic situation in Taiwan at that time was like this: The language of intellectuals has already incorporated Japanese words and grammar; most middle-aged people can speak Japanese and only use their native language in family settings, while most young people can only use Japanese and no longer speak Taiwanese. (Wu, 1946)

After the defeat of Japan, Taiwan's restoration was imminent. The people of Taiwan took it upon themselves to learn the Mandarin. The first to start practicing writing in Chinese were intellectuals. Wu Xinrong, who was both a writer and a doctor, learned of Japan's defeat on August 15, 1945, and switched to writing his diary in Chinese the same day. The poet Wang Baiyuan also began to write in fluent vernacular in October of that year.

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On the other hand, in newspapers and magazines, the call to learn the Mandarin began to become louder, and the Japanese-era Taiwan Xinbao Newspaper(台湾新报) created a Chinese-language section on October 2, 1945, and then adjusted its layout to one in which Chinese was predominantly used as the main language and Japanese as a supplement; on October 10, the all-Chinese Minbao Newspaper(民报) was launched. In these two newspapers, the people of Taiwan actively criticized the imperialization campaign of “changing names and speaking Japanese” and actively introduced the modern Chinese national movement, the Three Principles of the People, the national language and the national spirit. (Zeng, 2005:178)

According to Huang Yingzhe, the language situation in Taiwan in the early post-war period was still under the anarchy of the Japanese language culture circle as well as the learning of the national language.(Huang, 2007:45) As He Rong, who had just arrived in Taiwan, observed, this “anarchy” was not only manifested in the complexity of the motives for learning the Mandarin, some of which were purely motivated by the motherland's enthusiasm, some by the need to serve the motherland, and of course some by the desire to become a new bureaucrat; it was also manifested in the confusion of teaching institutions, instructors, and teaching materials, as some people hung a small blackboard on the eaves of the market to teach a few words of conversation in order to collect temporary lessons from the temporary students who gathered around. (He; Qi; Wang, 1948:10)

After the defeat of Japan, Taiwan's previously suppressed democratic and nationalistic forces burst forth in one fell swoop. Restoration activities in the areas of history, culture and language have begun, while the motherlandization movement has also been actively pursued. The rehabilitation and motherlandization campaigns are mutually exclusive and interrelated. Because the restoration of Taiwan's history, culture, and language is precisely the important content and main force of Taiwan's motherlandization. True motherlandization can only be realized through the restoration of Taiwan's history, culture, and language. The two are consistent in the contemporary theme of “decolonization”. ((Zeng, 2005:177–178)

III. THE MANDARIN PUSH MOVEMENT IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF TAIWAN'S RESTORATION

A. Chen Yi's Approach to the Implementation of the Mandarin Language

In April 1944, Chiang Kai-shek established the Taiwan Investigation Committee as a preparatory organization for the recovery of Taiwan. The first and foremost task of the Investigation Committee was to formulate the Outline of the Taiwan Takeover Plan. Article 4 of the first general rule of the Taiwan Takeover Plan stipulates: “Cultural facilities after the takeover should enhance national consciousness, clear up the slavery mentality, popularize educational opportunities and raise cultural standards”. (Qin; Zhang, 1990:109) With regard to the language issue, two main recommendations were made. The first was the introduction of the national language and the second was the handling of the Japanese language after the takeover. Before Chen Yi took over as Chief Executive of Taiwan Province, he pointed out that when he arrived in Taiwan, he intended to start teaching national language and writing first, with the expectation of achieving the goal of making Taiwanese compatriots understand the culture of the motherland. (Huang, 1996: 36)

Chen Yi's main policy of governing Taiwan was to eliminate the influence of the Japanese language as soon as possible, to let Taiwanese learn the national language as soon as possible, and to change Taiwan from “Japan's Taiwan” to “China's Taiwan”. In a letter to Xu Shoushang in May 1946, Chen Yi wrote: “The important work of governing Taiwan is to reform the mentality, and the most difficult thing at present is that the tool for reforming the mentality - language and writing - must be transformed first”. (Huang; Xu; Yang, 2010: 11) At a meeting of secondary school principals in February 1946, Chen Yi proposed a “Sinicization” campaign in response to the “imperialization movement”. Later, Fan Shoukang, the director of the Education Department, also said, “To make Taiwan's education completely Chinese is the direction of Taiwan's education in the future”. (Fan, 1946: 5)

B. Establishment of the State Mandarin Promotion Agency

After Chen Yi took over Taiwan, he first set up free Mandarin remedial classes at various garrison locations, and later started Mandarin remedial classes at national schools all over Taiwan. (Ye, 2006: 36)

In November 1945, the Mandarin Promotion Committee of the Ministry of Education sent Wei Jiangong, He Rong, and Wang Ju to Taiwan to prepare for the establishment of the Taiwan Provincial Mandarin Promotion Committee and the Mandarin Promotion Offices in the counties and cities, and on April 2, 1946, the Taiwan Provincial Mandarin Promotion Committee was formally established under the Education Department of the Chief Executive's Office. Before the establishment of the Mandarin Promotion Committee, some counties and cities had already set up Mandarin Promotion Offices in accordance with the “Organizational Regulations of Mandarin Promotion Offices in Counties and Municipalities of Taiwan Province of China”, but in the course of implementation, all counties and cities had difficulties in recruiting Mandarin Promotion Offices and had to bear an excessive burden of funds. As a result, Chen Yi abolished the Mandarin Promotion Offices in January 1947, and the Mandarin Promotion Committees managed the Mandarin Promotion Offices in all counties and cities.

After the Mandarin Promotion Committee was established, it was first organized by Wei Jiangong on the basis of the “Program for the Mandarin Campaign” issued by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China in 1944, which was adapted to the actual situation in Taiwan as the “Program for the Mandarin Campaign in Taiwan Province”. The most significant adjustment in this

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program was the advocacy of the restoration of the Taiwanese language. Wei Jianguo advocated that Taiwanese people should use their dialects to learn the national language. In Wei Jianguo's view, the introduction of the national language after Taiwan's restoration had a twofold significance: firstly, the restoration of the free use of the motherland's language, and later, the introduction of the national standardized language.

The next step in the Mandarin Promotion was to correct the pronunciation of the Mandarin language, and in 1946 the Mandarin Promotion Committee began to broadcast the Mandarin phonograms produced by the Ministry of Education and pronounced by Zhao Yuanren on the radio program “Mandarin Pronunciation Demonstration” for the benefit of the people of Taiwan. In May of that year, Qi Hentic, a member of the Mandarin Promotion Committee, gave the lecture. Qi's Mandarin pronunciation was considered to be the most authoritative standard pronunciation at the time, and his reading of Mandarin textbooks in the program was a daily radio program for teachers and students in many schools at the time.

The Mandarin Promotion Committee was an important organization for the Mandarin movement in Taiwan after the restoration, but in practice, it received insufficient support. The organizations that promoted the Mandarin movement were the Department of Education and the Mandarin Promotion Committee. During the period of the Chief Executive's Office, the Provincial Department of Education and the Provincial Mandarin Promotion Committee were parallel organizations under the Chief Executive's Office. When the Chief Executive's Office was reorganized into the Taiwan Provincial Government in June 1947, the Mandarin Promotion Committee became an agency under the Department of Education, essentially becoming a professional advisory body to the Department of Education in the implementation of the Mandarin policy. At its peak, the size of the Mandarin Promotion Committee was no more than 80 members, so it was not able to grasp the huge resources of teachers from primary education to higher education like the Department of Education, and naturally its influence could not be rivaled by the Department of Education. In addition, some of the members of the Mandarin Promotion Committee began to serve as editors of the Mandarin Daily(国语日报)in 1948, which further affected their access to resources in the national language movement. (Ye, 2022: 48–49)

On June 22, 1948, the Central Committee of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China established the “Ministry of Education's Mandarin Promotion Committee Min-Taiwan Regional Office” in Taipei. The main purpose of this office was to transfer the “Guoyu Xiaobao”(国语小报), which had ceased circulation in Beijing, to Taiwan and renamed it the “Mandarin Daily”(国语日报), which became the sister organization of the Mandarin Promotion Committee. Since then, the Mandarin Promotion Committee's teaching materials and articles on the promotion of the Mandarin language have been published in the Mandarin Daily. The degree of mutual affiliation between the Mandarin Promotion Committee and the editorial staff of the Mandarin Daily was so high that many Mandarin Promotion Committee meetings would even take place directly in the offices of the Mandarin Daily. At the same time, the 16,000-word daily circulation of the Mandarin Daily effectively squeezed the distribution of books planned by the Mandarin Promotion Committee for the teaching of the national language. In 1948, for example, about one-third of the books could not be distributed successfully. (Yang, 2012: 150–152)

The Department of Education was in fact the central organization for the promotion of the national language movement. While the Ministry of Education at the central level mainly determined the direction of the national language movement, the local “Taiwan Provincial Department of Education” was almost entirely responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies. Further, the Taiwan Provincial Department of Education, in fact, can be regarded as the most important organization for the implementation of the national language movement in Taiwan. In the early post-war period, when the Mandarin Promotion Committee was implementing policies such as “utilizing dialects to promote the Mandarin language,” it was hampered by the Department of Education in terms of funding because of a disagreement with the then Director of the Department of Education, Song Feiru. (Ye, 2022: 50)

C. The Abolition of the Japanese Language and “Enslavement theory”

Japan's rule over Taiwan for nearly 50 years has deeply affected the language habits of the Taiwanese. by the time of Taiwan's restoration in 1945, Japanese had become the main common language in Taiwan. Most Taiwanese only use Japanese for daily communication, and only in families and rural areas do some elderly people and women use Minnan dialect. Zhang Guangzhi, who returned to Taiwan at the end of 1946 with his father, Zhang Wojun, believed that the greatest influence of Japan on Taiwan was in the language, even in Banqiao, a “rural town”, he “heard all the middle-aged and young men, and there was not a single one of them who did not talk to each other in Japanese”. (Zhang, 2013: 23) Wei Jianguo talked about the situation of Taiwanese society in the early days of the restoration, saying that “the elderly people in Taiwan knew Mandarin and could speak Taiwanese; the middle-aged people wrote Japanese and could barely speak Taiwanese; and the young people spoke and wrote all in Japanese”. (“Taiwanese Enthusiastic about Learning Mandarin”, 1946)

After the KMT government took over Taiwan, it realized that the promotion of the Mandarin language in Taiwan was crucial. On the one hand, the national language could help Taiwanese re-identify with Chinese culture and strengthen their identity with China; on the other hand, if Japanese continued to be the dominant language, it would greatly affect the dissemination of political orders and culture. Many intellectuals and newspapers emphasized that the promotion of the national language should be a top

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priority. In December 1945, shortly after the restoration of Taiwan, the Taiwan Xinsheng Newspaper(台湾新生报) published an editorial, “Implementing the National Language Issue,” which said:“the implementation of the national language is the most necessary and urgent issue for the present”. (“Promoting the National Language Issue”, 1945)

On July 17, 1946, the Office of the Chief Executive of Taiwan Province issued a telegraphic order requiring that, from August of that year, all instruction in the province should be conducted in the national language (including the provincial dialect), and that the use of Japanese should no longer be permitted, with the exception of teachers of Japanese nationality who were recruited. Immediately following in October of that year, another telegraphic order was issued to reiterate the urgency of banning the use of the Japanese language and ordering the press to abolish all Japanese-language pages by October 25th.

The abolition of the use of Japanese was actually supported by most Taiwanese. As early as October 1945, the Minbao newspaper called on its colleagues to work to remove the Japanese language and its influence. Jiang Qi, then the cultural director of Taipei City, wrote an article advocating that the use of Japanese should be banned immediately, arguing that the difficulty of implementing the national language in Taiwan was caused by the popularity of Japanese. In an editorial on January 22, 1946, Minbao Newspaper advocated the abolition of the use of Japanese while rewarding the learning of the national language.

However, since the transition period for language conversion lasted only one year, there was no time for Taiwanese to learn the national language well, and the abolition of the Japanese language made not only the general public illiterate all of a sudden, but also most of the intellectuals’ illiterate or semi-literate. For the majority of the Taiwanese people, the use of Japanese was only a stopgap measure under the circumstances. As early as June or July 1946, when rumors began to circulate that the authorities were about to abolish the Japanese language, the Senate in Hsinchu, Kaohsiung, Tainan, Chiayi, Taichung, Hualien, and other localities put forward proposals to postpone the abolition of the Japanese language version for reasons such as “abolition of the Japanese language version at too early a stage would impede the transmission of governmental decrees, and young and strong adults did not yet fully understand the national language”. The Senate of Hualien and other local councils made proposals to postpone the abolition of the Japanese version. In the sixth issue of Xinxin Magazine, which appeared on August 12, 1946, a small article titled “It's Too Early to Abolish the Japanese Language” pointed out that abolishing the Japanese column would be tantamount to closing the ears and eyes of the people of this province. In the seventh issue (published on October 17, 1946), there were several articles written in Japanese discussing the abolition of the Japanese edition. One of the articles, Wu Zhuoliu's “My Opinions on the Abolition of the Japanese Language,” pointed out that the Japanese language played a very important role as a medium of culture, and that since there were a large number of Japanese translations of intellectual and cultural works of various countries around the world, one could get close to the cultures of various countries around the world if one knew the Japanese language. In its inaugural issue, the Renmin Daobao Newspaper (人民导报) also explained that the reason for its Japanese version was to give young people who had not yet learned the national language a window of opportunity to learn it. (Zeng, 2005: 289)

According to Wang Yiding, who experienced the incident first hand, among the mistakes made by the KMT government in the early days of the takeover of Taiwan was the handling of language and writing. He said that when Taiwanese were not allowed to speak or use Japanese, or even to speak Taiwanese, it was almost as if they were deprived of the right to express their opinions in public. (Wang, 1991: 45–52)

However, on the one hand, the Taiwan Governor's Office prohibits people from the province from speaking Japanese, but on the other hand, there are some people from the mainland who show their superiority by speaking Japanese. (Qian, 1947: 6) For foreign provinces to Taiwan to receive personnel to speak Japanese behaviour, the Taiwanese think, if only because of the need to work, originally there is no excuse. However, there are some people who do not necessarily have to use the Japanese language to make use of it, and even compatriots in Taiwan prefer to use Japanese when they use the national language, “such performance is very detrimental to the dignity of the national language, and is detrimental to the creation of a national language environment”. (Zhang, 1974: 44)

At the same time, the issue of the use of Japanese by the Taiwanese also gave rise to the discourse of “slavery”; in May 1946, the Minbao newspaper broke the story of Fan Shoukang's accusation of “complete slavery” of the Taiwanese in a speech held by the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Cadre Training Corps, in which he made a slip of the tongue. The incident aroused strong public discontent. Thereafter, a debate on the “slavery of the Taiwanese” began in the official Taiwan New Life and the private Minbao newspapers, with the participation of many newspapers in the Taiwanese society at that time.

Taiwanese people reacted violently to this, believing that the title of “slavery” imposed on the people of the province was something that the people of the province, who have a particularly strong sense of honour and self-respect, could not bear. (“Taiwan Has Not Been Enslaved”, 1946) Wang Baiyuan wrote an article pointing out that the provincials thought that the Taiwanese had been subjected to fifty years of “slavery” by the Japanese was “bullshit”, and thought that “although the Taiwanese had been subjected to the policy of slavery for fifty years, they were not enslaved, and it could be said that ninety-nine out of a hundred were absolutely not enslaved”. It is not only too shallow to judge whether or not a Taiwanese is enslaved merely on the basis of whether or not he or she can speak beautiful Mandarin and write fluent Chinese, but it is even very bullying. (Wang, 1946)

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Zhong Lihe published “The Problem of Education in New Taiwan amidst the Sound of Education for All” to refute the problem of national language education raised by Zhang Wojun in his article “The Problem of Education in New Taiwan”. Zhang Wojun showed that the high penetration rate of Japanese education would lead to the Japaneseization of the Taiwanese people. Using the analogy of skin, Zhong Lihe argues that the Japanese language is like clothing, and that clothing cannot be used to replace the skin's original status and performance, and argues that knowing Japanese is not proof that Taiwanese people have forgotten their own language and become Japanese. (Zhong, 1946: 5) Su Xin argues that the theory of “slavery” undermines the bond between local and provincials and digs a chasm between the two, hindering the development of the literary movement in Taiwan. (Su, 1947: 17))

On the whole, the original intention of the KMT government in banning the Japanese language was to accomplish the task of decolonization, while enabling the Taiwanese people to rejoin the Chinese nation as soon as possible, and the Taiwanese people also recognized the importance of this policy. However, language conversion is a long-term process. From this point of view, the total banning of the Japanese language was too hasty, and not only did it not fully take into account the actual situation in Taiwan, but also did not give the Taiwanese people a sufficient transition period, which undoubtedly deepened the dissatisfaction of some Taiwanese people with the KMT government. Many Taiwanese intellectuals at the time only used Japanese and had a very low level of proficiency in the Mandarin language, so an outright ban on the Japanese language would cause them great difficulties; some also feared that it would destroy Taiwan's long-established cultural traditions. These were the seeds of Taiwanese dissatisfaction with the government's language policy, and to some extent, this “slavery” rhetoric sowed the seeds of the subsequent conflict between the native Taiwanese and the provincials during the February 28th Incident.

D. Resistance to the implementation of the national language

Japan paid a high cost for language education that was widely spread in colonial Taiwan, and to some extent made Japanese a common language across ethnic groups in Taiwan. However, this was not good news for the KMT government, which wanted to pursue a second national language policy in Taiwan. The legacy left by the former colonial power would create difficulties for the new rulers to establish hegemony.

The greatest difficulty in promoting the Mandarin language in Taiwan after the restoration was the lack of teachers. On the one hand, there were only a limited number of teachers who came to Taiwan from the mainland; the first batch consisted of only 33 Mandarin language promoters with varying levels of Mandarin proficiency. On the other hand, there was also a great problem in replenishing teachers in Taiwan itself. Differentiated education during the Japanese colonial period also brought with it the disadvantage of replenishing teaching staff. Japan's investment in education in Taiwan was mainly focused on the primary education stage with a view to assimilation, while the construction of education beyond secondary education was insufficient. After the restoration, the KMT government found that too few students graduated from Taiwan's secondary education, and there was a shortage of teachers in the latter group, which contributed to the shortage of teachers to implement the national language. ((Huang, 2000) It was not until August 1946 that the first batch of teachers specializing in teaching Mandarin was recruited.

On the other hand, the generation that was most suitable to supplement the teaching staff in the post-war period was the one that was most affected by the “imperialization of the people”. As Wu Shouli observed, Taiwanese young people of this age group could hardly speak Japanese at all, and they were unfamiliar with their mother tongue, and they hardly had any contact with the Chinese language. At the beginning of the restoration, only a handful of Taiwanese who had studied or lived in mainland China for a long time were fluent in Mandarin. At that time, Taiwanese teachers were basically educated in Japanese and were proficient in the Japanese language. When they were required to teach in Chinese, many teachers were forced to spend their evenings learning Mandarin, and immediately transfer their learning to their students the next day. (Wang, 2022: 77)

In the course of the implementation of national language education, the problem of textbooks also showed the lack of preparation of the KMT government. Insufficient textbooks, confusing editions, textbooks prepared on the mainland that were too difficult to use, etc. made it so that instructors at the site of the implementation of the national language had to make up their own textbooks or choose textbooks of poorer quality; while instructors in the province would use textbooks for teaching Chinese through the Japanese language. (Cai, 2011: 60–98) At the beginning of the post-war period, the Office of the Chief Administrator sent by the KMT government had not yet had time to produce textbooks in the Mandarin language, so some schools taught their students by using popular Chinese textbooks as textbooks, and in most of the villages, lessons were taught in the Minnan or Hakka languages.

IV. LANGUAGE ISSUES IN THE FEBRUARY 28TH INCIDENT

In the February 28th Incident, the hidden dangers of the previous language policy came to light. On the one hand, the difference in language provided the basis for the division of “our group” and “the other group” between those from Taiwan and those from other provinces. On the other hand, due to the rejection of the KMT government, Taiwan has returned to the Japanese-speaking world, and the Japanese language has not only reappeared in radio stations, war posters, bulletins, and slogans as a tool for mobilizing the people of Taiwan, but also in the concentration camps, where the Japanese national anthem is used by the imprisoned people as a spiritual support. According to Xu Xueji, after the February 28th Incident, Taiwanese people were influenced by politics and

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cooled their enthusiasm for learning the national language. (Xu, 1991) The KMT government's politicization of the language issue after Taiwan's restoration, without taking into account the daily use of the Taiwanese people and the language barrier between them and those from other provinces, further deepened the divide and was a background that cannot be ignored in the outbreak of the February 28th Incident.

Before the February 28th incident, the emotional divide between local and provincials had already reached a rather deep level. Lei Shiyu, a mainland intellectual who went to Taiwan, observed: “In Taiwan, the phenomenon of mutual exclusion between local and provincials is quite remarkable, especially in the administrative organs.” (Lei, 1947: 23) According to Qiu Niantai, there were two main reasons why there was a great deal of discord with the people in the early stages of the takeover of government by the Governor's Office. First, during the period of transition between the old and new decrees, the people might not be accustomed to them and could not do them well, and it was normal for them to complain in such a situation; second, it was a language problem, as most of the Taiwanese below the middle age were not proficient in Mandarin, and did not know the language, which led to an emotional gap between them and their compatriots in the provinces and misunderstandings due to language obstacles, which was something that could not be remedied for a long time. (Dai; Ye, 2002: 170)

When the February 28th Incident occurred, there were thugs in every street and alley in Taiwan looking for provincials to beat up, and the atrocity of “beating up Ah Shan” became very loud and powerful for a while. Whenever they saw a person dressed in a Chinese suit or cheongsam, or who did not speak Minnan or Japanese language, they were intercepted and became the target of their anger. (Dai; Ye, 2002: 210) As a foreigner who personally experienced the February 28th incident, former Hsinchu County Mayor Zhu Bowen recorded in his recollections that friends urged him to make sure he spoke Taiwanese to avoid the danger thing. (Zhu, 1986: 175)

Zeng Jinke, then a member of the Central Committee for Cultural Movements and Shenbao Newspaper's declared commissioner in Taiwan, observed what happened to the Minnan-speaking people during the incident. At first, the mob distinguished “Ah Shan” on the basis of whether or not they could speak Minnan dialect, which not able to spared some Minnanese and provincials who could speak Minnan dialect. After discovering this loophole, they added the requirement of being able to speak Japanese, so that provincials who could only speak Minnanese but not Japanese would face an even more miserable situation. (Zeng, 1986: 133–134) Dai Guohui, a native of this province, also had the experience of being forced to sing Japanese songs to prove his identity because his Japanese was “not very good”. (Dai; Ye, 2002a: 3)

In the event, the Japanese language and Japanese military songs, which had been banned earlier, also became an important means of mobilizing the people of the province for a time. (Huang, 2017: 185) The memories of political prisoner Huang Huachang, who experienced the White Terror, also confirm that Japanese military songs were widely heard across Taiwan during the February 28 Incident. (Huang, 2015: 205–206)

Even before the occurrence of February 28, the Minbao had already noticed the paradoxical situation of Japanese reanimation in Taiwanese society due to the deepening of the gap with the provincials. (“Where the Taiwanese Are Going”, 1947) The skyrocketing prices after the restoration and the greed of those who came to Taiwan to receive them put Taiwan in a worse position than it had been in during the war, and this caused Taiwanese enthusiasm for the motherland to begin to wane. Not only did the wave of learning the national language ebb, but Taiwanese who deliberately used Japanese appeared in the society and used speaking Japanese to express their dissatisfaction with the failure of the KMT government to govern. (He, 2003)

In the early days of the incident, the people of this province distinguished between “their own people” and “the enemy” through the Minnan language and the Japanese language, and used the Japanese language and Japanese military songs as spiritual symbols. However, by the time the KMT reinforcements arrived, the situation was completely reversed. Sun Kangyi, a professor of East Asian languages at Yale University, wrote in his autobiography that when the KMT troops entered the port of Keelung, the situation was instantly reversed, and the soldiers were able to deal with Taiwanese who did not speak Mandarin on the spot. (Sun, 2012: 17–19)

At the time of the February 28th Incident, Taiwanese society was divided by two distinct lines. One was the line of political power, dividing the ruling group from the ruled group, and the other was the line of “ethnicity,” dividing the “natives” from the “outsiders,” and these two lines overlapped each other at the time and for the next forty years. These two lines overlapped each other at that time and for the next forty years. Since the class that monopolized political power was obviously the officials and military officials who had migrated from other provinces, the overlapping of these two lines led to controversy and confrontation between different positions and identities in understanding the nature of the incident. (Wu, 2008: 58)

V. LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE KMT GOVERNMENT AFTER ITS RELOCATION TO TAIWAN

On December 7, 1949, the KMT government moved to Taiwan, beginning a new phase in the implementation of the national language.

In the early years of the KMT's relocation to Taiwan, the level of Mandarin proficiency of the teaching staff, whether of foreign or local origin, fell far short of the “standard”. The problem with the foreign teachers was the variability of their Mandarin

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pronunciation, while the main problem with the Taiwanese teachers was that their way of thinking was mainly in Japanese and Minnan dialect, with a mixture of Japanese and Minnan dialect words. (Hu, 2005: 25) It can be said that the national language movement was the “pain of modernization” that the first generation, regardless of provincial origin, had to face after the war.

Observing the impact of the KMT government's relocation to Taiwan on provincial conflicts, Wang Xiaobo points out the seriousness of the language problem. A large portion of the personnel from the provinces who came to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek were placed in grass-roots positions, such as district offices and grass-roots police officers. At that time, the Taiwanese people's limited ability to speak the national language, and the communication difficulties and misunderstandings caused by the differences in their respective mother tongues exacerbated the shadow of the provincial divisions to a certain extent. (Wang, 1986: 85)

In the mid-to-late 1960s and 1970s, Taiwan's rapid economic and social development was accompanied by dramatic changes in the world situation, and the rule of the KMT government was constantly challenged. In order to establish a basis for political legitimacy, the KMT authorities vigorously reinforced the concept of Greater China culturally, suppressed Taiwan's local cultures, and promoted the Mandarin language, once again creating a fervour for learning the language. Through the learning of the national language, a sense of “similarity” was created among people, and Chinese culture was further studied in the “national language” classes, thus contributing to the “national integration” of Taiwan. (Ge, 1991: 171)

In 1966, the Taiwan Provincial Government issued a strict order to strengthen the promotion of the national language, promulgating the Plan for Strengthening the Promotion of the National Language in Schools at All Levels of the County and Municipal Governments. Since then, the national language movement at the school level has entered a new era. Most of the national language policies in the early years of the restoration came from the Taiwan Provincial Government or the Ministry of Education; after 1960, many centralized organs of the KMT authorities also became involved. In 1967, the National Assembly requested the provincial government to reinstate the Mandarin Promotion Committee, which had been abolished in 1959; in 1970, legislators requested the government to formulate a plan for the promotion of the national language as soon as possible; and in 1972, the National Assembly requested the government to quickly enact a “law on the promotion of the national language”, pointing out that the significance of the promotion of the national language was to “seek respect and self-improvement for the whole nation and to stimulate the national mindset”. (Zhang, 1974: 212) The Committee for the Revival of Chinese Culture was also enthusiastic about the national language movement. The active involvement of the central authorities increased the pressure on the provincial government and the Ministry of Education, so in addition to formulating relevant policies, they also took more stringent measures to inspect and supervise the national language movement. The education authorities have deliberately formulated specific requirements and quantitative indicators for inspections.

In addition to the promotion of the Mandarin language, the suppression of dialects was also a major focus of the period; in 1969, the Taiwan Provincial Government explicitly prohibited the publication of Roman characters in the Taiwan Church Bulletin, which was forced to change to a monthly magazine in Chinese, and in 1970, the Ministry of Education issued the “Key Points for Implementing Measures to Enhance the Promotion of the Mandarin Campaign,” which advocated the “Speak Mandarin Campaign” of speaking the Mandarin language at school, speaking the Mandarin language in the car, and speaking the Mandarin language in conversations in public places. The Criteria for Rewards and Punishments for Professionals in Organs Under the Executive Yuan, promulgated in 1970, assessed the effectiveness of educational administrators in promoting the Mandarin, and provided rewards and punishments; in 1973, the Ministry of Education also published a new Measures for the Promotion of the Mandarin, which provided more specific regulations for the promotion of the Mandarin. These measures were in use for 30 years until 2003, when they were abolished. In 1976, the Taiwan Provincial Government sent a letter to all counties and municipal governments to “reiterate the implementation of the Mandarin campaign and stipulate that the Mandarin should be used in all public offices, public places, schools, as well as in conversations between teachers and students”. It also stipulated that “speaking Mandarin” should start with every civil servant and every office. In 1979, the Ministry of Education issued a letter to the Department of Education on the proposed methodology of the Institute, in which it was stipulated that “the ability to speak Mandarin should be one of the necessary conditions for the registration of central or local public officials for election”. (Qiu; Vandenberg, 1994)

After the restoration of Taiwan, although the KMT government made every effort to promote the Mandarin language, the majority of the people still used Minnan dialect as their main language of communication, as evidenced by the fact that Minnan dialect movies became a popular trend among the people between 1956 and 1981.

VI. DISCUSSION: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF “RE-CHINIZATION” AND DE-JAPANIZATION

Researchers in Taiwan are usually critical of the Mandarin policy after the restoration to varying degrees. For example, Chen Cuilian argues that the KMT government no longer confined the issue of language to the realm of a communication tool, but rather gave it a highly political color. (Chen, 2002) The language issue became a mandatory politics of oppression and was used as a justification for the denial of political rights in a way that the Taiwanese people, caught up in a frenzy of Mandarin learning at the beginning of the restoration, did not expect. Linguist Huang Xuanfan also argues that Taiwan's political and linguistic conflict is not due to the fact that Taiwan is a multilingual society, but rather to the fact that those in power before the 1980s suppressed dialects

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on many fronts, suppressing the promotion opportunities and economic benefits of dialect groups. The causal relationship between this and the ethnic conflict is obvious. (Huang, 1993: 447)

Constructors of the “Taiwanese nation” after the lifting of martial law have also repeatedly interpreted the Mandarin policy's restriction of dialects as a suppression of the “native” language, in order to justify their opposition to the KMT government. However, was the Mandarin policy implemented by the KMT in Taiwan after the restoration really that effective, and was the “Sinicization” that thorough? To answer this question, one only has to look at the use of the Mandarin in governmental settings during this period and the thoroughness of De-Japanization, the other core of the KMT's policy during this period.

In the early post-war period, the implementation of the Mandarin was hampered by a number of obstacles, centering on “non-Mandarin” deliberation and local governance carried out in the “vernacular” language. As the highest-level elected supervisory body during that period, the archives of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly show that the language used in the Assembly was at least bilingual, requiring the assistance of both Mandarin and Taiwanese for questioning. In some local assemblies, “Taiwanese” was even the dominant language. By crawling through the proceedings of Taiwan's provincial and local assemblies in the early postwar period, Ye Weizhe found that the archives not only criticized the harm done to the native languages by the homogenization of the official Mandarin policy, but also mentioned many phenomena in which the implementation of the Mandarin policy was hindered at the local level. These difficulties included poor pronunciation and poor teaching of the Mandarin: “Teachers in all schools often mixed local dialects to teach students, especially the majority of primary and secondary school students who did not have a deep understanding of their motherland's language and had difficulty in listening to lectures, thus hampering their academic progress”. By 1958, this problem had not yet been fundamentally resolved, and a member of the Provisional Provincial Senate, Mr. Ye Binghuang, questioned, “here are still many teachers who do not know Mandarin, so how can they teach people?”. In 1964, Tainan City Councilor Kuo Ching-Lin also appealed to the council, “Can all councilors speak in Mandarin when reporting?” As late as the 1970s, these same elected representatives continued to emphasize the use of Taiwanese, and even Japanese, by many people in public offices, on campus teaching sites, and even in parliamentary venues. (Ye, 2022: 3)

It can be seen that the KMT government's Mandarin Promotion Offices policy in Taiwan was not as strong and comprehensively pervasive at the level of implementation as previous scholars have claimed. In the field of school education, the Mandarin of Mandarin teachers is also far from “standard”. Even in local councils, Mandarin may not be the most dominant language. The mother tongues of Taiwan's various ethnic groups, and even Japanese, retain room for use in Taiwanese society. (Ye, 2022: 26) In this sense, the KMT government was not strong enough to penetrate the Mandarin into all corners of Taiwanese daily life. The KMT government's rule in Taiwan was established indirectly through cooperation with local factions, and thus tolerated many acts of local factions in local affairs that were contrary to central government policies, such as allowing public opinion representatives to use their mother tongue in local councils. However, in the public sphere, which is not closely linked to the ruling power, such as broadcasting, a great part of it is read out in Mandarin.

In Taiwan during the period 1945-1949, although the use of Japanese was officially banned and Japanese publications were banned, the fact is that the overall functioning of official organizations and civil society was highly compromised with the use of the Japanese language. At the beginning of the restoration, there was a severe shortage of mainland officials, almost all of whom were high-ranking officials and police officers. In order to maintain the basic functioning of Taiwanese society, a large number of grass-roots officials were retained, and a large number of Japanese scientific and technological bureaucrats were also retained. (Hu, 2005: 33) It is not hard to imagine that Taiwanese and Japanese should not have been absent from the operation of Taiwan's public service system at that time.

The Office of the Chief Executive of Taiwan banned the distribution of Japanese-language printed materials in 1946, but as late as 1951, the “Joint Committee for the Rehabilitation of Rural Areas of China” (JCRRA) issued the Japanese-translated “Fengnian Semi-Monthly” (丰年半月刊). For the first four years of its existence (1951-1954), Japanese translations were used in the sections on important agricultural policies in order to inform Taiwanese farmers who had received Japanese language education about the new official agricultural policies and cultivation methods. Until 1954, each issue of the magazine included a Japanese summary of the current issue. (Ye, 2022: 5) This shows that power is not pervasive between official policy and its implementation by the people. In the countryside, where the Mandarin did not prevail, the KMT government was forced to use Japanese for policy propaganda.

The policy of “De-Japanization” appears to be on the same level of importance as “Re-Chinization”. However, if we look at this issue over a longer period of time, we will find that the implementation of the policy of De-Japanization was not as thorough as it was claimed to be. This can be seen in the development of Japanese video products in Taiwan after the restoration.

In 1945, after taking over Taiwan, the Office of the Chief Executive of Taiwan Province gave Japanese films a four-month moratorium from August to December of that year, after which a total ban was imposed on their importation and exhibition. This grace period was in fact a compromise between the Taiwan Provincial Executive Yuan's policy of “De-Japanization” and the entertainment needs of the Taiwanese people. During this buffer period, the Office of the Taiwan Provincial Chief Executive continued to show Japanese films while introducing mainland films and promoting the importation of foreign films. In 1946, the number of movies imported from the United Kingdom, the United States, and the mainland increased and gradually met the demand

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of the people. Subsequently, the Office of the Chief Executive issued an order “banning the screening of Japanese movies, dubbing in Japanese, and subtitling in Japanese.” (Luo, 2003: 47)

In 1949, the KMT moved to Taiwan and used Taiwan as a base for “anti-communist revival”. In terms of cultural policy, the demand for “Re-Chinization” was further strengthened, and the “De-Japanization” policy was not as important as the “Re-Chinization” policy at this stage. Especially in terms of movie importation, the KMT authorities were forced to allow the importation of Japanese movies due to the structural defects of Taiwan's movie industry. In 1950, the then Taiwan Provincial Assembly proposed to lift the ban on the introduction of Japanese movies. In April 1952, the KMT authorities concluded the Japan-Chinese Peace Treaty with Japan and established diplomatic relations with Japan, after which the official introduction of Japanese films began. In the same year, the KMT government set a quota for the importation of Japanese movies. In 1963, relations between the Taiwan authorities and Japan deteriorated, and no more Japanese films were imported for the following two years. In 1964, the then Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida visited Taiwan and restored relations with the Taiwanese side, and the ban on Japanese films was once again lifted. However, the re-importation of Japanese films at this time largely affected the development of Taiwanese films. In 1972, Japan broke off diplomatic relations with the Taiwanese side, and in December 1973, according to a decree of the Executive Yuan, Japanese films were once again banned from being imported. In the following ten years, Japanese films, including foreign language films related to Japan and Taiwanese films, received restrictions. This decree also restricted Japanese television programs. (Luo, 2003:46–49) However, during this period, there was no ban on the television screening of Japanese animated films. The reason for this was that the authorities considered that the Japanese colors in the animated films were lacking and had educational value, so they could be broadcast after passing the censorship. During the censorship process, elements related to Japan, such as kimonos, wabi-sabi style houses, names of characters, and scenes and settings related to Japan, are forced to be cut or changed.

The tortuous experience of Japanese-language films in Taiwan reflects the efficacy of two facets of cinema: politically, cinema undoubtedly has the efficacy to serve as a tool for ideological domination, and industrially, it is subject to the constraints of capital in terms of industrial development. These two orientations, coupled with the shifting relationship between Taiwan and Japan, have shaped the tortuous and repetitive import history of Japanese films in Taiwan.

On the other hand, this tortuous process also reflects the changes in the core policy and political interests of the KMT authorities. At the beginning of the restoration, “De-Japanization” was undoubtedly the top priority, and therefore the introduction of Japanese films was banned without hesitation once the conditions were met. In the context of the establishment of the Cold War order in the world after World War II, the relationship with Japan was eased due to the fact that the two belonged to the same camp and shared common interests, and “De-Japanization” became the second sequence of consciousness, which gave Japanese films room to survive in Taiwan during this period. After the severance of diplomatic relations with Japan, the sense of “De-Japanization” returned to the first place. In contrast, the Taiwan authorities broke off diplomatic relations with the United States in 1979, but did not prohibit the import of American video products, and the preferential policy was continued. From this point of view, although the main policies of the KMT government after the restoration of Taiwan were “De-Japanization” and “Re-Chinization”, the importance of “De-Japanization” changed under different realities. However, in terms of “de-Japanization”, the degree of its importance changed under different realities.

In addition, Taiwanese people's affinity for the Japanese language and culture has also made “De-Japanization” less effective. Huang Wisdom pointed out that the generation that grew up under Japanese education could only use Japanese as a tool for self-expression, and that this way of expressing oneself could be easily misunderstood and even maliciously misinterpreted. The colonized people, who were reluctant to learn Japanese during the Japanese colonial era, have instead begun to study Japanese seriously under the arbitrary linguistic and cultural policies of the national authorities and have used it to define their identity. Although the Japanese language disappeared from the public sphere (with the exception of indigenous ethnic areas), it was transferred to more closed arenas such as families and associations, and even preserved for a long time in the private sphere of personal inner writing. (Huang, 2010: 71) This is exemplified by the large number of autobiographies, poems, Japanese books, novels, and other publications written in Japanese by Taiwanese in Taiwan and Japan after the Martial Law was lifted.

Li Yiyun also argues that despite the official ban on the use of the Japanese language and the ban on Japanese culture after the restoration, through the Taiwanese people's goodwill towards Japan, and the Taiwanese industry's initiative to introduce it, Japanese popular culture (e.g., comics, animation, dramas, fashion magazines, pop music, etc.) has existed for a long time in the form of undergrounding, without symbolic or cultural capital, and has been consumed in Taiwan's market. For example, the publishing industry removed the Japanese components from Japanese comic books by various deformations and transformations (e.g., changing kimonos into western clothes, changing tatami mats into floors, changing Japanese names into Chinese names, etc.), introduced them into circulation in Taiwan, and shaped the Taiwanese affinity for Japanese comics. (Li, 2010: 102–103)

This “habitus” of the Japanese colonial experience among the Taiwanese people could not be achieved in a short period of time. The discrimination suffered by the Taiwanese people after the restoration and at the time of reception, the psychological disillusionment caused by being regarded as Japanese accomplices by the government, and the conflicts and frictions in reality have all reduced the Taiwanese people's willingness to “Re-Chinization” and “De-Japanization”. At the same time, the Japanese element,

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which was regarded as a symbol of “slavery” by the rulers, became a symbol of differentiation from the “outsiders”. As a result, the will of Taiwan's native people has shifted to preserving the experience of the Japanese colonial period and passing it on to the next generation through physical reality. (Li, 2010: 104–105)

The translation activities of local translators during the early years of the Restoration also show that this policy of De-Japanization was not an ironclad one. The last generation of Taiwanese who received Japanese colonial education began to learn Chinese after the restoration, and when they reached a certain level of proficiency in Chinese, they began to translate Japanese children's literature into Chinese and introduce it to Taiwan. After it was no longer possible to use Japanese openly, they changed their strategy and practiced indirect translation “underground” by utilizing the linguistic assets left to them by the colonizers. Although the policy of “Re-Chinization” made it possible for translators to write in Chinese, this practice of “translation” was in fact a form of resistance to the policy of “De-Japanization”. Although these books are from the West, the choice of themes and the manipulation of plots are dictated by translators from Japan, which is somewhere in the middle. The children's literature that was so popular in Japan was also popular in Taiwan. (Lai, 2022: 211–213) Thus, in this sense, the KMT government's policy of De-Japanization was a failure.

After fifty years of colonial rule and the subsequent long period of “undergrounding” of Japanese culture in Taiwan, Taiwan's cultural ties with Japan have not been severed, but rather have become closer. According to statistics, between 1946 and 1964, only 3-4% of Taiwan's translators were of provincial origin. Translators of foreign origin dominated the market for adult readers, while most of the translators of local origin plowed deeper into the field of children's literature. Ostensibly, the post-war translation activities were aimed at improving people's proficiency in the Mandarin, in line with the Nationalist government's policy of Re-Chinization, but since all the subjects were translated indirectly through the Japanese translations, this could actually be detrimental to the policy of De-Japanization. This would actually be detrimental to the “de-Japanization” policy. Although there are ways in which translators can minimize or eliminate “Japanese elements” in Japanese translations, for example, in order to show loyalty to the regime, Taiwanese publishers and translators are very careful when dealing with terms related to “Japan”. The word “Japan” is always omitted or replaced by other words, but the choice of themes and the manipulation of the plot are determined by the intermediary Japanese translator. So, in a way, a work that is popular among Japanese youth will also be popular among Taiwanese youth. (Lai, 2022: 218–219) The KMT authorities' seemingly thorough “De-Japanization” policy towards restoration Taiwan did not uproot the Japanese element from Taiwanese society as expected, but rather “went underground” to a large extent.

As Wang Huizheng points out, the Japanese language was regarded by the KMT government as a symbol of the “enslavement” of the Taiwanese people, but it was also used by the Taiwanese people as a tool to fight against the oppression of the regime. (Wang, 2020: 7) In other words, the use of Japanese, or the translation of Japanese works, was a form of strategic resistance to the rulers. Even this resistance has helped to perpetuate the “Japanese-speaking generation” (or Japanese-speakers) in Taiwanese society.

CONCLUSIONS

In the early post-war period, there was a wave of Mandarin learning in Taiwan, and the Nationalist government began to promote the Mandarin under this wave of enthusiasm. However, in its eagerness to “Re-Chinization” the Taiwanese people, Chen Yi's government adopted the radical measure of De-Japanization, which made it difficult for the Taiwanese people to adapt to the social language of De-Japanization, and coupled with the poor behavior and corruption of the receiving officials, the enthusiasm of the Taiwanese people for learning the national language disappeared. The enthusiasm of the Taiwanese to learn the Mandarin no longer existed. The outbreak of the February 28th Incident, which demonstrated the way in which people divided themselves into enemies through language, led to a tougher ban on the Japanese language and an intensification of the policy of promoting the Mandarin. At the end of 1949, when the KMT government moved to Taiwan, it once again stepped up its campaign to promote the Mandarin in order to secure its dominant position and gradually began to prohibit the use of the Taiwanese dialect in public and educational institutions. In the 1970s, when the United States broke off diplomatic relations with the KMT authorities and the legitimacy of its rule was at stake, Chiang Kai-shek launched the “Chinese Culture Revival Movement” to promote the Mandarin even more forcefully. However, in this process, “De-Japanization” obviously failed. The Japanese language, which was strongly banned in the early days of the Restoration and then restored in the February 28th Incident, has gone into the underground market, even though it has suffered a stronger blow in the subsequent years, the “Japanese” factor has been allowed to exist in the collective memory of the Taiwanese people for a long time.

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