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CHAPTER X

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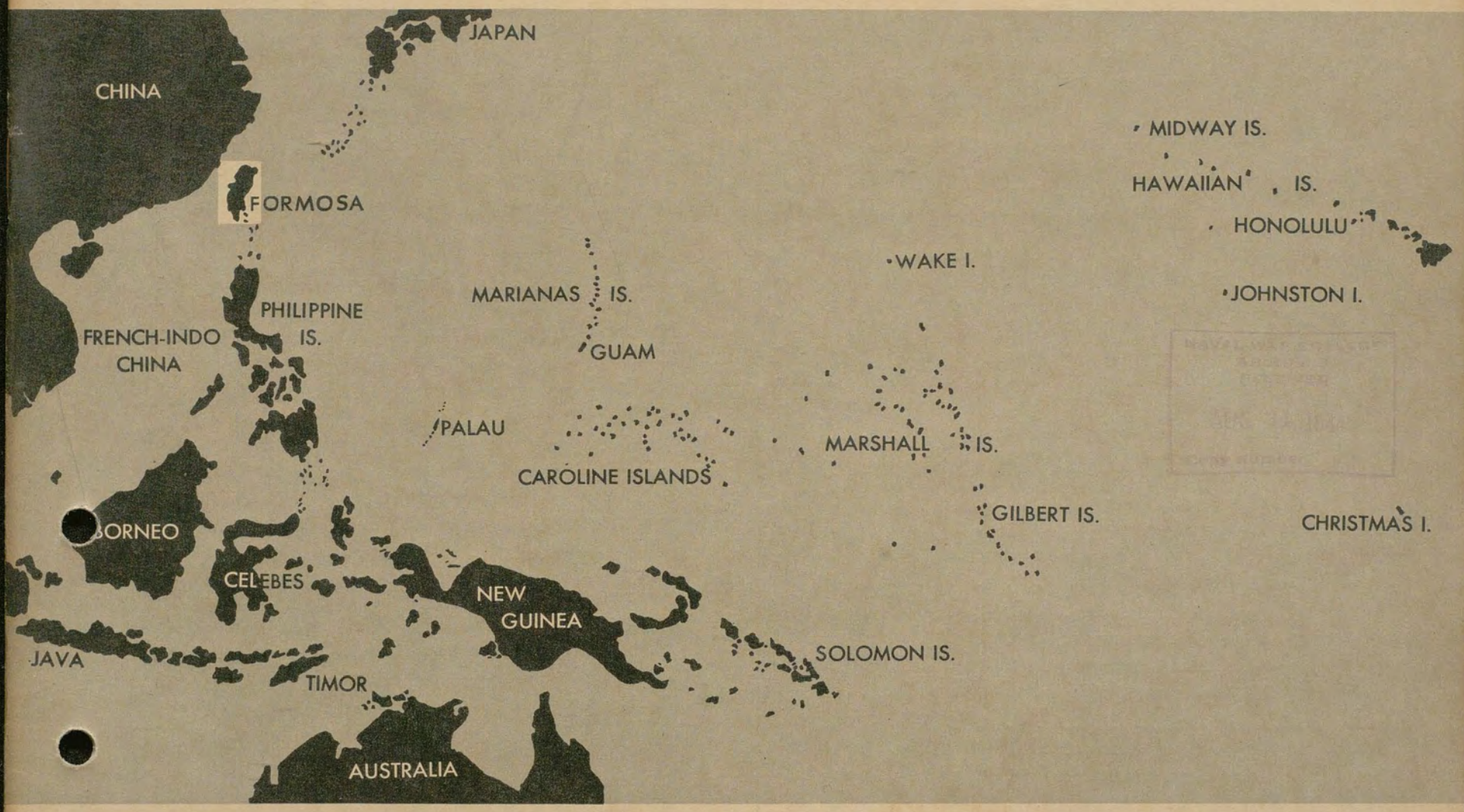

JOINT ARMY-NAVY INTELLIGENCE STUDY

OF

FORMOSA (TAIWAN)

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

JUNE 1944

List of Effective Pages, Chapter X

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page check 4/11/50 Staff

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Note: This Chapter is based on material available in Washington, D. C., on 1 June 1944.

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

100. General Description

Formosa is peopled by 3 groups—Formosan-Chinese, Japanese, and aborigines—diverse in language, culture, and social and economic position. The Formosan-Chinese comprise the great bulk of the population (over 9/10); the Japanese are dominant politically and economically; the aborigines are the rapidly declining remnant of the former inhabitants of the island.

The aboriginal tribes appear to be of Malay origin, closely related in their civilization to the primitive inhabitants of Mindanao and Borneo. Dissension among their several tribal groups has contributed, together with the arrival of other contestants for the island, to their gradual banishment, over a period of 3 centuries, to the mountainous parts of the eastern coast and the interior, where they maintain a primitive existence under strict Japanese surveillance.

Chinese immigration began as early as the sixteenth century. It was accelerated in the early seventeenth century by the influx of fugitives from the Manchu invasion of China, coming chiefly from the neighboring Chinese provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. Led by Koxinga and other leaders, the Formosan-Chinese resisted the Manchus for many years, and rebellions against the Manchu government were frequent during the ensuing centuries. The inhabitants of China proper regarded the Formosans as uncultured frontiersmen, and it was not until 1887 that the island became a separate Chinese province. By this time, the development of the sugar, camphor, rice, and tea industries had given Formosa an important place in the economy of China, and the number of Formosan-Chinese had grown to 3,000,000.

Japanese pirates visited Formosa in the seventeenth century, but there was no further Japanese contact with the island until 1874, when a short military occupation took place. In 1895, as a result of the Sino-Japanese war, the island was ceded to Japan. The Japanese gained actual control of the island only after overcoming the resistance of the inhabitants, who fought first under the short-lived Formosa Republic, and then as isolated guerilla bands for several years. The first important Japanese colony, Formosa became an experimental field for colonial methods later applied to Korea and Manchuria, and more recently a training ground for military operations in the southern seas. Government and economy were kept under firm Japanese control. After much difficulty (the last tribal rebellion was in 1930), the aboriginal tribes were mastered. The Formosan-Chinese have come to accept Japanese rule and the more prosperous classes have to some degree adopted Japanese customs. But a movement for increased participation in the government, evoking the suppression of certain political groups in 1931 and still stricter measures in 1937, has indicated that the Formosan-Chinese still retain a consciousness of their separate identity and a desire for greater independence.

The Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies established on Formosa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were weakened by mutual struggles and in the end expelled by the Chinese. The Chinese government was forced to permit, in the mid-nineteenth century, the return of European traders, who were especially active in the sale of opium and the purchase of camphor (followed later by the sale of petroleum and the purchase of tea). They played an important role in the economic development of the island. For a short time in 1857, the American flag was raised in Formosa by American traders, but their action was disavowed by the United States government.

British and Canadian missionaries were active, though always under government surveillance, and Spanish Catholic missions also existed. During the several years immediately preceding Pearl Harbor, however, all foreign activities were greatly curtailed and the movements of foreigners in the island restricted. At present, except for prisoners of war, few if any remain.

101. Population

A. Numbers.

The latest available detailed estimate of the population of Formosa places the total at 5,872,084. Of these, about 5,360,000 were Formosan-Chinese, 312,376 were Japanese, some 150,000 were aborigines, and the remainder consisted of Koreans and foreigners (mostly Chinese citizens). Of the total 1939 population of 5,872,084, the men numbered 2,970,655 and the women 2,901,429, with an average of 102.3 men to 100 women. There were 979,447 households, an average of 5.99 people living in each home.

Between 1905 and 1939 the population was doubled, chiefly because of the high birth rate of the Formosan-Chinese (no less than 45.8 per 1,000). This is considerably higher than among the Japanese of the island, who have a birth rate of 29.3, and higher also than the birth rate of Japan. The large number of births is partly offset by a high death rate of 20.6 among the Formosan-Chinese; the great disparity between this figure and the Japanese death rate of 10.3 is explained by the lower standard of living of the former group and by the fact that some Japanese return to Japan in their old age.

A conservative estimate of the present net annual population increase (24 per 1,000) indicates that the total population of Formosa should exceed 6,632,000 in 1944 and reach about 6,792,000 in 1945.

B. Distribution.

(*1*) *Density.*

These 5,800,000 people lived in an area of 13,889 square miles, ⅓ the size of the state of Virginia. The population map (Figure X - 1) and the density figures by provinces in Table X - 1 (Page X - 2) show the extremely uneven distribution. The small islands of the Pescadores have the highest density and, considering the barrenness of these islands, it has been claimed that the population has reached the saturation point. On Formosa, there is an extreme concentration on the fertile coastal plains. The highest density of 711 per square mile is found in the province of Tainan where some 1,500,000 people, or a quarter of the entire population, live.

TABLE X - 1
DENSITY OF POPULATION BY PROVINCES

PROVINCE AND DISTRICT	AREA IN SQ. MI.	AREA IN SQ. KM.	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	1939 POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POP.	1939 DENSITY PER SQ. MI.
Taihoku	1,762.79	(4,565.65)	12.7	1,140,530	19.5	646.92
Shinchiku	1,775.61	(4,598.60)	12.8	783,416	13.4	441.11
Taichū	2,850.74	(7,383.43)	20.5	1,303,609	22.2	457.24
Tainan	2,093.21	(5,421.48)	15.1	1,487,999	25.3	710.94
Takao	2,209.48	(5,722.58)	15.9	857,214	14.6	387.87
Taitō	1,361.53	(3,526.37)	9.8	86,852	1.4	63.76
Karenkō	1,787.09	(4,628.57)	12.9	147,744	2.5	84.02
Bōko	48.98	(126.86)	.3	64,620	1.1	1,318.00
TOTAL	13,889.43	(35,973.54)	100.0	5,871,984	100.0	Average 422.78

Over a million live in each of the provinces of Taihoku and Taichū, or approximately 20% and 22% respectively. The numbers become smaller in the foothills and thin out to a density of only 64 per square mile in the Taitō district of the southeast. Many mountainous areas are uninhabited.

(2) *Racial and national groups.*

(*a*) *Formosan-Chinese.* The Formosan-Chinese, comprising 94% of the population, are the farmers of Formosa and occupy all the arable land. Those coming from Fukien number over 4,000,000 and live on the fertile coastal plains (FIGURE X - 2). Those from the mountains of Fukien and from Kwangtung, called Hakkas, live in the foothills of the Shinchiku and Takao provinces bordering the aborigine territory, in scattered areas, and in the villages of Taiko, Gyubato, Gosei, Tokatsukutsu, and Nantō. In 1928, there were about 700,000 Hakka people, and it is probable that today they number well over a million.

(*b*) *Aborigines.* The aborigines are a dwindling remnant of tribesmen of a proto-Malayan race. They are divided into 7 tribes, whose population in 1936 was estimated as follows:

Atayal	36,128
Saiset	1,486
Tsuō	2,167
Bunun	17,910
Paiwan (includes Pyuma and Tsalisen)	43,987
Ami	48,898
Yami	1,713
Others	61
TOTAL	152,350

Each tribe lived in a separate area in the mountains (FIGURE X - 2). Their numbers have been declining in recent years, although this may be in part explained by their assimilation with the rest of the population. It has been the continued government policy since 1930 to "civilize" them and scatter them throughout more accessible areas.

(*c*) *Japanese.* The Japanese, compared with the Formosan-Chinese, are few in numbers, comprising but 5.3% of the population with 312,376 in 1939; almost half of them live in Taihoku, the capital. Two-thirds are to be found in the 10 largest cities and most of the others in the county administrative seats.

Abortive attempts, subsidized by the Japanese government, have been made to colonize the island with Japanese farmers. Only 8,065 Japanese in all were engaged in farming in 1938.

(*d*) *Others.* Chinese businessmen and tradespeople, including some from Canton, have settled in cities and formed an urban group distinct from the rural Formosans. These Chinese retained their citizenship in China and are classified as "foreigners" in the Japanese census. The 47,062 Chinese citizens and 2,376 Koreans make up the remaining .7% of the population.

TABLE X - 2
POPULATION OF FORMOSA, 1939

AREA	TOTAL	JAPANESE	FORMOSANS*	KOREANS	FOREIGNERS
FORMOSA (Taiwan)	5,872,084	312,376	5,510,259	2,376	47,062
PROVINCE OF TAIHOKU	1,140,530	135,017	979,619	1,146	24,748
City of Taihoku	326,407	91,550	221,602	258	12,997
City of Kiirun	100,151	24,815	69,578	687	5,071
City of Giran	36,371	2,485	33,525	13	348
Counties					
Shichisei	85,642	1,947	83,189	14	492
Tansui	52,169	1,090	50,650	15	414
Kiirun	136,181	3,328	128,945	11	3,897
Giran	66,359	439	65,781	—	139
Ratō	84,320	3,782	80,070	29	439
Suō	23,336	2,352	20,880	15	89
Bunzan	63,508	1,100	62,093	97	218
Kaizan	102,682	1,455	100,912	—	315
Shinshō	63,404	674	62,394	7	329
PROVINCE OF SHINCHIKU	783,416	17,513	763,964	145	1,794
City of Shinchiku	58,957	7,504	51,060	90	303
Counties					
Shinchiku	119,304	827	118,335	1	141
Chūreki	115,227	1,276	113,794	15	142
Tōen	93,061	1,271	91,573	7	210
Taikei	56,518	751	55,716	1	50
Chikuto	77,879	1,611	76,018	11	139
Chikunan	95,714	1,485	94,057	10	162
Byōritsu	133,249	1,994	130,798	10	447
Taiko	33,345	694	32,613	—	38
PROVINCE OF TAICHŪ	1,303,609	39,728	1,260,977	222	3,772
City of Taichū	82,259	16,300	64,884	86	989
City of Shōka	58,227	2,977	54,741	33	476
Counties					
Daiton (Taiton)	107,460	1,199	106,116	—	145
Toyohara	99,152	1,984	96,893	16	259
Tōsei	46,331	1,295	44,974	1	61
Taiko	155,842	2,433	153,109	23	277
Shōka	160,914	1,194	159,509	1	210
Inrin	192,701	2,334	189,872	25	470

TABLE X - 2 (*Continued*)
POPULATION OF FORMOSA, 1939

AREA	TOTAL	JAPANESE	FORMOSANS*	KOREANS	FOREIGNERS
Hokuto	158,686	4,151	154,252	2	281
Nantō	101,018	1,447	99,368	14	189
Niitaka	42,633	1,321	41,138	14	160
Nōkō	53,347	1,519	51,649	6	173
Takeyama	45,139	574	44,472	1	92
PROVINCE OF					
TAINAN	1,487,999	47,854	1,432,831	243	7,071
City of Tainan	142,133	16,654	122,173	84	3,222
City of Kagi	92,428	9,960	80,828	55	1,585
Counties					
Niitoyo	100,396	1,197	99,147	—	52
Shinka	97,431	1,360	95,910	1	160
Sobun	80,688	1,376	79,150	17	145
Hokumon	128,238	1,194	126,972	1	71
Shinei	126,040	4,421	121,234	23	362
Kagi	165,707	2,622	162,932	1	152
Toroku	116,377	1,819	114,186	16	356
Kobi	160,465	3,897	156,020	36	512
Hokkō	117,988	1,603	116,093	8	284
Tōseki	160,109	1,751	158,187	1	270
PROVINCE OF					
TAKAO	857,214	46,676	803,315	432	6,791
City of Takao	152,265	28,336	121,547	325	2,057
City of Heitō	54,756	6,747	46,961	43	1,005
Counties					
Okayama	141,764	2,361	138,946	3	454
Hōzan	109,786	2,391	106,652	22	721
Kizan	87,613	1,577	85,533	12	491
Heitō	69,789	1,575	67,962	1	251
Chōshū	108,485	1,480	106,211	23	771
Tōkō	101,611	1,478	99,524	3	606
Kōshun	31,145	731	29,979	—	435
DISTRICT OF					
TAITŌ	86,852	6,048	80,039	30	735
Counties					
Taitō	46,032	3,999	41,472	25	536
Kanzan	18,738	1,301	17,344	—	93
Shinkō	22,082	748	21,223	5	106
DISTRICT OF					
KARENKŌ	147,744	17,606	127,915	155	2,067
City of Karenkō	32,848	8,885	23,080	108	775
Counties					
Karen	39,271	4,620	33,985	32	634
Hōrin	43,113	2,640	40,049	—	424
Tamazato	32,511	1,461	30,801	15	234
DISTRICT OF					
BŌKO	64,620	2,944	61,599	3	74
SUB-DISTRICT OF					
MAKŌ	53,698	2,903	50,720	3	72
SUB-DISTRICT OF					
MŌAN	10,922	41	10,879	—	2

*Including Formosan-Chinese and aborigines.

102. *Social and Cultural Characteristics*

A. Formosan-Chinese.

(*1*) *Social structure.*

(*a*) *Societal groups*. A Formosan-Chinese may be identified in societal structure by the ethnic group to which he belongs, and by his material wealth.

1. Origin groups. The Fukienese, who make up roughly ¾ of the total population, are descendants of colonists who migrated from the coastal area of Fukien, mainly around Hsia-men. FIGURE X - 2 lists their ancestral homes and shows the areas in which they are now congregated. Having settled on the rich plains of the island, they are better off economically than the other Formosan-Chinese, with whom they have few interests in common.

The Hakkas came originally from the mountain regions of Fukien and Kwangtung, where they were a distinct and homogeneous group. In China, they occupied an inferior social and economic status, and since emigrating, they have severed almost completely their ties with the mainland. They settled on the marginal land in the rolling hill country between the rice plains and the mountains and are engaged mainly in raising tea. They have a lower standard of living than the Fukienese.

A third and minor group migrated from the Canton area. They and their descendants numbered about 100,000 in 1930. An urban group, they have been identified with small-scale banking and wholesale trading. They remained in closer contact with China than the other groups.

Each of these groups speaks a dialect that is unintelligible to most members of the other groups. They are further distinguished by slightly distinctive features of dress. Membership in one or another of these groups does not automatically indicate social standing and prestige. But there are definite tendencies for the Fukienese to be at the top of the social scale, the Hakkas at the bottom, and the Cantonese to be considered by the others as "foreigners."

The Pepohoans or "barbarians of the plains," a small group resulting from intermarriage between the Formosan-Chinese and the aborigines, combine in their dress and habits aspects of both groups. They speak either Fukienese or Hakka. Many have become Christians. They live apart in their own villages and are very poor.

2. Material wealth. As elsewhere in the world, wealth is the most important determinant of social prestige. The main groups or classes in rural areas of Formosa are: landlords, independent farmers, and tenant farmers or agricultural laborers. The comparable groups in urban areas are: industrialists, entrepreneurs who own and operate their own establishments, and the workers.

There are few Formosan-Chinese landlords and industrialists, as the large and modern enterprises, factories, mills, and plantations, are mainly capitalized and managed by Japanese, and the profits flow to Japan. Most of the Chinese in this group are Fukienese, and they exert great influence and enjoy high social prestige. However, they have been victims of Japanese exploitative measures, mainly in terms of financial donations for Japanese causes. There are also a few professional men in Formosa, the majority of whom are doctors, who have attended universities in Japan. These persons occupy a social position near the top.

Those who own and work their own establishments are respected, and it is the aspiration of most Formosan-Chinese to belong to this group. However, as owner-farmers, the Formosan-Chinese are losing out under the pressure of an increasing population and through Japanese encroachments. The establishment of large plantations owned by Japanese corporations has been increasing.

Impoverished industrial workers, tenant farmers, and plantation laborers have the lowest position in the social scale and are the most numerous. They are chronically discontented, and have been at times in open revolt ("reforms" instituted

by Japan are discussed in Chapter IX, 91, A, and 95). It is not improbable that, with the removal of the Japanese forces, violence will be directed by these indigent groups against their Japanese oppressors, or against overbearing native landlords.

(*b*) *Leadership*. Formosan-Chinese culture is essentially Chinese. It is important to note that many of the present leaders derive their power from the Japanese. Once Japanese control is removed, leaders whose authority is derived from the Chinese social system may assert themselves and become most useful assistants for the occupying forces.

In the Chinese social system, the basis of leadership is lodged in the kinship group or in various types of associations. The outstanding feature of the traditional Formosan-Chinese social system is the family and its control over individual members. The Chinese concept of family is much broader than the western one. Socially and economically, the family is based on mutual dependence and common responsibility. Material wealth and social prestige do not accrue to the individual, but to the family as a whole.

1. Family. Traditionally, leadership in the family was invested in the eldest male member, although under exceptional circumstances women might exercise considerable control. Under this system, the power of the family elder, reinforced as it was by the doctrine of filial piety, was absolute. In the last few decades, industrialization, urbanization, and Japanese influence have all tended to weaken the power of the family patriarch. However, Japanese insistence upon identification and guarantee of every Formosan-Chinese, through the system of *chokai* or *hoko* (Topic 104, H), has strengthened family ties.

2. Village. Typical Chinese villages may contain households all with the same family name, parts of a single clan, or may contain families from several clans. Natural leadership along family or clan lines may coincide with leadership under the Japanese system of village government, but the requirement that the heads of *ho* (hosei) must know Japanese (Topic 104, H) eliminates from these positions many older Formosan-Chinese who would fill the corresponding positions in China.

3. Clans. Among Formosan-Chinese, all persons who have the same surname and can claim common ancestry along the male line of descent are members of the same clan. Very few surnames encompass most of the population and particular surnames predominate in particular areas. Because of their size, the clans lack homogeneity and may not have sufficient cohesion for common action. Within clans, associations are formed in order to carry out such particular functions as ancestor-worship and performance of burial rites. While family elders furnish some of the leadership in these associations, there is greater opportunity for leaders to rise by natural ability. They may hold their positions because of their wealth, their shrewdness, their exploiting of tensions or manipulation of persons within the group, and their ability to mediate successfully with the Japanese authorities.

4. Other associations. There are other associations independent of blood relationship. Based on common interest, they may be formed for religious purposes, mutual economic benefit, political activity, or to support Japan's program of assimilation. The associations known to exist are approved if not sponsored by the Japanese. Most of them are engaged in promoting Japanese language, culture, and "imperial spirit." They abound among the youth. They seem to have been successful, in conjunction with other Japanese activities, in persuading the Formosan-Chinese that the Japanese way of life is politically and socially desirable. There is no evidence of disapproval expressed by Formosan-Chinese to those who conform. It is, however, possible that the Formosan-Chinese have used some associations for anti-Japanese activities.

All associations which were more genuinely Chinese and which displeased the Japanese have been smashed or driven underground. Secret societies, guilds, workers' unions and farmers' associations, political organizations and parties, and all groups outspoken in protest against Japanese rule have disappeared. If they still exist, however, their influence is not to be underestimated. Chinese secret societies and guilds, which are the classical examples of Chinese associations, once extended their influence to almost all phases of life, and maintained a tight bond among members.

The power of leaders in such organizations in China is absolute. While there may be cliques and factions, there is usually sufficient power for the leaders and their inner group to command allegiance either through direct action or by denying an individual the benefits of the association.

(2) *Cultural characteristics.*

(*a*) *Language*. Among the Formosan-Chinese, 3 mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects are spoken: Fukienese, Hakka, and Cantonese, following generally the distribution of these peoples as shown on FIGURE X - 2. Fukien dialects are spoken by the majority, and that of Changchow (a Hsia-men dialect) is most widely used. Interpreters speaking Fukienese will be the most widely useful. Hakka is spoken mainly in the Shinchiku province, and Cantonese among local groups in cities and in the southwest section near Takao.

No courses in written Chinese are taught in any elementary school, and since 1937 no newspaper, page, or column in Chinese has been permitted publication on the island.

In 1930, 365,427 Formosan-Chinese—294,077 men and 70,750 women—were reported in the census as knowing Japanese. The number must be greater today among young people. Written proclamations will be most widely understood by Formosan-Chinese if prepared in simple Chinese using the more common characters.

English has been taught in private mission schools and in higher government schools for many years. A very considerable number of the native personnel formerly engaged by American and English firms know English.

In 1941, all educated Formosans who had an expert knowledge of some foreign language were reported to have been impressed into a civilian auxiliary corps to serve as interpreters for Japanese abroad.

(*b*) *Education*. Formal education, which is entirely under the Japanese government, is the chief implement for the forcible "Japanization" of the Formosans. All teachers are Japanese, and their instruction, based on the system used in Japan proper, serves only to give the Chinese-speaking children a smattering of Japanese and to inculcate those "national virtues" which will make them loyal subjects of the Emperor.

Only half the Formosan-Chinese children attend primary school, and only 59% of those who attend finish the 6-year course. Literacy among Formosan-Chinese, who must master a difficult written language in an alien form, must be low. The most that has been achieved is that they can read the

simple proclamations and regulations in Japanese. The educational discrimination against the subject race is evident in the annual appropriation (1938–39) of only 21 *yen* (U. S. $2.60) per pupil, in the quality of the teachers who are paid half the salary of those teaching Japanese students, in the fact that schools average 700 pupils and classes average 64 students per teacher, and in the language restrictions which militate to keep Formosan-Chinese from going on to secondary schools and college.

The following numbers for Formosan-Chinese in schools and colleges in Formosa and Japan from a population of 5,500,000 tell the story of the limited educational opportunities of a people traditionally eager for education.

TABLE X - 3
FORMOSAN-CHINESE IN SCHOOLS

IN FORMOSA		
Primary School (1939)	557,135	
Japanese schools (1936)	2,975	
Boys' secondary schools (1939)	4,117	
Girls' " " "	2,541	
Industrial Schools (1939)	460	
Commercial " "	724	
Agricultural " "	1,426	
Normal " (1936)	384	
Taihoku Imperial Univ. (1939)	178	(148 of whom were medical students)
IN JAPAN		
Secondary Schools (1936)	1,113	
Colleges and Universities "	952	

(*c*) *Religion*. The Formosan-Chinese retain a fusion of Confucianism and the Taoist and Buddhist religions. Like all Chinese, however, they are not especially religious or pious. They have clung to their own popular beliefs, encrusted with superstition, as they cling to their own culture, in spite of a government-subsidized policy to force Japanese religion upon them. The results of Japanese efforts are negligible. The Shinto sects have only won some 13,000 Formosan-Chinese adherents in spite of the fact that they gain status in the eyes of Japanese officials by adopting Shintoism. There are, in addition, some 44,000 adherents of various Japanese Buddhist sects.

The Christian missions had, according to the latest available census figures, 49,000 adherents, including 7,400 Spanish Catholic converts and 41,700 Protestant converts. The Presbyterian Church has been sending missionaries since 1871 from England to the south and from Canada to the north. For many years they have maintained churches, with private schools, hospitals, or social centers, in the following communities: in south Formosa at Taichū, Nantō, Kagi, Tainan, Akau, Taitō, and Karenkō; in the north at Taihoku, Tansui, Tōen, Shinchiku, and Giran; native congregations also exist in numerous villages. In these places, there will be groups of Formosan-Chinese, old and young, who will be friendly toward English-speaking people.

(*d*) *Temperament*. The Fukien Formosans and the Formosan-Chinese, as a whole, are intelligent and extremely industrious. A serious people, they lack the spontaneity and quick response to wit and humor that are characteristic of the Chinese.

Bound together in strong family and communal groups, they are self-centered, uninformed, and little interested in what goes on in the world outside their own village or town. Their standards of honesty and loyalty are confined to relations among themselves. Crafty in dealing with strangers, they are open, kind, and generous to their friends. They often find devious ways of achieving their own ends, in spite of official control. These qualities reflect their reactions and resistance to the repressive measures under which they have lived during 40 years of Japanese rule.

The Hakkas are less conservative and less docile than the Fukien-Chinese. Originally adventurous and audacious, they were the leaders in resisting Japanese occupation and have been involved in many anti-Japanese movements. Their election returns showed keen interest in political activity. The Cantonese are urbane, shrewd, and less provincial and have closer ties in China than the members of the other ethnic groups.

(*e*) *Social customs*. Certain customs, habits, and traditions of the Formosan-Chinese, if violated by members of the occupying force, might lead to an unfriendly attitude. Japanese attempts to modify these Chinese institutions have met with resistance and great resentment.

Marriage and funeral ceremonies require large congregations of individuals. As marriage is exogamous, there is a bridal procession when the woman leaves her parents' home and is borne to her new home in the man's village. Funeral ceremonies also involve many individuals who escort the remains to the burying ground. Despite Japanese attempts to curb wastefulness, paper imitations of currency, of houses, and of whatever else the deceased is supposed to need in the next life are carried along in the funeral procession and burned at the grave. Much noise and music are characteristic of such processions, but the spectator is expected to treat them with respect.

Chinese in dealing with their fellows are very careful not to injure the prestige or "face" of the other person. While violations of "face" are likely to influence their behavior toward persons who are not Chinese, they may be tolerant of the foreigner. However, additional prestige and status will be gained by the occupying force if all its members attempt to follow the general rule of "face": Behave in such a way as to safeguard the self-respect of others.

Despite the Japanese-approved system of prostitution, sexual morals among the Chinese are rigid.

(*3*) *Standard of living.*

Only the wealthier Formosan-Chinese have the physical comforts of good food, clothing, and housing. The majority of the population is impoverished. The peasant economy borders upon serfdom. In cities, Japanese emphasis on neatness and sanitation has produced improvements, but there is no material difference between rural and urban areas in the general living standards.

The great extremes of plenty and scarcity in food that prevail in China do not exist in Formosa. A favorable soil and climate together with the customary industry of the Chinese people have produced sufficient rice for their consumption though the rice is exported to Japan. As Japanese shipping space becomes still more limited, stockpiles of rice and sugar will perhaps accumulate on the island.

In Formosa's subtropical climate, the natives usually wear 2-piece cotton garments consisting of trousers and coat. They use conical wide-brimmed straw hats to provide shade from the sun and shelter in rain. Though the Japanese have attempted, as part of their "spiritual mobilization" program, to force Chinese to wear more modern clothing, they have been only partially successful. Younger groups, who have

been forced to wear semi-military uniforms in school, have become accustomed to this dress.

The houses of the natives, especially in rural areas, are modest by western standards. In cities, the traditional Chinese house is being modified by the addition of a Japanese room with a matted floor and lacking the customary furniture. This change has been increasingly popular with the Chinese because it is economical (Chapter VIII, 80).

B. Japanese.

(1) *Social structure.*

(*a*) *Occupational grouping*. Most Japanese in Formosa are government officials, managers of large enterprises, or wholesalers. The majority of those of the business and commercial classes are representatives of large business interests in Japan. Government attempts to establish Japanese fishing villages and agricultural settlements have been unsuccessful despite the offer of subsidies and other advantages.

(*b*) *Social classes*. There are few Japanese of great wealth in Formosa, and the most noticeable social cleavage is between the commercial Japanese community and the higher administrative officials and educators. Many urban commercial Japanese, as well as a majority of the police, came originally from southern Kyūshū and Shikoku, and are disliked by those who trace their origins to other parts of Japan.

(*c*) *Relations with Formosan-Chinese*. The attitude of the Japanese toward the native population is conditioned by their position as the dominant minority. They are domineering in their relations with the Chinese and the aborigines and equally condescending in their attitude toward the culture of both. There is, consequently, a minimum of social intercourse between Japanese and Formosan-Chinese. In Taihoku, and to a lesser degree in other cities, there is a distinct though voluntary segregation of Japanese and Formosan-Chinese residential areas. Intermarriage is rare, and girls imported from Japan and Korea are preferred in licensed quarters, cafés, and dance halls.

(2) *Cultural characteristics.*

(*a*) *General*. Except that the social life of the youth of both sexes is more liberal and their outlook less traditional, there is little to distinguish the living habits of Formosan-Japanese from those of the homeland. A certain amount of identification with Formosa has occurred, particularly among members of the younger generation; for the middle-aged, also, the pull of the homeland has been lessened with the improvement of educational facilities and the establishment of temples and other social institutions. All, however, have remained definitely Japanese in loyalty and regard their interests as identical with those of Japan.

(*b*) *Language*. The Japanese in Formosa have retained their own language, very few having any knowledge of Formosan-Chinese. Natives of southern Kyūshū and Shikoku speak the local dialects of those regions.

(*c*) *Education*. In the past, prosperous Japanese in Formosa preferred to send their children to the homeland for their education. This tendency has decreased with the improvement of educational facilities in Formosa. Superior schools are provided for Japanese and the entrance examinations required of them are less difficult than those for Formosan-Chinese. They predominate in the higher schools and in the university at Taihoku. Although the enforcement of the compulsory education law has been postponed, 99.4% of Japanese children are now in school. The Taihoku Imperial University was set up in 1928 and has become an important and well-equipped center for research into colonial problems.

(*d*) *Religion*. Shinto shrines have been established throughout Formosa by the government and attendance at shrine ceremonies is compulsory for school children. All homes observe national Shinto rites and maintain shrines for that purpose. In 1939, 113,529 Japanese were followers of the various Buddhist sects, temples having been established by local as well as missionary enterprise. 18,159 Japanese belonged to Shinto sects which existed independently of national Shinto.

(3) *Standard of living.*

The average standard of living of the Japanese in Formosa is higher than that in Japan and than that of the Chinese.

C. Aborigines.

(1) *Social structure.*

(*a*) *General*. Japanese efforts to pacify and Japanize the aborigines had made it possible to classify 60,500 of them as "civilized" in 1938. The remaining 95,400 were still classified as savages and kept under strict supervision behind the guard line.

(*b*) *Tribal organization*. The tribes are distinctly different in language, dress, habits, and customs. The clan system prevails among the Bunun, Ami, Tsuō, and Saiset, and while members of the same clan may live in widely separated villages, strict clan exogamy is enforced. Among the Bunun, clan descent is traced through the father; among the Ami, through the mother.

(*c*) *Leadership*. Each tribe has its chief and men of influence by whom affairs are administered and who deal with the police. Among certain Paiwan and Pyuma groups, the chieftainship seems to be hereditary and held by women, descending from mother to daughter.

(*d*) *Marriage and the family*. Although the customs surrounding marriage and the family vary from tribe to tribe, the basic characteristics of the institution are the same for all.

The aborigines are strictly monogamous and adultery is regarded as a serious offense, particularly among the Atayals. Any molestation of their women may lead to serious disturbance. As a rule, the marriage relationship is a satisfactory and permanent one, and when divorce occurs, the reasons are publicly stated. The husband and wife possess equal rights. Practically all aborigines marry, the boys at 17 or 18, the girls at 16 or 17. A widow with children may not remarry.

Generally speaking, each aborigine recognizes as members of his own family group his parents, his grandparents, his parents' brothers and their children, his own sons and daughters, and his grandchildren. Marriage of these relatives is prohibited, and members of the group are expected to give special care to widows and orphans. Blood relationships are indicated by a system of personal, family, and clan names which is very difficult for the outsider to follow.

(*e*) *Position of women*. The status of women is high in both political and religious life. Women do most of the arduous work, while men, as the hunters, bring in the meat. Storehouses and the distribution of food to each family are in charge of women.

(2) *Cultural characteristics.*

(*a*) *Language.* Since 1937, the Japanese have maintained "National Language Training Schools" in aborigine territory. According to official figures, 29% of the aborigines can speak and understand simple Japanese. Since each tribe speaks a different native dialect, Japanese must be relied upon as the *lingua franca.*

(*b*) *Education.* As of 1938, 78.8% of the aborigine children were attending 185 four-year schools in which Japanese and vocational subjects are studied. At this time, it was officially estimated that graduates of such schools numbered 18,691. A few aborigines are selected to go on with their education in the larger towns, some going through normal schools where they are prepared for teaching posts among their own people.

(*c*) *Religion.* The aborigines are animists and ancestor-worshippers. They neither worship fetishes nor establish shrines, and have no concept of a supreme God. In 1941, Christian teaching among the aborigines was prohibited everywhere but in Ami territory.

(*d*) *Assimilation.* Among 1 group, the Pepohoans of the western plains, assimilation with the Chinese and intermarriage with them has progressed to such a degree that they no longer retain any important aboriginal customs and have lost their native language. Of the plains aborigines who, while not assimilated, have become more or less accommodated to civilized life, the Ami are the most Japanized and the most prosperous. They seem superior in physique and health to the other aboriginal groups, and they have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages.

The Atayal, Bunun, and Paiwan tribes living farthest up in the high mountains behind the guard line are the most resistant to change. Head-hunting persists to some extent among these groups, particularly among the Atayal.

(3) *Living conditions.*

The aborigines along the southeast coast live on a primitive agricultural level, and also engage in occasional hunting and fishing. Their houses are fairly well constructed of wood or stone. The aborigines of the northeast coast and mountain areas live in extreme poverty in thatched huts with a single opening, or in bamboo and cane cabins on stilts. The mountain aborigines clear fields for their very primitive agricultural operations by burning off the grass. Forest fires are thus a constant danger.

The Formosan government has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from the mountains to small land allotments on the plains where they can be watched more easily and acquire some skill as farmers. In the resettlement areas the government has erected rent-free huts and prepared tax-free rice and vegetable plots. Free medical care is provided and the local policeman is in complete control. Opposition to this policy has been suppressed by force.

103. *Labor Supply*

A. Summary.

(1) *General.*

Formosan-Chinese labor is abundant, cheap, docile, and, by American standards, relatively inefficient. It should supply adequate numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers for the supplementary requirements of an occupying force, except on the thinly populated stretches of the east coast. In the interior of the island and on the eastern coast, where Formosan-Chinese labor is less available, some use is made of the aboriginal tribesmen. Their efficiency, however, is low (the most satisfactory being the Ami on the eastern coast), and the tribesmen of the interior often require armed supervision. Insofar as speed is required, in the early stages of occupation, native labor and tools will be unsatisfactory.

(2) *Numbers.*

There are approximately 1,500,000 Formosan-Chinese males between the ages of 18 and 45. Estimates of the number of Formosans taken into labor battalions by the Japanese, and thus presumably unavailable for work, range from 130,000 to several hundred thousand. FIGURE X - 1 indicates the areas from which unskilled labor may be recruited most readily. In general, semi-skilled labor will be concentrated in towns and villages, while skilled labor resides only in the industrial areas. Of the 81,589 workers in 1936 in industrial plants having 6 or more employees or a prime mover, 76,251 were Formosan-Chinese; the remainder were presumably Japanese. Of the Ami tribesmen, the number suitable for labor in towns has been estimated at not over 1,000 men. No recent figures on the occupational distribution of Formosans are available. TABLE X - 4, however, will give an approximate idea of their employments, if allowance is made for the recent trend toward the industrial occupations.

TABLE X - 4
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FORMOSA
(percentages, 1930)

	AGRIC. AND FORESTRY	FISHING	INDUSTRY AND MINING	TRADE	COMMUNICATIONS	PUBLIC SERV. & PROF.	OTHERS	TOTAL OCCUPIED
FORMOSA								
Japanese	4.8	1.8	16.8	20.0	10.1	41.5	5.0	100.0
Natives	71.4	1.6	8.6	9.0	3.0	2.2	4.1	100.0
All, incl. others	67.0	1.6	9.7	10.0	3.5	4.2	4.1	100.0
Japan proper (1930)	47.7	1.8	20.0	15.1	3.7	6.9	4.5	100.0

(3) *Special conditions.*

It is likely that the disruption of local economy by hostilities and by the removal of Japanese employers will produce much more unskilled labor than can be employed usefully. The same factors, however, may make it difficult to discover and utilize effectively such skilled labor as exists in particular areas.

B. Types of laborers.

(1) *General.*

Formosan workers are not generally accustomed to using tools and machinery designed to conserve their labor. The tools they use for farming, processing, and transporting commodities are very crude by western standards, and they are accustomed to employ the same tools in contract labor. Thus, each member of a labor gang removing earth uses a simple hoe and a pair of baskets suspended from each end of a carrying pole. The Formosan-Chinese craftsman will take considerably more time than his American counterpart to accomplish the same task but will overcome by ingenuity, skill, and patient industry his lack of efficient tools.

(2) *Unskilled labor.*

Unskilled labor should be plentifully available in all densely populated parts of the island for such heavy manual work as is normally done by labor battalions. Clearing and leveling land for airfields, roads, and dumps; digging trenches; working on fortifications; stevedoring, and porterage can all be done in large part by Formosan-Chinese, who are physically tough, capable of great endurance, and accustomed to do such work for the Japanese. They are habituated to work under imposed discipline and constant supervision.

Aborigines have been used for wood-cutting, road maintenance, and other duties in connection with power lines and waterworks in the interior of the island. They are also employable (though much less efficient than the Formosan-Chinese) in the sugar and tobacco plantations on the east coast.

(3) *Semi-skilled labor.*

Formosan-Chinese craftsmen are skilled, by Oriental standards, in construction work such as carpentry, the building of wooden boats, masonry, bricklaying, and plastering. Because of modernized processes introduced by the Japanese, who have used Formosans almost exclusively for labor, the Formosan-Chinese are more familiar with mechanical equipment than are the Chinese on the mainland. On large sugar plantations laborers work with motorized equipment including tractors, and several thousand Formosan-Chinese fishermen have used or been employed on gasoline-powered craft. Formosans have had little experience, however, in planning or supervising construction and industrial work.

(4) *Technicians.*

Formosan-Chinese who have been trained as technicians are fully as competent as the Japanese in the processes with which they are familiar. They form most of the experienced personnel which provide the actual services in most of the island's enterprises, except in certain fields such as airplane manufacture, from which they have been excluded for strategic reasons. Chapter IX indicates the fields in which Formosan-Chinese are trained as industrial workers and technicians.

C. Working conditions.

(1) *General.*

Formosan-Chinese labor is not protected by labor laws or workmen's compensation laws. The few unions which were organized 2 decades ago have long since been smashed and labor leadership has been suppressed. Formosan-Chinese are accustomed to being conscripted by the Japanese, acting through village headmen, ward associations, schools, and youth associations, to do "volunteer" labor on roads, land clearance, airfield construction, and flood prevention. Very few persons are exempt from such labor. The head of a household is given a card stating the day, hour, and place at which specified members of the family are required to report for work. Farmers and the relatively independent semi-skilled workers resent conscription. While labor is chronically discontented with wage scales, working conditions, and treatment under Japanese rule, the government by rigid police supervision has curbed all labor agitation and suppressed unrest. Judged by American standards, the conditions of labor in Formosa are very poor. The attitude and conduct of Formosan-Chinese laborers toward an alien employer, who does not exercise the deeply penetrating control followed by the Japanese over every aspect of their lives, is unpredictable.

(2) *Wages.*

Current wage scales are unknown. It is believed that, in various categories, they vary considerably from city to city but are generally uniform within cities. In 1938, the average daily wage for Formosan-Chinese (an arithmetical average of 60 categories) was 1.43 *yen* (U. S. $0.41) for skilled labor, and 0.85 *yen* ($0.25) for unskilled. Official Japanese figures for 1939 were 1.27 *yen* ($0.33) as the average for Formosan-Chinese. Women receive approximately ½ the wages of men in similar occupations. The pay of the aborigines was much lower, in certain cases as little as ⅓ to ¼ of that offered to Formosan-Chinese unskilled labor. In terms of local purchasing power, these wages were very low. Wage scales may have risen somewhat under pressure of Japan's industrialization program, the relative shortage of skilled labor, and gradual inflation.

(3) *Hours.*

Average hours of work are 10 per day, 7 days per week, which is not excessive by Chinese standards. Employees usually get 2 days off per month.

D. Problems of management.

(1) *General.*

Employment of Formosan-Chinese labor will raise very serious problems from the beginning. American experience with Chinese labor on the mainland will provide useful precedents concerning methods of hiring through native contractors, agents, or village headmen, the fixing of wage scales and standards of performance, direct or indirect supervision, the granting of bonuses, and the arbitration of disputes. As the Japanese use quite different methods, and as the social pattern of Formosan-Chinese has been considerably modified during 50 years of Japanese rule, methods employed successfully in China will not be automatically applicable in Formosa. Furthermore, the practices used by the Japanese or by Occidentals in Formosa will not necessarily be appropriate, since warfare and the substitution of American for Japanese control are certain to disrupt the Formosan social system.

(2) *Methods of contact.*

Contacts with Formosan labor made through native intermediaries are likely to produce the most effective results. It will be of crucial importance, both for immediate and long-term effectiveness in the use of native labor, that intermediaries be carefully selected, as they can facilitate or disrupt all labor relations.

If it is believed essential to prepare intermediaries for their responsibilities in advance, it must be decided whether the key personnel shall be Formosan-Chinese or mainland Chinese. It would be relatively easy to procure mainland Chinese who speak Fukienese, Hakka, or Japanese, know Formosa, and are accustomed to working with Americans. Such persons may, however, arouse hostility, because they will be considered to be foreigners and may be as overbearing as the Japanese. Experience elsewhere suggests that, unless they are very carefully selected, they may exercise to the limit their unique opportunities for graft, and thus create discontent among workers. Native Formosans who have been

refugees in China may have better connections and a closer understanding of local techniques, but are likely to be venal. Possibly the most promising recruits for this purpose would be captured members of Formosan labor battalions, natives seized from fishing boats, or others spirited from the island.

If Formosan or Chinese intermediaries are not to be prepared in advance, it is important that they be carefully selected, after initial landings, by Americans accustomed to negotiating with Formosan-Chinese or with Chinese from Fukien and northern Kwangtung. Skillful intermediaries should be able to procure all the labor necessary, establish mutually satisfactory wages and standards of performance, and arbitrate disputes through accepted native channels. A list of many Formosan-Chinese who may provide important services to an occupying force is referred to in No. 23, Topic 107. In the matter of recruiting skilled labor, particularly in cities, the same source provides, on pp. 166–173, a list of Formosan and Japanese supply organizations. Outstanding members of these organizations are elected to head associations of peoples and companies engaged in similar businesses. It is presumed that Formosan-Chinese in such positions would make effective intermediaries.

(3) *Standards.*

Initial agreements made with native intermediaries will be very difficult to alter. Such modifications are likely to cause considerable fomented labor disturbance. Intermediaries should clearly understand, and agree to, their responsibilities and perquisites, and the standards they are to exact of the labor they provide. All parties to labor agreements—the American employer, the native intermediaries, and the workers themselves—should understand the terms. The employer should not hesitate to tell workers the terms of the employer's agreement with the intermediary. This should be done with his prior knowledge and may be done in his presence.

The first standards established for wages, hours, working conditions, and performance of labor, will likewise set strong precedents which may create serious problems during the period of occupation. They will not be easy to alter without disadvantage and inconvenience to the occupying force.

104. Governmental Organization

A. Central administration.

Power in Formosan government is highly centralized and is concentrated in the hands of the Governor General under the supervision of the Imperial Government.

When the Governor General is an active officer of the army or navy, as at present, he controls the armed forces on the island. He may on his own initiative and authority establish martial law, issue ordinances involving penal servitude, imprisonment up to 1 year, or a major or minor fine up to 200 *yen*, appoint and dismiss *hannin** officials, punish *sonin** officials, and assign duties to the Departments and the Secretariat. On consultation with the Imperial Government, the Governor General may appoint and dismiss *sonin* officials and punish *chokunin** officials. He also exercises extensive power over local government.

The government functions through bureaus and departments, the number and exact titles of which have not been clear since the reorganization of October 1943. These bureaus administer and enforce government policy with regard to agriculture, commerce, industry, finance, transportation, communications, public order, justice, and education.

The Governor General is assisted by a Director General who is the head of the Secretariat and exercises supervisory powers over the various departments and bureaus. The power of the Secretariat *vis-à-vis* the departments and bureaus is believed to have been strengthened by the October 1943 reorganization.

An Advisory Council of 40 government officials and private individuals is appointed by the Governor; although supposed to reflect public opinion, it is in reality a purely honorary body. The Council has Formosan-Chinese as well as Japanese members.

B. Local governmental units.

The units of local government are the provinces, districts, counties, municipalities, towns, and villages (FIGURE X - 3). Extensive control is exercised over these units by the central government. Although partially elective assemblies were set up in 1935 in the municipalities, towns, and villages, the franchise is so limited as to exclude most Formosan-Chinese.

In 1939, there were 44,676 qualified Japanese voters, while only 286,740 of the Formosan-Chinese, who constitute 9/10 of the population, were qualified voters.

The assemblies have consultive power only, and it is to be doubted that they have provided the inhabitants with any considerable experience in self-government apart from an acquaintance with election techniques (TABLE X - 5).

C. Provinces.

There are 5 provinces (*shū*), each having a governor, a provincial council, and a provincial assembly. The provincial governor is an Imperial appointee; his measures, however, may be cancelled or suspended by act of the Governor General. He enforces the laws and supervises administration under the superintendence of the Governor General, supervises government officials, promoting and demoting junior officers and reporting to the Governor General on the conduct of those appointed with Imperial approval. The provincial governor may issue ordinances on affairs within his jurisdiction involving imprisonment, confinement, or detention for not more than 2 months and fines under 70 *yen*. He may cancel or suspend actions taken by county heads, municipal mayors, or police chiefs. He is assisted by a secretariat, an internal affairs department, and a police affairs department.

Half the members of the provincial assemblies are appointed by the Governor General and half are elected by municipal, town, and village assemblies. The assemblies have limited powers over the budget, tax collection, and finance, but their acts may be vetoed by the provincial governor or the Governor General.

A council composed of the governor and 6 members elected by the provincial assembly meets when the latter is not in session.

*The Japanese Civil Service distinguishes between *kotokan* (higher officials) and *hannin* (lower officials). The *kotokan* are subdivided into *chokunin* and *sonin* officials, in that order; *chokunin* officials are finally divided into *shinnin* (invested by the Emperor in person) and ordinary *chokunin* officials.

D. Districts.

The districts (*chō*), of which there are 3, are similar in organization to the provinces. The powers of the governor, however, are more limited. He may issue ordinances and regulations involving punishments no greater than detention or a 20-*yen* fine. In his supervisory capacity, he reports on officials appointed with Imperial approval and requests from the Governor General the promotion or demotion of junior officials. Like the provincial governors, he may cancel or suspend actions of county heads, mayors, or police chiefs.

E. Counties.

The counties (*gun*) are administrative subdivisions of the provinces and districts. The county head is appointed by the Governor General and, under the supervision of provincial or district governors, enforces the laws, apportions administrative affairs, and superintends government employees, on whom he reports to the central government. He may cancel or suspend actions taken by town and village mayors and is assisted by a local council chosen from among prominent members of the community.

F. Municipalities.

Mayors of municipalities (*shi*) are appointed by the Governor General. Municipal assemblies are composed of 20 to 40 members, varying in number according to the size of the population. Half the members are appointed by the provincial governor, and half are elected by men 25 or over who pay a city tax of 5 *yen* or more. The assembly can act on the city budget, on taxes, and other financial matters, but its acts may be vetoed by the Governor General, the provincial governor, or the mayor. When the assembly is not sitting, its functions are performed by a council composed of the mayor, the assistant mayor, and 6 members elected by the assembly.

G. Towns and villages.

The town and village heads are appointed by the Governor General. Assemblies composed of 8 to 20 men are set up in similar fashion to those of the cities. They serve a 4-year term and submit opinions, on request.

TABLE X - 5

MEMBERSHIP OF FORMOSAN ASSEMBLIES

(Elected 22 November 1939, or appointed by the government)

	Japanese	Formosan-Chinese	Total
Provincial			
Total	159	107	266
Municipal			
Appointed	98	34	132
Elected	60	73	133
Total	158	107	265
Town			
Appointed	249	173	422
Elected	69	353	422
Total	318	526	844
Village			
Appointed	415	984	1,399
Elected	62	1,339	1,401
Total	477	2,323	2,800

H. Neighborhood associations.

The neighborhood associations provide a method by which every Formosan may be informed of his duties and obligations to the government and supervised in his performance of them. They thus serve for the collection of labor and monetary contributions, the enforcement of attendance at meetings, and the supervision of political attitudes.

Although differently organized in urban and rural areas, the *chokai*, or city associations, and the *hoko*, or rural organizations, are basically similar. In all, membership is compulsory for the Chinese and optional for the Japanese and Koreans. They are supported by the contributions of their members based on ability to pay. Information and announcements are distributed by notices which the head of each family must stamp with his seal. In Taihoku, the *chokai* is responsible for the illumination of streets.

The cities are divided into districts known as *ku*, which in turn are subdivided into *chō*. Each *ku* has as its head a *kucho*, appointed by the mayor, assisted by subcommittee members (*kui-in*) whom he appoints. The *chokai* heads are elected by the neighborhood and appoint councillors or *hyogi-in* to assist them.

In the towns and villages, in organizing a *hoko* (*pao-chia*) unit an agreement must be drawn up, signed by the household heads involved, submitted for the approval of the provincial governor, and registered with the police. A *ko* includes approximately 10 households; a *ho* includes 10 *ko*.

The head of the *ko* is elected by the householders with the approval of the county head and the heads of the district and local police stations. The head of the *ho* is elected with the approval of the governor, county, and police officials. His term is 2 years and he may be re-elected. Since knowledge of Japanese is a usual prerequisite for holding office as chief of either the *ho* or *ko*, the heads are not necessarily the men with most prestige in the group.

105. Security and Public Order

A. Organization.

(*1*) *Police personnel.*

The Formosan police force is staffed almost entirely by Japanese. The majority have had a middle school education, followed by 6 months at Police Training School at Taihoku, a probationary period, and, finally, regular employment. The majority are natives of Kyūshū and Shikoku in Japan and, as such, are sometimes regarded as ruffians by Japanese from other parts of the country.

There are some Formosan-Chinese employed in the police forces, but their numbers appear to be limited and they appear to be confined to the lower ranks.

(*2*) *Central organization.*

The 12,000 civil police of Formosa (1939) are controlled by the Department of Police Affairs in the Government General. The military police (6,417 in 1937) are under Tōkyō's direct authority. In addition, other police forces are believed to function in the island, including the army secret police, the naval secret police, the water police, both uniformed and secret, and the plainclothes economic police.

(3) *Local organization.*

Each *shū* and *gun* has a Police Affairs Department, the chief of which operates under the direction of the governor. Each Department has 5 sections: Secret Service Police, Ordinary Police Affairs, Maintenance of Peace, Criminal Affairs, and Aboriginal Affairs.

(4) *Collective responsibility.*

The Neighborhood Associations (Topic 104, H) are not only under close police supervision but also act as independent instruments for the maintenance of public order, the head of the unit and the unit itself being legally responsible for the conduct of its members. The youth corps (*soteidan*) in each district is attached to the police substation, is supposed to assist the police, and appears to provide the main fire-fighting force. Should the Japanese police force be dissolved by the occupying authorities, responsibility for the maintenance of order might be shifted in part to the Neighborhood Associations under adequate direction.

(5) *Equipment.*

Every police station or box is linked with a central telephone or telegraph system.

B. Jurisdiction.

(1) *General.*

Supervision of publications, of public meetings, private social organizations, religion, of the public during accidents, fires, and other emergencies are among the peace preservation functions of the police. They are responsible for the supervision of public hygiene, the control of traffic, and the instruction of rural peoples in sanitation, house-building, and religious observance.

(2) *Registration of persons.*

The movement of persons into or out of a community must be reported to the police. Regular nightly inspection is made of hotel and lodging house registers, which must be kept open and up-to-date at all times. Households are required to display a plaque bearing the name of the head of the house and receipts showing registration at the police station, house inspection, inoculations, and payment of taxes.

C. Security of control.

In the local community, the policeman is the symbol of Japanese authority. His powers of interference in all aspects of local life are almost unlimited and, as in most cases there is no recourse against his decisions, his attitude is often overbearing. While public order rests on fear of the police, they are nevertheless the butt of frequent ridicule on the part of the non-Japanese population.

It is unlikely that the police will experience difficulty in maintaining order in areas under Japanese military control. The removal of such control, and the resulting ineffectiveness of the *hoko* system, however, might provoke sporadic disorders among groups with special grievances.

D. Public order among the aborigines.

(1) *Police organization.*

The major problem of policing among the aborigines has been the protection of the peaceful elements from those who have not yet entirely relinquished their savage habits. For this purpose, the Japanese have set up a guard line in cleared areas encircling the savage settlements and have deprived the aborigines of firearms. In 1938, telephones and well-kept trails connected 526 guard stations manned by over 5,000 specially trained Japanese police assisted in each station by trusted aborigines with a slight knowledge of Japanese. The trails are cut and maintained by aborigines under police supervision.

(2) *Police functions.*

Police authority over individual aborigines—both those in the peaceful settlements and those behind the guard line—is absolute. The policeman is teacher, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious preceptor. His main duty is to accelerate the Japanization of the aborigine by substituting Japanese manners and ideals for native customs and beliefs.

The police stations are centers of trade and local administration. Since all roads, paths, and pushcar lines converge at the station, it is possible for the police to exercise strict supervision over the movements of the aborigines.

(3) *Results of Japanese methods.*

On the whole, the Japanese have succeeded in preserving order among the aborigines and in pushing the guard line farther back into the mountains. The last known uprisings occurred in 1930 and 1931. While head-hunting has all but vanished, the possibility of its recurrence should not be overlooked, and the Japanese practice of entering savage territory only under armed guard should be followed.

As a consequence of pacification, it has become possible for the Japanese to remove all special controls from certain groups regarded as assimilated, chiefly among the plains-dwellers; as of 1939, however, 94,685 aborigines were still under police control.

TABLE X - 6

ABORIGINES UNDER AND OUTSIDE POLICE ADMINISTRATION, 1939*

	No. of Villages	Households	No. of Individuals
Plains-dwellers			
(a) Under police administration	21	1,079	6,454
(b) Outside police administration	—	7,858	59,245
TOTAL	21	8,937	65,699
Savage districts			
(a) Under police administration	408	16,233	88,231
(b) Outside police administration	—	173	325
TOTAL	408	16,406	88,556
GRAND TOTAL	429	25,343	154,255

*It is to be noted that not all plains-dwellers are "free" and that some few inhabitants of the savage districts are considered outside special administrative control.

E. The legal system.

(1) *Laws.*

Formosa, while subject to Japanese laws, has retained many special laws and ordinances. Most important of these is the penal law against bandits, who are defined as those who, irrespective of their purposes, join together to achieve them by threats and violence. Such offenders are treated with the utmost severity. As in Japan, confessions extorted by force in criminal cases are known to be common.

(2) *Courts.*

The local courts are the courts of first instance in most cases, while appeals are heard in either or both of the 2 departments of the High Court of Justice. In 1943, it was announced that "certain changes" would be made to expedite judicial proceedings. The nature of these changes is not known, but it is probable that they have facilitated the summary disposition of cases affecting Japanese interests.

(3) *Prisons.*

The 4 main prisons are maintained at Taihoku, Taichū, Tainan, and Shinchiku (juvenile), and there are branches at Giran, Kagi, Karenkō, and Takao. Log prisons are maintained at police stations in aboriginal territory. In 1938, the total prison population was 4,752.

F. Air raid precautions.

Air raid drills are held constantly, and the population has been instructed in fire-fighting and in measures to be taken during gas attacks. No provisions are known to have been made for shelter in case of bombing but hospitals and schools have been detailed to accommodate the wounded. All first-aid chiefs carry antiseptics, bandages, and morphia.

106. *Political Factors*

A. Internal political factors.

(1) *Intra-group relations.*

In recent years the relations between Formosan-Chinese of Fukienese, Hakka, and Cantonese ancestry have been generally undisturbed by intra-group tension. The 3 groups were formerly antagonistic toward one another, and the memory of this hostility might be exploited by the enemy to create disturbance. The Fukienese and the Hakkas, in those areas where they form the predominant groups, might each resist being placed under the jurisdiction of members of the other group or of the Cantonese.

The aborigines are equally hostile to the Japanese and the Formosan-Chinese, and presumably to any other Orientals resembling them in appearance.

Relations between the Formosan-Chinese and the Japanese have been those between a subject and a master people. Great hostility toward the Japanese exists, for many Formosan-Chinese have suffered cruel treatment and nearly all have been subjected to humiliation and severe economic discrimination. On the other hand, the lower classes are apathetic, while the better educated and the commercial groups recognize advantages they have derived from Japanese administration. A civilian Japanese population in conquered territory in Formosa may require the protection of the occupying forces. It seems unlikely that Japanese civilians could adjust themselves to a subject position in Formosa.

(2) *Potentialities for self-government.*

The political system of Formosa has never been more than a thinly veiled Japanese dictatorship buttressed by a widespread system of military and civil police. Consequently, the Formosan-Chinese have had almost no experience with local self-government, and few individuals have had administrative experience. Prior to 1930, there were several active political groups (Topic 100), and in 1937 the Japanese inaugurated a "self-rule" policy which provided Formosans with a nominal measure of representation through elected local councils, but the councils were never given any effective authority. Formosan-Chinese who showed signs of ability in leadership have been eliminated or driven out of the country.

It is quite possible, however, that once the Japanese administration has been removed, the Formosan-Chinese will be able to assert group discipline and govern themselves at the local level. Chinese village councils, underground organizations, and various associations now interlaced with Japanese espionage might be able to function rapidly in coöperation with an occupying force that would establish and maintain administrative control.

(3) *Attitudes of Formosan-Chinese.*

There has been no free expression of popular opinion in Formosa for many years, so that deductions regarding the aspirations of the Formosan-Chinese are hazardous. The primary desire of the Formosan-Chinese, probably concurred in by the great majority, is to be freed from Japanese control.

As between the alternatives of return to Chinese suzerainty or an eventual independent status, there probably exists some divergence of opinion among educated groups, conditioned for each individual by his attitudes toward Japan and toward China. Over against the cardinal factors of Chinese cultural tradition and the deep hostility toward Japanese rule must be balanced the success of the conqueror's program of Japanizing the Formosan-Chinese and of insulating them from contact with the mainland and with contemporary Chinese ideology. After nearly 50 years of enforced insularity, many Chinese in Formosa, except for the Cantonese, think of themselves as essentially Formosan, and not as Chinese. This phenomenon is a familiar one among colonists who have long been separated from their homeland. Most Formosans have little knowledge of the Central Government now at Chungking. Since 1937, only the Japanese view of Free China has been available to the great majority of Formosan-Chinese, and most of those in areas of China under Japanese control have identified themselves with Japan rather than China.

(4) *Aspirations of Formosan-Chinese.*

Probably most Formosan-Chinese have never considered whether they would prefer to be under Chinese rule or to be established as a separate state, and few have made a decision. Some potential leaders of Formosan opinion probably consider that, for their own interests, a guaranteed independence is preferable to control by the Chinese Government. The implications of this conclusion are that the appeal to Formosans which will be most popular is their liberation from Japan, and that appeals concerning future status may create antagonism.

B. External political factors.

(1) *Summary.*

A serious political problem may be posed if the Chinese Government, and more particularly the Kuomintang leaders now in control, interpret American actions as a check upon their own intentions and a modification of prior international agreements. There may be on many problems a threefold divergence of interest among Chinese representatives, Formosan-Chinese, and the occupying force.

(2) *The Chinese claim.*

It is the announced intention of the Chinese Government

to acquire Formosa. The joint and official declarations of the Cairo Conference (22–26 November 1943), released to the press on 1 December, stated that Formosa would be restored to the Republic of China. As a step toward implementing the Cairo agreement, the Chinese Government has created a committee to study Formosan affairs and to make plans for governing the island when it has been restored to China. Chinese desire for security and for the economic prize which Japan has made of Formosa contribute to the intensity of China's determination to rule the island.

(3) *The Formosan Revolutionary League.*

This League was formed in Chungking in 1941 as an amalgamation of 6 Formosan groups which claimed to be working for the liberation of the island. Spokesmen of the League in Chungking assert that they represent 140,000 members, not less than 100,000 of whom are in Formosa. More conservative estimates, however, place the membership at a few thousand. Funds of the organization have come in the past from overseas Chinese, but it is believed that part of its support is now given by the Chinese Government. Certain of its leaders have apparently attempted to avoid complete Chinese control, and are not anxious that Formosa revert unreservedly to China.

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FIGURE X - 1
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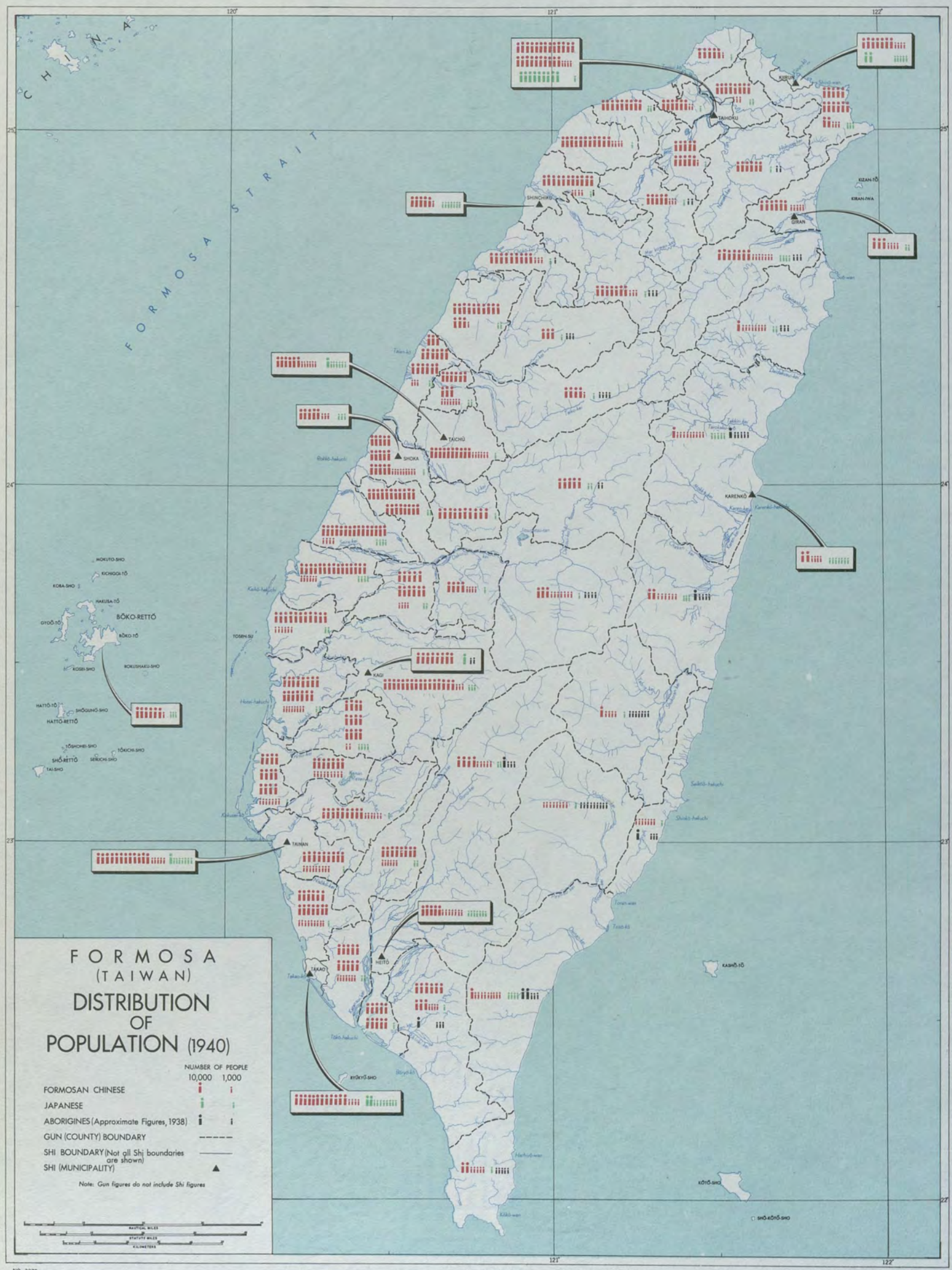

FORMOSA
(TAIWAN)

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION (1940)

	NUMBER OF PEOPLE 10,000	1,000
FORMOSAN CHINESE		
JAPANESE		
ABORIGINES (Approximate Figures, 1938)		
GUN (COUNTY) BOUNDARY		
SHI BOUNDARY (Not all Shi boundaries are shown)		
SHI (MUNICIPALITY)		

Note: Gun figures do not include Shi figures

NAUTICAL MILES
STATUTE MILES
KILOMETERS

NO. 3370
27 MAY 1944

FIGURE X - 1. Formosa—Distribution of Population

COMPILED AND DRAWN IN THE BRANCH OF RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS, OSS
LITHOGRAPHED IN THE REPRODUCTION BRANCH, OSS

FIGURE X - 2
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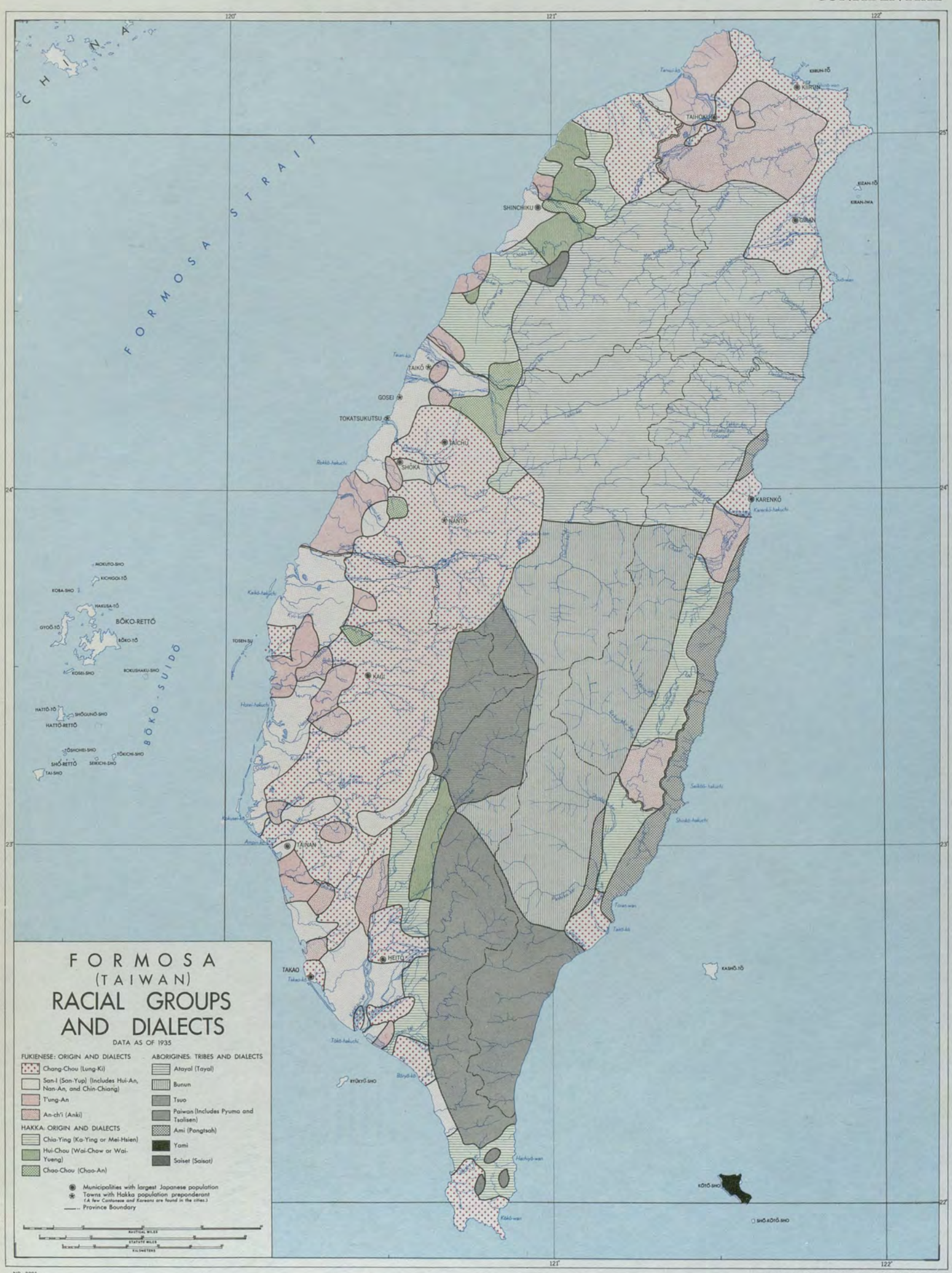

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FIGURE X - 2. Formosa—Racial Groups and Dialects

FIGURE X - 3
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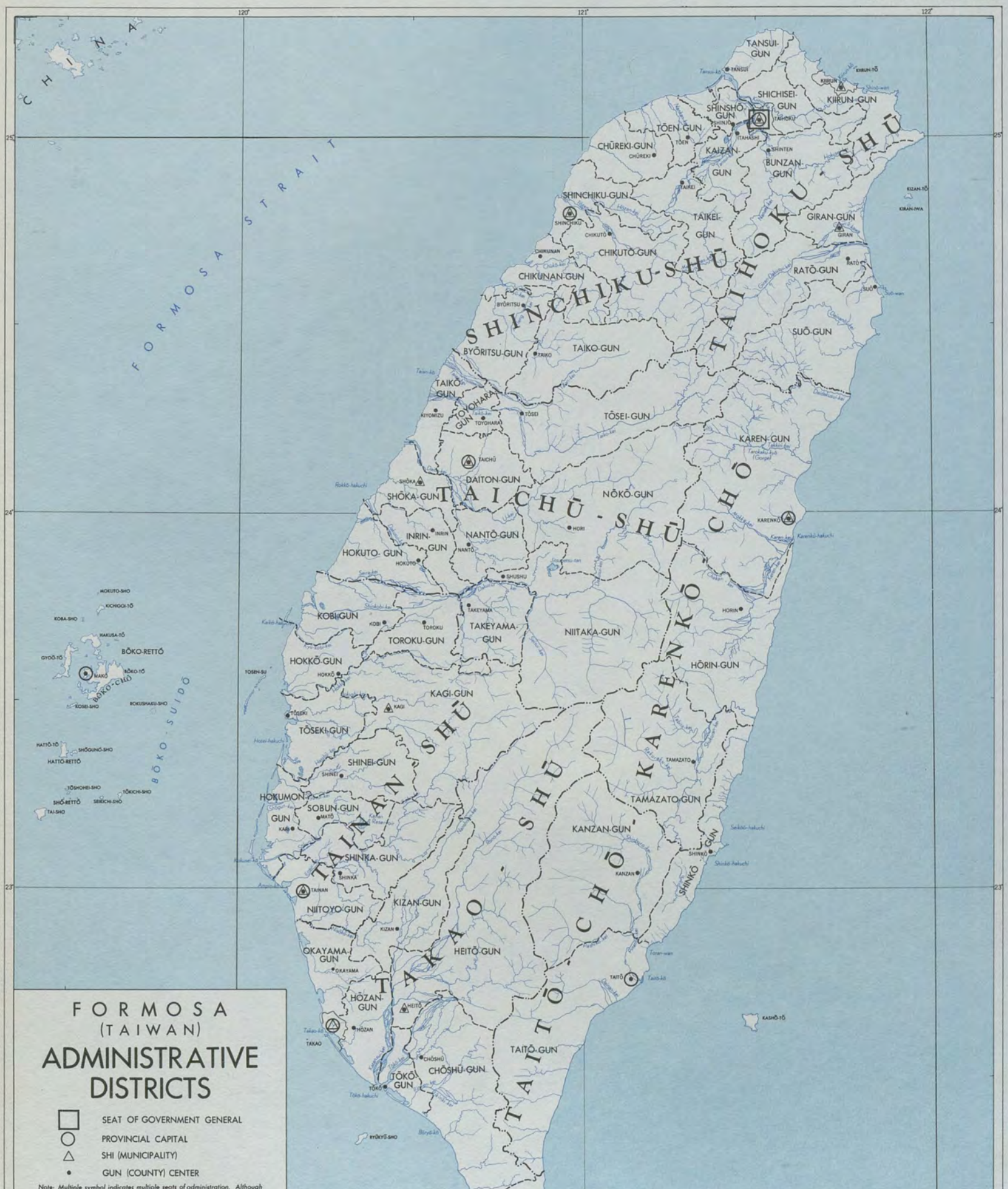

FORMOSA
(TAIWAN)

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

- SEAT OF GOVERNMENT GENERAL
- PROVINCIAL CAPITAL
- SHI (MUNICIPALITY)
- GUN (COUNTY) CENTER

Note: Multiple symbol indicates multiple seats of administration. Although the Shi and Gun are administratively different, the seat of government of a Gun is often located in a Shi.

- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
- GUN BOUNDARY
- SHI BOUNDARY
(Not all Shi boundaries are shown)

NAUTICAL MILES
STATUTE MILES
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FIGURE X - 3. Formosa—Administrative Districts

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