



## Japanese Broadcasting in Shanghai during the Periods of Solitary Island and Occupation: A Case Study on the Great Eastern Broadcasting Station (Daito Hoso Kyoku)

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### ABSTRACT

Right before the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1937-1954), the Great Eastern Broadcasting Station (GEBS) was established in Shanghai under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA). Prior to the launching of the GEBS, Japan had not owned similar radio stations in China for years. As a result, the Embassy of Japan in China held rounds of discussions on the plan and Japanese governments, ranging from the MOFA, the Navy, the Army, the Ministry of Communications (MOC), and NHK-Japan Broadcasting Corporation (Nihon Hoso Kyoku) provided financial, technological, and equipment support. In the mid-1930s when the Sino-Japanese relations became intensified, the GEBS assumed the primary role of disseminating government policies to over 30,000 Japanese expatriates in Shanghai to make sure that they could remain settled while supporting military endeavors of the Japanese army once the war between China and Japanese broke out. After 1937, the GEBS became an essential propaganda tool to advance imperial policies of Japan. Although the station differed from the Army-controlled Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (Dai Shanhai Hoso Kyoku) in many aspects, it was in line with the latter in terms of advancing wartime ideology of the Japanese empire. As the Japanese-occupied areas were enlarged, target audience of the GEBS also expanded to Chinese people and foreign nationals when Japanese, English, Russian, and Shanghai-dialect news was broadcast by the station. Suffice it to say that the GEBS was closely related to wartime propaganda of the Japanese imperial expansion.

**Key Words:** Great Eastern Broadcasting Station (Daito Hoso Kyoku), Wartime Japan, radio, broadcasting, propaganda

## **I . The Birth and Development of Great Eastern Broadcasting Station (GEBS)**

Shanghai was the birthplace of China's radio broadcasting and served as the nexus of radio during the Republican period (1912-1949). Before the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (hereafter referred to as the War), Japanese diplomatic missions had realized the crucial role played by broadcasting in advancing Japan's imperial ideology. On 11 November 1935, Ariyoshi Akira, ambassador of the Embassy of Japan in China, sent a six-part comprehensive report calling for the opening of Japanese-operated radio station in Shanghai to Hirota Koki, the minister of foreign affairs, via telegraph. The first part reviewed the history of radio broadcasting and foreign-operated stations in Shanghai as follows. At that time, Shanghai had over a hundred radio stations and counting, among which five were American, one British, one French, and one engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda using shortwave at an unknown location. Over forty stations were registered with the Chinese government. The American and British stations broadcast programs primarily in English and intermittently in Chinese. The French station, operated by the Alliance Française, broadcast three times a day for one and half hours per session. This station attracted considerable audience because of an array of programs including weather forecasts created by the Xujiahui observatory, French and Chinese tutorials, and the playing of phonograph records in the evening—the only program in Shanghai offering high-class entertaining at the time. There were also two Chinese-operated broadcasting stations opened in 1929 under the aegis of Shanghai Daily News Agency (Shanghai riri xinwenshe) and in 1933 by Xinchang trading company (Sing chang yang hong). Both stations quickly shut down due to poor management. In contrast, there was no Japanese radio broadcasting despite the fact that over 30,000 Japanese expatriates comprised the largest foreign community in Shanghai. Under the circumstances, it was imperative to launch a Japanese-operated radio station for the local community.<sup>1)</sup>

The second part of Ariyoshi's report openly acknowledged the role of radio as a powerful tool of propaganda. Most radio stations in Shanghai were so underfunded that their programs always played records. But many audience wished to listen to speeches and live music and report. Japanese diplomatic missions thus concluded that radio broadcasting had yet reached its full potential as a

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1) The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. (上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

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propaganda tool to advance the Japanese imperial ideology in China where more Chinese people were interested in learning Japanese language and its national policies. Initially policy-makers considered relying on powerful Japanese radio stations to broadcast programs overseas using longwave signals, but few in China at the time could afford expensive longwave receivers. As of June 1935, programs aired long-distance by the NHK in Shanghai had a discouraging response from the audience owing to the aforementioned reason. In the end, Japanese government was determined to open a local radio station as an important propaganda tool and a means of communication during wartime.

The third part of the report pointed out that it was free to launch radio broadcasting stations in Shanghai's concessions, where government licenses were exempt. Although the Nanjing government imposed a tentative ban on private radio stations on 24 November 1932, it was inapplicable to Shanghai's International Settlement and French Concession which did not implement any regulations on radio stations.

The fourth part was a cost estimate of launching a radio broadcasting station in Shanghai as follows. 1) Startup costs: 3,000-yuan for one 50-watt broadcasting transmitter; 20,000-yuan for one 1,000-watt transmitter; 1,500-yuan for equipment of the broadcasting studio. 2) Daily costs of 1,245 yuan including salaries for a Japanese announcer-cum-clerk, three announcers broadcasting in Chinese, English, and Russian, one technician, one coolie labor, monthly rental for the premises, machine repair fee, and honoraria for guest speakers. The report predicted that if the radio station could share offices with Japanese-operated newspaper offices or musical instrument stores, monthly expenses could be reduced below 1,000 silver dollars. If the station was not subsidized by the Japanese government, it must rely on advertising revenue as a major source of income.

The fifth part explained the reason for commissioning the NHK to launch a radio station in Shanghai because they were well-funded, technologically-advanced, and experienced in comparison to Japanese expatriates who were already overburdened by public affairs in the concessions.

The sixth part of Ariyoshi's report drew up three rules to be observed by related parties upon launching the station in Shanghai. 1) The Consulate General of Japan in Shanghai should supervise any news reported by the station and guarantee that the Japanese Army garrisoned in Shanghai and expatriates could gain access to the station at any time. 2) The power system, radio frequency, radio wave of the station may use local standards as reference. However, because the Nanjing government prohibited any radio stations from broadcasting political news except the Nanjing Central Radio Broadcasting Station, it may send interference signals to the Japanese station to disrupt its political news broadcasting. As a result, Japanese station should bring forward relative measures to cope with it. 3) News broadcast by the station shall be in Japanese, Chinese, English, and Russian because people of different national origins resided in Shanghai. Meanwhile, the station must be prepared to

broadcast programs originally aired in Japan.

Before the Embassy of Japan submitted the aforementioned report to the MFA, it had already notified the plan to the Japanese Army garrisoned in Shanghai which promised to lobby the central Japanese government for greater support. The Embassy of Japan also suggested that the radio station in Shanghai could be launched concurrently with its counterpart in Manchukuo to cut budget.<sup>2)</sup>

Shortly after receiving Ariyoshi's report, Hirota began arranging with related parties about launching the station and soon dispatched technicians from the Ministry of Communications (MOC) to Shanghai for on-site preparation. After careful research, the Japanese government decided to acquire an existing local radio station, which was more cost-effective. On 24 March 1936, Ariyoshi updated minister Hirota on the progress of acquisition. He reported that the name of the intended acquisition was XQHA owned by an American named Howard and located in the International Settlement. This station had gained certain popularity in Shanghai but the owner planned to depart from Shanghai in late March and thus planned on selling it for 10,000 silver dollars. A certain Chinese buyer made an offer of 8,000 silver dollars but the seller had not accepted it. If Japan could purchase it with cash, then the buyer was willing to offer a slight discount. Ariyoshi indicated that since this American station was in good location and its equipment in excellent condition, acquiring it would be a better choice instead of launching a new station from scratch. Given rapid changes taking place in Japan and the World, Ariyoshi urged Hirota to make a decision soon so that Japan would own a radio station in Shanghai.<sup>3)</sup>

Unfortunately, MOFA soon underwent reorganization and Ariyoshi and Hirota both resigned. The succeeding minister of foreign affairs, Arita Hachiro, and the deputy ambassador to China, Wakasugi Kaname, nevertheless continued to work on launching the radio station in Shanghai. On 28 April 1936, MOFA cabled Wakasugi that given the importance of a Japanese station in Shanghai, its startup costs and monthly expenses would be subsidized by MOFA, the Navy, the Army, Manchukuo, and NHK. MOFA was aware that it was unsafe and unreliable if funding for a radio station came from advertising income and donations from local Japanese trading firms and expatriates when the primary purpose of the station was for the sake of disseminating official ideology of the Japanese empire.<sup>4)</sup> On

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2) Ibid.

3) "No. 188 (Great)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. (「大第一八八號」, 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

4) "No. 7757 (1936)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700.

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May 20, officials from MOFA, MOC and NHK held a joint meeting and had extensive discussions on this issue.

After the meeting, preparatory works for launching a radio station in Shanghai officially started. MOFA regularly informed the Japanese Embassy in China about the progress of fundraising and gave detailed instructions on choosing premises for the station. In August 1936, the acquisition of the American-owned XQHA station was made. On August 21, the station began its formal broadcasting after the completion of initial testing. On December 9, the station was relocated to the business premises of Dalian Steamboat Co. Ltd (Darren kisen kabushikigaisha) under the aegis of the NHK, Japanese telecommunications in Shanghai, and Japanese Army and Navy. Before long, the station was officially named the Great Eastern Broadcasting Station.

Among the four radio announcers of the station, two were Japanese, one Chinese and one American. From acquiring the XQHA to the GEBS's official broadcasting, Japanese government only notified China's Ministry of Communications without official registration. On 19 August 1936, the Nanjing government dispatched a representative who requested the deputy ambassador to China Wakasugi to obtain government license for the recent purchase of the American station. However, Wakasugi rejected such request on the basis of the extraterritorial privilege enjoyed by Japan. On August 20, local telegraph bureau notified the station's manager—Takagi—that neither did Chinese government endorse the acquisition nor permit the station to resume broadcasting unless Takagi applied for government license.<sup>5)</sup> Initially Japan continued to ignore the request of the Chinese government. Half year later, MOFA realized that the Chinese government still stood firm in its request and thus ordered Takagi to obtain an official license from the Nanjing government for the station.

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(“昭和11 七七五七暗”, 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

5) “No. 16207 (1936).” The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. (“昭和11 一六二〇七暗”, 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

## II. The GEBS in the War

The War broke out in an all-round way in July, 1937. The GEBS, at the behest of the regime in Tokyo, tried its best to broadcast the dispatches from Domei News Agency, the official propaganda outlet of the Japanese Empire, and other news on current affairs in three languages—Japanese, English and Chinese. The number of broadcast sessions were increased accordingly. The GEBS's goal was to eliminate all the rumors against Japan and stabilize the Japanese expatriates as far as possible. China and Japan all used radio as a tool of propaganda and at the same time interfered with each other's operation of radio. Japan targeted the Nanjing-based Central Radio and Guomindang (the ruling Nationalist Party) aimed squarely at the GEBS.<sup>6)</sup>

In the wake of August 13 Incident (1937), the situation was suddenly tense. The Chinese army bombed the GEBS. But it did not bring any damages to the radio. Bombing caused power outages and the GEBS stopped broadcasting on August 17. In the light of the important role that radio played in war, the Japanese military gave full support to the GEBS and helped it resume its programs on September 3. Japan's MOFA, the Imperial Army and the Japanese Navy agreed to share equally the GEBS's cost. In order to improve the war propaganda, the GEBS decided to employ more editors and more newscasters and pay them special allowances. MOFA estimated that the GEBS's monthly cost would be increased to approximately 1,500 silver dollars. At the same time, the Japanese Army planned to set up a radio station and have full control over it.

On September 3, 1937, when the GEBS resumed its programs, the station was bombed again by the Chinese army. The aerials were destroyed and the GEBS had to shut down. The Japanese spent two days repairing the broken equipment. On September 5, the GEBS could be heard again. MOFA took measures to improve the GEBS's performance in the hope that it could play a greater role in the war propaganda. First, the GEBS extended its programs to greater areas and bettered the quality of broadcast by using more powerful equipment. Second, the GEBS prepared some shortwave programs for the domestic audiences in Japan.<sup>7)</sup>

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6) "No. 17270 (1937)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. ("昭和12 一七二七〇暗", 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

7) "No. 22172 (1937)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. ("昭和12 二二一七二暗", 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

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In December, 1937, the GEBS finished its renovation project. In the meantime, the Japanese Army complete the work building Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (GSBS). The GSBS actually made use of the equipment of Guomindang's Shanghai Radio Station. In addition, the Shanghai Japanese Club set up a small radio station. The bureaucrats from MOFA, the Ministry of Army (MOA), the Ministry of Navy (MON) and MOC constituted the Editorial Committee for Radio Programs (ECRP). ECRP played a guiding role in the production of the GEBS and GSBS's programs. Both the GEBS and the GSBS were governed by the Japanese military. In March, 1938, MOFA appointed Japan's deputy consul in Shanghai to the post in charge of the GEBS. The GEBS's twice-weekly Russian program debuted on April 18.<sup>8)</sup> The GEBS started to build a radio tower in Suzhou, with a view to strengthening the war propaganda in this region.

The Japanese army captured Nanjing and Shanghai. In the light of the changed situation, the regime in Tokyo decided to ask MOFA to be fully in charge of the GEBS. In doing so, Tokyo hoped, MOFA could propagandize the aggressive war in a more subtler manner than that of the military. Accordingly, MOFA alone bore the GEBS's total cost. As regards the important policies respecting the propaganda targeting China, MOFA's China Radio Commission (CRC) conducted a close cooperation with the Japanese military and MOC. In July, 1938, Hidaka Shinrokuro, the Japanese Consul General in Shanghai, submitted a report on Japan's radio operation in China to Ugaki Kazushige, the head of MOFA. The report said, since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, driven by the need to propagandize war in China, the GSBS was set up; the GEBS, improved; and the Japan Telecommunication Administration's 1 KW shortwave transmitter, installed, in accordance with the changing situation. CRC worked collaboratively with other departments. When the Battle of Xuzhou ended and the Battle of Wuhan was fighting, small radio stations were set up in Nanjing and Hangzhou. The report suggested Japan work out a program targeting the audiences of the central China and use radio to ideologically guide the Chinese in the occupied areas.<sup>9)</sup> The Central China Radio Association (CCRA), which was jointly set up by the Japanese government and a puppet regime in China, was exactly the

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- 8) "No. 11041 (1938)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. ("昭和13 一一〇四一略", 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)
- 9) "No. 2154 (secret)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. ("機密第二一五四號", 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

brainchild of the suggested program. CCRA aspired to, by virtue of a global propaganda program and the substantial improvement of radio equipment, strengthen the new puppet government's authority, pacify the occupied areas, and fulfill the Sino-Japanese cooperation. According to CCRA, the GSBS and the GEBS would played a leading role in the propaganda targeting the central China.

### III. The Unique Shanghai-Dialect Radio Programs

One of the GEBS's programs—Shanghai-Dialect News—was very distinctive. GEBS broadcasted its programs in four languages—Japanese, English, Russian and the Shanghai dialect. Take the programs of September, 1937 for example. There were sixty sessions (twice a day) of Japanese, English and Russian broadcasting and thirty sessions (once a day) of Shanghai-dialect broadcasting. The total time of Japanese program was 8 hours and 12 minutes; English, 11 hours and 5 minutes; Russian, 8 hours and 56 minutes; and Shanghai-dialect, 5 hours and 5 minutes.<sup>10)</sup> Obviously, the Shanghai-dialect program was the shortest.

Where the specific content of the Shanghai-dialect program was concerned, the present author numerates what the GEBS aired from February 1 to 14 in 1939.<sup>11)</sup>

Date	Content
Feb. 1	Hitler's speech
	The residents in Linhai, a county in the eastern Zhejiang, were undergoing much suffering.
	There was a blizzard in Chicago.

10) "No. 3638 (general)." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 1 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075006700. ("普通第三六三八號", 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割1」, B10075006700, 外務省外交史料館)

11) "No. 2 of Supplemental Book (February, 1939): The Shanghai-dialect session with the broadcaster surnamed Zheng." The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Division 4 of Greater Shanghai Broadcasting Station (including Great Eastern Broadcasting Station and the Central China Broadcasting Association): B10075007000. ("別冊第二号 昭和拾四年二月 放送上海語ニュース 放送者鄭アナウンサー", 「上海放送局(大東放送局 華中放送協会ヲ含ム)ノ分割4」, B10075007000, 外務省外交史料館)

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Date	Content
Feb. 1	The China Association for Inland River Transportation (CAIRT) sent a telegram to Wu Peifu, one of the military strongmen, asking him to peacefully save the country.
	The Standing Committee of Guomindang's Central Committee (SCGCC) would have a meeting in the next day.
	Guangxi made great effort to build the defense work.
	The violence perpetrated by Guomindang's army on the southern bank of Qiantang River.
	Roughly 200,000 Wu Peifu's troops surrendered.
Feb. 2	Shanghai Customs increased by 5% the tariffs.
	A curfew was imposed on Leizhou, Guangdong.
	Wang Delin died.
	Peng Dongyuan commented on the comeback of Wu Peifu.
	Japan enthusiastically developed the industry of coal liquefaction.
	Japanese handsomely donated to Chili suffering an earthquake.
	The key points of Zhejiang-Jiangxi Railway were all destroyed. Muslims in Ningxia discussed the anti-Chiang Kai-shek campaign.
Feb. 3	Germany demanded the rehabilitation of its colonies.
	There would be spring tides in Huangpu River.
	Hiranuma Kiichiro, the Japanese Prime Minister, said only when <i>Sanmin zhuyi</i> (the Three People's Principles) was significantly revised, would a new East Asia be created.
	Refugees arrived after the Japanese army's capture of Henan.
	The population of Chongqing decreased sharply.
	The British overseas Chinese refused to fund General Wu Peifu.
	In Leizhou, the confrontation between the Communist and Guomindang armies was exacerbated.
Feb. 4	Shanghai Customs made an announcement respecting all ships.
	Meningitis broke out in Yanping, Beijing.

Date	Content
Feb. 4	A cargo ship owned by a British company was attacked by bandits in Liuhe, Taicang.
	The Japanese army crushed the remaining Guomindang's army in Hebei.
	150 captives were released and became the alternate policemen.
	He Yingqin was appointed the Chairman of Guizhou; and Chen Cheng, the Minister of National Defense.
	The Supreme Council of National Defense was no more than a Communist agency of mobilization.
	Great People Society did its best to preach the people's moralism.
	The British authorities paid attention to the Soviet Union's relations with neighboring countries.
Feb. 5	Chiang Kai-shek transferred the Central Army to Xi'an and the Guomindang-Communist confrontation was increasingly intensified.
	General Sugiyama Hajime donated to the refugees.
	It is whispered that Ma Hongkui, a warlord in the northwest China, started to attack the Communist army.
	Yu Xuezhong might stage a mutiny.
	Students in Guangxi did not want to join the army.
	The police security team did an excellent job in the expedition against guerrilla.
	The Japanese army crushed the guerrilla along Beijing-Xiamen Railway. Guomindang's army in Xiushui, Jiangxi, was defeated.
Feb. 6	Wang Jingwei resolved to ally with Japan, reject Russia, and make China strong again.
	The aliens in Guling, Jiangxi, replied to the Japanese army.
	The Japanese air force bombed Guangxi.
	The Spanish government would move the capital to a new place.
	The Japanese Southern China Area Army (JSCAA) launched air strikes on Lian County and Shaozhou, Guangdong.
	The progress of the battle in Shandong.

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Date	Content
Feb. 6	The surrendered troops of Tongjing (of Shandong) and Huzhen (of Zhejiang) joined the appeasement force.
Feb. 7	JSCAA sent people to receive a great number of entertainment supplies in Beijing.
	The government of north China offered loans for the spring ploughing.
	The Society for Improvement of Cotton Production in North China.
	There was a strong opposition to the military training of women in Guangdong and Guangxi.
	An announcement made by Wuhan Security Council.
	The Guomintang army did its best to defend the western Wuhan.
	In one month, 7,600 dead bodies of Guomintang's army were found in the north.
Feb. 8	The departments of special tasks of the Japanese army and navy handsomely donated to Shanghai's relief fund.
	The primary schools in Moxi, Anhui, started to teach Japanese.
	The number of flights from Shanghai and Zhejiang increased.
	Japanese ships were discovered in Dinghai, a town in the eastern Zhejiang.
	The Japanese military extended the deadline of the withdrawal of aliens in Guling, Jiangxi.
	Japan was strengthening the agency in charge of the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement.
	The Osaka Political and Economic Institute formulated its year plan (1939).
Feb. 9	The violence perpetrated by the Guomintang government.
	The world should immediately recognize the Spanish government founded by <i>Bando Nacional</i> .
	In Shanghai, there were approximately over 300,000 jobless people.
	The refugee camps in Beijing would be disbanded by the end of March.
	The head of Japanese Society for Thankfulness was going canvassing in China.
Two missing Germans returned alive.	

Date	Content
Feb. 9	The Reformed Government of the Republic of China decided to increase its diplomatic presence.
	The Japanese air force struck hard at Gui County and Qinzhou, Guangxi.
	It is rumored that Yu Xuzhong and his troops submitted to the authority of Wu Peifu.
Feb. 10	Pingyuan and Guyuan, Gansu, were bombed by the Japanese battleplanes.
	The heads of Spain's republican government were determined to make peace.
	Germany demanded all reserve troops to join the drill.
	The progress of the Japanese army's landing at Hainan Island.
	The Japanese army cut off the Guomintang army's transportation lines in Hainan.
	The Guomintang government in Chongqing was frightened by the Japanese army's landing at Hainan.
	Guomintang's army in Guangxi was in an extremely difficult position in the wake of the Japanese army's landing at Hainan.
Feb. 11	Germany and Italy expanded significantly their arms.
	The steamship <i>Alexandra</i> was sunk at Yanglinkou in this morning.
	Explosion in London's railway station was reported.
	The French government would recognize Franco's Spanish government.
	The Japanese army's capture of Haikou.
	The process of the Japanese army's landing.
	The Japanese army made an unprecedented achievement.
	The Japanese army continued to fight in Hainan.
	The commander of Guomintang's navy abandoned Hainan.
	The Japanese army's capture of Hainan threatened Vietnam.
The overseas Chinese in Hong Kong anticipated the coming huge change.	

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Date	Content
Feb. 12	Firecrackers were banned in the French Concession.
	An tomb dedicated to unknown fallen soldiers would be built in Tokyo.
	The head of Guangzhou Security Council discussed the Hainan Incident.
	The residents in Haikou were setting up the Security Council.
	The Japanese air force bombed Guomintang's fronts in Hainan.
	The United States had no alternative but to sit back when the Japanese was taking Hainan.
	The losses of Guomintang's army (centered in Wuhan) in this month.
	The poor performance of French pilots.
Feb. 13	The Japanese army took over Haikou Customs.
	A consulate general was set up in Haikou.
	In Lanzhou, 18 Chinese warplanes were shot down; and 20, destroyed.
	The war communiqué respecting the battle of Hainan.
	Fujiyama Aiichiro donated 3,000,000 <i>yen</i> in commemoration of his late father.
	The French ambassador to Japan asked Japan to clarify the Hainan Incident.
	Kondo Nobutake, the commander of Japanese navy, inspected Haikou.
	The Guomintang government in Chongqing was in a difficult position due to the people's revolt.
Feb. 14	Shanghai's stock market declined sharply due to Japan's capture of Hainan.
	A new project was started at Shemen (one of the city gates), Suzhou.
	Japan's House of Peers passed an announcement of thanks.
	Kondo Nobutake ordered the Japanese troops in Hainan to march forward.
	The Japanese army landed at Sanya and occupied the streets.
	The physical features of Sanya
	A branch of Bank of Communications would be set up in Saigon, Vietnam.

The broadcasters of the GEBS's Shanghai-dialect program were all Chinese. What they read was strictly in accordance with the propagandic motifs selected by the Tokyo regime. These alleged news focused on the prowess of Japanese warlords, the peaceful movement, anti-Communism, vilifications against the Guomindang government in Chongqing and the exaggeration of contradictions between Guomindang and the Communist Party of China (CPC). Occasionally there were several pieces of Japanese and international news. To what extent did the Shanghai residents receive these news is still open to discussion.

To sum up, the GEBS was MOFA's megaphone for Japan's war policy. It was the third radio station operated by Japan in Shanghai. The GEBS was the only extant Japanese radio in Shanghai before the outbreak of the War. Japan's MOFA, MOC, MOA and MON fully supported the GEBS, providing money, technology, equipment and managerial and operational guidance. The GEBS's mission was that, at the behest of MOFA and the Japanese military, did its utmost 1) to propagandize, interpret and whitewash Japan's invasion of China; 2) to inculcate the Japanese fascist-militaristic ideology in Shanghai's Japanese expatriates; and 3) to mobilize the Japanese in emergent situation. Due to the expansion of Japan's occupied areas in China, the Shanghai-centered GEBS later extended to most parts of the east China. In order to augment the propagandic role that it could play as far as possible, the GEBS broadcasted the news in Japanese, English, Russian and, uniquely, the Shanghai dialect. It must be pointed out that MOFA played a pivotal role in the operation of the GEBS and exactly for this reason the GEBS's style was different from that of the radio—the GSBS, for instance—run by the military. In the wake of the outbreak of the Pacific War, Japan's basic policy respecting the radio stations in Shanghai became crystal clear. To be specific, Japan's Shanghai-based radio station must serve the war and disturb and damage the enemy's radio and those operated by the countries other than China. And at the same time, Japan should make use of the radio run by the puppet governments in China to pacify the Chinese and reconstruct their ideology. To achieve these, the Japanese military shut down the Anglo-American radio stations and China's patriotic anti-Japanese radio in Shanghai and as a consequence the number of radio stations in Shanghai was significantly decreased. In the meantime, Japan tried its best to improve the GEBS's performance and make it more influential and more acceptable. Thus, the GEBS did not cancel the English news but instead increased the sessions read in the mandarin Chinese and the Shanghai dialect.<sup>12)</sup>

Since the 1920s, radio was widely used in the world. A kaleidoscopic array of states took

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12) "A Draft Plan of Reconstructing the Broadcasting Station in Shanghai," in *Reconstructing Shanghai* (Shanghai: Shanghai Institute of City Planning, 1942). (「上海に於ける放送事業の再編成措置(案)」,「上海再編成案」,上海市政研究会,1942年)

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pleasure in using this new mass media to propagandize the national policies and mobilize the people and making it an efficient tool in the service of specific political endeavors. When radio was growing increasingly prominent, the Nazi Germany, the Fascist Italy and the sadistically militaristic Japan rose. The three evil states sharply grasped radio and invested huge money in developing the broadcasting industry, with a view to turning radio into a powerful propaganda tool whereby the whole country, society and the masses could be more effectively mobilized. In the 1930s, the militaristic Japan built radio stations not only in its own land but also in its colonies and sphere of influence. The GEBS was a perfect embodiment of Japan's endeavor. Reexamining the history of the GEBS and changes taking place in its programs might shed new light on the militaristic Japan's effort to propagandize the war policy, inculcate fascism in Japan's national spirit, and turn the Japanese into war machines.

**Ethical considerations**

Ethical issues (including plagiarism, informed consent, misconduct, data fabrication and/or falsification, double publication and/or submission, and redundancy) have been completely observed by authors.

**Conflict of Interests**

The authors have no conflict of interests to declare.

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