

that the Guild was active in organizing factories in the Bay Area and established a branch to organize agricultural workers in Suisun, California (Lai, "Organizations of the Left," 11).

49. The argument is not a new one, for Henry Pelling, discussing the absence of a working-class consciousness in the United States, writes that it "is in part a product of ethnic and racial rivalries." See Henry Pelling, *American Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 221.

THE CHINESE PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II: A DIVERSITY OF VOICES

H. M. Lai

Newspapers have been published in North American Chinese communities for more than 130 years. After passing through a nonpolitical phase during the nineteenth century, the Chinese community press was predominantly concerned with China politics during the first half of the twentieth century, when Chinese nationalism stirred Chinese in the United States and Canada.

Beginning at the turn of the century there developed a great debate among politicians and intellectuals in China over the country's fate in the face of the breakdown of the traditional order, Western imperialism, and foreign domination. This was reflected in the overseas Chinese newspapers founded by the three principal political factions—the Kuomintang (KMT),¹ or Nationalist party of China, the Chee Kung Tong, and the Constitutionalist party of China.² Each backed different groups in China. However, in 1927, when the KMT established at Nanking (Nanjing) a single-party government that ruled all of China, all opposition political parties were banned. Correspondingly the political rivals of the KMT in the Chinese American and Chinese Canadian communities dwindled in numbers, as did the influence of their news organs. By the late thirties their once widespread network of newspapers in the Chinese communities had shrunk considerably. From the late twenties to the thirties, however, intraparty struggles within the KMT intensified. Party branches abroad were split into left- and right-wing factions, which then founded newspapers speaking for their positions.

During this period an increasing number of middle-class Chinese had interests rooted in the United States and Canada. They

became the audience for a few newly founded newspapers that were not affiliated with any Chinese political party. By 1940 the first daily speaking for the Chinese Marxist left-wing in North America also began publication. However, at the beginning of World War II about half of the total number of the daily newspapers in American and Canadian Chinese communities in 1941 were KMT organs (see table 1).³ During the decades after World War II, great changes occurred in the Chinese American and Chinese Canadian communities, gradually changing this orientation in the community press. The resulting modifications in format and coverage are covered by this essay.

Table 1. Daily Newspapers in United States and Canada, 1943

CITY	NEWSPAPER	POLITICAL AFFILIATION
Chicago	<i>San Min Morning Paper</i>	KMT right-wing faction
Honolulu	<i>Liberty News/Chee You Shin Po^a</i> <i>New China Daily Press/ Sun Chung Kwock^b</i> <i>United Chinese News^c</i>	KMT left-wing faction Chinese Constitutionalist party KMT right-wing faction
New York	<i>China Daily News</i> <i>Chinese Journal of Commerce</i> <i>Chinese Nationalist Daily/Mun Hey Yat Po</i> <i>Chinese Republic News</i>	no party affiliation; left of center no party affiliation; middle of the road KMT left-wing faction Chee Kung Tong
San Francisco	<i>Chinese Nationalist Daily/Kuo Min Yat Po</i> <i>Chinese Times</i> <i>Chinese World/Sai Gai Yat Po</i> <i>Chung Sai Yat Po</i> <i>Young China Morning Paper</i>	KMT left-wing faction Chinese American Citizens Alliance Chinese Constitutionalist party no party affiliation; right of center KMT right-wing faction
Toronto	<i>Chinese Times/Hung Chung Shih Pao</i> <i>Shing Wah Daily News</i>	Chee Kung Tong KMT right-wing faction
Victoria	<i>New Republic/Sun Min Kok</i>	KMT right-wing faction
Vancouver	<i>Chinese Times/Tai Hon Kung Po</i>	Chee Kung Tong

^a Daily publication 1943 and after. ^b Daily publication 1941 and after. ^c Daily publication 1942 and after.

THE DOMINATING INFLUENCE OF CHINA POLITICS, 1941-1970

China politics was a dominating influence on the Chinese community press during World War II and afterward into the sixties. During the war the Kuomintang, by virtue of its position as a branch of the ruling political party in China, could monitor and control public opinion in the Chinese American and Chinese Canadian communities. In the name of support for the war effort, the party ensured that the press, along with Chinese organizations and institutions in the communities, provided unquestioning support to the KMT and the Nationalist government. Errant editors were called to task for apparent transgressions. For example, Gilbert Woo, then an editor at *Chinese Times* and a critic of the Nationalist government, once wrote an article in which he placed the Chinese equivalent of quotation marks around Chiang Kai-shek's title, Generalissimo. Woo was summoned to the War Relief Association to explain his action, which appeared to question the legitimacy of Chiang's leadership. Woo also reported another occasion when *Chinese Times* published an article in which the Rice Bowl program to raise money for war relief was labeled undistinguished. Alleging that this hurt the war relief effort, the China War Relief Association demanded that *Chinese Times* apologize.⁴ In this climate of highly charged nationalistic fervor, few editors dared to risk being accused of being "unpatriotic," and all hastened to conform to KMT views.

Thus by the forties San Francisco's *Chung Sai Yat Po* and *Chinese Times*, both unaffiliated with the KMT, came under the control of strongly pro-Nationalist chief editors. In New York KMT adherents purchased the liberal *Chinese Journal of Commerce* in 1943. Renamed the *Chinese Journal*, the paper became the second KMT party organ in New York.⁵ Two additional New York publications established by pro-Nationalists also appeared. Chin-Fu Woo, former editor of the KMT organ *Mun Hey Yat Po*, founded the widely read *Chinese American Weekly* in 1941.⁶ In 1943 another faction led by Yun Shan Yu split off from *Mun Hey Yat Po* and solicited capital from KMT members in the United States to establish *China Tribune*.⁷

After World War II China was torn by civil war between the KMT and the Communists. Political repression, corruption, and rampant inflation in the KMT-ruled areas led to widespread disaffection and war weariness. But very little of this was admitted by the KMT-dominated press. As the worsening condition became known through other sources, criticism of the Nationalist regime

began to appear in the few Chinese newspapers opposed to the KMT. On the conservative side were the remnants of the Constitutional party and Chee Kung Tong newspaper network. Three of these papers were still influential: (1) Honolulu's *New China Daily Press*, which became a daily during the war with the support of wealthy entrepreneur Quon Chun (C. Q. Yee Hop); (2) San Francisco's *Chinese World*, which Chun revitalized in 1945 by purchasing the facility and placing the paper under the management of former *New China Daily Press* editor Dai Ming Lee (who reversed the paper's declining circulation by attracting readers disenchanted with KMT rule in their ancestral land);⁸ and (3) Vancouver's *Tai Hon Kung Po*, which was the only Chinese daily serving the then-largest Chinese community in Canada.

The left, with limited financial resources and supporters, at first focused its efforts on *China Daily News* of New York. During this period Gen. Feng Yuxiang, who had become estranged from Chiang Kai-shek and had come to the United States after World War II, had rallied a coalition of left and liberal opponents of the Nationalist government. In New York in 1947 he founded the League for Peace and Democracy in China (LPDC), which urged an end to the Chinese civil war and promoted democratic reforms in China. General Feng was supported by *China Daily News* and *China Tribune*. In San Francisco LPDC members Frances Leong, K. Y. Ja, and others began to raise capital to publish the daily *Qiaozhong Ribao*, which supported the coming new regime in China.⁹ However, LPDC member Henry Tsoi was one step ahead of the group when he began publishing *China Weekly* in San Francisco in May 1949 to give the largest Chinese community in North America a left-wing newspaper.

The Post-World War II Era

World War II marked an important turning point in the status of the Chinese in the United States and Canada. The United States Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943; in 1946 Canada repealed its Chinese exclusion law.¹⁰ Many Chinese Americans and Chinese Canadians participated in the war effort. Starting in the late forties, discriminatory laws in the United States and Canada began to be repealed one by one. Opportunities opened for American and Canadian Chinese to participate equally in mainstream society. As the Chinese middle class, with interests rooted in the United States and Canada, began to increase in numbers, newspapers expressing its point of view began to appear.

One of the earliest was *Chinese Pacific Weekly* in San Francisco, established in October 1946 by Gilbert Woo, Yuk Ow, and other Chinese American liberals.¹¹ This paper viewed the world from the perspective of American citizens. In 1948 businessman Thomas Tong started another newspaper, the weekly *Chinatown Shopper*, with Herbert Lee and Kew Yuen Ja as editors.¹² However, reflecting the relative weakness of the new middle class, these publications had a small circulation and exerted only limited influence in shaping public opinion. During the late forties both of these papers translated from the Western press items that were critical of conditions in Nationalist China.

The KMT tried to exert pressure to muffle these critics. KMT adherents spread rumors accusing *Chinese Pacific Weekly* of being a Communist organ, making it difficult for the fledgling weekly to get advertisements and subscribers. However, by making personal financial sacrifices, the editors persevered and the paper slowly gained a following among more open-minded elements of the community and became a respected liberal voice for more than three decades until editor Gilbert Woo's death in November 1979. *Chinatown Shopper* was not as fortunate. In its sixth issue on November 20, 1948, Ja wrote an editorial hailing a Communist-led new political consultative conference as the nursemaid nurturing the birth of a democratic new China.¹³ This essay brought on heavy KMT pressure on advertisers, and the paper ceased publication after only seven issues, giving the shortage of newsprint as the excuse for its demise.

As the situation in China deteriorated for the KMT regime and the chorus of dissent grew louder, the KMT stepped up its efforts to assert its suzerainty over Chinatown. In October 1949 KMT-hired hoodlums broke up a meeting celebrating the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The next night leaflets threatening key members of the opposition press on the left were distributed.¹⁴ However, despite this strategy Joe Yuey, Lok Yip, Sam Wah You, and others joined the *Qiaozhong Ribao* group to outbid a KMT group for the historic but ailing *Chung Sai Yat Po*.¹⁵ This became the first daily in the West to support the new Chinese government. Under the guidance of chief editor Jiliang Ma, *Chung Sai Yat Po* set a somewhat more moderate tone than the more stridently pro-Communist *China Weekly*.¹⁶ In the case of New York's *China Tribune*, however, Kuomintang pressure was effective in discouraging advertisers and circulation. The paper closed in 1950 and the facility was sold to KMT members belonging to the C. C. (Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu) clique. Veteran KMT journalist Kung-chan P'an was installed in charge of the revived paper in 1951.¹⁷

The Effects of the Cold War

The Korean War and the McCarthy anticommunist hysteria played key roles in helping the KMT to deal telling blows to the political opposition in the Chinatowns. After the Nationalists were routed in the civil war in 1949, the tattered remnants of the government retreated to Taiwan, while other adherents fled to the United States, Canada, and other countries around the world. The newly founded PRC allied itself with the USSR, which was already engaged in a cold war with the West. When the PRC came to the aid of the North Koreans during the Korean War, the United Nations, at the urging of the United States, branded China the "aggressor." After the war ended in 1953, relations between the United States and the PRC remained antagonistic for the next two decades.

This situation worked to the advantage of the KMT in the United States and Canada. After Chinese troops entered the Korean War, jittery subscribers and advertisers withdrew wholesale from *Chung Sai Yat Po*, and it had to cease operating in January 1951. At the same time *China Weekly* became a casualty of the war when a jittery *Chinese Pacific Weekly* declined to continue providing typesetting and printing services for the paper.¹⁸ The liberal *Chinese Pacific Weekly* also became more circumspect in expressing its views on events in China. Neither did the KMT spare its opponents on the right. Its adherents threatened the *Chinese World* with violence, and for a time the newspaper had to hire Pinkerton guards to keep a twenty-four-hour watch over its office.¹⁹

China Daily News, however, was the primary target for the anticommunist warriors. During and after the Korean War, Kuomintang-hired hoodlums physically forced news vendors to stop handling the paper. The United States government then accused the newspaper of alleged violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act because it ran advertisements from two Hong Kong banks connected with the PRC. The advertisements promoted remittance services for Chinese Americans who wanted to send money to relatives in China. In 1955 the paper was convicted and fined \$25,000 and managing editor Eugene Moy was given a one-year jail sentence.²⁰ During this period immigration authorities also deported several of the newspaper's officers and editors. These acts of intimidation, along with the anticommunist hysteria of the era, caused a precipitous drop in the newspaper's circulation, and it changed to semiweekly publication in 1963.

With dissenting voices in the Chinese communities effectively cowed or silenced by the mid-fifties, the Chinese community press

essentially conformed to a rigid pro-KMT, stridently anticommunist orthodoxy. News organs maintained the myth of the Taiwan regime as the legitimate ruler of China and referred to Taiwan as Free China. They continued to reckon dates based on years since the founding of the Republic of China (1912 is year 1 of the Republic). Chinese geographic terms were frozen in their 1949 forms—for example, these papers continued to refer to the PRC capital Beijing as Peiping.²¹ The PRC was almost never identified by its official name. Most often its government was referred to simply as "Communist bandits" or, more moderately, as "Chinese Communists."

Newspapers established during this period also generally conformed to this mode. In New York Chin-Fu Woo founded *United Journal* in 1952. In 1955 *Free China Daily* was founded in San Francisco, funded partially by the Voice of Free China, with students from China as the intended target audience. In 1962 KMT members Shing Tai Liang and Bat Nau Dou founded the *China Times* in New York.²² In turn, it was sold to another KMT supporter, Siu King Chan. In 1964 Chan worked with Doon Wong (connected with the defunct *Kuo Min Yat Po* in San Francisco) and others to set up a national daily newspaper. The paper was to be published in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.²³ In Vancouver Kenneth Wu, former editor at the KMT organ *New Republic*, and others established the *Chinese Voice* in 1954. The same year KMT supporter Charlie Young also founded *Chinese Free Press*.²⁴

In Canada, where the anticommunist hysteria never reached the same heights as it did in the United States, there were also new organs supporting the PRC. In 1961, after the first visit of the Company of Chinese Classical Theatre of the PRC to Canada, members of Vancouver's Chinese Youth Association were inspired to found the semimonthly *Da Zhong Bao*. In 1966 another pro-PRC biweekly, *Chinatown Commercial News*, was started by members of Toronto's Chinese Welfare Society.²⁵ Although their circulations were limited, these publications, operating on shoestring budgets and with volunteer help, offered alternative perspectives on China politics.

The Decline of the Chinese Press

From the end of World War II through the sixties the Chinese community press was in decline. Accelerating the trend already begun before World War II, more and more of the younger American-born generation had become illiterate in their ancestral language. Readership for Chinese newspapers had only limited growth, as

older Chinese passed away and the number of newcomers was still limited due to restrictive immigration laws. In Honolulu, where Chinese were already entering the mainstream and Chinese newspapers had been on the decline even before World War II, this situation was further exacerbated by the fact that Chinese-language schools were closed by government order during the war.

The KMT party press was among the earliest to feel this effect—from the late forties through the sixties the beleaguered Nationalist government was not in a position to provide financial subsidies. The first to succumb was Honolulu's *Liberty Press*, which ceased publication around 1947. Soon afterward its rival, *United China News*, reorganized as *United Chinese Press* in 1951. Next to fall, in 1958, was New York's strife-ridden *Mun Hey Yat Po*. North of the border, Victoria's *New Republic* moved to the more populous Vancouver the same year in the hope of bettering its circulation.²⁶ San Francisco's *Kuo Min Yat Po* reorganized as *Chinese Daily Post* in 1953 but could not stem the downward slide. It stopped publication in 1958 and reopened in 1959, only to close permanently in 1960. Its facility was used later as the western office of *China Times*. By 1967 Chicago's only newspaper, *San Min Morning Paper*, also closed its doors. Although the party faithful raised funds to resuscitate the paper in 1970, the attempt failed within one year. During the same period *Young China* of San Francisco had incurred debts amounting to more than \$100,000 and was tottering on the brink of bankruptcy. In 1970 Taiwan's KMT organ, *Central Daily News*, and American party members came to the rescue by raising \$150,000 to purchase and reorganize the paper.²⁷

Other pro-KMT newspapers fared no better. Canada's *Chinese Free Press* existed for only a few months. By 1957 San Francisco's *Free China Daily* had ceased publication. The *China Times'* ambitious plans for a national paper also came to naught. When its San Francisco edition expired after a year, the paper was left with New York and Chicago editions only.

The attrition rate among the conservative opposition press was just as severe. As early as 1948 New York's *Chinese Republic News* had to shut down operations. In Toronto *Hung Chung Shih Pao* soon found the cost too great to continue publication in the city's still small Chinese community and quit in 1956, leaving Vancouver's *Tai Hon Kung Po* as the lone Chee Kung Tong organ in North America. New York Chee Kung Tong members attempted a revival by establishing *Min Chih Journal* in 1960, but it folded in 1966.

For a time the only remaining Constitutionalist party organ on the North American continent, the *Chinese World*, flourished under Dai Ming Lee. Lee was ambitious to organize a third political force in China politics outside the KMT and the Communist party. In 1949 he tried to expand his political base by initiating an English section in the paper. However, whatever benefits Lee gained by this move were more than offset by an ill-considered move to establish a New York edition in 1957. The financial losses incurred by this venture—the New York edition closed down in 1959—adversely affected operations of the San Francisco head office. After Lee died in 1961, the newspaper slid steadily downhill. In 1969 the paper gave up.²⁸

By 1970 the Chinese community press had declined to a low point. Even though the Chinese population had increased since the forties, there were only thirteen locally owned and published Chinese-language dailies in the United States and Canada, as compared to eighteen in 1943 (see table 2).

THE RESURGENCE OF THE CHINESE PRESS, 1970 TO THE PRESENT

Changes in American and Canadian societies after World War II opened more opportunities for Chinese and other minorities. This struggle for equal treatment in mainstream society fostered a growing sense of community among Chinese in both countries. This spirit of unity was exhibited as early as 1957, when the United States government investigation of immigration fraud among the Chinese led to the first National Conference of Chinese Communities in America to discuss immigration issues.²⁹ In 1965 the United States had revised immigration laws, putting Chinese on an equal basis with other national groups. Canada followed in 1967. With the relaxation of immigration restrictions came an upsurge in immigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan. The Chinese population in the United States grew from 237,214 in 1960 to 435,062 in 1970; in Canada it jumped from 58,197 in 1961 to 118,815 in 1971. Subsequently the number of Chinese immigrants increased even more dramatically due to these changes: (1) the resumption of immigration from mainland China after Canada and the United States resumed diplomatic ties with the PRC in the seventies, (2) the large influx of ethnic Chinese refugees from the Indochina peninsula beginning in the late seventies, and (3) the assigning of a separate United States annual immigration quota of 20,000 to Taiwan from 1982 on. By 1987 the Chinese population in the United States swelled to an estimated 1.4 million, while the number of Canadian

Chinese jumped to about 340,000.³⁰ Chinatowns became bustling places, taking on the appearance of little Hong Kongs, little Taipeis, and little Saigons.

Table 2. Daily Newspapers in the United States and Canada, 1970

CITY	NEWSPAPER	POLITICAL AFFILIATION
Chicago	<i>China Times</i>	pro-Kuomintang
Honolulu	<i>New China Daily Press</i> <i>United Chinese Press</i>	Chinese Constitutionalist party Kuomintang
New York City	<i>China Times</i> <i>Chinese Journal</i> <i>China Tribune</i> <i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (East Coast edition) <i>United Journal</i>	pro-Kuomintang Kuomintang pro-Kuomintang no party affiliation; right of center no party affiliation; right of center
San Francisco	<i>Chinese Times</i> <i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (West Coast edition) <i>Young China Morning Paper</i>	Chinese American Citizens Alliance no party affiliation; right of center Kuomintang
Toronto	<i>Shing Wah Daily News</i>	Kuomintang
Vancouver	<i>Chinese Times/Tai Hon Kung Po</i> <i>Chinese Voice</i> <i>New Republic</i>	Chee Kung Tong no party affiliation; right of center Kuomintang

Nationally Distributed Newspapers

The spirit of unity achieved by Chinese in America by the sixties, combined with the new wave of immigrants, made the appearance of national papers expressing common goals a logical next step. The idea of national distribution was not new. Most daily newspapers had long serviced subscribers outside their immediate areas. As a practical consideration, however, subscribers were usually limited to areas not served by competing local Chinese newspapers, which would naturally have the advantage of more timely coverage. Thus magazines and weeklies, not having the same constraints as dailies, were the first to distribute successfully to differ-

ent Chinese communities. One of the earliest, as well as one of the most successful and influential, was *Chinese American Weekly*. Other periodicals during the forties and fifties also took the same marketing approach.³¹ By the late fifties the communication and transportation system in the United States had improved to such an extent that some daily publishers were encouraged to expand beyond the local market. As stated previously, both San Francisco's *Chinese World* and New York's *China Times* tried to establish national papers as part of their political strategy. But in a period of decline for Chinese newspapers these attempts were unsuccessful. A contributing cause was that inadequacies in the air transportation system often raised havoc with publishing schedules by delaying delivery of printing mats sent from one office to the other.³² Thus more capital, as well as technological improvements, had to be available before national publication could be successfully achieved.

Even before the relaxation of immigration laws, a newcomer entered the picture, a harbinger of the tremendous changes increased immigration would bring to the Chinese community press. In 1963 Sally Aw Sian, daughter of Aw Boon Haw of Tiger Balm (a medicinal ointment used extensively by Chinese for minor ailments) fame, had inherited *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, her father's newspaper enterprise in Hong Kong. A shrewd businesswoman, she began to air freight *Sing Tao Jih Pao* to San Francisco in 1961 in order to develop the North American market. The paper soon became a success, reaching out to the increasing number of Hong Kong immigrants eager to keep up with developments in their former home. By 1970 the paper had established separate editions for the western and eastern United States by contracting with William Chang in San Francisco and Edward So in New York to handle editorial functions, publication, and distribution in their respective areas. These editions basically used feature items and news stories taken from the Hong Kong home-office edition of the newspaper and added to these local advertisements and a page or two covering community news. The paper subsequently started eastern and western Canadian editions in Toronto and Vancouver, respectively, and also began publishing in Australia and Europe to become the first worldwide Chinese newspaper.³³ This newcomer introduced a somewhat higher standard of professional competence than had previously existed in the local press, which was constrained by limited capital and low circulation. Also, by using smaller sized type, the newspaper packed in more reading material than did existing community newspapers. Politically this paper has leaned right of center, favoring the Taiwan regime over the PRC.³⁴

In the early seventies *Sing Tao Jih Pao* was the only paper to distribute successfully on both coasts. Because the paper then had only limited local coverage, it cut into community-based papers' circulation only marginally. All shared in the expanded market created by the increasing Chinese population. During this period San Francisco's *Chinese Times* lay claim to one of the highest circulations of any Chinese newspaper in the United States. Printed on four large sheets folded in half, it was then one of the papers with the greatest number of pages.³⁵ At this time New York's Chinese population was undergoing a phenomenal growth as an increasing number of immigrants chose to settle on the Eastern seaboard. This situation benefited existing newspapers such as *United Journal*.³⁶

But this favorable situation abruptly changed with the entry of *World Journal*. By the seventies the United States and the PRC had reached a rapprochement. Given the general ineffectiveness of existing party organs in reaching the public, Taiwan authorities felt that a stronger presence was needed in North America. In early 1976 Tih-wu Wang established *World Journal* in the United States with an initial investment of \$600,000. Wang was a standing committee member of the KMT in Taiwan, as well as publisher of one of Taiwan's leading newspapers, the *United Daily News*. According to an editorial in *World Journal*'s initial issue, the paper intended "to serve the interest of the Chinese community and to promote friendly relations between the people of the United States and of Nationalist China in Taiwan."³⁷ Using the latest technology in satellite transmission, the paper published simultaneous editions in New York and San Francisco. In both format and content it was far superior to existing local papers. The only newspaper to publish seven days per week, *World Journal* became widely regarded as the semiofficial voice of the Taiwan regime, supplanting the earlier party organs.

The entry of this giant with ample financial resources caused consternation among community-based dailies, which saw it as a serious economic threat. Editors of several pro-Nationalist newspapers in New York jointly protested to the Taiwan government, but to no avail.³⁸ New York's *China Post*, which had begun publishing a West Coast edition in San Francisco for about a month, felt it prudent to beat a hasty retreat. In a parting shot the final editorial stated bitterly: "We are presently faced with an unfair competitive situation, and also receiving heavy pressure. The United States of course is a society with free enterprise. Those who have the means can invest. It is the survival of the fittest. But, there should be some limitations to this competition. In this case a foreign government

office organized a reception to give publicity for the paper. Further, how is it that [the paper] has special privileges under the regulations controlling foreign exchange so as to be able to transfer a large sum outside the country [i.e., Taiwan]. This is not only unfair to the Chinese overseas. In reality it is also a disservice to the hard-working people of Taiwan."³⁹

Notwithstanding the disgruntlement of the conservative press, the publication of *World Journal* began a new era wherein nationally distributed newspapers, well financed with large sums of capital from abroad, fought for a share of the Chinese market in North America. The same year the major pro-Nationalist Hong Kong daily, *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, established a North American edition in New York. Another major Taiwan paper, *China Times* (not to be confused with the community-based paper of the same name), owned by Chi-chung Yu, also a member of the KMT's standing committee, began publishing a weekly in 1977. It became a daily in 1982. In 1980 Taiwan Times published *Far East Times* in San Francisco. In 1981 Taiwan immigrant Tao Chen founded *International Daily News* in Los Angeles.⁴⁰ In 1982 Chao-chu Fu founded *Centre Daily News* in New York as the North American edition of Hong Kong's *Centre Daily News*.⁴¹ Hong Kong's pro-PRC *Wen Wei Pao* and *Ta Kung Pao* also began publishing North American editions that included some local coverage, but they played only a minor role in the Chinese community.

Neither *Wah Kiu Yat Po* nor *Far East Times* could capture enough readers to remain in print for long. *Wah Kiu Yat Po* reorganized as *China Voice Daily* around 1978, but the latter closed down during the early eighties. *Far East Times* lasted from 1980 to 1982. Chi-chung Yu's *China Times*, however, became for a while *World Journal*'s most formidable rival and was especially appealing to intellectuals. But *China Times* abruptly ceased publication in 1984 without any warning. It was widely speculated that a political struggle in Taiwan KMT inner circles was the cause of its demise.⁴² Some of *China Times*' former staff members founded *China Times Weekly*, a well-edited pro-Taiwan news magazine that in the mid-eighties is the only Chinese weekly news magazine published in the United States. Coverage features political issues of Taiwan, mainland China, and the American Chinese communities. Recently there has been talk of revival of the daily format in North America by fall 1989 or early 1990.⁴³

The increased competition among the Chinese-language newspapers proved to be a boon for the readers. Daily issues of the national papers increased from 16 pages in the seventies to 24 or 28 pages in the eighties. *World Journal* on occasion runs to as many as

48 to 72 pages, plus a Sunday magazine section. Typically an issue covers international news, business, entertainment, and sports, with an emphasis on America, Canada, local communities, PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Issues also include literary, historical, and other feature articles. In some areas *World Journal* publishes twice daily. In each major Chinese community, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Toronto, and Vancouver, different local editions offer a community news section focusing on local events.

International Daily News was the first of these well-financed papers to use multicolored headlines to attract readers. In 1983 it also began publishing *Chinese Weekly Post*, a magazine supplement distributed with its weekend edition. These moves were quickly emulated by the rival *China Times* and *World Journal*.⁴⁴ *Sing Tao Jih Pao* waited until 1989. *Centre Daily News*, however, decided against publishing a Sunday supplement.

These nationally distributed publications make use of the latest advances in communications technology, such as satellites, to link various offices across the country to each other or to a home office halfway around the world, thus enabling editions in all cities to use the same typeset pages. To tailor an edition for a specific city requires merely typesetting a page of local community news and local advertisements for allotted spaces. But cost-effective computer typesetting technology requires the investment of large amounts of capital, which are usually unavailable to most community-based newspapers.

A distinguishing characteristic of these national newspapers is that they maintain editorial and business offices and, in some cases, printing plants in several cities. In addition, instead of waiting passively for news releases to be delivered to the offices, as had been the customary practice of Chinese newspapers in the past, these offices send reporters to cover local events. This competition has forced existing community-based newspapers to follow the example of the national newspapers. Thus news coverage has improved to some degree.

Many staff positions have been filled by the numerous intellectuals and university students who have come recently from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the PRC. Some of these people have had journalism training, thus improving the quality of reporting. Many others, however, are relatively unfamiliar with issues and personalities in the Chinese communities of the United States and Canada and thus their coverage often lacks depth.

Another pernicious factor frustrating in-depth reporting is the concern over offending the sensitivities of powerful community groups and thus affecting circulation and advertising revenue. One

editor recounted how, when *Sing Tao Jih Pao* in New York covered a dispute over tong extortion in 1984, a gang leader visited the editor's office, placed a loaded pistol on his desk, and suggested that the reporter be taken off the story. In February 1989 *Centre Daily News* fired reporter Ying Chan after the powerful New York Chinese American Planning Council (formerly Chinatown Planning Council) complained to the editor about her coverage of a labor dispute involving the council and of Vietnamese Chinese protests that occurred when the council awarded a medal to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.⁴⁵

Aside from the national newspapers, other papers abroad also entered the growing North American market but took a different marketing approach to minimize capital investment. In 1975 Hong Kong's *Ming Pao Daily News*, *Sing Pao Daily News*, and *Hong Kong Daily News* (renamed *Sino-American Daily News* in the United States) began printing and distributing in North America. *Ming Pao Daily News* and *Sing Pao Daily News* are non-partisan in their coverage of the PRC and Taiwan news. During the seventies the former was especially popular with readers because of its coverage of events in the PRC as the country emerged from throes of the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, *Sino-American Daily News* attracted other readers by publishing news items of a sensational nature. In 1984 *Hong Kong Economic Journal* began distribution in the United States as the *Overseas Chinese Economic Journal*. In 1985 Beijing's *People's Daily* also began printing an overseas edition in the United States. This last move, however, was more as part of the PRC's propaganda effort than for any economic gain. In 1989 came Taipei's *Liberty Times*. Unlike the newspapers mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, these papers all reprint items from their home office issues, rearranged somewhat for the overseas editions. They do not include local news.

The interest exhibited by foreign newspapers in entering the North American market stimulated the growth of a new service. William Chang, who handled the West Coast edition of *Sing Tao Jih Pao* from the late sixties until the mid-seventies, formed Chinese Newspapers Consolidated Sales, Inc. This firm subsequently solicited lucrative contracts to print and distribute *Ming Pao Daily News*, *Sing Pao Daily News*, *Sino-American Daily News*, *Overseas Chinese Economic Journal*, *Ta Kung Pao*, *Wen Wei Pao*, and *Liberty Times*. (Starting in early 1989, however, *Ming Pao International* [Canada] Ltd followed the example of *Sing Tao Jih Pao* and began publishing a Vancouver edition of *Ming Pao Daily News* in an attempt to capture a larger share of the rapid growing Canadian market.) The printing of *People's Daily's* overseas edition is

shared between San Francisco and New York printing firms connected with *San Francisco Journal* and *China Daily News*, respectively.

CHANGING POLITICAL INFLUENCES, 1970 TO THE PRESENT

From the early seventies to the late eighties tensions eased between the PRC and the United States and Canada. As signs pointed toward improved relations between the United States and mainland China, Maurice Chuck, John Ong, and others established the weekly *Chinese Voice* in San Francisco in 1969. It was the first paper in the area to openly support the PRC since the fifties. However, the management overestimated its financial capabilities and changed prematurely to daily publication in 1971. When circulation did not increase, financial difficulties gave rise to internal dissension which finally led to the paper's demise in 1972. It was succeeded by the weekly *San Francisco Journal*, founded by Maurice Chuck in the same year.

As tensions between the PRC and the West continued to relax, New York's *China Daily News* resumed daily publication in 1977. The better political climate enabled the paper to increase its circulation and advertisers somewhat. In 1978 the paper stationed a reporter in San Francisco and published an airmail edition for distribution in the area, with the ultimate aim of establishing a West Coast edition. But after eight years this effort was abandoned when there was no appreciable growth in subscriptions and sales.⁴⁶

Friendlier bonds between mainland China and the West also led to more sympathetic coverage in *Sing Tao Jih Pao's* East Coast edition toward the PRC. This appeared to contribute to the concern of *Sing Tao Jih Pao's* conservative management in the Hong Kong home office that it was losing editorial control over its North American derivatives. During the mid-seventies Sally Aw Sian initiated lengthy legal proceedings to recover management of first the West Coast and then the East Coast edition.⁴⁷ After a negotiated settlement a core of former employees from *Sing Tao Jih Pao's* East Coast edition founded the pro-PRC *Peimei News* in 1978.⁴⁸ Around 1982 this paper became one of the first dailies to adopt the PRC standard of running Chinese text in horizontal lines from left to right in accordance with Western practice. But it soon had to bow to custom and reverted to the traditional vertical columns reading from right to left. For a brief period in 1983 the paper also published an edition in Toronto.

In 1979 the PRC began relaxing domestic political and economic policies. By 1981 it also began wooing Taiwan toward peaceful reunification with the mainland. In turn Taiwan lifted martial law by 1987 and began easing restrictions on contacts with the mainland. Attitudes in North American Chinese communities began to change even more with the increased opportunities to contact friends and relatives and to forge business connections on the Chinese mainland. This was reflected in less strident political rhetoric and relatively more balanced reporting of news on mainland China and Taiwan even in such organs as the pro-Taiwan *World Journal* and the pro-PRC *China Daily News*. Symbolic of the changing attitudes in the Chinese community was the fact that both *Sing Tao Jih Pao* and *International Daily News* at the beginning of the eighties were still reckoning dates in term of years since the founding of the Republic of China, with the corresponding year a.d. indicated in parenthesis. After the mid-eighties both papers used only the year reckoned in accordance with the Gregorian calendar. Thus by the mid-eighties, the PRC-Taiwan conflict had apparently receded to a position of secondary importance in press coverage. However, China politics continued to lurk in the background to exert an influence, as exemplified by the incidents described below. *International Daily News* claims to be a nonpartisan newspaper, its editorials often criticizing both the Taiwan KMT and the PRC governments. It was the only Chinese American newspaper to assign a reporter to accompany President Reagan during his visit to the PRC in 1984. The newspaper's policy, however, incurred the displeasure of Taiwan authorities. In 1987, the Taiwan Garrison Command arrested Ya-ping Lee, publisher and wife of the paper's founder, while she was on a visit to Taiwan, for allegedly publishing articles supporting Beijing overtures for peaceful reunification of Taiwan with the Chinese mainland. She was released only after vigorous protests from Chinese in America, members of Congress, and the United States State Department.⁴⁹ Since this incident the newspaper's coverage of the news has been less sympathetic toward the PRC.

Centre Daily News, which also professes a nonpartisan stance, advocates unification of the China mainland with Taiwan. Two years after owner Chao-chu Fu began publishing an American edition, the paper benefited from the 1984 demise of *China Times* by hiring about thirty former employees of the defunct paper, thus improving the professional standards of its staff in the United States. The paper began to attract a liberal following and became a serious challenger to the *World Journal* in the competition for readers, especially in New York and Los Angeles areas.

The paper, however, was embroiled in several controversial actions. In 1987 Fu shocked the Chinese community when he summarily fired Yu-hsi Chen, liberal deputy manager of the New York office under whose management the paper had been highly critical of Taiwan's human rights violations. He also discharged Shih-ying Tan, a respected investigative reporter, for her exposé of Taiwan involvement in the 1984 assassination of Henry Liu in San Francisco.⁵⁰ The political stand of the newspaper became noticeably more subdued and less anti-KMT after the shakeup. It has been widely speculated that the moves were intended to placate Taiwan authorities and to persuade them to release Fu's frozen assets on the island. Ironically, in spite of these moves, in 1987 the procurator of the Taiwan High Court named Fu on a list of fifteen "fugitives" wanted for seditious acts against the state, an order which was not lifted until one year later.⁵¹ (As mentioned previously, Fu also dismissed reporter Ying Chan in 1989 for articles offending a powerful Chinese community organization.)

In 1989 Chao-chu Fu voiced support for the PRC government when it ruthlessly suppressed a democracy movement in Beijing and then subsequently arrested numerous dissidents all over the country.⁵² But when he ordered his staff in New York to publish a sympathetic editorial, ten editors resigned in protest.⁵³ Angry supporters of the China democracy movement also pressured advertisers not to patronize the paper.⁵⁴ In July Fu was forced to step down as chairman of the board of *Centre Daily News* enterprises and chief editor of the paper's New York edition.⁵⁵ On September 18, 1989, the management of the paper announced indefinite suspension of publication due to large operating deficits.

Notwithstanding the editorial stand of *Centre Daily News*, condemnation of the Beijing crackdown was widespread in the Chinese American and Chinese Canadian press. It included the pro-PRC newspapers *Wen Wei Pao* and *Ta Kung Pao* of Hong Kong, as well as New York's *China Daily News*. However, by July, as the Beijing authorities reasserted control over the situation in China, it began to pressure these wayward newspapers to toe the official line. The Hong Kong papers soon conformed, but *China Daily News*, rather than giving in, announced a "temporary" cessation of publication beginning on July 30, 1989.⁵⁶ Ironically, the paper had just observed its 49th anniversary four weeks earlier. At the time it was the oldest newspaper in New York.

It is too early to evaluate the long-range effects of the Beijing events on Chinese communities in North America, but for the moment the PRC can find few sympathetic voices among the Chinese American and Chinese Canadian newspapers.

Increasing Focus on Chinese Community Issues

The struggle for equal opportunity, led by middle class intellectuals and professionals beginning in the late sixties, stimulated the growth of activism and fostered feelings of concern for the Chinese community among Chinese Americans. There was a sentiment that Chinese and English-speaking Chinese should work together in order to bring about change. This led to an emphasis on the bilingual format as a vehicle for communication. Representative of this thinking was the bilingual *East/West*, established in 1967 by Gordon Lew in San Francisco. For more than two decades until September 1989, when it closed due to continued operating deficits, this weekly was noted for its coverage of Chinese American and Asian American issues. *East/West* was one of the earliest Chinese papers to use offset printing and Chinese typewriting services.

During this period many Asian Americans, including Chinese Americans, were inspired by the African American civil-rights movement to formulate a similar concept for Asian Americans. A number of militant Asian American organizations arose to advocate social change. Many of these published newsletters and newspapers focusing on issues such as racism, housing, employment, the plight of the underprivileged, and so on. Some better-known Asian American movement publications, mostly monthlies, with predominantly Chinese American participation, were the Marxist-oriented *Getting Together* (1970-78), published in New York and San Francisco by I Wor Kuen; *Wei Min Pao* (1971-75), published by Wei Min She in San Francisco; and *Equality* (founded in 1977), published in New York City by Asian Americans for Equality. Other papers were *Chinese Awareness* (founded in 1971), connected with the Los Angeles youth organization Teen Post; *Working Together* (founded in 1971), published by The Third Arm in Honolulu; and *Yellow Seeds* (founded in 1972), published by the Philadelphia organization of the same name. These monthly publications use the bilingual format extensively. With changes in the radical movement and the rightward drift in America in the eighties, most of these have ceased publication.

As a result of the civil rights movement in the United States, the status of the Chinese in both America and Canada improved markedly during the seventies. Many Chinese moved into the mainstream. American and Canadian political issues that affected the Chinese community increasingly became of greater importance to many Chinese. Some Chinese newspapers founded during this period also began to express this growing concern. One of the earliest, *China Post*, was founded by motion-picture theater owner

Lucas Liang in 1972. This newspaper was nominally neutral with respect to the PRC-Taiwan issue and emphasized news coverage of the community. It also claimed to be the first Chinese daily to use offset printing technology.⁵⁷

By the eighties all papers from left to right on the political spectrum were putting more emphasis on issues of concern to Chinese Americans. Issues such as equal rights, affirmative action, political participation, and political empowerment in the mainstream became of primary interest. The *Sino Daily Express*, founded by radio and television broadcaster Arthur Liu in New York in 1980, is characteristic of the increasing focus on domestic issues. The motto of this daily was "to take root in this land" and "to serve the Chinese in America." Like *China Post* it also claimed to be non-partisan and was critical of both the Taiwan and PRC governments. However, it emphasized the local community and also provided news of the Hong Kong entertainment world.⁵⁸ Around 1985 it began a Queens edition to try to capture readers in that growing community.

In Canada several new dailies began publishing in the rapidly growing Chinese community in Toronto. Two that have successfully survived are *Chinese Express Daily News*, founded in 1971 by former *Shing Wah Daily News* editor Robert Chow,⁵⁹ and *Chinese Canadian Daily*, founded in 1984. Both papers take a non-partisan stance on the PRC-Taiwan conflict and emphasize community issues.

EXPANSION AND ATTRITION IN RESPONSE TO A CHANGING READERSHIP, 1970 TO THE PRESENT

In the eighties the Chinese community press came to maturity in Los Angeles, the third largest and most rapidly growing Chinese community in the United States. For many years Los Angeles had played the role of a satellite distribution point for San Francisco papers. Nationally distributed dailies were the first to capitalize on the phenomenal growth in the region's population in the eighties. In June 1980 *World Journal* was the first to establish a Los Angeles edition, *Chinese Daily News*, with its office in the rapidly growing suburb of Monterey Park.⁶⁰

International Daily News arrived in 1981 and also established its national headquarters in Monterey Park. *Centre Daily News* followed in 1984. In 1986 *Young China Daily*, which by then had developed a close relationship with Taiwan's *Youth Daily*, an organ of the Taiwan Defense Ministry,⁶¹ began by publishing a southern California edition called *China Daily News*. The rapidly expanding

Chinese community of Houston also saw its first Chinese daily, the right-of-center *Southern Chinese Daily News*, around 1983, with Wea Lee as publisher.

Notwithstanding the expanding Chinese market, escalating costs and the fierce competition in the marketplace continually took a heavy toll on newspapers from the mid-seventies on. The better-financed, large-scale national operations put much pressure on existing community-based newspapers with limited capital and small staffs. Financially marginal newspapers began to fail. In 1976 the Taiwan KMT had to take over the ailing New York party organ, *Chinese Journal*, and soon shut it down. During that same period Vancouver's *New Republic* and Toronto's *Shing Wah Daily News* both underwent reorganization. By 1979 New York's pro-Nationalist *China Times* was sold to *Sing Tao Jih Pao*.

San Francisco Journal, plowing back profits from printing the overseas edition of Beijing's *People's Daily*, went to daily publication in 1983. But the owners gave up in 1986 when they could make little headway in attracting advertisers and subscribers. In the meantime the Chinese American Citizens Alliance organ, *Chinese Times*, which had been resting on its laurels as one of the leading Chinese newspapers in America, suffered rapid erosion of its competitive position, resulting in successive losses. By 1988 the paper had to be sold to local investors.⁶² It was the only locally established Chinese newspaper remaining in San Francisco. On the East Coast New York's *China Post* (closed in 1986), *Sino Daily Express* (closed in 1986), and *Peimei News* (closed in 1987) also disappeared from the scene,⁶³ leaving *United Journal* and *China Tribune* as the only conservative dailies remaining from the fifties. On the left the lone daily newspaper was *China Daily News*, which continued to publish for a few more years, supported heavily by PRC advertisements and PRC-related business enterprises. As mentioned above, it closed as a consequence of the bloody events in Beijing in 1989. In Vancouver the pro-PRC weekly *Da Zhong Bao* stopped publishing in 1981. It was followed by the *New Republic* and the *Chinese Voice* in 1984 and 1988 respectively, leaving the *Tai Hon Kung Po* once again the only locally owned newspaper. In Toronto similar fates befell *Chinese Commercial News* biweekly in 1986 and *Chinese Express Daily* in 1988.

Since the mid-eighties the Chinese press has definitely been dominated by the nationally distributed dailies. These are major enterprises requiring much operating capital. Although financial figures are closely held secrets, revenue from subscribers and advertisers in the Chinese market is obviously limited. In the mid-eighties a circulation of fifteen thousand was considered high.⁶⁴

Among these major news organs the Hong Kong-based *Sing Tao Jih Pao* appeared to be favored by Chinese in Canada, but in 1987 *World Journal* went after the growing Canadian market by establishing a Toronto edition. In the United States *World Journal*, *Centre Daily News*, and *Sing Tao Jih Pao* were all widely read. But in the meantime capital and operating costs continued to rise, and in the second half of the eighties there were signs that even some of the national papers were straining their financial resources. *International Daily News*, which at one time appeared to be attempting to compete for a share of the national market, appeared to be concentrating its efforts in southern California and Texas by the mid-eighties and offered only token competition on the East Coast. By 1989 the paper had discontinued its weekly magazine *Chinese Weekly Post* and published instead a weekend supplement with reduced number of pages. Its competitor *Centre Daily News* suddenly closed its Hong Kong edition in 1987 accompanied by the firing of key personnel mentioned previously. Soon afterward it also suspended the operations of its newly established Houston edition.⁶⁵ As stated earlier, the paper closed down in 1989.

Of the major newspapers *World Journal* appeared to be in the strongest financial position, backed by the resources of the *United Daily* enterprises in Taiwan. In 1986 it established World TV and World Bookstore in New York City, with the latter quickly opening branch stores in numerous Chinese communities in the United States and Canada.⁶⁶ Thus the paper gained a leading position in the information field.

Hawaii, which has a fairly large Chinese population but relatively few immigrants, did not share in the developments which took place on the mainland. In 1975 Zhenji Ma began publishing the daily *Honolulu Chinese Press* to test the market. The results were disappointing, and the trial was quickly terminated after twenty-seven issues. In 1978 the oldest Chinese newspaper in the islands, *New China Daily Press*, closed its doors due to lack of readers.⁶⁷ This left only the KMT-supported *United Chinese Press* hanging on, publishing more advertising than news items in its pages. For all practical purposes the Chinese community press in this, once the second largest center for Chinese newspapers in the Western hemisphere, is a memory of the past.

Table 3 provides a list of the surviving dailies still in print nationally or in major cities.

Table 3. Daily Newspapers in United States and Canada, Late 1989

CITY	NEWSPAPER	POLITICAL AFFILIATION
Honolulu	<i>United Chinese Press</i>	Kuomintang
Houston	<i>Southern Chinese News</i>	no party affiliation; right of center
Los Angeles/ Monterey Park	<i>China Daily News</i> (Los Angeles edition, Young China Daily) <i>Chinese Daily News</i> (Los Angeles edition, World Journal) <i>International Daily News</i> ^a	Kuomintang pro-Kuomintang no party affiliation; right of center
New York City	<i>China Tribune</i> <i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (East Coast edition) <i>United Journal</i> <i>World Journal</i> (New York edition)	pro-Kuomintang no party affiliation; right of center no party affiliation; right of center pro-Kuomintang
San Francisco	<i>Chinese Times</i> <i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (West Coast edition) <i>World Journal</i> (San Francisco edition) <i>Young China Daily</i>	no party affiliation; right of center no party affiliation; right of center pro-Kuomintang Kuomintang
Toronto	<i>Chinese Canadian Daily News</i> <i>Shing Wah Daily News</i> <i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (Eastern Canada edition) <i>World Journal</i> (Toronto edition)	no party affiliation; middle of the road Kuomintang no party affiliation; right of center pro-Kuomintang
Vancouver	<i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (Western Canada edition) <i>Chinese Times/Tai Hon Kung Po</i> <i>Ming Pao Daily News</i> (Vancouver edition)	no party affiliation; right of center Chee Kung Tong no party affiliation; middle of the road

^a *International Daily News* distributes the same edition nationwide except for some local substitutions in the advertisements.

Weeklies, Newsletters and Periodicals Fill the Gap

By the late sixties the availability of Chinese typewriting services and technological advances such as offset printing made possible lower production costs. This encouraged the rise of weeklies, which require less staff than dailies. The increasing Chinese population stimulated the rise of a number of these publications. A notable one was San Francisco's pro-Taiwan *Truth Weekly* (1967-86), which later became a semiweekly. The paper was founded by Frank Wong, who had been an editor at the *Chinese World* and *Chinese Times*. The paper focused on the community and tended toward sensationalism and gossip. It was the precursor of several similar weeklies. Another newcomer was *Chinese Commercial News* (1976-83), founded by Francisco Hsieh, proprietor of a publicity firm. This last differed from other papers in that it was distributed free and the contents consisted mostly of advertisements along with brief news items.

There was such a proliferation of weeklies in San Francisco during the seventies that at times the reader had the choice of nine to ten locally published semiweeklies, weeklies, or monthlies at newsstands.⁶⁸ New York was also another center for publishing weeklies.⁶⁹

By the fifties and sixties a few weeklies focusing on local community news had appeared in Los Angeles.⁷⁰ As the population in the region increased, more weeklies appeared, and by the eighties there were also new publications published in Monterey Park.⁷¹ Two of the earliest were *So-Cal Community News* and *United Times*, both founded in 1980. These were similar in nature to the *Chinese Commercial News* of San Francisco in that they were distributed free and focused on community items and advertising.

As the population in Chinese communities increased, there arose a need to keep the people informed, particularly with regard to local community events. In some areas the local umbrella community organization put out newsletters to serve such a function. For example, during the sixties Seattle's Chong Wa Benevolent Association published the bilingual monthly *Seattle Chinese Community Newsletter*, and, from the late sixties to the present, the Portland Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association periodically published *Oregon Chinese News*, also bilingual. By the seventies, however, weeklies, biweeklies, or monthlies also were being published regularly in many smaller Chinese communities. One of the earliest was *Sampan Monthly* (later a biweekly) of Boston, founded by the civil-rights group, Chinese American Civic Association, in 1972.⁷² Beginning in the late seventies such publications, usually

tabloid size, also began to appear in Washington, D.C., Houston, Seattle, Flushing, New York, Dallas, Denver, and Chicago in the United States and in Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and Montreal in Canada.⁷³ Most of these communities previously did not have regularly published community newspapers. However, although the Chinese population has been increasing in many cities, often the population is still too small to support a weekly. For this reason some of these publications have had to struggle along on austere budgets in order to survive. Others have depended on affluent backers or have had access to funding sources for subsidies.

Two weeklies aimed at middle class intellectuals were the *Tribune of Los Angeles* and *Asian-American Times* of Flushing. The *Tribune* was founded in 1982 as the successor to the short-lived *California Daily News*. This paper was an independent voice in the community, featuring analyses of various international and community issues and providing a forum for a diversity of opinions. But on occasion the paper drew the ire of political partisans, both on the right and on the left; at other times it managed to offend the sensitivities of powerful community groups. Thus it continually struggled with fiscal problems and had to cease publication several times to reorganize. The last version managed to continue publication for seven months before closing in May 1989.⁷⁴ *Asian-American Times* was founded in 1987 by Yu-hsi Chen (formerly deputy manager at New York's *Centre Daily News*), George Chen, and other intellectuals. This weekly has focused on community issues from the perspective of the Chinese as part of American society. The paper has encouraged immigrants to assimilate politically and socially in order to achieve political and economic gains.⁷⁵

A number of Chinese-language magazines have also tried to capture part of the expanding Chinese market but none has achieved any great degree of success. Orient Publications Ltd. of Vancouver launched an early ambitious attempt in 1975 when it began publishing *Orient Weekly* and the monthly magazine *Orient Vancouver*. Aimed at a general audience, the publications included news, consumer oriented articles, and light reading material. Both failed within a short period. With the great increase in the Chinese population in the eighties, however, other entrepreneurs were willing to try again. The most recent in the same vein are the *Big Family Quarterly* (founded in 1988) of New York and the bilingual *Lifestyle Magazine* (founded in 1988) of Vancouver. By 1989 the latter magazine was also began publishing a Toronto edition.

More scholarly articles on politics, humanities, and the arts were found in periodicals such as the *Crossroads* (bilingual monthly founded in 1977) of Toronto, and *Hsintu* (monthly founded in 1978,

expired 1981) and *Chinese Intellectual* (quarterly founded in 1984) of New York. The latest is New York's *Eurasian Bilingual Monthly Magazine* (founded in 1988). Such publications often have had only a short life due to the limited audience. A publication in a different category that has enjoyed some degree of longevity is New York's *People and Events*. This monthly, founded in 1983 by Ke Din Chow specializes in hard-hitting sensational exposé-type reporting on Chinatown personalities and events. Chow apparently has the backing of powerful Chinatown leaders for thus far he has escaped legal and retaliatory actions from the subjects of his attacks.

On the lighter side are the periodicals for entertainment and leisure reading. Typical are television guides, which have proliferated in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles since the advent of Chinese television programs in the seventies. Besides listing television programs, these free publications often also include gossip articles about the entertainment world and short stories.

Publications Aimed at Special-interest Groups

The increasing diversification of the Chinese population has also given rise to publications targeted at specific groups in the community. The most numerous and widespread have been newspapers established by ethnic Chinese from the Indochina peninsula. These Chinese, more than half of whom have come from Vietnam and the remainder mostly from Kampuchea and Laos, began arriving in North America in large numbers as refugees in the late seventies. Among these were many journalists who wasted little time resuming their profession in their new home. In less than a decade these journalists have established newspapers in many cities, including smaller communities that previously did not have newspapers. Most of the publications are weeklies distributed free at businesses patronized by ethnic Chinese. The earliest to appear was *Vietnam-Chinese Newspaper*, founded in Los Angeles in 1980 by Vincent Siu-Cong Ly, who in 1986 was a member of the Taiwan government's Control Yuan.⁷⁶ Southern California, with its large concentration of ethnic Chinese from the Indochina peninsula, has had the largest number of Chinese-language papers addressed to this group. Chinese-language newspapers for those from Indochina have also been founded in San Francisco, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Houston, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and other cities.⁷⁷ By the late eighties there were still no daily newspapers established by ethnic Chinese from Indochina.

In 1986 a group connected with the *San Francisco Journal* started *Fukien Chinese Weekly*, the first paper targeted at the

growing Fujianese population in America. However, the effort failed within a year.⁷⁸

There are also publications of limited circulation advocating various political causes. The Diaoyutai movement of 1970-72 prompted a flood of publications put out by students from Taiwan and Hong Kong on campuses in the United States and Canada.⁷⁹ Although few of these publications lasted beyond 1972, a few participants became journalists for Chinatown newspapers, in particular *China Daily News* of New York and *San Francisco Journal*, and Asian American newspapers such as *Getting Together* and *Wei Min Pao*.

Another interesting category consists of news organs of Taiwanese political groups, which became more active in the United States with the increasing number of dissidents exiled from the island in the seventies and eighties. In 1979 the Taiwan government banned the dissident magazine *Formosa Weekly* in the aftermath of the Kaohsiung incident and imprisoned or forced its principals into exile. In August 1980 expatriate Hsin-liang Hsu began publishing *Formosa Weekly* in Los Angeles, the center of a large Taiwanese population, as the American-based successor to the Taiwan publication.⁸⁰ It advocated a democratic national revolution in Taiwan based on socialism. The same year Kenjohn Wang and other Taiwanese in southern California founded the *Asian Journal* in Monterey Park.⁸¹ This was the first Chinese paper to focus on news of the Taiwanese community in America. Its coverage was also critical of KMT violations of human rights in Taiwan. The paper published until 1983. In 1985 Taiwanese dissidents, including those connected with the above two publications, met in Washington, D.C., to form the Association to Promote Formation of a Democratic Party in Taiwan. Soon afterward *Formosa Weekly* merged with the newly founded *Taiwan Times*.⁸² This paper, published in Westminster, California, was a proponent of organizing an opposition political party in Taiwan. However, *Taiwan Times* soon closed down because of a lack of operating revenues. *Pacific Journal*, headquartered in Alhambra, California, succeeded it in 1987.⁸³

On the East Coast United Formosans for Independence began publishing *Taiwan Tribune* in Long Island City, New York, in 1981 as its news organ. Around 1988 the paper moved to Gardena in southern California. There were also several periodicals critical of Kuomintang rule on Taiwan and advocating more political rights for the Taiwanese. Some examples were *Taiwan and the World* (monthly founded in 1983 in New York; expired in 1987), *Taiwanese Digest* (semimonthly founded by the Taiwanese Cultural Center of Westminster, 1984), and *Taiwan Culture* (bimonthly

founded by the Taiwan-U.S. Culture Exchange Center of Long Island City, 1986)

Publications critical of the PRC government also sprang up with the entry of dissidents into North America after China relaxed restrictions on travel abroad in the late seventies. A well-known periodical is *China Spring*, founded in 1983 by visiting scholar Bingzhang Wang and others. Another is *Quest*, originally founded in Beijing by dissident Jingsheng Wei in 1979 and subsequently banned by the government. Wei's supporters revived the magazine in the United States in 1983. In 1989, five days after the June 4 suppression of the democracy movement in Beijing, a group of former PRC journalists led by Changqing Cao established *Press Freedom Herald* in Alhambra, California, to voice support for the democracy movement. Democracy movement organizations in different cities in the United States and Canada provided funding for the paper. Seven issues have been published during the first eleven weeks of its existence.

In the eighties the reader can choose from about thirty daily newspapers, including community-based newspapers, local editions of national newspapers, and overseas editions of foreign newspapers, published in Chinese communities in the United States and Canada. There are also numerous semiweeklies, weeklies, biweeklies, monthlies and quarterlies. It is doubtful whether any other ethnic community in the United States and Canada of comparable size has access to such a varied bill of fare.

This phenomena is a reflection of the diversity within the community. Since the turn of the century political conflicts in China have carried over into the local community. Before World War II such divisions were reflected in the proliferation of dailies speaking for different political groups. But after the KMT rose to dominance on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War there was a gradual imposition of a uniform political orthodoxy. This was reinforced during the fifties and sixties by United States and Canadian support for the KMT regime in Taiwan and tense relations between the western nations and the PRC.

After World War II, however, as opportunities opened for Chinese in the United States and Canada, community and national issues began to assume greater importance. China politics began to recede to a more secondary role. By the mid-seventies these developments led newspapers to focus increasingly on issues relevant to the hope and aspiration of Chinese in American and Canadian society and to support causes advancing the status of the Chinese in these countries.

As more and more Chinese entered mainstream society, Chinese-language newspapers suffered a decline in the fifties and sixties. But this trend was reversed in the seventies and eighties by the influx of a diverse Chinese population of immigrants and refugees from different parts of the world. This period saw a major development in the rise of national dailies backed by substantial financial resources. In addition to San Francisco and New York City, Vancouver, Los Angeles and Toronto also became major centers for Chinese journalism. During this time there also arose weeklies and monthlies to serve smaller Chinese communities as well as various target Chinese populations. These publications furnish an essential service, providing news and information to the large Chinese-reading and mostly foreign-born population.

In spite of the seemingly flourishing condition of Chinese newspapers on the North American mainland, the moribund condition of the Chinese community press in Hawaii does raise the question, what will be the eventual fate of Chinese journalistic enterprises in Canada and the continental United States once the flow of immigration subsides and ethnic Chinese participate more fully in the mainstream? The answer to that question may not be clear for at least another decade. For the immediate future it is safe to predict that the Chinese community press will continue to exist in some form.

A related question is whether newspapers can survive as self-supporting commercial enterprises. Due to the relatively limited market, Chinese newspapers have seldom been profitable undertakings in the past. During the first half of the twentieth century the primary objective of news organs was to sway public opinion to support political causes. Subsidies from various sources have often been necessary to establish and maintain these papers. Today, in spite of the fact that the Chinese population has increased greatly, fiscal problems remain because there has also been a tremendous rise in capital and operating costs. But although newspapers kept afloat by subsidies are generally acknowledged to exist, relevant hard facts and statistics are often elusive. Whether subsidies can keep the Chinese press flourishing in North America remains a question, because many subsidies are subject to fluctuations in the political situation in China and Taiwan. Yet, as in the case of Hawaii, subsidies may ensure the continued survival of certain newspapers long after they cease to break even.

NOTES:

1. The spelling of names of Chinese individuals and Chinese publications as adopted by those individuals and publications in the United States and Canada are used preferentially in this essay. If only the Chinese characters for a name are available, they are transliterated in an appropriate system as follows: Cantonese names in North America are transliterated on the basis of the Cantonese pronunciation; Taiwanese personal names are transliterated in accordance with the Wade-Giles system in conformance with the general practice in Taiwan; remaining Chinese names, publication titles and publishing houses are transliterated in accordance with Hanyu Pinyin system. For the sake of consistency Chinese personal names are given with the surname last except for those well-known individuals, such as Sun Yat-sen, whose names had customarily appeared in publications with the surname first in accordance with the normal Chinese custom.

2. At the end of the nineteenth century there was increased feeling that China's traditional society must reform in order for her to survive as a nation. In 1898 reformers led by Kang Youwei gained the support of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing dynasty. Reform edicts were issued to the nation in the emperor's name. However, after 103 days, ultra-conservatives, under the leadership of the empress dowager, imprisoned the emperor and arrested the reformers in a coup d'état. Kang fled abroad and in 1899 went to Victoria, British Columbia, where he led the formation of the Chinese Empire Reform Association, popularly known as the Protect the Emperor Society. A few years later this organization changed to the Chinese Empire Constitutional party when the Manchu announced plans to promulgate a constitution for the nation. After the establishment of the Republic of China, the name of the group was changed again to Chinese Constitutionalist party. The party supported the government in Peking. (The capital was known as Peking until 1927.)

The Kuomintang was the successor to the Tongmenghui, a group led by Sun Yat-sen, which sought to overthrow the Qing dynasty. After the Republic of China was established in 1912, this group combined with four others to form the Kuomintang, or Chinese Nationalist party. In 1913 the Peking government ordered the Kuomintang to dissolve and it became an opposition party in exile.

The Chee Kung Tong was derived from the Triads, a secret society allegedly established to overthrow the Manchu rulers of China and to restore Han Chinese rule. The secret society was supported by many Chinese in the lower social strata, particularly dispossessed peasants, small vendors, itinerant laborers, and lumpen elements in southeast China. When emigrants from these areas went abroad, they established lodges of the organization. Chee Kung Tong membership was widespread among Chinese in North America and Hawaii. Before the 1911 Revolution the organization was allied with the Tongmenghui. After the Republic of China was established the two parties had a falling out, and in the Western hemisphere the Chee Kung Tong became allied with the Chinese Constitutionalist party.

3. For a general history of the press before World War II, see H. M. Lai, "The Chinese-American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: An Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 27-43.

4. *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, Feb. 20, 1975.

5. Pei Chi Liu, *Meiguo Huaqiao Shi, Xubian* (A history of the Chinese in the United States of America, Vol 2) (Taipei: Liming Wenhua Shiye Gongsi, 1981), 373, 385, 388-89 (hereafter cited as *Chinese in the United States* 2).

6. Woo was ousted as chief editor of *Mun Hey Yat Po* in an intraparty struggle. KMT members connected with the *Kuo Min Yat Po* group aided him in establishing *Chinese American Weekly*.

7. Pei Chi Liu, "Meiguo Huaqiao Baoye Fazhan Shi," in *Wenyi Fuxing Yuekan* (Literary renaissance monthly), no. 19 (1971): 49-56; Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:386-92.

8. Quon Chun, "Bashiye Zishu" (Autobiography at 81), in Chen Kun Xiansheng *Shou Ji* (Tributes to Mr. C. Q. Yee Hop on his 81st Birthday) (Honolulu, 1947), 91-117; "Ji'nian Chen Kun Xiansheng Shishi 13 Zhou'nian" (In commemoration of the thirteenth anniversary of the passing of Mr. Quon Chun), *Chinese World*, Aug. 11 and 12, 1967; Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:370-71.

9. Hongda Feng and Huaxin Yu, *Feng Yuxiang Jiangjun Huan Gui Zhonghua* (General Feng Yuxiang's spirit returned to China), (Beijing: Wen-shi Ziliao Chubanshe, 1981), 123-29. Branches of the Chinese League for Peace and Democracy in America were established in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Minnesota.

10. Edgar Wickberg, ed., *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), 208.

11. Norbert Woo, interview with author, August 10, 1974. Gilbert Woo and Yuk Ow were colleagues as editors at *Chinese Times*. At the time the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* was founded, Woo was an editor of *Kuo Min Yat Po*.

12. Thomas Tong, interview with author, January 17, 1948. Tong ran the Golden Star Cantonese-language radio program. He was also owner of a printing shop. Ja was a Chinatown merchant and was also once associated with the radio program. Lee was editor at *Chinese Times* after Gilbert Woo left.

13. In 1948 the Chinese Communist party called for a political consultative conference to discuss the establishment of a democratic coalition government. The next year in June and again in September the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference met in Peiping (subsequently changed to Beijing). It was attended by 134 delegates from the Chinese Communist party, other political parties, mass organizations, and nonaffiliated individuals. The conference passed a common program defining the nature of the new government of China and its organizational structure. It also elected the leaders of the newly established republic, with Mao Zedong as chairman. On October 1 Mao officially announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China at Tiananmen Square.

14. H. M. Lai, "Chinese Politics and the U.S. Chinese Communities," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. Emma Gee et al. (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, 1976) 152-59. On October 9, 1949, KMT-hired hoodlums broke up a public program organized by the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association at CACA Hall in San Francisco to celebrate the founding of the PRC. The leaflets attacking the opposition press called on Chinese "to eradicate the traitorous Communist bandits." Of the fifteen people named, eight were connected with *Qiaozhong Ribao*, two with the *China Weekly*, one with *China Tribune*, one with *China Daily News*, two with the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association, and one with Chinese American Democratic Youth League. According to Norbert Woo, Gilbert Woo's name was on the list at first, but a KMT member friendly to him prevailed on the others to delete it (interview with the author, December 13, 1988).

15. Joe Yuey was a leader of the Suey Sing Association; Lok Yip was a leader in the Ying On Association; Sam Wah You was the owner of a chain of supermarkets in Stockton, California.

16. Jiliang Ma was chief editor at Hong Kong's *Wen Wei Pao* during the late forties. Before he became a journalist Ma acted under the stage name Tangna in the Shanghai film industry. During the thirties he was married to Jiang Qing, later the wife of Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong. After working at *Chung Sai Yat Po* for almost a year, Ma left and later settled in Paris, France (K. Y. Ja, interview with author, March 9, 1989; Zhucheng Xu, "Tangna Juekou Butan Jiang Qing Jiu Shi" (Tangna was close-mouthed regarding his old relationship with Jiang Qing), in *China Daily News*, Sept. 20, 1988).

17. Ching-hu Lai, Yan Yun Si Wang Lu (Memories of past events which seemed like changing mists and clouds) (Taipei, Zhuanji Wenxue Chubanshe, 1980), 161-62, 277-79; Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:375, 391; Rongma Shusheng, "Meiguo

Xing" (Journey to the United States), installment no. 61, in *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, Apr. 17, 1972. Kung-chan P'an was manager of Shanghai's *Shen Pao*. He was also a prominent member of the C. C. clique of the KMT.

18. *China Weekly*, Dec. 13, 1950.

19. Ronald Leslie Soble, *A History of the Chinese World, 1891-1961* (M.A. thesis, Stanford University, 1962), 99.

20. H. M. Lai, "A Historical Survey of the Chinese Left in America," in *Counterpoint*, ed. Gee et al., 63-80; The Committee to Support the *Chinese Daily News*, *The China Daily News Case* (New York, 1952); Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:390. The government's charges were based on the fact that *China Daily News* had published a number of these advertisements placed by the Hong Kong banks. Chinese abroad had customarily used this method of sending money to China. The revenue for the advertisements amounted to less than six hundred dollars. However, it was technically a violation of the embargo imposed by the United States on trade with the PRC. There was no doubt that the hysterical anticommunist climate of the time led to the indictments and the subsequent convictions.

21. After the Chinese Nationalists established a national government in Nanking (Nanjing) in 1927, they changed the name of Peking (Beijing) to Peiping.

22. Shing Tai Liang was editor of the KMT organ *Chinese Journal*. He was also instrumental in founding the National Chinese Welfare Council, an organization formed by Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations of various cities during the late fifties. Dou and Liang were also presidents of the New York Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in 1940 and 1956, respectively.

23. Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:391-92. Chan and Wong were prominent leaders in the On Leong Tong and Bing Kung Tong, respectively, and KMT members.

24. David T. H. Lee, *Jianada Huaqiao Shi* (A history of the Chinese in Canada) (Vancouver and Toronto: Jianada Ziyou Chubanshe, 1967), 352 (hereafter cited as *Chinese in Canada*); John Ong, *Wo Zai Jiujinshan 40-nian* (My forty years in San Francisco) (Shanghai: Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 26-27.

25. Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 235, 258-59, 275.

26. Lee, *Chinese in Canada*, 350.

27. *Chinese Times*, Aug. 3, 1970.

28. Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:371.

29. The National Conference of Chinese Communities in America was held March 5-7, 1957, in Washington, D.C. A corresponding conference for Chinese Canadians took place eighteen years later in Edmonton, Alberta, on August 29-31, 1975. The issues discussed were immigration and multiculturalism (*Chinatown News*, Sept. 3, 1975).

30. *Huaqiao Jingji Nianjian* (Overseas Chinese economy handbook) (Taipei: Shijie Huashang Mouyi Huiyi Zong-Lianluochu, 1987), 378, 405.

31. In New York, besides *Chinese American Weekly*, there were *China Post* (a weekly founded in 1945); *Chun Phone* (semimonthly founded in 1945, later published once every ten days); *Chinaweek* (founded in 1949); *Chinese Community Magazine* (founded in 1952); *China Life* (semi-monthly founded in 1952); and *Chinese-American Digest* (monthly founded in 1954; later changed to *Chinese Sun*). In Vancouver there were *Chinese in America* (monthly founded in 1950), *Life Mirror* (semimonthly founded in 1956, later weekly, then once every five days), and *Scholar's Digest* (semimonthly founded in 1961). In Honolulu there was *Honolulu Chi-*

nese Monthly (founded in 1954). Most of these publications focused on light, entertaining reading materials.

32. Soble, *Chinese World*, 82.

33. Xianggang Baoye Wushi Nian: "Xingdao Ribao" Jinxi Baoqing Tekan (Fifty years of journalism in Hong Kong: special publication to commemorate the golden anniversary of the *Sing Tao Jih Pao*) (Hong Kong: *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, 1988), 56-61. In 1975 *Sing Tao Jih Pao* began publishing a European edition in London and an Australian edition appeared in Sydney in 1982. It is the first Chinese newspaper to publish different editions in various parts of the world.

34. *Ibid.*, 53.

35. Paul K. Hui, "The Chinese Times: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," in *East/West*, July 24, 1974.

36. Liu, *Chinese in the United States* 2:391-92.

37. *San Francisco Examiner*, March 9, 1976.

38. *San Francisco Weekly*, Feb. 25, 1976.

39. *China Post*, Feb. 28, 1976. The press offices of the Legislative Yuan of Taiwan in New York and Los Angeles held cocktail parties to publicize the *World Journal* shortly after it began publication.

40. "International Daily News," Huaren Bai Shang (Chinese business in America) (Monterey Park: Young's Planning and Development Co., 1985), 368-76. Chen made a fortune in Taiwan as owner of the International College of Commerce. He was also founder of the *Commercial News Journal* in Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

41. Kedao Luo, "Zhong Bao Ting Kan de Xuanxu" (The mystery of the closing of *Centre Daily News*), in *90-Niandai Yue Kan* (Nineties monthly) (May 1987): 26-29 (hereafter cited as "Closing of *Centre Daily News*"). Fu was former owner of the popular *Taiwan Daily News*, which was noted for its reporting of activities of non-KMT dissidents. In the seventies Taiwan authorities forced Fu to sell the paper to a company set up by its defense ministry for the alleged sum of several million U.S. dollars. In 1978 he left Taiwan for Hong Kong, where he invested in real estate. He then established *Centre Daily News* in 1980. In 1981 Fu visited Beijing. In retaliation the Taiwan authorities prevented him from selling his assets in Taiwan, which were said to be worth more than a million U.S. dollars. His family was also not permitted to leave the island until 1986 (*Centre Daily News*, Apr. 18, 1986).

42. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 14, 1984.

43. *Tribune*, Mar. 9, 1989.

44. *Tribune*, Mar. 28, 1984.

45. Michael Powell, "The Chinatown Clampdown," *New York Newsday*, Apr. 5, 1989.

46. *China Daily News*, Jan. 6, 1978; *China Daily News* letter to readers announcing discontinuation of airmail edition, dated March 20, 1986.

47. *East/West*, June 18, 1975; June 30, 1976; *Truth Semi-Weekly*, June 19, 1977; June 22, 1978; *People's News*, July 2, 1977.

48. *China Daily News*, Sept. 12, 1978.

49. *Chinese Weekly Post*, no. 131 (Sept. 28, 1985); *International Daily News*, Sept. 28, 1985, Oct. 23, 1985.

50. *Tribune*, July 2, 1987, July 16, 1987.

51. *Tribune*, July 30, 1987; *Centre Daily News*, Dec. 5, 1988.
52. The death of former Chinese Communist party secretary-general Hu Yaobang on April 15, 1989, sparked student demonstrations all over the country. The largest took place in Beijing, demanding reforms and more democratic rights. Using Tiananmen Square as a staging area, the demonstrations in China's capital city grew in size as students were joined by civilians. On May 20 the PRC government imposed martial law in Beijing and called in People's Liberation Army units from all parts of China. During the early hours of June 4, soldiers using weapons and tanks cleared the square and the streets of Beijing and crushed this democracy movement. The images of the bloody military action which were transmitted live on television to many countries abroad evoked worldwide protests.
53. *Asian-American Times*, May 29, 1989.
54. *Centre Daily News*, June 15, 1989; July 10, 1989; July 13, 1989.
55. *Centre Daily News*, July 5, 1989.
56. *World Journal*, July 31, 1989.
57. *China Daily News*, Feb. 24, 1986.
58. I-hsiung Lo, "Zhengzhi Xinwen Nong Kua liao Huayu Kuai Bao" (Political news caused the fall of *Sino Daily Express*), in *Young China Daily*, Feb. 26, 1987, Feb. 27, 1987 (hereafter cited as "Fall of *Sino Daily Express*").
59. *Chinatown News*, June 18, 1976; *Crossroads*, Feb. 1977.
60. *World Journal*, Feb. 1986, weekly supplement.
61. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 11, 1988.
62. *World Journal*, July 3, 1988.
63. Lo, "Fall of *Sino Daily Express*"; *China Daily News*, Nov. 9, 1987.
64. In 1986 New York's *Centre Daily News* claimed to have one of the highest circulations. The paper reported a daily print run of fifteen thousand (see *Zhong Bao Yuekan* [*Centre Daily News* monthly] [Dec 1986]: 8-12).
65. Luo Kedao, "Closing of *Centre Daily News*."
66. *World Journal*, July 21, 1989.
67. *Chinese Times*, Aug. 8, 1978.
68. Other pro-Taiwan weekly publications founded during the seventies were *Cathay Times* (1972-89), *Kiu Kwong Pao* (1970-74), *Mon War Weekly* (1971-72), *People's News* (1971-73), *Wah Kue Pao* (1975-77), *One World* (1975-76), *Sun Yat-sen News* (founded in 1975), and *Tien Shing Pao* (1977-83). There were three left of center Chinese-language weeklies supporting the PRC, all founded in the sixties and seventies: *Chinese Voice* (later a short-lived daily), *San Francisco Journal* (later a short-lived daily), and *San Francisco Weekly* (1973-76). There was one weekly which claimed non-partisanship, the short-lived *Dragon Post* (founded in 1970).
69. Some weeklies were the pro-Taiwan *New York Jao-Pao Weekly* (1972-73), and the pro-PRC *Chinatown News* (weekly; 1972) and *Chinatown Report* (weekly; 1973-75). There were also *Chinatown Community News* (monthly; 1973-75) and *Mott Street Journal* (weekly, then biweekly; 1974-76), both oriented to community issues.
70. In the fifties and sixties the following weeklies were founded in the Los Angeles area: *Chinese Weekly* (1951-54); *Kwong Tai Press* (1951-61), which changed to *New Kwong Tai Press* in 1961; and *Pan-American Chinese Weekly* (1958-64), which

changed to *American Chinese News* in 1964. *New Kwong Tai Press* and *American Chinese News* are pro-Taiwan weeklies.

71. In the seventies came the pro-Taiwan *Lap Pao Weekly* (1976-87). There were also short-lived publications such as *Los Angeles Chinese Post* weekly, founded in 1974, and *Chinatown News* monthly, founded in 1978, both of which were liberal publications that focused on community issues and also supported the PRC.

72. Lai, "The Chinese-American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 27-43.

73. Lai, "Chinese-American Press." Some other newspapers in the United States are *Voice of Oakland Chinese* (monthly founded by the Oakland Consolidated Chinese Association in 1975) and *Power News* (monthly founded in 1979) of Oakland; *Chinese Voice* (monthly, later biweekly, founded in 1975), *Southwest Chinese Journal* (bilingual monthly, 1976-85), *Southern Chinese News* (weekly, later semi-monthly, and then daily, founded in 1979) and *Chinese Business News* (weekly founded in 1981) of Houston; *Metro Chinese Journal* (biweekly founded in 1981) and *Washington China Post* (founded in 1983) of Washington, D.C.; *Seattle Chinese Post* (bilingual weekly founded in 1982); *China Times Weekly* (founded in 1982), *U.S. Eastern Times* (weekly founded in 1986), *New York China Journal* (weekly founded in 1988), and *Chinese Business Weekly* (founded in 1989) of New York City; *Dallas Chinese Times* (weekly founded in 1986); *Denver Chinese News* (founded in 1988); *Chinese American News* (weekly founded in 1989) of Chicago; and the *China Post* (weekly founded in 1989 in San Francisco and later moved to St. Louis, Missouri). In Canada there are the *Capital Chinese News* (monthly founded in 1977 as *Ottawa Chinese Community Newsletter*); *Manitoba Chinese Post* (monthly founded in 1978) of Winnipeg; *Chinese Press* (weekly founded in 1982) of Montreal; *Alberta Chinese Times* (weekly founded in 1986) of Edmonton; *Alberta Chinese Post* (weekly founded in 1986) of Calgary and *Canadian Chinese Times* (weekly founded in 1982) of Edmonton and Calgary; and *Asia Dragon News* (weekly founded in 1987) of Vancouver. Vietnamese Chinese newspapers are discussed in a separate note.

74. *Tribune*, Sept. 24, 1987; Nov. 24, 1988; May 11, 1989.

75. *Asian American Times*, Nov. 9, 1987.

76. *Qiaoxun*, Feb. 1, 1981; *Newcomers News*, Dec. 12, 1986.

77. Dai Thiet Tran, "Qian Shan Wan Shui Dai Fei Yue" (Myriads of mountains and streams await the flying Viet people), in *Overseas-Chinese Magazine* (July 1987): 17-20. Some other newspapers in the Los Angeles area are *Indochinese News* (weekly founded in 1982), *Chung Hing News* (weekly founded in 1985), *Asia News* (weekly founded in 1987), and *China Weekly* (founded in 1988). In 1983 San Diego saw its first Chinese newspaper, *Chinese News*. In San Francisco the first Vietnamese Chinese newspaper was the weekly *Bao Trung Nam*, or *Newcomer News*, founded in 1983. By 1986 this paper was also publishing an edition in Houston, where there was another concentration of Indochinese refugees. It also had a cooperative arrangement with *Chinese News*, founded in Seattle in 1986. Another newspaper in San Francisco was *China News*, founded in 1984. It became one of the few Indochinese semiweeklies in 1986. Papers in other American cities include *Vietnam Post* (founded around 1982) of New York City; *Gangfeng Bao* (founded around 1985) of Houston; *Cheng Kung News* (weekly, later a biweekly, founded in 1986) of Philadelphia; and *Four Seas Chinese Weekly News* (founded around 1988) of San Jose. In Canada there are *V. C. L. Chinese Journal* (founded around 1982) of Toronto; *Indo Chinese News* and *Calgary Chinese News* of Calgary; *Edmonton Chinese News* of Edmonton; and *Manitoba Indochina Chinese News* (monthly founded in 1987) and *Prairie Chinese News of Canada* of Winnipeg.

78. *China Daily News*, Apr. 21, 1987.

79. The Diaoyutai movement protested Japanese claims of sovereignty over the Diaoyutai Islands between Okinawa and Taiwan. Participants were mostly intellectuals and students in the United States and Canada who came from Taiwan and

Hong Kong. It was the first significant political movement among Chinese students in North America during the post-World War II period.

80. In 1979 the dissident magazine *Formosa Weekly* defied a Taiwan government order forbidding public gatherings and organized a meeting in Kaohsiung commemorating Human Rights Day. The military police used tear gas and force to break up the crowd of about ten thousand, injuring a number of people who resisted. A few days later the authorities ordered *Formosa Weekly* to stop publication. Eight dissidents were arrested and accused of seditious acts.

81. Kenjohn Wong was a Taiwanese immigrant businessman. He was also founder of the Taiwanese-American Foundation, which provides financial support to reward and encourage achievements by Taiwanese scholars and scientists.

82. *Taiwan Times*, Aug. 3, 1985.

83. *Centre Daily News*, June 6, 1987.

Glossary

1. CHINESE PROPER NAMES

Note: The English names of many Chinese newspapers are identical. In order to help the reader the location of each paper is given in parenthesis using the abbreviations LA for the Los Angeles metropolitan area, SF for San Francisco, NY for the New York City metropolitan area, and Phila. for Philadelphia. Most names are as shown on the newspaper mastheads. For that reason there are variations in spellings and in the use or absence of the definite article in the various titles.

<i>Alberta Chinese Post</i> (Calgary)	《成功報》
<i>Alberta Chinese Times</i> (Edmonton)	《加中報》
<i>American Chinese News</i> (LA)	《美華新報》
<i>Asia Dragon News</i> (Vancouver)	《亞龍報》
<i>Asia News</i> (LA)	《新亞洲報》
<i>Asian Journal</i> (LA)	《亞美商報》
<i>Asian-American Times</i> (NY)	《亞美時報》
Association to Promote Formation of a Democratic Party in Taiwan	台灣民主黨組織促進會
Aw, Boon Haw	胡文虎
Aw Sian, Sally	胡仙
<i>Big Family Quarterly</i> (NY)	《大家雜誌》
<i>Calgary Chinese News</i>	《卡城愛華報》
<i>California Daily News</i> (LA)	《加州日報》
<i>Canadian Chinese Times, The</i> (Calgary)	《加華報》
<i>Canadian Chinese Times, The</i> (Edmonton)	《加華報》
Cao, Changqing	曹長青
<i>Capital Chinese News, The</i> (Ottawa)	《加京華報》
<i>Cathay Times</i> (SF)	《光華報》

<i>Centre Daily News</i> (NY, LA, SF, Houston)	《中報》
Chan, Siu King	陳兆璽
Chang, William	張永祥
Chen, Peter	陳蜀坤
Chen, Tao	陳滔
Chen, Yuen Ying	陳婉瑩
Chen, Yu-hsi	陳玉璽
<i>Cheng Kung News, The</i> (Phila.)	《成功報》
<i>China Daily News</i> (LA)	《少年中國晨報》(洛杉磯版)
<i>China Daily News</i> (NY)	《美洲華僑日報》
<i>China Life</i> (NY)	《生活》
<i>China News</i> (SF)	《中華論壇報》
<i>China Post</i> (NY, magazine)	《大華旬刊》
<i>China Post, The</i> (NY, daily)	《紐約日報》
<i>China Post</i> (SF, daily)	《美西日報》
<i>China Post, The</i> (SF, weekly)	《中國郵報》
<i>China Spring</i> (NY)	《中國之春》
<i>China Times, The</i> (1962-1979) (NY, SF, Chicago)	《中國時報》
<i>China Times</i> (1982-84) (Washington, D.C.)	《中國時報》
<i>China Times Weekly</i> (NY, magazine)	《時報週刊》
<i>China Times Weekly, The</i> (NY)	《時代週報》
<i>China Tribune, The</i> (NY, 1943-1950)	《紐約新報》
<i>China Tribune, The</i> (NY, 1950)	《光華日報》
<i>China Tribune, The</i> (NY, 1950-present)	《華英日報》

<i>China Voice Daily</i> (NY)	《華聲日報》
<i>China Weekly</i> (LA)	《中華時報》
<i>China Weekly News; China News</i> (SF)	《中華論壇報》
<i>Chinatown Commercial News</i> (Toronto)	《多倫多商報》
<i>Chinatown Community News</i> (NY)	《街坊報》
<i>Chinatown News</i> (LA)	《羅省大眾報》
<i>Chinatown News</i> (NY)	《華埠新聞》
<i>Chinatown Report</i> (NY)	《華埠導報》
<i>Chinatown Shopper</i> (SF)	《華商導報》
<i>Chinatown Teen Post</i>	華埠青年中心
<i>Chinaweek</i> (NY)	《綜合》
<i>Chinese American News</i> (Chicago)	《英中新聞》
Chinese American Citizens Alliance	同源總會
Chinese American Civic Association	華英福利會
<i>Chinese-American Digest; The Chinese Sun</i> (NY)	《光明雜誌》
<i>Chinese-American Weekly</i> (NY)	《中美週報》
<i>Chinese Awareness</i> (LA)	《覺華報》
<i>Chinese Business Weekly</i> (NY)	《華埠商報》
<i>Chinese Business News, The</i> (Houston)	《華商報》
<i>Chinese Canadian Daily</i> (Toronto)	《加華日報》
<i>Chinese Commercial News</i> (SF)	《商報》
<i>Chinese Community Magazine, The</i> (NY)	《華僑社會雜誌》
<i>Chinese Daily News</i> (LA)	《世界日報》(洛杉磯版)
<i>Chinese Daily Post</i> (SF)	《國民日報》

<i>Chinese Express Daily Newspaper, Chinese Express Daily News</i> (Toronto)	《快報》
<i>Chinese in America</i> (Vancouver)	《美洲華僑月刊》
<i>Chinese Free Press</i> (Vancouver)	《中興日報》
<i>Chinese Intellectual, The</i> (NY)	《知識份子》
<i>Chinese Journal, The</i> (NY)	《美洲日報》
<i>Chinese Journal of Commerce, The</i> (NY)	《紐約商報》
<i>Chinese Nationalist Daily, The/Kuo Min Yat Po</i> (SF)	《美洲國民日報》
<i>Chinese Nationalist Daily, The/Mun Hey Yat Po</i> (NY)	《民氣日報》
<i>Chinese News</i> (San Diego)	《加華時報》
<i>Chinese News, The</i> (Seattle)	《衆聲報》
<i>Chinese Pacific Weekly, The</i> (SF)	《太平洋週報》
<i>Chinese Press, The</i> (Montreal)	《華僑時報週刊》
<i>Chinese Republic News</i> (NY)	《民國公報》
<i>Chinese Times</i> (SF)	《金山時報》
<i>Chinese Times, The/Hung Chung Shih Pao</i> (Toronto)	《洪鐘時報》
<i>Chinese Times, The/Tai Hon Kung Po</i> (Vancouver)	《大漢公報》
<i>Chinese Voice</i> (Houston)	《華聲導報》
<i>Chinese Voice</i> (SF)	《華聲報》
<i>Chinese Voice Daily</i> (SF)	《華聲日報》
<i>Chinese Voice, The</i> (Vancouver)	《僑聲日報》
<i>Chinese Weekly, The</i> (LA)	《僑省週報》
<i>Chinese Weekly Post</i> (LA)	《國際週報》

Chinese Welfare Society	華人福利會
Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association	加省華工合作會
<i>Chinese World, The/Sai Gai Yat Po</i> (SF, NY)	《世界日報》
Chinese Youth Association	青年聯誼會
Chong Wa Benevolent Association	會路中華會館，西雅圖中華會館
Chow, Ke Din	鄭克定
Chuck, Maurice	黃運基
Chun, Quon (C. Q. Yee Hop)	陳震
Chun, Siu King	陳兆瓊
Chun Phone (NY)	《春風》
<i>Chung Hing News</i> (LA)	《中興報》
<i>Chung Sai Yat Po</i> (SF)	《中西日報》
<i>Commercial News Journal</i> (Taiwan)	《工商新聞報》
<i>Crossroads, The</i> (Toronto)	《海上迷林》
<i>Da Zhong Bao</i> (Vancouver)	《大眾報》
<i>Dallas Chinese Times</i>	《達拉斯時報》
<i>Denver Chinese News</i>	《丹佛華報》
Dou, Bat Nau	杜不朽
<i>Dragon Post</i>	《龍報》
<i>East/West</i> (SF)	《東西報》
<i>Eastern Times, U.S. Eastern Times</i> (NY)	《美東時報》
<i>Edmonton Chinese News</i>	《愛華報》
<i>Equality</i> (NY)	《平等報》
<i>Eurasiam Bilingual Monthly Magazine, The</i> (NY)	《歐美雜誌雙語月刊》

<i>Far East Times</i> (SF)	《遠東日報》
<i>Formosa Weekly</i> (Kaohsiung, LA)	《美麗島》
<i>Four Seas Chinese Weekly News</i> (San Jose)	《四海報》
<i>Free China Daily</i> (SF)	《自由中國日報》
Fu, Chao-chu	傅朝樞
<i>Fukien Chinese Weekly</i> (SF)	《福建僑報》
<i>Gangfeng Bao</i> (Houston)	《剛峰報》
<i>Getting Together</i> (NY, SF)	《團結報》
<i>Hong Kong Daily News</i>	《新報》
<i>Hong Kong Economic Journal</i>	《信報》
<i>Honolulu Chinese Monthly</i>	《檀山華僑月報》
<i>Honolulu Chinese Press</i>	《夏威夷檀山日報》
Hsieh, Francisco	謝漢罪
<i>Hsintu</i> (NY)	《新土》
I Wor Kuen	義和拳
<i>Indo Chinese News</i> (Calgary)	《僑聲報》
<i>Indochinese News</i> (LA)	《越棉寮報》
<i>International Daily News</i> (LA)	《國際日報》
Ja, Kew Yuen	謝僑遠
<i>Kiu Kwong Pao</i> (SF)	《僑光報》
<i>Kwong Tai Press</i> (LA)	《光大報》
<i>Lap Pao Weekly</i> (LA)	《立報》
League for Peace and Democracy in China	旅美中國和平民主聯盟
Lee, Dai Ming	李大明

Lee, Herbert	李漢齡·李柏宏
Lee, Wea	李蔚華
Lee, Ya-ping	李亞蘋
Leong, Francis	梁發萊
Lew, Gordon	劉池光
Lew, Henry	劉宜良·江南
Liang, Lucas	梁慎
Liang, Shing Tai	梁聲泰
<i>Liberty News/Chee You Shin Po</i> (Honolulu)	《自由新報》
<i>Liberty Times</i> (Taipei, SF)	《自由時報》
<i>Life Mirror</i> (Vancouver)	《人生漫談》
<i>Lifestyle Magazine</i> (Vancouver, Toronto)	《生活》
Liu, Arthur	劉恕
<i>Los Angeles Chinese Post</i>	《華僑新報》
Ly, Vincent Siu-Cong	李少光
Ma, Jiliang	馬季良
Ma, Jen Kai	馬鎮基
<i>Manitoba Chinese Post</i> (Winnipeg)	《緬省華報》
<i>Manitoba Indo China Chinese News</i> (Winnipeg)	《越棉寮華報》
<i>Metro Chinese Journal</i> (Washington, D.C.)	《華府新聞報》
<i>Min Chih Journal</i> (NY)	《民治日報》
<i>Ming Pao Daily News</i> (Hong Kong)	《明報》
<i>Mon War Weekly</i> (SF)	《文華週報》
<i>Mott Street Journal</i> (NY)	《華報》

Moy, Eugene	梅參天
<i>New China Daily Press/Sun Chung Kwock Bo</i> (Honolulu)	《新中國日報》
<i>New Kwong Tai Press</i> (LA)	《新光大報》
<i>New York China Journal</i>	《紐約新聞報》
<i>New York Jao-Pao Weekly</i>	《紐約週報》
<i>New Republic, The/Sun Min Kok</i> (Vancouver)	《新民國報》
<i>Newcomer News, The/Bao Trung Nam</i> (SF)	《中南報》
Oakland Consolidated Chinese Association	屋崙華人聯合會
<i>One World</i> (SF)	《天下壹報》
Ong, John	翁紹裘
<i>Oregon Chinese News</i> (Portland, Oregon)	《中華時刊》
<i>Orient Vancouver</i>	《東刊雜誌》《華僑雜誌》
<i>Overseas Chinese Economic Journal</i> (SF)	《信報》(美洲版)
Ow, Yuk	區玉，區龍賜
<i>Pacific Journal</i> (LA)	《太平洋時報》
<i>Pan-American Chinese Weekly</i> (LA)	《美華週報》
P'an, Kung-chan	潘公展
<i>Peimei News, The</i> (NY)	《北美日報》
<i>People and Events</i> (NY)	《人與事》
<i>People's Daily/Renmin Ribao</i> (Beijing, SF, NY)	《人民日報》
<i>People's News</i> (SF)	《人報》
<i>Power News</i> (Oakland, then SF)	《地報》
<i>Prairie Chinese News of Canada</i> (Winnipeg)	《中原僑報》

<i>Press Freedom Herald</i> (LA)	《新聞自由導報》
<i>Qiaoxun</i> (Taiwan)	《僑訊》
<i>Qiaozhong Ribao</i> (SF)	《僑衆日報》
<i>Quest, The</i> (Beijing, then New York)	《探索》
<i>Sampan</i> (Boston)	《舢板》《舢板漫遊》
<i>San Francisco Journal, The</i>	《時代報》
<i>San Francisco Weekly</i>	《舊金山週報》
<i>San Min Morning Paper</i> (Chicago)	《三民晨報》
<i>Scholar's Digest, The</i> (Vancouver)	《人物評論》
<i>Seattle Chinese Community Newsletter</i>	《中華月刊》
<i>Seattle Chinese Post</i>	《西華報》
<i>Shen Pao</i> (Shanghai)	《申報》
<i>Shing Wah Daily News</i> (Toronto)	《醒華日報》
<i>Sing Pao Daily News</i> (Hong Kong, SF)	《成報》
<i>Sing Tao Jih Pao</i> (Hong Kong, NY, SF, Toronto, Vancouver)	《星島日報》
<i>Sino-American Daily News</i> (SF)	《新報》(美洲版)
<i>Sino Daily Express</i> (NY)	《華語快報》
<i>Sino Daily Express</i> (Queens)	《皇后日報》
So, Edward	蘇國坤
<i>So-Cal Community News; Chinese Community News</i> (LA)	《南華時報》
<i>Southern Chinese News, The</i> (Houston, weekly, semiweekly)	《美南新聞》
<i>Southern Chinese Daily News</i> (Houston)	《美南新聞》
<i>Southwest Chinese Journal</i> (Houston)	《西南時報》

<i>Sun Yat-sen News</i> (SF)	《中山報》
<i>Ta Kung Pao</i> (Hong Kong, SF)	《大公報》
<i>Taiwan and the World</i> (NY)	《台灣與世界》
<i>Taiwan Daily News</i> (Taiwan)	《台灣日報》
<i>Taiwan Times</i> (LA)	《台灣民報》
<i>Taiwan Times</i> (Taiwan)	《台灣時報》
<i>Taiwan Tribune</i> (NY, then LA)	《台灣公論報》
Tan, Shih-ying	譚世英
Third Arm, The	第三臂
<i>Tien Shing Pao</i> (SF)	《天聲報》
Tong, Thomas	唐惠才
<i>Tribune, The</i> (LA)	《論壇報》
<i>Truth Weekly, Truth Semi-Weekly</i> (SF)	《正言報》
Tsoi, Henry	蔡荇洲
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<i>United Chinese Press</i> (Honolulu)	《中華新報》
<i>United Daily News</i> (Taiwan)	《聯合日報》
United Formosans for Independence	台灣獨立聯盟
<i>United Journal, The</i> (NY)	《聯合日報》
<i>United Times</i> (LA)	《聯合時報》
<i>V. C. L. Chinese Journal</i> (Toronto)	《越棉滾雜報》
<i>Vietnam-Chinese Newspaper</i> (LA)	《越華報》
<i>Vietnam Post</i> (NY)	《越南新報》
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Wang, Bingzhang	王炳章
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Wang, Tih-wu	王惕吾
<i>Washington China Post</i> (Washington, D.C.)	《華府郵報》
Wei, Jingsheng	魏京生
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Wong, Doon	黃仁俊
Wong, Frank	黃法樞
Woo, Chin-Fu	吳敬敬
Woo, Gilbert	胡景南
Woo, Norbert	胡景儒
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Wu, Kenneth	吳立民
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Yip, Lok	葉樂
Young, Charlie	林昭森
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