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Multicultural Broadcasting Policy of the Manchurian Telegraph and Telephone Company (MTTC)

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Abstract: This study examines the rule mechanism of the Manchukuo by analyzing the radio broadcasting of the Manchurian Telegraph and Telephone Company. The Manchukuo is well-known as the puppet state of Japanese government in Manchuria between 1931 and 1945. However, the Manchukuo advocated “the harmony among five races” as its slogan and therefore could not help adopting policies that were multicultural when compared with those in Korea and Taiwan. In the early 20th century, radio broadcasting was recognized as one of the most meaningful and important media for integrating a nation people. The Manchurian Telegraph and Telephone Company (MTTC), which was founded in 1933, also expected that radio broadcasting would be powerful force. By expanding its network, its audience grew from about 6,000 in 1933 to over 700,000 in 1945. However, the character of the Manchukuo, a multi-raced state, demanded multi-lingual and multi-cultural broadcasting. As a result, the radio broadcasting of the Manchukuo functioned as segmentation media rather than integration media. This study further discusses the rule mechanism of the Manchukuo through the linkage of the media policy and the cultural policy.

Keywords: the Manchurian Telegraph and Telephone Company, multiculturalism, multi-language broadcast, media cultural policy,

1. Introduction

This study examines the relation with media policy and cultural policy of the Manchukuo by analyzing the radio broadcasting of the Manchurian Telegraph and Telephone Company (MTTC). The “Manchukuo” is well-known as the puppet state of the Japanese government. In China, it is still called “the false Manchukuo”, because the Chinese government refuses to use the term “Manchuria”. Although it was founded under the imperialistic ambitions of the Japanese government, when comparing with the other formal colonies, Taiwan and Korea, the Manchukuo was quite different. One difference was “the harmony among five races” slogan. Although many previous studies have pointed out that this was merely propaganda, it is true that the Manchukuo could not help adapting multi-cultural policies to some extent. It was the same for the MTTC.

The MTTC was founded in 1933 as a stock-corporation with both Japanese and the Manchukuo nationality. In the beginning, the audience numbered only about 8,000, but by the time the Manchukuo collapsed, the audience had grown to 700,000 listeners. The MTTC conducted not only broadcasting but also provided telephone and telegraph services. Although the telephone was the most profitable, and financially important, the radio broadcasting enterprise was given the special purpose to form “the Manchurian nation”. It was according to the trait of radio, of course, conveys information to people far away simultaneously. So it has often been regarded as national integration media. However, the character of the Manchukuo, the multi-ethnic state, demanded

multilingual broadcasting in Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Russian and Mongolian. The MTTC had to pursue the formation of the nation while multi-lingually broadcasting.

In this article, I depict the development process of the MTTC's broadcasting policy and the social function of that broadcasting policy relevant to the total cultural policy. The MTTC adopted a totally different policy for the First Broadcast (mainly for the Japanese) and the Second Broadcast (mainly for the Chinese). In particular, the difference became more remarkable under the war processing. We also consider the relationship between war and culture, war and media, and politics and culture. In addition, we discuss the MTTC's serious limitations and the paradox between multiculturalism and the formation of a nation. A problem remains in the world today.

Although the term "Manchurian" and "Manchukuo" are not used officially, I have chosen to use them to respect the historical context of that time. Much previous research has been done on the political and economical system of Manchurian and the Manchukuo (i.e. Yamamuro 1993, Young 1999, Yamamoto 1993; 2003, Tsukashe 1999 etc.), or the thought (Duara 1996, Komagome 1996 etc.). These days, the research on cultural policy or media studies has been conducted (Lee 2000, Tamnoi 2005, Okamura 2006, Kishi 2010, Hu & Koo 1999, etc.).

The previous research of the MTTC were Kawashima(2006), Ishikawa (2004) ,Yamamoto (2004) , Lin (2001). However, these studies only examined the basis of the MTTC, just its advertising and international broadcasting, and did not discuss the relationship between its cultural policy and broadcasting policy.

2. Foundation and Expectation

The MTTC was founded upon the incorporation of four broadcast stations: the Dalian broadcast station which started in 1925 under the Japanese government, the Mukden broadcast station which started in 1928, the Harbin broadcast station which started in 1926 and the Hshinking station which started in 1933 after the Manchurian incident. In the beginning, each radio broadcast station had the ambitiously planning various projects and many residents responded it with the curiosity. However, "a year book of the MTTC broadcast" summarized that "these early station, saying that "their financial conditions were poor and their audiences were small, in addition, the administrators failed to achive their early ambitious graduatelly and graduatelly adopted a hands-off policy". Therefore, they were very difficult to manage and exiting they were ultimately just symbols of modernity for local government.

This circumstance drastically changed at by the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident in September 1931. The Kwantung Army occupied the north-eastern China and started to broadcast information about the frontline from Mukden broadcast station to Japan in November 1931. In Marrch 1932, the Mukden broadcast station relayed the foundation ceremony of the Manchukuo to Japan. The Hsinking broadcast station, which was located in the same city, was founded in April 1933. At this time, the central four broadcasting stations were completed.

What was the reason for integrating these stations into the one company? Why was the MTTC a stock company with the duel nationalities adapted? The first reason was that the unification of the communication system promoted efficiency and controlled communication across Japanese

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territories. The second reason was that the Japan government wanted to maintain its power in the region. The third reason was it needed the huge capital and equipment to expand the communication structure and the early Manchukuo government did not have enough capital. Therefore, it needed funds from public investment. In the start, the Japan government invested 16.5 million yen and the Manchukuo invested 6 million yen. 27.5 million yen was collected from stock market (Okumura 1935). Finally on September 1st 1933, the Manchurian Telegraph and Telephone Company was founded, and the broadcast enterprise was set up a part of the sales department as the Broadcast Section.

While expectations were high, the broadcasting enterprise consistently the lost money while the telephone enterprise balanced this loss. About the expectation, one of the staff said the follow in: “Radio broadcasting enables the residents to enjoy culture, improve their lives to the desirable one and integrate their minds by receiving same information and same entertainment simultaneously regardless as to whether they are in the city or the countryside. In addition, the ethnical composition of the Manchukuo is so complicated, so the customs and the culture are extraordinary different for each ethnic people. The radio broadcasting will function as the instrument to integrate consciousness of the nation.” Moreover, one staff of the Public Relation department insisted that the propaganda policy of the Manchukuo, which over 60% of the residents could not read and write, should focus on “oral propaganda”. The radio, enabled people to get information easily; in other words the officials could convey information regardless of literacy, which was so important in this context.

What was the ethnical composition of the Manchukuo? Miyakawa Yoshizo of Kenkoku University reported that in 1938 the population of Manchurian population was 36 million(93%), the Korean population was 1.05 million(2.7%), the Japanese population was 0.5 million (1.4%), the Mongolian population was 1million (2.6%), the Russian population was 56 thousand (Miyakawa, 1940). The majority was Mongolian in the West, Korean in the east and Russian in the north. Each ethnic group had a different language and cultural background, therefore, multi-lingual and multi-cultural broadcasting was necessary. However, in the beginning, the audience numbered less than 6,000, so the subject of the MTTC was to increase the audience more than anything else.

3. Development of Radio Broadcasting

At first, the MTTC established the 100kw radiobroadcast transmitter in the Hsinking broadcast station. This transmitter had both functioning of defending the radio waves from the Soviet and Nanjing broadcast and covering the vast land of the Manchukuo, that is, this enabled all residents in the Manchukuo to receive the radio wave technology. Furthermore, in November 1936, the MTTC established the 10kw broadcast transmitter as the broadcast for Japanese people mainly at the Hsinking station and decided the 100kw transmitter as the wave for the Chinese people mainly. This enabled the dual language broadcast. The almost of the important stations adopted the way of the dual language broadcast system from then, matching the locals to that of the area; Mongolian in the west area, Korean in the east area etc..

The first three years were the period of planning and preparing and the MTTC would start in

earnest in 1937. However, on July.7th 1937, the Sino-Japan war broke out and the MTTC had to cope with the war. The MTTC established the the Mudan river broadcast station and the Chengde broadcast station and started the overseas broadcasting in the Dalian broadcast station under the order of the Kwantung Army. Like this example, the nexus among the MTTC, the Kwantung Army and the war was strong. The two presidents of the MTTC was the former members of the army and in addition, the MTTC heavily promoted radio receivers during the war and the drill, as they were the best way to get information. As a result, the size of the audience dramatically increased. Moreover, the MTTC cooperated to found the Tianjin North-China broadcasting station with the Kwantung Army in 1937 and in September started the regular exchange program between with Manchuria and the North-China.

In 1938, the section of broadcast was presented to the department of broadcast. The MTTC promoted the Hsinking, the Harbin, the Mukden and the Dalian broadcast stations to central broadcasting stations. Furthermore, newly established the Yanji, Qiqihar and Jiamusi broadcasting stations. 1939 was critical to the MTTC. Coping with the Nomonhan Incident, the MTTC established new broadcasting stations and started the double language broadcast. It declared that “the main point of the broadcasting network were almost completed”. In addition, 1939 was the significant year in the program, too. At first, many programs were started in this year; for example, “the Time of Policy”, “the Time of Nation People”, “the School Broadcasting”, “Current Topics”, “the Lecture for Young Men”, ”the Lecture of Mongolian”. “The Time of Policy” was to report and explain the policy of the government mainly for officials, policemen and teachers on every Monday and Wednesday; “the Time of Nation” was, like “the Time of Policy”, to report and explain the important things mainly for general people on every Thursday; “the School Broadcasting” was the program for teachers to supplement their classes. In addition to the programs, some committees were also founded in this year. For example, the broadcasting council, the committee of the school broadcasting, the meeting of using national language in the Manchukuo, the society for promoting Manchurian theatre and literature, etc.. The East-Asia broadcasting committee was also held in Hsinking, which the broadcasting staff of the Manchukuo, Japan, Taiwan, China and Korea discussed cooperation and the relay system in East-Asia. Moreover, although the number of listener was only about 6,000 in 1933, it became about 230,000 in 1939 and the next year the number arrived at about 340,000. For the first time the number of Manchurian listeners about 170,000 exceeded the number of Japanese (about 160,000).

4. Building Manchurian Culture and the MTTC

In the beginning, the most important policy of the MTTC broadcasting department was to increase the number of the listeners. When this task was achieved to some extent, the emphasis of the policy moved to quality and what programs they should offer. Around 1939, the discussions or the papers about broadcasting culture and broadcasting programs increased in the publications of the MTTC or the Public-Relations department of the Manchukuo: “Den-Den” and “The Materials of Business”.

This was not a phenomenon only in the field of the broadcasting. The Manchukuo had not just

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been rapidly building the broadcasting system but also various political and economic systems. As the results of these policies, there were many symbolic events and activities in the late 1930s. For example, in 1936, the Manchukuo decided on a five-year general plan for the national economy. The construction ceremony of the capital city was held in September 1937. The extraterritorial right was abolished in November 1937.

In addition, there were also some significant events in the field of culture. For instance, the Manchurian literacy society was organized in June among the literary people living in the Dalian, the first commemorated exhibition was held in May, the Manchukuo Film Association and the Ken-Koku University were established in August 1937. In 1938, some important literature magazines “the Manchurian Roman”, “Manchurian Literature” “the Literature Zone” etc. were newly published. In January 1939, the National Central Museum opened. It was in the late 1930’s that many cultural organizations and movements began.

With the development of these cultural movements or practices, the atmosphere of creating “the Manchurian Culture” was ripe. In particular, it came into prominence in the field of Literature with “the Manchurian Literature Controversy”. Many artists, literary persons and government officials argued over whether they should emphasize the foundation spirit, whose advocators stressed the foundation slogan, the Harmony among the Five Races and the Royal Road to Paradise and admired them as the universal ideas, or ethnic and local culture, whose advocators observed the living style or customs of the residents in the Manchukuo directly as possible, when they created their works. To discuss Manchurian Culture included the meaning of exploring their original culture or cultural identity. As a result, in the time of the Manchukuo, it was so doubtful if they could create “Manchurian Culture”. The most people saw the position of emphasizing the founding spirits too abstract and ideological. Therefore, most people chose to emphasize local and ethnic culture. The MTTC also selected the broadcast policy based on local and ethnic culture and looked for materials for programs from the everyday life of the residents in Manchuria. At that time, Murata Shohei, who was the top of the broadcasting department, said definitely: “It is a difficult issue to concretely decide and define the cultural mission of the Manchurian broadcast. However, we, who engage in broadcasting, have to be clear on our position and policy. [...]the policies or activities by Japanese colonists have often tended to adapt to the extreme assimilation policy to Japanese in the past colonial management until now. We must recognize the failure of this policy. [...] Therefore, we who are engaged in broadcasting have to respect the inherent cultures of each ethnic groups and should make efforts to foster them and develop new trends based upon them” (Murata 1940). In addition, Hirosaki, who was the sub-chief of the Broadcasting Expansion section, said as follows: “When thinking of the present circumstance of Manchurian broadcasting, I am afraid how many people listen to our broadcasting program with intimacy, affection and need. Perhaps I am afraid that the number would be so small.[...] the main cause was in the broadcaster, ourselves. That is, if we could offer more enjoyable, enriching and more Manchurian-like programs clearly, many listeners would be more interested in the broadcast and regard it as more valuable.”(Hirosaki 1940)

These perspectives would be criticized as cultural essentialism in the present. However, it is important to note that the executives of the broadcasting department clarified the policy direction at

that time. Particularly, Murata played the central role in the symbolic project; “the Exploratory Research of Manchurian-Mongolian Traditional Music,” started in 1941.

5. The structure and multicultural broadcasting policy

In the previous sections, we discussed the development process and the broadcasting policy of the beginning of the MTTC. In this section, we will examine the follow questions: What was the structure of the Manchurian broadcasting system? What kind of programs were broadcasted? What was the profession or the residence of most listeners?

At the beginning of 1933, the number of listeners was only about 6,000, but it became 30,000 in 1940 and 550,000 in 1943. This audience was so large when compared with those of Taiwan and Korea at the same time. However, there were biases in this drastic increase. Table 1 was collected by the research group of the MTTC from 1937 to 1941 (Aoki, Kimura & Amaki (1943)). This period showed the most drastic growth. The total population of the Manchukuo was about 43 million in the national census taken in autumn 1940, while the total population of the four biggest cities in the Manchukuo—Dalian, Mukden, Hsinking and Harbin— was about 2.4 million and only 6% of the total. Nonetheless, the listeners of the four cities consistently occupied more than half of the total number. That means most of the expansion of radio occurred in the urban area and urban people received the most benefit.

Table 1 The listener number in four cities

	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
Central Four Cities	53886	74007	118618	178339	233313	248000
Dalian	19753	24715	33460	41018	49439	51400
Mukden	12560	22763	41729	66200	94400	102000
Hsinking	14608	17556	27839	40809	48024	50300
Harbin	6965	8973	15590	30312	41450	44100
Total	88876	127417	225889	340294	454835	482800
Rates	61%	58%	53%	52%	51%	51%

(The author created from "The business of the MTTC and the central four cities" The Materials in the MTTC business ")

What profession of people were listening to the radio? Table 2, which was made from “the Annual Statistics of the MTTC”, indicates that the ethnicities of the audience were mainly Japanese and Manchurian. As for professions, the Japanese were businessmen (i.e. the staff of The South Manchuria Railway Company or the staff of banks, etc.), government officials or members of the military, while Manchurians were mainly merchants. They belonged to the middle or upper-class; the lower-class of the engineer, laborer and the peasant was far fewer. However, the PR policy toward the rural areas was one of the most significant policies for the Manchukuo, in which a large part of the territory was occupied by farm land and most residents were peasants. Takahashi Gen’ichi, who was a member of the department of Public Relations, said: “However earnestly the government conducted public relations activity by modern media, they could never fulfill their tasks after all. Because the range which newspaper, film and radio can cover is limited and the

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general farmer people which we must propagandize to are beyond their range” (Takahashi 1941). The MTTC also came to this realization. It had been the issue how they could spread radio to rural areas from the beginning.

Table 2 The listener number in profession

	Bussiness man	Officials and Military	Merchants	Engineer and Labor	Pesants
Dec.1939	76845	38922	72383	5999	3254
Japanese	63450	27213	16027	3555	632
Manchurian	12811	11644	55421	2325	2538
Foriener	584	65	935	119	84
Dec.1940	96578	56145	103303	17082	5396
Japanese	75165	36708	15179	6401	521
Manchurian	19211	18104	84412	10049	4618
Korean	1597	1122	2654	476	237
1941	122297	73396	140669	25131	8899

(The author created from "the Annual Statistics of the MTTC"(1942))

What programs did the MTTC broadcast? What tendencies or structure did they have? In the MTTC business review which was published almost every year, there was a “Main Important Broadcast Program List”. This list was made by the MTTC staff. The criteria changed every year, so it was highly subjective. However, it still gives us a good overall impression and, in addition, it still shows what they considered to be the “main program”. In considering the “ethnicity” in Manchurian broadcasting, I categorized the program name into the ethnicity, “Japanese”, “Manchurian”, “Russian”, “Korean” and “Mongolian” and the others into “Culture”, “Politics/Economy”, “Ceremony” and “the others”.

Table 3 Main broadcasting program list

	Year	Total	Japanese	Manchurian	Russian	Korean	Mongolian	Culture	Politics/ Economy	Ceremony	the others
the First	1937	71	3	14	12	0	1	0	14	17	10
	1938	46	2	8	5	0	0	2	8	17	4
	1939	75	8	11	8	0	2	0	15	15	17
	1943	92	3	3	6	1	2	23	34	10	10
the Second	1939	102	5	36	1	2	2	12	33	7	4
	1943	140	11	24	2	0	1	16	50	14	22
the External	1940	88	6	25	10	1	2	18	22	2	2

It is natural that “Manchurian” was large in the Second. “Russian” was prominent in the First and the External. However, the actual time of Russian broadcasting was not so long. The total broadcasting time in each language in 1939 was Table 4.

Table 4 The total broadcasting time in each languages

1939		Total (Mintutes)	Japanese	Manchurian	Korean	Russian	Mongolian
	the First	3011777	2482634	380171	66804	76290	5878
	the Second	1153726	35854	1083729	1149	6898	26546

(The author created from "the Annual Statistics of the MTTC"(1940))

Why was Russian emphasized? Tachi (2009), who analyzed the graphic magazine

“Manchurian Graph”, pointed out that Russian people were regarded as a significant cultural symbol of European customs and culture and Russian was emphasized for the political circumstance of having to promote racial harmony movement in moderating the conflict with Manchurians and Koreans (Tachi 2009). In the external broadcasting, which mainly broadcasted toward the U.S.A., the “Manchukuo External Broadcast” intended “to proclaim the development and existence of the Manchukuo and to introduce the real situation of its open-door policy, the harmony among five races and the paradise of the royal road. In Manchuria of the oriental Russian was a multicultural symbol. The Manchukuo tried to present itself as open place and, particularly to the U.S.A., it tried to appear familiar by broadcasting the culture of Russia. On the other hand, the Japanese received to programs evoking the atmosphere of Russia with curiosity and exoticism. Ootsuka, who was a staff member of the Harbin station, said, “In the First Broadcast, on which the Russian programs were often broadcast, we announcers mixed Russian with the feelings of apologizing to Japanese listeners after having inserted a comment in Russian. However, it pleased the people living in south Manchuria beyond our expectations. We sometimes received letters saying that the programs in mixed Russia sounds like the “HARBIN”, and were very cool.”(Ootsuka 1942) The broadcasting staff also recognized it as a problem. Ootsuka pointed out that “if it [Russian mixed into the broadcast] sounds like “HARBIN”, it is so easy. However, we mustn’t use this cheap and easy method. We are now making efforts to introduce the real Harbin. In Harbin, there are various and valuable culture to introduce not only European music but also drama, Japanese music and the figures working in the industry. We must look for them.” For the MTTC to respect “the inherent cultures of each ethnic group” it would be natural to criticize exoticism. Therefore, the recording machine began to use around 1940 was extremely important for them. It was Morishige Hisaya that played a great role in the broadcast recording. In 1940, he conducted the “Manchurian culture and geography series” in which he walked and recorded in various places in Manchuria. The programs of the series were titled “The festival of Cosack”, “Jingpo Lake”, “Exploring the untrodden region of Jehol” etc and were played on the First Broadcast. In addition to this series, the most important project was “the exploratory research of Manchurian-Mongolian traditional music” in 1941. In the project, the research group visited the residences of ethnic minorities, Orochon, Buryat, Tatarlar etc. Of course, the purpose of this research was not only to broadcast music but also to understand “ethnic psychology” and to develop “ethnology” (Maruyama 1942).

6. The divide of the First Broadcast and the Second Broadcast

What did the MTTC broadcast and what did the people in Manchuria like? In 1933 the Mukden broadcast station picked out a girl, Lee Xianglan. Takaya Masakuni, who worked in the Second Broadcast recalled that “what I learned after entering the MTTC was of the popularity of Lee Xianglan. All my young colleagues were looking forward to hearing her music programs” (Takaya 1965).

The MTTC sometimes took the questionnaires about the broadcast programs. In 1939, “the questionnaire of the Manchurian people” asked two questions mainly: “what category of program

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(entertainment, culture and lecture etc.) do you like?” and “What kinds of programs (classical drama, music etc. more sub-division) do you like?” The results showed that almost half of respondents liked the entertainment program; in particular, most people liked “radio drama”, which was followed by “classical drama” and “popular songs”. In the questionnaire of 1940 the most popular programs were “popular songs” and “classical drama”, followed by “radio-drama” and “Manchurian music”. This questionnaire, which also asked which class the respondents belonged to, showed that both the “intellectual class (teachers, students and officials)” and the “popular class (merchants, shopkeepers and managers of restaurants, etc.) liked the “classical drama” and “popular songs” while they hoped “the Mongolian time” would be canceled. On the other hand, the most popular program was the Naniwa-bushi (a sung narrative) and the least popular was the “Manchurian drama” on the Japanese questionnaire in 1935.

The broadcast ratio of Manchurian, Japanese and Chinese created content is seen in Table 5.

Table 5 The comparative of the broadcast time rates

Time Rates	
the Firrst	
Edited in Manchuria	54%
Edtied in Japan	46%
the Second	
Edited in Manchuria	94%
Editied in China	6%

(The author created from "the Annual Statistics of the MTTC"(1940))

It shows the First Broadcast extremely depended on the relay from Japan. It is not just on quantity but also on quality. “The review of each section in 1941” expressed clearly that “In the First Broadcast, it is inconceivable not to depend on the Japanese Broadcast. Even if Japanese culture in the Manchukuo develops, we can’t do without hearing the voice of Japan” (*Den-Den 7(12)*, 1941). In the aspect of quality, the same tendency appears in the Second, too. In 1937, the following was stated just before starting the exchange broadcast between the Manchukuo and China; “many Manchurian people thirst for the relay of classical drama from Beijing and it is necessary to satisfy them. [...] In the near future, when the relay is completely established, we (the MTTC) can relay the classical drama from Beijing thoroughly (*Den-den 5(11)*, 1939) “. The MTTC stated clearly to depend on the “classical drama”, which was the favorite program among Manchurian people on the Beijing broadcast.

It is true that the MTTC practiced multi-lingual broadcasting and had a kind of originality. It also adopted a policy to respect the inherent cultures of each ethnic group and started “the exploratory research of Manchurian-Mongolian Traditional Music”. However, the First depended on the relay from Japan in quantity and quality. In addition, the Japanese listened to the Russia broadcast on the First because it was exotic. On the Second Broadcast, Manchurians (the majority of the audience) liked the high quality classical dramas which the Beijing station broadcast. Also, on the Second, Manchurian people hoped the Mongolian programs would be canceled.

In short, while multi-lingual and multi-cultural broadcasting existed in the skies of the Manchukuo, on the ground the media environment was a mosaic of cultures uninterested in each

other, what little contact they had treated at mere exoticism. The audiences could not abandon the voice of their home-nations, which Manchurian broadcasting enabled. The intention of the MTTC was to deepen understanding by introducing the customs, cultures and habits of various ethnic groups and to create one national consciousness through their accumulation. This was the role expected of the MTTC at its inception, and yet, Manchurian broadcasting prevented this very goal, with segregation increasing year by year.

7. The Art Culture Direction Principle and the Broadcasting Direction Policy

Prior to this increasing segregation there were large changes in the policies of the MTTC due to the war. The change of the policy which preceded the segregation occurred. In January 1941, the department of Public Relations expanded and received the authority to the censor movies, newspapers, publishing, radio broadcasting and news; it also received authority over cultural administration and propaganda. At the same time, supervision of the MTTC was moved from the department of Communication and Transportation to the department of Public Relations. This was an important change. Kishimoto Shunji, who was a staff member within Public Relations, wrote a paper entitled, "About the direction of broadcasting policy". At first, he pointed out that the reason for the change was the shift of focus in radio broadcasting from the technical to the cultural. "Broadcasting must convey policy to listeners. However, it is the worst way to try it in every field—lecture programs, entertainment programs, and news programs— as the audience just gets tense". He stressed that entertainment broadcasting was the centre of broadcasting and the character of the radio was so attractive for the masses. Therefore, he added that "even in case of communicating governmental policy through entertainment broadcasting, the planner should still mainly focus on entertainment" (Kishimoto 1941).

In April 1941, this change caused the revision of the broadcast programs. On the First, the MTTC increased compulsory listening news programs and school programs. On the other hand, on the Second, the MTTC abolished all cultural programs and lecture programs in afternoon, and focused on entertainment broadcasting at night. Why were directed programs focused on for the First when entertainment programs were the focus of the Second? We'll look at two factors.

In March 1941, the department of Public Relations promulgated "the Art Culture Direction Principle". This was to indicate the total direction of cultural and propaganda policy. In May 1941, the MTTC, the Manchurian Film Association and the Manchurian Public Relations Association established the Manchurian Variety Entertainment Association. Two people—Amakashu Masahiko, who was the president of the Manchurian Film Association, and Muto Tomio, who was the top of the department of Public Relations—led these cultural policies with importance on entertainment culture, which was one factor for the overall focus on entertainment in the Manchukuo.

Another factor for the increase in entertainment was the importance of expanding the popularity of the radio. The growth of the radio audience was so rapid, yet radio ownership was still less than 7%. The worsening of the war demanded greater radio propagation in order to convey information rapidly and precisely. Therefore, the government tried to spread radio technology

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throughout the Manchurian people through the entertainment. In addition, Muto announced that more Manchurian announcers would be hired at the MTTC in January 1942. The then MTTC established the Second Culture section and in 1944, the institution to foster Manchurian broadcasting actors was founded.

However, to adopt a totally different policy in the First and the Second made radio broadcasting function as segregation media rather than as national integration media. In addition, as the war went increasingly worse, the hopes of a cultural policy were wiped out and news broadcasting became more important to listeners than entertainment and cultural broadcasting.

8. The end of MTTC

In November 1943, the MTTC reduced the total time of broadcasting, while the number of the news program increased to 8 in a day, as interest in entertainment had dropped as the war worsened. The broadcasting style changed from a “monotone” to a “shout”. Kanazawa Kakutaro, who was endeavoring to establish cultural programs, stated that “in these days, it became common knowledge that the broadcast was not interesting. Many people thought that it was useful only to hear the announcement of the Imperial Headquarters” (Kanazawa 1945).

In February 1945, it was decided that all news programs in the First would be created in Manchuria, rather than taken from the Japanese relay. About this, a writer said that “Manchurian broadcasters must rapidly elevate the program quality to match the feeling of the intimate ‘voice of Japan’”(Den-den, 11(3)1945) This implies that an attractiveness and sense of intimacy still remained for Japanese listeners in the Japanese relay. In July 1945, the establishment of the broadcasting war system was advocated, stating that all broadcasts including news, lectures and entertainment programs should be arranged in Manchuria. In addition, the establishment of more broadcasting facilities, public broadcast facilities and an air raid warning system were advocated. However, they would just be proposals.

A month later, on August 18th the Manchukuo disappeared after thirteen years of rule. Ironically, after all the efforts of the MTTC to create the sense of a nation, it is often pointed out that the Manchukuo didn’t even enact “the Nationality Law”. On August 19th the Soviet Union took over the MTTC. In April 1946 the Soviet Union withdrew troops completely and Manchuria was temporarily occupied by the Chinese Communist Party after that. In May 1946, the Chinese Nationalist Party occupied the region. At that time, the Traffic Department of China managed the communication of Manchuria, but changed the names “Manchuria” to “North-Eastern”, “Mukden” to “Shenyang” and “Hsinking” to “Changchun” (NTT 1951).

9. Conclusion

The character of the Manchukuo as a multi-ethnic nation paradoxically demanded both multi-lingual and multi-cultural broadcasts and nation-integration media. The MTTC promoted the multi-cultural broadcasting policy to respect local and ethnic culture. As a result, although the broadcast enterprise of the MTTC, to some extent, succeeded in broadcasting to all of Manchuria,

it functioned as segregating media rather than as nation-integration media and created a “media mosaic environment”. Takaya Masakuni, who worked at the Second Broadcast, said that “the Second Broadcast is the most important in Manchuria: the quantity of the production was several times more than that of the First Broadcast, which depends on the relay from Japan. Nonetheless, the support system was insufficient. [...]In addition, when my colleagues and I discussed ethnic issues, it became clear that we experienced and recognized only Japanese and Japanese culture. We could barely discuss about even the main topic, Manchurians (Takaya 1943)”. The true feelings of the person engaging in the Second Broadcast with Manchurian people are laid here. This would be the result of the media mosaic environment. Although the peculiarity of the Manchukuo exists, there remains the value to tackle the problem which the MTTC faced on, as globalization and inter-cultural communication increase in the modern world.

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