Taiwanese Offshore (Distant Water) Fisheries in Southeast Asia, 1936 – 1977

Chen, Ta-Yuan [陳大元] (BA, MA)

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Murdoch University

2007
I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary educational institution.

Chen, Ta-Yuan [陳大元]

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Abstract

The Japanese colonial fisheries authorities of pre-war Taiwan played an important role in the diffusion of offshore and distant water fishing methods. Two of the main fisheries in post-war Taiwan, the longline and trawl fisheries, were introduced from Japan during the pre-war period. Although Taiwan’s fishing industry was devastated in the course of World War Two, with financial aid from the international community and the government’s policy guidance, it was revived in a comparatively brief period of time. Fishing vessels from Taiwan, especially Kaohsiung, soon became, once again, a common sight in the waters of Southeast Asia. The first part of thesis traces the pre-war historical background, the government’s post-war policy guidance and the birth of Taiwan’s offshore and distant water fishing industry in Southeast Asia after World War Two.

After the Chinese communists came to power in 1949 Taiwan’s fishing communities were placed under the strict surveillance of the Kuomintang authorities out of consideration for national security. The Taiwanese Government and the military adopted a variety of measures to control and regulate the development of the fishing communities. Also, the people in the fishing industry did their best to cope with the Government intervention.

To safeguard their onshore business interests, Kaohsiung’s fishing companies also put considerable energy and effort into dealing with local shipyards, ice-manufacturers, and other fishing ancillary industries. Vessel owners developed industry partnership with those who were cooperative, and either avoided or boycotted those who were viewed as a potential nemesis. With a view to analysing the interactions between the fishing industry, the Government, the military, and key ancillary industries, the second part of the thesis focuses upon the history of Taiwan’s post-war fishing industry from the perspective of the national-industrial level.

The development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry was also deeply affected by ethnic factors. Siao Liouciou fishers were solely dedicated to the longline fishing method; Shandong people preferred to be involved in pair-trawl fishing. The final part of the thesis further narrows down the scope of the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry to the local level context of the fishing communities. The histories of six fishing companies are used to compare the cultures and management styles of the trawling and longlining fisheries. Finally, the fishers’ daily lives in the waters of Southeast Asia, and the culture and routine practices of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities are explored in depth.
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<td>TFPC</td>
<td>Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNRRA</td>
<td>United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration</td>
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<td>VAC</td>
<td>Veterans Affairs Commission</td>
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Acknowledgments

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Introduction

The development of Taiwan’s fishing industry and the culture and history of its fishing communities have not been considered an important research area in the historical circles of Taiwan. In order to redress this important omission, the main purpose of my thesis is to trace the historical development of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia, from 1936 to 1977.

Because of its geographical location, Taiwan became one of the most important forward supply bases of the Japanese fishing industry in the Nanyo (南方, Southern Ocean), during the colonial era (1895-1945). The outbreak of World War Two and the defeat of Japan had a devastating impact on Taiwan’s fishing industry. However, it recovered entirely due to the post-war government’s policy measures and financial assistance from international agencies. These combined measures and initiatives enabled the offshore fishing fleets from Taiwan to become extremely active in Southeast Asian waters once again. The Taiwanese pair-trawlers began to leave the Taiwan Strait in the 1950s, expanding their fishing zones along the coast of Southern China, and then moving ever southward, operating off the coasts of Vietnam, Indonesia and finally reaching the shoreline of Northern Australia. On the other hand, the offshore longliners sailed directly southward from Kaohsiung, developing their long distance fishing grounds in a fan-shaped pattern; the eastern boundary of their grounds was the Philippines, while the westernmost edge was situated opposite the province of Hainan, China.

The annual gross income that Taiwan’s fishing industry generated made a substantial financial contribution to the economic development of post-war Taiwan. Nevertheless, over the past several decades, only a small amount of the literature published in Taiwan was actually related to the history of the fishing industry. Furthermore, very little is known about the ethno-history of the Taiwanese fishing communities, and fishing companies, and the historical development of their fisheries in Southeast Asia.

The Taiwanese offshore fishing industry has also not received the serious attention it deserves from the majority of scholars and academic institutions around
the world. A large number of important maritime studies have been undertaken on the history and ethnography of other fishing nations like Japan and the United Kingdom, but a proper in depth ethno-historical study of Taiwan’s offshore fishing industry has not yet been published in the English speaking world. Hence, the study of the historical development of the offshore Taiwanese fisheries has not been considered an important academic subject up until now both in Taiwan and in global academic circles.

Map 0.01: Geographical location of Kaohsiung (Takao)

In order to fill some of the gaps in the historical and ethnographic literature, I develop my thesis around the rise and decline of the Taiwanese distant water fisheries at three different levels. Firstly, I examine the historical background, government policy guidance and the birth of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia. Secondly, I focus upon the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry from the national-industrial level, in order to describe and analyse the relationships between the fishing industry, the Government, the military, key politicians and ancillary industries. Finally, I further narrow the compass of the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry to ‘within’ the scope of the fishing communities, observing close up the management of the onshore fishing companies, fishers’ daily lives in the waters of Southeast Asia, and aspects of the culture and routine practices of the offshore fishing communities.

Kaohsiung, which was called Takao in the colonial era, was the most important home port and supply base for the Taiwanese fishing fleets that worked in the waters of post-war Southeast Asia. Thus, I limit the geographic scope of my research on Taiwan to Kaohsiung Fishing Port [高雄漁港], which includes Gushan.
Fishing Port [鼓山], Cianjhen Fishing Port [前鎮], and several small fishing ports in the Cijin District [旗津].

Map 0.02: Location of Gushan, Cijin and Cianjhen

Produced by Chen, Ta-Yuan

Gushan Fishing Port was the cradle of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia. It was a major homeport for distant water/offshore fishing fleets during the Japanese colonial period. Fisheries-related infrastructure like a large fish market, storage houses and petroleum tanks had been constructed in the port area by the colonial authorities. Gushan always served as the most important offshore fishing port until 1967. Comparatively, Cijin District was a less developed area. In the pre-war era, its major fishing activities were devoted to aquaculture and coastal fishery. However, several offshore harbours were built there in the post-war period, which enabled local fishers to leave coastal waters and fish in the waters of Southeast Asia. The birth of Cianjhen Fishing Port in 1967 was a landmark event in the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry. Cianjhen, armed with all sorts of modern port facilities, became the homeport of Taiwan’s global-scale fishing industry since the late-1960s.

I limit the temporal range of my study to two significant moments in regional time; namely the years between 1936 and 1977. In 1936, Kobayashi Seizō [小林聰造], a Japanese Navy Reserve Admiral [預備役海軍大將], was appointed as Taiwan’s Governor-general [臺灣總督]. The colonial government, under Kobayashi’s guidance, launched the ‘Marching Southwards Policy’ [南進政策], aimed at controlling the Nanyo both by military means and economic measures. The fishing fleets from Taiwan were
encouraged to expand their fishing grounds ever southward. They also collected intelligence information for the Japanese navy and boosted Japanese national prestige in Southeast Asia. Forty-one years later, in 1977, the United States claimed a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which encouraged numerous nations to follow the American example and also announce their own 200-mile EEZs. The traditional offshore fishing grounds of Taiwan’s fishing industry, as a result, were fenced in by coastal nations. Hence, the post-war fishing industry of Taiwan suffered a major setback to its further expansion and progress.

I also want to establish here the difference between the terms ‘distant water fishery’ and ‘offshore water fishery’; however, they cannot be readily defined without taking into consideration the historical development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. The development of the Taiwanese fishing industry in Southeast Asia occurred in two phases. The first phase lasts from the 1910s to the 1960s. In the early 20th century, the advent of industrialised fishing methods, like the longline fishery and pair-trawl fishery, diffused from Japan to Taiwan. Most vessels at that time were owned by fishing companies and fished in the South China Sea and waters of Southeast Asia. Vessel owners called this fishery a ‘distant water fishery’, which was considered far away by the standards of the colonial era. The second phase covers the years from the beginning of the 1960s until the present day. In the 1960s, the distant water fishing vessels left the seas of Southeast Asia and took their fishing activities a step further into the Indian and Pacific Oceans. A new wave of Taiwanese longliners who used to fish in the coastal waters of Taiwan now filled the vacuum in the vacated fishing grounds of Southeast Asia. These longlinermen simply called their new fishing pattern and destination in Southeast Asian waters the ‘offshore water fishery’. In other words, the distant water fishery and the offshore fishery in the context of this thesis both refer to the Taiwanese fishing activities — longline and trawl fishing — in Southeast Asia in the years between the 1930s to the late 1970s.

The main aims of the thesis

In the first part of my thesis, I describe and analyse the development of Japanese colonial and post-war Taiwanese fishing policies, and examine the positive initiatives
and policies which the colonial and post-colonial fishing authorities created. Hence, I introduce the fisheries’ administrative systems and their contributions in detail. I describe what kind of roles they played in the process of the diffusion of fishing methods during the colonial period, and how they applied and utilised financial aid from the international community in the post-war era. By highlighting their roles and contributions, I explain how and why Kaohsiung (Takao) was fashioned into the major supply base of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia in the years between 1936 and 1977.

In the second part of my thesis, I describe and analyse the interactions between the fishing industry, the Government, the military and the fishing ancillary industries, and highlight the importance of the political and social aspects and background of Taiwan’s fishing industry in the second half of the twentieth century. During that period, Taiwan’s fishing industry was under the strict surveillance of the Government and military. Hence, I will demonstrate the measures that the Government and military adopted to control Taiwan’s fisheries, and how the people in the fishing industry responded. I will also describe the tactics that fishing vessel owners used to establish their own political influence over public affairs in the political arena.

In order to secure their onshore business interests, vessel owners also put considerable personal effort into dealing with shipyards, ice-manufacturers, and other fishing ancillary industries. They partnered those who were cooperative and boycotted those who were regarded as potential business enemies. Therefore, I examine how vessel owners both dealt with threats from other industries with strong political influence and financial strength, as well as with people of lower socio-economic status like the fishing gear suppliers, stevedores and security guards. I then analyse the vessel owners’ behavioural characteristics and culture.

Against this background, in the third part of my thesis, I compare and contrast the cultures and management styles of the trawling and longline fisheries. By describing the histories of certain fishing companies, I highlight the business environment of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry and the influence of modern fishing technology on the expansion of fishing grounds in Southeast Asia. Taiwanese fishers have been fishing in the waters of Southeast Asia for many decades; therefore, I trace and analyse their exploiting tracks over time and make comparisons between the
different fishing grounds. I also discuss the fishers’ roles, duties and their onboard politics, and explore how they felt when they worked for long periods at sea.

Different types of fisheries offered different terms of employment to fishers. I demonstrate the interactions between fishing companies and fishermen, and make a comparison of the job opportunities and welfare practices of the different fisheries. Through this comparison, I observe the influence of ethnic factors on the development and operation of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. The different fishing communities had different forms of economic activities. I analyse the culture and onshore activities of the Kaohsiung fishing communities. In this part of the thesis, I provide a detailed view of the kind of fisheries-related activities people undertook in the fishing communities, and how the invention of new fishing gear shaped the future activities of these fishing communities. My thesis provides an in-depth examination of the fishers’ daily lives and the culture of their communities, and describes and analyses their individual and communal responses to major changes occurring in the fishing industry in Southeast Asia. The final section examines the politics of the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ and its profound impact on the Taiwanese fishing industry and offshore fisheries in Southeast Asia.

This is both a regional and local study, which not only highlights Taiwan’s fisheries development in Southeast Asia, but also enhances our understanding of the daily lives and culture of the Taiwanese fishers. The thesis research makes several contributions to scholarly knowledge in the field of global maritime and fisheries studies: firstly, it makes apparent the regional significance of the history of the Taiwanese offshore (distant water) fisheries, and provides maritime researchers worldwide with a detailed study of the development and demise of the industry and how these fishers made their living at sea. Furthermore, it will hopefully encourage maritime and fisheries historians to undertake further investigations of particular maritime and fishery related issues raised by the thesis.

**Approaches, methods and techniques**

There are three different methodological approaches and techniques used in the research and writing of this study: document analysis, interviews, and participant observation.
a) Archival research and document analysis. Document analysis plays a primary role in this study. Newspapers, magazines, booklets, treatises or books in a variety of languages (Chinese, Japanese and English) that are related to the fishers’ culture and/or the development of the Taiwanese fisheries have been collected and carefully read and evaluated. In addition, the offices and premises of the fishing guilds, fishing co-operatives as well as the principal headquarters of the fisheries authorities in Taiwan have been visited in search of relevant materials. I have obtained and utilised conference materials, brochures and other official publications and unpublished documents produced by these various institutes and agencies in my dissertation.

b) Oral history and interviews. A great number of elder fishers still reside in the Kaohsiung Fishing Port. Some of them in the course of their remarkable lives have even managed to become owners of fishing companies, and they have become influential in the development of the fishing industry of Southern Taiwan. Therefore, interview material has been collected wherever appropriate to fill in some of the gaps in the documentary record. My interviewees include elderly fishers, owners of fishing fleets, public figures in the fishing industry, as well as leading government officials concerned with policy related issues and problems about the distant water fleets and their fishing grounds. These oral histories play an essential role in helping to frame the structure and content of the thesis. In order to collect oral histories effectively, I lived in Gushan District, the cradle of the Taiwan fishing industry in Southeast Asia, from December 2001 to July 2002 and from January to February 2003. With help from locals, I built up a small social network, and systematically interviewed old people in the Kaohsiung fishing communities.

c) Anthropological fieldwork. In an attempt to understand the evolution and development of the key southern home fishing port of Kaohsiung, anthropological fieldwork was conducted in some of the relevant communities established in the area. I spent nearly one year living with a number of principal fishing families in order to experience the rhythm of their present and past way of life. The type of data collected through participant observation included old photos, old maps, songs which old fishers sang at sea, and the occasional diary which fishers kept in the past. I believe such fieldwork observations and singular source material have made my research more credible, and provide a unique angle of vision from ‘inside’ the
community for understanding the past and present way of life of the fishers and their homeport.
Chapter 1

Japan and the Development of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry

Taiwan’s modern fishing industry was established during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). This initial phase of development saw a spectacular increase in the productivity of the fishing sector. At the same time, it laid a sound foundation for the development of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyse Japan’s influence on Taiwan’s fishing industry. Initially, I will discuss two important questions: Why did the Colonial Government decide to mould Taiwan into one of the principal forward bases for the colonial fishing industry? What sort of geographical advantages did Taiwan, especially Takao Port (高雄港, Kaohsiung Port), possess that were so necessary for the exploitation of fishing grounds in Southeast Asia? After examining the roles of Taiwan/Takao in the southward expansion and development of Japan’s fishing industry, I will focus on Japan’s contribution towards the establishment of the fishing industry in Taiwan from both an administrative and technical perspective. Regarding the initial question, I will describe the bureaucratic apparatus of the fisheries authority, and then examine how the authority cooperated with the semi-official fisheries organisations. As for the technical and training perspective, I will also introduce the range and diffusion of fishing methods that emanated from Japan and the resulting exploitation of the southern fishing grounds. In the final section of this chapter, I focus attention on the emergence of Takao’s fishing industry, investigate the internal and external conditions of Takao Fishing Port, and then explain why this port surpassed all other regional fishing ports and became the centre of the Japanese fishing industry in Southeast Asia.
The role of the fishing industry of Taiwan under the Japanese Empire

‘The Idea of Southward Development [南進論]’ was first proposed by Japanese intellectuals during the Meiji Restoration [明治維新]. They asserted that the economy of Southeast Asia was still underdeveloped and that the societies and cultures in the southern ocean were not well established. Hence, it was Japan’s duty to exercise control and civilise Southeast Asia. However, before they embarked on this civilising mission, an outpost would have to be established nearby, and Taiwan, unquestionably, was viewed as the ideal choice. Prior to the formal annexation of Taiwan in 1895, some Japanese scholars had already foreseen the significance of Taiwan’s geographical location and condition in aiding Japan’s southward development. Tokutomi Soho [德富蘇峰], referred to as the ‘Guide of the Japanese Empire [帝國日本の嚮導者]’ stated in his article ‘Suggestions regarding the occupation of Taiwan [臺灣占領意見書]’:

Taiwan is situated at the southern doorway of our country (Japan). If we intend to expand the territory of the Japanese Empire southwards, without a doubt, the most important thing we need to do is to control this doorway.

He also declared that Japan would have to defend herself on the northern frontier, and then concentrate upon initiating the southward expansion. With Taiwan as a southern outpost, Japanese influence would certainly be able to penetrate into Southeast Asia.

This expansionist point of view was regarded as the template for the ‘Theory respecting Taiwan as a Southward Fortress [臺灣南進據點論]’, and it soon was adopted by colonial officials in Taiwan. They, too, expected Taiwan to play an active role in Japan’s southward expansion. Katsura Taro [桂太郎], Taiwan’s second Governor-general [臺灣總督], deemed that the geographical position of Taiwan not only enabled Japan to hinder China’s development, but it also provided Japan with an excellent

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2 Ibid. Although most of Southeast Asia had been controlled or colonised by European powers during the Meiji Period, some Japanese scholars still believed that God had entrusted Southeast Asia to the westerners only in the interim, and that Southeast Asia would come under the rule of Japan sometime in the future.
4 Yano, Nanshin no Keifu, 148.
outpost of empire, if Japan wanted to extend her political and commercial influence into Southeast Asia. The ideas and plans mentioned above were implemented gradually, following the ascendancy of the Japanese economy in the course of World War One. Three more shipping lines were established from Taiwan to Southeast Asia by the Colonial Government, and three branches of the Bank of Taiwan were set up in Java, the Netherlands Indies, as key financial outlets. In addition, a financial act, the ‘Special Expenditures for Establishing Facilities in South China and the Nanyo’, was officially promulgated by the Colonial Government.

Shimomura Horoshi, the Chief Secretary of Civil Affairs, expressed an opinion similar to that of Tokutomi in 1915. He also described Taiwan as ‘a gateway of Japan’, and believed that Taiwan should become one of the Japanese Empire’s principal outposts, because it also faced China and Middle Asia, as well as Southeast Asia. It is clear that the essence of the southward development policy was passed on from its founders to its successors without any significant change.

In 1919, a system of civil governorship was adopted, and the tradition of appointing governor-generals in Taiwan was abolished. Nevertheless, such an important change in the bureaucratic apparatus did not alter the Colonial Government’s intention to dominate Southeast Asia. The Colonial Government now turned its attention to investigating the industrial development and economic exploitation of Southeast Asia in order to pave the way for further control over the region.

Given this concise overview of the role of Taiwan in the southward development of the Japanese Empire, I will now discuss the following questions: Did the colonial fishing industry develop along with the booming southward economic expansion, whilst the Japanese Government extended its influence into Southeast Asia? If so, did the Colonial Government also expect Taiwan to participate in the southward development of the fishing industry? What gave rise to such expectations in the Colonial Government and what kind of advantages could Taiwan hope to provide?

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5 Gotō, Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia, 81-82.
6 Ibid., 82. The investigation activities included the exploration of marine resources in Southeast Asia. At that time, experimental vessels were built by the Colonial Government for the exploitation of new fishing grounds. The relevant information will be detailed in Section 3.
The fishing industry was certainly considered an important part of the Japanese economic sector, when the Colonial Government was carrying out its southward economic expansion. As early as the outbreak of World War One the Japanese Government had realised the economic and ecological significance of the southward development of Japan’s fishing industry. A Japanese fisheries official, Takayama Itaro [高山伊太郎], had clearly pointed out that migration of fishers (to Southeast Asia) could solve the problem of overpopulation in Japan’s fishing villages; also, the expansion of fishing grounds could boost Japanese national prestige in Southeast Asia, and unlock the market for marine products in colonial metropolises like Singapore. In 1917, the slogan ‘March Southward! Japanese Fishing Industry!’ [水産南進] was created in Japan.

In addition to Japanese national prestige and economic interests, the southward development of the fishing industry was also stimulated by two important factors: firstly, by the early 1930s, the northern fishing grounds, particularly the East China Sea, had been gradually thinning out. As a solution, the Colonial Government encouraged fishing vessels to start operating in the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea. Secondly, in 1936, Kobayashi Seizo [小林躋造], a Japanese Naval Reserve Admiral [預備役海軍大將], was appointed Taiwan’s Governor-general. ‘The Marching Southwards Policy’ [南進政策] was one of his most important policy initiatives. The southward presence and regional movement of the Japanese navy directly encouraged the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry. The military expected fishing vessels to collect intelligence information of all sorts for the navy, and the Japanese fishing vessels also liked to offer their strategic services. Taiwan, an island on the margin of Southeast Asia, was expected to make some substantive contributions towards the southward development of the fishing industry.

7 Gotō, Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia, 48.
9 Taiwan no Suisan [The Fishing Industry of Taiwan], Taihoku, Taiwan Suisankai, 1935, 16.
10 Koshiyoshi Yoshinobu, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō [The fishing industry of Taiwan],’ Taiwan Keizai Sōsho: 6, [Series on the Economy of Taiwan: 6], ed. Takemoto Ichirō, Taihoku, Taiwan Keizai Kenkyukai, 1938, 129, 133-34.
11 Gotō, Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia, 94.
12 Ibid., 58.
The marine environments surrounding Taiwan are exceptionally well-suited to the propagation of marine life and the development and operation of various kinds of fishing industries. The coastline of Taiwan is more than 1,500 kilometres long and over 70 small islands are scattered over her adjacent waters. Her north and west coasts face the shallow waters along the East Asian continental shelf; her east and south coasts front on deep water, constituting the eastern rim of the Pacific Ocean and the Bashi Channel. Due to the nature of her marine environment, various fisheries have been developed in Taiwan. In addition, two ocean currents flow by the coastline of Taiwan, and their interactions bring abundant marine resources to the island. The Japan Current [黑潮] brings warm seawater with a high saline content from the Equator. The main stream of this warm water flows along the eastern coast of Taiwan, and a branch flows through the Taiwan Strait. The two currents meet in the East China Sea, and then advance towards Japan. This important current brings a stock of migratory fish including mackerel, bonito, and tuna. The Littoral Current flows by the coast of China [中國沿岸流] and moves southward along the China coast. It endows Taiwan with rich marine resources, such as pomfret, eel, porgy, yellow croaker, and cutlass fish.

In addition to benefiting from these two favourable sea currents, Taiwan is in close proximity to rich fishing grounds, namely the Taiwan Strait, the East China Sea, the South China Sea as well as nearby Philippine waters. The Taiwan Strait forms part of the continental shelf whose seabed is extremely flat. As a cold current and warm current converge here, this unique marine environment is most beneficial for the propagation of demersal fish. Moreover, whales also frequent the water off the southern end of Taiwan, while the nearby Hōko Archipelago ([澎湖] Penghu Islands) and reefs are rich in coral. In addition, a vast number of mullet migrate through the strait to the south in winter, which provides Taiwanese fishers with a seasonal income. Hence, it must be emphasised that an excellent fishing ground is ideally

13 The Development of the Fishing Industry [漁業發展], Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1971, 2.
14 A Study on the Fishing Industry of Taiwan [臺灣漁業之研究], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1974, 66-67.
15 The Development of the Fishing Industry, 2.
16 Hoko is an archipelago situated near Taiwan. Most of the inhabitants make a living from fishing. A great number of people had migrated to Taiwan and they had been engaged in the fishing industries of Takao during the colonial era. In the post-war years they became the majority of the labour force in the fishing industries of Kaohsiung.
located right in the ‘backyard’ of Taiwan. These marine resources would enable the onshore communities to undertake a variety of fishing activities all year round, which proved extremely advantageous in the initial stage of the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry.

North of the Taiwan Strait lies the East China Sea which covers an area of about 950,000 square kilometres and south of the Taiwan Strait is the South China Sea which is approximately 206,000 square kilometres. Both are large bodies of water adjacent to Taiwan. Furthermore, the main rivers in China, such as the Yangtze and Pearl Rivers convey a prodigious quantity of marine life to the South and East China Seas, and form an ideal breeding ground for marine species. These two seas, combined with the Taiwan Strait, span an area stretching from northern China to the southern end of Vietnam, which, at the start of the twentieth century, was considered one of the biggest demersal fishing grounds in the world.

The eastern coast of Taiwan faces the Pacific Ocean, and its coastal and marine environment is vastly different from the west. Most of the seaboard is a rocky coast with an extremely deep seabed. Although the environment is not suitable for demersal fish species, several sorts of migratory fish travel with the warm current along the east coast. The southern coast of Taiwan faces the Bashi Strait, where the traditional tuna fisheries can be found. This species can also be found along the eastern and western coasts of the Philippines and in the Sulu and Celebes Seas. Compared with fishing ports in Japan, those in Taiwan, especially Takao, were much closer to the major fisheries. Thus, the vessels sailing from Takao Port could save much time and money in terms of running costs, compared with those voyaging from Japan.

17 The Fishing Industry of Taiwan, Nantou, Department of Information, 1953, 1.
The Colonial Government and Taiwan’s fishing industry not only took full advantage of Taiwan’s geographic conditions, they also expected that Taiwan, especially her southern port city, Takao, would play a significant role in the southward expansion of the fishing grounds. These expectations were frequently expressed and reiterated in official publications, as well as fisheries magazines throughout the colonial period. ‘Industries in Taiwan and their Leading People’ 裏業界と中心人物, published in 1919, pointed out:

Taiwan is located on the southwestern end of our country (Japan). Her west coast is separated from southern China by a narrow strait, and the shallow water is suitable for the development of offshore fisheries. The Japan Current flows along the east coast throughout the year. Consequently, the oceanic bonito fishery is very abundant. In the future, the distant water fisheries of Taiwan will flourish.\(^\text{19}\)

This early quotation shows that the commercial advantages of Taiwan’s geographical circumstances had been well understood, and the Japanese had foreseen that the offshore regional fisheries could be highly developed by Taiwan.

\(^\text{19}\) Kamimura Kendou, *Taiwan Jigyōkai to Chūsin Jinbutsu* [Industries in Taiwan and their Leading People], Taihoku, Niitakadō, 1919, 17.
Japan and the Development of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry

Map 1.02: Takao’s geographical advantage: a major supply base for the developing fishing industry in Southeast Asia

Produced by Chen, Ta-Yuan

Takao, as the biggest port in southern Taiwan, became very important. It was expected to contribute to sea transportation and the southward development of the fishing industry.20 ‘A Brief History of Takao City, 10-year Anniversary’ indicated this trend and colonial expectation:

Regarding marine or land transportation, without a doubt, Takao is an unmatched port in southern Taiwan. The supply for the fishing industry in Takao is absolutely convenient; moreover, it is situated in the best location for the southward exploitation of fishing grounds.21

The increased prominence of Takao to the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry has just been noted. A similar, but even more explicit point of view can be found in ‘A Comprehensive Study of the Progress of Takao’, published in 1940.

20 During the colonial period, the fishing industry in Keelung was stronger than in Kaohsiung. However, with respect to the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry, Kaohsiung was always the first port that was mentioned, due to its strategic location and economic potential.

21 Takao Shisei Jū Shunen Ryakushi [A Brief History of Takao City, 10-year Anniversary], Takao, Takao City Government, 1934, 88.
Takao, the doorway of southern Taiwan, is a commercial port which constrains the progress of southern China and Southeast Asia. As the southmost point of the empire, it is tasked with the significant mission of seeking economic development for the future... Takao is not only a trading port, but also a major supply base for the developing fishing industries in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, Takao possesses the most advantageous geographical advantages.22

Just as Taiwan was considered the southern gateway or entrance to the empire, so, Takao was regarded as the southern doorway of Taiwan. As a transportation and entrepot hub between East and Southeast Asia, Takao could assist Japan in extending her commercial influence further southward. Also, its unique location would prove extremely beneficial to the southward expansion and development of Japanese fishing grounds. Taiwan, especially Takao, was consistently mentioned in official colonial circles whenever the southward development of the fishing industry was discussed. Besides government officials and fisheries experts, some leading Japanese fishing companies also realised that Takao/Taiwan could make major contributions towards building their off-shore industries. Several major fishing companies and branches were established, and a huge amount of capital was invested in Takao by the Japan Fishing Company [日本水産株式会社], Takao Seaweed Gathering and Marketing Company [高雄海藻採取販賣株式會社], Takuyo Fishing Company [拓洋水産株式會社], Rinken Shop [林兼商店出張所], and Takunan Fishing Company [拓南漁業株式會社].23 As Nakayama and Katayama explain:

The branch office [of the Japan Fishing Company] in Takao has been developing rapidly in recent years. It is located at the main outpost of the fishing industry in the South, and possesses 11 large-sized trawlers..., and the branch hopes to maintain its splendid performance and fulfill the grand task of developing the country through fishing productivity.24

As demonstrated by the above quote, the Japan Fishing Company had every confidence in the branch in Takao partly because of its established fishing fleet and partly because of its excellent location. The following pre-war quote is another example that highlights Takao’s ideal geographic location:

The company [Takuyo Fishing Company], taking into consideration Taiwan’s geographic condition, has chosen Taiwan as its operating base and expects to be

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22 Nakayama Kaoru & Katayama Kiyoo, Yakusin Takao no Zenbō [A Comprehensive Study of the Progress of Takao], Takao, publisher unknown, 1940, 201.
23 Ibid., 208-14.
24 Ibid., 208-09.
able to operate in the South China Sea. With the assistance of the Colonial Company of Taiwan [台灣拓殖株式會社] and the Japan Fishing Company, the company with a capital of 2 million yen was set up in Takao City, the supply base for a southward fishing industry.25

In view of what has been discussed above, it is clear that due to the geographic advantages that Taiwan provided, the island was regarded as the southern entrance or gateway of the Japanese Empire, and it was expected to make major economic contributions when the idea of Southward development was implemented. Further, with regards to the development of the fishing industry, Taiwan, especially Takao, was always considered one of the most important supply bases for the exploitation of the southern regional fishing grounds. This viewpoint fostered a common consensus among the fisheries authorities and fishing companies. As a result, tremendous efforts were made by the Japanese Colonial Government to develop Taiwan/Takao’s fishing industry.

Fisheries management in colonial Taiwan

Prior to the colonial era, fisheries in Taiwan had never been considered an important industry by the government. Those working on the land were well-respected compared to those earning a living at sea. Owning a parcel of land was a symbol of wealth and high social status, but possessing fishing vessels meant next to nothing.26 This denigrating attitude was also reflected in the administration of government policies. Except for the imposition of marine product taxes,27 no other positive measures for fishing management had ever existed under the rule of the Manchu Dynasty (清朝 1683-1895). The Japanese Colonial Government was the first to take

25 Nakayama & Katayama, Yakusin Takao no Zenbō [A Comprehensive Study of the Progress of Takao], 213.
26 The low status of fishers in Taiwanese society was reflected in the colloquial language. Fishing activities were described in a contemptuous way. For instance, to fish at sea was ‘to beg from the sea’ [討海], and fishers were depicted as ‘those who begged at sea’ [討海人]. Such usages not only existed in the past, but also remain in the modern Taiwanese language. The Japanese noticed this unusual phenomenon not long after they took over Taiwan. Koshiyoshi Yoshinobu deemed this was because most ancestors of the Taiwanese migrated from the mainland where the main economic activities were agriculture and commerce, rather than fisheries. See Koshiyoshi, ‘The fishing industry of Taiwan,’ 106.
systematic steps to treat fisheries as a modern industry, establishing certain
government departments to manage and promote fisheries.28 The Japanese started to
manage the island’s fisheries soon after taking control of Taiwan in 1895. The
Agriculture Division [農務課] of the Civil Affairs Bureau [民政局] initially took charge,
but subsequently all fisheries management was consigned to the Colonial
Development Bureau [殖產局]. In 1898, the bureaucratic agencies of the Colonial
Government were reorganised. The Agriculture Division was separated from the
Civil Affairs Bureau and then taken over by the Colonial Development Bureau.
Therefore, the Agriculture Division was once again in charge of the management of
Taiwan’s fisheries.29

However, none of the early administrative units in the Colonial Government
was specifically set up for the management of the fishing industry, until the Fishing
Industry Section [水産係] was established under the Commerce-manufacturing
Division [商工課] in 1898. Before this time, the Government had charged only a
particular bureau or division, like the Agriculture Division or the Colonial
Development Bureau, with the concurrent management of fisheries along with their
other tasks. It is notable that the Fishing Industry Section was set up in 1898, only
three years after Japan took over Taiwan. Clearly, this measure demonstrated that the
Colonial Government was already considered to be a highly efficient organisation.30

As time passed, managing the fisheries was no longer such a simple
proposition. Firstly, more and more Japanese fishers migrated to Taiwan and
motorised fishing vessels were gradually introduced to the area. Secondly, a growing
number of Taiwanese fishers had become involved in coastal fisheries. Hence,
demarcation and management of the coastal fishing grounds were now required. In
order to deal with these two separate but related issues, the Colonial Government
decided to strengthen the functions of its fisheries authority. In 1918, the Fishing
Industry Section became independent from the Commerce-Manufacturing Division,
and formed the first Fishing Industry Division [水産課]. However, this new
organisation did not last very long. During the shuffle and reorganisation of the

28 Taiwan Suisan Yōran [A Brief Guide to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan], Taihoku, Shosankyoku,
1940, 103.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., 104.
Japan and the Development of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry

bureaucracy in 1924, the Fishing Industry Division was once again reduced to the Fishing Industry Section and was administrated by the Agriculture Division [農務課]. Apparently, this bureaucratic downgrading was not a wise act. Taiwan’s fishing industry had become well developed, and the relevant administrative matters were now too complicated for a small Fishing Industry Section to deal with properly. In 1929, however, the Fishing Industry Section was once again upgraded to the Fishing Industry Division—a state of affairs that was not bureaucratically changed again until the collapse of the Colonial Government in 1945.31

The Fishing Industry Division comprised two separate units: the Fisheries Management Section [漁政係] and the Fishing Industry Section [水産係]. The former was in charge of the management of the fishing industry, the supervision of the Fishermen’s Association (FA [漁業組合]), the Fishing Industry Association (FIA [水産会]), and surveys of the fishery economy; while the latter was in charge of the migration of fishers, the diffusion of fishing techniques, the construction and maintenance of fishing ports, the development of the fishing industry in Southern China and Southeast Asia, as well as off-shore fishing experiments.32

Table 1.01: The position of the fisheries authorities in colonial Taiwan and the reorganisation of bureaucracy (1895-1945).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Bureau 局</th>
<th>Division 課</th>
<th>Section 係</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st 1895</td>
<td>Civil Administration Bureau</td>
<td>Agriculture Division</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Colonial Development Bureau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 1898</td>
<td>Civil Administration Department</td>
<td>Colonial Development Bureau</td>
<td>Agriculture Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th 1898</td>
<td>Commerce-manufacturing Division</td>
<td>Fishing Industry Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th 1918</td>
<td>Fishing Industry Division</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th 1924</td>
<td>Agriculture Division</td>
<td>Fishing Industry Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th 1929−</td>
<td>Fishing Industry Division</td>
<td>Fishing Industry Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Fisheries Management Section</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Taiwan Suisan Yōran* [A Brief Guide to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan], Taihoku, Shosankyoku, 1940, 103-04.

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31 *Taiwan Suisan Yōran*, 104.
32 Ibid.
A fisheries authority with such oversight and responsibility had never existed in the history of Taiwan until the Colonial Government set up the Fishing Industry Section. While it was not one of the most important government departments, the Colonial Government, nevertheless, did take the first positive step towards the management of the fishing industry and all of its pioneering administrative measures unquestionably laid a stable foundation for the development of the fishing industry in the future.\(^{33}\)

In addition to the government departments mentioned above, the Colonial Government also supported two additional kinds of fisheries organisations to assist in developing Taiwan’s fishing industry and improving the welfare of the fishers: the Fishing Industry Associations (FIAs),\(^{34}\) and the Fishermen’s Associations.

The Fishing Industry Associations, sponsored by the Government, were public corporations [公益法人], established to ensure the prosperity of the fishing industry as well as to coordinate the improvement of fishing techniques and technology. In addition, FIAs carried out significant functions, such as the education of fishers, the management of local fish markets, handling compensation for shipwrecks, and administering the loans for working capital and the collective purchase of fishing gear.

The first FIA was established in Sinchu [新竹] in 1924. Afterwards, similar organisations were set up in Takao [高雄], Tainan [台南], Taihoku [台北] and Hoko [澎湖], but all of them were local, independent, and never subordinate to one another. In 1928, the Taiwan Fishing Industry Association, an island-wide FIA, was finally established as an overall coordinating and planning body. However, it must be noted that in the early stages FIAs did not bring their manifest functions into full play due to a shortage of finance, and their operations did not improve until more FIAs were set up and subsidies were granted from the Government.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{33}\) Taiwan Suisan Yōran, 108-10.

\(^{34}\) The official name, Suisankai [水産会], can hardly be found in pre-war material; hence, there is no way to know how people referred to this organisation in those early days. Nowadays, Suisankai still exists in Japan. People call it ‘Fisheries Association’ in English. However, this is not a proper translation of the term. Thus, I have decided to use ‘Fishing Industry Association’ instead.

\(^{35}\) Please see Naitō Harukichi & Syu Jiwu, The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan [臺灣漁業史], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 7, and Taiwan no Suisan, 88-89.
Besides the Fishing Industry Associations, another important fishers’ group—the Fishermen’s Association (FA)—existed at the same time. The first fishermen’s association in Taiwan was founded in 1919, and by 1934, 58 such associations had been set up already. These associations were subsequently reorganised to form Fishermen’s Cooperative Societies, (FCS [漁業協同合作社]). The main functions of these societies included the joint marketing of aquatic products, and the lending of money. In addition, they also dealt with the management of fish markets, the purchase of fishing gear, and compensation for shipwrecks.36

As the roles of the FIA and FA/FCS seemed so similar, why did the two organisations work separately? As was mentioned earlier, the FIA was a public corporation; all of its members were local FIAs and it cooperated closely with the Government. To a certain extent, it was considered a semi-official organisation. By contrast, most of the members of the FA/FCS were individual fishers and, from a legal standpoint, they were a corporate aggregate [私有之社團法人].37

Another issue to consider is the FA/FCS and FIA’s respective roles in the development of Taiwan’s colonial fishing industry. How were they related to the fisheries authority of Taiwan? Most of the incentive measures launched by the fisheries authority were put into practice with the overall assistance of the FIAs and FAs/FCSs. The Fishing Industry of Taiwan [臺灣の水産], a small booklet published by the Taiwan Fishing Industry Association, outlines the incentive measures that the fisheries authority introduced between 1905 and 1934; while the materials do not cover the entire colonial period, it still demonstrates how much the FIAs and FAs/FCSs participated in the fisheries incentive programmes. In this important booklet the years from 1905 to 1934 were divided into four periods, namely 1905-1907; 1910-1924; 1926-1930; and 1931-1934.38 The information pertaining to the first and second period about incentive schemes is limited, but material about the third and fourth periods is discussed and listed so that a table can be made to demonstrate the roles of the FIAs and FAs, and, how heavily implicated they were in the planning and development schemes of the fisheries authority.

37 Ibid.
38 Taiwan no Suisan, 97-107.
Table 1.02: Incentive measures launched by the fisheries authorities during the period 1926-1930 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Takao FIA</th>
<th>Tainan FIA</th>
<th>Hōko FIA</th>
<th>Sinchu FIA</th>
<th>Taiboku FIA</th>
<th>Taiwan FIA</th>
<th>Takchu State Gov.</th>
<th>Fishing Company</th>
<th>FA</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enginemen workshops (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishermen &amp; Shipwrights Workshops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wireless training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing Industry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion of Fishing Methods (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Taiwan no Suisan* [The Fishing Industry of Taiwan], Taihoku, Taiwan Suisankai, 1935, 97-107.

* During this period sixty-one new-type fishing vessels were built with the encouragement of the Colonial Government.

(1) In this table, enginemen workshops are separated from the fishermen and shipwright workshops for the convenience of later discussion.

(2) According to this booklet, twelve types of fishing methods were introduced during this period, but, according to the modern view and techniques, the actual types of new fishing methods were not that many. For instance, swordfish longline fishing, porgy longline fishing and shark longline fishing were considered three different techniques at that time. Nowadays, however, all three of them are classified as longline fishing, although minor differences in operating processes did exist between them. Twelve types of fishing methods were introduced during this period. Swordfish longline fishery was introduced twice by Taihoku FIA; therefore, the aggregate number of fishing method workshops was 13, rather than 12.

It is evident from Table 1.02 that during this period of four years 30 incentive measures and schemes had been introduced by the fisheries authority, and more than half were with the assistance of FIAs. It is clear that FIAs were heavily involved in fisheries management and were the most important co-workers of the fisheries authority during this period. In addition, this table not only shows how heavily FIAs participated in the fisheries incentive schemes, but also highlights the position of Takao Fishing Port with particular reference to the southward development of the fishing industry. Five incentive measures were undertaken with the assistance of Takao FIA, which amounted to nearly one third of the incentive measures in which the FIAs had participated. Compared with other FIAs, Takao FIA was especially active during this crucial period. Skilled enginemen were a key element of the labour force of industrialised fisheries. Four enginemen workshops were held during this period, and with three of them undertaken in Takao, it is evident that the port’s
industrialised fisheries had been born in these crucial years, and that the southern fishing grounds were becoming increasingly important.

**Table 1.03**: Incentive measures launched by the fishing authorities during the period 1931-1934 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>FAs</th>
<th>Hokk FIA</th>
<th>Taiwan FIA</th>
<th>Sinchu FIA</th>
<th>Tachrai FIA</th>
<th>Taich FIA</th>
<th>Takao FIA</th>
<th>Taiwan FIA</th>
<th>School of Fisheries and Merchant Ships of Koryo</th>
<th>Sinchu State Gov.</th>
<th>Takao State Gov.</th>
<th>Takao City Gov.</th>
<th>Others **</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workshops (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Workshop for fishers, shipwright workshops, and fisheries workshops.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Facilities of Fishing Communities (2)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public facilities and technology included fish shops, cold storage centres, space for fishing gear storage, rope making machines, and large preservative-filled vats for the periodic preservation of cotton nets.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture Facilities (3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aquaculture facilities included artificial ponds for oysters and Japanese river trout.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbours (4)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Construction of harbours included an artificial beach.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Processing Facilities (5)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fish processing included the processing of shark skin, shark liver oil, dried bonito, tinned mackerel, processed sardines, oysters.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wireless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diffusion of fishing methods includes gray mullets, cero gill net, lobster gill net, and small type pair trawling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Markets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diffusion of fishing methods includes gray mullets, cero gill net, lobster gill net, and small type pair trawling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion of Fishing Methods (6)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diffusion of fishing methods includes gray mullets, cero gill net, lobster gill net, and small type pair trawling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of vessel equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diffusion of fishing methods includes gray mullets, cero gill net, lobster gill net, and small type pair trawling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others **</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diffusion of fishing methods includes gray mullets, cero gill net, lobster gill net, and small type pair trawling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Total                                 | 27  | 3        | 1          | 1          | 2           | 2         | 5         | 1          | 12 incentive measures were carried out 85 times. Nearly one third of these measures were pursued with the assistance of the FAs, and it is clear that the fishermen associations had participated heavily in the launch of the new fisheries policies. Regarding the FIAs, nearly one fifth of the incentive measures had been carried out with their

Source: *Taiwan no Suisan* [The Fishing Industry of Taiwan], Taihoku, Taiwan Suisankai, 1935, 97-107.

* During this period fourteen new-type fishing vessels were built with the encouragement of the Colonial Government.

(1) Workshops that were held during this period included fishers’ workshops, shipwright workshops, and fisheries workshops.

(2) Public facilities and technology included fish shops, cold storage centres, space for fishing gear storage, rope making machines, and large preservative-filled vats for the periodic preservation of cotton nets.

(3) Aquaculture facilities included artificial ponds for oysters and Japanese river trout.

(4) Construction of harbours included an artificial beach.

(5) Fish processing facilities included the processing of shark skin, shark liver oil, dried bonito, tinned mackerel, processed sardines, oysters.

(6) Diffusion of fishing methods includes gray mullets, cero gill net, lobster gill net, and small type pair trawling.
support. Although the ratio was comparatively less than before, they, too still played important roles. Combined with FAs, more than half of the incentive measures had been carried out with their help. Viewed in this light, the FIAs and FAs should be regarded as two of the most important co-agencies of the fisheries authorities during the colonial era. During the 1930s the significant construction of wireless facilities was accomplished, and both stations were established in Takao. The singular importance of the development of distant water fisheries at Takao can be demonstrated once again as a direct consequence of this important government initiative.

From the mid-1920s to the 1930s, the contributions and influence of the FIA and FA/FCS to the fishing industry were considerable. Firstly, the FIA was one of the major channels through which knowledge of fisheries technology was spread. During the colonial period, only a few people were lucky enough to go to fisheries training schools, which hindered somewhat the spread of the necessary techniques and training. However, the situation for on-site training improved with assistance from FIAs. Furthermore, the FIAs organised training programmes and published fisheries magazines, and to a certain extent, made up for the shortage of places in formal fisheries educational establishments.

Secondly, FIAs offered adequate insurance coverage against shipwreck and loss of life and property. Every year, local FIAs levied 15 per cent of a ship’s value from vessel owners as a form of insurance, but if a vessel was badly damaged or sunk, 70 per cent of its value was given to the ship owner as an insurance payout. This levy system guaranteed the regular running of fishing vessels and further encouraged investment and development of fishing activities at sea.39 Thirdly, FIAs were semi-official organisations, which provided an effective channel of communication between the fisheries authority and vessel owners and fishers. Through this intermediary channel, fisheries policies could be conveyed to the fishing community more easily. Moreover, the appeals of fishing companies and fishers could also be more effectively communicated to Government officials.

The FAs, in addition to dealing with the daily activities of fishing communities, also served as small-scale credit cooperatives and dealt with the delicate business of lending money. Most of their clients were individual fishers or

owners of medium and small fishing vessels, and such forthright financial assistance helped to improve the livelihood of the fishing communities.\footnote{Naitō & Syu, \textit{The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan}, 7.}

Before the advent of the colonial era, fishing vessels in Taiwan were either bamboo rafts or tiny boats whose voyage range was limited and whose operating capabilities were low. However, motorised fishing vessels became increasingly popular under the auspices of the fisheries authorities. By 1940, the number of motorised fishing vessels in Taiwan had risen to more than 1,200, and their operating grounds now extended from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Tonkin, the Sulu and the Celebes Seas, and the waters off the east coast of Luzon. However, following the introduction of motorised fishing vessels and the expansion southwards of the fishing grounds, the major problems of how to preserve the fish on a longer journey and how to communicate with the shore while at sea soon emerged. Fortunately, the FIA and FA/FCS provided timely solutions to these two troubling issues. With the combined efforts of the FIA and FA/FCS, a series of workshops for introducing special techniques and communication skills were held, including radioman workshops, engineman workshops, and fisheries knowledge workshops. As a result, wireless technology, radios, compasses, cold storage and motorised fish holds were introduced and popularised in fishing communities around Taiwan in the 1930s. Furthermore, fishing communities were encouraged to set up their own facilities including public warehouses, icehouses and public-run fish shops.\footnote{Taiwan Suisan Ōiran, 109-10.}

### The diffusion of fishing methods from Japan and the southward exploitation of fishing grounds

Numerous fishing methods and innovations were introduced or refined by the fisheries authority and its co-workers, the FIA and FA/FCS. Some of them developed into mainstream fisheries in post-war Taiwan. They include the single trawl fishery (Jap. 汽船トロール漁業 Chi. 輪船拖網), pair trawl fishery (Jap. 底引き網漁業 Chi. 機船底曳網漁業), and the tuna longline fishery (Jap. マグロ延繩漁業 Chi. 鮪釣漁業).\footnote{Koshiyoshi, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō,’ 121-22. However, in this section, the bonito fishery is not my concern, and will not be discussed for the following two reasons. Firstly, although the bonito fishery was the first distant water fishing industry established in Taiwan, during the colonial period, 73 per cent of bonito fishing activities were concentrated in Kiryu, rather than Takao. Furthermore, most of its main fishing grounds were off the eastern coast of Taiwan, fronting on the Pacific Ocean, rather
Modern trawl fishing techniques were first introduced to Japan from Britain in 1902. However, this new fishery technique initially did not develop well in Japan; instead, it encountered a series of setbacks. Firstly, the technology of the shipbuilding industry in Japan was still relatively undeveloped. The hulls of Japanese-built trawlers at the time were still too fragile to operate in distant waters and the onboard equipment was inadequate for the task. Secondly, Japanese fishers were not yet familiar with this new fishing method, and could not operate the trawlers properly. Thirdly, coastal fishers treated the trawl fishery as an impending threat and boycotted it fiercely.43

However, the situation improved soon after Kuraba Tomisaburo [倉場富三郎] established the Kisen Fishing Company [汽船漁業] in Nagasaki [長崎]. In 1908, he purchased a steel single-trawler from Britain and employed three British fishers to work on it. The success of the Kisen Fishing Company generated a boom in Japanese trawl fishery, which, as a consequence, thinned out the coastal fishing grounds and jeopardised the livelihood of coastal fishers. The protests from coastal fishers were widespread, and several cases of violence were recorded in the midst of their debates and quarrels. In order to deal with this pressing problem pertaining to jurisdiction and marine conservation, one year later the ‘Regulations for the Trawl Fishery’ [トロール漁業取締規則] was issued, which had two positive outcomes: trawlers were banned from coastal areas, so the conflicts between trawler men and coastal fishers could be stopped. Hence, single-trawlers were also compelled to seek new fishing grounds, which indirectly led to the expansion of trawl fishing grounds into southern waters. In 1909, the ‘Organisation of the Japanese Trawl Fishing Industry’ [日本トロール水産組合] was established. By 1912, there were, astonishingly, 139 single-trawlers already operating in Japan.44

It was in 1912, also at the peak of the industry, that trawl fishing was introduced to Taiwan by the Taiwan Fishing Enterprise [臺灣漁業株式會社]. In the initial stage, the operating results of this new company were not as good as had been expected. However, some contemporaries still ignored the failure of the Taiwan

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43 Honpō Kaiyo Gyogyō no Gensei [An Introduction to the Oceanic Fisheries of Our Country], Tokyo, Suisansha, 1939, 130-31.
44 Ibid., 138; and Okamoto Nobuo, Nihon Gyogyō Tsūshi [The History of Japan’s Fishing Industry], Tokyo, Suisansha, 1984, 101-02.
Japan and the Development of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry

Fishing Enterprise and established the Taiwan Trawling Company [臺灣トロール株式會社]. By the mid-1920s, both of these pioneering companies had shut down operations, owing to the economic depression in Taiwan.45

In 1927, Taiwan’s trawl fishing industry was brought back to life by the Kyodo Fishing Company [共同漁業株式會社]. For several years after the revival of the trawl fishery, the number of single-trawlers in Taiwan was strictly limited under the direct management of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of Japan (MAF [農林省]). The fishing grounds around Taiwan were divided into two zones. The northern zone included the East China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, and the southern zone comprised the South China Sea. No more than four trawlers were permitted to operate in each area, and Kyodo, as a staunch supporter of this fishery, was privileged by the government and the company monopolised the trawl fishery in Taiwan for several years. However, in 1936 the management of the trawl fishery experienced a major change, when the ban on the number of single-trawlers was abolished. Instead, a limitation on total tonnages was imposed. This measure now broke the monopoly that the Kyodo Fishing Company had enjoyed. Another fishing company, the Horai Fishing Company [蓬萊水産株式會社] was soon also engaged in trawl fishery activity in the East China Sea and South China with the single-trawlers Tamura-maru [田村丸], Soga-maru [曾我丸], Dainichiminato-maru [第二湊丸] and Meiji-maru [明治丸].46

By the year 1940, eight single-trawlers were based at the Kiryu Fishing Port, and two in Takao. In addition, the eleven that were operating in the South China Sea with permission and licences from the MAF, also used Takao Port as a supply base.47

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45 Lin Jinfa, *Taiwan Hattatsu Shi* [The History of the Development of Taiwan], Taihoku, Minsyū Kōronsha, 1936, 865; and Koshiyoshi, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō,’ 129.
47 *Taiwan no Suisan*, 15-16; and *Taiwan Suisan Yōran*, 23.
Table 1.04: The development of the (single) trawl fishery in Taiwan 1931 to 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of trawlers</th>
<th>Annual catch (ton)</th>
<th>Tonnage (per vessel)</th>
<th>Horsepower (per vessel)</th>
<th>Annual Catch (ton per vessel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,693.784</td>
<td>225.8</td>
<td>574.00</td>
<td>423.441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,581.828</td>
<td>205.0</td>
<td>507.50</td>
<td>370.457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,259.393</td>
<td>205.5</td>
<td>507.50</td>
<td>564.848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,013.056</td>
<td>251.7</td>
<td>553.50</td>
<td>753.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,962.001</td>
<td>230.8</td>
<td>512.25</td>
<td>740.517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,251.119</td>
<td>230.8</td>
<td>560.25</td>
<td>812.779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,136.154</td>
<td>209.0</td>
<td>572.00</td>
<td>827.230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6,124.422</td>
<td>267.4</td>
<td>501.90</td>
<td>972.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>9,181.455</td>
<td>223.3</td>
<td>536.45</td>
<td>1,162.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>14,930.234</td>
<td>349.1</td>
<td>542.64</td>
<td>1,674.520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* The trawl fishery in colonial Taiwan reached its peak in 1940, then declined dramatically due to the Second World War.

The pair trawl fishery, also called the *sokobiki ami* fishery [[底引き網漁業]], was regarded as ‘the quintessence of the Japanese fishery’ [[國粹漁業]], as most of its techniques originated from Japan’s traditional fisheries, *uchise ami* [[打瀨網]] and *teguri ami* [[手繰網]]. The birth of the modern pair trawl fishery involved three significant steps: the utilisation of vessel motors, the motorisation of winches, and the formation of operating pairs. The improvement of the *uchise ami* fishery began as early as 1909, when wind power and sails were replaced by the steam engine in a fishing experiment in Hokkaido [[北海道]]. Afterwards, similar experiments were conducted in rapid succession with the assistance of fisheries research institutes in various prefectures. In 1913, Shibuya [渋谷兼八], a Japanese fisher from Shimane Prefecture [[島根県]], succeeded in developing rotating winches by using the power of the vessel’s motors. This invention ensured immediate success in fishing and was popularised in Shimane within a short space of time. While the fishing techniques and technology were being modified in Shimane, the *teguri ami* fishery in Ibaraki [[茨城]] was also experiencing significant advancement. *Teguri ami* was experimentally tested on motorised bonito fishing vessels, and obtained excellent results. On the basis of

48 Honpō Kaiyo Gygō no Gensei, 159.
utilising the motorisation of vessels, the *teguri ami* fishery also combined powered winches with the existing fishing techniques of Shimane. The developments in these two fisheries were gradually combined to form what is now called the motorised-boat *sokobiki ami* fishery.  

Following the exhaustion of fish stock in traditional grounds, Japanese fishers gradually expanded their operations westward from Shimane, to include Shimonoseki, Hakata and Nagasaki as their forward supply bases. They worked along the west coast of Kyushu as well as near Chosen (Korea). In 1920, while the westward expansion of the off-shore fishing grounds was in process, trawl fishers, for the first time, started to operate in pairs in Kyushu and their fishing results were good. This pair trawl fishing method soon spread throughout trawling communities, and became the most distinguishing characteristic of this fishery.  

This innovative fishery was introduced to Taiwan in 1924. In Taiwan people called it ‘the pair trawl fishery’ ([雙拖]). When it was introduced to Taiwan, the Colonial Government nevertheless imposed strict management measures to control the number of pair-trawlers in order to protect coastal fishing grounds. At first, only twenty units of pair-trawlers were permitted to operate in the waters off Taiwan. Nevertheless, following the rapid growth of the industry, the fisheries authority granted more pair-trawlers permission to operate. By 1927, there were 30 units; however, by 1931, 50 units of pair-trawlers had already obtained permission to operate from the fisheries authorities. In 1936, as previously noted, the fisheries management in Taiwan experienced a major reorganisation, and the total tonnage of single-trawlers and pair-trawlers was now confined to 10,000 tons.  

The main fishing grounds of the pair-trawlers were the East China Sea, the Taiwan Strait, the South China Sea and the Gulf of Tonkin. Initially, most pair-trawlers and single-trawlers were located in Kiryu Fishing Port. There were fewer of them in Takao. However, the fishing stocks were being rapidly depleted in the North.

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49 Honpō Kaiyo Gyogyō no Gensei, 159.
50 Ibid., 159-61.
51 According to Taiwan no Suisan and Taiwan Suisan Yōran, the Sokobiki ami fishery was introduced to Taiwan as early as 1919, which is obviously a different account from Takemoto Ichirō’s version.
52 Koshiyoshi, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō,’ 133-34.
53 The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan, 14-15.
With a view to conserving the marine environment, the Colonial Government began to encourage fishers to exploit the southern fishing grounds. Consequently, the number of pair-trawlers that operated in the north was confined within certain limits, but with respect to the southern fishing grounds like the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea, there was no restriction placed on the number of pair-trawlers. This government measure accelerated the southward expansion of the trawl fishing grounds.

Table 1.05: The development of the pair trawl fishery in Taiwan during the period 1931-1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of vessels</th>
<th>Annual catch (ton)</th>
<th>Average Tonnage Per Vessel</th>
<th>Average Hosepower Per Vessel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>9,824.442</td>
<td>57.10</td>
<td>106.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8,513,468</td>
<td>54.19</td>
<td>104.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>12,811,449</td>
<td>54.19</td>
<td>104.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>15,492,798</td>
<td>53.40</td>
<td>103.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22,900,217</td>
<td>63.50</td>
<td>115.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>22,251,552</td>
<td>61.25</td>
<td>110.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25,726,870</td>
<td>71.28</td>
<td>112.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>27,255,727</td>
<td>76.09</td>
<td>132.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>30,217,786</td>
<td>78.25</td>
<td>137.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>42,219,092</td>
<td>79.39</td>
<td>142.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* The pair trawl fishery in colonial Taiwan reached its peak in 1940, then declined dramatically due to World War Two.

The tuna longline fishery was one of the traditional fisheries of Japan, having existed in Japanese fishing villages for centuries. Following the advent of the Meiji era in 1868, tuna longliner fishers put ever more effort into expanding their fishing grounds. In the 1870s, the most distant fishing grounds that they could reach were just 10 li (about 39 km) away from the coast. But by the end of the 1890s, the distance of offshore fishing grounds had been extended to 30 li (about 117 km) away, which, by nineteenth century standards, was far enough away to be regarded as a

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54 *Honpō Kaiyo Gyogyō no Gensei*, 176-77.
55 Koshiyoshi, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō’, 133-34.
56 1 li [里], 1 li is about 3.9km.
distant water fishery. While the fishing grounds were being expanded southward, fishers were also trying to improve the performance of their vessels and the most significant innovation in the longline fishery, unquestionably, was the motorisation of fishing vessels. This technological development was inspired by the motorisation of the bonito fishery fleet. In 1907, Yamamoto Shintaro [山本新太郎], a fisher from Mie Prefecture [三重県], installed a sixteen-horsepower engine on the Nandō-maru [南島丸]. The pioneering efforts of the Nandō-maru focused the attention of the longliner fishers on the potential utilisation of motored vessels. From 1910 onwards, motorised longliners were gradually introduced and popularised along the east and south coast of Japan.57

Picture 1.01: Nando-maru.


The tuna longline fishery was introduced to Taiwan in 1913, and was then developed separately in Takao and northern Taiwan. The tuna longline fishery in northern Taiwan was prosperous because it was located close to the main market, Japan. However, the fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were still too far away from northern Taiwan, hence longlinermen only continued to work nearby areas. Therefore, the tuna fishery in northern Taiwan could not ultimately compete with its counterpart in Takao. Takao eventually became the most important port-base of

Taiwan’s tuna longline fishery.\textsuperscript{58} By the end of the colonial period, 81 per cent of tuna catches were from Takao, and only 16 per cent from Taihoku.\textsuperscript{59}

The fishing industries introduced above not only played important roles during the colonial era, but also had a profound influence on Taiwan’s offshore/distant water fisheries after World War Two. The diffusion of these fishing techniques and technologies, in addition to the assistance provided by the FIAs and FAs/FCSs, were also further promoted by fishery vocational schools. The history of fishery education in Taiwan can be traced back to 1922 when two fishery vocational schools were established in Toko [東港] and Hōko respectively by local governments. Following in the footsteps of these two schools were the Anpei Fishery Vocational School [安平水産專修學校] and the School of Fisheries and Merchant Ships of Kiryu 等隆水產商船講習所. The former was established in 1930 in Tainan, while the latter, which was set up in 1932, was a private school offering only a six-month course.\textsuperscript{60}

In the beginning, most of the fishers with professional skills had to be recruited from Japan, and their travelling allowances proved a financial burden for fishing companies.\textsuperscript{61} Following the rapid growth of the longlining and trawling industries in Taiwan, the problem of a labour shortage of skilled fishers gradually emerged. With the intention of overcoming these problems, it was decided, in 1936, that one more fishery school—the Kiryu Fishery Vocational School—would be established. But this one, unlike those previously mentioned, would be directly under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Government. After it was set up, the rest of the locally sponsored fishery vocational schools closed their doors one by one, except for Hōko Fishery Vocational School. Kiryu Fishery Vocational School consisted of three departments: fishing, aquaculture and fish processing. In the fishing department, the number of Japanese students was slightly higher than the number of Taiwanese,

\textsuperscript{58} Koshiyoshi, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō,’ 123-24.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid. The tuna longliners had a wide range of sizes. The smallest vessels were less than 5 tons, while the largest ones were more than 100 tons. The most popular vessels were medium-sized longliners whose capacity varied from 10 to 20 tons.

\textsuperscript{60} Jhou Sianwun, \textit{The Economic History of Taiwan under the Japanese Empire, II} [日據時代臺灣經濟史Ⅱ], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1958, 252.

\textsuperscript{61} Koshiyoshi, ‘Taiwan no Suisangyō,’ 150.
but in the aquaculture and fish processing departments most of the students were Taiwanese. In Hōko, all the students in the various departments were Taiwanese.\(^6^2\)

Map 1.03: Fishery education in pre-war Taiwan

Interestingly, in Taiwan, despite only a small proportion of the population becoming involved in the fishing industry, several fishery training schools were established at different points in time. The Colonial Government, without a doubt, placed great importance on fishery education, and the vocational schools’ contributions towards the propagation of fishing techniques and the training of Taiwanese fishers in the colonial era was tremendous. They also laid a strong foundation for the development and prosperity of Taiwan’s fishing industry after World War Two.

\(^{62}\) Jhou, *The Economic History of Taiwan under the Japanese Empire, II*, 252.
Table 1.06: The fishery training schools in Taiwan during the colonial era.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>The name of school</th>
<th>Duration of study</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Hōko</td>
<td>2 years *</td>
<td>Local gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Toko</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Local gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Tainan</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Local gov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Kiirun</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Kiirun</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Col. Gov.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jhou Sianwun, *The Economic History of Taiwan under the Japanese Empire, II* [日據時代臺灣經濟史II], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1958, 251-52.

* The duration of training at the Hoko Fishery Vocational School had been extended from 2 years to 3 years in 1937. It was the only local government-sponsored fishery school that survived after Kiryu Fishery Vocational School was established.

While fishery vocational schools, FIAs and FAs were introducing new fishing techniques to the fishers in Taiwan, the Colonial Government and local governments were also making a major effort to research the marine resources in the Taiwan Strait and the waters of Southeast Asia. A number of fishing research vessels were built to fulfil this task. In 1911, the *Ryokai-maru* [凌海丸], the first fishing research vessel, was built by the Colonial Government. At first, the *Ryokai-maru* conducted offshore investigations only of the marine resources around Taiwan. However, the vessel was soon delegated to do more and was subsequently tasked with distant water investigations in 1918. These offshore investigations were then turned over to *Midori-maru* [緑丸], which was launched in 1921. In 1925, however, the Colonial Government decided to concentrate its energy and resources on distant water investigations, and offshore investigations were now placed under the charge of local governments. From then onwards, this division of labour regarding marine research between the central and local governments formally came into practice. By 1931, in order to effectively explore the more remote fishing grounds in Southeast Asia, a larger, more powerful experimental vessel, the *Shōnan-maru* [照南丸], was built. This proved to be a worthy investment, as exploration of the trawling and longlining fishing grounds in the East China Sea, the South China Sea, the Sulu and Celebes Seas were soon exploited one after another.63

63 Jhou, *The Economic History of Taiwan under the Japanese Empire, II*, 250. The tonnage of the *Ryokai-maru* was 43, and its horsepower was 57. The tonnage of the *Shōnan-maru* was 418, and its horsepower was 680.
As well as the central colonial government vessels, several other experimental ships were also built by local governments after 1921.64

Table 1.07: The experimental fishing vessels of Taiwan during the colonial era, 1921-1938*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Gov.</th>
<th>Vessel name</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Horsepower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921 Sinchu state gov.</td>
<td>Shinkai-maru</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922 Taihoku state gov.</td>
<td>Hoku-maru</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923 Takao state gov.</td>
<td>Oshima-maru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924 Tainan state gov.</td>
<td>Tankai-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926 Hoko prefecture gov.</td>
<td>Kaihō-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930 Taihu state gov.</td>
<td>Ryūō-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931 Sinchu state gov.</td>
<td>Daiichi chufu-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daini chufu-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933 Taihoku state gov.</td>
<td>Shichi-maru</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935 Taitō prefecture gov.</td>
<td>Kaiyo-maru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 Tainan state gov.</td>
<td>Kanan-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 Sinchu state gov.</td>
<td>Shinshu-maru</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* In fact, the number of experimental vessels built by local governments were more than twelve as the Takao-maru, built by the Takao Government in 1930 was not listed in this table.

Three things are very clear from the above table. Firstly, as is shown, with the exception of the Shichi-maru, all of the vessels built by local governments were very small and used solely for the purpose of offshore or coastal investigations. Second, new research vessels were being built at a rapid rate. Between 1921 and 1938, twelve vessels had been built; on average, one brand new experimental vessel went to sea and joined in the offshore investigation effort every eighteen months. Viewed from this perspective, the exploitation of new offshore fishing grounds was obviously not launched only by the Central Government. Local governments had become heavily involved in the exploration and experimental activities as well. During this period, the Taihoku State Government built two vessels, the Sinchu State Government built four vessels, the Tainan State Government built two vessels and Takao, including the Takao-maru which was not listed in the above table, had two exploration vessels at sea as well. Such a large-scale mobilisation to seek out new fisheries and marine resources was extraordinary when compared with other parts of Asia. Thirdly, except for the Taitō Prefecture Government, all the local governments which are listed in

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64 *The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan*, 4-6.
Table 1.07 faced the Taiwan Strait, and their efforts to seek out new sources of marine resources made an enormous contribution towards the overall understanding of the marine environment in the Taiwan Strait. We can take the Sinchu State Government as an outstanding example. While other states were concentrating on exploiting known fishing grounds, Sinchu State Government launched its ‘Seven-Year Plan’ (七年計劃). Two of its experimental vessels, the Daiichi chufu-maru and the Daini chufu-maru, besides carrying out pair trawl fishing experiments, were tasked with investigating the ecological conditions of demersal fish and the routes of migratory fish. Their successful achievements of these tasks proved fruitful.65 Due to the financial and research efforts of the local governments, the Strait became one of the most well understood fishing grounds to fishers in Taiwan.

Map 1.04: The southward development of Takao’s fishing industry

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65 Jhou, *The Economic History of Taiwan under the Japanese Empire, II*, 251.
The emergence of the fishing industry in Takao

Having established a picture of fisheries development in Colonial Taiwan in the first three sections, I am now going to focus upon the emergence of Takao’s fishing industry, and examine how it worked with respect to the southward expansion and development of the industry in the colonial period.

The tuna longline fishery, single-trawl fishery and pair trawl fishery were all introduced to Takao as soon as they were introduced to Taiwan. Takao’s single trawling industry started with just two trawlers—a modest investment made by the Japan Fishing Company. Nevertheless, after the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, some trawlers based on the China coast and in Japan chose Taiwan as a strategic supply base. Nine trawlers of the Japan Fishing Company, each of whose gross weight was 500 tons, left Hong Kong and used Takao as a homeport and a forward base, while two trawlers of the Linken Company [林兼商店], each of whose gross tonnage was 600, also left Shimonoseki [下関] and went to Takao. By 1945, the Japan Fishing Company was building a huge vessel weighing 1000 tons to be deployed to fish in the Gulf of Thailand, the Indian Ocean, and along the coast of Africa.66

Concerning the status of the pair trawl fishery, by 1941, 28 units of pair-trawlers were based in Takao and most of them operated in the Taiwan Strait, the waters off Hong Kong as well as the Gulf of Tonkin. From 1936 onwards, the Japanese Colonial Government, in order to expand its fishing grounds southward, also used Hainan, China as a supply base for its experimental fishing vessel, and consequently obtained excellent fishing results in the waters off Vietnam. In 1941, 23 units of pair-trawlers were under construction, and it was believed that the pair trawl fishery would become very prosperous in the future.67

The tuna longline fishery was the most important fishing industry in pre-war Takao, illustrated by the fact that 80 per cent of the motorised vessels in Takao were longliners. The longliners in Takao were classified into three groups based on their size: large-sized longliners with 100 gross tons and 200 horsepower; middle-sized longliners with 30 gross tons and 60 horsepower; and small-sized vessels with 20

66 Takao no Suisan [The Fishing Industry of Takao], Takao, publisher unknown, 1941, 6-7.
67 Ibid., 5; and Takao Shū Yōran [The Guide of Takao], Takao, Takao State Government, 1941, 112.
gross tons and 40 horsepower. The small-sized vessels accounted for 70 per cent of Takao’s longliners. Table 1.08 depicts the growth of Takao’s fishing industry during the period 1938-1940.

Table 1.08: The catch value of the tuna longline fishery, and trawl fisheries in Takao, 1938-1940 (unit: yen)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1938 (Yen)</th>
<th>1939 (Yen)</th>
<th>1940 (Yen)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tuna longline fishery</td>
<td>2,952,759</td>
<td>4,714,939</td>
<td>8,646,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. pair trawl fishery</td>
<td>807,210</td>
<td>1,693,055</td>
<td>2,253,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. single trawl fishery</td>
<td>453,857</td>
<td>1,289,116</td>
<td>1,139,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,213,826</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,697,110</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,039,915</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Takao no Suisan* [The Fishing Industry of Takao], Takao, publisher unknown, 1941, 2-3.

Table 1.08 shows that the catch value of these fishing industries grew rapidly, especially the tuna longline and pair trawl fisheries. The fishing industry had, without a doubt, become a very important economic sector in Takao with the development of a long-term fisheries infrastructure. In addition to the favourable island-wide conditions, such as the excellent geographic circumstances, efficient fisheries management and the introduction of advanced fishing techniques, there were also local conditions that supported the development of the fishing industry in Takao. However, there are some questions that need to be clarified. Firstly, why could this port support the development of a distant water fishing industry in Southeast Asia and what kind of modern infrastructure had been constructed in the pre-war Takao Fishing Port?

The late nineteenth century construction of Takao Port was one of the basic keys for the development of Takao’s fishing industry, although the original motive behind building this port was not solely for the fishing industry. In the 1890s, the first decade of the colonial period, the rapid growth of the sugar industry in Taiwan required the large-scale importation of sugar-producing machines from overseas and the export of raw and manufactured sugar. Despite being one of the major gateways to Taiwan, it was still difficult for the small Port of Takao to deal with the large scale importation of heavy industrial machinery and products. In order to overcome this...
logistical problem, it was decided in 1904 that the port would be expanded. By 1908, the preliminary stages of the modernisation project had been accomplished. Sugar-producing machines could now be transported by train, as soon as they arrived at the dockside. The link between ocean-going shipping and land transportation, and the new facilities, had a positive influence on the development of Takao Port itself as well as the other industries based in southern Taiwan—but especially the fishing industry.70

Thus, in the same year, 1908, the above-mentioned port development project was completed; the main railroads in western Taiwan were also completely connected to one another. The Takao Train Station now became the southern departure point and rail head of the main railroads, and Takao Port, as a result, became the economic gateway of southern Taiwan. Rice, sugar, wood and other commodities for export were stored at Takao Port. However, in a comparatively short space of time, the existing infrastructure of the port was no longer adequate to cope with the import and export volume required. Further, construction and development for the port was immediately necessitated, and undertaken. Between 1908 and 1912, the first phase of a new major port-building programme was launched. The submerged reefs around the port were removed, two modern harbours were established, more railroad lines were constructed, storage houses and godowns were built, and an artificial waterway and boat quay was also constructed for fishing vessels and small boats.71

The second phase construction of Takao Port caused a remarkable increase in its volume of trade. By 1912, its commerce accounted for 37.54 per cent of the entire trade of the island—which almost exceeded the volume of trade of Kiryu Port. The second phase also of the major port-building programme was proposed in the same year. It was scheduled to be completed in 1920. However, it took far longer and was not finished until 1937. With this final phase of the programme, the embankment was enlarged, the waterway was dredged, the port was widened and the number of harbours increased.72

71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
While these major construction projects were being systematically planned and launched, a special project pertaining to the extension and modernisation of the Fishing Ports had been proposed in 1924 by the Transportation Bureau [交通局], but it was not approved until April 1926, when the Governor-General Kamiyama Mitsunoshin [上山滿之進] inspected Takao Port. The project included three main aspects: dredging work, the construction of a protecting embankment at Shōsento Fishing Harbour [哨船頭], as well as the building of onshore fisheries-related infrastructure. The first two projects enabled larger vessels like the distant water fishing boats to anchor in this safe haven, thus directly contributing to the southward development of Takao’s fishing industry. The last initiative comprised the construction of a larger fish market, godowns and a petroleum tank fuel facility. Each of them had its own separate but related contribution to make to the industry. Firstly, access to a modern fuel depot supported the motorisation of fishing vessels in Takao, and the motorisation of the industry was a major basis for the development of distant water fisheries. Secondly, a huge fish market in Takao could handle, purchase and market most of the fish products arriving from the Taiwan Strait and Southeast Asia without difficulty.

Map 1.05: Construction of Takao Fishing Port.

Shōsento was the first harbour of the Takao Fishing Port, where I spent more than nine months doing fieldwork from December 2001 to July 2002 and January 2003 to February 2003. Tagame Ichirou, Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi [Takao Fishing Port and its Onshore Facilities], Takao, Takao Fishing Market, 1930. Reproduced by Chen, Ta-Yuan

73 Shōsento was the first harbour of the Takao Fishing Port, where I spent more than nine months doing fieldwork from December 2001 to July 2002 and January 2003 to February 2003.

74 Tagame Ichirou, Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi [Takao Fishing Port and its Onshore Facilities], Takao, Takao Fishing Market, 1930, 2-10. As a supply base for the southward fishing industries, the establishment of a modern fuel depot was essential for the Takao Fishing Port. The tank was made from steel, which was equipped with a lightning rod and fireproof gear. Further, with a view to preventing any emergency, it was surrounded with a protecting wall. It was located at the entrance of Shōsento Harbor.
In addition to the modernisation of port infrastructure as well as the island-wide and international fish markets, the construction of transportation networks also made an invaluable contribution towards the development of Takao’s fishing industry. The markets for Takao’s fishing industry were opened up in three phases: firstly, the establishment of the Takao Fish Market in 1912. Secondly, combining the Takao market in an organisational chain with other fish markets across Taiwan in 1918 and, finally, the opening of international fish markets in 1922.

Prior to the establishment of a modern fish market, the trade in marine products in Takao was carried out by small-scale, itinerant fishmongers, which was disadvantageous to the long-term development of a modern fishing industry. Fortunately, the wholesale and retail trade situation improved significantly after a modern fish market was established in Takao at the end of 1912 by the Taiwan Sealand Property Company (TSPC [臺灣海陸産業株式會社]). Under the management of TSPC, the operation of the fish market became far more efficient and market transactions became more readily transparent. Therefore, Japanese fishing vessels from Yamagechi [山口], Fukuoka [福岡], Kagoshima [鹿兒島] and Miyazaki [宮崎] began to use Takao as their forward supply base. By 1921, the volume of business in Takao Fish Market had already grown five times larger when compared with its initial opening in 1913.\(^{75}\)

**Picture 1.02:** Takao Fish Market in 1935


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\(^{75}\) Tagame, *Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi*, 18-19.
However, the activities of the Takao Fish Market alone could not cater to the increased demand and supply of fish products from Southeast Asia following the continuous southward growth and expansion of the fishing industry. Hence, to open up other marketing and distribution channels became one of the most pressing issues confronting the future of Takao’s fishing industry. But this task could not be adequately fulfilled unless a decent transportation network was first built to serve the populous area of the island. In 1895, when Japan formally annexed Taiwan, the railroad system on the island was limited and located only in the northern part of Taiwan. Therefore, transportation of fish products both north and south was traditionally done by sea, along the coast. In 1899, however, the Colonial Government commenced building railroads in the western part of Taiwan. Lines were developed to Chyoshū (潮州線), Taito (臺東線), Giran (宜蘭線), and Kaigan (海岸線) and stations were built one by one. The Takao Train Station had already been constructed by 1900, and by 1908, the main railroad system in western Taiwan had been completely connected up. The marine products from Takao Fishing Port could now be transported by train to northern Taiwan. Two years later, railway carriages with refrigerating equipment were introduced, enabling marine products to be kept fresh despite the long journey.

Besides these main railway networks constructed by the Colonial Government, from 1906 onwards, the sugar producing companies also built private railway lines which ran deep into the countryside. This was not only necessary for the transportation of sugar and related products, but was also extremely advantageous for the transportation of fish products. It should be noted that while the general problem of handling and transporting marine products between stations around the island was settled, the problem of transporting marine products from the stations to the local fish markets still remained. Fortunately, the system of roads and highways in western Taiwan and the prevalence of trucks for overland transport provided a timely solution to this problem by the end of World War One. The establishment of highways in Taiwan can also be traced back to 1895 when the Japanese army engineering corps were building roads for military purposes, but with

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76 *Taiwan no Suisan*, 47-49, and Kamimura, *Taiwan Jigyōkai to Chūsin Jinbutsu*, 21-22. Here, it must be noted that in addition to the Takao Fish Market, several other large fish markets also existed in the other populous areas of Taiwan.

77 *Taiwan no Suisan*, 51-53.
the subsequent support of Colonial and local governments, the advent of highways became more common across Taiwan. After 1919, trucks were frequently employed for the conveyance of goods over longer distances and became the main means of transport for the delivery of fish products from the train stations to the markets.\(^78\)

Because of the continuous growth of Takao’s pre-war fishing industry, the supply of tuna and sailfish gradually exceeded the demand of the fish markets across Taiwan. With the intention of stabilising fish prices, Takao’s fishing industry had to take a further important step by opening up their activities to offshore markets. By the end of 1922, it was already proposed that fish products in Takao could be transported to Kiryu Port by train, and then shipped by steamers to Japan. This plan did not come into practice, however, until a direct shipping line from Takao to Yokohama [横浜] was established in September of 1923. Satō Kanjiro [佐藤勘次郎], an important fish broker, took advantage of this opportunity to market fish products directly from Takao to Yokohama. However, it was difficult to be a pioneer entrepreneur. An unexpected sea disaster on one occasion ruined a shipment of his fish products and caused him serious financial losses. Also, the containers for fish products were space-consuming so that not every shipping company was happy to offer their services. In the years that followed 1923, however, these obstacles were gradually overcome,\(^79\) and Kanjiro eventually became one of the most successful fish brokers in the Tokyo Fish Market [東京魚市場]. By 1930, fish products from Taiwan were successfully being exported to all big cities and coastal port towns in Japan, including Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya [名古屋], Osaka [大阪], Kobe [神戸], Shimonoseki [下関] and Moji [門司]. By 1930, the value of the trade volume of fish products moving between Taiwan and Japan had reached ¥1,600,000, which accounted for 14 per cent of the annual catch. In addition to Japan, marine products from Taiwan could now also be found in the overseas markets of China, the British colony of Hong Kong, and the Japanese colonies, Kantōshū [関東州], the southern part of Liaodong Peninsula (China), and Chosen.\(^80\)

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\(^78\) *Taiwan no Suisan*, 51-53, and Chen Wunshang, Han Yaoci & Chen Siaoling, eds., *The Ocean in Perspective* [海洋的鏡像], Kaohsiung, Culture Centre of the Kaohsiung City Govt., 1999, 14.

\(^79\) Tagame, *Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi*, 18-19.

\(^80\) *Taiwan Suisun Kinyū* [The Finance of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry], Taihoku, Bank of Taiwan, 1930, 15-17.
When taken together, pre-war Japanese initiatives and influence on the development of the fishing industry of Taiwan can be classified into three major categories: Firstly, the introduction of industrialised fisheries and the establishment of modern fishing ports. Secondly, the introduction of effective management systems for the development of the fishing industry. Some administrative aspects would be retained after the end of World War Two by the incoming, Kuomintang regime (KMT [國民黨]), and they still worked well in the post-war years. Finally, the large-scale investigations into marine fisheries and resources in Southeast Asia during the colonial era laid a solid foundation for the development of the fishing industry of post-war Taiwan. From a social-psychological perspective, the pre-war explorations and operations in Southeast Asia had become part of the collective memories and folklore of the fishers in Takao. The fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were not considered too far away for them, and they were not afraid to go there to fish in their small boats. This positive psychological factor and sense of place on the sea was to prove really advantageous to the re-establishment of the Taiwanese fishing industry in post-war Southeast Asia.

All of these accomplishments and developments could not be destroyed by the conflagration of World War Two. After 1945, the KMT regime took over Taiwan, and inherited a well-established fisheries organisation and infrastructure from the former Japanese Colonial Government. However, for political reasons, the outstanding achievements that the Colonial Government accomplished were either belittled or neglected by the fisheries authorities and scholars in post-war Taiwan.
Chapter 2

The Revival of the Fishing Industry of Post-war Taiwan

Taiwan’s fishing industry suffered severe damage during World War Two. Surprisingly, it recovered from the wartime calamity in a short space of time and developed outstanding post-war results on a global scale. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyse the revival of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan and its influence on Taiwan’s fisheries in Southeast Asia. Initially, I present a concise description of the damage caused by the Pacific War to Taiwan’s fishing industry and the emergency measures undertaken by the post-war Government to aid the recovery of the industry. I then examine the key role of the fisheries authorities in post-war Taiwan. The bureaucracy concerning the management of fisheries became complicated especially after the Central Government of the Republic of China (ROC [中華民國]) was relocated to Taiwan following the triumph of the Chinese communists in 1949. Several fundamental issues with respect to the immediate post-war bureaucracy need to be clarified: What were their respective functions? How well did they work with one another? After addressing these questions, I then explain both the internal and external factors contributing to the remarkable post-war development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. Concerning internal factors, I draw attention to the fisheries policies and their influence on the development of modern fishing technologies, especially with regard to the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia. Besides these internal factors, the revival of Taiwan’s offshore fishing industry benefited immensely from the assistance of the international community. A considerable amount of material and financial aid from the United Nations and the United States was sent to Taiwan after the end of World War Two. I will discuss, therefore, in the last section of this chapter, how foreign aid was used in the reconstruction of the Taiwanese fishing industry.
The emergency measures for the recovery of the fishing industry in Taiwan

World War Two brought severe hardship to Taiwan’s fishing industry. Numerous fishing vessels were confiscated and utilised for military purposes, and were subsequently destroyed in battle. The rest of the fleet, both large and small, was also invariably sunk by American bombers. Taiwan’s fishing industry experienced an unprecedented catastrophe.¹ Taking the fisheries output of 1940 as a reference point, that year the output from the distant water fisheries sector in Taiwan was 57,122,328 kilograms. However, it had dwindled to a mere 68,307 kilograms in 1945 when the war ended. The offshore fisheries sector shrunk from 28,223,394 kilograms to 2,599,654 kilograms.² It had decreased to less than one tenth of the pre-war output. The distant water fisheries were in an even worse state of affairs. Fishing vessels formerly owned by fishing companies in the colonial period numbered as many as 181, but after the wanton destruction of the war years, only 31 vessels remained. Moreover, only three of them were in good working condition; the rest had been seriously damaged and needed urgent repair.³ A large-scale repair and reconstruction of fishing vessels was critically required.

¹ Interview, Huang Fucyuan, Kaohsiung, 20/3/2002, and Cai Wun’yu, Kaohsiung, 7/6/2002. A large number of motorised fishing vessels were confiscated by the Japanese Navy for the war against the United States. Huang Fucyuan [黃福泉], an old fisher and an informant of mine, remembered that soon after graduating from Kiryu Fishery Vocational School, he was dispatched to a fishing vessel and then worked as an apprentice and a civilian employee [軍屬] in charge of collecting information and keeping the nearby waters under surveillance. Cai Wun’yu [蔡文玉], an entrepreneur of Kaohsiung (Takao) fishing industry and former chairman of the Taiwan Fishermen’s Association, said that in the last phase of the colonial period, all the motorised vessels were confiscated by the colonial government. As one of the most important fishing companies at that time, all the vessels owned by his family were confiscated and then either burnt or sunk in battles. Old Taiwanese fishers in Kaohsiung saw World War Two as unforgettable dramatic havoc. They described it in a very graphic way: ‘Anything which could float in Taiwan was bombed by the American bombers with no mercy.’ Takao Port was surrounded by a sea of flames.

² The Construction of the Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan [臺灣的農林建設], Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1950, 74.

³ The Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan [臺灣農林], Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1946, 199. In fact, no one can be sure how many fishing vessels had survived the war – see The Construction of Agriculture and Forestry in Taiwan, 71. The number of distant water fishing vessels, including pair-trawlers and otter trawlers, used to be as many as 149. However, when the ROC took over Taiwan in 1945, only 46 trawlers survived. This number is apparently different from the figures cited in The Construction of the Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan.
The Revival of the Fishing Industry of Post-war Taiwan

Table 2.01: The decline of the single trawl fishery in Taiwan during the period from 1940 to 1945*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of trawlers**</th>
<th>Annual catch (ton)</th>
<th>Tonnage per vessel</th>
<th>Horsepower per vessel</th>
<th>Annual catch (per vessel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>14,930.234</td>
<td>349.10</td>
<td>542.64</td>
<td>1,674.520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7,731.454</td>
<td>343.11</td>
<td>667.25</td>
<td>1,431.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11,690.422</td>
<td>381.00</td>
<td>644.75</td>
<td>1,916.460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3,408.708</td>
<td>214.50</td>
<td>558.60</td>
<td>1,420.290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>646.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The trawl fishery in colonial Taiwan reached its peak in 1940, then declined dramatically due to the impact of World War Two on the industry.
** Average number in operation over course of year.

Table 2.02: The decline of the pair trawl fishery in Taiwan during the period from 1940 to 1944*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of vessels</th>
<th>Annual catch (ton)</th>
<th>Tonnage</th>
<th>Horsepower</th>
<th>Annual catch (per pair)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>42,219,092</td>
<td>79,390</td>
<td>142.11</td>
<td>1,029.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20,618,536</td>
<td>76,977</td>
<td>146.48</td>
<td>687.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8,880,920</td>
<td>65,477</td>
<td>156.32</td>
<td>444.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,364,893</td>
<td>69,080</td>
<td>101.00</td>
<td>545.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The pair trawl fishery in colonial Taiwan also reached its peak in 1940, and then declined drastically due to World War Two.

When the new post-war government took over the running of Taiwan in 1945, the fishing industry continued to suffer severely from the aftermath of the devastation of the war years and was considered ‘moribund’. Emergency measures pertaining to the reconstruction of the fishing industry were urgently implemented by the new government. They were classified in three aspects: 1. the take-over of the Japanese-owned fisheries enterprises and fishing vessels; 2. an inventory of existing fishing vessels and the salvage of sunken vessels; 3. the reassembling of fishermen.

Soon after the Japanese surrender in 1945, fisheries-related personnel were dispatched by the Chinese Government to take over the running of Taiwan’s fishing industry. Numerous fishing companies and fisheries-related enterprises were taken over and reorganised in a comparatively short time. Fishing Kaisha of Taiwan [臺灣水
Chen, Ta-Yuan 産株式會社, one of the leading fishing companies in the colonial era, was a good case in point. Most of its fishing vessels were either sunk or heavily damaged during the war; only three of them could still operate at sea, and most of its branches, ice-manufacturing factories and shipbuilding plants were reduced to ashes. However, just one year after the post-war take-over, most of its factories had made a comeback and started to operate again. The vessels heavily damaged during the war had also been repaired and were capable of going to sea. Furthermore, several new vessels were under construction in the hope that 46 fishing vessels would be able to operate by the end of 1946. There is one further factor we must consider in this case. In November 1945, just three months after the war ended, the output of this company was a mere 21 metric tons. However, seven months later, by June 1946, its output had soared to 393 metric tons, nearly a nineteen-fold increase. Certainly, 393 metric tons still did not compare with the catch achievements of the pre-war period, but the extraordinary growth in volume in just seven months shows that the badly damaged fishing industry of Taiwan was recovering at a dramatic rate.4

In addition to taking over the property of fisheries-related enterprises, 71 offshore fishing vessels owned by the Japanese were expropriated by the new government. Most of these vessels were less than 20 tons, and, although tiny, they were still suitable for offshore operations. Hence, they were allocated to local governments for the purpose of investigating the location of offshore marine resources.5 Besides the confiscated Japanese vessels, there were also some intact fishing vessels owned by the Taiwanese fishers at that time. For the administrative convenience of the fisheries management, the new government also set out to take stock of these vessels. In December 1945, the ‘Regulations concerning the Registration of Fishing Vessels in Taiwan’ [臺灣省漁船登記辦法] were promulgated. All fishing vessels, including transit vessels and experimental vessels, were required to

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4 *The Construction of the Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan*, 197-200. The fishing companies and fisheries-related enterprises which were taken over included Fishing Kaisha of Taiwan [臺灣水産株式會社], Taiwan Fisheries Trade Company [臺灣水産販売株式會社], Bōkoku Shipbuilding Company [報國造船株式會社], Kaiyōkōgyō Shipbuilding Company [開洋興業株式會社], Kuzuhara Industrial Company [葛原工業社], Takao Marine Product Processor [高雄水産加工株式會社] and Toko Ice-maker [東港製冰株式會社]. Most of these companies had been influential in the fishing industry of colonial Taiwan.

5 Ibid., 201. The Government stated that 87 vessels were taken over. This figure was exaggerated. Before official expropriation, several vessels perished in shipwrecks, and others fled to Okinawa. Therefore, the actual number of confiscated offshore vessels was 71, rather than 87.
register immediately. Those whose weight was over 20 tons were to register with the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau (AFB [臺灣省農林處]). Those under 20 tons were to register with the nearest local government (county/city).\(^6\) As a result, within a short space of time, most of the fishing vessels in Taiwan were brought under the direct control of the new government. This registration measure helped establish a sound foundation for post-war fisheries management.

Numerous vessels had been sunk in ports during the war; however, not all of them were damaged beyond repair. In order to economise on measures for fisheries reconstruction, the Government devised an ingenious method to rapidly increase the number of fishing boats: namely, to salvage sunken vessels. In May 1946, the Kaiyang Shipbuilding Company [開洋造船廠] was charged with this task. Two salvage teams were organised to raise the sunken vessels in the waters off Kaohsiung (Takao [高雄]) and Tainan [臺南], a county north of Kaohsiung. The fishing vessels which they salvaged were first repaired by Kaiyang Shipbuilding Company, and then consigned to the Taiwan Fishing Company (TFC [臺灣省水産有限公司]), a state-run fishing company in the post-war years. This intensive salvage work lasted for three months.\(^7\) Although the number of refurbished fishing vessels the Taiwan Fishing Company obtained by this means is unknown, we can be certain that salvaging and repairing a sunken vessel was definitely more economical than building a new one, especially in those immediate post-war poverty-ridden years.

In addition, the recruitment of proficient fishers was vitally important to the rehabilitation of Taiwan’s fishing industry. During the colonial period, the majority of vessel mechanics and fishing experts were Japanese, and most of them had been sent back to Japan in the post-war period. This exodus caused an immediate shortage of skilled labour in the fishing industry. In order to solve the problem, the Government set about reassembling the Taiwanese fishers who left the industry during the war, as well as recruiting fishing experts from China. Furthermore, from 1948 onward, during the slack season for fishers, training programmes were held by all levels of government. Fishers of coastal fisheries were trained by county governments, and fishers operating medium and large-sized vessels were trained by

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\(^6\) *The Construction of the Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan*, 356.

\(^7\) Ibid., 355-356. Taiwan Fishing Company was the first state-run fishing company in post-war Taiwan.
the provincial government in both Keelung (Kiryu [基隆]) and Kaohsiung. With this emergency training programme in place, several hundred offshore/distant water fishers were produced in just one or two years. The immediate shortage of labour in the fishing industry was basically eliminated, and the skills of the fishers were further improved. The Government seemed satisfied with the accomplishments of the initial post-war training workshops. It not only planned to continue the programmes, it also wanted to strengthen the skills of tuna longlinermen with the intention of exploiting the tuna resources in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Ocean.8

The fisheries authorities of post-war Taiwan

The revival of the offshore fishing industry and the recovery of its productivity became the main tasks of the fisheries authorities in post-war Taiwan. The bureaucracy concerning fisheries management became extremely complicated in the post-war era—especially after the ROC Central Government relocated to Taiwan in 1949. In this small island nation, semi-official organisations coexisted alongside government departments. As such, the fisheries authority of the Central Government functioned side by side with the fisheries authority of the Provincial Government. Their respective functions, modes of cooperation and devolution of authority are worth careful examination.

The bureaucracy concerned with fisheries development in Taiwan experienced several major changes in the post-war era. The ‘Colonial Development Bureau’ [殖産局] was taken over by the ‘Provisional Government of Taiwan Province’ [臺灣省行政長官公署] and was immediately reorganised as the ‘Agriculture and Forestry Bureau’ (AFB [農林處]). The old ‘Fishing Industry Division’ (FID [水産科]) that used to belong to the Colonial Development Bureau, consequently, became part of AFB and still served as the highest fisheries authority on the island.9

8  Jhang Baoshu, Studies in the Establishment of China’s Fisheries [中國漁業建設研究], Taipei, Fisheries Association of China, 1952, 32. The shortage of labour in the fishing industry occurred soon after Japanese fishing experts and vessel mechanics were sent back to Japan at the end of the war. In order to rectify the situation, the fisheries authorities soon allowed the employment of Japanese fishing experts in the name of international fishing cooperation. Further details will be presented in the section on fisheries policies. Numerous fishers from Siao Liouciou and Penghu also migrated to Kaohsiung in the early years of post-war Taiwan. See Chapter 8.

9  A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan Province [臺灣省水産概況], Taipei, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1948, 37-38. As shown in Chapter One, the Fishing Industry Division during
But the Fishing Industry Division’s position as the leading fisheries authority in post-war Taiwan did not last very long. After the ROC Government relocated to Taiwan in 1949, the Central Government was merged with the Provincial Government of Taiwan. Under this unusual political arrangement, the highest fisheries authority in the island became the ‘Department of Agriculture and Forestry’ of the Ministry of Economic Affairs (DAF [經濟部農林司]), rather than the Fishing Industry Division of the Taiwan Provincial Government. As its official title suggests, the government business that the DAF dealt with was mainly agriculture and forestry. Fisheries were never its major concern, which can be easily demonstrated by the fact that under the DAF administration, only one fisheries-related official was appointed.10

The post-war fisheries authority of the ROC Central Government seemed incredibly small and could not adequately cater to the burgeoning needs of Taiwan. In order to correct this beleaguered state, in September 1951, the ‘Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee’ (TFPC [臺灣漁業增產委員會]) was co-founded by the Government of Taiwan and its chief ally, the United States.11 The TFPC consisted of ten members that represented various government and business agencies from both Taiwan and the United States: the Ministry of Economic Affairs [經濟部], the Ministry of National Defence [國防部], the Provincial Government of Taiwan, the Fishermen’s Association, Nonglin Company [農林公司], the Council for US Aid [美援會], the Economic Cooperation Administration [美國經濟合作總署], as well as the military consultative group of the US [美軍顧問團]. In order to emphasise that the Central Government thought highly of the future development of Taiwan’s fishing industry, Jheng, the Minister of

the colonial period was divided into two separate units: the Fisheries Management Section (FMS [漁政係]) and the Fishing Industries Section (FIS [水産係]). However, in addition to the two existing sections, a new section, Fisheries Administration Section (FAS [漁管股]), was set up under the FID in 1948. The three of them shouldered the task of fisheries management in the earliest phase of the post-war years. The duties of each of these sections had also been rearranged. FMS was in charge of the registration and approval of fishing activities, the incentive measures of fisheries development, and surveys of the fisheries economy. FIS was in charge of the workshops of fisheries-related training, fish processing, improving aquaculture techniques, carrying out fisheries experiments and promoting the building of fishing vessels. Concerning the newly-established FAS, its duties could be classified into several fields: the supervision of fishermen’s organisations, the management of fish markets, public facilities of fishing communities and prevention of shipwrecks.

10 Hou Geng, ‘Should Fisheries Authorities of the Central Government be Enlarged?’ [中央漁政機構應否強化?], ‘Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 6, 1961, 4-5.
11 Studies in the Establishment of China’s Fisheries, 337.
Economic Affairs [經濟部長], also decided to serve as the ‘Chief of the Committee’ [主任委員]. The TFPC was divided into three separate agencies: one was set up for fish processing, another was established for marketing, and the last was created for supplying seafood (both for the military and the populace). In addition, in order to mobilise every county to contribute toward the growth and development of the fishing industry, Taiwan was divided into five main fishing areas with each attached to American consultants employed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs of Taiwan.12

In 1953, following the initial growth of Taiwan’s post-war fishing industry, the administrative apparatus of the TFPC was enlarged and reorganised. Now six administrative units, rather than three were set up by the TFPC. Three of them are worth mentioning: one was for the development of distant water fisheries, one was for offshore, coastal and agriculture fisheries, and another was to supply seafood to the military. Further, the whole country was now divided into twelve areas, instead of the original five.13 The TFPC was enlarged two years after it was founded, and the distant water fisheries and offshore fisheries were now separated into two independent agencies. All of these changes were due, to a certain extent, to the fact that Taiwan’s fishing industry was developing at such a rapid pace that the old TFPC was inadequate to deal with the newly developing fisheries of Taiwan. It had operated as a de facto fisheries authority of the Central Government for nearly seven years, but was finally dissolved at the end of June 1958 owing to a merger of the Central Government units.14 But the abolition of the TFPC did not leave a vacuum in fisheries management. The task of the TFPC was now carried forward by another major authority.

In October 1951, immediately after the TFPC was established in the Central Government, the Fishing Industry Division of the Provincial Government, in order to

12 *Studies in the Establishment of China’s Fisheries*, 337. The TFPC was divided into three units, their Chinese titles are too long to translate into English, hence a free translation is adopted. They were the ‘Fish Processing Unit’ [增產加工小組], ‘Marketing and Distribution Unit’ [運銷分配小組], and ‘Sea Food Supply Unit’ [軍用民食供應小組]. Each of them had a convener in order to hold a regular meeting every week.

13 *The Fishing Industry in Taiwan* [臺灣漁業], Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1953, 15.

14 ‘The TFPC Came to an End Six Years and Ten Months after It was Founded [創立六年十個月後 漁增會已壽終正寢],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 10/7/1958. According to the ‘Plan of Deactivating the TFPC was Partly Approved by the Executive Yuan [漁增會裁併結束計劃 行政院已部份同意],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 5/6/1958, the business of the TFPC was returned to the Department of Agriculture and Forestry of the Ministry of Economic Affairs after it was dissolved.
The Revival of the Fishing Industry of Post-war Taiwan
cater to the advent of the TFPC, was soon reorganised as the Fisheries
Administration Agency (FAA [漁業管理處]). In Taiwan, forty ‘fisheries instructors’ [漁業指導員] were attached to the Agency to supervise fisheries institutes or fishers groups.15
As a provincial fisheries authority, the FAA also had its own plan for the future development of Taiwan’s fisheries. It hoped to organise the development of longline fleets in Kaohsiung to exploit the marine resources of the Pacific Ocean, and build trawler fleets in Keelung to exploit the demersal species of the East China Sea.16
The FAA had the crucial task of administering US Aid. The application and utilisation of US Aid required permission from various relevant agencies that were located in Taiwan or the United States. At the initial stage, the FAA had to make applications to the ‘Council for US Aid’ [美援會] or the ‘Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction’ (JCRR [農復會]). Subsequently, all application documents were transferred to the ‘US Mutual Security Agency Mission to China’ [安金分署], which was later called the ‘Agency for International Development’ (AID [國際開發總署] after 1961) for a final examination and approval.17
There was one unwritten rule regarding the utilisation of US Aid. If the US Aid was a grant, usually the FAA could use it in a discretionary manner for its own purposes. However, if it was a loan, the FAA would have to re-lend the money to fishing companies or individual fishers. Consequently, from the perspective of the US Mutual Security Agency, the FAA was considered a principal borrower of US Aid. Hence, the FAA would naturally have to repay the loans. However, from the perspective of the fishing companies or individual fishers, the FAA was actually

15 The Fishing Industries in Taiwan, 14-15, and The Bright Future of Taiwan’s Fisheries [前途遠大的臺灣漁業], Taipei, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1955, 42. The FAA consisted of four units: Fisheries Management Unit [漁政組], Fishing Industry Unit [水産組], Construction Unit [工務組], and General Services Unit [總務組].
16 Studies in the Establishment of China’s Fisheries, 336. However, things did not work out that way. It has been proven that plenty of trawlers, especially pair-trawlers, chose to use Kaohsiung as their supply base and exploit the marine resources in Southeast Asia. This will be discussed in later chapters.
17 Lin Siang, ‘US Aid and the Fishing Industry [美援與漁業],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 10, 1962, 7. ‘US Mutual Agency Mission’ changed to ‘Agency for International Development’ (AID [國際開發總署]) in 1961. According to The Bluebook on US Aid and Achievements of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry [臺灣漁業運用美援成果檢討], Taipei, Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development, 1966, 10, before 1959, the Council for US Aid was in charge of receiving the applications from the FAA. After 1960, this job was handed directly to the ‘Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction’. Most of the US Aid which the former dealt with was loans, and the latter grants.
playing a creditor’s role. As a key intermediary and distributor of US Aid, the FAA would have to ascertain that the fishing companies and fishers were capable of repaying the loans. Thus, the FAA had to examine the financial standing of all the post-war fishing companies carefully—a task which required a considerable amount of labour. Moreover, to demand repayment of the loans from the borrowers became a difficult and exhausting job for the FAA.18

The administrative situation improved after the FAA cooperated with certain banks. It was decided in 1956 that the FAA would still be in charge of the task of examining the financial standing of fishing companies, but some of its major fiscal responsibilities, such as the provision and collection of loans was now consigned to the ‘Land Bank of Taiwan’ [臺灣土地銀行] and the ‘Cooperative Bank’ [合作金庫]. With the assistance of these two banks, a large part of the FAA’s administrative burden was eliminated so that it could concentrate effectively on the direct application of US Aid and the implementation of fisheries policies. However, to a certain extent, the FAA still played a role in bridging the gap between linked financial assistance from the international community and the fishers and fishing companies in Taiwan.19

Table 2.03: The application procedures of US aid for fisheries

|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|


Table 2.04: The distribution of US aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. US Mutual Security Agency/AID</th>
<th>2. The Bank of Taiwan</th>
<th>3. FAA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. The Land Bank of Taiwan</td>
<td>5. Individual fishers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cooperative Bank</td>
<td>Fishing companies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

19 Ibid. The task of providing and collecting loans was handed to the Land Bank of Taiwan and the Cooperative Bank. Therefore, the FAA did not need to worry about the problem of bad debts. Besides, these two banks were also civilian enterprises.
As mentioned earlier, the FAA (and its predecessor, the Fishing Industry Division) was supervised by the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau (AFB [農林廳]), which was one of the subordinate bureaus of the Provincial Government. However, in 1958, the FAA was separated from the AFB and directly administered by the Taiwan Provincial Government after the TFPC of the Central Government was dissolved.20 Judging from this administrative change, it seems reasonable to conclude that the purpose of upgrading the FAA was largely to compensate for abolishing the TFPC. Consequently, after 1958, affairs regarding the future fisheries development of Taiwan were now largely consigned from the Central Government to the Provincial Government.21 Then, in 1965, the FAA went a step further and was transformed into the Fisheries Bureau (FB [漁業局]).22

In addition to the government departments mentioned above, there were two other fisheries-related agencies which played very significant roles in the post-war development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. They were the ‘Council of US Aid’ [美援運用委員會] and ‘the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction’ (JCRR [農復會: 中國農村復興聯合委員會]). The former was set up by the governments of the ROC and the United States of America in July 1947 in Nanjing [南京], the old capital of the Republic of China. The Council’s main task was handling the application and utilisation of US Aid. It must be emphasised here that the Council of US Aid helped other post-war economic sectors of Taiwan to grow, and the fisheries sector was just one of them. Also, the Council did not get involved in policy-making for the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry.23

The JCRR was set up in October 1948, also in Nanjing, by the Government of the ROC and the United States. The main task of the JCRR was to reconstruct

20 ‘FAA is Expected to be Fully Independent in July This Year [漁管處改制獨立機構 可望在本年七月開始],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 15/5/1958.

21 This measure had a detrimental impact on the management of the state-run fishing companies. As a fisheries authority of Taiwan Province, the FAA had no right to oversee the state-run fishing companies that belonged to the Central Government. I will discuss this problem in later chapters.

22 The Development of the Fishing Industry [漁業發展], Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1971, 3, and A Study on the Fishing Industry of Taiwan [臺灣漁業之研究], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1974, 8.

rural areas of China with financial and technical assistance from the US. JCRR was organised in the form of an international committee whose members were appointed by the Congress of the US and the Government of the ROC. In addition to committee members, numerous agricultural experts were also attached to the JCRR. Each of them was meant to be an outstanding expert in his/her field. However, the JCRR made few effective contributions towards the reconstruction of rural areas in China. Following the successive setbacks and defeat of the ROC Government, the JCRR was relocated from Nanjing to Guangzhou [廣州], and finally to Taipei in August 1949, where it brought its role and responsibilities into full play on Taiwan. The fisheries expert who was attached to the JCRR was Chen Tongbai [陳同白]. In the very early phase of the JCRR’s presence, none of the reconstruction plans were concerned with the development of fisheries. However, due to Chen’s advice, the JCRR embarked on a number of small fisheries-related projects, such as the breeding of fry and the improvement of fisheries facilities. Gradually the JCRR changed its original intention and began to attach greater importance to the development of the large-scale fishing industry, and, after 1951, as mentioned previously, it became heavily involved in the administration of US Aid for the building of offshore fishing vessels.

In 1959, the US Mutual Security Agency consigned its affairs concerning US Aid to the JCRR. This measure made the JCRR the most important institution when considering applications for US Aid in the development of distant water fisheries. In addition to distant water fisheries, offshore, coastal fisheries and aquaculture had also greatly advanced in the years after the JCRR was established. In order to foster their growth, a “Fisheries Production Unit” was established under the auspices of the JCRR. The JCRR possessed several advantages due to its unique

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25 Documentary Collection on the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction vol. 1 : Government Developments, 3-4; and Collection of Documents on JCRR, 130.


27 Ibid., and Huang Jyunjie, The Reminiscences of the Staff Members of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction: Oral History Series no. 33 [中國農村復興聯合委員會口述歷史訪問記錄], Taipei, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1992, 111-112. The JCRR was a sort of government ancillary organisation. Most of JCRR’s subordinate units corresponded to the relevant government units. Using JCRR itself as an example, the counterpart of JCRR was the Agriculture and
administrative structure and characteristics. Firstly, it was a semi-official organisation. Thus, it could dispense with bureaucratic formalities and red tape and launch its policies efficiently. Secondly, committee members were appointed by the US Congress and the President of the ROC. This selection process made it a highly respected and influential body when it negotiated with any government department.

**Table 2.05**: The fisheries authorities and fisheries-related institutes, 1945-1965

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Fishing Industry Division</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry</td>
<td>Dept. of Agriculture and Forestry</td>
<td>JCRR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>TFPC</td>
<td>Fisheries Administration Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>TFPC dissolved</td>
<td>Fisheries Administration Agency</td>
<td>Upgraded *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fisheries Bureau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The TFPC was dissolved in 1958 and, at the same time, the Fisheries Administration Agency was upgraded. We can see the development and implementation of power and dominance between the various fisheries authorities in this table.

**Table 2.06**: The fisheries authorities of the Central Government and those of Taiwan Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Government</th>
<th>→ The Ministry of Economic Affairs</th>
<th>→ TFPC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Government</td>
<td>→ Agriculture and Forestry Bureau</td>
<td>→ Fisheries Administration Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>→ Fisheries Administration Agency (1958 -)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many fisheries authorities and fisheries-related organisations amalgamated and constantly reformed in post-war Taiwan due to the relocation of the Central Government in 1949, which raises the question of whether this emergent bureaucratic apparatus was sound, and whether the various agencies would encounter conflicts while operating.

Interestingly, administrative conflicts between fisheries authorities did not happen in post-war Taiwan. The position of the Fisheries Industry Division of the Taiwan Provincial Government, as the highest fisheries authority in the first four Forestry Bureau (AFB) of the Provincial Government, and the counterpart of the Fisheries Production Unit was the Fisheries Administration Agency (FAA).
years of the post-war era, was superseded by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry shortly after the Central Government was relocated to Taiwan in 1949. However, as mentioned previously, the main concerns of this department were the development of agriculture and forestry, and the offshore fishery was not considered of great importance. Hence, the agency was inadequate to deal with the proper development of the fisheries affairs of Taiwan. Obviously, the Central Government did not intend to fashion the Department of Agriculture and Forestry into a substantial fisheries authority. This was primarily because the Government still regarded itself as a mainland state, and did not want to dramatically alter its bureaucratic apparatus to suit an island nation like Taiwan. It was also partly due to the fact that the Government did not want to spend additional funding on establishing a bona fide fisheries government unit.

As a means of compensating for apparent weaknesses in fisheries management, the TFPC was set up under the Ministry of Economic Affairs. All the committee members were appointed from government or non-government institutes that were currently concerned with the development of Taiwan’s offshore fishing industry. As such, staffing expenses were kept to a minimum. At the same time, the Ministry of Economic Affairs played the role of a de facto fisheries authority of the Central Government. This state of affairs can be demonstrated by the following facts. First, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Jheng Daoru [鄭道儒], served in the key position of the ‘chief of the committee’ [主任委員] of the TFPC. Second, once the TFPC was established, the Department of Agriculture and Forestry appeared to have stopped being involved in fisheries affairs. Third, the emerging position of the TFPC as the leading fisheries authority can also be illustrated by the birth of the FAA. Soon after the TFPC was set up, the old Fishing Industry Division of the Provincial Government, under the direction of the TFPC, was reorganised as the Fisheries

28 The bureaucratic apparatus of Kuomintang Regime never suited the actual situation in Taiwan, because the Kuomintang could not accept that fact that they had lost China and moved to Taiwan. They ruled Taiwan as if they still controlled China.

29 The Biographies of Those Who Engaged in the Early Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 43, 46. As Jheng thought highly of the importance of the fishing industries, he always carried a small notebook full of statistical material concerning the development of the fishing industries and the maps of the expansion of fishing grounds. Jheng served as the head of the TFPC, ‘Projecting & Reviewing Unit’ [計劃檢討小組], ‘A brain of the fishing industry of Taiwan,’ which was set up under the TFPC. Its main task was to outline the direction of the development of the fishing industry. Any project pertaining to fisheries production in Taiwan would have to be considered or drafted by this unit.
Administration Agency (FAA). The main motive of establishing the FAA was to implement the fisheries development programmes planned by the TFPC.\(^{30}\)

In 1958, the Central Government merged some of its government departments. Although the TFPC had played a crucial role in policy-making for the development of the fishing industry, it was now officially dissolved. However, the reorganisation of the bureaucratic apparatus did not create a vacuum in fisheries management in Taiwan. The FAA of the Provincial Government was upgraded immediately after the TFPC was dissolved, and the fisheries affairs that the TFPC dealt with were now consigned to the FAA.\(^{31}\)

The JCRR was set up by the Governments of Taiwan and the United States, and operated as a bridge or clearing house for technical and financial interactions between the two countries. Though it was very influential due to the crucial role it played in the administration of US Aid, the JCRR did not interfere in the policy-making procedures of Taiwan’s fishing industry. Thus, at best it could only be considered as a valuable ally and advisor. Under the auspices of this complex bureaucratic structure of various central and provincial fisheries authorities, the fisheries management of Taiwan was still able to progress and operate well. Although several major fisheries policies and development plans were proposed by these authorities at different points in time, the direction of each of these plans was basically the same.

**The fisheries policies and fisheries construction plans**

The exceptional achievement of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan is partly ascribed to the fisheries policies of the Government.\(^{32}\) Numerous fisheries policies and development plans were proposed in the post-war era. Taiwan’s fishing industry went through seven years of ‘the Urgent Reconstruction Period’ (漁業重建期, 1945-1952) following the calamity of World War Two. Several reconstruction measures were urgently considered and fisheries policies were rapidly proposed in this initial


\(^{31}\) *A Study on the Fishing Industry of Taiwan*, 8.

\(^{32}\) One thing to note here is that existing material and published books on fisheries policies are not widely available. Thus, in this section, I will use other original material like fisheries regulations, fisheries policy documents and construction plans issued or implemented by the Government in my analysis of the internal factors that stimulated the revival of Taiwan’s fishing industry.
The first policy recommendation developed was ‘the motorisation of fishing vessels and the industrialisation of fisheries’ [漁業工業化 魚船動力化]. It would be implemented by providing loans to fishers. However, providing loans to fishers for motorising fishing vessels did not mean that they were encouraged to exploit all types of fisheries. In fact, due to a shortage of distant water personnel as well as financial shortcomings, civilians were permitted to run only aquaculture enterprises, coastal and offshore fisheries. Distant water fisheries were monopolised by the Government through state-run fishing companies. In 1946, a slogan, ‘Revive Oceanic Fisheries’ [復興海洋漁業], was proposed by the fisheries authorities, and four major approaches were taken to fulfil this task: to repair and build fishing vessels to revive fisheries production; to establish an effective system for fisheries management; to supply modern fishing gear and equipment to the fishing industry; and to train fishers and fisheries-related technicians. These four approaches, although obviously basic, were certainly the right remedial steps necessary to rebuild Taiwan’s fishing industry.

In order to further accelerate fisheries development, the official monopoly on distant water fisheries was reconsidered. In July 1947, the Government decided to remove its own monopoly ban on the running of distant water fisheries. The ‘Regulations concerning the Distant Water Fisheries of Taiwan Province’ [臺灣省遠洋漁業管理辦法] was issued as a means of development and management. This not only provided a legal basis for the establishment of the civilian companies that were engaged in distant water fisheries, it also paved the way for the entry of fishing

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33 Huang Sianchih, ‘The Past, Present, and Future of Taiwan’s Fisheries [臺灣漁業的過去現在與未來],’ unpublished government material, 1. Huang Sianchi, the former director of FAA, divided the development of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan into five periods.

34 A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan [臺灣漁業簡介], Nantou, Fisheries Bureau, 1972, 16.


36 The policy to ‘revive oceanic fisheries’ corresponded with the ‘emergency measures’ urgently applied to reconstruct the fishing industries which have been mentioned in Section One. As has been noted, Kaiyang Shipbuilding Company [開洋造船廠] was charged with the task of salvaging and repairing sunken vessels in Tainan and Kaohsiung. Further training programmes for fishers were held by the provincial and county governments in slack seasons. Fishers operating medium-sized and large vessels were trained by the Provincial Government in Keelung and Kaohsiung respectively.

vessels which fled from China in 1949. Viewed in this light, the advent of these early regulations can be considered an important milestone in the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry.

The increase of vessel tonnage was one of the main concerns of fisheries policies in post-war Taiwan, and it was rigorously implemented through fisheries regulations issued by the fisheries authorities. The ‘Regulations concerning Single-Trawlers and Pair-Trawlers of Taiwan’ of August 1948 imposed minimum limitations on the tonnage of fishing vessels, and set up ‘fishing exclusion areas’ for environmental protection. The minimum tonnage of single-trawlers, under the regulations, was 200 tons, and each of the pair-trawlers had to be between 40 to 130 tons. Consequently, those that failed to satisfy this requirement would not be permitted to work in the trawl fisheries. Further, the constraints exercised over fishing grounds, to some degree, also demonstrated the effective administrative power that the new government exercised over Taiwan’s fishing industry.

The constant victories of the Chinese communists drove fishing vessels away from the coastal provinces of China, forcing them to relocate to Taiwan. By May 1950, in addition to the state-run fishing companies, eleven civilian fishing companies, including 16 single-trawlers and 56 pair-trawlers had already relocated to Taiwan. The total number of trawlers at this stage was still half the colonial aggregate and most of them used Kaohsiung and Keelung as home ports and supply bases, operating in the East China Sea, the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea. However, the extent of the above fishing grounds shrank dramatically after the troops of the ROC withdrew from the Zhoushan Archipelago in 1950. The loss of this traditional fishing ground forced vessels to operate in the coastal areas of Taiwan and subsequently resulted in over-fishing of the Taiwan Strait. In order to conserve the local marine ecosystem, fishing companies were required to upgrade their vessels for operation in more distant fishing grounds. The ‘Regulations concerning the Importation of Motorized Fishing Vessels of Taiwan’ was issued at the beginning of 1951. The significance of these regulations

can be understood from several angles. First, fishing companies were once again encouraged to increase vessel tonnage. Let us take pair-trawler as an example. Previously, the tonnage of a pair-trawler had to be at least 40 GRT. But after the implementation of the new regulations, the tonnage of pair-trawlers relocated to Taiwan had to be at least 80 GRT. Second, the implementation of these regulations effectively modernised the equipment of fishing vessels. All imported vessels were required to be equipped with a wireless set and refrigerating equipment, which not only enabled ice to preserve the catch for a longer period of time, but also enabled the vessels to cruise longer distances and operate in more remote fishing grounds. Third, the regulations provided a legal basis for the introduction of foreign fishers and fishing techniques. During the colonial period, most of the new techniques were introduced from Japan, but Taiwan’s separation from Japan in 1945 severed this technology transfer link formally. The timely implementation of these regulations removed that obstacle. New fishing techniques could be introduced; foreign fishers or fishing technicians could now be hired on Taiwanese-owned vessels but only if their numbers did not exceed one third of the total crew of the vessel. The measure had reopened the door for the regular introduction of foreign fishing techniques.40

In the early impoverished post-war years the food production plans of the Government always had the primary motive of meeting rising demand. The ‘Draft Plans concerning Fisheries Production’ [水産事業増産計劃草案] proposed in 1951 by the Ministry of Economic Affairs was an important case in point.41 It was estimated that the island of Taiwan had a population of eight million. Assuming that each of the inhabitants consumed 52 grams of meat per day, then 152,000,000 kilograms of meat was required to meet the annual demand of this growing island nation. However, the meat provided from livestock was only 49,663,604 kilograms per year, while the catch of the fishing industry comprised 88,770,038 kilograms per year. There was an obvious shortfall of 13,561,358 kilograms. The Government intended to make up for this shortage of food through increased fisheries production.42 Apart from meeting

41 Ibid., 303.
42 Ibid., 306-307. As a matter of fact, the estimate of the Ministry of Economic Affairs was far from accurate. First, the notion that each of the inhabitants needed 52-grams of meat per day was based on the Japanese standard. It assumed that people in Taiwan needed the same amount of animal protein as did the Japanese, which may not have been the case as meat was relatively more important in the Taiwanese diet. Second, the statistics regarding the output of livestock was quoted from the yearbook
the increased food demand of post-war Taiwan, to break the colonial record for annual fishing production seemed to be another important goal. The supply and production of fish products on Taiwan had reached its peak in 1940. However, the output of the offshore fisheries in 1950 was only 74 per cent of the output in 1940; the distant water sector was an even more miserable 21 per cent. The poor national performance of the fishing industry placed a strain on the fisheries officials of post-war Taiwan. Reviving the post-war fishing industry of Taiwan and breaking the supply side record of the colonial period became a top priority of the draft plan.43

The aims and approaches which it would employ are categorised in several areas: to strengthen fisheries education and research; to improve the management of the state-run fishing company; to encourage the running of civilian fishing companies and fisheries-related enterprises, such as aquaculture, fish processing and ice-manufacturing industries; and to improve the marketing channels of marine products.44

The pattern of the development of fishing companies experienced two major changes in the early post-war years. First, the Government became directly involved in the fishing industry and state-run fishing companies were established for the first time in post-war Taiwan. Second, fishing enterprises that had been owned by tycoons in the colonial era disappeared. Instead, numerous small-scale civilian fishing companies were set up. In view of this new situation, a fundamental practical idea pertaining to the management of fishing companies was proposed in this plan. Namely, state-run companies should be well-run, influential, and, most importantly, be able to play leading roles in the development of the fishing industry at all levels. Thus, the number of state-run companies would be limited in order to guarantee that each of them would obtain appropriate subsidies to fulfil this task.45 In contrast with

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44 Ibid. This plan was so comprehensive that it also included aquaculture and coastal fisheries. However, I wish to focus here on their contributions towards the development of offshore and distant water fisheries.
45 Ibid., 310-312. There were two state-run fishing companies. One was the Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials [經濟部臺灣漁業善後物資管理處] and the other one was the Taiwan Fishing Company [臺灣省水產有限公司]. The former was renamed the Fishing Company of China [中國
the strict management of state-run companies, civilian fishing companies could be as numerous as possible, for it was believed that competition among them would stimulate the improvement of fishing techniques and prevent monopoly and collusion in the fishing industry. Under the encouraging eye of the Government, the number of civilian fishing companies increased from the 1950s onward, but the number of state-run companies never exceeded more than two at any one time.

The southward expansion of Taiwan’s fishing industry had been pioneered by the Japanese fisheries authorities in the colonial era, and this developmental thrust had been reaffirmed by the post-war government, although the scope of their geographical considerations was different. The continental shelf between 24 and 30 degrees North latitude near China was traditionally viewed as the ‘northern fishing ground’ [北方漁場] by the Taiwanese fishers. However, partly because of the blockading of fishing grounds by the Chinese communists and partly because of harassment by the Kuomintang’s guerrillas, the northern grounds shrunk rapidly after 1949, forcing vessels to fish within the confines of the smaller grounds near Taiwan. After July 1950, in an effort to protect the local offshore marine ecosystem, the number of pair-trawlers was limited by the Government to 44 units, thus hampering the growth of trawl fishing. But, as the trawl fishing industry of Taiwan was being constrained, Japan’s fishing industry gradually revived; some Japanese fishers now illegally ‘returned’ and fished in the waters off Taiwan. The northern fishing grounds were clearly off limits, but the fishing grounds that Taiwan claimed closer to home would now have to be shared with Japanese fishing vessels. Thus the measure failed to completely curtail such fishing activities.

47 Ibid., 312-313. Kuomintang guerrillas sometimes extorted money and catch from fishers, and sometimes opened fire on fishing vessels that were operating in the northern fishing ground off Taiwan, which not only scared fishers, but also affected the production of the fishing industry at that time.
48 Ibid., 311. The number of Japanese fishing vessels that operated in the Yellow Sea and the East China Sea was more than 900 in the early post-war years. Some of them ‘returned’ to the waters off Taiwan. However, at the same time, the number of Taiwanese pair-trawlers was strictly limited to 72. The FAA was afraid that the fishing grounds off Taiwan might be ‘occupied’ by the Japanese fishers if the present fisheries policies were not amended.
Not surprisingly, an important amendment was proposed in the draft plan as a solution to the increased competition. The restriction on the number of vessels would be removed, and fishing companies would be encouraged to build new vessels.\(^49\) Furthermore, naval forces would be deployed for security so Taiwanese fishers would not need to make any concessions when encountering the possible threat of pirates, communists or illegal competition from Japanese vessels. In contrast with the problems now associated with the northern fishing grounds, the fishing grounds in the South China Sea and Southeast Asia in areas like the Gulf of Tonkin and the seas off Hong Kong seemed attractive. According to the new plans, Kaohsiung would be established as an important supply port and base for pair-trawlers that worked in the southern waters. Besides existing vessels, the additional construction of 31 units of pair-trawlers had been planned, and it was estimated that the annual output of the pair trawl fishery would reach as much as 28,000 tons.\(^50\) Regarding the longline fishery, the waters between latitudes 20 degrees North and 20 degrees South in Southeast Asia were considered ideal fishing grounds for longliners. Longliners from Kaohsiung had been operating in the Bashi Strait, along the east and west coasts of the Philippines and the Sulu Sea, as well as the Celebes Basin since the colonial period. This earlier history of fishing in southern waters inspired the Government to re-exploit these distant grounds.\(^51\) Fishing companies were encouraged to engage in longline fishing at Kaohsiung,\(^52\) and a huge amount of capital was allocated for the reconstruction of the Kaohsiung Fishing Port, which made the facilities and position of the Port unparalleled in comparison to its counterpart in Keelung.\(^53\) Furthermore, from the mid-1950s onward, numerous trawl fishing companies had also relocated to Kaohsiung for the exploitation of marine resources in Southeast Asia.\(^54\)

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\(^49\) *Studies in the Establishment of Chinese Fisheries*, 308.
\(^50\) Ibid., 313.
\(^51\) Ibid. However, the situation in the South was no longer simple in the post-war years. The Philippines had become an independent country and foreign fishing vessels were no longer permitted to operate in her waters. The longliners from Kaohsiung were often detained and fined; even when they just wanted to shelter from typhoons or to seek port due to engine malfunctions.
\(^53\) See Chapter 3, Kaohsiung Fishing Port and its Fishing Ancillary Industries.
In the process of the seven-year Urgent Reconstruction Period, Taiwan’s fisheries gradually recovered from the devastation of World War Two. In 1952, the output of the fishing industry finally exceeded the catch record set in the colonial era. In 1953, Taiwan’s fisheries now bid farewell to the Urgent Reconstruction Period and entered another seven year period referred to as the ‘Steady Recovery Period’ (漁業恢復期, 1953 - 1960). In this era the overall development of the fishing industry was, for the first time, integrated into four ‘4-Year Economic Construction Plans’ (1953-1968, 四個四年經建計劃). With steady financial assistance from the Government, the structure and future direction of Taiwan’s fishing industry changed drastically. Offshore fisheries expanded and matured, which laid a solid foundation for the birth of global-scale fisheries in the future.  

As early as 1951, Claude M. Adams, a fisheries expert from the ‘US Mutual Security Agency Mission to China’ (安全分署), had suggested that the future of Taiwan’s fishing industry depended on distant water fisheries. He estimated that the production of coastal fisheries was unlikely to increase. However, the distant water fisheries would possibly grow by up to 40 per cent if Japanese equipment for fishing vessels could be imported and their technicians employed in Taiwan. His suggestions drew attention from fisheries officials who adopted Adams’ advice and put more effort and funding into the development of distant water fisheries. As a public gesture of their newfound determination, the year 1953 was commemorated as the ‘Year of the Fisheries’ (漁業年).  

It was in the ‘Year of the Fisheries’ that the Government first launched its four ‘4-Year Economic Reconstruction Plans’. The primary motive of these four ‘4-Year Plans’ was to pursue the comprehensive development of the national economy. Various economic sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, mining and transportation were included, but the fishing industry was only considered to be part of the agriculture sector. However, implementation of the four ‘4-Year Plans’ still certainly did benefit the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. Large amounts of

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55 ‘The Past, Present, and Future of Taiwan’s Fisheries,’ 1.
56 Studies in the Establishment of Chinese Fisheries, 347-48. Adams used the fisheries production of 1951 as an example. From January to October, the output of distant water fisheries increased by 23.3%, but the output of the rest of the sectors increased by only 11.3%. He believed that the best way to develop the fishing industries of Taiwan was to focus on the distant water sector, and importing fishing vessels and equipment was a short cut.
US Aid were poured into the industry, and the private sector was encouraged to build larger vessels and increase the average tonnage. In 1958, a more specific plan, the ‘Concentrative Utilisation of Capital for the Exploitation of Marine Resources’ (to channel financial resources towards the exploitation of marine resources) was devised by the Government. New fishing techniques would be introduced and fisheries-related infrastructure would be upgraded. The Government would utilise various financial resources to upgrade fish markets, ice-manufacturing plants and fishing ports. The fisheries authorities also expected that with the encouragement of the government’s financial assistance, more and more civilian investors would turn to the fishing industry. In addition, more overseas supply bases for distant water longline fishing would also be established.

By 1961, the middle period of 16 years of fisheries reform and construction, Taiwan’s fishing industry had crossed the threshold of what is called the ‘Rapid Expansion Period’ (漁業擴張期, 1961-1973). US Aid, government subsidies, and capital from the World Bank all supported intensified efforts for the expansion of Taiwan’s fishing industry. As a consequence, by 1968, the final year of the 16-year period of fisheries construction, the aggregate tonnage of the distant water pair-trawlers and single-trawlers had reached 55,249 tons and that of the longliners 85,300 tons. Furthermore, 53 overseas supply bases for Taiwanese fleets had been established in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans, as well as the Mediterranean Sea. In addition to the rapid building of modern vessels and supply bases, the exploration of new fishing grounds was considered another very significant accomplishment. Comprehensive research on tuna resources, trawl fishing grounds off Vietnam and the north coast of Borneo, as well as the coral and purse seine fishing grounds in the South China Sea had been done during the implementation of the

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57 Huang Sianchih, ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries,’ Conference Paper, The Joint Annual Meeting of ROC Agricultural Groups, Taiwan, 1984, 2. In 1953, the number of motorised fishing vessels was 2,084. Except for existing large-sized longliners and trawlers, most of them were less than 50 tons. Thus, to increase vessel tonnage was the main theme of fisheries construction in the early stage of the four ‘4-Year Plans’. In 1958, ‘Concentrative Utilisation of Capital for the Exploitation of Marine Resources’ was devised by the Government. Fisheries officials believed that the rise of the distant water fisheries could be a timely solution to unemployment on land. Fisheries authorities decided to marshal all available financial resources, such as US Aid, subsidies from the Provincial Government, loans from banks and the fishers’ own capital to build large, modern fishing vessels.

58 Ibid.
the four 4-Year plans. The squid fishing grounds in the Bashi Strait and the investigation of demersal marine resources off the northern coast of Australia were also well under way. Most of the fishing grounds mentioned above are located in Southeast Asia, which reveals that the Taiwanese Government had placed great importance on the early exploration of the fisheries of Southeast Asia, although Taiwanese fishers were now fishing in every corner of the world.59

Taiwan’s fishing industry prospered after the implementation of the four 4-Year Plans. However, the industry still could not compare with those of the Western fishing powers. Thus, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the FB (FAA before it was upgraded in 1965) decided to implement a new ‘5-Year Programme for the Acceleration of Taiwan Fisheries Development’ (1968-1972, [加速發展臺灣漁業五年計劃]) in 1968, the very same year that the series of four 4-Year Plans came to the end. Unlike the overall economic comprehensiveness of the 4-Year Plans, the ‘5-Year Programme’ was especially directed at the further development of the fishing industry.60 Due to this new programme, loans from the Asia Development Bank were allocated to fishing companies for the building of new vessels. Consequently, the fishing grounds of the Taiwanese fishers were extended continuously across the region and beyond. Those who had been fishing in the Bashi Strait now also began to operate in the Banda Sea, and those who had been fishing in the Celebes Sea now took their operations a step further into the Indian Ocean, or the South Pacific Ocean.61

But the constant expansion of the Taiwanese fisheries ran up against an unexpected challenge in 1973. The energy crisis that resulted from political

59 The Development of the Fishing Industry, 40-44. Important achievements of four ‘4-Year Plans’ were also recorded in some official booklets. The most important of these publications is The Development of the Fishing Industry.

The achievement of 4-Year Plans concerning distant water fisheries: 1. building of modern fishing vessels. 2. establishing overseas supply bases. 3. exploiting new fishing grounds. 4. increasing marketing channels. 5. supervising and education of distant water fishers.

The achievement of 4-Year Plans concerning offshore fisheries: 1. building of modern fishing vessels. 2. popularising the use of modern fishing equipment. 3. Popularizing the offshore squid fishery. 4. Popularising the offshore bonito fishery [鰹竿釣漁業].

60 Ibid., 11-12, and Taiwan Fisheries, Nantou, Fisheries Bureau, 1971, 17-18. The title ‘The 5-Year Programme for the Acceleration of Taiwan Fisheries Development’ is used in Taiwan Fisheries, an official booklet.

61 ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries,’ 2. The Taiwanese fishing grounds continuously expanded in Southeast Asia, even while the distant water fishing vessels of Taiwan were operating all over the world since the 1960s.
instability in the Middle East drove up fuel prices worldwide, and seriously threatened the operating costs of fishing companies in Taiwan. Troubles for the trawler companies multiplied in this period. From the late 1970s onward, some coastal nations proclaimed a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which would have a fatal impact on Taiwan’s fishing industry, especially trawl fishing. A series of major setbacks led Taiwan’s fishing industry into an Adjustment Period [漁業調整期] from 1974 to 1987. The fisheries authorities of Taiwan were forced to seriously reconsider the developmental direction for the future. Fisheries policies during this period became conservative; licensing was restrictive: licenses for small vessels were suspended and trawl fishing companies were no longer allowed to build new vessels if the tonnage did not match the Government’s requirement.62

62 ‘The Past, Present and Future of Taiwan’s Fisheries,’ 6.
Table 2.07: Important fisheries policies, fisheries regulations and development plans and programmes 1945 – 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Plans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1945-</td>
<td>The motorisation of fishing vessels; the industrialisation of fisheries漁業工業化 漁船動力化</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1946-</td>
<td>‘To revive ocean fisheries’ 「復興海洋漁業」</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 1947-</td>
<td>‘Regulations concerning Distant Water Fisheries of Taiwan Province’ 臺灣省遠洋漁業管理辦法</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 1948-</td>
<td>‘Regulations concerning Single-Trawlers and Pair-Trawlers of Taiwan’ 臺灣省輪船拖網船曳網漁業管理辦法</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 1951-</td>
<td>‘Regulations concerning the Importation of Motorised Fishing Vessels of Taiwan’ 臺灣省國外動力漁船輸入管理辦法</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 1951-</td>
<td>‘Draft Plans concerning Fisheries Production’ 水産事業增産計劃草案</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 1951-</td>
<td>Claude M. Adams’ suggestions (adopted by fisheries authorities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 1968-1973</td>
<td>The 5-Year Programme for the Acceleration of Taiwan Fisheries Development 加速發展臺灣漁業五年計劃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fisheries policies of the first three decades in post-war Taiwan can be summarised as follows. First, the primary emphasis in the fisheries development programme devised in the post-war years was the motorisation of fishing vessels and the industrialisation of fisheries. These principles were first proposed in 1945 and subsequently pursued until 1973. The installation of modern fishing equipment and the increase in vessel size were always two of the key requirements to meet for companies to import or build new fishing vessels.

Second, the fisheries policies of the early post-war years also encouraged the southward expansion and exploitation of fishing grounds. Compared with possible military harassment in the northern fishing grounds, the waters off Southeast Asia seemed relatively safe. Even before the ‘Draft Plan concerning Fisheries Production’
was proposed in 1951, fisheries authorities were already considering using Kaohsiung as a base for trawl fishing in Southeast Asia. It was also believed that the marine resources in the waters stretching from the coast of Hong Kong to the Gulf of Tonkin were rich enough to compensate for the loss of the northern fishing grounds. In addition, longline mother-ships, which the Government planned to popularise, would also use Kaohsiung as their supply base. Although the mother-ship operational pattern did not subsequently become widespread in Taiwan’s fishing industry, the effort that was put into the planning still indirectly led to the development of aspects of the industry in Kaohsiung. While the four 4-year plans were implemented, numerous overseas supply bases for Taiwanese fishing vessels had been set up in every ocean theatre by the fisheries authorities. However, the fishing grounds in Southeast Asia had never been given up. Let us briefly look at the activities of the fisheries research institute of Taiwan as an example of this southward expansion. Taiwan’s fisheries experimental vessel, Haicing Hao, had frequently been sent to the South China Sea for the investigation of demersal resources in 1954, 1960, 1961 and 1962. The fishing grounds she investigated were gradually extended to the waters off Vietnam, Borneo, Malaysia and the gulf of Thailand. From 1960 onwards, the Government started to encourage Taiwanese trawlers to operate in these waters. After 1971, the fisheries research institute took a further step south and sent experimental vessels to explore the marine resources in the waters off northern Australia. From 1956 onwards, Haicing Hao had also been tasked with the investigation of tuna longline resources in the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific Ocean. During the process of such investigation, abundant tuna resources were discovered in the Banda Sea, in the waters off Sumatra and northwestern Australia.

Third, the fisheries policies of post-war Taiwan did not really deviate dramatically from the earlier measures of the Japanese colonial authorities. The pre-war increase of vessel tonnage and the modernisation of fishing equipment were always considered important priorities, and the exploitation of Southeast Asia’s marine resources was always reckoned as a top priority, although the motives behind

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64 *The Development of the Fishing Industry*, 104-105. The mother-ship operational pattern was replaced by overseas supply bases, so their use did not become widespread in Taiwan’s fishing industry.
the policies were totally different. To the Japanese authorities, large fishing vessels and modern equipment were of great help to their naval forces in extending their military control. Economic dominance of the southern fishing grounds also clearly advantaged the Japanese empire’s colonial expansion into Southeast Asia. By contrast, the post-war government wanted to modernise the fishing fleets simply out of necessity, for the purpose of meeting domestic food needs and accelerating overall economic growth. The re-exploitation of Southeast Asia’s marine resources was also about attempting to avoid possible problems generated from military conflicts with China and over-fishing in northern fishing grounds.

Fourth, the fisheries policies of the early post-war years opened the door for the intervention of the Navy in fisheries-related issues. In those years, the main motive of developing the fisheries industry was to meet the increased demand for food from both the military and the populace [軍用民食], so the military played an important role as a key consumer as soon as the fisheries reconstruction programme of Taiwan commenced. The military, especially the Navy, also played the role of protector or guardian, escorting fishing vessels on the northern fishing grounds and driving away foreign vessels. The intervention of the military in early post-war fisheries-related issues can easily be discerned from the committee members of the TFPC; one fifth were representatives of the military. One member was always delegated from the Ministry of National Defence [國防部], while another was dispatched from the United States military consultation group [美軍顧問團].

**Assistance from the international community**

In addition to guidance from the post-war government, the financial and technical assistance from the international community made a significant contribution towards the reconstruction and development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA [聯合國善後救濟總署]) offered assistance in the form of materials and equipment [救濟物資] to China after the end of

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65 The main motive for developing the fishing industries was to meet the post-war food demand of the military and the populace [軍用民食]. However, military demands always came before the populace as demonstrated in fisheries magazines, booklets, and newspapers of that time.

66 The intervention of the military in fisheries management had a profound influence on trawl and longline fishing. See Chapter 4.
The Revival of the Fishing Industry of Post-war Taiwan

World War Two. In August 1948, a special meeting was convened by the ‘Rebuilding Committee’ [善後事業委員會] in Shanghai to discuss the allocation of fisheries supplies. Taiwan, as a new territory of the ROC, was given eight percent of the aid. As an agency in charge of receiving supplies and equipment from mainland China, the ‘Committee of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials’ [臺灣區漁業救濟資處理委員會] was organised with committee members consisting of either representatives or fisheries experts from the ‘Fishermen’s Association of Taiwan’ [省漁會聯合會], the ‘Cooperative Bank of Taiwan’ [臺灣省合作金庫], or the ‘Provincial Assembly of Taiwan’ [省參議會], as well as relevant Taiwanese authorities.67

All the reconstruction supplies were donated in the form of materials, rather than as monetary aid. In January 1949, most of the technical supplies, except those too heavy to be transported, were successfully shipped to Taiwan. The industrial supplies and machinery were estimated to be worth a total of $US300,000, an enormous amount of money at that time. The committee decided to sell some of the material at market price, so the financial returns could be utilised for rebuilding Taiwan’s fishing industry. Forty five per cent of the returns were directly allocated to fishermen’s associations in coastal counties for building 15-ton fishing vessels, while 10 per cent was allocated for the updating of equipment on fishing vessels. In addition to the building of new fishing vessels, 5 per cent was used for fisheries experiments, 10 per cent was allotted to the fishermen’s associations as a subsidy for transportation of marine products, and 20 percent was allocated to the Fishermen’s Association of Taiwan [省漁會聯合會] for the manufacture of fishing gear. Most of the fishing gear they produced was subsequently sold at cheap prices in order to alleviate the fishers’ financial burden.68

The post-war reconstruction supplies as a form of aid helped with the rebuilding of Taiwan’s fishing industry. First, as has already been indicated, more than half of the profits from resale were used in the building and upgrading of fishing vessels—30 new boats were built by fishermen’s associations and 31 diesel engines were installed. Taiwan’s fishing industry had been revived in a vigorous manner though most of the craft were small-sized vessels. In addition, 14 new trucks were purchased by the fishermen’s associations for the island-wide conveyance of

67 The Construction of the Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan, 86.
68 Ibid., 86-88.
The employment of these vehicles, to a certain extent, helped to resuscitate the island-wide transportation system which had been devastated by the war. The provision of fishing gear at reduced prices also contributed greatly to the overall improvement of the fishers’ livelihood.69

Table 2.08: The uses of US Aid for the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry from 1951 to 1959 through the Council for US Aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Currency*</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The building of new fishing vessels</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>107,161.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>1,049.7</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The purchase of fishing gear</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>1,460.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>120.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The repair of fishing vessels and gear</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>13,016.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The upgrading of fishing ports and harbours</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>10,471.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The refrigeration facilities for fishing industry</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>19,643.0</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture constructions</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>11,133.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans to fishermen</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>4,000.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research, training and fisheries management</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>5,578.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>172,711.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>1,266.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* US Aid was offered both in American dollars and New Taiwanese dollars.

The United States then started to provide massive financial support, in the form of US Aid to Taiwan, as soon as the flow of reconstruction supplies from the UNRRA came to an end in 1951. As mentioned in section two, US Aid could be categorised into two types, grants and loans; the former was aimed at non-

69 *The Construction of the Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan*, 86-88.
commercial businesses [非營利事業], while the latter was used to develop and exploit Taiwan’s natural resources, namely in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Two fisheries-related agencies were in charge of receiving US Aid. From 1951 to 1959, both the Council for US Aid and the JCRR administered the aid. After 1960, the task was consigned to the JCRR. With such exceptional assistance and advice, Taiwan’s fishing industry was revived at an amazing pace.70

Two key sources help illustrate how US Aid contributed towards the reconstruction of Taiwan’s fishing industry. One is the Bluebook on US Aid and the Achievements of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry [臺灣漁業運用美援成果檢討], the official booklet on granting US Aid to Taiwan’s offshore fisheries; the other is the Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]. The former provides us with two tables that demonstrate how US Aid was selectively used for rebuilding Taiwan’s fishing industry. The first table (see 2.08) depicts how ‘the Council for US Aid’ used American capital to accelerate the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry.

As has been noted, the majority of US funds received during this period was used for building of new vessels; 62 per cent of US Aid given in NT dollars and 82.9 per cent of Aid given in US dollars was used for the building of new fishing vessels. From 1953 to 1958, 138 offshore fishing vessels and 46 distant water fishing vessels were built with such grants in aid.71 However, it must be stressed that in addition to funding the building of new fishing vessels, US Aid also played an important role in the overall development and construction of fisheries-related industries, such as the upgrading of fishing ports and harbours, and the establishment of refrigeration facilities on behalf of the fishing industry and fisheries management. The overall contributions of US Aid during these years for Taiwan’s fishing industry was both farsighted and comprehensive. Table 2.09 shows how the JCRR made use of US Aid in the thirteen years between 1951 and 1964.


71 *The Bluebook on US Aid and Achievements of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry*, 11.
Table 2.09: US Aid for the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry 1951-1964 Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Currency</th>
<th>Amount (unit: 1000)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The building of new fishing vessels and engines</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>108,881</td>
<td>36.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The repair of fishing vessels and fishing gear</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>26,098</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigeration facilities</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>11,010</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The upgrading of fishing ports, harbours and moles</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>63,869</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research, investigation and training</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>7,446</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan to fishermen</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>16,750</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The production of fishing nets</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>2,751</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquaculture</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>28,404</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public facilities of fishing communities</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>26,633</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>3,097</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>SNT</td>
<td>294,939</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUS</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* $NT34,675,000 was used for the construction of distant-water fishing vessels, the rest, $NT74,206,000 was used for the development of the coastal fisheries. Nearly 30 per cent of the expenditure was used to build distant water fishing vessels.

The way that the JCRR made use of US Aid is similar to the way the Council for US Aid had employed funds in the previous decade. However, under the management of the JCRR, the utilisation of US Aid in rebuilding Taiwan’s fishing industry was slightly different in certain respects, as most of the Aid programmes were small grants aimed at the development of coastal fisheries, including the purchases of small fishing boats and the building of small fishing ports. However, it is important to note that concerning the building of fishing vessels, nearly 30 per
The Revival of the Fishing Industry of Post-war Taiwan

cent of expenditure was still used to build distant water fishing vessels, even though the development of coastal fisheries was its main focus.

It can be observed from the above tables that a great deal of financial assistance from the international community, but especially the United States of America, was spent on the building of modern vessels. This distribution of funding demonstrates, as I noted in the previous section, that the increase in vessel tonnage and the modernisation of fishing techniques were consistently considered a top priority by the post-war fisheries authorities.

After examining the overall administration of US Aid in the post-war fishing and fisheries-related industries, we can now consider how US Aid was specifically used for the construction of fishing vessels. The source materials are derived from the *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇]. The temporal span, namely 1951-1960 is slightly different from the time periods covered in the previous tables and therefore the data is slightly different, too.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.10: US Aid in the construction of distant water fishing vessels, offshore fishing vessels and coastal fisheries, 1951-1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amount</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The construction of distant water fishing vessels (including the purchase of large-sized diesel engines)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The construction of offshore fishing vessels (including the purchase of diesel engines and engine accessories)****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal fisheries (The purchase of sampan engines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lin Siang, ‘US Aid in the Fishing Industry of Taiwan for Ten Years’ [十年來的美援漁業資金], *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 13, 1962, 5.

* Percentage as compared to expenditure on coastal fisheries.

** The number of fishing vessels

*** Most of the distant water fishing vessels which were built with US Aid were 100 and 150-ton longliners.

**** Most of the offshore fishing vessels which were built with US Aid were 25 and 30-ton fishing vessels.

As shown in Table 2.10, adding up the total expenditure in US and Taiwanese dollars, we find that the largest amount was spent on the distant water sector,
followed by the offshore sector. Compared to the coastal fisheries section, the expenditure on distant water fishing vessels in Taiwan dollars was 27 times higher, while in US dollars it was 25 times higher. Furthermore, the government spent 32 times more in Taiwan dollars on the construction of offshore fishing vessels than on coastal fisheries and 12 times more in US dollars. The amount of aid employed to build coastal fishing vessels seemed trivial by comparison. The above data also support the fact that the Government had concentrated most of its financial resources and energy on the building of sizable distant water and offshore fishing fleets. This pragmatic approach reflected the main development focus of its overall fisheries policy, ‘Concentrative Utilisation of Financial Resources for the Exploitation of Marine Resources’.

However, the fiscal contributions that US Aid made toward the development of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan did not just include the financial assistance itself. The cash injections also played a vital catalytic role in encouraging civilian investment in the fishing industry. Wu Sinbai, writing for the *Fisheries Tribune*, stated:

> The great progress of Taiwan’s fishing industry was due to the stability of (social) circumstances. Furthermore, some believe it was a direct result of US Aid… However, from the perspective of the number of fishing vessels built in recent years, those constructed with the assistance of US Aid were not too many in number… Hence, concerning the development of the fishing industry, US Aid has played the role of a catalyst.72

It is indicated from the above statement that because of the stimulation of US Aid, civilian companies made an effort to invest in building fishing vessels and the number of non-US Aid vessels built was greater in number during this period. This point is highlighted by the following remark in *The Bluebook on US Aid and the Achievement of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry*:

> In proportion, most of the investment in the fishing industry was made by private companies; but the inspiration and encouragement from US Aid cannot be ignored.73


73 *The Bluebook on US Aid and Achievements of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry*, 14.
In 1963, the penultimate year that Taiwan received US Aid, the World Bank also decided to grant loans to Taiwan’s fishing industry. The amount exceeded $US7.8 million and 16 tuna longliners were built with this financial windfall. Thirteen of them were 300-ton vessels, and the remainder were 1000-ton vessels. They were expected to operate in the Atlantic Ocean.\(^{74}\) In 1966, the Taiwan Government once again negotiated with the World Bank concerning a second loan-granting scheme.\(^{75}\) The industry planned to build sixteen 250-ton tuna longliners and four 1500-ton trawlers at that time. However, the 1966 boom in tuna prices on the international market encouraged vessel owners to raise the loan stakes in the Taiwanese fishing industry. Many more individuals asked for loans as expectations ran high; 101 tuna longliners and 11 trawlers were demanded in total.\(^{76}\) The overall tonnage of the vessels built under the auspices of this new loan-granting programme, compared with the size of the fleets in the colonial period and the first decade of the post-war years, was huge, as the new vessels were designed to operate in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, rather than in the waters of Southeast Asia. It is clear that within two decades after the Government’s astute guidance and major financial assistance from the international community, Taiwan’s distant water fishers had spread well beyond Southeast Asia to establish a global-scale fishery.

\(^{74}\) ‘Editorial: Use Foreign Capital Properly [社論：妥善運用外資],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 52, 1965, 3; and ‘the Current Situation of the Tuna Longliners Built with the Assistance of the World Bank [世銀貸建鮪釣漁船近況],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 52, 1965, 5.

\(^{75}\) ‘Application for the 2nd Round of the World Bank’s Loan Programme [向世銀貸款第二批公告申請],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 57, 1966, 10.

\(^{76}\) ‘Applications for the 2nd Round of the World Bank’s Loan Programme are More Numerous Than Expected [世界銀行二次貸款造船申請踴躍超過原定數額],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 58, 1966, 23.
Table 2.11: The growth of distant water fisheries and offshore fisheries (unit: ton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distant water fisheries</th>
<th>Offshore fisheries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual catch</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>18,514</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>126,765</td>
<td>684*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the data of 1945 is from The Bright Future of Taiwan’s Fisheries, Taipei, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1955, 7; the data of 1952 and 1964 is from The Bluebook on US Aid and the Achievements of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry, Taipei: Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development, 41.

* This is the percentage of 1952 figure.

Table 2.12: The growth of single, pair trawl fishing and longline fishing (unit: ton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single trawl fishing</th>
<th>Pair trawl fishing</th>
<th>Distant water longline fishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual catch</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Annual catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>7,071</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>11,483</td>
<td>162*</td>
<td>23,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>19,743</td>
<td>279*</td>
<td>97,495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* This is the percentage of 1951 figure. ** This is the percentage of 1955 figure.

Table 2.13: The growth of offshore longline fishing (unit: ton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Offshore Longline fishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>12,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>15,944</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Taiwan’s post-war fishing industry had obtained exceptional results in a comparatively short space of time. Its developmental trends can be clearly seen in the data presented in the tables above.

Let us take the total catch of fisheries production in 1952, the year when post-war Taiwan matched the pre-war colonial production record, as a base figure. The catch volume of distant water fisheries production had increased by a factor of 6.8 by 1964, the final year that Taiwan received US Aid; and the output from the offshore fisheries by a factor of 5.4. When viewed in terms of individual fishery
sectors, the picture becomes even clearer. Table 2.12 indicates that compared to the fisheries output of 1951, pair trawl fishing had grown more than 10 times by 1964, longline fishing 8.4 times and single trawl fishing by 2.7 times. In less than two decades after the devastation caused by World War Two, Taiwan’s fishing industry had managed to obtain unprecedented achievements in offshore and distant water fisheries production.

The strategy for the development of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan can be summarised in the following manner: increase fisheries production by the use of modern vessels, and build modern vessels with foreign financial assistance. These fisheries policies served as a national stimulus for the growth of Taiwan’s fishing industry, while major financial assistance from the UNRRA, the United States and the World Bank served as key external catalysts. In the initial stage, the motives for developing the post-war fishing industry of Taiwan, apart from breaking the pre-war production records of the colonial era, was to meet the urgent growing demand for food generated by the domestic market and the military. However, the combined incentives of government development policies and foreign financial aid caused an unprecedented advance in the post-war fishing industry of Taiwan, which in turn further encouraged the Government and private fishing companies to embark upon building a global-scale fishing industry. In the two decades following the destruction of World War Two, overseas supply bases had also been systematically established, and distant water fishing vessels from Taiwan had begun fishing in all the oceans on the earth. However, these developments did not mean that the traditional distant water fishing grounds in Southeast Asia would be abandoned. Detailed investigations into marine resources and potential fisheries were still being carried out there and fisheries research vessels kept exploring the waters as far away as those off the coast of northern Australia.
Chapter 3

Kaohsiung Fishing Port and its Fishing Ancillary Industries

I have already examined the contributions made towards the rapid growth of Taiwan’s post-war fishing industry from the standpoint of fisheries policies and the financial assistance of the international community. Besides the above key factors, there were also some local conditions that fostered the development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, but little attention has thus far been paid to them. In this chapter, I will focus on the reconstruction of Kaohsiung Fishing Port, the fishing ancillary industries and the fisheries education system of Southern Taiwan.

The Kaohsiung Fishing Port experienced dramatic changes over the course of the twentieth century. During the colonial era, the Kaohsiung Fishing Port was simply a strategic forward base for Japan’s southward fishing industry. After the end of World War Two, the Kaohsiung Fishing Port was gradually transformed into one of the most important regional centres for global fisheries. In the course of this development process, there was an urgent need to establish a modern and well-developed shipbuilding industry in Kaohsiung in order that Taiwan could build its own vessels once she had become independent from Japan. There were also demands for the development of an efficient and productive ice-manufacturing industry as ice would play a vital role in keeping the catch fresh.¹

¹ Some of the basic conditions for the development of modern fisheries that I have introduced in the previous chapter will not be described again, for example the construction of a transportation network. Highway networks were formed in post-war Taiwan, and their contribution toward the marketing of fish products have become a matter of course in post-war Taiwan. Thus, I will not examine the relationships between the development of the transportation network and the fishing industry in this chapter. However, certain conditions became very important in the post-war era. Prior to the end of the Second World War, most of the distant water fishing vessels in Takao (Kaohsiung) were produced
Kaohsiung Fishing Port and its Fishing Ancillary Industries

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the construction of Kaohsiung Fishing Port and the development of the Kaohsiung fishing ancillary industries, and then examine how they contributed towards the revival of Taiwan’s post-war fisheries. I will start by describing the building of Kaohsiung Fishing Port, and its management during the post-war era. I will then focus my attention on Kaohsiung’s fishing ancillary industries such as the shipbuilding industry, the ice-manufacturing industry and the fish processing industry. I will stress the nature of their contribution towards Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Lastly, I will address southern Taiwan’s fisheries’ education programme, taking into consideration how the fisheries’ education system and its research institute has supported the development of the modern post-war Kaohsiung fisheries.

The reconstruction of Kaohsiung Fishing Port

During World War Two, Takao Fishing Port (Kaohsiung Fishing Port) was destroyed by American bombers. Most of its port infrastructure was devastated; many vessels in the port were sunk and all the waterways, channels and docks were obstructed by debris. Therefore, the reconstruction and revitalisation of the port was a top priority for Taiwan’s post-war fisheries authorities.\(^2\)

The post-war reconstruction of Kaohsiung Fishing Port resulted in a tremendous change to both the size and nature of the port. Before 1945, the Takao (Kaohsiung) Fishing Port specifically referred to the Shōsento Fishing Harbor [潮靜港] that was located in what is now called Gushan District [鼓山區]. However, the advent of the post-war years led to the Kaohsiung Fishing Port becoming greatly enlarged and renovated. In addition to reconstructing Gushan Fishing Port, a modern, distant water fishing port was built in Cianjhen District [County] in 1967, which attracted a large number of distant water vessels originally from Gushan Fishing Port.\(^3\) One by

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in Japan. However, in the post-war years, Kaohsiung would have to produce and maintain its own vessels, for Taiwan and Japan were no longer one country. The ice-manufacturing industry is another good example. Before World War II, ice supply was not urgently required; however, following the prosperity of trawl fishing and longline fishing, ice became one of the most important materials in Kaohsiung Fishing Port.

\(^2\) *A Brief Introduction to the Agricultural Industries, vol. 10: Fisheries* [農業要覽第十冊漁業篇], Taipei, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, 1962, 47.

\(^3\) *The Development of the Fishing Industry* [漁業發展], Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1971, 34.
one several offshore harbours were built in Cijin District (旗津區), which encouraged a growing number of fishers from that District to leave the coastal areas and fish in the waters of Southeast Asia.\(^4\) In the post-war era, all of these ports and harbours were generally considered to be part of Kaohsiung Fishing Port [高雄漁港].\(^5\)

Among the various ports and harbours in Kaohsiung Fishing Port, Gushan Fishing Port [旗山漁港] was the oldest in Kaohsiung, and it had formerly been called the Shōsento Fishing Harbour in the Japanese colonial period. The Shōsento port was made up of two harbours: (1) the Diyi Harbour [第一漁港] that was built in the

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\(^4\) Some coastal fishers in the Cijin area actually started to build their own offshore fishing vessels and then fished in the waters off the Philippines and the South China Sea when new harbours were built at Cijin. Unlike Gushan and Cianjen, the fishing operation at Cijin has been strongly established on the basis of kinship and along community lines.

\(^5\) With a view to distinguishing one port from another, the one located in Cianjen District was called Cianjen Fishing Port [旗鶴漁港]. The Shōsento Fishing Harbor [哨頭漁港] was called Gushan Fishing Port [旗山漁港].
colonial era and (2) the Dier Harbour [第二船渠] constructed in the post-war years. Before the completion of Cijin Fishing Port in 1967, most of the distant water longliners and trawlers had been using the Gushan Fishing Port as their main supply base due to the exceptional commercial convenience provided by the port fisheries infrastructure. The Gushan fish market was located near the harbours so that the catch could be auctioned as soon as it was unloaded from the vessels. The fish market was connected to railways which enabled the fish products to be rapidly conveyed to all major towns and cities across the island. Besides these two major advantages of the proximity of a market and railhead, the fishing vessels anchoring in Gushan Fishing Port also received a reliable and constant supply of ice, because most of the icemakers of Kaohsiung City were located within the Gushan District.⁶

Map 3.02: Gushan Fishing Port


Map 3.02 depicts the arrangement of the two harbours of Gushan Fishing Port that nestled into the town centre of Gushan District. This breakwater design offered fishing vessels a safe haven even in rough weather. Numerous offshore fishing vessels that fished in the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea were increasingly attracted to anchor there. Many new jobs were created by the post-war fisheries boom which lured large numbers of fishers from Penghu and Siao Liouciou

⁶ Naïté Harukichi & Syu Jiwu, The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan, [臺灣漁業史], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1957, 58-59. If I take the ice-manufacturing industry of Kaohsiung in 1951 as an example, seven major icemakers were located in Kaohsiung City—five of which were located in Gushan District.
to Gushan District. However, following the steady growth of the distant water longline fishing and trawl fishing industries in the post-war years, the Gushan Fishing Port soon became too crowded and this congestion caused the waterway to become almost too narrow for the large, modern fishing vessels. The overcrowded situation did not get rectified until 1967 when the new Cianjhen Fishing Port was completed. From that time onward, Gushan Fishing Port gradually transformed its role into becoming the ancillary port of Cianjhen Fishing Port. Hence, whenever the Cianjhen Fishing Port currently gets over crowded, fishing vessels are required to anchor at Gushan Fishing Port.

Today the Gushan Fishing Port is a pale shadow of its former self. It has become a rather old and messy anchorage after ferries and barges started to moor there on a regular basis. A large number of coastal and offshore fishing vessels would also regularly return during the traditional festivals like the Spring Festival, the Dragon Boat Festival and the Mid-Autumn Festival, which has caused the port to be even more overcrowded at certain times of the year. Moreover, the environmental problems caused by silt have also been threatening the recent operation of Gushan Fishing Port.

The construction of Cianjhen Fishing Port started in 1964, and was completed by 1967. The infrastructure of Cianjhen Fishing Port, as the largest distant water fishing port of Taiwan, was very advanced and far more comprehensive by earlier standards. The number of fuelling stations, water-supply stations and ice-supply stations was much larger than at Gushan. Fishing ancillary industries such as ice-manufacturing plants, cold storage plants and fish processing factories were clustered together near the port. In addition, all the Government’s key fisheries-related agencies and institutes, such as the Weather Station Kaohsiung Branch, Kaohsiung Training Centre (KTC), the Fisheries Research Institute Kaohsiung Branch, and the Taiwan Area Fishery Radio

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9 Ibid. Also, Gushan Fishing Port and its residential area have now become very dirty, crowded and unpleasant. In order to interview old fishers, I rented a small flat in Gushan District when I was doing my fieldwork.
Station [台灣區漁業廣播電臺] were all located in Cianjhen Fishing Port.¹⁰ Cianjhen Fishing Port, blessed with these excellent resources, had a competitive advantage over the Gushan Fishing Port. Therefore, it is not surprising that numerous fishing companies started to shift their offices and fleets to Cianjhen in the late 1960s.¹¹

Map 3.03: Cianjhen Fishing Port


The establishment of Cianjhen Fishing Port was heralded as one of the most important landmarks in the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry. Fishing companies,

¹⁰ *Fishing Ports of Kaohsiung City*, 9., and *A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan* [臺灣漁業簡介], Nantou, Fisheries Bureau, 1972, 32, and *A Study on the Fishing Industry of Taiwan* [臺灣漁業之研究], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1974, 281.

fishing ancillary industries and the Government's fisheries-related institutes had all assembled there and together they formed a self-sufficient environment for the growth of its distant water fishing industry. The port would not only greatly contribute to the development and maintenance of Taiwan's fishing industry in Southeast Asia, it also helped establish a solid foundation for the development of Taiwan's global-scale fisheries. The Cianjhen Fishing Port can moor up to 370 distant water fishing vessels. Although the fishing port is huge, during peak seasons it is liable to be overcrowded—a problem which has customarily forced some vessels to anchor in Gushan Fishing Port instead.

The Cijin District was formally a sandy coastal area with no harbours for offshore fishers; therefore, fishers could only work in the coastal fisheries. However, fishing activities started to gradually alter in this area due to 'the secondary fishing ports' and 'harbours' that were built in the post-war years. Coastal fishers of the Cijin District, encouraged by the new port facilities, began to fish in the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea.

The first port, Cihou Fishing Port, was built in 1952 with the purpose of providing an anchorage for small fishing boats. Most of these vessels were engaged in the coastal and offshore fisheries. The second port, the Shangjhuli Harbour, was also built to anchor small fishing boats. However, most vessels in Shangjhuli operated in the Taiwan Strait, the continental shelf near China and the South China Sea. Meanwhile, the third port, Jhongjhou Fishing Port, was constructed as a place in which off shore vessels could anchor on a sandy stretch of coast in October 1952.

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12 I went to Cianjhen Fishing Port almost every day when I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung. Cianjhen Fishing Port looked very much like an industrial park.
13 *Fishing Ports of Kaohsiung City*, 9.
14 Interviews with: Cai Minghuei, Kaohsiung, 5/7/2002; Cai Bian, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002; and Guo Shihfu, Kaohsiung, 27/6/2002, and numerous unknown local people that I talked to on the street.
15 Offshore fishing vessels that worked in the waters of Southeast Asia were not very big. The construction of fishing ports in Cijin District enabled local fishers to moor their offshore longliners near their houses.
16 *Fishing Ports of Kaohsiung City*, 29.
In 1979, just over a quarter of a century later, a major fishing port construction programme was carried out in Cijin District. The Government not only enlarged and renovated the three post-war fishing ports, but also started to build Dashantou Harbour [大沙頭漁港] and Jhongcing Fishing Port [中興漁港] respectively in 1979 and 1984.\(^{18}\) Because most ports and harbours were facing housing areas, except Jhongcing, there is little room nowadays to expand their basins and port infrastructure. Hence, during the typhoon season or major traditional festivals, the ports would become overcrowded. Some fishing vessels would then be forced to anchor at nearby shipbuilding yards. No matter how many new fishing ports the Government built, these places were soon unable to meet the demands of the rapidly growing number of fishing vessels. This phenomenon of fleet growth outstripping port capacity and facilities, to some degree, reflected the rapid progress of the offshore and distant water fishing industry of Kaohsiung.\(^{19}\)

From the end of World War Two until 1970, Kaohsiung Fishing Port, when compared with other ports in Taiwan, had received the largest construction subsidies from US Aid, the local government, and the fisheries authorities; 17.4 percent of port construction expenditures were allocated to Kaohsiung Fishing Port while its counterpart, the Keelung Fishing Port, was allocated only 2.47 percent of the overall construction budget (see Table 3.01). The exceptional position of Kaohsiung as a developing distant water/offshore fishing port for post-war Taiwan is clearly demonstrated by the comparative allocations for the post-war construction of ports and harbours.\(^{20}\)

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\(^{18}\) *Fishing Ports of Kaohsiung City*, 37, 43.

\(^{19}\) Offshore fishing vessels come back to Kaohsiung for major traditional festivals. Fishing ports are always overcrowded at these times.

\(^{20}\) *The Development of the Fishing Industry*, 39-40. Table 3.01 shows that the Government also invested a large amount of money in building offshore fishing ports in other counties, such as Pingdong and Taidong. The Government tried to keep the development of Taiwan's fishing industry balanced. See *The Bright Future of Taiwan's Fisheries* [前途遠大的臺灣漁業], Taipei, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1955, 25.
Table 3.01: Financial expenditure for the construction of fishing ports in Taiwan (1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>財政支出 (NT Dollar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From US Aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yilan county</td>
<td>7,206,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei county</td>
<td>6,645,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taoyuan county</td>
<td>6,916,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinjhu county</td>
<td>1,014,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miaoli county</td>
<td>749,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taichung county</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changhua county</td>
<td>5,923,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunlin county</td>
<td>1,301,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiayi county</td>
<td>1,915,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan county</td>
<td>1,124,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung county</td>
<td>3,207,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingdong county</td>
<td>10,481,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taidong county</td>
<td>1,270,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hualien county</td>
<td>1,074,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penghu county</td>
<td>2,379,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelung city</td>
<td>613,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan city</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung city</td>
<td>15,784,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>60,608,272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Development of the Fishing Industry, Nantou, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1971, 39-40. This table shows that a large amount of money was also invested in the construction of fishing ports in Pingdong, Penghu, and Taidong. Penghu is an island county; the lack of natural resources drove Penghu men to make a living on the sea. Magong Fishing Port (馬公漁港) played an essential role in Penghu’s economic activities. Donggang Fishing Port (東港漁港), another important offshore fishing port, is located in Pingdong. Singang Fishing Port (新港漁港) of Taidong County is the most important offshore fishing port in the southeastern Taiwan. The Government also expended huge financial resources on these fishing ports. See Study on the Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 282-284.

Fishing ancillary industries of Kaohsiung

Kaohsiung had become the largest industrial city of Taiwan during the colonial period. Major industries such as sugar, fertilizer, aluminium, cement and papermaking had become very prosperous in those years.21

The advent of the post-war era in 1945 did not slow down the growth of Kaohsiung’s manufacturing and processing industries. The export of agricultural commodities from Kaohsiung Port, such as sugar, pineapple and bananas revived soon after the war ended. In 1956, modern facilities for transporting salt were also

built in Kaohsiung Port. In 1963, a warehouse for banana storage was also built at the port, and it was converted into a refrigerated storehouse two years later. The canning industry also yielded an exceptional result in the post-war era, and became an important established industry in Kaohsiung. Besides the revival of agricultural exports and particular traditional industries, several modern industries that had a crucial impact on the development of Taiwan's economy were heavily invested in Kaohsiung. In 1957, Formosa Plastics Corporation [合隆工業公司高雄廠] was formed. This was the first time a plastics industry had chosen to establish itself in Kaohsiung. By 1966, Taiwan’s first ‘Export Processing Zone’ [出口加工區] was established by the Government in Kaohsiung. This attracted all sorts of modern industries and profitable investments to the port city, and it was soon considered the cradle of the electronics industry of Taiwan.  

As a leading industrial city of Taiwan, a variety of modern industries had been developed for Kaohsiung in a planned way and the fishing ancillary industries were just part of the larger overall scheme of post-war urban development. Certainly, not all of the fishing ancillary industries could markedly contribute to the prosperity of Kaohsiung City. However, all of them played important roles in supporting the revival of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry in one form or another.

Most of the shipbuilding yards of colonial Taiwan had been badly damaged in the war and, at the end of the war, the majority of the Japanese shipbuilders and artisans had also been sent back to Japan. However, fishing vessels manufactured by local shipwrights in the early post-war years were mainly offshore and coastal boats that weighed less than 20 tons, as Kaohsiung’s shipbuilding industry had been completely destroyed during the war. On the other hand, the shipbuilding industry was still one of the most important pre-requisites for the development of a modern fishing industry. The reconstruction of the shipbuilding industry became one of the main goals for the fisheries authorities. Under the guidelines and plans for ‘the motorisation of fishing vessels & the industrialisation of fisheries [漁業工業化 漁船動力化]’, the shipbuilding yards in Kaohsiung, Keelung and Tainan were reconstructed.

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22 Jheng Decing, Looking Back on the History of Kaohsiung, 205.

23 Liou Hanpo, ‘Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels (2) [臺灣的漁船 二],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 17, 1962, 15.

24 A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 16.
and modernised at an incredible pace. Kaohsiung, as the most industrialised city of Taiwan, soon became the centre of Taiwan's shipbuilding industry. The following table illustrates the salient position of the Kaohsiung shipbuilding industry during the early post-war era.

Table 3.02: The shipbuilding industry of Taiwan in 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of shipbuilding plants</th>
<th>% Total area of shipbuilding plants*</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung Region</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>59,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelung Region</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan Region</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penghu Region</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingdong Region</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90,420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Liou Hanpo, "Taiwan's fishing vessels (1) [臺灣的漁船:一]," *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 16, 1962, 18. The number of shipbuilding companies fluctuated on an annual basis; therefore, it is difficult to obtain comprehensive detailed information to describe and analyse the shipbuilding industry in early post-war Taiwan. Material from the *Fisheries Tribune* was the earliest that I have been able to obtain. It provides us with a clear picture of the development of this industry over various parts of Taiwan in the late 1950s.

Table 3.02 shows that in 1958, there were 50 shipbuilding yards in Taiwan, including the Penghu archipelago and 24 of them were located in the Kaohsiung Region (including Kaohsiung County). Hence, the total number of shipbuilding sites in the Kaohsiung Region accounted for nearly half (48%) of Taiwan's shipbuilding activity.

Having noted the number of shipbuilding plants in Taiwan, it is important to consider the physical area of these plants. The total area of the shipbuilding plants of Taiwan was 90,420 pings; Kaohsiung Region alone had accounted for 59,039 pings, which constituted 65.2 percent of the total area of all shipyards in Taiwan. Keelung, the key centre of distant water fisheries in northern Taiwan, only accounted for 10.8 percent of the total area of the yards, which was less than one sixth of the overall size of the shipbuilding enterprise of the Kaohsiung Region.

The shipbuilding industry of Kaohsiung Region was well established and flourishing by the end of the 1950s. Most of the fishing vessels originating from

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25 Kaohsiung's shipbuilding industry is still very strong. Numerous shipyards are located in Cijin area. Nowadays, they not only produce fishing vessels, but also first-class yachts.
Kaohsiung Fishing Port and its Fishing Ancillary Industries

Kaohsiung Port, including distant water tuna longliners, single-trawlers and pair-trawlers were designed and built by local shipbuilders in Kaohsiung. More importantly, the shipbuilders in Kaohsiung were capable of building larger fishing vessels than those manufactured in Keelung. The gross tonnage of vessels produced in Kaohsiung averaged between 80 and 200 tons, while the tonnage of fishing vessels built in Keelung ranged between 80 and 150 tons. Therefore, the shipbuilding industry of Keelung was not of the same order and magnitude as the one that was developing in Kaohsiung. The number and the size of the yards and the scale of construction signified that the shipbuilding industry of Kaohsiung, compared with other areas of Taiwan, was technically more advanced both in terms of efficiency and scale of production, which greatly benefited the development of Kaohsiung’s post-war fishing industry.

Ice played a significant role in keeping the boats at sea and the catch fresh; storage of the catch in ice enabled lengthy voyages and operation times. The growth and prosperity of the ice-manufacturing industry also served as one of the most essential resources for the development of the fishing industry in an era when large refrigerators were still not popular. The first ice-manufacturer plant in Taiwan was established in Taipei in 1901. Shortly afterward, the Shinsho Seihyo [新潮製氷] was established at Takao (Kaohsiung). The increasing demand for ice from the developing urban areas of Taiwan meant new ice-manufacturer plants were continuously set up around the island. However, in 1943, in order to cater to the war effort and to tighten control over raw materials, the entire ice-manufacturing industry of Taiwan was monopolised and run by the Colonial Government through a newly founded agency, the South Japan Fisheries-related Enterprise (SJFE [南日本漁業統制會社]). This government enterprise controlled twenty ice-making factories that accounted for 73 percent of the island’s total ice output. However, this monopoly was broken up soon after World War Two ended. SJFE was taken over by the Fisheries Branch of the Agriculture and Forestry Company of Taiwan (Fisheries Branch of AFCT [臺灣農林

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27 Liou Hanpo, ‘Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels (1) [臺灣的漁船－],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 16, 1962, 18.
company subsidiaries), and subsequently the ban on civilian-run ice-manufacturers was also lifted.\(^28\)

By September 1951, seven ice-manufacturers were established in Kaohsiung. They were: Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1\(^{st}\) Plant (高雄冷凍庫第一庫), Kaohsiung Cold Storage 2\(^{nd}\) Plant (高雄冷凍庫第二庫), Diyi Baoguanchu Ice-manufacturer (第一保管處製冰庫), Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacturer (和春水產製冰庫), Huanan Fisheries Ice-manufacturer (華南水產製冰庫), Yurong Fisheries Ice-manufacturer (裕榮水產製冰庫), and Sansiecheng Ice-manufacturer (三協成製冰庫). The first three companies were owned and operated by the government, while the remainder were civilian-run plants.

**Table 3.03:** The daily output of ice-manufacturing plants in the major cities and counties of Taiwan in 1951\(^*\) (unit: ton per day)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Daily Output</th>
<th>Unit per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung city</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelung city</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei city</td>
<td>177.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taichung city</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan city</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingdong city</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In table, only the cities and counties that were able to produce more than 50 tons per day have been listed.

In 1951, just six years after the end of World War Two, the daily output of the seven ice-manufacturers in Kaohsiung was 262 tons, which was greater than any other city or county on the island.\(^29\) Keelung City, the largest distant water fishing port in northern Taiwan, for example, had a daily output of only 183 tons. The dominance of Kaohsiung's ice-manufacturing industry in helping to develop the distant water fleets of southern Taiwan was unquestionable.

Most ice-manufacturers in Kaohsiung City were located around the port area. Apart from one plant located in Cianjhen District and another in Ling’ya District, the

\(^{28}\) Naitō & Syu, *The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan*, 57.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 59.
rest were located in Gushan District, the nursery of the distant water fishing industry of Taiwan.

Table 3.04: Main ice-manufacturers of Kaohsiung City in 1951 (unit: ton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Output of ice-making industry (per day)</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st Plant</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Gushan District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung Cold Storage 2nd Plant</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Gushan District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyi Baoguanfu Ice-manufacturer</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Cianjen District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacturer</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gushan District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huanan Fisheries Ice-manufacturer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gushan District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yurong Fisheries Ice-manufacturer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gushan District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sansiecheng Ice-manufacturer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ling'ya District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* The first two ice-manufacturers in the table were owned by the Fisheries Branch of AFCT, a huge state-run fisheries-related enterprise that operated several ice-making plants in different parts of Taiwan. The daily output of these two plants alone was 190 tons, which exceeded the production of its Keelung branch at 120 tons per day. From a rate of productivity point of view, it seems clear that the fisheries authority had taken into consideration the strategic clustering of fisheries-related construction in the Kaohsiung Fishing Port, including several major ice-manufacturing plants.

The ice-manufacturing industry grew rapidly along with Taiwan’s fishing industry. As the following Table 3.05 demonstrates, between 1951 and 1964, the last year Taiwan received US Aid, the rate of production of the ice-manufacturing industry in Taiwan had grown four-fold. The exponential growth of the ice-manufacturing industry fully supported the development of the distant water fishing industry.
Chen, Ta-Yuan

Table 3.05: The development of the ice-manufacturing industry in Taiwan, 1951-1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of ice-manufacturers</th>
<th>Output of ice-making industry</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ice for the fishing industries</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ice for other purposes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>109,605</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>78,181</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>33,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>168,571</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99,594</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>64,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>183,581</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>107,780</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>226,746</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>121,018</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>102,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>392,177</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>223,258</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>169,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>330,520</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>221,944</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>108,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>397,306</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>256,417</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>140,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>415,484</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>278,002</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>137,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>456,167</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>311,987</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>144,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>472,261</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>314,832</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>157,429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Bluebook on US Aid and the Achievements of the Taiwanese Fishing Industry [臺灣漁業運用美國援助成果檢討], Taipei, Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development, 1966, 53. Data on the ice-manufacturing industry between 1955 and 1958 was incomplete. In 1964, there were 261 ice-manufacturers in Taiwan, of which 38 were government-run companies, and the remainder were owned by civilians.

The output of the ice-manufacturing industry of Kaohsiung has been stressed because Kaohsiung became one of the most important ports for the development of the distant water fisheries. The following Table 3.06 shows that, by 1964, the port city had accounted for 27 percent of the whole ice production of Taiwan and nearly 90 percent of Kaohsiung’s ice manufacture was used by the fishing industry.

Table 3.06: The ice-manufacturing industry in the major cities and counties of Taiwan in 1964 (unit: ton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of ice-manufacturers</th>
<th>Output of ice-making industry</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ice for the fishing industries</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ice for other purposes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung City</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>115,462</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>103,797</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>11,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelung City</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>123,046</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>121,290</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>1,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei City</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38,325</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>38,325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan County</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24,715</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3,982</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>20,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan City</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22,490</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>13,906</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingdong County</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21,449</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14,674</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiayi County</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18,096</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7,024</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung County</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16,658</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9,195</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yilan County</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15,737</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14,182</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei County</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11,835</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>10,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penghu County</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10,632</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>9,529</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taichung County</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9,249</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3,439</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>427,694</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>301,952</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>116,839</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kaohsiung Fishing Port and its Fishing Ancillary Industries

The rapid large-scale development of the ice-manufacturing industry of Taiwan had yielded positive results that were exceptional for the development of the distant water fishing fleets in the two decades following the end of World War Two. The supply exceeded demand by the 1960s. During these years, refrigerators were still not common in either the fishing ports or on board the fishing vessels. The plentiful supply of ice had guaranteed the fishing industries of Kaohsiung with a sufficient supply of ice throughout the pioneering decades of the 1950s and 1960s.30

Besides the development of the shipbuilding and ice-manufacturing industries, the fostering of comprehensive marketing channels for fish products also greatly benefited the development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Significant information about the organisation and development of domestic marketing channels for fish products during the early post-war years can be retrieved from the important book, Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan [臺灣鮮魚運銷與價格之研究]. This nationwide marketing survey and investigation was conducted by the Department of Agricultural Economics, National Taiwan University [臺灣大學農業經濟系] in 1955 with support from the JCRR for the express purpose of describing and analysing the operation of fish markets and the market and distribution channels of fish products.31

During the post-war period, the domestic markets for fish products were classified under two headings according to the location of the market: one site was labelled the ‘port fish market’ [港口魚市場] which was run by the fishermen’s associations and the other was called the ‘inland fish market’ [內地魚市場] and it was administered by a local government. Port fish markets were located in almost every port of Taiwan, and the size of the market depended on the overall catch yield of particular fishery ports. Basically the fish catch and products, retailed from small port fish markets, were supplied to nearby towns or villages, while the large port

30 The Bluebook on US Aid and the Achievements of the Taiwanese Fishing Industry [臺灣漁業運用美援成果檢討], Taipei, Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development, 1966, 23-24. There were two reasons why the supply of ice began to exceed demand in the 1960s. Firstly, both the number of fishing vessels and the population of Taiwan were increasing in the post-war years. In order to revive the industry in the shortest possible period of time, the Government had decided to let civilians run the ice-making companies without restraint. Secondly, the ice-manufacturing industry required no advanced technology and had a low capital running cost; hence, with only limited financial assets ordinary people who were not wealthy were also able to engage in this industry.

31 Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan [臺灣鮮魚運銷與價格之研究], Taipei, JCRR, 1956, 17.
markets played a key role as major redistribution centres. Fish products were not only sold locally to nearby towns, but also transported to inland fish markets in other cities and counties. The inland fish markets were mainly located in cities and towns that catered to large numbers of consumers, and all the fish products were transported by road and rail from port fish markets. Taipei was the largest inland fish market. The largest post-war port fish market in Taiwan was Kaohsiung Fish Market.32

By April 1955, there were more than forty port fish markets established around Taiwan. Kaohsiung Fish Market being the biggest port fish market had a sales volume that was in excess of that of the rest of the smaller port fish markets of Taiwan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sales volume</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung City</td>
<td>19,433</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suao</td>
<td>16,203</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keelung City</td>
<td>4,963</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan City</td>
<td>2,654</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donggang</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest**</td>
<td>17,140</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62,752</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan (臺灣魚貨運輸與價格之研究), Taipei, JCRR, 1956, 45.
* The first five port fish markets shown in table 3.07 had a sales volume of more than 2,000 tons per year.
** Besides the five main port fish markets listed in the table, there were 38 other port markets scattered along the coast of Taiwan at that time.

As demonstrated in the table 3.07, the sales volume of Kaohsiung Fish Market in 1955 accounted for 30.9 percent, or almost one third of the entire nation’s volume of sales (port fish markets). The actual significance of Kaohsiung Fish Market can be readily understood from these figures.

The fish products unloaded at the Kaohsiung Fish Market were not primarily consumed by the local inhabitants. Kaohsiung, despite being the metropolis of southern Taiwan, had only 30 percent of its fish products consumed locally, while the rest were transported by truck and train to other parts of Taiwan.

32 Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan, 38-41.
Table 3.08: Domestic market distribution of fish products unloaded at Kaohsiung in 1954 (unit: ton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Fish Products (ton)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taipei</td>
<td>3,348</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taichung, Changhua, Jiayi,</td>
<td>3,348</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tainan</td>
<td>3,348</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pingdong, Fongsan, Gangshan, Chaojho</td>
<td>1,674</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td>5,022</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,741</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan* [臺灣鮮魚運銷與價格之研究], Taipei, JCRR, 1956, 54.

Table 3.08 shows that a large percentage of fish products available at the Kaohsiung Fish Market (70%) were transported to other parts of Taiwan; 20 percent to Taipei, 20 percent to Taichung, Changhua and Jiayi, 20 percent to Tainan and 10 percent to the remaining areas of southern Taiwan. These figures on market redistribution demonstrate that the Kaohsiung Fish Market was the main supplier of fish products in Taiwan, and the marketing network and channels of the Kaohsiung Fish Market had already been well developed in the decade following the end of World War Two.

In addition to the port marketing channels discussed above, a direct marketing system called ‘collective marketing of distant water boxed fish’ [遠洋箱魚] was adopted by individual fishers and distant water fishing companies in Keelung and Kaohsiung, with the permission of the fisheries authorities.33 The reason for using this system was to avoid the unnecessary inconvenience of onshore marketing procedures, and to enable the rapid distribution of fish products to inland markets within as short a time as possible. Fishing companies were given permission to transport their boxed products directly to inland fish markets as soon as they unloaded their catch in port, without having to deal directly with port fish markets.

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33 *Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan*, 66-68. Most of the catch from distant water fishing vessels, especially trawlers, was packaged on board the ship. This is why particular products from trawlers were named ‘boxed fish’ [箱魚].
Table 3.09: The three marketing systems of fish products in post-war Taiwan

| 1b. Individual fishers → |
| 5a. Agents → Retailers → 6. Consumers |
| 5b. Retailers → |

| 1b. Individual fishers → |
| 3b. Retailers → |

| 1b. Individual fishers → |
| 3b. Retailers → |

Source: Research on the Prices and Marketing Channels of Fish Products in Taiwan [臺灣鮮魚運輸與價格之研究], Taipei, JCR, 1956, 26.

**Type A:** Catches were unloaded at port fish markets and then auctioned off to wholesalers. The fish products were then transported to inland fish markets by the wholesalers and then auctioned off to retailers or agents once again. This was the most time-consuming marketing system.

**Type B:** Catches were unloaded at port fish markets and auctioned off to agents or retailers directly. The Type B marketing system was used by most of the smaller port fish markets. In the large port markets like Kaohsiung, only 30% of catch was auctioned off to local agents or retailers and consumed locally, with the rest of the catch being transported to inland fish markets in the same manner as Type A.

**Type C:** For this case, the catch was transported to inland fish markets as soon as it was unloaded. Distant water boxed fish was sold through a direct marketing system.

Besides the construction of an efficient nationwide marketing and distribution system, the fisheries authorities had devoted considerable effort to developing fish processing industries. However, as the Taiwanese preferred to eat fresh fish, and the comprehensive nature of the marketing channels for fish products in the post-war era enabled fresh fish to be transported directly from the fishers’ wharfs to every corner of Taiwan within a day, the fish processing and canning industries in Taiwan were not so popular. Furthermore, the main processed fish products in the early post-war years consisted of salted fish, dried fish and canned fish. Most of these products were produced in small plants or workshops, and their quality and the level of the workshops’ productivity were both sub-standard.34

The development and prosperity of the fish processing industries not only depended on maintaining a balance between the production and marketing of fish

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34 The Bright Future of Taiwan’s Fisheries, 35, and The Development of the Fishing Industry, 73-74.
products, it also improved the competitive value and demand of particular fish products in markets at home and abroad. Hence, the fisheries authorities decided to foster the growth of fish processing industries by helping proprietors upgrade their factory equipment and improve their packing and preservation techniques.

Table 3.10: Fish processing industry of Taiwan in 1953

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Kaohsiung City</th>
<th>Kaohsiung City</th>
<th>Tainan City</th>
<th>Tainan City</th>
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<th>Tainan County</th>
<th>Tainan County</th>
<th>Kaohsiung County</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dried fish</td>
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<td>Dried fish</td>
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<td>Mullet roe</td>
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<td>Shark’s fin</td>
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<td>Smoked fish</td>
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<td>Salted fish</td>
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<td>Canned fish</td>
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<td>Shell powder</td>
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<td>Cod-liver oil</td>
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<td>Aggregate</td>
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<td>7</td>
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Source: The Bright Future of Taiwan's Fisheries [前途無量的臺灣漁業], Taipei, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1955, 36-37. The table 3.10 is tabulated from a list that shows the fish processing industries of Taiwan in 1953, just eight years after the end of World War Two.

* The first three categories of this table list types of dried fish; they each have slight differences in taste and presentation due to the manufacturing process.

The wide range of fish processing industries in Kaohsiung provided the distant water fishing companies with ample opportunities to sell all sorts of fish and marine species to the fish processing industry as raw material for processing. Seventeen kinds of major processed fish products are listed in table 3.10, and the fish processing industry of Kaohsiung City was producing seven of those types by 1953.
Chen, Ta-Yuan

The fish processing industries of Kaohsiung were twice as large as those of Keelung, which was the recognised centre of distant water fisheries in northern Taiwan.

In addition, particular technological breakthroughs in processing techniques helped the fish processing industries to prosper in Kaohsiung. A series of major improvements in processing techniques had been developed by the mid-1960s. In 1966, the technique for vacuum packing dried fish [水產品真空凍結乾燥] was introduced with the assistance of the fisheries authorities, and it was followed shortly afterwards by the bonito processing technique [鯖魚加工]. From 1968 onward, the fisheries authorities put a lot of effort into the research and development of canning and freezing techniques for processed fish. As a result, fish that were unloaded in Kaohsiung like tuna, spearfish, bonito from longliners, as well as pomfret from trawlers could be rapidly processed and preserved with vacuum packing techniques. This technological achievement not only enabled the supply and demand of domestic markets to be balanced, it also contributed to vastly increasing the export of processed fish and fish products to the international market.  

Fisheries education of Kaohsiung and national-wide fisheries research

As mentioned earlier, the history of Taiwan’s fishery education can be traced back to 1922 when two fishery vocational schools were established in Toko [東港] and Hōko [澎湖] by the local governments. These pioneering developments were followed by several other new fishery-related schools that were set up at different points in time. However, none of them was established in the area of the Kaohsiung (Takao) Fishing Port in the colonial period.

Nevertheless, the situation of the schools soon changed after World War Two. The Keelung Fishery Vocational School [基隆漁業職業學校] and the Hōko Fishery Vocational School [馬公漁業補習學校] were taken over by the ROC Government in 1945, and were renamed the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Keelung [省立基隆漁業職業學校] and the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Penghu [省立澎湖漁業職業學校] respectively. Meanwhile, a branch campus was set up in Kaohsiung by the Fishery Vocational School of Keelung. Its organisational structure, like its main campus in Keelung, consisted of three departments: fishing operations [漁業科], aquaculture [養殖

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35 The Development of the Fishing Industry, 74.
and the fish processing industries [製造科]. This was the first time a fishery vocational school had been established in the Kaohsiung area. In autumn 1948, the Kaohsiung Campus formally separated from the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Keelung to become the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Kaohsiung [省立高雄水產職業學校]. Ten years later, the Department of Vessel Engineering [輪機科] and Fisheries Management [經營科] was set up. Then, in 1961 and 1962, the Anping [安平] and Donggang Campuses [東港] were established by the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Kaohsiung to keep pace with the development of Taiwan's offshore and distant water fishing industry. In 1967, the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Kaohsiung was officially upgraded and became the Provincial Kaohsiung Institute of Marine Technology [臺灣省立高雄海事專科學校], while its old Anping and Donggang campuses subsequently became independent. The former became the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Tainan in 1967 and the latter became the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Donggang the following year.\(^{36}\)

Besides vocational education and training, the Government of Taiwan also devoted considerable effort to the establishment of higher fishery education. As early as 1953, an institute for the study of marine science and technology was established in Keelung. It consisted of seven fisheries-related departments and offered three-year courses to students in senior high schools. Ten years later, it was upgraded to a college offering four-year full time courses and, in the process, became the first maritime college [海洋學院] in Taiwan. In order to develop experts in the field of marine biology, in 1967 a marine species unit [海洋生物館] was set up in the Department of Zoology [動物系] at the National Taiwan University. The Government also encouraged teachers in the fishery vocational schools to study overseas in order to be able to introduce advanced fishing techniques and improve the quality of fishery education in Taiwan.\(^{37}\)

Since the colonial era, fisheries experimental activities had been regarded as an important scientific and economic endeavour by the fisheries authorities, and the importance of marine research was not underestimated in the immediate post-war decades. Two major fisheries research institutes were established in post-war Taiwan.

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\(^{36}\) *A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan*, 53-54.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 55.
One was the Marine Animals Research Institute [漁業生物研究所] of the National Taiwan University sponsored by the Ministry of Economic Affairs; the other was the Fisheries Research Institute of the Taiwan Provincial Government [臺灣省立水產試驗所]. The former focused on the investigation of demersal fish species, while the latter concentrated on the improvement of fishing methods, the investigation of tuna resources, the exploitation of fishing grounds and aquaculture-related research. The research institute of the Taiwan Provincial Government also set up several branches in different areas of Taiwan, and one of them was located in Kaohsiung.38

The diffusion of fisheries techniques and fishing methods largely depended on the assistance of the Fishing Industries Association [漁業組合] and Fishermen’s Association [漁業組合] in the colonial period. The fisheries-related workshops they held, to a certain extent, made up for the lack of formal fishery education. However, after World War Two, the key role that the Fishermen’s Associations played in the diffusion of fisheries techniques was not considered as important as before, because most of the workshops were now directly sponsored by the fisheries authorities. Prior to 1964, however, there was no specific campus and no specially assigned building for holding the workshops. Instead, all the workshops were held intermittently in Kaohsiung, Keelung, Tainan, Penghu and other coastal areas, just like in the colonial era. Fortunately, in 1965, with subsidies from the JCRR, the Fisheries Bureau as well as the Government of Kaohsiung City, a training centre for fishers, the Kaohsiung Training Centre (KTC 高雄漁民訓練中心), was established in Kaohsiung Port. The KTC offered courses and programmes, including the latest fishing techniques and marine knowledge, for engineering crews, radio officers and other staff on longline boats and trawlers, and it also provided apprenticeship opportunities for deckhands. It was anticipated that 300-500 fishers could enrol in training programmes at the KTC every year. With professional fishing knowledge, most fishers graduating from the KTC would maintain a good level of fishing performance, and could hope to become ranking officers on distant water fishing vessels in four to five years time.39

38 A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 55.
39 A Brief Introduction to the Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 16. Before 1964, the training programmes offered were for both distant water fisheries and offshore fisheries. But after the mid-1960s, the KTC shifted its focus to distant water fisheries to meet the labour demands of longline fishing.
Although fisheries-related academic institutes like the Fisheries Research Institute of the Taiwan Provincial Government and National Taiwan University are located in northern Taiwan, their research activities and accomplishments have still supported the development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Furthermore, Donggang, Tainan and Penghu are situated close to Kaohsiung Port and consequently plentiful job opportunities in Kaohsiung lure most of the students from the nearby fishery vocational schools to work in the Port after they graduate.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ If I take Penghu fishery vocational school as an example, most of its graduates left their hometown and worked for Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. While I was doing my fieldwork in 2002, one of my informants, Mr. Syu Yisin, a graduate from Penghu Fishery Vocational School, joined a reunion for
The construction of Kaohsiung Fishing Port served as a catalyst and base for the growth and development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. In the early post-war years the reconstruction of Gushan Fishing Port encouraged Kaohsiung’s longliner towkays to re-exploit the marine resources in Southeast Asia. It also attracted Keelung’s trawlers to relocate in Kaohsiung after the marine ecosystems of the northern fishing grounds declined in the mid-1950s. Fishing fleets from Kaohsiung, in a comparatively short period of time, began to dominate the fishing grounds of neighbouring Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the birth and construction of Cianjhen Fishing Port in 1967, as one of the most advanced fishing ports in East Asia, represented a landmark in Taiwan’s national maritime development strategy for offshore and distant-water fisheries. A wide range of modern ancillary industries and efficient marketing systems had also laid a solid foundation for the growth of these industrialised fisheries. Government agencies like the weather station, the fisheries research institute and the marine communication centre provided the latest fisheries-related information and technology to distant water fishing companies. Plenty of job opportunities generated by the markets of the global-scale fisheries attracted large numbers of fishers from Penghu and Siao Liouciou in an effort to revitalise their communities and fishing careers.\textsuperscript{41} Certainly the presence of the Kaohsiung Training Centre and nearby fishery vocational school also effectively improved the quality of the post-war labour-force in the southern fishing industry. The confluence of these excellent post-war conditions and developments moulded Kaohsiung into one of the most modern and ideally located fishing ports in East Asia to exploit the rich fishing grounds south of the port, and beyond.

\textsuperscript{41} Please see Chapter 8.
Chapter 4

The Kaohsiung Fishing Industry, the Military and Political Complex

The fishing industry of post-war Taiwan was closely controlled and monitored by the Government and the military for a long period. This level of state intervention in fisheries affairs directly affected the running of fishing companies and fishing activities at sea. This phenomenon was so exceptional that it deserves to be looked at in some detail. Thus, in this chapter I focus on the relationships between the fishing industry and the Government, the military, and politicians. Initially, I discuss the appointment of the heads of the fisheries authorities, and analyse how the Government kept the fishing industry under surveillance with the aid of the military. I then illustrate the nature of the interactions between the fishing industry, the military and the KMT Government, in order to highlight the kind of approaches the Government and military applied to monitor the fisheries, and how the fishing companies responded. A question which I will consider in the last part of the chapter is: under the Government’s strict control, who could actually speak on behalf of the interests of the fishing industry? In order to partially answer this question, I will examine the contributions of the parliament members elected from the fishing industry of China towards the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. At the same time, I will also demonstrate the strategies that the post-war fishing industry in Kaohsiung used to build up their own political influence in governance and public affairs.

The relationships between Taiwan’s fishing industry and the military

Taiwan’s fishing industry used to have close links to the military under Chiang’s regime. This unusual relationship was established for two important reasons: first, the offshore fishers were the only occupational group that could regularly leave Taiwan and contact people from China. Hence, their free-ranging mobility was
considered a potential threat to the political stability of Taiwan in the early post-war years. The Government, especially the intelligence branch within the military, felt compelled to keep the fishing industries under strict surveillance. Further, trawler fleets that worked in waters off China’s coastal provinces needed the Navy’s escort for the purpose of safety. The Government also believed that marine products would be a reliable food source for the military given the large annual processed output of the fishing industry. The fishing industry, early in the relationship, also recognised that the military was an important and stable market for its products. It was accepted that the military would continue to consume fish products even when the domestic market was in recession.

In order to strictly monitor the fishing industry, high-ranking military officers were appointed to manage the authorities of Taiwan’s offshore fisheries. The most important fishery authority of early post-war Taiwan, the ‘Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee’ (TFPC [臺灣漁業增產委員會]), which held power from 1951-58, is the most obvious case in point. The committee comprised ten members who represented various parties from both Taiwan and the United States of America. Two of them came from the military; one was from the Combined Logistics Command of the Taiwan Military [聯勤總部], and the other from the military consultative group of the United States [美軍顧問團].

The appointment of the heads of the Fisheries Administration Agency (FAA [漁業管理處] 1951 Oct-1965), renamed the Fisheries Bureau in 1965 (FB [漁業局] 1965-1999), offers yet another example highlighting the close links between the military and the fishing industry. The first head of the Fisheries Administration Agency was Chen Baotai (陳保泰). Chen, a bureaucrat from China, was appointed mayor of Kaohsiung City in 1950, and became head of the FAA in 1951 (See Table 4.01). However, the position was quickly turned over to Liou Yongcyue (劉永愨) in 1952. Liou Yongcyue, a high ranking general, served as head of the FAA for a decade, before, in 1962, the head of the FAA became Liou Guosian (劉國憲), a former Major

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1 Jhang Baoshu, *Studies in the Establishment of China’s Fisheries* [中國漁業建設研究], Taipei, Fisheries Association of China, 1952, 337. The TFPC was established with the aim of supplying fish products to the military and the public. This is why the Combined Logistics Command became involved in this committee, rather than the Navy. However, the reason why the US military was involved remains unknown.
General of the Army [陸軍少將]. Liou Guosian, after graduating from the Chinese Military Academy [陸軍軍官學校], served in the army and attained the rank of Major General.\(^2\) His career indicates that he was not only a soldier, but also a policeman and an intelligence officer. Liou Guosian remained head of the FAA until his death in 1970.\(^3\)

Liou Guosian was temporarily succeeded by his deputy, Chen Banghao [陳邦豪], and, in late 1970, by Yao Daoyi [姚道義], a former Rear Admiral of the Navy [海軍少將]. Yao Daoyi had previously served as a Deputy Director of the Telecommunications Department of the ROC Navy [海軍總部通信處副處長], a navy captain and the head of ROC Navy Intelligence [海軍總部情報署署長]. Obviously, he was more than simply a naval officer; he was one of the key figures of Taiwan’s military intelligence community. The FAA/FB was in his charge and he oversaw the development and administration of the fishing industry for eleven and a half years. After Yao Daoyi retired from public service in 1982, the position finally reverted to a civil servant, Jhang Yitao [張沂滔].\(^4\)

There are two things to emphasise here. First, from 1951 to 1982, the fisheries authorities of Taiwan were controlled to a large extent by high-ranking military officers. Their period of tenure illustrates the Government’s attempts to keep Taiwan’s fishing industry under close surveillance. Second, both Liu Guosian and Yao Daoyi came from intelligence and security backgrounds. This choice of personnel to lead the FAA/FB also suggests that the Government tried to use the

\(^2\) Online Directory of Government Officials [政府機關人名錄], online: http://twinfo.ncl.edu.tw/tiqry/hypage.cgi?HYPAGE=search/search_sim.hpg&dtd_id=5, accessed on 2/12/2004, s.v., Liou Guosian. Later, he also held the posts of Chief of the Tainan County Police Bureau [臺南縣警察局長] and Commissioner of the Taipei City Police Department [臺北市警察局局長]. After these postings, Liou Guosian returned to the military but, this time, as Director of the Security and Control Department at the National Guard Headquarters [警備總部安全管制處處長].

\(^3\) Fisheries Information Service Site: FA.COA [漁業資訊服務網], online: http://www.fa.gov.tw/organization/success/success.ph, accessed on 2/12/2004. In 1965, the FAA was reorganised as the FB. Liou Guosian’s position as the Head of this fishery authority was not affected by this reorganisation.

\(^4\) In the 1980s, the autocratic rule of Chiang’s regime began to moderate, which explains why the head of Taiwan’s fisheries authority reverted to a civil officer in 1982. In 1986, the first opposition party of postwar Taiwan, the Democratic Progressive Party [民主進步黨] was established. In 1988, the Taiwanese Vice-President, Mr. Lee Teng-hui [李登輝先生], came into power, after more than four decades of rule by Chiang’s regime. The fading role of the military in the fishing industry was one result of these profound political changes.
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branch of military intelligence, especially Naval intelligence, to control and regulate the fishing industry of Taiwan for almost three decades between 1952 and 1982.

Table 4.01: The heads of the FAA / FB from 1951 to 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tenure of office</th>
<th>Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chen Baotai</td>
<td>1951 Oct. - 1952 Jul.</td>
<td>8 months, Civil official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liou Yongcyue</td>
<td>1952 Jul. - 1962 Dec.</td>
<td>10.5 years, Major General of the Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liou Guosian</td>
<td>1962 Dec - 1970 Jul.</td>
<td>7.5 years, Major General of the Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao Daoyi</td>
<td>1970 Dec. - 1982 Jun.</td>
<td>11.5 years, Rear Admiral of the Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang Yitao</td>
<td>1982 Jun. - 1986 Dec.</td>
<td>4.5 years, Civil official</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the major fishing authorities, the military also maintained strong links with fishing companies. For example, the state-run fishing company, the China Fishing Company (CFC [中國漁業公司]), was managed for a long period of time by two retired high-ranking officers, Chen Liang [陳良] and Yuan Tongchou [袁同疇]. Chen Liang graduated from the Tokyo University of Agriculture in Japan [東京農業大學]. After returning to China, he lectured at the sixth normal college of Zhejiang Province [浙江省立第六師範學校]. However, a teaching career did not suit him. In 1925, he bid farewell to the education sector and joined the Army. In a very short period of time he became a high-ranking officer in charge of military supplies and food provision. In 1946, his military career reached its apex when he was promoted to Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Logistics Command [聯合後方勤務總司令部副總司令]. In 1948, he left the military and worked for the Ministry of Food Provision [糧食部]. Before he became involved in Taiwan’s fishing industry, he also briefly held several important government positions, including a position as Mayor of Shanghai and the Minister of Transportation and Communications [交通部長]. Before the CFC was officially established, Chen was the head of the Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials [漁業善後物資管理處], which was the predecessor of the CFC.

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Chen’s successor was Yuan Tongchou [袁同疇], a retired Lieutenant General of the Army [陸軍中將]. Yuan Tongchou graduated from Nihon University in Japan [日本大學] and joined the Army after he returned to China. He was interested in the KMT’s internal affairs and was heavily involved in the armed purge of communists within the KMT. In 1947, he was elected to the National Assembly and then worked as a trustee of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation [臺灣糖業公司]. In 1963, he was appointed president of the CFC.6 The successor of Yuan Tongchou was Liou Guei [劉桂]. He was a counsellor to the Ministry of Economic Affairs [經濟部參事] and became the CFC’s president in 1964. He was the first president without a military background.7 However, the Government’s sudden decision to dismantle the CFC in 1965 also made him the last president of the CFC. The assets of the CFC were taken over by the Ocean Fisheries Development Agency (OFDA [海洋漁業開發處]).8 Table 4.02 summarises the background and heads of the CFC from 1951 until its closure in 1965.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tenure of Office</th>
<th>Background</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chen Liang</td>
<td>1951-1963 Mar.</td>
<td>Deputy Commander-in-chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Tongchou</td>
<td>1963 Mar.-1964 Jul.</td>
<td>1 yr and 5 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liou Guei</td>
<td>1964 Jul.-1965 Sep.</td>
<td>1 yr and 1 month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ‘CFC will be Reorganised [中國漁業公司再度改組],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 37, 1964, 4.

The CFC was effectively controlled by two retired high-ranking military officers for most of its existence (the period of the Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials included). The nature of the appointments of the CFC’s presidents suggest two things: first, as has been emphasised, the Government wanted...
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to keep the fishing industry, especially offshore and distant-water fisheries, under strict surveillance. Second, the Government wanted to support and maintain food provision, not only for the populace but also for the military, through the control and development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. This is why Chen Liang, a former logistics deputy commander-in-chief, was trusted with the CFC presidency for more than ten years. Although the third president of the CFC, Liou Guei, was a civil servant, his term of service was brief. In 1965, the CFC was officially taken over by the OFDA, a military department, and run directly by veterans.

The military not only dominated the fishing authorities and state-run fishing companies, it also monitored onshore fishing communities and fishing activities at sea. The archives of the Kaohsiung Fishing Boat Commercial Guild (KFBCG [高雄漁輪商業同業公會]) provides detailed information about the nature of this monitoring. The KFBCG periodically held a ‘member representatives’ conference’ [會員代表大會]. Before this conference could be held, the KFBCG had to obtain permission from their local municipal government. The conference applications were not only submitted to the Kaohsiung City Government, but duplicate copies were also sent to the City Police Department [高雄市警察局], the local police post [派出所] and the Kaohsiung Branch of the Taiwan Garrison Command [警備總部分區指揮部]. The KFBCG archives show that representatives of the military and police always attended these meetings although, on most occasions, said nothing. It appears that their job was solely to monitor the conferences.

The degree of social and political control exercised over the fishing community can also be observed from the standard procedures followed at these conferences. For example, at the second conference for the representatives of the fourth cohort in April 1972, all participants stood to attention and sang the national anthem at the beginning of the conference. Then they paid their respects to the national flag and Sun Chung-shan ([孫中山], the Founding Father of the ROC) by bowing three times. Finally, the chairperson read the annual instructions of President Chiang Kai-shek [蔣介石] to the conference. All such conferences could not start

9 KFBCG, 2nd Conference Records of the 4th Cohort Member Representatives [本會第四屆第二次會員代表大會會議記錄], 10/4/1972. Copies of the application forms were never sent to the KMT. However, the representative of the Kaohsiung Branch of the KMT still attended their conference.
without these ‘quasi-religious’ political ceremonies and rituals. Although the opening procedures of these conferences seem extreme, in the years of the White Terror ([白色恐怖] 1949- 1987), any KFBCG representative who attended had to follow them.11

Besides the conference of KFBCG representatives, the leadership of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities often met and discussed fisheries affairs by holding ‘Guild supervisors’ meetings’ [理事會] or ‘Combined Meetings for Guild Supervisors and Directors’ [理監事聯席會]. The number of participants at these meetings was so small that the ‘quasi-religious political state ceremonies’ were not practiced. Also, representatives of the KMT, the military and the police did not attend. However, the supervisors’ meetings were still monitored by the ‘Guidance Division’ [輔導組], a branch of the KFBCG comprising representatives of the military. Military representatives directly involved in the fishing community of Kaohsiung date back to 1966 when a ‘Security Office’ [安全室] was established at the Taiwan Garrison Command’s request. Unlike other civilian divisions of the KFBCG,12 the recruitment and dismissal of Security Office staff was handled by the Taiwan Garrison Command. The KFBCG, however, was still responsible for the Security Office’s

10 KFBCG, ‘Procedure Order of the 2nd Conference of the 4th Cohort Member Representatives [本會第四屆第二次會員代表大會議事程序表],’ 10/4/1972. Such quasi-religious political ceremonies were also practiced in every temporary conference of the Guild member representatives. Please see KFBCG, ‘Procedure Order of the 1st Temporary Conference of the 5th Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第五屆第一次臨時會員代表大會程序],’ 20/8/1974. After Chiang, Kai-shek died, the KFBCG was asked to read Chiang’s will [蔣公遺囑] instead. In this regard, please see KFBCG, ‘2nd Conference Records of the 6th Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第六屆第二次會員代表大會],’ 9/3/1976.

11 In fact, these quasi-religious political ceremonies were practiced not only in the fishing industry, but also in schools, government institutes and large civilian conferences during Chiang’s regime. The term White Terror, in the context of post-war Taiwanese history, is used to describe the atmosphere of fear, threat and intimidation created by the Taiwan Garrison Command by means of surveillance, illegal imprisonment, assassination, and imposition of the death penalty under martial law from 1949 to 1987.

12 ‘Annual Plan of the KFBCG, 1977 [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會六十六年度工作計劃]’ from KFBCG, ‘Staff Regulations of KFBCG [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會辦事人員組織章程],’ 12/6/1965. Besides the National Security Office there were the General Affairs Section [總務組], the Accounting Section [會計組] and the Business Affairs Section [業務組] that were involved in the daily affairs of the Guild.

13 KFBCG, ‘21st Meeting Records of the 4th Cohort Directors [第四屆第二十一次理事會議紀錄],’ 1/12/1972. In 1972, Mr. Wang Jhu, a staff member [輔導員王鑄] of the Guidance Dept. quit his job. The Taiwan Garrison Command soon dispatched Huang Jiyun Yao [黃俊堯] to fill the vacancy. This indicates that the Taiwan Garrison Command directly controlled the Guidance staff of the KFBCG.
finances, including all personal expenses. The singular position of these security people within the fishing industry can be illustrated by their salaries. In 1966, the head of each civilian division of the KFBCG received NT$2,000 per month, while the deputy head of the SO earned NT$2,200 monthly.\(^{14}\)

The military not only monitored every onshore activity of the fishing communities, they also controlled fishing activities in the Taiwan Strait by establishing and controlling what was called the ‘Fishing Prohibited Zone’ \[禁止捕魚區\]. After 1950, the Taiwan military attempted to control fishing activities in the Strait by the strict demarcation of the boundaries of the fishing grounds. According to the draft plan, the Taiwan Strait was divided into two zones: the ‘Unrestricted Fishing Zone’ \[自由作業區\] and the ‘Restricted or Escorted Fishing Zone’ \[保護作業區\]. The latter zone was located in the northern part of the strait and only fishing vessels with proper equipment and permission from the military were allowed to work there.\(^{15}\)

The complete withdrawal of the KMT’s troops from China caused a dramatic reduction in the size of Taiwan’s fishing grounds. After 1951, all trawlers from Taiwan, including those from Kaohsiung and Keelung, were no longer permitted to fish in waters north of latitude 29 or enter waters within 30 nautical miles of China’s coast. The Government’s decision to withdraw its troops from Dachen Island \[大陳\] close to the coast of China on 1 January 1954 further reduced the size of the fishing grounds. Taiwanese fishing vessels were, from then on, prohibited from operating in the waters north and west of the centre of the Taiwan Strait for military reasons.\(^{16}\)

In November 1963, the Government, ignoring the traditional rights of the Taiwanese fishers, officially divided the Taiwan Strait into the ‘Unrestricted Fishing...
Zone’ [自由捕魚區] and the ‘Prohibited Zone’ [禁止捕魚區]. This politically motivated administrative measure created numerous problems for Taiwan’s fishing communities; but in practice, the Government could not prevent fishers from operating in the Prohibited Zone. Every year many fishing vessels also accidentally entered the Prohibited Zone.

In 1966, the Government finally eased restrictions on the northern fishing grounds, allowing vessels to fish in the northern fishing grounds again—with the Government’s approval. This important change came into formal practice under an administrative decree of the Ministry of Defence [國防部] in July 1973. According to this decree the Prohibited Zone was reclassified as the ‘Conditional Fishing Zone’ [申請捕魚區].

During that period, the restricted boundaries of the fishing grounds were not entirely due to the military conflict between Taiwan and China. The Government’s lack of trust in fishers as security minded citizens was another important reason. Fishers were one of the few groups that were able to regularly go overseas and who were likely to encounter ‘red bandits’ [共匪], or the Chinese communists. In order to prevent fishers from being directly affected by such contact and the ideological and political propaganda of the Chinese communists, the Government and military worked hard to ensure the segregation of Taiwanese fishers from the Chinese people. However, the geographical proximity of Taiwan to China made this task extremely difficult. Apart from boundary maintenance, the military employed a number of strategies to control Taiwanese fishing activities in the waters near the China coast.

Initially, the military attempted to indoctrinate Kaohsiung’s fishers by holding anti-communist seminars. By January 1967, barely one year after the Security Office was established, more than one thousand fishers in Kaohsiung had already attended seminars about ‘elementary knowledge on intelligence’ [保防常識]. Furthermore, anticommunist bulletins were widely distributed, teaching Kaohsiung

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18 A Study on the Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 34.
fishers how to prevent ‘red bandits’ from collecting sensitive information. Also, before leaving for the conditional fishing zone, fishers had to attend self-defence lectures [安全防護教育]. The aim of these lectures was to develop the fishers’ knowledge and skills on how to handle emergencies that could occur at sea.

Secondly, after 1973, all vessels that wanted to operate in the ‘Conditional Fishing Zone’ had to work in groups. Leading officers of each vessel were required to attend a four-hour workshop on national security. Any intelligence information that a fishing vessel collected at sea had to be reported in detail to the Guidance Division. In order to ensure that these regulations were followed, the Taiwan Garrison Command assigned an escort, a ‘guardian vessel’ [輔導員], for every twenty fishing vessels.

In 1975, the military adopted an unusual, if not extreme, method to further discourage vessels from working in Chinese waters. The military required all vessel owners to paint anticommunist slogans on either side of the hulls of their vessels. These slogans included ‘Strike down goddamned Mao Zedong!’ [打倒毛匪澤東], ‘Catch goddamned Zhou Enlai!’ [活捉周匪恩來], ‘Eliminate all red bandits!’ [消滅共產匪黨], ‘Fulfil Dr. Sun’s three principles!’ [實行三民主義]. This extraordinary demand placed vessel owners in a dilemma. The KFBCG finally reached a compromise with the military: the majority of Kaohsiung’s fishing vessels which operated in distant fishing grounds, such as in northern Australian and New Zealand waters, would be exempted from painting patriotic slogans on their hulls. In other words, only those vessels which


21  ‘The Implementation Progress of the Work Plans of 1975 [六十四年度工作計劃執行情形]’ and ‘The 1976 Work Plans of the KFBCG [六十五年度工作計劃]’ from KFBCG, ‘19th Combined Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors and Supervisors [第五屆第十九次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 22/1/1976. It was difficult to have fishers attend self-defence lectures due to their uncertain schedules, thus, after 1975 the military decided to produce a film about self-defence techniques and have fishers watch in their own time instead. The film was produced both in Mandarin and Taiwanese.

22  KFBCG, ‘9th Temporary Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors [第五屆第九次臨時理事會紀錄],’ 5/12/1974. ‘Management Regulations for the Group Operation of Fishing Vessels [高市漁船出海商擬編組管理],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 12/12/1960. The idea of working in groups had been suggested as early as December 1960 by the Provincial Fishermen’s Association of Taiwan [臺灣省漁會] under the consideration of operation safety. It had nothing to do with national security. However, the Taiwan Garrison Command soon realised that asking fishing vessels to work in groups was very impractical and soon postponed this plan. See, ‘Difficult to Come into Effect Working in Group has been Postponed [漁船編組出海實施有困難已暫緩施行],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 26/12/1960.
operated in the Taiwan Strait, the East, and South China Seas were required to paint slogans on their hulls.23

The military and Government also used a variety of methods to track the movement of fishers in distant waters. In the early post-war years, the shortage of civilian radio operators forced the fishing industry to rely heavily on retired signalmen from the military.24 With the assistance of these wireless operators, fishing vessels, no matter where they were operating, were always under the military’s surveillance. The use of military radio operators did not change until 1956 when the Government started to train civilian radiomen for the fishing industry. In that year, 48 fishers recommended by fishing companies were trained by the FAA for half a year. In 1958, 40 additional persons were trained by the FAA: twelve were from Keelung, thirty from Kaohsiung, and fifteen were dispatched by the ‘Veterans Affairs Commission’ (VAC [國軍退除役官兵就業輔導委員會]), one of the most important military organisations in post-war Taiwan. By 1958, only one out of three radio operators came from the military.25 On the other hand, from 1956 to 1976, twelve cohorts of radio operators were trained. The details of the training, such as the number of trainees, the origin of the trainees, and where they were dispatched afterwards, changed only slightly for each group.26 However, it was an unwritten law that all radiomen had to be members of the KMT.27 In 1964, the Taiwan Garrison Command took a further step to tighten security on board vessels and set up the ‘Committee of Radiomen Deployment’, which formally controlled the dispatch of all radiomen.28


25 ‘The Training of Radiomen will Start on the 1st of the Following Month [漁船報務人員訓練 下月一日開學],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 24/10/1958.


The Government, with the radiomen’s help, knew the whereabouts and every move that Taiwanese fishers made at sea; and there are ample records in the KFBCG archives detailing the resulting rewards and punishment of fishers.²⁹ Fishers operating offshore and in distant waters were awarded certificates of merit by the Government for a variety of reasons. For example, some fishers received certificates for refusing to surrender to alien vessels when caught illegally fishing in foreign waters;³⁰ others received certificates for collecting intelligence and other information for the military.³¹ On the other hand, fishers were punished by the Government for disobeying the military’s instructions. Entry into prohibited zones, mooring in China’s fishing ports,³² or losing confidential documents, such as radio codebooks, could result in severe punishment for fishers. An example of such an incident is discussed in the China Fisheries News. On 8 May 1960, the Haipeng nos. 3 and 5 [海鵬三, 五號] were captured by a Chinese patrol craft. In the course of the emergency and boarding of the vessels, the fishing master, Chen Guangrong [陳光榮], and the radioman, Jhang Wanfu [張萬福], failed to destroy the classified documents they held on board. Instead, they handed all documents, including the master plan, codebooks and safety routes of the Dasia Military Exercise [大廈演習] to the Chinese soldiers in exchange for their own release and safe passage. This decision caused them grave problems when they returned to Taiwan. They were interrogated by the Taiwan Garrison Command and charged with revealing military secrets.³³ They were consequently sentenced to prison for one year and four months respectively.³⁴

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²⁹ Incidences of punishment and reward of fishers are plentiful. However, most of them are very vague due to confidentiality concerns.


³¹ KFBCG, ‘4th Meeting Records of the 6th Cohort Directors [第六屆第四次理事會議紀錄],’ 19/8/1976. To put the US Navy under surveillance, USSR trawler fleet collected military intelligence in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans during the Cold War. It would be fascinating if we can make a comparison study between the case in Taiwan and the cases in Europe.

³² Ibid.


³⁴ ‘Chen Guangrong and his Accomplice Sentenced [陳光榮等被判徒刑],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 19/9/1960.
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case illustrates that the difficulties encountered by fishers operating in Chinese waters not only came from Chinese patrol craft, but also from the military and the intelligence branch of the Taiwan Government.

The military not only kept the fishing industry and communities under constant surveillance, they also adopted vigorous measures to mobilise fishers and fishing vessels to aid in military action. In November 1959, the Ministry of National Defence [國防部] decided that all vessels over 50 tons must participate in a week-long training exercise during July, August or September of each year.35 Sometimes the exercise was launched in Taiwan’s waters,36 and sometimes in Chinese waters which were considered a ‘war zone’ at that time. In 1960, three trawlers from Kaohsiung, Yongjin no. 3 [湧進三號] and Sinfong nos. 1 and 2 [新豐一, 二號], were deployed in a 25-day military mobilisation, named the Jingteng Exercise [鯨騰]. Their task was to transport military supplies from Penghu to Jinmen [金門], a small island near China, and then return to Kaohsiung under heavy artillery fire from the Chinese coast. This mission was not complicated, but it was extremely dangerous.37

Although vessel owners would receive compensation from the Government whenever their vessels were mobilised, most owners did not like these assignments for two reasons. Firstly, the commandeering of fishing vessels paralysed the fishing company’s operations. Most vessel owners, therefore, found it burdensome and not worthwhile.38 Secondly, the hulls of the fishing vessels were easily damaged in the process of an amphibious landing [搶灘].39 In 1969, the fishing companies learnt that the military might increase the amount of compensation for ships that were commandeered. Without verifying the veracity of the information, the fishing

35 ‘MND has Made a Training Programme for Motorised Fishing Vessels [國防部會商訂定機漁船訓練計 劃],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 23/11/1959.
36 ‘Fishing Vessels had Mobilisation Exercises in Tainan and Kaohsiung [南高－帶漁船舉行動員演習],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 13/3/1958. Sometimes fishing vessels participated in military exercises in the waters near their homeport, which was very safe.
37 ‘Mobilisation Exercises Successfully Completed Last Month [船舶動員演習上月圓滿結束],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 4/7/1960. In fact, the vessels were not recruited for military exercise. They were mobilised to participate in a real battle. Luckily, all the vessels and crew members returned to Kaohsiung safely.
38 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 1/7/2002 afternoon.
companies urged the Government to increase the amount of compensation immediately.\textsuperscript{40} Clearly, the companies were not happy with the level of remuneration they received from the military for damage or loss of their vessels.

However, at formal public occasions and in the presence of Government officials, the fishing companies still maintained respect for military authority even though most owners disliked the military commandeering their vessels. Wang Jhennan [王鎮南], the chairperson of a KFBCG conference held in 1967, voiced such sentiments in his opening address:

\begin{quote}
We not only stabilise the Province’s fish prices, but also ensure that food supplies to the military and the populace is sufficient at all times… Our trawler fleets are well-organised. If the Government needs us to assist in military transportation [軍運], we can be mobilised very quickly to coordinate with military action.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

When real engagements with China took place, there was no room for equivocation; fishing vessels were arbitrarily taken possession of for military service. In August 1958, the ‘823 Bombardment’ [八二三砲戰], one of the largest and most severe engagements, took place. A number of fishing vessels were mobilised to transport military supplies and equipment between Taiwan and the frontline of outer islands. Their small size prevented them from being easily hit by artillery fire and, as a result, the deployment of fishing vessels for transporting supplies proved an excellent strategy. Only one vessel, \textit{Anhua no. 2} [安華二號], was damaged by Chinese shell fire. The fishing master, Song Yucheng [宋玉成], perished in the battle and one of the crew, Jhang Linsen [張林森], was wounded. The title of Navy Lieutenant [海軍中尉] was conferred upon Song posthumously and compensation was paid to both families as well as the vessel owner.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40} KFBCG, ‘KFBCG Handbook, 1969 [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會會員代表五十八年度聯誼會手冊],’ n.d.
\textsuperscript{41} KFBCG, ‘1st Conference Records of the 2nd Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第二屆第一次會員代表大會會議紀錄],’ 20/1/1967.
\textsuperscript{42} ‘President Made Compensation to Fisher Who Perished in Battle [徵調服役漁船陣亡人員 總統頒發慰問金],' \textit{China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞]}, 2/3/1959. Robb Robinson, \textit{Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fishery}, Devon, University of Exeter Press, 1998, 174. The requisition of fishing vessels for military purposes can readily be found in countries with industrialised fishing fleets. During the Second World War, 816 English and Welsh trawlers were requisitioned by the military; 200 steam drifters were also taken into naval services.
The fishing industry’s newspapers and journals offer a unique perspective on the nature of the interaction between the fishing industry and the Government—especially the military. Firstly, the Government used the newspapers and journals as an instrument or organ to present their political ideology to fishers. The fishing industry’s newspapers and journals, published in the early post-war years, were full of political commentary and anticommunist propaganda that was exaggerated and, in retrospect, even humorous at times. Examples of headlines include: ‘Mazu Garrisons Comforted Fleeing Chinese Fishers and Convinced them to go Home and Wait for the KMT’s Counterattack’ [馬祖前線守軍當局 慰問大陸逃亡漁民 並勸他們回去等待反攻],[43] ‘Red Bandits’ Plots Forced Some Hong Kong Fishing Vessels to Stop Their Operations’ [在共匪陰謀破壞之下 香港各大漁業公司 部份漁船被迫停業];[44] ‘Three Fishing Vessels Escaped Death by a Hair’s Breadth’ [三漁船死裡逃生記];[45] ‘Jhongsing no. 33 Bombarded by Red Bandits for Fishing Beyond the Boundary’ [中興三十三號漁船 越界捕魚遭匪炮擊];[46] ‘Red Bandits Dread our Counterattack so they have Closed Most of their Fishing Ports!’ [共匪畏懼國軍反攻 沿海漁港多被封閉];[47] ‘Red Bandits’ Exploitation Never Eases. Fishers in Mainland China Live in Despair’ [共匪壓搾剝削永無止境 大陸漁民限入絕路];[48] ‘15 Fishers Waved Farewell to Mazu and Returned to the Iron Curtain with Tears’ [十五漁民熱淚盈眶 惜別馬祖重入鐵幕].[49]

[43] ‘Mazu Garrisons Comforted Fleeing Chinese Fishers and Convinced Them to Go Home and Wait for the KMT’s Counterattack’ [馬祖前線守軍當局 慰問大陸逃亡漁民 並勸他們回去等待反攻], China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 11/6/1957. Mazu is a small island which is controlled by Taiwan’s garrison.

[44] ‘Red Bandits’ Plots Forced Some Hong Kong Fishing Vessels to Stop their Operations’ [在共匪陰謀破壞之下 香港各大漁業公司 部份漁船被迫停業], China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 31/7/1958.


[47] ‘Red Bandits Dread our Counterattack so they have Closed Most of their Fishing Ports!’ [共匪畏懼國軍反攻 沿海漁港多被封閉], China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 3/9/1956.


[49] ‘15 Fishers Waved Farewell to Mazu and Returned to the Iron Curtain with Tears’ [十五漁民熱淚盈眶 惜別馬祖重入鐵幕], China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 10/12/1956.
Basically, such stories from the fishing industry’s newspapers can be classified into three different themes. First, they aimed at exaggerating the misery of the Chinese fishers in order to highlight the decent standard of living of Taiwan’s fishing communities. Chinese fishers were depicted as miserable peasants and coolies who suffered from torture and beatings at the hands of the Chinese Communists and, hence, they were anxious to escape from China. Second, the stories were a vehicle for broadcasting military policies and propaganda. The Government actively tried to prevent Taiwanese fishers from working in the waters off China. Hence, the danger of fishing in Chinese waters was always exaggerated in fisheries newspapers. Third, the stories emphasised how Chinese fishers hoped that Chiang Kai-shek would launch a counterattack and wipe out Beijing’s communist regime. The story ‘15 Fishers Waved Farewell to Mazu and Returned to the Iron Curtain with Tears’ is a classic example. The story describes how a group of Chinese fishers fled to Mazu and enjoyed a free and happy life there for one week. However, in order to prevent the persecution of their family members by the Communists, they had to return to China. The Chinese fishers sincerely hoped that the ‘mighty and wise’ President Chiang would liberate the Chinese people from slavery as soon as possible. Before they boarded their vessel for the return journey, all the fishers wept, stood solemnly before the portrait of President Chiang, and finally bowed as a sign of respect. The scenario was so touching that everyone present was moved to tears. In an era of high political tension and propaganda wars, all political information was strictly controlled by the Government. The general public, especially those with limited education, may have genuinely believed many of these newspaper stories.

While the military and the Government used newspapers for their own propaganda and political purposes, the fishing industry also used these newspapers and magazines, mainly the Fisheries Tribune, to publicise their loyalty to the KMT Government. An incident associated with ‘Kuralon Netting Rope’ is a good case in point. Kuralon Netting Rope was one of the most important staple products in Taiwan’s fishing communities. However, in 1963, its manufacturer, the Kurashiki Textile Limited Company, signed a business contract with China with the consent of the Japanese Government. As a result, Kurashiki’s manufacturing facilities and stock, worth approximately twenty million American dollars, was transferred to China. Although, in theory, international trade between
Japan and China was of no concern to Taiwan, the Taiwanese fishing industry still protested strongly against this technology transfer and business deal. They suggested to the relevant authorities, through the *Fisheries Tribune*, that the Taiwan External Trade Association (外貿會), the JCRR (農復會) and the FAA (漁管處) should boycott Kurashiki’s products.\(^50\) In fact, such an embargo was unlikely to have any real influence on the future development of the Japanese textile company. However, the fishing industry was fully aware that such a public demonstration would please the KMT Government.

To implore Chiang Kai-shek to continue his ‘reign’ was also an astute way to please the KMT Government. In 1959, Chiang Kai-shek’s presidency was drawing to an end. At their annual conference, the Taiwan Fisheries Academy (臺灣省水產學會), along with eight other agricultural research groups, proposed an ‘impromptu’ motion to ask Chiang Kai-shek to continue his presidency. They not only dispatched telegrams to the Presidential Palace (總統府) and the National Assembly (國民大會), but also asked the *China Fisheries Newspaper* (中國漁業新聞) to publish the content of these two telegrams on its front page.\(^51\)

Besides flattering the KMT with praiseworthy language in the fishing industry’s newspapers and magazines, the fishing communities also took specific public action to earn the Government’s trust. For example, when Chiang Kai-Shek died in 1975, the FKBCG promised the Government $NT100,000 for the construction of Chiang Kai-shek’s Memorial Hall (中正紀念堂). In order to raise this money, the FKBCG levied a compulsory $NT500 tax on every unit of pair-trawlers while the FKBCG itself would donate the outstanding difference. The same levy approach was also used to support other patriotic activities, such as the *Sian-ji-bao-\(^50\) Kuralon Collaborates with Red Bandits: It Should be Boycotted (可樂隆資匪 應停止使用),’ *Fisheries Tribune* (漁業論壇), no.27, 1963, 5, and ‘Advertisement: Kuralon Netting Rope (可樂隆牌漁網繩纜),’ *China Fisheries News* (中國漁業新聞), 19/2/1962.

\(^{51}\) ‘Nine Academic Groups Implore our President to Continue his Presidency (上電總統請繼續領導),’ *China Fisheries News* (中國漁業新聞) 21/12/1959. The content of those two telegrams was extremely flattering. It seems that they were teasing Chiang. In fact, this kind of flattering scenario was repeated whenever Chiang’s Presidency was reaching the end of a term. See KFBCG, ‘13th Meeting Records of the 4th Cohort Directors (第四屆第十三次理事會議記錄),’ 28/2/1972. In 1972, Chiang, Kai-shek’s Presidency was once again coming to the end of a term, and the Guild, like any other social group, made an appeal to Chiang for re-election, because ‘all the Chinese compatriots were waiting for his lead to complete the grand project for national reconstruction’ (復國大業).
guo (獻機報國) movement of 1975. The following year, one year after Chiang died, the Guild mobilised Kaohsiung’s fishing communities to commemorate the former leader at ceremonies held at the Cihhu Mausoleum (慈湖). The FKBCG Guild made it compulsory for each of the fishing companies to send at least one representative together with the Guild directors and supervisors to the ceremony.

On the occasion of every traditional festival, such as the Spring Festival (春節), the Mid-Autumn Festival (中秋節) and the Dragon Boat Festival (端午節), the fishing industry always gave the military money or gifts in recognition of their supportive efforts. Similarly, when the 823 Bombardment was at its worst stage, the fishing industry of Kaohsiung raised funds for national defence. The staff of the Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association donated one day’s wages to assist the Government. The Association also devised a detailed plan to raise money from local trawlers owners, longliner towkays, mainland Chinese trawler laobans, and from those vessels engaged in coastal fisheries and aquaculture. The newspapers emphasised that mainland Chinese trawler laobans were most enthusiastic in supporting this fund-raising activity.

The fishing industry of Kaohsiung also always extended their condolences to those families who lost their sons in battle whenever there was a military engagement with China. For example, during the ‘86 naval battle’ (八六海戰) which occurred in 1965, two Taiwanese warships—the 1,250 ton Jianmen (劍門) and the 300 ton Jhangjiang (滄江)—were trapped on their way to Jinmen, and were sunk by Chinese torpedo boats following a fierce battle. Of the crew, 32 men were captured and 197 killed in action. This battle was considered the most heroic instance of sea

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54 ‘Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association was Raising Funds to Support the Frontline [高市漁會發動漁民踊躍捐獻支援前線],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 12/9/1958.

warfare in Taiwan’s history. As a result, Kaohsiung’s fishing industry was anxious to support the families that had directly suffered from this naval tragedy.\(^{56}\)

The fishing industry’s constant efforts to contribute towards the social security of the society and to maintain good relationships with the Government and military were readily recognised. Jhao Jingshan 趙景山, the representative of the Kaohsiung City Government, officially affirmed the KFBCG’s achievements and contributions at a representatives’ conference held in 1968. He stated:

> The remarkable achievements which the Guild has accomplished over the previous three years are there for all to see. I note the Guild’s donations to the military [勞軍捐款] and winter relief [冬令救濟] as just two examples of ways in which the Guild has become actively involved on an annual basis. We know that the Guild has done an outstanding job in helping the Government implement its decrees.\(^{57}\)

The complex relationships between the Government, the military and the fishing industry amounted to more than simply ‘control and be controlled’. It is necessary to note that, occasionally, the military’s action was taken out of genuine support for the fishing industry, particularly the vessel owners. Firstly, the military supported vessel owners when the fishers took strike action. Fishers’ strikes were viewed by the Government as a serious threat to the operation of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, national security, as well as social stability, particularly during the period of martial law. The strategy used by vessel owners to bring an end to these strikes was to seek help from both the Guidance Department and the military.\(^{58}\) This strategy was always effective. In a strike during the 1970s, the vessel owners and fishers were in a negotiation deadlock over a wage dispute. The strike ended ‘peacefully’ immediately after the military officers shouted: ‘Get aboard your vessels or get into the prison vans!’\(^{59}\)

\(^{56}\) KFBCG, ‘3\(^{rd}\) Combined Meeting Records of the 1\(^{st}\) Cohort Directors and Supervisors', 21/8/1965.

\(^{57}\) KFBCG, ‘2\(^{nd}\) Conference Records of the 2\(^{nd}\) Cohort Member Representatives’, 22/1/1968.

\(^{58}\) KFBCG, ‘13\(^{th}\) Combined Meeting Records of the 5\(^{th}\) Cohort Directors and Supervisors’, 24/1/1975.

\(^{59}\) Interview, Li Jijhao, Taipei, 22/3/2002.
Secondly, Navy patrols in disputed fishing grounds often protected fishing vessels from being harassed by foreign patrol boats. However, it is questionable how much help the Navy actually provided in such situations. Perhaps the only real support that the Navy provided fishers in the Taiwan Strait and South China Sea had been psychological.  

Thirdly, the fishing industry expected the military to purchase large amounts of fish products and aid in the regulation of fish prices in the domestic market. In May 1974, for the first time, the KFBCG asked the military to buy more fish products. The KFBCG directors, Li Jijhao [李繼招] and Chen Gongfu [陳功復], on behalf of fishing companies, held trade talks with the Marine Corps Headquarters [陸戰隊司令部], and, fortunately, met with a positive response. Simultaneously, the Fisheries Bureau promised to help the KFBCG in reaching a similar agreement with the Air Force.

The fishing industry of Kaohsiung and Taiwanese politics

Under such strict control and surveillance of the Government and military, who could speak out on behalf of the interests of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry when they needed help? According to the electoral system of the ROC, some members of parliament were elected as general members while others were elected as representatives of various trade organisations [職業團體]. Ten National Assembly Delegates and three Legislators were elected from China’s fishing industry in 1949. Strictly speaking, they were the political representatives of the Chinese fishers and fishing enterprises. After the Chinese Communists came to power, most of these Delegates and Legislators had fled to Taiwan with the KMT Government. Under Chiang’s regime they were allowed to renew their term of office without facing re-election.

Table 4.03 summarises the National Assembly Delegates elected by China’s fishing industry in 1949. However, not all of these Delegates were deeply involved in China’s fishing industry. Jhang Zihjhu, for example, studied economics in France.

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60 Ibid. In fact, the Navy escorts did not render much help to the fishing vessels, but they did boost fishers’ courage to work in comparatively dangerous waters. The Guild leaders also realised that too.

and then lectured at various universities in China. As a key member of the China Youth Party [中國青年黨], he was enthusiastic about politics and ran several newspapers at different points in time. A career in education, politics and mass media occupied much of his time in China, with no prior evidence indicating that he had been involved in the fishing industry.62

Table 4.03: The National Assembly Delegates elected from China’s fishing circles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Assembly Delegate</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Political Affiliation</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dai Singti 邓行悌</td>
<td>Zhejiang 浙江</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang Chengzong 唐承宗</td>
<td>Jiangsu 江蘇</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td>1949-1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Pingguei 王平貴</td>
<td>Hebei 河北</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyu Hancheng 曲漢承</td>
<td>Shandong 山東</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang Yuntai 張雲泰</td>
<td>Qingdao 青島</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cai Yiren 蔡義軔</td>
<td>Guangdong 廣東</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang Yunhan 張雲漢</td>
<td>Hunan 湖南</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Zihliang 吳子良</td>
<td>Nanjing 南京</td>
<td>KMT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang Zihjhu 張子柱</td>
<td></td>
<td>The China Youth Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen XX</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Democratic Socialist Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zuo Yigong, ‘Members of National Parliaments from the Fishing Industry [漁民團體的中央民意代表],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 98, 1972, 5. Previously, journals, newspapers and books published in Taiwan were not allowed to name dignitaries who had surrendered to the Chinese communists. As a result, Chen’s given name is not available.

Many of the early Parliamentarians left the fishing industry after moving to Taiwan. Tang Chengzong had been the general manager of the Shanghai Fish Market, and then subsequently worked for the ‘China Mariners’ Insurance Corporation’ [中國航聯產物保險公司] after moving to Taiwan. After he died of chronic rheumatism, his vacancy was filled by Lin Cifong [林岐峰], who was from Kaohsiung County. Similarly, Jhang Yunhan worked as the Chief Secretary [主任秘書] in the Agriculture and Forestry Company of Taiwan (AFCT [臺灣農林公司]), and then left the fishing industry, working...

as Head of Directors [主任委員] at a KMT county branch. Wu Zhi-liang also devoted himself to the educational sector and left the fishing industry.\(^63\)

A similar process happened within the Legislative Yuan (the Legislative Parliament). Not all of the legislators came from the fishing industry or were heavily involved in fisheries. Jiang Zuojhou joined the KMT forces shortly after he graduated from university, and spent most of his time in the army, ultimately becoming a high-ranking military officer. He was elected into the Legislative Yuan as a representative of Shandong’s fishing industry simply because he held, concurrently, the post of head of the Shandong Fisheries Association [山東省漁聯會].\(^64\)

On the other hand, Sie Jhesheng received a Masters degree in Economics from Oxford University and had worked in both academic and financial circles in Guangdong Province [廣東省]. His election to the Legislative Yuan came about primarily because he participated in the establishment of the Hainan Fishing Company [海南水產公司].\(^65\) How much these elected legislators really knew about the fishing industry at the time of their election is questionable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislators</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Political Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jiang Zuojhou</td>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>KMT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syu Panlong</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sie Jhesheng</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>KMT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zuo Yigong, “Members of National Parliaments from the Fishing Industry [漁民團體的中央民意代表],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 98, 1972, 5.

Moreover, their comparatively weak links with the Chinese fishing industry deteriorated sharply once they fled to Taiwan. Jiang Zuojhou suffered from chronic ill health, which saw him have only limited contact with the industry after moving to

\(^{63}\) Zuo Yigong, “Members of National Parliaments from the Fishing Industry [漁民團體的中央民意代表],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 98, 1972, 5.


Taipei. In the Legislative Yuan, he just sat passively and never took the floor to advocate on behalf of the fishers and the fishing industry. Syu Panlong used to work in Zhejiang’s fishing industry. He relocated to Taiwan in 1948, but then mysteriously disappeared from public affairs for unknown reasons. Sie Jhesheng had worked for the preparatory committee of the Hainan Fishing Company [海南水產公司籌備委員會] in China. He stayed in Taiwan for only a brief period before leaving for Southeast Asia to promote Chinese culture and education.66

Although most of these Legislators and National Assembly Delegates proclaimed to be representatives of the fishing industry, they never had much real contact with Taiwan’s fishing circles. An exception was Dai Singti, who graduated from the Provincial Fishery School of Zhejiang [浙江省水產學校], then studied the manufacture of fishing gear at the Chiba Fisheries Research Institute, Japan [千葉水產試驗所]. After returning to China, he worked at the Institute of Zoology and Botany of the Academia Sinica [中央研究院動物植物研究所]. Simultaneously, he held the post of Head of the Zhejiang Fisheries Association and was in charge of the training of local fishers. In 1946, he became the Principal of the National Zhafu Fishery School [國立乍浦水產學校]. The following year, he was elected to the National Assembly as a Delegate on behalf of the fishing industry. His enthusiasm for fisheries education did not wane after he moved to Taiwan. Dai established two maritime colleges and served as Principal for three fisheries-related schools at different points in time. In 1949, he was appointed Principal of the Provincial Fishery Vocational School of Kaohsiung [省立高雄水產職業學校]. Four years later, he worked as the Director of the Steering Committee of the Provincial Marine College of Taiwan [臺灣省立海事專科學校], and then served as Principal of this new college until 1956.67 In 1957, he was elected on the basis of his experience in fisheries education, as the Head of the Taiwan Provincial Fishermen’s Association [臺灣省漁會理事長].68

66 Zuo Yigong, ‘Members of National Parliaments from the Fishing Industry [漁民團體的中央民意代表],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 98, 1972, 5.


he served as principal until he passed away in 1991. Dai maintained close contact with the fishing industry, concerned himself directly with the fisheries affairs of Taiwan and relentlessly promoted fisheries education. Thus, Taiwan’s fishing communities fondly called him ‘Principal Dai’, and regarded him as a true advocate of the fishers in the National Assembly. His contributions towards the development of Taiwan’s offshore fishing industry cannot be underestimated.

Besides those elected on behalf of the fishing industry, Jhang Baoshu, a Legislator who was elected as a general member, also deserves to be mentioned. Jhang Baoshu graduated from the Provincial Fishery College of Hebei, and studied fisheries at Tokyo Imperial University. After returning to China, Jhang held the posts of Head of the Hebei Provincial Fishermen’s Association, Secretary-General of the Hebei Provincial Government, and also became the leader of the KMT’s Hebei branch. In 1948, he was elected as a Legislator, and entered the KMT political machine after moving to Taiwan. In addition to his political career, he did some teaching at the Provincial Marine College of Taiwan and the National Taiwan University. He also served as a committee member of the Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee. He published a semi-monthly fisheries magazine and wrote a number of books on the development of the fishing industry. Consequently, he was considered one of the most prolific writers in the field of Taiwan and China’s fisheries at that time, earning a Ph.D. in Fishery Studies from the University of Tokyo in 1965. From 1968 to 1979,

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69 China College of Marine Technology and Commerce [中國海事商業專科學校], online:


73 Online Directory of Government Officials [政府機關人名錄], online:
Jhang worked as the Secretary-General of the KMT [中央委員會秘書長] and became one of the most powerful political figures in Taiwan under Chiang’s Regime.74

As highlighted above, only a few Chinese Legislators and National Assembly Delegates were genuinely interested in the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry in the immediate post-war years. Three reasons help to explain why: First, they realised that their voters and their electoral districts were not in Taiwan; hence, they were under no obligation to speak for Taiwan’s fishing industry. Second, their permanent appointments in parliament made any effort to gain the fishing industry’s support unnecessary. Third, it is possible they felt a sense of cultural superiority and had little or no inclination to mingle with the local Taiwanese fishers. Thus, these politicians, with the exception Dai Singti and Jhang Baoshu, kept their political and social distance from Taiwan’s fishing industry.

Although Dai and Jhang had made significant contributions towards the development of Taiwan’s offshore fishing industry, Kaohsiung fishers still preferred to have their own people in national parliaments or local councils, rather than be forced to rely on the help of Mainland Chinese parliamentarians. They took their first political steps in this direction in the councillors election of Kaohsiung City in 1946. Cai Wunbin [蔡文賓] and Wang Shihding [王石定], two of the leading figures of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, were elected into the Kaohsiung City Council [高雄市參議會].75 Cai and Wang had two things in common. They were both important wholesalers of the Takao Fish Market [高雄魚市場] and were the only two Taiwanese trustees of that market during the colonial period. In addition, each of them had close business ties with the Japanese fishing industry and were often invited to Japan for study tours.76

Cai Wunbin, the towkay of the Marunichi Kaisha [丸二], owned a fishing fleet that consisted of nearly fifty vessels. Wang Shihding, the towkay of the Maruyama Kaisha [丸山] and a graduate of Keio University, Japan [慶應義塾大學], would pioneer

76 Interview, Cai Wun’yu, Kaohsiung, 29/5/2002.
Kaohsiung’s pair-trawl fishing. When the Japanese tuna longline fishing overwhelmed the local Kaohsiung fishing industry in the colonial period, Maruyama built two pair-trawlers and started to explore the more distant fishing grounds of the South China Sea. In the immediate post-war years, Wang held the important post of Head of Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association.77

However, his interest in politics and public affairs led to his early death. In 1947, the February 28th Incident—an armed conflict between the Taiwanese and the new Chinese rulers—saw the KMT eliminate the Taiwanese gentry that was established in the colonial period. Numerous Japanese-educated intellectuals and local political leaders were killed by the KMT’s army and police force in premeditated strikes. On 6 March 1947, Wang and his colleagues, Syu Ciouzong [許秋粽] and Huang Sih [黃賜], were killed by KMT soldiers during a military raid on Kaohsiung City. During the ensuing ‘White Terror’, much of Wang’s property was confiscated by the Government under various pretexts. Wang’s family was forced out of both local politics and the fishing industries of Kaohsiung after a series of tragic events.78 Wang’s death was not only a tragedy for his family, but also a significant setback to the post-war development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. The ruthlessness of the ‘White Terror’ campaigns forced local survivors to cooperate with the new political rulers from China. However, Cai Wunbin, after two years of a terror-stricken councillorship, decided to engage himself solely in the running of his fishing enterprise, and he retired from politics.

However, Cai Wun’yu [蔡文玉], Cai’s younger brother, was also interested in public affairs. In spite of his brother’s frightening experience, Cai Wun’yu insisted on running for city councillor. Wun’yu, twenty-one years younger than Wunbin, was sent to Tokyo in his teens by his elder brothers, and he had graduated from Keio University [慶應大學文學部].79 He returned to Taiwan in 1945, and was employed as an administrative executive [執事] by the Head of the Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association, Wang Shiding. After Wang was killed, Wun’yu took over the position of Head of the

77 Ibid., Marunichi Kaisha was renamed as Mancing Hang [滿慶行]—the fishing company which remains successful till today.


79 The Biographies of Those Who Engaged in the Fishing Industries of Early Taiwan [臺灣早期漁業人物誌], 103-104.
Fishermen’s Association. At the time, he was only 29 years old. Wang’s sudden death taught this young well-educated man that he needed to adopt a compromising political stance towards the new Chinese rulers. Hence, Wun’yu joined the KMT and successfully served as the Head of the Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association for two terms. An eminent family background and his position as Head of the Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association enabled Wun’yu to push forward an agenda for the development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Moreover, with grass-roots support from Kaohsiung’s fishing communities, Wun’yu built his political base in a very short space of time, and, in 1950, he entered the City Council with the highest number of votes. Since Wang Shiding’s death and Cai Wunbin’s abrupt withdrawal from local politics, there had been no one to speak for the interests of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Wun’yu’s election to the Council was a significant victory on behalf of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. He constantly strived for the rights of fishers and was concerned about the progress and development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry; his efforts earned him an island-wide reputation. As a result, he was subsequently elected as the Head of the Taiwan Provincial Fishermen’s Association soon after he finished his term as councillor in 1952.

In 1953, Wun’yu was invited to participate in the ‘Projection & Review Unit’ of the Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee. His participation was considered another strategic step towards the development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, because the city and port finally had their own representative in the TFPC, a national-level fisheries policymaking authority. Simultaneously, Cai Wun’yu served as the publisher of a new fisheries journal, *China Fisheries Monthly*. In 1953, in recognition of his post-war contribution to fisheries policy, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Marine Science and Resources by Nihon University, Japan. Wun’yu’s remarkable achievements in the field of fisheries development led to further opportunities opening up in the arena of politics. In the 1950s, he was invited by the KMT to undertake training in politics at its party school, the Revolution and Practice Academy. In a period when the

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80 Ibid., and interview, Cai Wun’yu, Kaohsiung, 29/5/2002.

81 The Territory of Taiwan Province accounted for most of the ROC’s post-war territory. As such, Cai, Wun’yu’s involvement in public affairs can be considered to be on a nationwide scale.
KMT controlled society closely, Wun’yu’s enrolment at the KMT school signified that the political party might trust him with an important government position in the future.\textsuperscript{82} In 1960, Wun’yu was elected into the Taiwan Provincial Assembly \([\text{臺灣省議會}]\). He was also re-elected in 1963.\textsuperscript{83}

However, in 1970, Wun’yu had been charged with corruption and sentenced to prison. His imprisonment astonished all those involved in the fishing industry of Taiwan. Many believed he was innocent and had been framed by his subordinates. Whether his ignominious end was part of a political conspiracy or not is a moot point for this study. One thing is certain, his imprisonment was more than a major setback for Wun’yu’s political career; it was a heavy blow for Kaohsiung’s fishing industry as their chief political spokesperson had been publicly discredited. Moreover, it indicated that Wun’yu and his colleagues, both in politics and the fishing industry, seemed to have misjudged the strength and character of their relationship with the KMT Government.\textsuperscript{84} Kaohsiung’s fishing industry was unable to cultivate another political personage as prominent as Cai Wun’yu until a national crisis shook the confidence of the KMT authorities in 1971.

In 1971, Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations. The loss of diplomatic support and recognition in the international arena raised the burning issue of the KMT’s political legitimacy. With a view to preventing potential political unrest, the KMT Government decided to absorb particular local elites into the national parliament. In 1972, 53 Supplementary National Assembly Delegates \([\text{增額國大}]\), 51 Supplementary Legislators \([\text{增額立委}]\) and 15 members of the Control Yuan \([\text{監察委員}]\) were formally elected into the national parliament.\textsuperscript{85} According to the electoral law, one of the 53 supplementary national assembly seats would be reserved for the

\textsuperscript{82} The Biographies of Those Who Engaged in the Fishing Industries of Early Taiwan \([\text{臺灣早期漁業人物誌}]\), 104.


\textsuperscript{84} Interview, Wang H.J., Kaohsiung, 20/4/2002. It is believed that Wun’yu’s going to prison was a result of a political plot that aimed to inflict punishment upon him for his public disobedience.

fishing industry; similarly with respect to the supplementary legislative seats. As a result, that year, two young men from the local fishing industry, Huang Zecing [黃澤青], 38, and Luo Chuanjin [羅傳進], 33, were respectively elected into the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly. It was the first time that the Taiwanese fishing industry had proper representatives in the national parliament.

Huang, who had graduated from Chung Hsing University [中興大學], was supported by the Keelung fishing community. The prosperity of his family business made him a well-known figure in the Fishing Port. He owned the Deshun Fishing Company [德順漁業公司] and already held several important posts in other fishing companies while still in his 30s. Moreover, he had served as a Keelung City Councillor and was heavily involved in local politics before he entered the Legislative Yuan in 1972. Luo Chuanjin had also graduated from Chung Hsing University. Luo’s family was originally involved in agriculture and aquaculture in Pingdong County [屏東縣], a county adjacent to Kaohsiung. In the post-war years they had moved to Kaohsiung and started their enterprise by running Hechun Fisheries Ice-Manufacturer [和春水產製冰廠]. The rapid development of Kaohsiung port in the post-war years encouraged them to invest in the fishing industry. The enormous profits generated from their fishing-related investments enabled them to gain a foothold to establish their own fisheries enterprise. In 1959, Luo’s family reorganised the Hechun Fisheries and Ice-manufacturing Company [和春漁業製冰公司], which now comprised a variety of enterprises, including fish processing and the large-scale export of fish products.

These newly-elected representatives from the fishing industry were required to represent the overall interests of the industry regardless of their electoral constituencies. Thus, Huang, originally from Keelung, now had to establish close political links with Kaohsiung’s fishing circles. As a result, he attended almost every important meeting held within the Kaohsiung fishing industry. Similarly, Luo, from Kaohsiung, also had to pay attention to fisheries affairs in other parts of Taiwan. Luo did extremely well in both the fishing and political arena. In 1972, he was elected President of the Guild, and was heavily involved in policy development within the

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86 ‘Supplementary Members of the National Parliament from the Fishing Industry [漁民增選中央民意代表],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 97, 1972, 2.
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Kaohsiung fishing industry. In 1983, he was elected into the Legislative Yuan by Taiwan’s fishing industry, and was continuously re-elected until his retirement in the late-1990s.87

The main points of this chapter about the relationships between the post-war Kaohsiung fishing industry, the military and the political complex can be summarised as follows. In the first instance, the post-war fishing industry recognised that military surveillance and administrative intervention was inconvenient to the daily running of their fishing companies. However, they still complied with the military’s instructions, seldom complaining. This was partly because, under the rule of martial law, vessel owners had no choice but to cooperate with the military, and partly because they also needed the military’s help in terms of security escorts and patterns of market consumption. However, it must also be emphasised that the fishing industry’s attitude towards the Government and military surveillance was affected by ethnic factors as well. Facing interference from the military and the KMT Government, mainland Chinese laobans were always the last group to complain.88 Furthermore, they frequently offered outright moral and material support to the military. Three factors make it possible to understand how the mainland Chinese laobans developed such a ‘complex’. First, they had just escaped from the clutches of the Chinese communists in the late-1940s and a pressing sense of political crisis and fear encouraged them to support the KMT Government and the military.89 Second, most of them were engaged in pair-trawl fishing which required them to operate in the waters of neighbouring coastal countries, such as China and Vietnam,

87 Private School Foundation [私立學校興學基金會], online: http://www.schoolfund.org.tw/List/, accessed on 19/12/2004. Luo has successfully transferred his business from fisheries to onshore enterprises. Now Luo is running a hospital, a private university and an investment company. His fisheries sector has become relatively ‘tiny’ now. When I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung, I tried hard to interview Luo, but he rejected my request tactfully, and introduced me to another interviewee instead.

88 Regarding the surveillance and mobilisation of the military, all of the fishing companies felt as if the military requirements were burdensome, but their level of annoyance differed. The local Taiwanese vessel owners could not understand why the Government did all sorts of ‘strange things’; however, the mainland Chinese laobans always showed more understanding of the Government’s actions.

89 This is not the case any more. The old generation of mainland Chinese shifted their political position dramatically after the first Taiwanese President, Lee Teng-hui, came to power in 1988. Some of them have re-established close links with China through business investment, visiting old relatives or sending their children to study in China; some of them have even moved back and resettled in China.
and hence the protection of the Navy seemed very important to them. Third, under the rule of the Chiang regime, the people who dominated the military were Mainland Chinese as well. It is possible that, as a consequence of their similar ethnic backgrounds, the trawler laobans felt more comfortable dealing with these KMT groups. This is why they often took the initiative in bringing gifts and customary greetings to the military on traditional festivals and holidays.

Furthermore, the establishment of a strong relationship between the Kaohsiung fishing industry and the political arena in Taiwan was a slow and painful process. Before the elections of Supplementary National Assembly Delegates and Supplementary Legislators and Supplementary Members of the Control Yuan were held in 1972, the parliaments (Yuan) and National Assembly were basically controlled by Mainland Chinese. It was impossible at that time for Taiwan’s fishing industry to send their own representatives to the national level parliaments. The aspirations and needs of the fishing industry could therefore not be directly conveyed to the Central Government through the parliamentary system. Hence, the fishing industry adopted two approaches to make up for this systematic lack of national representation and recognition: first, they relied on help from mainland parliamentary members; however, few of them were inclined to speak on behalf of the interests of the fishing industry. Second, they sought attention and publicity from fisheries’ magazines and newspapers in the hope that their industry appeals would attract the Government’s attention. In addition, they also tried very hard to get directly involved in politics. But their initial efforts were severely set back by the February 28th Incident in 1947 and the ensuing ‘White Terror’ campaign. The situation did not improve for the fishing industry until the elections of supplementary parliament members were held in 1972 when two representatives from Taiwan’s fishing industry were finally elected into parliament. This political process had taken almost three decades to accomplish in the aftermath of the end of World War Two.
Chapter 5

The Kaohsiung Fishing Industry and its Ancillary Industries

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the relationship between the Kaohsiung fishing industry and its ancillary industries. It is important to emphasise here that I limit my discussion to six of the most important ancillary industries associated with the Kaohsiung fishing industry: ice-manufacturers, trucking companies, shipyards, fishing equipment suppliers, security companies and stevedoring. The first three sectors were well organised and financially independent of the fishing companies. When vessel owners had business-related disputes with them, the Government did not always side with the fishing industry. On the other hand, fishing equipment suppliers were small retail businesses and household operations which produced and sold rope, nets, cables and other fishing gear, while security companies and stevedores firms comprised poor labourers who eked out an inadequate livelihood. Both the labourers and the small business owners had little market power and political clout and were not in as strong a bargaining position as the large shipyards, the icemakers and the transportation companies. By examining the interactions between the fishing companies and the aforementioned ancillary industries, I will demonstrate the behavioural characteristics of fishing vessel owners, and analyse the manner in which they both dealt with threats from other industries whose social influence and financial strength were comparable to themselves, as well as people from other social stratum like the equipment suppliers, stevedores and security companies.

The ‘war’ between the vessel owners and ice-manufacturers

The first group with a vested interest that the fishing industry fiercely fought against in the early post-war era were the ice-manufacturers. In the 1950s, refrigerators were not yet widely used on fishing vessels. Thus, having a reliable and reasonable priced
ice supply was critically important for fishing activities. Fortunately, both the price of ice and ice manufacture and supply were not an issue at the time. However, the situation dramatically changed as ice-manufacturers in Nanfang’ao [南方澳] unexpectedly increased ice prices without the Government’s authorisation in May 1958.

Map 5.01: Location of Nanfang’ao

Produced by Chen, Ta-Yuan

The rise in ice prices at Nanfang’ao, a fishing port located in the northeastern corner of Taiwan, suddenly triggered nationwide price fluctuations. The Ice-manufacturers Association of Taiwan Province (IMATP [臺灣省製冰業公會]) took similar concerted action, and encouraged all members on Taiwan (except those in Taipei City) to follow Nanfang’ao’s example after 10 May. As a result, the ice prices set for the fishing industry soared from $NT15.8 to $NT18 for 300 pounds of ice, $NT17.4 to $NT19.8 for 330 pounds and $NT21 to $NT24 for every 400 pounds. Ice prices had rapidly increased by 14 percent on average. The IMATP claimed that the rise in ice prices was meant to reflect increased costs and adjustments in the exchange rate [外匯調整]. Furthermore, the supply and demand cycle was no longer in balance, hence,
ice prices had fallen far below their real market value. The rise in the price of ice was to make the nationwide prices come back to a real value level once again.¹

In fact, the IMATP had a very good reason to raise ice prices. The average exchange rate ($NT/SUS) had fallen from $NT10.30 in 1951 to $NT24.78 in 1958. In order to recover their financial loss from the currency inflation, ice-manufacturers had to demand more money from their customers.² However, the rise in ice prices caused real concern in Taiwan’s fishing industry and it mounted a strong opposition to the increased prices. The fishing industry argued that water for ice manufacture was not imported from abroad and the increase in ice prices thus had nothing to do with adjustments in the exchange rate. Second, the rise in power rates did not really affect the running costs of the ice-manufacturers, because the increase accounted for only a small portion of ice-manufacturing costs. Finally, the rise in ice prices would discourage both the fishing industry and general public from purchasing ice, which would further worsen the problem of overproduction. The vessel owners had not been persuaded by the manufacturers’ rhetoric; instead, they remained ‘very angry’³ with the ice-manufacturers’ surprise campaign.

The Fisheries Administration Agency was placed under significant pressure from both the Fishermen’s Association and the Ministry of Economic Affairs [經濟部]. Vessel owners believed that the ice-manufacturers were trying to control and regulate ice prices through collusion [聯營]. Initially, the Construction Bureau [建設廳] of the Provincial Government sided with the fishing industry, and issued an administrative decree to prohibit any further rise in ice prices on 22 July 1958 for two reasons.⁴ Firstly, according to the Management Regulations of Agriculture, Mining, Manufacturing and Commerce in a State of National Emergency [非常時期農礦工商管理條例], ice production was under the Government’s direct control, hence ice-manufacturers were not supposed to raise prices without the prior approval of the

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¹ ‘The FAA is Trying to Stop the Rise of Ice Prices [冰塊漲價 漁管處正設法制止],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 29/5/1958; and ‘The IMATP Raises Ice Prices Arbitrarily: the Fishing Industry is Furious [製冰公會擅自抬價 漁業界均表憤怒],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 22/5/1958.


Government. Second, from an economic angle, the price of ice was already favourable for ice-manufacturers. It was therefore argued that any attempt to raise ice prices should be prohibited.5

As a consequence of government intervention, ice-manufacturers were forced to lower the price of ice from 1 August of the same year. However, this proved to be merely a temporary victory for Taiwan’s fishing industry. For several reasons, just over a month later, on 7 September, the Construction Bureau changed its position and allowed the ice-manufacturers to raise ice prices.6 Vessel owners felt betrayed when they heard this news. From their point of view, ice manufacturing was an extremely lucrative business. Even before ice prices rose, the returns from the business were 130 per cent. Once ice prices rose, the profits jumped to 162 per cent, which was considered by the fishing companies to be exorbitant.7 In 1958, there were 187 ice-manufacturers throughout Taiwan, and their daily output had reached 2,009 tons. However, only 39 per cent of the ice produced was sold. Supply had exceeded demand and ice prices should have gone down, rather than up.8 Furthermore, the average price of fish [平均魚價] had continued to decline over the previous several years. If the ice-manufacturers insisted on pushing ice prices up at this crucial moment, Taiwan’s fishing industry might ‘collapse’ [崩潰].9 Moreover,
Taiwan and China were still at war,\(^{10}\) and any major fluctuation in the price of commodities and staples like ice and fish would panic the general public.\(^{11}\) Representatives of the vessel owners and ice-manufacturers, lobbied the relevant authorities.\(^{12}\) In March 1959, two solutions were finally decided upon: first, with a view to avoiding monopoly, ice-manufacturers were prohibited from colluding. Second and most importantly, the fluctuation in the price of ice should be determined by the market—the Government was not going to intervene in this matter.\(^{13}\)

By mid-1959, with the market now deciding prices, fierce competition resulted between ice-manufacturers in Kaohsiung. Ice prices slumped from $NT15.8 to $NT12 per 300-pound unit. Hence, Hu Jidai [胡積代], head of the IMATP, fostered collusive behaviour between ice-manufacturers in Kaohsiung. Hu collaborated with the Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacturer [和春水產製冰廠], the largest civilian ice-manufacturer in Kaohsiung, by appointing its owner, Luo Dengzeng [羅登增], as the director of the IMATP Kaohsiung Branch. The Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1\(^{st}\) & 2\(^{nd}\) Plants [高雄冷凍廠/高雄製冰廠], after obtaining permission from their parent company, the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT [臺灣農林公司水產分公司], also participated in this collusion scheme.\(^{14}\)

The output of the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1\(^{st}\) & 2\(^{nd}\) Plants and the Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacturer accounted for a major portion of Kaohsiung’s ice

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\(^{11}\) ‘The Rise in Ice Prices Causes Public Panic: the Authorities should Think Carefully [冰價漲影響人心 盼當局重作考慮],’ *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 26/9/1958.

\(^{12}\) ‘The Construction Bureau will Invite the Fishing Industry to Discuss the Rise in Ice Prices [建設廳將邀漁業界代表 討論冰塊漲價事],’ *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 24/10/1958. The FAA promised to make a quick response after collecting and analysing relevant materials. The Construction Bureau demanded that the Ministry of Economic Affairs give them further instructions.

\(^{13}\) ‘The Fishing and Ice-Manufacturing Industries should Find a Solution to the Conflict of Ice Prices [漁業用冰價格問題 由漁冰業自行協議],’ *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 2/3/1959.

\(^{14}\) ‘Collusion will be Carried out by the Kaohsiung Ice-Manufacturing Industry Soon [高雄冰商聯營 最近即將實現],’ *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 26/10/1959. An important point to emphasise is that business collusion was prohibited. Therefore, in order to avoid legal problems, the ice-manufacturing industry refused to admit that they were colluding. However, their every move was monitored by reporters and exposed in newspapers.
production in the 1950s.\(^{15}\) Ice prices in Kaohsiung rose again on 21 September, 1959,\(^{16}\) which generated another wave of confrontations between fishing vessel owners and ice-manufacturers. The conflict finally reached a head in September 1960 when ice-manufacturers took joint action in cracking down on the Yuandong Fishing Company [遠東漁業公司] because it failed to pay its debts to the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1\(^{st}\) & 2\(^{nd}\) Plants on time. The financial disputes between Yuandong and the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1\(^{st}\) & 2\(^{nd}\) Plants was of little concern to outsiders. However, the heavy handed coordinated action of the ice-manufacturers against Yuandong suggested that allegations of collusion were correct. As a result of the joint action, vessel owners made strong complaints to the authorities.\(^{17}\)

The Kaohsiung City Government tried to mediate the dispute between the two parties, and on 15 September 1960 proposed several suggestions. The Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association were compelled to break off their action against the ice-manufacturers, and the manufacturers were forced to sell ice to vessel owners, despite the two parties being locked in a protracted financial dispute. In addition, changes in ice prices would be decided by the Provincial Government. Ice-manufacturers, not surprisingly, did not approve of the City Government’s suggestions. The negotiation was aborted.\(^{18}\) Ice-manufacturers proclaimed that the necessity for a single price for ice was to prevent the reoccurrence of malicious competition resulting from overproduction, hence the price should not be misinterpreted as collusion. Besides, the alleged production cost of ice was $NT23.4 per unit, but the actual selling price the ice maker asked for was only $NT22. Not surprisingly, the manufacturers claimed to be involved in a losing proposition and insisted on raising ice prices.\(^{19}\)

\(^{15}\) See Chapter 3. The aggregate output of Kaohsiung’s ice-manufacturers was 262 tons per day. Three of them accounted for 80.1 percent (210 tons to 262 tons) in 1951.

\(^{16}\) ‘Collusion will be Carried out by the Kaohsiung Ice-Manufacturing Industry,’ 26/10/1959.

\(^{17}\) ‘Difficult to Mediate the Disputes between the Vessel Owners and Ice-manufacturers [高雄市漁冰業糾紛 各執一詞調解難決],’ *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 26/9/1960. None of the ice-manufacturers were willing to sell ice to Yuandong, even though it promised to pay in cash. This retaliatory step was viewed as a warning sign to Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.

\(^{18}\) ‘Mediation between the Fishing and Ice-Manufacturing Industries has not been Successful [高市漁冰業糾紛 調處仍未成],’ *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 19/9/1960.

\(^{19}\) ‘Difficult to Mediate the Disputes between Vessel Owners and Ice-Manufacturers’, 26/9/1960.
From the standpoint of the vessel owners, ice prices should not have been raised without permission of the government, or without first informing the fishing industry. As for the accusation of collusion, vessel owners had substantial evidence. Firstly, a ‘bag man’ was jointly employed by the ice-manufacturers of Kaohsiung. This is to say, no matter which ice-manufacturer vessel owners purchased their ice from, they all had to pay their money to the same person. Secondly, the money was deposited in a joint account at the Third Credit Cooperative [第三信用合作社] under the names of Luo Dengzeng, Sha Dasin [沙大馨] and Hong Jieshan [洪介山]. These three individuals were all leading figures in the Kaohsiung ice manufacturing industry. Vessel owners also revealed that the money these three collected was returned to the ‘real ice providers’ at the cut rate price of $NT6 per unit of ice, after which the rest would be distributed to the ice-manufacturers who joined the collusion scheme [including the real providers], according to the size or scale of their business. Fishing vessel owners urged the relevant authorities to audit the ice-manufacturers’ bank accounts. They believed that some of the manufacturers did not sell any ice, but money was still lodged in their accounts. These funds were the profits derived from collusion, and the accounts signified evidence of collusion.20

With this strong evidence in hand, fishing vessel owners successfully convinced the relevant authorities that collusion was occurring. The Taiwan Province Government asked the Kaohsiung City Government to ban the ice-manufacturers’ collusion. However, the Kaohsiung City Police Department [高雄市警察局] not only refused to execute this order, but also questioned the legitimacy of the administrative decree. They claimed that the Ministry of Economic Affairs had publicly stated that the Government would not intervene in the dispute over ice prices. The police emphasised that they were not partial to the ice-manufacturers; they had spent much effort investigating this case, and had also carefully interrogated every ice-manufacturer in Kaohsiung. They claimed not to have found any solid evidence of collusion. Hence, they were not prepared to take any action against the ice-manufacturers.21 Kaohsiung’s vessel owners were extremely upset.


21 ‘Written Announcement from the Kaohsiung City Police Department [高市警局書面辯解],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 12/12/1960.
when they read the findings of the Kaohsiung City Police Department and urged the Government to investigate if the police had accepted bribes from the ice-manufacturers.22

The situation ended in a deadlock and the relevant authorities could not think of a way to break it.23 To cope with this problem of ineffective mediation, vessel owners planned to establish their own ice-manufacturing plant, the United Ice Manufacturing Plant for the Fishing Industries [漁業聯合製冰廠] in 1961.24 This plan, however, was never put into practice. The Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants of AFCT, bowing to pressure from the FAA, decided to cooperate, and the ice-manufacturers’ ring was broken.25

Under this new arrangement, vessels owners would have to pay an advance of $NT3 million to the AFCT first; two million would be used as a cash deposit [保證金] and the rest held as a possible default fine [違約金]. Every 300-pound block of ice would cost $NT18, and any change in the price of ice would have to be approved by the FAA. The AFCT would have to guarantee 3,000 tons of ice per month to vessel owners. One third of the ice would be allocated to longliners and two thirds to trawlers. However, if ice consumption fell below 3,000 tons, the vessel owners would have to make up the financial loss of the AFCT. It was estimated that through this cooperative scheme, each unit of pair-trawlers would save more than $NT30,000 in running costs per annum. In order to avoid possible harassment from ice-manufacturers, the negotiation between the two parties was conducted behind closed doors.26

23 ‘Authorities are Helpless to Mediate the Disputes between the Vessel Owners and Ice-Manufacturers [高市漁冰兩業糾紛 當局似感束手無策],’ China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞], 26/12/1960.
25 ‘Kaohsiung Fishing Vessel Owners Plan to Build A Big Ice-Manufacturing Plant’, 13/2/1961, and KPTOC, ‘The 1st meeting records of the KPTOC in 1962 [高雄市手操網業聯誼會五十一年度第一次會議],’ 24/2/1962. The plan to set up an ice-manufacturing plant miscarried, because the construction of this plant was prohibitively expensive. It would have cost vessel owners at least $NT12 million.
26 KPTOC, ‘1st Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1962’. The Guofeng Fishing Company, Sinda Fishing Company [信大漁業公司] and Dongsing Fishing Company [東興漁業行] were elected as the representatives of the pair-trawler owners. The representatives of longliner owners were chosen by Chen Shengbao [陳生苞], the boss of the Jhumao Fishing Company [竹茂漁業公司] and a leading figure of Kaohsiung longline fishing industry. According to KFBCG, ‘The Combined Temporary Meeting
The cooperative plan formally came into effect on 15 April 1962. To handle the implementation of the plan, vessel owners established the Ice Supply Committee [漁冰供應小組], which comprised seven members, two were from the longline fishing sector and five came from the trawl fishing sector. The amount of ice supplied from the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants, however, could not always meet the fishing companies’ ice needs; the committee realised that, to avoid possible ice shortages, they needed to find some other more reliable suppliers. Hence, with the tacit approval of ‘the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants, vessel owners also cooperated with the Yuhan Ice-manufacturer [裕漢製冰廠] and Yurong Ice-manufacturer [裕榮製冰廠]. The arrangement was similar to the one in place with the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants. When the negotiations between the parties were being conducted, the Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacturer lowered its ice price in order to lure vessel owners away from a possible agreement, and tried in the process to undermine solidarity within Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. 

To ensure that the cooperation between the fishing companies and the ice-makers worked well, both parties established a system which the fishing companies had to follow when they purchased ice. Yurong was the initial company from which they had to buy ice, the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants was next, and then records of the 1st Cohort Directors and Supervisors [高雄市漁輪公會第一屆理監事會聯席會議紀錄], 29/5/1965, ice prices increased by 10% in May of 1965 with the consent of vessel owners, contracted ice-manufacturers and the FAA. It meant that this cooperative system worked well.

27 KPTOC, ‘The 4th Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1962 [高雄市手操網業聯誼會五十一年度第四次會議],’ 23/4/1962. The committee comprised 7 members: Guofeng, Sinda, Dongsing, Beiyang Fishing Company [北洋漁業公司] and Jhonghai Fishing Company [中海漁業公司]. In fact, vessel owners were surprised to learn that this cooperation might have to cease soon after the cooperation agreement was signed, because the properties of the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants of the AFCT might be confiscated by the Bank of Taiwan [臺灣銀行]. The AFCT failed to pay a huge debt which was as much as SNT19 million. If the properties of the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants went to auction, vessel owners would have to purchase them at any cost. They believed that ice prices would definitely soar if they fell into the hands of the ice-manufacturing industry. To avoid this situation, vessel owners took a series of actions to lobby relevant parties, including the FAA, Bank of Taiwan, and AFCT. There are two things to stress here: first, the huge debt that the AFCT created can explain why they withdrew from the ice-makers’ collusion scheme and started to cooperate with the Kaohsiung fishing industry. Second, the auction of the 1st & 2nd Plants proved a false alarm; they never went to auction.


However, due to their different levels of productivity, the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants made the largest contribution towards meeting the ice demand of the fishing industry, Yurong was next, and then Yuhan. But, some fishing companies still could not resist the temptation of cut rate prices, and therefore they purchased ice from non-contracted manufacturers. In order to maintain industry discipline and loyalty, the Kaohsiung Fishing Guild urged vessel owners to observe the contracts with Yuhan, Yurong, and the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants. At the same time, the Guild also firmly stated to its members that anybody who breached the contracts would be responsible for their own legal defence. From August 1962 onwards, the Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacture changed its belligerent stance and instead, also sought to cooperate with vessel owners. ‘Is there any possibility that Hechun can be our fourth ice-supplier?’ The chairperson asked in a vessel owners’ internal meeting. ‘No Way!’ was the reply from the shipowners. Obviously, Kaohsiung’s fishing industry had gained the upper hand in the struggle against the ice-manufacturers.

The Fishing Guild Archives indicate that from 1962 onwards, vessel owners did not discuss the issue of ice manufacture and supply in their internal meetings as frequently as in the past. This is partly because they had had set up a reliable cooperative system with the ice-manufacturers, and partly because large refrigerators


31 KPTOC, ‘9th Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1962 [高雄市手操網業聯誼會五十一年度第九次會議],’ 24/9/1962, and KPTOC, ‘10th Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1962 [高雄市手操網業聯誼會五十一年度第十次會議],’ 27/10/1962. I take the figures of September and October of 1962 as examples. In September, the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants offered 2,328 tons of ice to the fishing industry, Yurong 840 tons, and Yuhan 621 tons. In October, the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1st & 2nd Plants offered 3,012 tons of ice to the fishing industry, Yurong 1,656 tons, and Yuhan 1,508 tons.


were increasingly being installed in both pair-trawlers and longliners. In 1968, Kaohsiung’s fishing industries once again considered the plan to build an ice-manufacturing plant in Chianjhen district. This idea was encouraged by the completion of the Chianjhen Fishing Port, but, in fact, the project never started. This is because modern ice-manufacturing equipment, such as huge air conditioners and refrigerators, required high import duties, which forced fishing vessel owners to drop this unduly expensive idea.

The Kaohsiung fishing industry and the shipyards

A new challenge was soon presented by the shipyards immediately after the threat from the ice-manufacturers had abated. The Taiwan Shipbuilding Association raised the dry-dock fee in 1957 with the permission of the FAA. During this wave of price fluctuations, the dry-dock fee in Kaohsiung Fishing Port, which used to be lower than in Keelung, was raised to the same level. Kaohsiung’s fishing companies and vessel owners had no choice but to accept the increase in the dry-dock fee.

From 1951 until 1962, the average exchange rate ($NT$/US$) had dramatically dropped from $NT10.30 to $NT40.00 per $US1.00. Kaohsiung’s shipbuilding industry had frequently raised the dry-dock fee on the pretext of the relentless increase in inflation. In 1962, for example, the Taiwan Shipbuilding Association took additional measures to increase the dry-dock fee by 60 percent. No objections to this fee hike can be found in the Guild Archives and

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36 The Guild Archives suggest that ice issues were not discussed in meetings as frequently after 1962.
37 KFBCG, ‘2nd Conference Records of the 2nd Cohort Member Representatives’ 22/1/1968. This dream plant was called ‘the Chianjhen Ice-manufacturer’.
39 ‘Dry-Dock Fees should be Unified Island-Wide’, China Fisheries News, 7/10/1957. It was also agreed by various parties that fishers and fishing companies were allowed to rent a dry-dock at shipyards and then hire shipwrights to maintain their vessels.
40 Concerning the rise of dry-dock fee, none of complaints from the fishing industry can be found in fisheries newspapers and magazines.
newspaper, as vessel owners seemed to have acquiesced to this major adjustment to the dry-dock fee. However, by 1968, the shipyards were planning to increase the dry-dock fees once again. But this time the Fisheries Bureau canvassed vessel owner’s opinions about the matter. Vessel owners firmly stated that there was no room for a further increase in the fee, because the charges for dry-dock service had already been raised that year. In addition, the price of fish products had been declining for over a decade.43

Nevertheless, the dry-dock fee continued to rise over the next several years. Fishing companies tolerated it as long as the increase was not by a huge margin. At the end of 1972, however, the latest projected rise in dry-dock fees eventually strained the vessel owners’ patience to breaking point. They submitted the dispute to arbitration by the Administrative Section of Commodity Prices, the Ministry of Economic Affairs [經濟部物價管理小組], stating that before making any further readjustments to the dry-dock fee, shipyards would first have to consult with vessel owners.44 The average exchange rate had remained at the level of $NT40.00/SUS1.00 for more than a decade, since 1961. Indeed, the value of the New Taiwan dollar had remained stable45 and the vessel owners believed that the shipyards should not increase the dry-dock fees as frequently as before.

Unfortunately, the Government ignored their appeal46 and dry-dock fees continued to increase. In August 1974, the Kaohsiung shipbuilding industry arbitrarily increased the dry-dock fee by 100 percent. Before vessel owners could find a solution to this ‘surprise attack’, Mai Cinggang [麥清港], the chief executive of the Sanyang Shipbuilding Plant [三陽造船廠], took the initiative to talk to vessel owners. He said that, as a kind of after-sales service, vessels that were manufactured by Sanyang [三陽] and its allied shipbuilding yards, Haijhuan [海專], Taiji [台機] and Fongguo [豐國], would be exempt from the new dry-dock fee. The rest, however,

43 KFBCG, ‘20th Combined Meeting Records of the 2nd Cohort Directors and Supervisors, [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第二屆第廿次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 30/9/1968. The shipbuilding industry used to give a 20% discount on the charges of dry-dock fees, but this preferential treatment had been cancelled in 1968—an action considered by vessel owners to be a virtual rise in dry-dock fees.

44 KFBCG, ‘21th Meeting Records of the 4th Cohort Directors’ [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第四屆第廿一次理事會紀錄],’ 1/12/1972.


46 No further information can be found in the Guild achieves or fisheries magazines regarding the intervention of the Administrative Section of Commodity Prices in 1972 and 1973.
would have to sign a two-year contract with Sanyang if they were interested in joining this cooperative plan. Mae’s suggestion, however, was considered discriminatory by vessel owners. The Guild, on behalf of the fishing vessel owners, began negotiation with the shipbuilding industry. They asked for a 35 percent reduction of the dry-dock lease fee, which, not surprisingly, was resolutely rejected by Mai. In September, the fishing industry asked the Kaohsiung City Government and other relevant authorities to arbitrate the dispute between themselves and the shipbuilding yards. None of the relevant authorities offered any genuine help. In order to extricate themselves from the shipbuilders’ financial ‘extortion’, vessel owners considered building their own shipyard, but this plan was shelved due to a lack of vacant land in Kaohsiung Fishing Port.

Once again, in 1975, the shipbuilding yards unilaterally doubled the charge for the dry-dock lease. After a protracted series of negotiations, the shipbuilding industry finally agreed to reduce the dry-dock fee by a small margin. Vessel owners, however, still felt grievously wronged. Then in 1976, the Kaohsiung fishing industry decided to strike back suggesting a new fee system. The Guild proposed a different version of the charge system which was more favourable to the fishing industry. According to this new proposal, vessel owners had to pay a stipulated fee, regardless of their vessel size. However, different types and sizes of vessels would be able to stay in dry-dock for different periods of time. The service period could also be extended if the maintenance process was interrupted by power failure, public holidays or bad weather. Lin Shengyou, Jhang Wunjhang and Sia Siouren were chosen as the negotiating team on behalf of the vessel owners.

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47 KFBCG, ‘Symposium Records of Guild Directors and Supervisors [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會理監事座談會記錄],’ 26/8/1974. Sanyang, Haijhuan, Taiji, and Fongguo were the most important shipbuilders at that time.


They would negotiate with the shipyards on the basis of this proposed scheme. In order to encourage shipyard owners to accept the new version of the fee system, the Guild promised to collect the dry-dock fees on the shipyards’ behalf, so the owners would avoid potential financial disputes with the fishing companies or vessel owners. Apart from this negotiation, the representatives were also seeking two or three shipbuilders with whom they would cooperate, in an effort to end the collusion in the shipbuilding industry—just as they had done to ice-manufacturers in the 1960s.

In order to maintain industry loyalty with particular reference to the dispute, the Guild asked all its members to sign a joint pledge. The following paragraph is a translation of the draft which provides a clear idea of how the vessel owners planned to deal with the shipbuilding industry.

In order to respond to the steep rise in the dry-dock fee and the threats from joint operations which have affected the running costs of the fishing industry, the Guild has decided to take countermeasures and expects the shipyards to cooperate. I will give consent to collectivism and share future problems with the Guild… I will implement the Guild’s resolution and offer $NT200,000 to the Guild as a cash deposit. If I violate this contract, the Guild has the right to confiscate my deposit as a fine.

Fishing Company: (seal)
Person in charge: ……………………………………(signature)
Date: ……………………….. 53

Hence, through the implementation of this joint pledge, vessel owners could muster all their forces in a united fashion against the shipbuilding industry.

Still, none of the shipyards wanted to genuinely cooperate with the fishing industries and negotiate a settlement. Vessel owners decided to alter their strategy and concentrated their opposition on the Sanyang Shipbuilding Plant —the initiator of the collusion scheme. They, therefore, decided to talk to Sanyang

51 KFBCG, ‘3rd Temporary Meeting Records of the 6th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第六屆第三次臨時理事會紀錄],’ 3/11/1976, and KFBCG, ‘6th Meeting Records of the 6th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第六屆第六次理事會紀錄],’ 7/12/1976. According to the new version of the charge system, wooden hull vessels of 100 gross ton or less were allowed to stay in dry-dock for a period of 3 days; steel hull ones for 4 days. 100-200-ton steel hull vessels were allowed to stay in dry-dock for 5 days; 200-300-tons steel hull vessels for 6 days; and vessels of more than 300 ton, 7 days.


directly. This time, Wang Yinghai [王瀛海] and Lu Kunshan [盧昆山] were appointed as negotiators by the Guild. They threatened to impose a boycott on Sanyang if the shipyard rejected the vessel owners’ proposal. Simultaneously, the Guild submitted the dispute between the vessel owners and the shipbuilding industry to the Government for arbitration.\(^{54}\)

However, the Government once again ignored the vessel owners’ appeal to intervene in the dispute. Hence, talking to Sanyang directly seemed to be an appropriate strategy and Sanyang and its allied shipyards were now forced to return to the conference table. At the end of 1976, the two parties eventually reached a series of resolutions. First, the dry-dock fee should be fixed at 20 percent less than the price that the Ministry of Transportation and Communication had set in February 1974. Vessels of 250 gross ton or less were now allowed to stay in the dry-dock for four days, while vessels of more than 250 tons could stay for up to five days. Vessels would not be allowed to leave the shipyard before vessel owners paid the dry-dock fee. If the transaction was processed by cheque, the cheque would have to be able to be cashed within three months. If the service period in the dry-dock extended beyond the allocated time limit, vessel owners had to pay an additional 25 percent of the basic fee per day for steel hull vessels in order to maintain the lease; and 30 percent per day for wooden hull vessels.\(^{55}\) Both parties had made some major concessions, and the tense atmosphere of the protracted dispute finally ended. There is one important factor to note here: the Government always remained neutral throughout the dispute and never offered to assist the fishing industries during the struggle between vessel owners and shipyards, even though the vessel owners repeatedly referred the dispute to the Government arbitration.

**Fishing companies, stevedores, truck companies and fish escorts**

Fishing vessel owners had to have their catch unloaded shortly after their vessels returned to the Kaohsiung Fishing Port. This dockside job required the help of a

\(^{54}\) KFBCG, ‘6th Meeting Records of the 6th Cohort Directors,’ 7/12/1976. The Guild Archives reveal that vessel owners believed that Sanyang was the leader of the collusion, although they did not have any conclusive evidence. Therefore, when they dealt with this matter, they were trying to avoid potential legal problems associated to defamation.

large number of port workers who were called fish stevedores [卸魚工人]. Unlike other stevedores who offered their services to all sorts of ships, fish stevedores only unloaded the catch of the fishing vessels. They had to do the strenuous work in the early hours of the morning before Kaohsiung Fish Market started trading, or before either the trains or trucks left the port for other markets around Taiwan. Their manual job, although technically simple, was indispensable to the industry.

The fish stevedores played an important role in the smooth operation of the fishing industry. They also created a lot of labour problems. They always asked for free fish from fishing masters and vessel owners. Given that large amounts of fish were unloaded from vessels every day, the stevedores believed that it was their right to ask for one or two fish from the fishing masters. This kind of daily request put fishing masters and vessel owners in an awkward position with respect to granting personal favours. In mid-1964, this sensitive issue was eventually referred to the Guild for discussion. All the members unanimously decided not to provide free fish to the stevedores as had been the custom in the past.56

The fish stevedores’ irresponsibility and lack of discipline also raised the ire of vessel owners. Dockside thieves mingled with the stevedores and stole fish when the catch was being unloaded. Stevedores, however, rarely bothered to stop them from pilfering the catch. With a view to keeping dockside thieves away from the trawlers and longliners, vessel owners insisted that the stevedores wear identification tags which contained both their name and a photo. Also, they asked the stevedore union to replace incompetent and irresponsible foremen.57

Why did the stevedores not bother to file a report when fish stealing happened? The answer is simple; the fish stevedores themselves also stole fish. The financial losses caused by the fish stevedores pilfering the catch were even higher than the losses caused by dockside thieves.58 When the dockside thieves stole fish, 

56 KPTOC, 7th Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1964 [高雄市遠洋拖網漁輪商業同業聯誼會第五十三年第七次會議紀錄], 29/6/1964.
57 KFBCG, 1st Meeting Records of the 1st Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第一屆第一次理事會會議紀錄], 30/4/1965.
58 Fish stealing by dockside thieves was mentioned several times in the Guild archives. However, fish stealing by stevedores was also frequently mentioned. Cargo theft by stevedores to supplement their incomes has been a common crime in ports around the world. For example, in 1920, it was estimated by a Royal Commission that in the port of Fremantle, Australia, pillaging led to the loss of cargo valued at £21,760. See Malcolm Tull, ‘Fremantle, 1890-1990’, in Dock Workers, ed. Sam Davies et al., Aldershot, UK, Ashgate Publishing, 2000, 480.
the fishing companies asked for help from the market security guards; however, when fish stevedores stole fish, the fishing companies had to call upon the police to supervise the unloading of the fish catch.59

The stevedores resorted to every conceivable means to steal fish.60 Vessel owners simply could not find a solution to the problem. The relationships between the two parties, as a result, became very strained. The theft problem eventually reached the limit of the vessel owners’ forbearance in late 1967. In that year the foremen system of the stevedore union had not functioned well. The level of the stevedores’ work rate performance was dismal and the stealing problem became intolerable. The vessel owners referred to fish stevedores as ‘malignant tumours’ [毒瘤] in their internal meetings and the records in the Guild Archives reveal the extent of the anger of the vessel owners:

The amount of fish which has been stolen by the stevedores is staggering … Although the investigation shows no evidence, we are very sure that stealing does happen. The theft problem not only affects fishing production but also causes us financial loss.61

How did the stevedores usually manage to steal fish? They used a variety of techniques and strategies. They entered fish holds whilst they were on duty, stuffing the fish into their galoshes or the crotch of their trousers, then secretly took them home after work. Furthermore, because they worked in a fishing port, they knew the value of various fish species, so the fish that they stole were always the most expensive type.62

Moreover, when fish stevedores were short of hands, the union always recruited children as relief workers. On several occasions, the Guild had made an


61 KFBCG, ‘10th Combined Meeting Records of the 2nd Cohort Supervisors and Directors [第二屆第十次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 30/10/1967.

62 KFBCG, ‘Motions Proposed in the 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪公會第二屆第二次會員代表大會提案],’ 22/1/1968.
official complaint about this practice to the Directors of the stevedore’s union. However, the union simply ignored it. To protest against their irresponsible attitude towards employing child labour, the Guild dispatched an ‘ultimatum’, demanding the union reform itself within a specified time period. Simultaneously, the Guild began to think about the possibilities of recruiting another group of stevedores to replace the current workforce.\(^{63}\) The vessel owners’ robust strategy successfully raised concerns among the fish stevedores about their future work prospects. To ease the tense atmosphere that had developed between the two parties, the union promised to discipline and reform the stevedores. However, they did not fulfil their promise, because their overall job performance remained as bad as ever.\(^{64}\)

Although the work rate and level of performance of the stevedores was far from satisfactory, they frequently asked for a pay raise. They called for a consecutive pay raise in April of 1967, August of 1968, and April of 1969.\(^{65}\) At the beginning of the 1970s, they were still trying to leverage the fishing companies for further wage increases.\(^{66}\) In 1974, they had the temerity to ask vessel owners to raise their wages by 50 percent.\(^{67}\) Concerning the nature of the interaction between the vessel owners and the fish stevedores, there are two basic elements worthy of mention. Firstly, when the two parties negotiated over an increase in wages, the stevedores liked to use the alleged improvement of their work performance as a bargaining chip. They invariably threatened not to increase their work efficiency if vessel owners were not prepared to increase their wages. In other words, ‘working efficiently’ was not considered a prescribed job task by fish stevedores. Secondly, as a penalty, those

\(^{63}\) KFBCG, ‘10th Combined Meeting Records of the 2nd Cohort Supervisors and Directors [第二屆第十次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 30/10/1967.

\(^{64}\) KFBCG, ‘11th Meeting Records of the 2nd Cohort Directors [第二屆第十一次理事會議紀錄],’ 30/11/1967.


\(^{67}\) KFBCG, ‘8th Combined Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors and Supervisors [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第八次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 19/1/1974.
who got caught stealing fish three times would not receive a wage increase. That is to say, stevedores were tacitly allowed to take fish ‘legally’ at least twice, providing they did not get caught in the act.

The fishing industry was never effectively able to solve the problems of rampant theft and malingering by fish stevedores. The Guild Archives reveal that even in the mid-1970s, stealing was still a major problem; the stevedores’ work rate performance was also bad; and they still bargained for regular pay raises as often as before. Hence, it is not difficult to understand why vessel owners usually spoke in a disparaging tone of voice when they referred to those port workers.

The unloaded fish products were sold at the Kaohsiung Fishing Markets, and then transported to other places in Taiwan. In the 1940s and 1950s, vessel owners had transported their fish products by train. However, from the 1960s onwards, trucks had gradually replaced trains as the major means of transportation for fish products. This change in the means of transportation encouraged Kaohsiung’s fishing companies to consider the potential for cooperating with truck companies.

The first transport boss who created a partnership with the vessel owners was Jhang Wunjhang. The cooperation started at the beginning of 1965, but did not continue for very long. The Kaohsiung fishing industries were being constantly

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68 KFBCG, ‘3rd Temporary Meeting Records of the 6th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第六屆第三次臨時理事會議紀錄],’ 3/11/1976. The stevedores asked that wages be raised again. The fishing industry agreed – with qualifications. All stevedores had to wear identification tags. Anyone who stole fish would be dismissed on the spot. Stevedores should pay compensation if fish products were damaged in the process of unloading. The headman had to supervise the unloading process. To ensure that the unloading process would not be disturbed, any dispute should be directly settled by the vessel owners and the leaders of the stevedore union — other parties were not allowed to intervene. It is likely the stealing of fish products still happens today.

69 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 19/6/2002.

70 KPTOC, ‘7th Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1964 [高雄市遠洋拖網漁輪商業同業聯誼會五十三年第七次會議紀錄],’ 29/6/1964, and KFBCG, ‘11th Meeting Records of the KFBCG in 1964 [高雄市漁輪商業同業聯誼會五十三年第十一次會議紀錄],’ 28/10/1964. Kaohsiung fishing circles were eventually permitted to establish the Guild in 1964. (In fact, the Guild had existed as a form of an association before that year.) The operation of this new Guild required money, which prompted the leaders of the Guild to seek out any source of potential financial aid. They planned to give certain truck companies exclusive rights to transport their fish products in exchange for financial subsidies to cover the administrative expenses of the Guild office.

71 KFBCG, ‘12th Meeting Records of the KFBCG in 1964 [高雄市漁輪商業同業聯誼會五十三年第十二次會議紀錄],’ 28/11/1964. Jhang Wunjhang first started to offer financial aid to the Guild from January 1965. He started his business by running a truck company, then he also became engaged in the fishing industry. His fishing company is considered one of the most successful in Kaohsiung. When I was doing fieldwork in Kaohsiung in 2002, I worshipped with him at the same church, but he resolutely refused to be interviewed.
threatened by the collusion of the trucking companies and their incessant demands to increase transportation fees. By mid-1967, vessel owners began to think seriously about the possibility of establishing their own trucking company. However, the idea never got off the ground. Instead they continuously looked for new truck companies to cooperate with in their business endeavours. In 1969, they found that the Hongcyuan Transportation Company [宏全貨運] was amenable to a partnership arrangement. Hongcyuan had purchased a fleet of new trucks that year. To help alleviate the additional financial burden of the purchase, the company chose to side with the fishing industry. This so-called ‘cooperation’ with the transport sector of the fishing industry, however, was just a temporary expedient—a combination of business interests that did not last very long. When Kaohsiung’s truck companies launched a monopoly scheme in May 1972, Hongcyuan moved its business interests and was no longer in the same camp as the vessel owners.

Hence, in June 1973, the fishing companies eventually made up their minds to establish their own transportation company. This was partly because, as noted above, the constant increase in the transportation fees was of deep concern to the vessel owners, and partly because the truck drivers were also in the habit of stealing fish. The level of the theft became intolerable. Vessel owners believed that if they could run their own trucking fleet and hire their own drivers, the widespread problem of theft would be reduced to a bare minimum. In August, the Guild set up a committee to plan for the establishment of their own truck company. The Deputy-head of the Fisheries Bureau, Chen Banghao [陳邦豪], was invited to participate in this...

74 In fact, the KFBCG archives do not show the actual duration of this cooperation. Every two or three years the fishing industry had to look for new partners with whom to cooperate, which suggests that the duration of cooperation did not last very long. When the Kaohsiung truck companies carried out the collusion in May of 1972, Hongcyuan was already on the side of the truck companies. See KFBCG, ‘15th Meeting Records of the 4th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第四屆第十五次監事聯席會紀錄],’ 26/5/1972. In order to ease this impact, the Guild provisionally asked for help from Jhang Wunjhang.
According to their preparatory plan, the fishing industries of Kaohsiung and Keelung would jointly purchase 40 refrigerator trucks and 5,000 pings of land for their truck station. They estimated that $NT53 million ($US1.38 million) would be required to establish the project properly. To raise such a huge sum of money, the fishing industries of Kaohsiung and Keelung planned to apply for a loan and subsidy respectively from both the Central and Provincial Governments. The shortfall would have to be made up by the vessel owners. How much they would have to pay towards the new venture depended on the number and tonnage of their fishing vessels.

Of the fishing companies, 75 participated in this project. The Guild, having combined efforts with the Keelung fishing industry, also applied for a loan from the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) via the Fisheries Bureau. The news about this proposed trucking company soon spread throughout Kaohsiung’s transportation industry. In order to ‘extort’ money from the vessel owners before the fishing industry would establish its own truck fleet, Kaohsiung’s truck companies vindictively raised the transportation fees three times in a brief period of time. However, these measures just spurred the vessel owners to greater efforts to set up their own company. This truck company, which was owned and operated by the vessel owners, was named the Liren Refrigerated Truck Ltd, and it started to operate in late 1974. The former Deputy Head of the Fisheries Bureau, Chen Banghao, became its president.

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77 KFBCG, ‘5th Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors’, 13/8/1973. They planned to apply for a $NT40 million loan from the Central Government, and an $NT8 million subsidy from the Provincial Government. One ping is equivalent to 3.3m², so 5,000 pings is 16,500m².
79 KFBCG, ‘Working Plan of 1974’ and KFBCG, ‘3rd Combined Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors,’ 21/2/1974. In fact, the process of establishing this truck company did not go as well as had been expected. The JCRR had once decided to postpone granting the loan to the fishing circle because some of the stakeholders (vessel owners) failed to pay for shares on time.
To the Kaohsiung fishing industry, the main advantage of having their own trucking company was to extricate themselves from the ‘financial extortion’ of the private truck firms. Liren, on the other hand, as a trucking company owned and operated by the vessel owners, always remained ‘obedient’ to the fishing industry’s wishes whenever there was a difference of opinion about fee charges for transportation. An event that occurred in December 1974 provides a good example of this policy. Vessel owners had simply expressed the opinion that the transportation fees of the new company were a bit too high.\textsuperscript{81} Without hesitation, Liren immediately gave a discount of ten percent.\textsuperscript{82}

The president of Liren addressed the vessel owners at an internal meeting of the Guild on 28 February, 1975. In his speech, the hierarchical relationship between the fishing industry and Liren was clearly set out:

\begin{quote}
The purpose of establishing Liren is to respond to the government decree and work for the well-being of the fishing industry. Hence, to provide a service is more important than to do business. I would feel ashamed if our service was less than satisfactory in the initial stage of the development of the company. We will improve our performance to satisfy the needs of the fishing industry.\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

The fishing industry had always contemplated establishing their own onshore ancillary enterprises whenever they had encountered a serious conflict of interest with other fishing ancillary industries. However, none of their plans were carried to fruition until Liren Refrigerated Truck Ltd. was setup in late 1974.

As mentioned before, truck drivers could not be trusted by vessel owners, because they also stole fish during the process of transporting the catch to markets. To minimise the loss of fish products, vessel owners had to hire people to escort their fish to market. These individuals were called ‘security guards’ [押運人員]. The history of these security guards dates back to the early 1960s when trucks first became the main means of transport for fish products. Security guards were recommended by fishing companies and then directly employed by the Guild as temporary workers. At

\textsuperscript{81} KFBCG, ‘9th Temporary Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第九次臨時理事會紀錄],’ 5/12/1974.

\textsuperscript{82} KFBCG, ‘13th Combined Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors and Supervisors [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第十三次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 24/1/1975.

\textsuperscript{83} KFBCG, ‘3rd Conference Records of the 5th Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第五屆第三次會員代表大會紀錄],’ 28/2/1975.
that time, no one in the Kaohsiung fishing industry could have ever expected that the guards would come together and form a kind of trade union which was strong enough to actually bargain with the fishing companies. Towards the end of 1962, in order to guarantee the quality of the security guards, the Guild formulated the legislation ‘the Management Regulations of Security Guards’ ([押運人員管理辦法細則]). According to these regulations, before a security guard could be hired by the Guild, he had to first provide a letter of recommendation from a fishing company. Once an individual got a position as a security guard, he would be directly dispatched to work by the Guild, rather than the fishing company that had recommended him. If a fishing company went into liquidation, however, the security guard would be automatically dismissed unless he could find another guarantor from the fishing industry to sponsor him.

This system still could not guarantee that all security guards were trustworthy and competent. The security guards were largely only semi-literate. They could not communicate adequately with the staff when they delivered fish products to local markets. Their level of incompetence was a serious concern to both the vessel owners and the market staff. Furthermore, some security guards also stole fish during the transportation process. The first such scandal was exposed in April 1963, just five months after ‘the Management Regulations of Security Guards’ had been formulated. The Guild noticed the seriousness of this problem and issued a strong warning to all security guards stating that those caught stealing would be dismissed immediately.

Like the fish stevedores, the overall level of work performance of the security staff fell far short of the fishing companies’ expectations. These workers too asked the Guild to increase their wages—even twice in the same year. An event that

85 KPTOC, ‘2nd Meeting Record of the KPTOC in 1963 [高雄市遠洋拖網漁業商業同業公會五十二年度第二次全體會議紀錄],’ 10/3/1963, and ‘1st Temporary Meeting Record in December 1962 [高雄市遠洋拖網漁輪商業同業公會五十一年度十二月第一次臨時會議紀錄],’ 12/18/1962. The Guild emphasised that soldiers were not allowed to take positions as an escort. This interesting information reveals that before 1962 some soldiers did escort fish products for Kaohsiung’s fishing industries.
The Kaohsiung Fishing Industry and its Ancillary Industries

occurred in 1973 provides a good example of their industrial strategy. Security guards first asked the Guild to increase their salary in March,\(^{88}\) then again in December. They said that living costs in Kaohsiung city had radically increased. Perhaps out of sympathy for the working class, the Guild did not reject their request.\(^{89}\) However, by April of 1974, the security guards were planning to establish a union. This radical step surprised the fishing vessel owners who, in order to thwart the birth of this proposed union, wrote official letters to the relevant authorities, including the Kaohsiung City Government, Kaohsiung City Police Bureau, Ministry of the Interior, and the military, trying to convince them that the establishment of such a union was unnecessary.\(^{90}\)

Their lobbying effort, however, did not work out well at all. The establishment of the union was already underway when the Kaohsiung City Government seriously examined the draft of the union regulations. With a view to canvassing opinions from the Kaohsiung fishing industry, the City Government sent a copy of the union draft to the Guild in July of 1974. The Guild resolutely refused to read the document and, instead, it sacked all current security guards on its books.\(^{91}\)

**Fishing equipment suppliers**

Fishing vessels used fishing ropes [大繆], steel cables [鋼索], fish boxes [魚箱], tackle and fishing nets on every offshore and long distance fishing trip.\(^{92}\) Such fishing

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\(^{89}\) KFBCG, ‘7\(^{th}\) Meeting Records of the 5\(^{th}\) Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第五屆第七次理事會紀錄],’ 14/12/1973. In principle the Guild approved their request and authorised the director of the marshalling station [調配站] to negotiate with the representatives of escorts concerning how much their wages should be increased.


\(^{91}\) KFBCG, ‘6\(^{th}\) Temporary Meeting Records of the 5\(^{th}\) Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第五屆第六次臨時理事會紀錄],’ 23/7/1974, and ‘1\(^{st}\) Temporary Conference Records of the 5\(^{th}\) Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第一次臨時會員代表大會紀錄],’ 20/8/1974. The vessel owners decided to sack all their security guards. The security task would be consigned to the onshore staff of fishing companies. Once the proposed Liren Truck Company started to operate, they would not need security guards any more.

\(^{92}\) Fishing ropes are more durable than ordinary ropes. They were produced for fishing purposes only and can be used in the water for long periods of time. Fish boxes are designed to hold the catch. They are largely used in trawlers.
equipment was purchased traditionally from a variety of onshore factories or shops. In an earlier period just after the end of World War Two, the price of fishing equipment was not a major cause for concern for fishing companies and the relationship between the Kaohsiung fishing industry and the fishing equipment suppliers was harmonious. This amicable situation continued for quite a long period of time until the equipment suppliers increased the price of steel cable in April of 1972. The sudden rise in the cable price placed a considerable financial burden on the fishing companies. Fishing vessel owners claimed that steel cable suppliers were involved in collusion. The Guild, on the behalf of the vessel owners, lodged a formal complaint with the Bureau of Foreign Trade. In addition, in Guild meetings, two solutions to the monopoly problem were proposed. In the first instance, it was suggested that steel cables be imported directly from overseas. This approach had been used by the Keelung’s fishing industry for a while. Second, it was proposed that they set out to produce their own steel cable by setting up a new plant. The former approach required the Government’s approval, while the latter suggestion seemed to be making a huge problem over what was really quite a small matter. Ultimately, neither of these suggestions really provoked the vessel owners’ enthusiasm or interest.

In April 1973, the Kaohsiung fishing industry once again asked the Fisheries Bureau and Ministry of Economic Affairs to intervene in a dispute they were having with the equipment suppliers. However, the relevant authorities remained neutral because neither the vessel owners themselves nor the police could find any evidence to prove that the fishing equipment suppliers were involved in monopoly practices. The continued rise of fishing equipment prices, however, raised concerns throughout Taiwan. Hence, in July 1974, the Taiwan Provincial Fishermen’s Association asked the Fisheries Bureau and Ministry of Economic Affairs to intervene in a dispute they were having with the equipment suppliers. However, the relevant authorities remained neutral because neither the vessel owners themselves nor the police could find any evidence to prove that the fishing equipment suppliers were involved in monopoly practices.
would suggested establishing a publicly-owned ‘Fishing Equipment Supply Cooperative’ [漁用物資合作社]. They planned to draw upon a $NT10 million subsidy from the Central Government and the rest of the expenses would be shared between the fishing guilds in Kaohsiung and Keelung and other fishermen’s associations in Taiwan. This project certainly interested the Kaohsiung fishing industry. They even proposed a fundraising scheme for this cooperative97 which, however, never materialised.98

At the end of 1974, to cope with the emerging equipment supply problem, the Guild set up three small committees: the dry-dock section [漁船上架小組], the rope section [大綆小組], and the net, cable and fish box section [網具魚箱鋼索小組]. Their respective tasks were to seek cooperative arrangements with fishing equipment suppliers who had not participated in any form of collusion.99 But, no matter how much effort the fishing industry made in this direction, they could not fully eliminate the problems created by the equipment suppliers, because the price of fishing gear continued to increase while the so-called cooperation between the fishing industry and particular equipment suppliers could cease at any time. Encountering such a difficult situation, the vessel owners patiently repeated the measures which they had used before. At the end of 1976, the Guild submitted their dispute with the

97 KFBCG, ‘10th Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors [第五屆第十次理事會議紀錄],’ 6/7/1974, and KFBCG, ‘1st Temporary Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Representatives [第五屆第一次理事臨時會議紀錄],’ 20/8/1974. Initially, the Guild promised to pay $NT200,000 in advance. Also, every vessel owner needed to pay a certain amount of money. How much they would pay depended on how many vessels they had. The expenses that the Guild promised to share changed several times, from $NT200,000 to $NT500,000, and eventually they decided to pay $NT100,000. Each vessel should pay $NT1,500. Supposing a vessel owner had two units of pair-trawlers, he would need to pay $NT6,000.

98 KFBCG, ‘11th Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors [本會第五屆第十一次理事會議記錄],’ 18/9/1974. In September, the Guild leaders decided to postpone the fundraising indefinitely. See KFBCG, ‘Symposium Records of Guild Directors and Supervisors [高雄市漁輪商業同業公會理監事座談會記錄],’ 26/8/1974. Many things were happening at the time. In August, the Kaohsiung shipbuilding industry arbitrarily increased the dry-dock fees by 100%. The threat from shipbuilders was more serious than the one from the fishing equipment suppliers. See also KFBCG, ‘1st Temporary Conference Records of the 5th Cohort Member Representatives [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第一次臨時會員代表大會紀錄],’ 20/8/1974. Also, vessel owners were heavily preoccupied with the establishment of Liren Truck Company during this period.

99 KFBCG, ‘9th Temporary Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第九次臨時理事會紀錄],’ 5/12/1974, and ‘13th Combined Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Supervisors and Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第十三次理監事聯席會議紀錄],’ 24/1/1975. In a very brief period of time they had successfully sought out the Gangshan Factory [岡山工廠] of the Veterans Affairs Commission (VAC [國軍退除役官兵就業輔導委員會]) with whom to cooperate. The VAC was a government unit which ran a variety of businesses to support veterans. Hence, the ropes they produced were cheaper than those of private rope makers.
equipment suppliers to arbitration with the City Government and the Kaohsiung City Police Bureau. This was the third time they had sought help from the Government.

Compared with the challenges posed by other industries, the threat from the fishing equipment suppliers was relatively small. In fact, most of the equipment suppliers operated from small shops or factories near Kaohsiung Fishing Port. At best, they could be considered a form of household or backyard industry. Their relative importance to the industry and their overall influence could not compare with other large-scale modern enterprises, such as the shipyards or nation-wide trucking companies. Thus, when the vessel owners were faced with the threat of rising prices from the equipment retailers, they were not as concerned as when they faced the threat of monopoly practice and collusion from the ice-makers, shipyards or trucking companies.

When the vessel owners had business disputes with the shipyards and ice-makers, they always discussed how best to retaliate, and fought together until the threat was minimised or removed. However, this was not the case when they dealt with the demands made by the equipment suppliers. Fishing vessel owners talked about equipment supply problems once or twice, then did not mention it for several years, as if they had totally forgotten about the issue. Clearly, they had far more pressing matters on their minds. The Guild Archives provide an example of this more ambivalent attitude. In April of 1973, they asked the Government to mediate their dispute with the fish equipment suppliers, which was dutifully ignored by the Government. It seemed, however, that the Government’s disregard concerning the matter did not worry the vessel owners at all. They did not discuss the equipment supply issue again until the Taiwan Provincial Fishermen’s Association suggested setting up a fishing equipment cooperative in July of 1974. Fishing vessel owners at that time were too heavily preoccupied with other important issues, such as the future relationship with the trucking companies and the shipyards. Dealing with the possible financial threats coming from the fishing equipment suppliers was not


101 I have read every page of the Guild records carefully from April 1973 to July 1974. None of the vessel owners mentioned the issue of fishing gear supply, even though their business disputes with gear suppliers remained unsettled.
considered a top priority. It also can help to partially explain the reason why the plan to set up a Fishing Equipment Supply Cooperative was dropped.

The number of shipyards, trucking companies and ice-manufacturers in Kaohsiung was limited. When they tended to collude, the fishing industry could readily identify the backstage manipulator, then mount a response against that person and his allies. However, there were innumerable fishing gear shops in the Kaohsiung Fishing Port. Finding out the leader behind the collusion was almost impossible.\textsuperscript{102} The fishing industry, as a result, had no idea against whom they should direct their criticism. This can also explain two important aspects of the problem: first, why the fishing industry always relied on the traditional approaches they used in the past, hence they could not create more effective tactics to use against the equipment suppliers. Second, it also can help to explain why the Government had never taken any effective steps to mediate the chronic disputes between the fishing companies and the equipment suppliers. Who actually organised the collusion, and, who would be an effective representative of the fishing equipment suppliers when the Government’s arbitration began? Neither vessel owners nor the Government knew the answer to these questions.

A closer look at the way that the Kaohsiung fishing industry dealt with other industries in dispute also reveals several things. In the first instance, vessel owners, to some degree, were ‘egocentric’ and concerned only with their own personal self-interest. This business attitude was clearly demonstrated in two respects. The vessel owners always asked other ancillary industries to lower their product prices and service fees, so that the running costs of the fishing companies could be reduced and their profits correspondingly increased. The most common reason they used was that the price of fish products had continued to decline over the years and therefore any increase in service charges would hinder the future development and well-being of the Kaohsiung fishing industry. This kind of economic argument and reasoning, however, was not persuasive enough to convince the other industries, because the development of the fishing industry was not their sole concern. Thus, they did not

\textsuperscript{102} When I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung in 2002, I learned firsthand that, in the Kaohsiung Fishing Port and Kaohsiung City, there were many tiny fishing equipment shops selling a variety of fishing gear. It is not difficult to understand why the vessel owners could not readily pinpoint which shop owners were the culprits.
feel obliged to fully sacrifice their own business interests for the sake of the fishing companies.

In addition, fishing vessel owners always took joint actions in their struggles against other industries. However, they would never allow the other industries to do the same against them. Any ‘joint action’ taken by the ancillary industries was always construed as a form of ‘business collusion’, which was viewed as an illegal economic activity by the Taiwan Government. In a very real sense, like small children, the vessel owners always called upon the Government to side with them in their industrial conflicts and inflict a punishment on their ‘imaginary enemies’.

The joint actions that vessel owners took usually had two important features. Internally, they frequently set up a provisional committee or section in the Guild which comprised leading figures of the Kaohsiung fishing industry. Some were in charge of lobbying the Government, some were in charge of negotiating with their rivals, and some were in charge of mobilising their fellow vessel owners. These provisional committees were characterised by their flexibility and mobility. They could be reorganised at any time in accordance with the specific requirements of any given situation, then disbanded soon after they had fulfilled their tasks. Moreover, through a coordinated division of labour among vessel owners, the fishing industry was able to deal with a range of threats simultaneously and efficiently.

Externally, vessel owners also learnt that they needed to form an alliance with the fishing industry of Keelung whenever they confronted a common large-scale threat or challenge. To contend with other industries and lobby the Government for what they considered to be their common entitlements, vessel owners, regardless of the geographical location between Kaohsiung and Keelung, took joint action. This collaborative trend was further strengthened after the first Supplementary Legislator and National Assembly Delegate were elected by the fishing communities in Kaohsiung and Keelung in 1972. Luo Chuanjin, a National Assembly Delegate from Kaohsiung, now also had to speak for the rights of the Keelung fishing communities, and Huang Zecing, a Legislator from Keelung, now had to also attend the Guild meetings in Kaohsiung. To view political developments from this angle, the joint actions that vessel owners took against the ancillary industries were truly nationwide.

103 See Chapter 4.
The scale and impact of their collective activity was consequently much stronger than any business collusion launched by the ice-manufacturers or shipyards.

There are several other points to emphasise here. When the fishing industry took joint action, not all vessel owners were necessarily keen to participate. Some fisheries enterprises, as has been mentioned in Chapter Four, simultaneously ran a variety of fishing ancillary businesses in Kaohsiung, including ice-manufacturing, shipbuilding, and trucking companies. Their separate but related business interests were certainly different from other vessel owners, and this was especially noticeable whenever there was a conflict between the fishing industry and the other industries. I will use the Hechun Fishing Company as an example of the conflict of interests that were at stake here. Hechun was one of the most successful fishing companies in Kaohsiung. Nevertheless, when the vessel owners were fighting against the ice-manufacturers, its ice-making department, the Hechun Fisheries Ice-manufacturer [和春水產製冰廠], did not offer any support to the vessel owners. Instead, the company tried to undermine effective cooperation between the Guild and other ice-makers, and made life for the Kaohsiung fishing industry very difficult.104

Furthermore, when the Kaohsiung fishing industry fought against the ancillary industries, the Government did not invariably side with the fishing industry. Disputes between the shipyards and the fishing companies in the 1970s provide good examples. When vessel owners asked for help from the Government in 1972, 1974 and 1976, the Government did not intervene in the conflicts to the same extent as it had in the past. The fishing industry, as a consequence, was forced to retreat one step at a time. Basically, the struggle between the fishing vessel owners and the shipyard owners was an economic battle between a primary industry and a heavy industry. Certainly, the importance of the former could not compare with the overall significance of the latter. Not surprisingly, the Government decided not to support the fishing industry to the same extent as it had done previously.

104 The rise in ice prices would never affect the running of the Hechun Fishing Company, because it could always get a reasonable and sufficient ice supply from its ice-manufacturing department. The same situation also happened in the disputes between the fishing industries and shipbuilding industries. Pan San’guang is the towkay of distant water longliner fleets and his cousin runs the Tian’er Shipbuilding Yard [天二造船廠]. I learnt that he was one hundred per cent on the side of shipyards when I asked him how he felt about the disputes between the fishing industry and shipyards. The rise of the dry-dock fee did not really matter to the running of his longliner fleets, because he could always get a good price and good service from his cousin.
When other industries carried out business collusion against the fishing companies, there were always some people who chose to ‘betray’ their fellow business associates and become partners with the vessel owners. Besides the Hongcyuan Transportation Company that has been mentioned, I will also use the Jhumao Shipbuilding Plant (竹茂造船廠) here as an example. When the shipyards simultaneously raised the dry-dock fees to further squeeze the fishing industries in 1964, Jhumao, irrespective of the common interests of the shipbuilding industry, offered favourable treatment to the fishing companies with a 20 percent discount on list prices. Its underlying motive was to monopolise the market on vessel maintenance.\(^{105}\) This kind of competitive speculation offered vessel owners opportunities to break the monopoly practice of other industries. However, such cooperation based on speculation and competitive advantage could not last for any extended period of time.

Finally, the nature of the workplace interaction between vessel owners and people from other industries clearly demonstrated that the vessel owners treated people of various social rank and class differently, both in terms of their attitude and behaviour. When the vessel owners dealt with the ice-manufacturers, shipyard owners and trucking company bosses, they had to be careful and attempt to cooperate with them on an amicable basis if possible. However, this was not the case when they dealt with working class people like security guards and fish stevedores. On the one hand, the vessel owners could be generous, and, in many cases, agreed to raise the wages of the workers; on the other hand, however, they could also be arrogant and even harsh, when the security guards or stevedores’ work performance fell short of their expectations. In July of 1974, the surprising decision to simply dismiss all security guards, rather than find a way to ameliorate the dispute, was a classic case in point.

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\(^{105}\) KPTOC, ʻ3rd Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1964 [高雄市遠洋拖網漁輪商業同業聯誼會五十三年第三次會議紀錄], ʻ30/3/1964.
Chapter 6

The Development of Kaohsiung’s Fishing Companies

After the Second World War there were dramatic changes in the character of the Kaohsiung Fishing Port. Besides the construction of major port facilities and the development of the fishing ancillary industries that have been explored in the previous chapter, the ethnic composition of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry differed markedly from the colonial era due to several important factors. First, the Japanese had been expelled from Taiwan’s fishing industry. The Japanese-owned fishing companies and fisheries-related enterprises were taken over by the ROC Government in 1945. Second, several waves of migration from various areas of Taiwan had already converged on Kaohsiung at different points in time, which had filled Kaohsiung’s fishing circles with a range of ethnic groups. Each of the migrant groups played a crucial role within a specific aspect of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. They were the Penghuans, Mainland Chinese, Siao Liouciounese and locals.

The Penghuans constituted the main source of labour in the distant water fisheries, especially in longline fishing. They generally served as employees on fishing vessels and only a few of them ever started their own fishing companies. The Mainland Chinese of the Kaohsiung fishing industry worked in two diverse areas:

\[1\] Interview, Lin Changren, Kaohsiung 17/5/2002. Some Japanese fishing masters were hired by the Taiwanese towkays in the postwar years, but their numbers were too small to be considered a group.

\[2\] Interview, Sia Fujhong, Kaohsiung 24/4/2004. In fact, the migration of fishers to Kaohsiung had occurred since the colonial era. Most of the migrants were from Penghu, but the population was too small to compare with that of the postwar years.

\[3\] Nowadays many fishing companies in Kaohsiung are run by the Penghuan fishers. Why were the Penghuans unable to establish their fishing companies in the old days? I will give a clear answer to this question in Chapter 8, which focuses on the fishing communities and the fishing culture of Kaohsiung.
the government-run fishing companies and civilian trawling companies. The
government-run companies mainly refer to the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT and the China Fishing Company. In addition,
civilian fishing companies, especially pair-trawl fishing companies, had attracted the
Mainland Chinese who mainly came from Shandong and Fujian. The
people from Fujian mostly graduated from the Jimei Fisheries Vocational School and they had initially worked as fishing masters; some even ended up later as towkays themselves. The Mainland Chinese remained almost exclusively with trawl fishing and only a few made the effort to diversify their business into the field of longline fishing. As a result, they were to become greatly affected by the implementation of the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone and for the most part this group disappeared from Taiwan’s fishing industry after international fishing cooperation came to an end in the 1980s.

Most of the fishers from Siao Liouciou have remained in the longline fishing industry. They invariably started their fishing careers with offshore longlining in the waters off Siao Liouciou, and gradually extended their fishing grounds into Southeast Asian waters. In order to survive in the metropolitan environment of Kaohsiung, the Siao Liouciou people formed a discreet, self-contained, closed corporate fishing community. Every member of the community, from onshore towkays to fishing masters and apprentices, needed to be fellow kinsmen. The conservative nature of the fishers from Siao Liouciou, to some degree, has limited their initiative for further growth and development in the global-scale fisheries.

The local Taiwanese of Kaohsiung never stuck to any particular fishing method. Most of them restarted their businesses by running longline fishing companies after World War Two, but they also made attempts to launch other fishing activities. Hence, their capital was sometimes invested in trawlers, sometimes longliners; sometimes in the offshore fisheries, and sometimes in the distant water fisheries. If they could, they would usually extend their business interests into the fishing ancillary industries, such as shipbuilding and ice-manufacturing. A wide range of investments not only improved their chance of surviving in an erratic

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4 ‘Mainland Chinese’ is a sensitive term to Taiwanese people. It refers only to those individuals who came to Taiwan with the KMT after 1945. Some of them, especially the younger generation, feel offended or excluded by being called ‘Mainland Chinese’ because nowadays they prefer to be viewed as ‘Taiwanese’. Those who stayed in China (under the rule of the PRC) are ‘Chinese’.

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business environment, it also enhanced their capability to successfully engage in the global-scale fishing industry of the post-war era.

Each ethnic group, except the Penghuans, set up their own respective fishing companies in the Kaohsiung Fishing Port. While they shared the same toehold; their responses to global challenges, however, were not quite the same. In this chapter, I will narrow down the scope of the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry from the national level to the company level. I will demonstrate, through the histories of certain companies in Kaohsiung, the business environment of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry and the trajectory of Taiwan’s fisheries development, with particular reference to changes in fishing grounds and the improvement of fishing technology. Six fishing companies will be highlighted in this chapter. Each of them, apart from the two government-run companies, was generally acknowledged as the most representative company of a certain type in Kaohsiung’s fisheries circles.5

The administration of the government-run fishing companies

The first government-run fishing company developed in post-war Taiwan was the Fisheries Branch of Agriculture and Forestry Company of Taiwan (Fisheries Branch of AFCT [臺灣農林公司水産分公司 or 水産分公司]). Its origin could be traced back to the South Japan Fisheries-related Enterprise (SJFE [南日本漁業統制會社]) that was established for military purposes in the final years of the colonial period. It comprised a diverse range of fisheries-related businesses, including distant water fisheries, aquaculture, the ice-making industry, the fish processing industries, and the shipbuilding industry. Also, the SJFE branches and plants were widely distributed in Taiwan; some were even located in southern China, for example, in Shantou [汕頭], Hong Kong [香港] and Hainan Island [海南島].6

5 None of the Penghuan companies will be dealt with in this chapter. Few Penghuans owned fishing companies in the pre-war and early postwar era, except Chen Jiner [陳金貳] and Chen Shengyong [陳生永], brothers from Penghu, who ran a longline fishing business very successfully in Kaohsiung (Takao) during the colonial era. However, the Chen brothers’ story is not appropriate as a case study for the following reasons: First, their case is so atypical that it cannot stand for the rest of the Penghuans in Kaohsiung. Second, they had moved to Kaohsiung in the colonial era, and it is more appropriate that they be considered locals. Third, for unknown reasons, the Chens declined to be interviewed. None of the information about their company history came from them directly.

6 The Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan [臺灣農林], Nantou, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1946, 212.
Soon after the Pacific War ended in 1945, the SJFE was renamed the Fishing Kaisha of Taiwan [臺灣水産株式會社], and then, on December 15 of the same year, it was taken over by the Agriculture and Forestry Bureau (AFB [農林處]) of the Provisional Government of Taiwan Province [臺灣省行政長官公署]. However, due to severe damage caused by the war, the scale of the SJFE’s infrastructure and fleet was not as large as it previously had been. Only eight fishing vessels were still capable of operation; twenty three were in need of repair; the rest, as many as 150, were either sunk or missing and most of its onshore fisheries-related factories were badly damaged and had ceased operation.\(^7\)

With a view to organising and developing it as a leading fisheries enterprise in Taiwan, a number of fishing ancillary companies, including the Taiwan Fisheries Trade Company [臺灣水産物販売株式會社], the Takao Fish-processing Company [高雄水産加工株式會社], the Kuzuhara Industrial Company [葛原工業社], and the Toko Ice-manufacturer [東港製冰會社] were merged to form a new company, the Fishing Kaisha of Taiwan. In December 1946, it was renamed the Taiwan Fishing Company (TFC [臺灣省水産有限公 司]).\(^8\) Its headquarters were located in Taipei and two branch offices were set up in Keelung and Kaohsiung respectively. Basically, the Kaohsiung Office was in charge of longline fishing, and the Keelung Office controlled trawl fishing activities.\(^9\) After the Agriculture and Forestry Company of Taiwan (AFCT [臺灣農林股份有限公司]) was established in 1947, the TFC was merged with the AFCT, and it eventually became the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT [臺灣水産分公司].\(^10\)

Like the SJFE, the Fisheries Branch ran a variety of fisheries-related businesses. The fishing industry constituted just one of its sectors. During the initial stage of the development of the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT, most of its vessels were old, inefficient and required a large amount of expenditure for maintenance.

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\(^7\) The Agriculture and Forestry Industries in Taiwan, 213, and A Brief Introduction to Agricultural Industries, vol. 10 [農業要覽第十輯], Taipei, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, 1958-62, 92-93. SJFE had owned and operated 181 fishing vessels, 25 ice-making factories, three fish canning plants and one shipbuilding plant. Most of them were seriously damaged during the war.

\(^8\) The Agriculture and Forestry in Taiwan, 213.

\(^9\) A Study of the Fishing Industry of Taiwan [臺灣漁業之研究], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1974, 13, and Naito Harukichi & Syu Jiwu, History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan [臺灣漁業史], Taipei, Bank of Taiwan, 1957, 16. At the very beginning, TFC only had five longliners and all of them were under the management of the Kaohsiung Branch and used Kaohsiung as their supply base.

\(^10\) Reports on Taiwan’s Provincial Government [臺灣省政府施政報告], 1947, 180.
However, the financial situation improved rapidly. Table 6.01 shows that the fishing activity recovered at a fast pace. Its catch rate soared from 1,150 to 2,079 kilogram ‘per vessel ton’ during the first eight years of the development of the Fisheries Branch (its predecessor, the TFC included). The volume of the total catch meant that the company’s fishing vessels had rapidly become more and more efficient in the early years of the post-war era.

Table 6.01: Catch outcomes of the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT (its predecessor, the TFC included) from 1946 to 1953

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of fishing vessels</th>
<th>Total tonnages</th>
<th>Average tonnage</th>
<th>Total catch (kg)</th>
<th>Catch (kg) Per vessel ton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2,384</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>2,839,563</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2,177</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>3,340,633</td>
<td>1,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,712</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>2,723,566</td>
<td>1,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1,878,722</td>
<td>1,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950*</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1,664</td>
<td>92.38</td>
<td>1,761,742</td>
<td>1,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,816</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>4,106,000</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1,839</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>3,562,089</td>
<td>1,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,997</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>4,151,716</td>
<td>2,079</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Data of 1950 was not complete, information was available only from January to September.

This rise in catch was due to old vessels being gradually replaced with new ones. The number of vessels decreased from 29 in 1946 to 12 in 1949, but they doubled in number to 24 by 1953. From 1953 onwards, the Fisheries Branch had also stopped the running of the single-trawl fishing operations and shifted its attention to the operation of pair-trawl fishing. The number of pair-trawlers rapidly increased to 10 pairs (20 ships). The construction and maintenance of new fishing vessels was not a difficult matter for the Fisheries Branch, because it ran two shipbuilding yards: one in Keelung and the other in Tainan. The Keelung plant could build 200-ton vessels and the Tainan plant 100-ton ships. The dockside equipment

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11 *The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan*, 15.
12 Ibid., 16.
of the shipbuilding plants could also fully support the maintenance and repair of the Fisheries Branch’s vessels.

**Map 6.01**: Industrial properties of the Fisheries Branches

Besides the fishing sector, the Fisheries Branch engaged in ice manufacturing and fish processing industries. The SJFE, the predecessor of the Fisheries Branch, owned twenty ice-manufacturing plants that produced 762 tons of ice per day. But, many of these plants were damaged during the war. Only six plants were still operating after the war, producing only 140 tons per day. However, the plants recovered gradually and by 1951, their production had risen to 515 tons per day.\(^\text{13}\)

Two of its Kaohsiung plants, the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 1\(^{\text{st}}\) Plant [高雄冷凍廠第一廠] and the Kaohsiung Cold Storage 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) Plant [高雄冷凍廠第二廠] could alone produce up to 190 tons per day,\(^\text{14}\) which accounted for 36.89% of the daily output.

\(^\text{13}\) The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan, 17.

\(^\text{14}\) Ibid., 59.
The fish processing industry suffered a similar fate. The SJFE had three fish processing factories located in Kaohsiung, Hualien and Suao. The Kaohsiung plant was totally destroyed during the war. However, during the process of post-war reconstruction, a cod-liver oil plant and a canning factory were rebuilt, in 1945 and 1946 respectively. These plants were subsequently reorganised as the Kaohsiung Fishing Processing Factory. It is not clear why the plants that were located in Hualien and Suao were shut down, leaving only the Kaohsiung Fish Processing Factory operating. Armed with ice-making plants, fish processing factories and longliner fleets, the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT formed a self-sufficient fishing enterprise in Kaohsiung and served as an important government-run fisheries business in post-war Taiwan. However, this situation did not last long. In 1953, the Government decided to grant shares in several government-run enterprises to Taiwanese landlords as compensation for the properties they had lost due to government-initiated land reform. The AFCT was one of the enterprises allocated to the private sector. As a result, the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT suddenly became a civilian-run company.

Another government-run fishing company was the China Fishing Company (the CFC), whose history can be traced back to the Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials (MAFRM). This agency was originally set up in Shanghai to administer fisheries reconstruction aid from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in 1946. Four branches of the Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials were set up in 1947; one was located in Taiwan to help in the revival of the Taiwanese fishing industry. The Taiwan Branch started its fishing business with seven single-trawlers; three were steamer trawlers from Australia while the other four were diesel engine trawlers from the United States. All of them operated in both the Taiwan Strait and the East China Sea. Besides re-exploiting longline fishing grounds in Southeast Asia, a workstation was set up in

15 The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan, 16.
Kaohsiung in March 1948.\textsuperscript{17} The Taiwan Branch had also tried to engage in other fisheries ancillary businesses, such as ice-manufacturing and the fish processing industries. However, due to frequent changes in development policies, all its efforts proved futile. From April 1947 to December 1948, the revenue of the Taiwan Branch was $NT883 million and its expenditure was $NT2.6 billion, leaving a deficit of around $NT1.7 billion. Nevertheless, such a huge deficit did not halt the growth of its fishing fleets. By 1950, due to the civil war in China, 26 of the government-owned fishing vessels had been forced to flee to Taiwan. Most of the single-trawlers used Keelung as a supply port, but five Chinese longliners moved into Kaohsiung and were managed by the Kaohsiung Office of the Taiwan Branch.\textsuperscript{18}

In July 1955, the Taiwan Branch was restructured. It became the China Fishing Company and was directly supervised by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. The main purpose for establishing the CFC was to create a model for the current Taiwanese civilian fishing companies, as well as to lay the foundation for the future reconstruction of China’s fishing industry.\textsuperscript{19} Thus the CFC received numerous fishing vessels and considerable financial resources from the Government. It also played a

\textsuperscript{17} Jin Jhihyu, ‘The Origins and Development of the CFC [中國漁業公司的來龍去脈],’ \textit{Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]}, no. 50, 1965, 4. The position of MAFRM frequently changed. The Managing Agency used to be directly overseen by the China Branch of UNRRA. When the China Branch deactivated in 1948, the Managing Agency was put under the jurisdiction of the Construction Committee [善後事業委員會] of the Executive Yuan [行政院], something like the State Department in the US); in June 1949, under the Committee of Reconstruction and Preservation [善後事業保管委員會]. In 1950, the Committee of Reconstruction and Preservation deactivated. All its business was consigned to the Ministry of Economic Affairs. The Managing Agency for Fisheries Reconstruction Materials [漁業善後物資管理處] was finally overseen by the MEA. See \textit{History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan}, 19-20. The Mandarin title of the fisheries production department changed continuously. In 1946, it was called the ‘Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials’ [漁業善後物資管理處]. In the next two years, its name was changed three times. In 1949, it was named the ‘Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials’ [漁業善後物資管理處] again, and set up another office in Kaohsiung. But the Kaohsiung office was closed shortly afterwards. Finally, it was called the ‘Managing Agency of Fisheries Reconstruction Materials of Taiwan’ [臺灣漁業善後物資管理處] and was made subordinate to the Ministry of Economic Affairs. All of these titles are confusing, long, unreadable, and do not make any sense if translated in English.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan}, 20-21. In fact, it is very difficult to say how many vessels the CFC owned because, as an operating company, its vessel numbers always changed. According to Jin Jhihyu, ‘Origins and Development of the CFC [中國漁業公司的來龍去脈],’ \textit{Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]}, no. 50, 1965, 4. In August 1951, the CFC owned 22 single-trawlers, three longliners, one pair of pair-trawlers, one landing craft which was going to be updated as a mother-ship and two other working vessels. This information on fleet size is different from that provided by \textit{The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan}.

\textsuperscript{19} ‘Suggestions for the Management of the CFC [中國漁業股份有限公司企業管理諮詢意見],’ \textit{Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]}, no. 50, 1965, 8.
decisive role in the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry in the late 1950s. During the initial stage, its output accounted for up to 73 percent of the distant water fisheries sector and 11 percent of the fishing industry of Taiwan.\(^{20}\)

The CFC/Taiwan Branch had produced excellent trawling results. However, the company was severely threatened by the stock depletion of the northern fishing grounds, the competition from civilian companies, and ecological problems caused by over-fishing. In order to extricate itself from these mounting problems, the CFC undertook two approaches from the 1950s. The CFC began to shift its main focus from trawl fishing to longline fishing. It then devised a plan to initiate international fisheries cooperation arrangements and to exploit new fishing grounds. With regard to the development of longline fishing, the CFC also started to strengthen its mode of operation and techniques after 1957 and the company established overseas supply bases, as well as entering the international market. By 1961, the CFC had built four 350-ton longliners for the exploitation of tuna resources in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. Most of its catch was sold to the United States, Italy and South African markets. In order to further increase its catch rate, it also built four 550-ton longliners that year.\(^{21}\) In May 1950, the CFC had helped Vietnam develop their own trawl fishing and shrimp fisheries. Both parties had considered setting up a Sino-Vietnamese Fishing Company [中越漁業公司]. In July, the CFC also helped Thailand to embark upon a similar cooperative venture to that which it had entered with Vietnam. However, this proved a total failure.\(^{22}\)

As a state-run fishing company in postwar Taiwan, the CFC had put considerable effort into maintaining its operation, but all its efforts were in vain. The CFC collapsed in 1966 due to a number of factors.\(^{23}\) The Government’s decision to withdraw its troops from Zhoushan [舟山] and Dachen [ 大陳], as well as from the islands along the coast of China, caused the catch area of the northern fishing grounds to shrink quite suddenly (See Map 6.02). Moreover, the increasing number of new

\(^{20}\) ‘Praise that the CFC Deserves [願為中漁公司讚揚],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 5, 1961, 2.

\(^{21}\) ‘A Brief introduction to State-run Industries’ [民國五十年之國營生產事業概況], *The References of the Ministry of Economic Affairs* [經濟部參考資料], Vol. 232, 18-20.

\(^{22}\) Ibid., 19, and see Chapter 9.

\(^{23}\) ‘Suggestions for the Management of the CFC [中國漁業股份有限公司企業管理諮詢意見],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 50, 1965, 3.
trawlers built by civilian fishing companies had created strong competition against the CFC. Also, the ecological problems caused by overfishing gradually emerged and caused a drastic fall in the volume of catch. Consequently, the efficient running of its trawl fishing department had continued to decline from 1961 and the large expanding deficit prevented the CFC from recovering from its financial difficulties, thus sending its trawl-fishing sector toward collapse.24

Map 6.02: Geographic location of Zhoushan and Dachen

Produced by Chen, Ta-Yuan

24 ‘Suggestions for the Management of the CFC [中國漁業股份有限公司企業管理諮詢意見],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 50, 1965, 9-10. According to ‘Deficit is the Government’s Business: Earnings are Mine [虧本算國家 賺錢算自己],’ Fishery Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 11, 1962, 16, most of the CFC’s trawlers were more than twenty years old and no longer viable.
The problems pertaining to the longline fishing department were due solely to mismanagement. Two of the CFC’s 550-ton longliners, *CFC 501* [中漁 501] and *CFC 502* [中漁 502] provide a case in point. They were built in 1961 in an attempt to improve the catch rate. However, the financial situation of the CFC at the time was not as buoyant as before. Huge debts and the interest generated by the building of these new longliners placed a heavy financial burden on the CFC. In addition, the active operational time of these two longliners was not as long as the CFC had anticipated. Operation time was regularly wasted due to too much time being spent either on the inter-ocean voyage or the vessels being anchored at overseas ports for long periods without activity. The sale of tuna products also incurred a significant loss. The CFC tried to open up international marketing channels for tuna products, but, the company’s lack of marketing experience created additional difficulties. The huge financial deficit caused by the longline-fishing sector placed the CFC in a hopeless financial situation.25

An assortment of problems continued to threaten the viability of the CFC, but it simply could not find a way to resolve them. The bureaucracy was primarily responsible for this state of affairs. For example, let us briefly look at the President’s credentials. The first president of the CFC was the former mayor of Shanghai, Chen Liang [陳良], who, the public felt, knew nothing about the fishing industry. When the financial situation of the CFC became progressively worse, Chen shirked his responsibility and dismissed six general managers over a period of nine years.26 In 1963, Chen Liang was finally compelled to resign under public pressure. Yuan Tongchou [袁同疇], a man with a military background, took Chen Liang’s position. Again, he knew nothing about the fishing industry,27 and, not surprisingly, was removed one year later. The CFC was a flagship state-run fishing company that was

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25 ‘Suggestions for the Management of the CFC [中國漁業股份有限公司企業管理諮詢意見],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 50, 1965, 8. Regarding the financial situation of the CFC, see ‘Creditors should be Invited to Supervise the Running of the CFC [中漁公司應由債權參加監督],’ *Fishery Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 12, 1962, 2. The article’s main theme, in short, is that the property of CFC was far from enough to repay all its debts.

26 ‘Praise that the CFC Deserves [願為中漁公司讚揚],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 5, 1961, 2. Chen Liang was a highly controversial figure. Criticisms of his conduct and leadership were extensively discussed in *Fisheries Tribune*.

27 ‘Government Made the Right Decision to Reorganise the CFC [政府明智決定 中漁公司改組],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 22, 1963, 4.
expected to serve as a model for Taiwan’s fisheries; ironically, none of its presidents came from the fishing industry. To make matters worse, some of its high-ranking staff ran their own civilian fishing companies. How much effort they could devote to the proper management of the CFC still remains an interesting question.

The shambles that the CFC created forced the Government to dismantle the company in 1965. Even at the time of the liquidation of assets, the CFC still possessed an incredible amount of property that included fifteen 120-ton trawlers that used Keelung Port as a supply base, one 280-ton longliner, four 350-ton longliners and two 550-ton longliners that were operated by the Kaohsiung Branch. All of them were consigned to the Veterans Affairs Commission (VAC), one of the important military agencies in postwar Taiwan, and were run by its fishing sector the Ocean Fisheries Development Agency (OFDA). Except for the fishers, a large number of the CFC bureaucrats were dismissed in this liquidation process. The repayment of the huge debt and interest incurred by the CFC was deferred. These immediate remedies offered the OFDA a foothold into the fishing industry. By the beginning of 1966, the old trawlers that had been inherited from the CFC were progressively updated, and both the catch and the marketing improved. On the other hand, the longlining business kept expanding with the encouragement of the soaring prices for tuna products in international markets. Four modern 110-ton longliners were being built by the CFC in order to work in the waters of the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, the function and scale of the OFDA was different from that of the CFC because it was an agency that was meant to look after the well-being of veterans by providing them with job opportunities at sea. It was never expected to play a leading role in Taiwan’s fishing industry or to earn massive foreign exchange for the Government, so its position was not as significant as that of the CFC or the Fisheries Branch. However, by the end of 1966, the OFDA had

28 ‘Deficit is the Government’s Business: Earnings are Mine [虧本算國家 賺錢算自己], 17.
29 ‘Suggestions for the Management of the CFC [中國漁業股份有限公司企業管理諮詢意見],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 50, 1965, 9.
30 ‘Suggestions for the OFDA [向輔導會漁業開發處建議],’ *Fishery Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 51, 1965, 3.
31 ‘VAC Set up the OFDA to Take over the CFC [輔導會成立漁業處 中漁公司已經移交],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 51, 1965, 12-13.
32 ‘OFDA Becomes Increasingly Prosperous: New Vessels are being Built [業務蒸蒸日上 新建遠洋漁船],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 58, 1966, 23.
decided to sell all its trawlers to the Taihua Fishing Company (a civilian fishing company that was located in Keelung), and it subsequently moved to Kaohsiung, concentrating on the running of longline fishing.\(^3^3\)

The demise of the CFC meant that the Government’s attempt to dominate Taiwan’s fishing industry through government-run fishing companies had proved unsuccessful. Besides an inexperienced bureaucracy and mismanagement, other factors were responsible for this failure: first, like mainland Chinese communist society, not many employees of the government-run fishing companies were concerned about fishing performance and the company’s actual financial situation. Everything, whether onshore or at sea, was so inefficient and disorganised that the CFC simply could not cope with the severe competition from civilian companies.\(^3^4\)

Furthermore, no one had been able to properly supervise the running of the CFC after 1958. The CFC that had been operated by the Central Government was only supervised by the TFPC, a de facto fisheries authority of the Central Government. However, even the TFPC was dissolved in 1958. The FAA, the substitute agency for the TFPC, operated only at the provincial level and had no jurisdiction to oversee the operation of the CFC.\(^3^5\) Hence, it is not surprising that the running of the CFC went off the rails.

After examining the failure of the government-run fishing companies there are two other important matters to stress here. First, all of them disposed of both their longliner fleets at Kaohsiung Fishing Port and their trawlers in the Fishing Port of Keelung. To a certain extent, their act of liquidation reflects the fact that the position of Kaohsiung, as a key longline fishing centre of Colonial Taiwan, did not change with the advent of the post-war era. From the Government’s point of view, Kaohsiung Fishing Port was not only the best supply base and port from which to develop the fishing industry in Southeast Asia, but also the best place from which Taiwan could build up a global longline fishing industry in the post-war years. Most of the government-run longliners in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans used Kaohsiung

\(^3^3\) ‘OFDA’s Trawlers have been Sold to Taihua Fishing Company [海洋漁業開發處拖網漁船已全部售與泰華公司經營],’ *Fishery Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 66, 1967, 9.

\(^3^4\) Interview, Jin Nengjhen, Kaohsiung, 5/3/2002.

\(^3^5\) ‘Strengthen Fishery Administration and Enhance the Power of the Central Government [健全漁業行政 加強中央職權],’ *Fishery Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 11, 1962, 15-16.
as a homeport. On the other hand, most of the government-run trawlers that were located in Keelung found it difficult to maintain their operations. The tremendous deficit created by the CFC’s trawling department and the sale of the OFA’s trawler fleets reflected the fact that the growing depletion of marine resources in the northern fishing grounds had become an irreversible problem.

**The development of trawl fishing companies: Gu Tingfang and Lin Changren**

The large-scale migration of trawlers from China and Chinese waters in the late-1940s contributed directly to the revival and development of Taiwan’s trawl fishing industry. Initially, the Chinese vessels were located in Keelung, but they moved south to Kaohsiung, operating in the trawl fishing grounds of Southeast Asia. In order to illustrate how trawler owners developed their businesses, detailed accounts of two towkays will be used as the principal source for my case study. One gentleman is Gu Tingfang, who came originally from Shandong, and the other is Lin Changren from Fujian. Both of them are well-known in the circles of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, and they are ideal representatives of each of their communities.

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36 Wu Mingzuo, ‘A Brief Introduction to the Development of Taiwan’s Trawl Fishing Industry,’ KFBCG’s internal document, 1.
Gu Tingfang was born in Shandong, a peninsula province in northern China that skirts the Yellow Sea [黃海]. His family had made a living from trawl fishing for several generations, but the communists’ triumph in the civil war drove the Gu family away from Shandong. Initially, they fled to Shanghai, and then to Hong Kong, moving from one port to another on the Chinese coast. Finally, they decided to relocate to Keelung, Taiwan. Unlike ordinary postwar refugees, the Gu family was wealthy; four units of trawlers and a large number of crew went with them to Keelung: *Chengxinli 1 and 2* [成信利 1, 2 號], *Huafu 1 and 2* [華孚 1, 2 號], *Huayi 1 and 2* [華義 1, 2 號], and *Huafong* [華豐] as well as *Cyunli* [群力]. These vessels and their loyal crews not only helped them maintain the family’s social standing and economic status while in the process of flight and relocation, but also gave them the strength of conviction that they could restart their formerly successful fishing business in Keelung.37

In the early years of postwar Taiwan, the running of a trawl fishing company was relatively simple. Normally, the laoban (Chi. 老板), the vessel owner himself, was also the managing director. Several staff members ordinarily worked in the company—an accountant, a marketing manager, and a vessel manager. The then young Gu took immediate charge of both marketing and vessel maintenance when they settled down in postwar Keelung. Thus, when the trawl catch was unloaded in the harbour in the afternoon, Gu would arrange to have all the fish products transported by train to most towns in Taiwan the very same night. The Jhongyang Fish Market [中央市場] of Taipei was the most important destination, and then the remaining products were sent to every other market along the rail line from north to south. If everything went according to plan, fish products would arrive at Kaohsiung in a fresh condition in the early morning hours. The Gu family quickly found that the transportation system and marketing channels for fish products were quite efficient in Taiwan (an island nation) compared to China.38

However, the Taiwanese situation was not nearly as simple as the Gu family had originally thought. Problems emerged gradually. First of all, their vessels were made of wood and had operated out of China for at least twenty years. The maintenance fees and upkeep of these ageing trawlers was high. Second, the new fishing grounds off Taiwan were not totally familiar to their crew. As a result, the average catch was disappointing. In order to economise on running costs, they decided to retire their older vessels, Chengsinli 1 and 2. Nevertheless, the financial situation did not improve and the overall running costs of the remaining vessels remained high. In the end, they did not have any choice but to retire the remaining vessels. Huafu 1 and 2, Huayi 1 and 2, and Huafong and Cyunli gradually ceased operation over next two years.39

In 1951, however, the United States had begun to provide Taiwan with US Aid [美援].40 With a long history of being in the fishing business, the Gu family’s application for US Aid was accepted without reservation by the FAA. In fact, the family had taken a risk in applying for US Aid. Most of their vessels had ceased

38 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 19/6/2002.
operation, and their financial strength had declined since they moved to Taiwan. But the Gu family was still determined to try their luck one more time. A unit of modern pair-trawlers, *Shengchang nos 1 and 2* [勝昌 1, 2 號], were built in 1951. The launch of *Shengchang nos 1 and 2* set two benchmarks: it was the first time in post-war Keelung that a civilian fishing company owned steel-made trawlers. It was also the first time that diesel engines were installed in civilian fishing vessels. The construction of the two Shengchang class trawlers caused a sensation in the Keelung fishing industry.  

Obviously, to run such modern vessels like *Shengchang nos 1 and 2* would require very proficient fishing masters. None of the Gu family’s old crew knew how to fish the new fishing grounds or how to handle these modern vessels. The only thing to do was to hire a fishing master from overseas. The implementation of the ‘Regulations concerning the Importation of Motorized Fishing Vessels of Taiwan’ [臺灣省國外動力漁船輸入管理辦法] in early 1951 proved a timely opportunity for them. The Gu family hired a fishing master from Japan who had considerable experience operating in the fishing grounds off Taiwan since the colonial period. However, the operation of the *Shengchang 1 and 2* and the employment of a seasoned Japanese fishing master did not bring good luck and success to the Gu’s business. The Japanese fishing master, albeit with good fishing credentials, died unexpectedly after eating a poisonous blowfish on the voyage. Hence, the family was compelled to rehire their old crew. However, once again, the operating results proved far from satisfactory. The running costs kept increasing and the financial burden became unbearable. In 1954, the Gu family was forced to sell *Shengchang 1 and 2*. The subsequent closure of their business was a difficult decision, as the returns from the sale of *Shengchang 1 and 2* could not begin to repay the tremendous debt they had incurred while trying to establish their family business in post-war Taiwan.  

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41 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 7/4/2002. Gu added that another unit of modern trawlers, *Yongfa nos 11 & 12* [永發11, 12號] was also built at the same time (1951). They were owned by another local company located in Keelung.

42 Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Where built</th>
<th>Fishing grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chengsinli 1</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Before 1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengsinli 2</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Yellow Sea, East China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huafu 1</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>After 1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huafu 2</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Taiwan Strait &amp; Southern part of the East China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huayi 1</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>After 1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huayi 2</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Taiwan Strait &amp; Southern part of the East China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huafong</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>After 1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyunli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* W stands for wood hull vessel; S stands for steel hull vessel.

His previous work experience in marketing and vessel management benefited Mr. Gu greatly after 1951, despite the collapse of the family business. For four years, he was employed by various fishing companies as a professional manager in Keelung. During this period, more and more fishing vessels in Keelung were engaged in trawl fishing and subsequent problems caused by overfishing gradually emerged in the northern fishing grounds. Hence, the pair-trawlers from Keelung started to exploit the southern part of the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea, which also encouraged such fishing companies to relocate to Kaohsiung.\(^{43}\) Gu, after working as a professional manager for various fishing companies, also moved to Kaohsiung in 1958 to seek better work prospects. Through his network of contacts with Shandong people in Taiwan, Gu, without much difficulty, found a fine job in the Guofong Fishing Company [國豐漁業公司].\(^{44}\)

The laoban of this company, Tao Zihhou [陶子厚], was a business tycoon from Shandong. Tao had invested in a variety of businesses in post-war Taipei, including a flour mill, the hardware industry, and mechanised plants, and he also attempted to run a fishing company in Kaohsiung. Three units of pair-trawlers, Guofong nos 101 and 102 [國豐 101, 102 號], Guofong nos 201 and 202 [國豐 201, 202 號] and Guofong nos 301

\(^{43}\) A Brief Introduction to Agricultural Industries, vol. 10, 22. By 1960, most of the pair-trawlers and some single-trawlers had shifted from Keelung to the Kaohsiung Fishing Port.

\(^{44}\) Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 7/4/2002.
and 302 阿固 301, 302 號 were built simultaneously by Tao and each unit cost at least NT$3 million at that time. The huge cost of the investment caused a stir in Kaohsiung’s fishing circles.\(^4\) However, Guofong, being a private company, attempted to keep the number of its onshore staff to a minimum. Only several key employees were hired. Besides the managing director, there was an accountant, one vessel manager, one maintenance manager, one marketing manager and some courier boys. All of them were Shandong people, and Gu, aged 28, now worked as the marketing manager for this new fishing company. While Gu was working for Guofong, he witnessed a major change in the transportation of fish products within Taiwan—train transportation was rapidly being replaced by trucks as the main source of conveyance to every city and town. The fish products were now being boxed with ice as soon as they were unloaded from the vessels. With a highly-developed and expanding highway system, the marine products could be readily transported to every corner of the island.\(^4\)

The first three units of pair-trawlers had excellent fishing results in the South China Sea. The considerable profits and stable business environment of Kaohsiung encouraged Guofong to build other new vessels. The fisheries authorities experimentally encouraged the running of single-trawl fishing in the late 1950s, in order to help economise the running costs of fishing companies. Guofong, with financial assistance from US Aid, and with the Taiwan Government’s support, built Jhongsing no. 8 中興 8 號 in 1959. It was manufactured in Keelung and operated immediately in the northern fishing grounds. From that time, Guofong became one of the few fishing companies that operated in both the northern and southern fishing grounds. After the launch of Jhongsing no. 8, three more units of pair-trawlers, Minfu nos 1 and 2 民富 1,2 號, Minfu nos 11 and 12 民富 11, 12 號 and Tongfong nos 11 and 12 同豐 11, 12 號 were built within less than two years. All of these vessels were equipped with large modern refrigerators that could help keep the catch fresh during the course of a long voyage. Minfu nos 1 and 2 were able to fish as far away as Hong

\(^4\) Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 7/4/2002, and ‘The Guofong Fishing Company is Building Three Units of Fishing Vessels 阿固漁業公司建造三對漁船,’ China Fisheries News 中國漁業新聞, 17/4/1958. The China Fisheries News emphasised that it was unusual that a fishing company was building three pairs of fishing vessels at the same time and did not ask for financial assistance from the Government. Besides, the hulls and engines were Taiwanese-made.

\(^4\) Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 19/6/2002.
Kong, while *Minfu nos 11 and 12* and *Tongfong nos 11 and 12*, with a larger tonnage, could operate in the waters as far south as Saigon. There are two points to emphasise here: first, in early 1960, the majority of the Taiwanese pair-trawlers were still operating in the East China Sea and the northern part of the South China Sea. However, at that time, bestowed with larger tonnage and modern refrigerators, *Minfu* and *Tongfong* worked together to spearhead Taiwan’s trawler invasion of the waters off Saigon. Second, the average tonnage of the Taiwanese pair-trawlers gradually increased during this period from 80 tons to 150 tons, as they continued to exploit the fishing grounds of the South China Sea, and as steel hull vessels gradually replaced traditional wooden hull ones.

**Table 6.03: Guofong Fishing Company, from 1958 to 1964**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>Fishing Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guofong no. 101</strong></td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>90 Ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guofong no. 102</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters off Hong Kong, Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[The northern part of the South China Sea]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guofong no. 201</strong></td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>90 Ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guofong no. 202</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The southern part of the East China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guofong no. 301</strong></td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>90 Ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guofong no. 302</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters off Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(The northern part of the South China Sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jhongsing no. 8</strong></td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>100-120 Ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The southern part of the East China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minfu no. 1</strong></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>90 RE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minfu no. 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters off Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(The northern part of the South China Sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minfu no. 11</strong></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>120 RE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minfu no. 12</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters off Saigon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(The southern part of the South China Sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tongfong no. 11</strong></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>120 RE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tongfong no. 12</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters off Saigon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PT stands for pair-trawler; ST stands for single-trawler.
RE stands for refrigerator.
W stands for wooden hull vessel; S stands for steel hull vessel.

48 Ye Sian’ya, ‘Retrospection on Taiwan’s Trawl Fishing [*臺灣拖網漁業之回顧與展望*],’ *China Fisheries Monthly* [中國水產], no. 375, 1984, 25-34. The fishing grounds were extended to the southern part of the South China Sea after the mid-1960s.
49 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 23/6/2002. The maximum tonnage of a wood hull pair-trawler is 150 tons, because wood is not strong enough to support a larger superstructure.
In 1964, however, Gu’s boss, Tao, made a surprising decision to close down his prosperous fishing business. This was partly because he wanted to concentrate his time and energy on his onshore enterprises, and partly because he was tired of having to travel back and forth between Taipei and Kaohsiung. *Tongfong nos 11 and 12* were purchased by his managing director and shareholder, Sun Shaoru [孫紹儒], and renamed *Tongfu nos 11 and 12* [同富 11, 12 號]. Sun also bought another unit of pair-trawlers, *Huafong nos 11 and 12* [華豐 11, 12 號] from another company. Sun’s new fishing business was also called the Tongfong Fishing Company [同豐漁業公司]. The reorganisation of the company did not adversely affect Gu’s career, as he was also employed by Sun, but now as managing director.\(^50\)

In 1966, Sun expanded his business to include longline fishing. He built *Tong’an no. 11* [同安 11 號] and *Tong’an no. 21* in 1966 and *Tong’an no. 31* and *Tong’an no. 51* in 1967. Sun named his longlining branch the Tong’an Fishing Company [同安漁業公司]. In fact, Tongfong and Tong’an were branches of the same business separated in name only; they were both located in the same office and managed under the direction of the same director, Mr. Gu. For Gu, the new management responsibility of the longlining business was to prove extremely challenging. Originally, the Shandong people in Taiwan were not very interested in developing the longline fishing industry, and had not formed a strong business network in relation to the industry, therefore Gu could only obtain limited financial backing and skilled manpower. Furthermore, in the 1960s Taiwan’s longline fishing industry had expanded into a global enterprise. The operation of overseas supply bases and the already established cooperation with Japanese and American fish dealers was a big hurdle to overcome for a monolingual group like the Shandong people.\(^51\)

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\(^{50}\) Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 19/6/2002.

\(^{51}\) Ibid.
Chen, Ta-Yuan

Table 6.04: Tongfong Fishing Company, from 1965 to 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Fishing Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tongfu 11</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Huafong 11</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Huafong 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* PT stands for pair-trawler; RE stands for refrigerator. * W stands for wood hull vessel; S stands for steel hull vessel.

Table 6.05: Tong’an Fishing Company, from 1966 to 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fishing Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tong’an 11</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tong’an 21</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tong’an 31</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tong’an 51</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* LL stands for longliner.

However, Gu managed to remove these obstacles by cooperating with the Mingtai Company [銘泰] and the fisheries agency of the Taiyo Gyogyō K.K. ([大洋漁業] Taiyo Fishery Co., Ltd.)—an internationally known Japanese enterprise—on the condition that the entire catch must be sold to Taiyo at negotiated prices. The established cooperation with Taiyo greatly benefited Tong’an; the company could now obtain continuous financial aid and the port services that Taiyo provided at their overseas supply bases. Equally important, Tong’an would not have to open up international marketing channels on its own.52 The overseas supply bases which Tong’an’s longliner fleet now used were located at Samoa, an island in the southwest Pacific Ocean, Abidjan, the capital of Ivory Coast, Las Palmas, a Spanish dependency, and, Cape Town, a major port city of South Africa.53

In the late 1960s, ecosystem problems caused by overfishing gradually emerged in the South China Sea. The pair-trawlers operating there could no longer

52 *Financial Survey of Taiwan’s Fishery Enterprises of 1989 [七十八年臺灣地區漁業企業體經濟調查報告], Kaohsiung, Kaohsiung City Government, 1991, 35. The problem of working with foreign fish dealers was that the average marketing channels were strictly controlled by the foreign dealers.

obtain the same rate of catch as years before, and the situation was exacerbated by
the ageing condition of their pair-trawler fleet. In order to cope with this situation,
Sun realised that he needed to purchase new vessels. But the idea of building
medium-sized trawlers was soon discouraged by the Government’s new policy. In
1967, in order to encourage the exploitation of more distant fishing grounds, the
fisheries authorities imposed a ban on the building of pair-trawlers that were less
than 120 tons.54 Tonnage of newly-built pair-trawlers had to now exceed 120 tons,
which could markedly increase the fishing companies’ financial burden. The growing
construction costs of vessels forced Sun to forgo his plan of building new trawlers.
In 1969, Sun decided to wind up the running of his trawl fishing branch, and
concentrate solely on longline fishing and other onshore businesses.55

Gu was not interested in managing the longlining fishing business. Two years
after the closure of the trawling side of the business, Gu ended his partnership with
Mr. Sun and wanted to retire from the fishing industry. However, the successful
voyage of a Taiwanese fishing experimental vessel, *Haicing Hao* [海慶號], in the
waters off northern Australia in 1971 compelled Gu to return to the trawl fishing
industry almost immediately.56 This time, Gu did not intend to be an employee, but
rather had decided to be a *laoban*. His first unit of pair-trawlers, *Yuanyu 11 and 12* [源漁 11, 12 號] were built in 1973.57 The catch rate in the Australian fishing grounds was
excellent. The annual catch of Taiwanese pair-trawlers in the waters off northern
Australia was 80,000 tons in 1973 and 1974.58 Fish holds were always filled in a
short period of time and the maiden voyage of *Yuanyu* took only 48 days. The
success of *Yuanyu* encouraged Gu to build *Baoyuan 1 and 2* [寶源 1, 2 號] in 1974 to

54 ‘Rambling Talk on Taiwan’s Distant Water Pair-Trawl Fishing [臺灣遠洋雙拖網漁業漫談],’ KFBCG’s
internal document, 1; and Wu Mingzuo, ‘A Brief Introduction to the Development of Taiwan’s Trawl
Fishing Industry [臺灣拖網漁業發展概況],’ KFBCG’s internal document, 1.
56 ‘Running of Trawl Fishing [拖網漁業經營實務],’ KFBCG’s internal document, 2.
57 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 3/6/2002. Many local *towkays* and Shandong *laobans* built
pair-trawlers in 1973. See *Financial Survey of Taiwan’s Fishery Enterprises of 1989* [七十八年臺灣地區
漁業企業體經濟調查報告], 34. In 1989, 60% of Kaohsiung’s distant water pair-trawlers, that had been
built in 1973 for the exploitation of the Australian fishing grounds, were still in service.
58 Ye Sian’ya, ‘Retrospection on Taiwan’s Trawl Fishing [臺灣拖網漁業之回顧與展望],’ *China Fisheries
Monthly* [中國水產], no. 375, 1984, 28. For example, before 1975, the annual catch of the Taiwanese
pair-trawlers in the Sunda Shelf Area was never more than 30,000 tons.
work in the waters between Indonesia and northern Australia. However, in the late
1970s, Taiwan’s trawl fishing fleet suddenly encountered severe challenges posed by
the implementation of the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (200-mile EEZ). The
distant water fishing grounds of Taiwan’s pair-trawlers were legally converted into
the property of coastal nations overnight. Pair-trawlers were therefore no longer able
to freely operate as before in these areas, unless large fisheries cooperation fees were
paid. Many Shandong laobans left the fishing industry as a result of the introduction
of the 200-mile EEZ, but Gu decided to stay. He recognised the importance of the
international fisheries cooperation agreements, paying his fees in order to purchase
fishing rights in lucrative foreign waters.59

Table 6.06: Gu’s fishing fleets, from 1973 to 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>Fishing Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuanyu no. 11</td>
<td>1973~1986</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>RE The waters off northern Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuanyu no. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baoyuan no. 1</td>
<td>1974~1987</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>RE The waters off northern Australia, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baoyuan no. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengyuan no. 11</td>
<td>1980~1995</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>RE Australia, Indonesia, the Indian Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengyuan no. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huanyuan no. 201</td>
<td>1982~1998</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>RE Australia, Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huanyuan no. 202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guoyuan no. 101</td>
<td>1986~1999</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>RE Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guoyuan no. 102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* T stands for tonnage; RE stands for refrigerator.

59 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 23/6/2002. The Shandong laobans could and did suddenly withdraw much of their financial strength from the fishing industry if they encountered hurdles that were difficult to overcome. But Gu did very well after the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ. Chengyuan 11 & 12 [成源11,12號], Huanyuan 201 & 202 [華源201,202號] and Guoyuan 101 & 102 [國源101,102號] were built in sequence in the 1980s. The fishing grounds of Gu’s fleet had expanded now to include the Indian Ocean.
Table 6.07: The proportional change in the fish catch of Taiwan's distant water pair-trawl industry in the waters of the East and South China Sea, Sunda Shelf, and off Northern Australia between 1971 and 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>East China Sea &amp; South China Sea</th>
<th>Sunda Shelf Area</th>
<th>Waters off Northern Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>47.07%</td>
<td>28.78%</td>
<td>24.17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author unknown, 'Annual report of Catch Statistics by Area on Taiwan Demersal Fish Fisheries' [台灣省底魚漁業漁場別漁獲統計年報] Taipei, Institute of Oceanography, National Taiwan University, 1971-1972.

Lin Changren [林長仁], the second case under consideration, was born in Fujian [福建] in 1924, a coastal province in southeast China. He was educated in a local fisheries school, the Jimei Fisheries Vocational School [集美水產], in the early 1940s. In 1949, Lin was sent to work for the Jhonghua Fishing Company [中華水產公司] in Shanghai as a trawling apprentice. But he only stayed briefly in Shanghai; severe social unrest caused by the civil war drove him to relocate offshore to Keelung that year. Away from home and family connections, Lin’s only desire was not to starve in Taiwan. Fortunately, circumstances there were not as miserable as he had expected.60

When he arrived, the Fisheries Branch of the AFCT was attempting to resurrect the trawl fishing industry in Keelung. A large number of trawl fishers were urgently needed at that moment. With formal training, Lin found a job at the Fisheries Branch immediately, and was promoted to a fishing master two years later in 1951. Lin subsequently moved from the TFC to the China Fishing Company (CFC [中國漁業公司]) in search of a better working environment. Ironically, it proved to be a mistake as everything went very wrong there. However, there were plenty of job opportunities created by Shandong migrants awaiting him in Keelung. In the following several years, Lin moved from one trawl fishing company to another. He was surprised to learn in the course of moving between various fishing companies

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that only a few Japanese fishing masters remained in Taiwan and worked in the fishing industry.61

In those days, most trawlers from Keelung operated in the East China Sea, and the northern part of the Taiwan Strait. Fishers were of the opinion that the optimal operational environment for trawlers was along the continental shelf at a depth of no more than 60 metres. However, the trawlers they used then were small and not powerful, and therefore they could work only in certain locations and less difficult waters; the northern boundary of their grounds was Shanghai, and the southernmost edge was Penghu, a tiny archipelago in the middle of the Taiwan Strait.62 At the same time, an increasing number of vessels owned by civilian fishing companies were engaged in trawl fishing and problems caused by overfishing in the East China Sea soon emerged in Keelung. Marine resources were being rapidly depleted and the catch correspondingly reduced.63 In order to avoid overfishing in this difficult situation, in 1953, Lin piloted his vessel to the southernmost waters of Penghu. He claimed that he was the first trawl captain from Keelung to operate in the south. Comparatively speaking, the waters in the southern Taiwan Strait, especially the area directly off the Taiwan coastline, are deeper; therefore fishing vessels of less than 100 tons were not suitable to operate there. On the other hand, the waters off Fujian, Guangdong Province, China were comparatively shallow. The expansion of Taiwan’s trawl fishing grounds now basically went south. The richness of the marine resources in the southern fishing grounds attracted numerous vessel owners to move to Kaohsiung Fishing Port, including Lin in 1955.64

Five years later, encouraged by the rapid growth of the distant shore fishing industry, Lin decided to set up his own fishing company. However, for a young man, buying a unit of pair-trawlers was prohibitively expensive. To solve the financial

62 Ibid., and Ci Guangfu, ‘The Government should Face up to the Issues regarding Trawl Fishing [請政府正視拖網漁業的漁場問題], ’Fishery Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 58, 1966, 15. In the early years of post-war Taiwan, most trawlers based in Keelung operated in the eastern half of the Taiwan Strait, extending from latitude 26°N to the Penghu archipelago. From 1950 to 1964, trawlers engaged in distant water fishing activities increased and the output of the fishing industries soared rapidly. However, the catch per unit area of the seafloor declined on an annual basis. The northern fishing grounds of trawl fishing were being irreparably damaged.
63 ‘Deficit is the Government’s Business: Earnings are Mine [虧本算國家 賺錢算自己],’ 16.
64 Interview, Lin Changren, Kaohsiung, 17/5/2002.
problem, he invited fishing masters from among his Jimei alumni to join him in a joint venture, and altogether raised around $NT1.5 million. Lin, the biggest shareholder, invested about $NT700,000, his life savings from several years of risky sea ventures in southern waters, and he became the principal head of the new company.  

Compared to other vessel owners, Lin’s management was conservative. According to the standard practice of Taiwan’s fishing industry, a group of fishing masters could set up a fishing company with as little as 20-30 percent of the total capital. Fishing companies could opportunistically take out loans from the Government, or do business on credit with the fishing ancillary industries. They were aware that the overall level of their financial strength was weak, but they were usually not concerned. They believed in risk taking, as if they were still working at sea. For many of them, running a new fishing company, to some degree, was simply another form of taking a gamble. If the companies were making a profit, they just took out new loans from banks and purchased more vessels. If their companies were over capitalised and went bankrupt, they would simply go back to sea and work as a fishing master. However, Mr. Lin did not do things in such a risky way. Mr. Lin and his partners had invested $NT1.5 million, which was 71.4 per cent of the required capital. The financial strength of Mr. Lin’s company was relatively strong compared to that of his rivals.

The first unit of pair-trawlers Lin bought were Changchun 1 and 2 [長春 1, 2 號], two-year-old vessels that cost $NT2.1 million. Apart from the running costs, the maiden voyage itself secured $NT2.5 million. The size of the catch of this unit of second hand trawlers, however, did not fulfil Lin’s expectations due to the lack of adequate engine power. His 120-ton vessels had been installed with a 120-horsepower engine; the ratio of horsepower to tonnage was 1:1. To operate in the East China Sea, such an engine was barely powerful enough to trawl properly. In the deeper waters off the southern part of the Taiwan Strait or in the South China Sea, a

66 Interview, Wu Tianrui, Kaohsiung, 8/4/2002. Most of their capital was borrowed from banks and the Government. If vessels were lost at sea, insurance companies would cover their financial loss. Such a ‘spoiling’ business environment encouraged vessel owners to take financial risks in running fishing companies.
unit of pair-trawlers thus powered was totally inadequate, so malfunctions happened regularly. In order to improve the overall performance of his company, Mr. Lin intended to purchase another unit of pair-trawlers as soon as his financial circumstances allowed. This opportunity arrived in 1961. Lin’s old boss, Lin Yujia [林玉嘉], a local tycoon who had previously run the Taifong Fishing Company [臺豐公司] and afterwards established the Taiwan Glass Ind. Corp. [臺灣玻璃工業公司], sold Lin a unit of pair-trawlers at a very low price.68

The vessels were valued at $NT2.2 million by other companies. But, in order to recognise Lin’s contribution and exceptional competency at sea during his employment at Taifeng, Mr. Lin Yujia decided to sell the vessels to him at a reduced price of $NT2.1 million. The vessels were named *Changtai nos 1 and 2* [長泰 1, 2 號], 150-ton pair-trawlers with 240 horsepower engines. With this new unit of pair-trawlers, Lin’s crew was able to work in the waters off Hong Kong and in the South China Sea without difficulties. Following the rapid onset of Taiwanese trawl fishing in Southeast Asia, the fishing grounds soon extended from the very northern part of the South China Sea to the southern end. The horsepower and equipment of the new pair-trawlers were more than adequate for the task. In 1962, Lin bought the 6-year-old *Changchun nos 11 and 12* [長春 11, 12 號]; they were 200-ton steel hull trawlers with 400 horsepower. Normally, wood hull trawlers are considered old after five years, but steel trawlers can be maintained in good condition for at least 15 years. Compared to Lin’s previous trawlers, *Changchun 11 and 12* were already relatively old, but their performance was not affected. They were still powerful vessels in good working order which enabled his crews to exploit the distant marine resources in the water off Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City), the capital city located at the southern end of Vietnam.69

69 Ibid.
The Development of Kaohsiung’s Fishing Companies

**Picture 6.01** A longline vessel under construction. In the early post-war years, the hull structure and overall frame of Taiwanese fishing vessels was still built from wood, rather than steel.

After struggling financially during the first several years, Lin’s economic strength had become stronger than ever before. In 1965, he built *Changrong nos 1 and 2* [長榮 1, 2 號]; two years later, Lin built *Changtai nos 11 and 12* [長泰 11, 12 號]. All of these trawlers were 200-ton vessels with 600 horsepower. In 1971, the good fishing results of Taiwan’s experimental vessel, *Haicing Hao* [海慶號], in the waters off northern Australia encouraged Lin to build several more new large vessels. In 1973, he launched *Changsheng nos 1 and 2* [長盛 1, 2 號], 300-ton vessels with 1,100 horsepower. In 1977, he also bought *Changyun nos 1 and 2* [長運 1, 2 號], 300-ton vessels with 1,100 horsepower, which unfortunately for Lin were confiscated by the Indian Navy in 1978 for illegally fishing in Indian waters.

The crisis created by the implementation of the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone in the late 1970s taught Lin the hard fact that he could not put all his financial eggs in one basket. In addition to participating properly in international fisheries cooperation arrangements, he decided to diversify his business into distant water gill-net fishing. After 1981, he purchased four second-hand longliners, *Changli*

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70 ‘Running of Trawl Fishing [拖網漁業經營實務],’ 2.
no. 1 [長利 1 號], Changjhan no. 1 [長展 1 號], Changmao no. 1 [長茂 1 號] and Changhong no. 1 [長宏 1 號] and converted them into gill-net vessels one after the other.72

Table 6.08: Lin’s fishing fleet, from 1960 to the 1980s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>HP.</th>
<th>Fishing Grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changchun no. 1</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>The Taiwan Strait, the northern part of the South China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changchun no. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changtai no. 1</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>The waters off Hong Kong (the northern part of the South China Sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changtai no. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changchun no. 11</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>The waters off Saigon (the southern part of the South China Sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changchun no. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changrong no. 1</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>The Sunda Shelf Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changrong no. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changtai no. 11</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changtai no. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changsheng no. 1</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>The waters off northern Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changsheng no. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changyun no. 1</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>The waters off India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changyun no. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changli no. 1</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>GN</td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters off Indonesia, northern Australia &amp; the Indian Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changhian no. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changmao no. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changhong no. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* HP stands for horsepower, and T stands for tonnage.
* PT stands for pair-trawler; GN stands for gill-net vessel.

72 Interview, Lin Changren, Kaohsiung, 23/5/2002. Lin’s fishing companies were still doing very well, when I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung in 2002. Lin was one of the very few mainland Chinese who still remained active in Taiwan’s fishing industry.
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**Picture 6.02:** Changtai nos 11 and 12, distant water pair-trawlers in 1967

| Provided by Lin Changren |

| Picture 6.03: Changsheng nos 1 and 2, distant water pair-trawlers in 1973 |

| Provided by Lin Changren |
Before their inaugural trip, the vessel owner and his crew had a photo taken at the shipyard. Note the fact that all the crew wore Japanese Hatchimaki, signifying that they were going to be working very hard on the maiden voyage. Provided by Jhong Ciourong

The running of the longline fishing companies: Pan San’guang and Chen Shengli

Most of Kaohsiung’s towkays restarted their fishing enterprises in the post-war years by establishing longline fishing companies. They operated in the waters of Southeast Asia in the 1950s, then extended their fishing grounds to the Pacific and Indian
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Oceans in the 1960s. However, the exploitation of more distantly remote longline fishing grounds did not create a lack of fishing activity in Southeast Asian waters, for the gap was quickly filled by offshore longliners mainly owned by local fishing families and fishing migrants from Siao Liouciou. Two case studies will be used to illustrate this process of the shift of location and fortunes with respect to exploiting global fishing grounds. One is Pan San’guang [潘三光]; the other one is Chen Shengli [陳生利].

Pan San’guang was born in 1942 in Cihou, Kaohsiung [旗後]—a business area that faced Gushan on the opposite side of the main waterway of Kaohsiung Port. His family had been very wealthy, well-known and influential since the colonial era. They engaged in junk shipping and had set up branches in the port cities of Japanese-controlled China, conveying goods to and fro through the Taiwan Strait. The Pans were also one of the most important earthenware producers. With the assistance of their sailing fleet, they dominated the earthenware trade of southern Taiwan. The Pans also got involved in Taiwan’s coastal fisheries. As early as the 1920s, the mid-point of the colonial era, they had used large, non-motorised bamboo rafts to operate in the coastal waters off Kaohsiung. However, by 1949, four years after the end of World War Two, they had already built Tianlong Hao [天龍號], a 60-horsepower fishing vessel which was then regarded as the most advanced distant water longliner in Kaohsiung. Four years later, they built Siechang [協昌], another longliner but with an 80-horsepower engine. The two vessels fished in the waters off the Philippines and pioneered the revival of Kaohsiung’s distant water fisheries.  

The early postwar exploitation of Philippines’ waters did not mean that the Pans were in fact abandoning the rich marine resources of Taiwan’s offshore fishing grounds. In the early 1950s, in order to fish for round herring (Etrumeus terres [鰮仔魚]) and spotted chub mackerel (scomber australasicus [青飛]), the Pans built three offshore vessels, Tianfong [天風], Tiansiang [天祥] and Tian’ying [天鷹]. The three vessels worked the waters off various areas of Taiwan according to seasonal changes.

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73 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002, and Taiwan no Gyogyōgenkyō [The Present Situation of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry], Tokyo, the Interchange Association (Japan), 1978, 26. By 1954, Kaohsiung’s longliners had already operated in the Celebes Sea, the Banda Sea and the Flores Sea.
Sometimes they fished off Penghu [澎湖], and sometimes Suao [蘇澳], depending on the circulation and migration of particular fish. In the mid-1950s, they built two 60-horsepower vessels, Tianhua nos 1 and 2 [天華 1, 2 號] for the offshore mullet fishery (Mugil cephalus [烏魚]). Every winter an enormous number of mullet left the waters off northern China for the southern end of Taiwan, laid their eggs there, then started their homeward journey to China. The annual presence of the valuable mullet roe [烏魚子] worked the offshore fishing communities into a state of mullet frenzy. Tianhua nos 1 and 2 moved northward to the waters off Tainan, following shoals of mullet, then pursuing them in earnest all the way to the southern end of Taiwan until the fish started back on their trip north.

The steady growth of the Pans’ fisheries sector boosted their financial strength in a brief period of time, and also encouraged the family to diversify their business into the shipbuilding sector. In the early 1950s, they set up the Tian’er Shipbuilding Yard [天二造船廠]. This business decision proved to be an astute one. The thriving fishing industry of Kaohsiung brought an avalanche of orders for fishing vessels to this new shipbuilding yard. Tian’er, within the short space of several years, became one of the largest civilian shipbuilders in Taiwan. In 1958 alone, 5.1 per cent of the total tonnage of all newly-built vessels in Taiwan was built by Tian’er.

In addition to the tremendous profits generated by their shipbuilding enterprise, Tian’er brought an additional bonus to the Pans. They were now able to build their own vessels without commissioning other shipbuilders. Thus, the US Aid that they received for the construction of new vessels could go directly into their own pocket, without a dollar being shared with other shipbuilders. The first vessel of this

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74 However, the fishing grounds near Suao were quite unfamiliar to fishers from Kaohsiung. Fortunately, the issue of ‘The Regulations concerning the Importation of Motorised Fishing Vessels of Taiwan’ [臺灣省國外動力漁船輸入管理辦法] in 1951 allowed the Pans to hire several Korean and Okinawan fishing masters and enginemen who used to work in Suao.

75 Mullet roe is called ‘mullet gold’ [烏金] by Taiwanese fishers. It is so expensive and highly desired that it is served only at the most important banquets.

76 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002.

77 Ibid.

78 Liou Hanpo, ‘Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels (2) [臺灣的漁船 二],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 17, 1962, 14.
sort was built in 1956, and the steady receipt of US Aid became a standard means for the Pans to expand their fishing fleet. Their first US Aid-constructed vessel Yutai was a 100-ton, wood hull vessel with a diesel engine, which was expected to exploit the tuna resources in the waters of Southeast Asia. It carried a crew of twenty; all of them were Penghuan fishers. With the most advanced fishing gear and a powerful engine, Yutai could reach the coast of Singapore, Sumatra, and even the shores of the eastern Indian Ocean. Most of its catch was yellowfin tuna (Thunnus albacares), spearfish and shark. From start to the finish, the voyage took two to three months, because no overseas supply bases had been established. This old-style operational pattern is what the Penghuan called ‘dangpanghai’.

In 1953, a modern tuna canning factory was set up by an American company—the Van Camp Sea Food Co—in American Samoa, and longliners from Taiwan, Japan and Korea were invited to fish there. Siejin, Dongsheng and several other vessels from Kaohsiung worked Samoan waters as pioneers, completing an unprecedented expedition in 1964, which represented a landmark in Taiwan’s maritime development. It was the first time that Taiwanese civilian vessels had undertaken such a long voyage and operated in the heart of the southwestern Pacific Ocean. Taiwan’s distant water fishing industry, apart from

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79 In 1956, thanks to US Aid, a longliner-building programme was sponsored by the Government in which ten distant water longliners would be built by means of offering loans. See Lin Siang, ‘US Aid to Fishery Construction for the Past Ten Years’ (十年來的美國漁業資金),’ Fisheries Tribune, no. 13, 1962, 5. As one of the most influential fishing enterprises in Kaohsiung, the Pans’ application was approved by the fisheries authority without any difficulty.

80 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002.


82 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung 15/5/2002. Siejin and Dongsheng belonged to Chen Cingbao, another well-known figure in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. See Sun Tai’an, The Distant Water Longline Fishing of Taiwan [臺灣遠洋鮪釣漁業], Taipei, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1973, 8. The year that Taiwanese civilian longliners first went to Samoa was 1964. The longliners which joined this expedition numbered as many as 11. This point is in accord with information contained in Taiwan ni okeru Maguro Gyogyō no Genkō [The Present Situation of Taiwan’s Tuna Longline Fishing], Tokyo, Interchange Association (Japan), 1981, 3.

83 Taiwan ni okeru Maguro Gyogyōgenkō, 26. Before 1964, Taiwan’s fisheries’ circles knew little or nothing about the fishing grounds in the South Pacific Ocean. Taiwanese fishing expeditions were mainly conducted in the East Indian Oceans by the CFC in 1955 and the Atlantic Ocean in 1960. However, the CFC’s efforts did not contribute towards the establishment of the Taiwanese global-scale fisheries due to its constant mismanagement.
Japan, had gained a major head start on other Asian fishing nations. Equally important, it was the first time that Taiwan’s civilian companies used overseas fishing ports as their supply bases and cooperated directly with western fish dealers.⁸⁴ When the vessels returned to Kaohsiung a year later, locals gathered in the Fishing Port, looking forward to seeing the distant water longliners and their crew with long, disheveled hair, arrive home safely. This initial success boosted the towkays’ confidence in developing a global-scale longline fishing industry. Some vessels now regularly voyaged toward Samoa; others went westward and fished for albacore off Mauritius—an island nation in the middle of the Indian Ocean.⁸⁵ In response to this emerging longline fishing boom, the Pans also built Taiyisiang [泰益祥] and Taiyousiang [泰祐祥]—150-ton, wood-hull longliners with 450 horsepower engines. The two vessels undertook their maiden voyages to Mauritius in 1961.⁸⁶ The success of the forward supply base operation mode in Samoa and Mauritius inspired international fish dealers to set up additional supply bases in ports located adjacent to major fishing grounds. Hence, supply bases in Reunion (France), Cape Town (South Africa), Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Las Palmas (Spain) were established over the course of several years.⁸⁷ The Pans also responded to the opening up of distant fishing grounds by building 250-ton longliners. However, to build such huge vessels, a steel-hull was necessary, which posed a new technical challenge to Tian’er. In order to overcome this hurdle, the Pans’ shipbuilding engineers and technicians put considerable effort into collecting information about Japan’s shipbuilding technology. Their efforts were not wasted: Fuyuan no. 1 [富元 1 號] was built in 1965 and was quickly recognised as one of the first Taiwanese civilian longliners that worked the fishing grounds off Cape Town.⁸⁸ Over the next three or four years, Fuyuan no. 3 [富元

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⁸⁴ Taiwan no Gyogyōgenkyō, 26. The first fishing company to use overseas supply bases and fish in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans was the China Fishing Company. However, the CFC’s efforts had never proved successful. Plenty of information in this regard can be found in ‘Fisheries Tribune’.

⁸⁵ Interview, Jheng Sanbian [鄭三弁], Kaohsiung, 13/5/2002. For safety reasons, smaller longliners preferred to fish off Samoa. They could voyage along the coastlines of the Philippine archipelago first, move to the Indonesian archipelago and then onto the Solomon Islands.

⁸⁶ Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002.

⁸⁷ The first international fish dealer to establish a supply base in Cape Town, South Africa, was Japan’s Taiyo Gyogyō, a company which cooperated with the Pans.

⁸⁸ Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 15/5/2002. When Fuyuan no. 1 arrived at Cape Town in 1966, Pan San’guang also flew to South Africa from where he supervised the vessel’s maiden voyage.
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Taiyuan no. 1 [泰元1號], Dayuan no. 11 [大元11號], Dayuan no. 12 [大元12號], Dayuan no. 21 [大元21號], and Dayuan no. 22 [大元22號] were built and sent to fish in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.89

In the mid 1960s, the Taiwanese trawl fishing grounds were expanded to the southern end of the South China Sea.90 With a view to enhancing fishing efficiency, a development programme for the distant water pair-trawl fishing was launched by Taiwan’s fisheries authorities. Five units of technically advanced pair-trawlers were built with government subsidies. The Pans were allocated two units of 200-ton pair-trawlers: Yongyuan nos 1 and 2 [永元1, 2號] and Yongyuan nos 11 and 12 [永元11, 12號]. Four of them were equipped with state-of-the-art refrigerators that could maintain the temperature at 32 degrees below zero for months at a time, and they were expected by the Government to be rapidly able to fish in the distant waters off Saigon. However, with this remarkable new equipment, the Pans now expanded their fishing grounds from Vietnam to Indonesia, and eventually from there to the waters off northern Australia.91

A setback occurred in 1972 when Yongyuan nos 11 and 12 were detained off Darwin, having been caught fishing in Australian territorial waters. Pan immediately flew from Kaohsiung to Australia upon receiving the bad news. He hired lawyers and asked for help from the Taiwanese Embassy to reclaim his vessels. However, diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Australia were jeopardised by China at that time. Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister of the Labor Government, was about to establish diplomatic relations with China. All Taiwanese embassy staff were engaged in attempting to salvage this diplomatic situation. The detainment of Pan’s two vessels was considered to be a matter of low priority, thus no assistance was offered by the Embassy. However, Pan, on his own initiative, managed to get one of his

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89 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002.
90 Ye Sian’ya, ‘Retrospection on Taiwan’s Trawl Fishing [臺灣拖網漁業之回顧與展望],’ *China Fisheries Monthly [中國水產]*, no. 375, 1984, 25.
91 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002. According to Pan San’guang, Taiwanese trawlers started to exploit Australia’s waters in the late 1960s—a bit earlier than the fishing experimental vessel, Haicing Hao [海慶號], which first arrived in the waters off northern Australia in 1971. In this regard, Pan’s company history is verified in Ye Sian’ya, ‘Retrospection on Taiwan’s trawl fishing [臺灣拖網漁業之回顧與展望],’ *China Fisheries Monthly [中國水產]*, no. 375, 1984, 25-34. It suggests that due to larger tonnage and better refrigerators, the Taiwanese pair-trawlers had started to work in the waters off northern Australia in the late-1960s. However, the Pans’ southward expedition to Australia did not lead to a trawling boom in Kaohsiung as happened in the case of Haicing Hao.
trawlers back using the legal process. However, the other one was confiscated and auctioned. The Pans were discouraged by this international incident and did not build any further trawlers even after *Haicing Hao*’s success with experimental fishing, which led to a new trawling boom in the early 1970s. The subsequent implementation of the 200-mile EEZ by Australia forced the Pans sell all their distant water trawlers and concentrate on other fisheries.

### Table 6.09: The Pans’ offshore and distant water longline fleet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Engine</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>Fishing grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Tianlong Hao</strong></td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Yakitama*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>The waters off the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Siechang</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tianfong</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>The waters off Penghu and Suao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tiansiang</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tian’ying</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tianhua no. 1</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Diesel</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>The waters of Southeast Asia, the eastern part of the Indian Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tianhua no. 2</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Diesel</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>The Indian Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yutai</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Diesel</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>The Indian Ocean, the Pacific Ocean &amp; the Atlantic Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Taiyisiang</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Taiyousiang</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Yakitama engine is semi-diesel engine

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92 Pan was confident that he would be able to buy his other vessel back because he thought no Australians would be interested in pair-trawl fishing. However, Mr. Pan misjudged the situation. The vessel was finally bought by a Chinese Australian businessman. This person then asked Pan for fishing cooperation which he flatly refused.

93 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 30/5/2002.
Chen Shengli was born in Siao Liouciou [小琉球] in 1938, a tiny, impoverished island located off the southern coast of Taiwan. The son of a fisher, Chen began his fishing career after he completed his primary education at the age of 13. His competence and responsible work attitude impressed elder villagers and he was invited to share in the operation of a newly-built vessel while still in his late teens. The first vessel he operated was a tiny 10-ton, 6-horsepower longliner, and the only navigation device in the vessel was a simple compass. The duration of this vessel’s voyages never went beyond one week; in rough weather, especially in the winter, the vessel did not go to sea. Thus, in the early years, Chen and his partners never operated in the waters beyond the Bashi Strait.94

The constraints of this tiny fishing boat really frustrated Chen. He left his fellow crew and built his own longliners, Baoyifa [寶益發] and Longjifa [隆吉發]. The relatively powerful engines in his new vessels enabled them to operate in more distant waters. The eastern boundary of their fishing grounds was Lanyu [蘭嶼], an island situated off the southeastern coast of Taiwan and the southernmost edge was the shoreline of Luzon [呂宋]. However, a fishing career based in Siao Liouciou could no longer satisfy Chen. The reconstruction of Kaohsiung Port had fostered the development of a wide variety of fishing industries and fishing ancillary industries in the ten years after the end of World War Two. Chen could not resist the port’s attraction and, in 1957, he moved to Kaohsiung. He ran a shop at Gushan Fishing Port, selling rice, charcoal, fishing gear and all sorts of groceries to fishers and fishing companies. At the same time, he raised funds and built his first longliner in Kaohsiung, Lijincai [利進財], a 20-ton vessel with a 25-horsepower yakitama semi-diesel engine [焼き玉]. It cost $NT160,000, which was more than enough to purchase a

94 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.
Chen, Ta-Yuan
decent size house in Gushan, one of the wealthiest areas in Kaohsiung at that time. The financial sponsorship of this vessel was shared by seven Siao Liouciou people, while Chen also had a half-share in the vessel. He now transformed his role into becoming an onshore towkay and never went to sea again. Lijincai’s fishing grounds were comparatively remote and extensive. Sometimes the vessel worked in the waters off Hong Kong in search of giant black marlin. Sometimes it operated in waters off either the west or east coasts of the Philippines. During the typhoon season, it stayed in the safe areas of the offshore fishing grounds to fish moonfish (Mene maculate [皮刀]), a small fish that could be used as longlining bait.95

Chen was good at doing business; considerable revenue from his shop and the Lijincai kept flowing into his coffers, and, in a very short period of time, he earned an enviable reputation in the Siao Liouciou fishing community of Kaohsiung. From 1961 onward, he created partnerships and established his offshore longliner fleet: Jiyuyu [吉玉漁], Jinshengyu [金昇漁], Rueisheng [瑞晟], Manjinfà [滿進發], Yumanzài [漁滿載], Rueicheng Hao [瑞成號] were built one by one (see Table 6.10). In terms of the nature of the partnerships, Chen insisted on two things: Firstly, all the shareholders must come from Siao Liouciou and kinsmen or old friends were preferred. Secondly, Chen had to hold the largest share in each of these vessels, so that he could manage the operation of this longline fleet. The tonnage of the vessels was still comparatively small and the horsepower of the engines was modest, so the fleet worked only in waters off the Philippines. In March, the vessels regularly fished yellowfin tuna on the west coast of the Philippines. In April and May they went to the east coast of Luzon to fish dolphin fish (Coryphaena hippurus Linnaeus [鬼頭刀]).96

95 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.
96 Ibid.
Table 6.11: Chen’s offshore longline fleet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Engine</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>Supply base</th>
<th>Fishing grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Baoyifa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Siao Liuciu</td>
<td>Shoreline of Luzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Longjifa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Siao Liuciu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Lijincai</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td>Waters off Hong Kong or the east and west coast of the Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Jiyuyu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Jinsheng’yu</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Rueicheng</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Manjinfa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Yumanzai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kaohsiung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Rueicheng Hao</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Keelung</td>
<td>Waters off northern Taiwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In those bygone days, the marine resources of the longline fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were so abundant that the fish holds of vessels were always full after a short space of time; from the onset of the voyage to the return trip took only about ten days. This excellent fishing environment rapidly built up both Chen’s confidence and financial strength. More vessels were built in the early 1970s: Sinshengyi no. 1 [新昇鎰 1 號], Fashengyi [發昇鎰], Shengjisian [晟吉祥], Singrueilong [興瑞隆], and Cyuanshengsiang [全昇祥]. Again, all the shareholders were from Siao Liouciou, and Chen held the largest share in each of these new vessels. The more powerful engines now enabled these vessels to operate in the waters off Brunei, at the southern end of the South China Sea.97 Traditionally, the Siao Liouciou people had no large-scale ambition to exploit remote fishing grounds, so the longliners they built were much smaller than those of the local towkays of Kaohsiung,98 30 or 40-tons was the maximum size. Chen, however, pioneered in building bigger longliners: Fashengyi was 60-tons, and the Singrueilong and Cyuanshengsiang were both 50-tons. These longliners were considered distant water vessels by the standard of Taiwan’s fisheries authorities.99 Furthermore, the Singrueilong and Cyuanshengsiang were both

97 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.
equipped with refrigerators that made a basic technological contribution towards the ability of the vessels to undertake long voyages and operate in distant waters.

A thriving business encouraged Chen to build *Sinwunyi* (新文鎰) in 1972, an 80-ton longliner that was equipped with the best refrigerator available at that time and the new vessel was expected to operate in the waters beyond the South China Sea (see Table 6.12). Unfortunately, on her maiden voyage in 1973, the *Sinwunyi* (新文鎰) was detained by the Indian Navy due to an unlawful incursion into Indian territorial waters. The tremendous financial setback and the worrisome legal problems caused by the detention of *Sinwunyi* were a huge blow to Chen. Hence, he decided to slow down the further development of his longline business. From 1974 onward, Chen began to run a fishing gear shop, selling longlines, traces and all sorts of items and equipment for offshore fishing vessels. But in the end this new business venture only lasted three years.

**Table 6.12: Chen’s offshore and distant water longline fleet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Engine</th>
<th>Fishing grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Sinshengyi no. 1</em></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>The waters off Brunei, the southern end of the South China Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fashengyi</em></td>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Shengjisiang</em></td>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Singrueilong</em></td>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cyuanshengsiang</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sinwunyi</em></td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>The Indian Ocean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The establishment of important business connections between the Japanese fish dealers and the offshore fishers of Donggang generated an offshore longline boom in the fishing communities of southern Taiwan in the mid-1970s. The tremendous profits generated by this offshore tuna trade encouraged a new exodus from Kaohsiung to Donggang. Some vessels from Siao Liouciou shifted their

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100 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 8/7/2002.
101 Interview, Cai Wun’yu, Kaohsiung, 29/5/2002. As a matter of fact, the onset of the business relationships between the Japanese fish traders and Taiwanese distant water fishing companies had been established not long after the end of World War Two, and this relationship was strengthened after overseas supply bases were developed by Taiwan’s fishing companies.
homeport to Donggang,\textsuperscript{102} while others decided to stay put. Chen, however, made an unusual decision. He and his onshore staff stayed in Kaohsiung, and his vessels oscillated between the two places.\textsuperscript{103}

**Picture 6.05:** Chen Shengli and another of his offshore longliners being repaired in drydock in Cianjhen Fishing Port.

However, to cash in on the Japanese demand was not as easy as Chen had thought, because the quality of the fish products required for Japan’s *sashimi* market was exceptionally high. The fish had to be perfectly fresh, and its skin had to be free of scrape marks. Unfortunately, all of his vessels were equipped with traditional *yakitama* engines (semi-diesel engines) which produced constant vibrations during the voyage. As a result, most of his fish were bruised with scrape marks on their skin. Less than one tenth of Chen’s catch met the stringent quality requirements of Japan’s *sashimi* market. Chen soon learnt that there was much room for improvement in the quality of his marine products. He, therefore, stopped running his fishing gear shop in 1976, and started building a new series of vessels: *Sinshengyi no. 2* [新昇鎰 2 號], *Yongchunyi* [永春鎰], *Siniandyi* [新連鎰], *Jinlongfa* [金隆發], *Sinyi* [新鎰], *Sinshengyi no. 10* [新昇鎰 10 號], *Jinyusheng* [金裕盛], *Sinshengyi no. 12* [新昇鎰 12 號] and *Jinrueiyi no. 1* [金瑞鎰 1 號]. Two major technical improvements were made in Chen’s new series of longliners. Firstly, all of them were equipped with new *yama* engines (diesel engines).

\textsuperscript{102} Chen Hsien-Ming, ‘The Development of Tuna Longline Fishery on Liuchiu Island [琉球嶼之鮪釣漁業發展],’ *Geographical Research* [師大地理研究報告], no. 33, 2000, 199.

\textsuperscript{103} Some *towkays* moved to Donggang, others did not. Those who had a large number of financial assets in Kaohsiung City, like Chen, preferred to stay put. On the other hand, the reasons could also be very personal, and have nothing to do with the fisheries.
engines), which effectively reduced noise and vibrations, so damage to the fish would be kept to a bare minimum on long voyages. Secondly, in order to improve the operational efficiency of the vessels, the ratio of horsepower to tonnage was traditionally at least 3:1. But *Sinshengyi no. 12* and *Jinrueiyi no. 1* were more than 8:1, and *Sinshengyi no. 10* and *Jinrueiyi no. 1* were nearly 11:1. The state-of-the-art equipment on these longliners and the power of their engines could cope with the most severe weather conditions. Typhoons, giant waves, or failures in communication were not considered to be nearly as dreadful threats as before.  

**Table 6.13**: Chen’s offshore and distant water longline fleet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>Supply base*</th>
<th>Fishing grounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinshengyi no. 2</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td>The waters of Southeast Asia, the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, and the western part of the Pacific Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongchunyi</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinlianyi</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinlongfa</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinyi</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinshengyi no. 10</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinruei no. 12</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinrueiyi no. 1</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>KH &amp; DG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* KH stands for Kaohsiung; DG stands for Donggang

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104 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 29/6/2002 and see, *The Fishing Industry of Taiwan* [臺灣漁業] Nantou, Department of Information, 1953, 31. *Yakitama* engines (semi-diesel engines) always produced constant vibrations during the voyage.
The case studies of the histories of the above Taiwanese fishing companies suggest several things. In the first instance, increased demand for marine resources made the most significant contribution towards the change of postwar trawl fishing grounds. Overfishing in the northern grounds in the 1950s drove a large number of
Keelung’s trawler fleets to relocate in Kaohsiung and to fish in the waters of the South China Sea. Subsequently, over-exploitation of the South China Sea in the late 1960s forced Taiwanese trawler fleets to launch southward expeditions into the waters between Indonesia and northern Australia.

Civilian trawler owners were much more sensitive to changes in the marine ecosystem and market-driven demand than were the government-run fishing companies. When the CFC and the OFDA were still struggling to maintain their trawling department in Keelung, numerous civilian-owned trawlers had already moved to Kaohsiung and were exploiting the rich marine resources of the new frontier of the South China Sea. In contrast to the government-run fishing companies, the staff numbers in the civilian enterprises were always kept to the bare minimum. A group of five or six well-trained onshore staff could efficiently control fleets that were operating in distant waters.¹⁰⁵ When challenges came, they could rapidly dispense with bureaucratic formalities and red tape and find a way to resolve them in a short space of time. These small, privately-owned and operated companies eventually replaced the government-run fishing companies and became the main driving force of the emergent overseas Taiwanese fishing industry.

Secondly, there was a trend in the late 1950s for migrant fishers from various parts of Taiwan to gather in the Kaohsiung Fishing Port, and use Kaohsiung as their homeport for a wide range of offshore fishing industry and related activities. A large number of trawler fleets from Keelung and numerous fishers from Siao Liouciou relocated to Kaohsiung at different points in time to take advantage of the modern port facilities and exploit the nearby marine resources of Southeast Asia. These developments confirm one of the main conclusions of Chapter Three, namely that the development of excellent port conditions and facilities had molded Kaohsiung into one of the most modern, convenient fishing harbours in East Asia which enabled a sound foundation to be established for the growth of Taiwan’s post-war offshore fishing industry.

Third, trawler fleets and longliner fleets both operated in Southeast Asian waters, but the scale of expansion and direction of their fishing grounds were different. In the trawl fishing zones, seabed ecosystems could scarcely be restored

¹⁰⁵ This observation is not only based on my interviewees’ accounts, but it is also based on my own participant observation and fieldwork. Most fishing companies I visited had a small number of office staff.
once they were damaged by the activities of the trawler fleets. Thus, trawler fleets always needed to keep searching for new fishing grounds. They left the East China Sea, moved along the continental shelf to the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea, and, in the early 1970s, they finally arrived in the waters off Indonesia, as well as northern Australia. Generally speaking, the expansion of Taiwanese trawl fishing grounds was southward one-way traffic, no ‘U-turn’ was allowed. By contrast, longline fishing was not as detrimental to the marine environment and ecosystem. While longliners run by local tycoons soon left the waters of Southeast Asia and took their operations a step further into the Indian Ocean and the southwest Pacific Ocean in the 1960s, a new wave of offshore longliners mainly owned by Siao Liouciou immigrants and Kaohsiung local fishers quickly filled the vacuum in the various longline fishing grounds of Southeast Asia. In general, the longliner fleets in Southeast Asia expanded the reach of their activity in a fan-shaped pattern; the eastern boundary of their grounds was the Philippines, and the westernmost edge was situated opposite Hainan Island. The selection of longline fishing grounds depended on seasonal conditions and/or what kind of fish they wanted to catch to meet current market demand.

Table 6.14: The proportional change in the fish catch of Taiwan’s distant water pair-trawl industry in the waters of the East and South China Sea, Sunda Shelf, Northern Australia and the Indian Ocean between 1971 and 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>East China Sea &amp; South China Sea</th>
<th>Sunda Shelf Area</th>
<th>Waters off Northern Australia</th>
<th>Indian Ocean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


106 Numerous offshore longliners still work in the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea. I went to sea with local fishers on one such occasion while I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung.
Fourth, the improvement of boat building techniques and fisheries technology played a crucial role in the process of exploiting new offshore fishing grounds. Old, inefficient yakitama engines were replaced by new diesel engines that produced greater horsepower, less vibration and reduced the possibility of damage to the catch. Wood was replaced by steel as the main building material of the vessel’s hull and superstructure which made the building of larger trawl vessels possible. The installation of large refrigerators could now keep the catch fresh on the long return voyage from the waters off northern Australia to Kaohsiung. Larger tonnage vessels also had larger fish holds that enabled fishers to catch greater quantities in more remote fishing grounds, which also reduced the running costs.107 In addition, the bigger ratio of horsepower to tonnage helped the new trawlers exploit remote fishing grounds more efficiently. When motorised trawlers first operated in the Taiwan Strait and the waters off Hong Kong, the ratio of horsepower to tonnage was just 1:1. When the trawl fishing grounds expanded to the Sunda Shelf Area in Indonesian waters, the ratio increased to 3:1; in the waters off northern Australia the ratio had increased to nearly 4:1.108 All these innovative and technical changes in the boat building industry greatly contributed to the development of the fishing industry of post-war Taiwan.

Fifth, the selection of the type of fishing method was strongly influenced by ethnic factors. Most local towkays restarted their fishing careers in the post-war years by running longline fishing enterprises; however, quite a few extended their business interests into ancillary industries or trawl fishing, when the trawling boom occurred in the 1950s. However, when the 200-mile EEZ came into force in the late 1970s, most of them, apart from those participating in international fisheries cooperation agreements, either went back to distant water longline fishing or launched new fishing enterprises, such as gill net fishing 流刺網 or purse seine fishing 大型圍網. Compared with other business and ethnic groups, local Taiwanese towkays were more adventurous and flexible, during the period under consideration.

Most mainland Chinese had started their fishing careers in Taiwan by running trawl fishing vessels, and a few, especially those Shandong laobans, were keen to try

108 Interview, Lin Changren, Kaohsiung, 18/6/2002, and ‘Survey on the Fishing Vessels and Fishing Gear of Taiwan’, 114. The ratio of Hp to T of the Taiwanese pair-trawlers in 1989 can be presented by the following formula: Hp= − 128.36 + 3.38 T.
The Development of Kaohsiung’s Fishing Companies

fisheries other than trawling. Even though they did so, it was considered experimental and the scale of their new fishing enterprises could not compare with their trawling endeavours. When trawl fishing’s golden era came to the end, the majority of them chose to close down their businesses and left the stage of Kaohsiung’s fisheries circles. Due to this more cautious conservative attitude, their overall financial investment and strength was seldom destroyed by the dramatic changes that occurred in the fisheries environment of the late-1970s. Hence, most of the Shandong laobans have been able to maintain their prosperity into contemporary times. On the other hand, this conservative attitude also prevented them from participating in the expansion of Taiwan’s global-scale fisheries in the 1980s that were mainly driven by Taiwan’s longline fisheries rather than trawl fishing.

The most conservative group in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry are the people from Siao Liouciou. Most of them adhered to offshore longline fishing and were not at all interested in other forms of fishing activities. They preferred instead to build a fleet of medium-sized offshore longliners, rather than huge distant water vessels. They worked the old fishing zones that were vacated by locals and expanded southward. They were not keen to explore the possibilities of new distant fishing zones by themselves. Neither did they like working with other ethnic groups, which further limited their potential for engaging in the expansion of global-scale fisheries in post-war Taiwan.

109 ‘Why didn’t you try longline fishing after the 200-mile EEZ came into practice?’ I asked Mr. Gu. ‘We Shandong people just could not sleep well if our vessels worked in remote fishing grounds. We preferred trawlers, because they come home every one or two months,’ he replied.


111 Interview, Hong Sinjhu, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002. Few Siao Liouciou fishers were involved in the distant water fisheries, except Hong Sinjhu. He moved to Kaohsiung in the colonial era and started to run a distant water longline fishing enterprise after World War Two ended. He has done very well and has earned a good reputation in Kaohsiung’s distant water fishing circle. His story is very unusual in the Siao Liouciou community. I visited him once while I was in Kaohsiung, but during the one-off interview he did not share very much of his personal history with me.
Chapter 7

Daily Lives at Sea, Fishing Zones and Politics

Fishermen spent most of their time working on the sea; their daily lives and activities during the course of fishing trips should be viewed as an important topic in the research and writing of the maritime history of Taiwan. However, little attention has been paid to this important area of investigation. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the fishermen’s everyday politics and their daily lives through an ethno-historical approach. First, I will discuss the fishers’ roles, responsibilities and their onboard politics. The fishing master, radio operator and engineman were the three most powerful figures on a fishing vessel. I will explain the basis of their power and their interaction with other crew-members, as well as exploring, to a certain extent, their personal feelings when they worked for long periods at sea. Second, the different fishing industries had different fishing practices and strategies, which affected the daily lives of the fishers. I map the fishers’ fishing operations and fishing grounds in the waters of Southeast Asia, as well as the major species they targeted in different fishing zones and the fishing seasons for each of the fishing grounds.

The fishers’ roles and their onboard politics

In most cases, a fishing master was the most experienced fisher on board the vessel. He might have come from a fishing family, or he might have started his fishing career in his teens. He was apt to be semi-literate and talk and write roughly. However, he was extremely familiar with the ecology of his fishing territories and the range of fishing technologies and techniques. In the 1950s and 1960s, the only navigation aids fishers had on their vessels were nautical charts, compasses and sextants. A fishing master had to rely heavily on his personal observations and experiences when the vessels voyaged from one sea to another, as well as his deep
ecological knowledge which took years to accumulate.1

A fishing master was the most powerful figure on the vessel. In many cases, he was also a stakeholder in the vessel so the vessel owner had to respect him. Also, a fishing master was the person who took charge of the recruitment and employment of new fishers—with the exception of radio operators. Normally a vessel owner would not bother to get involved in the hiring of onboard personnel. Not surprisingly, those who wanted to work on his vessel had to curry favours with the fishing master, rather than the vessel owner. The common approach was to offer small presents, such as a basket of eggs or dried fish which was considered valuable in the early post-war era. If they were not personally acquainted with the fishing master, they would need to ask people who knew him to pass on the ‘bribe’. Some fishing masters even expected extra money from novices after sharing voyage-end bonuses. These undesirable practices certainly incurred the new recruits’ resentment; however, none of them dared to express their true feelings publicly;2 because a fishing master was also in charge of assessing the fishers’ work performance. The master had to file reports with his company every time he returned to Kaohsiung from a major fishing trip. Therefore, the vessel owner would have a better idea of how to adjust the profit sharing system for the next trip. This work-sharing system made a fishing master so economically powerful that no one would challenge his authority on his vessel, except perhaps the radioman.3

On board the vessel, a fishing master served as the ‘financial hub’. He looked after the money that his towkay entrusted to him and took charge of all onboard financial affairs, especially the allocation of the food allowance. Fishing masters could readily embezzle such money. For example, a master could just provide 70 per cent of the allowance to the cook and pocket the rest. In such an instance, the meals would, of course, be below standard. However, most crew dared not complain. In those days fishing masters were like despots. Anyone who doubted their honesty and leadership would get sacked as soon as they returned to Kaohsiung. Most fishers

1 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002. Not all fishing masters were happy to pass on their fishing knowledge to young fishers, even when they were brothers. Therefore, young fishers had to observe carefully when their master used a sextant, counted ranges or used other navigational and fishing techniques. This practice was a big obstacle to the training of new fishing masters.

2 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.

3 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
chose to keep quiet even though the behaviour of their fishing master was really wrong at times.⁴

The crew could borrow money from the fishing master if necessary.⁵ In addition to keeping a deck log, a fishing master had to maintain a small notebook and list every financial transaction both on the vessel and at foreign ports. A fishing master, by virtue of his status, was financially privileged by his boss. At foreign ports the crew would have to pay for their own onshore entertainment expenses. However, a fishing master was allowed to claim an entertainment allowance from his company and obtain a refund after he got back to Kaohsiung. Hence, it happened quite often that a master inflated his overseas expenses. However, his boss usually would not question such fraudulent behaviour, as long as the master had reported a good fishing result on the voyage.⁶

Fishing masters acted as intermediaries between the fishing companies and other fishers. In order to prevent their authority from being challenged by the crew, some fishing masters chose to remain aloof and isolated themselves on board—only appearing when they gave orders. First mates had to mingle with the crew on behalf of the fishing master. In the eyes of some fishers, the first mate played the unenviable role of the fishing master’s ‘flunkey’ (走狗 cháu-káu). Although physical punishments of any kind were strictly prohibited by law, they still happened frequently. Some fishing masters personally beat crew for insubordination and dereliction of duty; others had their first mates do this unsavoury job. As Syu Yicin, one of my informants said, ‘There was no law at sea, only violence.’⁷

A fishing master could earn a large sum of money every trip; however, in earlier years, many fishing masters came to a bad end. After a long, tiring and

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⁴ Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.

⁵ When I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung, Zeng Jhengji (曾正己), a retired fishing master and one of my informants, showed me his personal notebook. Inside the book were all sorts of notes on onboard financial matters and even cigarette transactions.

⁶ Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002. This situation only applied to those distant water longliners and pair-trawlers that established fishing cooperation arrangements with other countries, like Australia. Those who caught fish illegally in the waters of Southeast Asia would not have received an entertainment allowance, because they could not legally dock at any foreign ports.

⁷ Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002. In fact, physical punishment continues to this day. A large number of foreign labourers are hired by the Kaohsiung fishing industry now. Some of them are ill-treated by Taiwanese fishing masters and other onboard staff. Murder and rebellion has happened when foreign labourers cannot stand the harsh treatment on Taiwanese distant water fishing vessels.
abstinent voyage at sea, quite a number of fishers would spend money lavishly in foreign ports for rest and recreation. Some visited prostitutes and satisfied their sexual desires; some indulged themselves in heavy drinking bouts; and some gambled for days until they ran out of cash. Some of their family members, mainly their wives, also squandered their hard-earned savings in Kaohsiung. As Chen Youyi explained:

> Among those retired fishing masters, about six out of ten suffer from financial difficulties in their old age; two or three are still alright; some have become bosses and are running fishing companies.

However, being the fishing master of an offshore longliner that was run by Kaohsiung locals was a totally different story. First, he did not have to bother to recruit crew, because all his men were relatives, friends or fellow villagers, so those who wanted work on his vessel did not need to curry favour with him. Second, he was not as personally powerful as those captains who worked on distant water vessels or Siao Liouciou longliners. When he talked to his crew, he needed to speak respectfully, because some fishers might be older members of his family, such as an older brother or even an uncle. Under such circumstances, the fishing master needed to actively consult them whenever there was an impending problem or emergency. When I was conducting my fieldwork in Kaohsiung, I went to sea on an offshore longliner that operated in the fishing grounds of the Taiwan Strait. Interestingly, only two brothers worked on that vessel. In this case, who was the fishing master and who was in charge was not really an issue for them. Third, being the fishing master of a tiny vessel meant the master did not really earn much more money than other fishers

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8 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002, and Sia Fujhong, Kaohsiung, 24/4/2004. I asked my informant Sia, ‘Why do many fishing masters face difficulties in their old age?’ He replied ‘Yes, as a fishing master, I earned a lot of money; however, I spent more.’

9 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002, and Liu Syuan, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002. Some fishing masters even attributed their bad end to a natural judgment because they had killed too many fish.

10 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.

11 M. Estellie Smith, *Those Who Live from the Sea – A Study in Maritime Anthropology*, West Publishing Co, 1977, pp. 28-29. The fishing master chooses his own crew from his relatives or people in the same or nearby villages, which can be easily found in the fishing communities that are engaged in offshore fishing industry. In the fishing communities on the Scottish East Coast, the fishing master also recruits fishers from ‘a small circle of relatives, townsmen, or fishers from nearby villages.’

on board. They went to sea together and, when they returned from their fishing trip, they sold their catch at a port market together; therefore the financial aspects of profit-sharing from the catch were totally transparent.\(^{13}\)

The only man at sea who dared challenge his fishing master was the radio operator. His expertise in telecommunications and his relationship with the military made him confident enough to contend with his fishing master on an equal footing if necessary. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the training and allocation of radiomen was strictly controlled by the military. As one of my informants explained:

\begin{quote}
If you didn’t join the KMT, you would never get a radioman’s license. When I was in the military, I worked as a military policeman. I didn’t join the KMT, but I was okay. However, when I intended to work as a radioman, I had no choice, but to join the KMT, otherwise, I would never get a licence. If your uncles had anything to do with the February 28\(^{th}\) Incident (二二八事件), you would also never get the licence. The investigation into your background was extremely strict.\(^{14}\)
\end{quote}

The slow process of training radiomen could not meet the growing demand of the fishing industry in the post-war years. Hence, there was always a real shortage of radiomen. The shortage was highlighted in 1964 when Taiwanese distant water longliners were invited to exploit the fishing grounds off Samoa. In order to effectively compete for wireless operators, a ‘guaranteed wage system’ (保證待遇) was introduced on behalf of radiomen by fishing companies in Kaohsiung.\(^{15}\)

In many cases, a fishing master did not necessarily get on with his radioman due to the dual nature of his role. A radioman was responsible to both the Taiwan Garrison Command and his fishing company. Apart from working for his company, he was also under an obligation to collect information for the military and notify the Government of their every move at sea. Very often there was a conflict of interest between the radiomen and other crew members. Some fishing masters, for example, in order to maximise their fishing results, took risks to fish in ‘Prohibited Zones’ (禁止)

\(^{13}\) Interview, Cai Bian, Kaohsiung, 20/4/2002.

\(^{14}\) Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002. See chapter 4 for the political significance of the February 28\(^{th}\) Incident.

\(^{15}\) Ibid. Working as a radioman was considered an enviable job in Taiwan’s fishing industry because radiomen earned decent money without doing any heavy work. The same case is found in the British fishing industry. A radioman in Hull did not need to do ‘a physically demanding job’. He just operated his telecommunications equipment on the bridge and earned good money. The deckhands were upset because the radioman earned as much as they did without ever touching a fish. See Jeremy Tunstall, The Fishermen, London, MacGibbon and Kee Ltd., 1962, 129.
Under such circumstances, should a radioman honestly inform the Government? If he did so, his fishing master and crew would definitely be in serious trouble. In some flagrant cases, the fishing masters’ licences were revoked by the Government as a punishment. Furthermore, a fishing master was usually suspicious of his radioman. He was always wary that the radioman might report something bad about him to the towkay especially if his fishing catch was poor. There was one celebrated case in which a fishing master stabbed his radioman to death when the vessel returned to Kaohsiung, simply because the fishing master believed his radioman had defamed his character. Not surprisingly, the radioman was often the most highly educated person on the vessel. Sometimes, he questioned the authority and instructions of the fishing master in front of other crew members, which certainly made the captain very uneasy, if not angry.

However, conflicts between the fishing master and a radioman never happened when a radioman also happened to work as the fishing master. But, being promoted to a fishing master or owning a fishing master’s licence did not necessarily mean that a captain could retain his position for good. Following two or three unsuccessful fishing trips, he would be removed from his current position and work once again as an ordinary fisher. Some fishing companies hired a less competent fishing master as the ‘nominal fishing master’ [人頭船長], then requested a competent fisher to do much of the work of a real fishing master. In many cases, the real fishing master was a radioman. The first radioman to work concurrently as a fishing master in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry dates back to around 1966. Fishing companies began to apply this approach for two reasons. First, the radioman, usually, was the person with the highest level of education on board the vessel. Secondly, they could learn the new fishing techniques and nautical knowledge required for the distant water fisheries in a very short period of time. Generally, they had more overall leadership potential than other less well-educated rural crew members and therefore became

16 Interview, Sun Bonan, Kaohsiung, 19/4/2002. See Tunstall, The Fishermen, 129. In a British trawler, especially those from Hull, radiomen and fishing masters were always best friends, because radiomen worked with the fishing master on the bridge. The radioman worked as a technical assistant, and in many respects, as a secretary to his fishing master.

good fishing masters in the post-war era.\textsuperscript{18}

Thirdly, this system of substitution also saved considerable money in wages for the fishing companies. Here, I will use the bonus-sharing wage system in the trawl fishery as a case in point. A fishing master could receive seven to ten bonus shares, while a radioman and engineman received just three shares as a bonus on every fishing trip. Ordinarily, if a boss hired a fishing master and a radioman on a vessel, he would need to pay 10 to 13 bonus shares between the two of them. However, if a towkay appointed his radioman to the concurrent post of ‘real fishing master’, he only needed to pay between four and seven more shares to the radioman, and another half a bonus share to the ‘nominal fishing master’. Hence, the fishing company saved the equivalent of nearly three bonus shares every fishing trip.\textsuperscript{19}

Usually, all parties involved were happy with this system. The nominal fishing master could earn an additional half bonus share simply because he ‘offered’ the use of his fishing master’s licence. Hence, the radioman could informally work as the real fishing master under this scheme without a captain’s licence. Jhong, one of my informants, explained that ‘When I held this concurrent position it was as if I had a son with me to help make money.’ A radioman like Jhong increasingly filled the post of fishing master on long distance trawlers. However, neither the military nor the fisheries authorities were comfortable with the system as fishing activities could not be properly monitored at sea. This dual staffing system was deemed illegal and strictly prohibited by the fisheries authorities; however, this practice still existed in the Kaohsiung fishing industries in the 1960s and 1970s.\textsuperscript{20} There are two other things to emphasise here with respect to this staffing technique. Firstly, a radioman never worked concurrently as a fishing master on offshore longliners run by Kaohsiung locals or those from Siao Liouciou, because most of their vessels were less than 50 gross tons, and they did not require a radioman. Secondly, radiomen were gradually phased out in the late 1970s due to the advent and widespread use of new telecommunications equipment.

The chief engineman ([大車] tōa-chhia) was the onboard mechanic. His duty was to look after the vessel’s engine, to make sure that the vessel could be navigated

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
properly at sea. He also, sometimes, helped to refrigerate the catch. Basically, he did not directly deal with the fishing activity, although he was an experienced fisher. He had many people at his disposal to assist him. I will use a vessel with 22 fishers as an example. Six of them usually worked in the engine room and, besides the chief engineman and his deputy, there were three or four assistants. The deputy engineman (二車 j"- chhia) and the assistants (斟油的 chiam-iû-ê) had to stay in the engine room and monitor engine operations. This was difficult work, because the engine room was intolerably hot and noisy; all the engine room staff, therefore, had to work in shifts. Apart from their engine room chores, they also needed to help the fishers unhook fish on the deck. The proportion of time spent between these two tasks was fifty-fifty. If an emergency occurred to the vessel’s engine, they had to instantly inform the chief engineman.21

Most engineman assistants were new hands on board the vessel or they had just recently been promoted from the position of cook. Working as an engineman’s assistant, was in fact, not significantly better than working as a cook.22 The following poem composed by an elderly Penghuan fisher realistically described the miserable life of an engineman’s assistant.

做人車狗冇合分
As the ‘watchdog’ of the engine room, I am a master of my duties

人若開車攪飛輪
Once the vessel begins the voyage, I must dedicate myself to the vessel’s engine

出港大車躺著睡
The chief engineer rests after the vessel embarks

入港份半伊在分
He still demands extra money from my bonus upon return to port.23

The poem suggests that the chief engineman left most engine room-related tasks to his assistants. As a young assistant, my elderly informant had suffered a lot from the heat and noise during fishing trips. When he returned to Kaohsiung and received his bonus, his engineman by virtue of rank and overall responsibility would draw extra money from his meagre earnings.

Such a situation would never happen on board an offshore longliner run by

21 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002. I went fishing on an offshore longliner during the course of my fieldwork in Kaohsiung in 2002. The vessel, at that time, was just five or six years old and carried all sorts of modern equipment, including a good engine. When the vessel operated though, I found that the noise it generated was absolutely unbearable.

22 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 6/6/2002.

23 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.
Kaohsiung locals. Their vessels were too small to have an engineman’s assistant. Very often the engineman also held the concurrent post of fishing master, and had to look after the engine as well as do the fishing at the same time—which not only saved on manpower, but also made their fishing operations more efficient.24

Some new recruits started their fishing careers from the bottom up working as a ‘cook boy’ (煮飯囡仔 Chú-pu̍t gín-á). Most of them remained in this humblest of positions for at least two years until they were strong enough to cope on deck with the physically demanding fishing tasks. Being the cook was a miserable job at times. The cook was invariably the busiest person on a distant water longliner or a Siao Liouciou offshore longliner. Most of them were teenagers who had recently graduated from primary school. As a cook, they needed to do all sorts of kitchen chores, as well as find time to learn fishing skills from their seniors. Usually, the cook was the one who was asked to guard the vessel while it was in port. Apart from those additional tasks, he often served as a target for the other fishers’ anger and frustration; everybody onboard tended to bully him. In the ‘pre-gas stove’ years, a cook could prepare meals using only coal and firewood. Prior to World War Two, he would not be able to do a good job cooking if the weather was rough. In bad weather conditions, it was likely that he would be scolded, or perhaps even physically beaten by other crew who were both hungry and angry. Cooks were fishers, but, strictly speaking, from the crew’s perspective, cooks were not considered to be formal fishers.25

Most cooks on the distant water longliners were just young kids. However, this was not the case on a pair-trawler. In the trawl fishery, a cook was never considered a fisher. He could be either a young adult or an old man, but rarely a teenager. He was also quite respected on board the vessel. In some cases, trawler cooks had already worked as cooks onshore before being hired to work on the vessel. Hence, most of them had excellent cooking skills and were kept very busy cooking from dawn till dusk. If a trawler pulled in its net four times per day, then the cook would need to prepare four meals per day. In principle, the cook on a trawler was not permitted to get directly involved in fishing operations. However, if his cooking was

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25 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 13/3/2002, and 20/6/2002, and Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002. However, some raw recruits were fortunate enough to skip this difficult period of apprenticeship and they worked as an engineman’s assistant right from the start of their employment.
really outstanding, his fishing master would allow him to do some part-time work at his leisure, like drying squid [處理魷魚干], which would generate extra income for him.  

On offshore longliners run by Kaohsiung locals, usually the oldest fisher onboard filled the post of cook, as his physical strength could not compare with that of younger fishers when it came to handling the really heavy fishing tasks concerned with hauling the catch on board. Working on a tiny offshore longliner, the cook could not prepare meals whenever the weather was bad and the waves were big. No one on board would expect him to cook under such circumstances, because they realised that trying to cook in the midst of foul weather was simply wasting time and manpower. Instead, they expected him to suspend his cooking and help other crew members cope with the rough weather. Hence, there were large numbers of offshore fishers who suffered from various gastro-intestinal diseases because of poor cooking due to rough conditions at sea.  

When fishers were waiting for their next trip while in Kaohsiung Fishing Port, their companies would not offer any financial aid. Fishers onshore needed to arrange for their own personal accommodation and meals, and, thus, they often needed to borrow money in advance from their companies. Some of this money was used to buy daily necessities that they would use onboard, and the rest of the advance was sent home to support their families. While at dockside the youngest fisher was always required to stay on board and guard the vessel even though his family members longed to see him. According to Chen Youyi, this was a form of exploitation, because he did not receive any pay for guard duty on the vessel.  

Fishers had to endure many personal hardships and dangers during the course of their fishing trip. Some vessels did not have proper bathrooms. Fishers had to wash themselves with sea water on deck. Moreover, because some vessels did not have toilets, the fishers had to urinate and even defecate near the deck rail.

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26 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002. As the cook was not considered a fisher, the lowest status fisher on board a trawler was the assistant engineman. See Tunstall The Fishermen, 119. On British trawlers the social status of cooks was comparatively higher than other crew members; however, it does not mean that they received higher pay from their fishing companies. This hierarchical system is similar to Taiwan’s trawl fishing industry.


28 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002. Financial relations between fishing companies and fishers will be clearly set out in Chapter 8.

29 Ibid.
Sometimes they fell into the water by accident while relieving themselves and drowned. This most tragic of cases often happened at night. 30

Freshwater is life to fishers. Fishers were always sweating while they worked, so they were allowed to drink as much water as they wanted to. 31 At the beginning of a voyage, they ate vegetables. After the vegetables and fruit went off they could only eat meat or fish instead. The food that fishers ate on longliners was extremely basic: rice, fish, soup and sometimes vegetables. Salt and oil were absolutely essential for cooking and nutrition and any shortage of these items could virtually paralyse fishing operations at sea. Fishers had fish with every meal as their main source of protein. 32 If they consumed all their food stocks, including water and other daily necessities, they could readily borrow some provisions from other vessels working in the same fishing zone. Their onshore boss had to, on behalf of his fishers, return borrowed provisions in kind to the creditor company in Kaohsiung. 33 Meals on trawlers were comparatively better than on other fishing vessels. They returned to the home port at Kaohsiung and re-supplied every one or two months, hence their food supplies were fresher than on board distant water longliners. Offshore longliners came back to Kaohsiung very often too; however, they could not really cook in rough weather due to the size limitation of the vessels.

Most fishers rarely got enough sleep during their fishing trip. Working 16 hours a day on a distant water vessel was considered normal. Sometimes they did not sleep for more than a day when they were really busy. In extreme cases, longliner fishers worked up to 18 hours at a stretch and only had 4-hours sleep per day. This state of affairs could last for nearly a month. 34 Furthermore, berths on these vessels were extremely small. On a tiny offshore longliner run by Kaohsiung locals, all fishers, including the master, had to sleep together in the hold. In the summertime when the weather was warm and the sea calm, they often slept on deck. On a Siao Liouciou vessel, the fishing master might be the only one who had his own cabin. But on a distant water fishing vessel, the fishing master, engineman and radioman all

31 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
33 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.
34 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
had their own cabins and thus a measure of privacy. The allocation of onboard personal space accurately reflected the stratification of status and power among the fishers. These three men were the most important individuals on the vessel. A fishing master was the person who took charge of the voyage, so he was not supposed to mingle unduly with other fishers except when giving instructions from the bridge. An engineman as the principal onboard mechanic had one or two, or even more assistants at his disposal. To highlight his important role he was also given a private room. The radioman needed to look after the codebooks and all sorts of classified materials; hence he also needed a room with privacy. These accommodation arrangements clearly demonstrated the expertise and unique positions in the chain of command of the master, engineman and radioman onboard the vessel.

Fishers had no television and they also had no sex at sea. Besides fishing, what kind of personal entertainment did they have during their long and arduous fishing trips? They certainly gambled if they were allowed to do so. Some fishers were addicted to gambling. They took every opportunity to gamble; at home they gambled with their families and friends; sometimes they gambled while docked at foreign supply ports; and sometimes they gambled at sea during their work break. Gambling in ports was a fisher’s personal business; usually fishing masters would not intervene in such matters. Gambling on the vessel, however, required a fishing master’s permission. On some vessels, it was strictly forbidden, because some masters strongly believed that gambling onboard would bring bad luck to the vessel, leading to a bad fishing result or an unexpected mishap.

Fishers also sought spiritual comfort and security at sea and worshipped onboard. Most fishing vessels carried statues of a religious figure as the patron saint of the vessel. What particular gods fishers would worship onboard was decided on their behalf by the fishing company or the fishing master. Traditionally, vessel owners dared not discourage any on-board animist belief, even though the owners often were adherents to Christianity. Jhang W.J. is a good example. As a deacon of the Gushan Presbyterian Church, he is also one of the tycoons of the Kaohsiung fishing industry. In theory, according to his Christian principles, he should have banned all animist ritual and belief on his fishing vessels. In practice, however, he

chose to compromise with fishers and respect their beliefs and practices, even paying for sacrificial offerings and other worship expenses.\footnote{Arne Kalland & Brian Moeran, \textit{Japanese Whaling, End of an Era}, London, Curzon Press, 1992, 165. The fact that fishing companies financially sponsored religious ceremonies can also be found in the Japanese fishing companies. Taiwanese \textit{towkays} go to the shipyard and have a religious ceremony to bless the vessel when a new boat is built. The Japanese company’s management also goes to the shipyard for a religious ceremony. Japanese fishing companies always put a guardian deity in each of its boats; Taiwanese fishers do this as well. Each of them puts their guardian deity in a location of special importance. In the Taiwanese vessel, the guardian deity might be placed in the fishing master’s room. In the Japanese vessel, for example, a whaler, the guardian deity might be placed below a whaler’s harpoon gun.}

The gods the fishers usually worshipped came from either the pantheon of Taoism or Buddhism. However, it seems that fishers prefer to worship Taoist gods, rather than Buddhist 
\textit{boddhisatvas}, because they kill fish every day, and their fishing profession severely violates the basic tenets and teachings of Buddhism. In addition to patron saints, fishers worshipped the Heavens ([天公] thi-kong) and the gangway of their vessel ([水仙門] chúi-sian-m£g). They worshipped the Heavens on the first and fifteenth day of every lunar month, which was a tradition that many Taiwanese families also practiced onshore. As for the gangway, it was the gate or channel through which the longlines and fish came back to the vessel. Fishers believed that they would catch more fish by worshipping the vessel’s gate. The ‘gate ceremony’ was held twice. Once, before they left for their fishing grounds, they worshipped the gate from the dockside. Then when they arrived at their destination, they held a ceremony for the gangway once again before they actually started their fishing operations.\footnote{Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002. See Kalland & Moeran, \textit{Japanese Whaling, End of an Era}? 166. A similar practice can be found in Japan’s whaling industry. Japanese whalers gather on deck and hold a ceremony before the boat leaves harbour for the Antarctic. When they hunt whales, like Taiwanese longlinermen, they also performed a number of rituals in front of the altar in hope of having a good fishing result.}

The ceremony of worshipping the patron saint had to be held in the morning, around ten or eleven o’clock and the gangway ceremony had to be held after mid-day. In each of the ceremonies, they prayed for a successful fishing catch and a safe trip. Crew members were never forced to attend these ceremonies; those who did not feel comfortable taking part, particularly from other countries, were allowed to absent themselves.\footnote{Interview, Chen Shuteng, Kaohsiung, 10/4/2002. Nowadays a large number of crew members on the Taiwanese vessels are Muslims who come from different parts of Southeast Asia.}

Living in such a confined space, Syu Yisin suggested, made fishers easily...
agitated, sometimes hot-tempered and occasionally brutal. When they communicated with each other onboard they tended to shout to one another. Criticism and scolding occurred almost every day. Sometimes, they even exchanged blows. Some of them, mainly those who worked on large distant water fishing vessels, were occasionally forced to form factions for protection. This happened partly because the crew members did not necessarily know each other well before they were recruited to a vessel, and partly because they became increasingly irritable during long, difficult periods on the vessel. One of my older informants, a man who was nearly 72 years old when I interviewed him in 2002, was still full of sorrow and bitterness as he recalled how his seniors bullied him at sea, despite those harrowing experiences having become past history. On the other hand, Hong, a fishing master, noted:

I was very proud of myself. When I slept I always left my room door unlocked, which not many fishing masters dared to do.

His remark indicates that there was always a potentially tense atmosphere among the fishers who were on board. Not surprisingly, murders and ‘accidents’ happened during fishing trips. Any tool they used on the vessel, such as a knife, stick, cooking cleaver or steel rope, could readily become a murder weapon. As Syu Yisin explained,

We killed fish every day. We had become numb to guilt. The weight of the burden of the fish we killed was certainly heavier than that of a man.

Working on a fishing vessel, to some degree, was like suffering in a ‘water dungeon’. Some fishers held a strong feeling of being exploited and treated inhumanely. When they were under constant pressure and physical abuse, young

40 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
41 Interview, Hong, given name unknown, Kaohsiung, 8/7/2002.
42 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
43 Horrible onboard working conditions can also be found in the fishing industries of some western nations. I use the UK’s fishing industry as an example. The distant water fisheries were run in a way that ‘placed great pressure not only on fish stocks but also on the men that fished them.’ In the post-war era, many British fishers still worked ‘in conditions that few modern landsmen could or would tolerate.’ Their situation was not really easier than that of the Taiwanese fishers. See Robb Robinson, Trawling: The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fishery, Devon, University of Exeter Press, 1998, 190.
fishers sometimes expressed their anxiety and sorrow through tears when they were alone. The following two Taiwanese poems were composed by my informant, Jheng Sanbian. They vividly depict the plight and sadness surrounding the circumstances of a young fisher. His mother passed away in her early thirties, and left several very young brothers with him. In order to make a living, he took his kid brothers, moved to Kaohsiung at the end of World War Two, and started his fishing career. At that time he was only 15 years old.

恨咱細漢無學校
大漢 böe-tàng 來出頭
父母 ah 無來 kah 囝計 柴
H³ 伊去討海目屎流
I deeply regret never having been to school
There was no daylight for me despite reaching manhood
My parents agreed
Eyes brimming with tears they let me go down to the sea

Jheng had been forced to leave school during the war. After the war ended; however, he could never return to school due to the poverty-stricken condition of post-war Taiwan. He could not envisage any hope for a future whilst he was still working at sea, and he attributed his hardship to the lack of a proper education. He also described how parents felt when their sons were condemned to go to sea, even though they did not really want to do so.

不時 tú 到風湧滔
一個心肝亂糟糟
Bé 駛猶 böe 到
駛風 ná 滔
阿母 ah 想起目屎流
Waves constantly crash against the boat
My heart is greatly agitated
I am longing to make port;
It seems that I will never arrive
I cannot stop the voyage
The wind is rising
My mother weeps whenever she thinks of me.44

In this poem, Jheng also described the fear of a young fisher caught in rough weather. The vessel was beaten unmercifully by powerful waves. It seemed that he would not survive the storm. In that frightful moment he imagined that his mother was crying because of his fear and misery, although she had passed away many years previously.

44 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.
Fishers realised that most of their bosses’ capital was borrowed from the Government, banks, or Japanese fish dealers, and they wondered why the amount of income shared between themselves was so markedly different. There was a longstanding joke in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry: why was it most fishing companies in Kaohsiung could not survive for more than five years? The answer was that they were cursed by fishers.\(^{45}\)

**Taiwanese fishers’ fishing zones in Southeast Asia**

In the early 1960s, the majority of Taiwanese pair-trawlers were still operating in the East China Sea, the Taiwan Strait and the northern part of the South China Sea.\(^{46}\) The waters off Hong Kong served as an alternative fishing ground for pair-trawlers that worked the Taiwan Strait. Every year, from November to March, to avoid heavy seas in the Taiwan Strait caused by a strong north wind, large numbers of Taiwanese trawlermen went south to fish off ‘the feet of Hong Kong’ ([香港腳] Hiong-káng-kha). Their main target species were threadfin breams [金線] and groupers [石斑].\(^{47}\)

However, seasonal variation or dangerous weather situations were not ultimately decisive factors when fishers selected their fishing grounds. Taiwanese fishermen ‘fished wherever fish might be’.\(^{48}\) The rapid depletion of marine stocks in the Taiwan Strait in the 1960s was the main reason that fishers shifted their territories from the Taiwan Strait to the South China Sea. Pair-trawlers from Kaohsiung, except those that were really old and small, had been fishing in Tourane ([土崙或峴港] Đà Nẵng), the Gulf of Tonkin and the waters south of Hainan ([海南島腳] Hái-lâm-tó Kha means ‘the feet of Hainan Island’) since the 1960s. Some even fished in the waters south of Saigon ([越南腳] Ôat-lâm Kha means ‘the feet of Vietnam’). Fishing trips from Kaohsiung to Tourane took the fishers about four days; and from Kaohsiung to Saigon approximately six days. Their target species, mainly in the waters off Tourane, were yellowback seabream [赤鱆], edible cuttlefish [花枝],

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\(^{45}\) Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.

\(^{46}\) Ye Sian’ya, ‘Retrospective on Taiwan’s Trawl Fishing [臺灣拖網漁業之回顧與展望],’ *China Fisheries Monthly* [中國水產], no. 375, 1984, 25-34. The fishing grounds were extended to the southern part of the South China Sea after the mid-1960s.


\(^{48}\) Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
silverfish [白帶], and lizardfish [狗母魚]. All of these species were very popular in Taiwan’s fish markets and with the local cuisine.49

The fishing ground off Saigon was a virgin zone for Kaohsiung pair-trawlers in the 1960s. The marine ecosystem had not been damaged; marine resources were rich compared with the fishing grounds off Hainan Island or in the Gulf of Tonkin. However, a large proportion of the fish catch from the waters off Saigon were lizardfish and ayu fish [香魚] and some coarse fish [雜魚] which were not considered valuable by either consumers or fishers. The primary reason that fishers congregated there was for the schools of cuttlefish and filespot snapper [赤海]. Filespot snapper was very popular in Japan’s fish markets, and it was one of the few species that Kaohsiung’s trawling industry exported to Japan. The economic value of particular fish species was determined by consumers’ tastes. For example, yellow seabream was popular in Taiwan; however, Japanese consumers never liked it. Most of the fish catch from Taiwanese pair-trawlers was sold in domestic markets. Only a small proportion was exported to overseas markets after it had been processed at plants in Kaohsiung City.50

Those vessels that worked in the waters off Saigon or Tourane seldom put into port there. The fishing grounds off Vietnam were not that far away from Kaohsiung and fishers did not find it necessary to get provisions and supplies there. They harboured in Vietnamese ports only if there was an emergency: first, if fishers suffered from an acute illness and required urgent medical attention; second, if an engine malfunction had occurred at sea; and lastly, if fishers attempted to seek shelter from typhoons.51

Trawl fishing grounds continued to expand southward, as vessel owners kept updating their vessels and on-board equipment. The widespread use of on-board refrigerators enabled fishers to operate at sea for far longer periods of time. From the 1960s onward, a growing number of Taiwanese pair-trawlers ventured into the

49 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002, and Li Jijhao, Taipei, 22/3/2002. Some older and smaller Taiwanese pair-trawlers stayed in the Taiwan Strait, where experienced fishers continued to eke out a living from that dying fishing ground. The pair-trawlers they used were comparatively small and old; hence, they could not go south and fish in the South China Sea as other fishers had done. Jhong and his fishing master struggled in the Taiwan Strait for about two years. This venture was successful because the master was extremely familiar with the fishing grounds and waters of the Taiwan Strait.


51 Ibid.
waters off the Sunda Shelf and North Borneo. The waters off the northern coast of Borneo were called by the fishers ‘the head of Borneo’ (婆羅洲頂 pô-lô-chiu-téng). Meanwhile the fishing grounds in the Sunda Shelf area were called ‘the Shoals’ (淺埕 chíán-tiâ) by elderly Taiwanese fishers. Marine resources in the Shoals were rich, but the small size of the fish species did not really interest Taiwanese consumers. Due to the geographic proximity of the two fishing grounds, fishers could readily go to fish at the ‘feet of Saigon’ and, if the catch was not satisfactory, move to the ‘head of Borneo’, and vice versa. Fishers continued their ‘to and fro fishing mode’ in both places for a number of years until the marine resources of both zones were totally depleted.

In the 1970s, Taiwanese trawlermen began to conduct their private ‘fishing experiments’ in Indonesian waters and the Indian Ocean. However, not many fishing masters understood or recognised the proper territorial limits of other nations when carrying out their fishing activities. Some captains even boldly fished within the territorial waters of coastal nations, which was viewed locally as a form of criminal activity. As a result, four or five vessels were confiscated by the Burmese Government at the beginning of the 1970s for illegally fishing within Burmese territorial waters. Confiscation of vessels also happened to fishers caught within Indian waters. Thus, crews, discouraged by the confiscation of their fishing vessels and the long geographic distance entailed to reach these target areas, tended to want to stay in the waters of Southeast Asia, which were deemed to be safer and much closer to their home port.  

Nevertheless, the rich marine resources in the waters off Indonesia attracted a large number of Taiwanese fishers to exploit them. Every year from August to December large numbers of Taiwanese pair-trawlers gathered in Indonesian waters, especially near the fishing grounds off Ambon Island (安汶島) to catch Formosan squid (鎖管 or 小卷), which could generate considerable revenue for both vessel owners and fishers. Then from January to July the pair-trawler fleets moved even further south to fish in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Now the ‘to and fro fishing mode’ had shifted from ‘the Sunda Shelf Area’ to the more distant waters between Indonesia and northern Australia. The Gulf of Carpentaria, especially the eastern part of the Gulf, was

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52 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.
extremely rich in lobsters, Indo-Pacific king mackerels (white or white 胸 pch-pak), silver sillago (沙腸 soa-t£g), narrow-barred Spanish mackerels (土魠 Thô-thuh), and Formosan squid. All the above fish species found in Indonesian and Australian waters were very popular in Taiwan’s fish markets and restaurants, while silver sillago was also in demand for overseas markets.53

Map 7.01: Expansion of the Taiwanese distant water trawl fishing grounds

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53 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002. They were allowed to fish in the Gulf of Carpentaria as long as they did not transgress Australian territorial waters. The boundary established was 12 miles from the coast.
Larger vessels were equipped with more powerful engines and could travel faster than before. Therefore, working in remote fishing grounds, like the waters off northern Australia, did not take a long period of time. The overall length of such a fishing trip (船期 chûn-kî) was about 50 days, the voyage from Kaohsiung Fishing Port to the inner part of the Gulf of Carpentaria took 12 days; the homeward voyage usually took the same amount of time. Therefore, fishers usually worked about 25 days in the waters off Australia. Most of these vessels fishing in the waters between Indonesia and Northern Australia were equipped with large fish holds, the best refrigerators, and they were fully laden with fuel. Maintaining the ice and fuel supplies was no longer a problem for fishers. When they made a return voyage their fish holds were full. A 300-ton vessel which operated in the waters off Australia could make four trips per year.\(^5\) However, when the 200-mile EEZ came into practice in Australia in 1978, the Taiwanese fishing fleets were prohibited from working in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Fishers were forced back up into the waters off Indonesia,\(^5\) and were not allowed to return to Australian waters until a fishery cooperation agreement between Taiwan and Australia was formally enacted.

Generally speaking, the exploitation of the longline fishing grounds in Southeast Asia in the post-war era occurred in two phases. The first phase or period was from 1945 to the beginning of the 1960s; the second phase covers the years from the beginning of the 1960s until the present day.

As noted in Chapter Two, the distant water longline fishery of Kaohsiung was revived soon after the end of World War Two. Some fishers from the Kaohsiung Fishing Port had already started to fish in foreign waters once again as early as 1946. The gross tonnage of their longliners ranged from 20 to 100 tons. Most vessels were owned and operated by fishing companies that were located in Gushan District, which was the centre of the Taiwan distant water fishing industry, before a modern fishing port was built in Cianjhen District [前鎮區]. The people in the early post-war industry called their fishery a ‘distant water fishery’ at that time, which it obviously was by the standards of the colonial era.

Longline fishers chose the Southeast Asian region as their fishing grounds for

\(^{5}\) Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.

\(^{5}\) Ibid.
two important reasons. Firstly, Southeast Asia is geographically close to Kaohsiung. Hence, the exploitation of marine resources did not require large fishing vessels. Secondly, the longliners had been fishing in Southeast Asia since colonial times; therefore, they were very familiar with the local weather conditions and marine environment there.

The first fishing grounds they re-exploited were the waters off Luzon and the inland seas of the central Philippines that were referred to as ‘the Rivers’ (河内 Hô-läi) by Taiwanese fishers. They began their fishing trips from the port of Kaohsiung, navigating along the western coast of Taiwan, then they cut straight south through the Bashi Strait to northern Luzon. From there they navigated along the west coast of the Philippines and then entered the Philippines’ inland seas. Their target fish were shark and tuna. Interestingly, the vessels that the Taiwanese fishers used in the first years after World War Two were still very small. However, a vessel of about twenty tons still enabled fishers to work in the waters off the Philippines without undue difficulty.

With the advent of larger longliners, more and more Taiwanese fishers worked in the western part of the South China Sea in the 1950s. They had to traverse the northern part of the South China Sea first, then navigate southward along the coast of Vietnam. In a very short period of time, the Taiwanese fishers had also expanded their fishing grounds into the waters off Indonesia and Malaysia. Fishing in the southern part of the South China Sea did not really require big vessels. A longliner of 40 tons that accommodated a crew of 14 was capable of comfortably operating in the waters off Malaysia and Indonesia. The length of its fishing trip was approximately 30 to 40 days; longline fishers could make about five such trips a year. Before 1963 most Kaohsiung longliners still used Kaohsiung as their home port in order to operate in the waters of Southeast Asia. They had to return immediately to Kaohsiung once their fish holds were full. Old fishers called this oscillating fishing pattern ‘dangpanghai’ (當帆海 tang-phằng-hái or [現流的] hiän-lâu-ê).

56 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 15/5/2002.
57 Interview, Liou Syuan, Kaohsiung, 17/3/2002.
58 Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 15/5/2002.
Map 7.02: Fishing grounds of Kaohsiung distant water longliners before the 1960s

They fished in a fan-shaped pattern across the region; the eastern boundary of their fishing grounds was the Philippines, and the westernmost edge was situated opposite the province of Hainan, China, while the southernmost boundary was the
waters off Indonesia and Malaysia. Some longliners of larger tonnage even went through the Malacca Strait in search of new fishing grounds beyond Southeast Asia. However, before the 1960s, Taiwanese fishing companies relied upon foreign ports as supply bases. The most distant fishing ground they could reach was the waters off Penang which was located on the eastern rim of the Indian Ocean.\(^59\) For example, \textit{Sieshun} 謝順 was a distant water longliner of 100 tons, which, in fact, was capable of long range fishing in the heart of the Pacific or Indian Ocean. However, it only operated in the waters off Malaysia and Indonesia, returning to Kaohsiung before its ice melted down. Using such a large vessel to operate in neighbouring fishing grounds which were not considered very far away from Kaohsiung wasted the potential capability of such a vessel.

The situation did not improve until the Taiwanese fishing companies began to cooperate with international fish dealers and adopt the supply base operation system in 1963. Hence, those fishers who operated in the longline fishing grounds of Southeast Asia became pioneers in exploring and exploiting worldwide fishing grounds.\(^60\) Generally speaking, they targeted two different fishing zones. Those who fished in the southern Pacific Ocean left Kaohsiung and navigated directly to Samoa. On the other hand, those who intended to fish in either the Indian or Atlantic Ocean or perhaps even the Mediterranean Sea had to pass through the Malacca Strait before heading for their distant water fishing destinations.\(^61\) The vessels that used Samoa as a supply base were small compared to those that operated in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.\(^62\)

It is interesting to note that in the colloquial languages of Kaohsiung fishers, ‘fishing abroad’ (出國 chhut-kok) means using foreign fishing ports as forward supply bases. In other words, fishing in the waters of Southeast Asia was still considered ‘fishing in the country’. Singapore and/or the Malacca Strait were viewed as the gateway to distant ‘foreign’ fishing grounds.

When the distant water longliners left the seas of Southeast Asia and took their fishing operations a step farther into the Indian and southwest Pacific Oceans in

\(^{59}\) Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.

\(^{60}\) Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.

\(^{61}\) Interview, Pan San’guang, Kaohsiung, 15/5/2002.

\(^{62}\) Interview, Huang Sianchih, Kaohsiung, 6/5/2002.
the 1960s, a new wave of offshore longliners, mainly owned by Siao Liucunese migrants and Kaohsiung local fishers, filled the vacuum in the fishing grounds of Southeast Asia within a very short period of time.63

Compared with the fishing activities of the initial phase, the offshore longline fishing in Southeast Asian waters in the 1960s had three basic features. Firstly, most longliners were family-run. Vessel owners and stakeholders were relatives or neighbours from the same fishing village. Sometimes they fished together on the vessel they shared. Secondly, their vessels were much smaller. They had to expand their fishing grounds more slowly and gradually, by means of upgrading their vessels. Thirdly, they simply called their new fishing pattern the ‘offshore longline fishery’, although some of their vessels were in fact capable of working in the distant waters off Indonesia and Malaysia in the 1970s.64

Before the 1960s, the only piece of modern navigation equipment that these fishers had on their tiny longliners was a compass. Nautical charts and radios were considered a luxury. If the weather was good, radio reception and hence wireless programmes from Kaohsiung could be clearly heard in the northern part of the South China Sea. Using the wireless, experienced fishers could readily judge their location and distance to Kaohsiung Fishing Port. When they started their return journey, they just set a course to where the radio waves came from.65 In addition to using the compass and radio to navigate, fishers also took bearings by means of identifying terrain features of particular coastal areas. This traditional approach relying on local knowledge was mainly used in the waters off the Philippines.66

Kaohsiung offshore longline fishers also expanded the reach of their more distant activity in a fan-shaped pattern. Some fished the waters off Hainan Island [海南岛] and the Pratas Islands [東沙群島], some others fished in the waters off the western

63 See Chapter 6.
64 Ibid. Takahashi Jun-ichi, Kujira no Nihon Bunkashi: Hogei Bunka no Koseki wo Tadoru [Japanese Whale Culture: Tracing the Development of Whale-hunting Culture], Kyoto, Tankosha, 1992, 132-134, and Kalland & Moeran, Japanese Whaling, End of an Era?, Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.1, 5. The phenomenon that offshore and distant water longline fishing coexisted is not unique. In Japan, offshore whaling enterprises also coexist with distant water whaling. STCW fleets (small type coastal whaling) hunt whales in Japanese coastal waters; but LTCW fleets (large type coastal whaling) whale in the waters off Antarctica. Each of them has their own fishing grounds, markets and operation modes. Their relation is similar to the one between offshore and distant water longline fishing in Kaohsiung.
65 Interview, Hong Fucai, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.
coast of Luzon. The vessels they used were still small; most of them were under twenty tons, and could only carry a crew of six or seven fishers. It took them about three days to reach their target areas. The ice they had in their vessels could last for only twelve days. In other words, due to technological constraints they could fish for only five days, which was not very efficient. During their trips to these fishing destinations, they still needed to catch moonfish 花刀 to use as bait. Some fishers could obtain sufficient baitfish for the duration of the voyage just in a single day; some had to spend four to five days to get the required catch. If the baitfish catch was not satisfactory, then the fishers were forced to return to Kaohsiung to have their ice re-supplied. The basic cost of fuel, ice and daily necessities was a considerable financial burden for these smaller offshore longliners. Going back to Kaohsiung with an unsatisfactory fish catch not only increased their financial hardship, it also placed a heavy mental burden on the fishers with respect to their next fishing trip.67

Longline fishers went to certain grounds to fish for certain species. The western half of the South China Sea, the waters off Hainan Island and the coastal waters off Vietnam were considered shallow seas, which had plentiful stocks of black marlin 白旗魚 khoaah-heng-á Makaira indica. The eastern half of the South China Sea, and the waters off the west coast of the Philippines were considered deepwater areas which had an abundance of yellowfin tuna 黑旗魚 or 深仔 chhih-á Thunnus albacares. According to the fishers’ local understanding of the marine environment and geography, the Pratas Islands were the physical boundary between the shallow and deep waters.68

In the summer season between June and August, fishers preferred to work in the shallow waters off Hainan Island. In the wintertime they would shift their operations to the waters off the Philippines searching for deepwater fish like tuna.69

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68 This was the old fishers’ understanding of the major differences in sea depth and species variation. But their view on these matters was shared by many others as well, based on their long experience at sea.
Before migrating to Kaohsiung in the 1940s, people from Siao Liouciou fished only in the waters off the ‘feet of Siao Liouciou’. Their target fish were dolphin fish [鬼頭刀] and sailfish [雨傘魚], and their limited fishing season was approximately from the third to the fifth month of the lunar year (about April to June). The vessels they used at that time were tiny, about ten tons, and the length of the fishing trip was never more than a week. These fishers had to stay onshore in rough weather because their vessels were so small. But those few who had larger
vessels tried to both explore and exploit more remote fishing grounds. Some went in search of flying fish [飛鳥魚] in the waters off Lanyu [蘭嶼], a tiny island located on the eastern coast of Taiwan; some went south hunting for yellowfin tuna.\textsuperscript{70}

In the 1950s and 1960s a growing number of Siao Liouciou fishers had moved to Kaohsiung. Armed with better port facilities, they started to operate larger longliners just as their Kaohsiung counterparts did. Some fished off Hong Kong, while others fished in the waters off the Philippines.\textsuperscript{71} However, no matter where Taiwanese fishers were going to work offshore, they had to catch bait first. This fish then had to be kept alive in a special tank below deck until being hooked as bait. Normally these fishers would not start their fishing operations until they had enough baitfish. Like Kaohsiung locals, if they were lucky, it would just take one to two days to get sufficient baitfish. If they were really unlucky, the process of fishing for bait could last as long as a week, which would invariably make their trip unprofitable.\textsuperscript{72}

The kind of baitfish Siao Liouciou fishers would use was basically determined by the season and the weather. Before migrating to Kaohsiung, Siao Liouciou fishers, in order to avoid rough weather in the winter months, had to stay in coastal waters and fish for offshore species like moonfish or torpedo scad [鐵甲]. After winter ended, they would fish for squid or go north to the waters off Tainan County in search of torpedo scad.\textsuperscript{73}

However, the fishing grounds off Siao Liouciou were not abandoned by Siao Liouciou fishers after they migrated to Kaohsiung. No matter which fishing grounds they were going to work they would still have to go back to obtain baitfish off the Siao Liuciu coast first. It was always a pleasant task, because the vessel owners allowed fishers to go ashore at Siao Liouciou for a day to visit their relatives and friends. Also, returning to Siao Liouciou did not necessarily take any extra time away from the voyage, because Siao Liouciou was directly on their way to the fishing grounds of Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{74}

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\textsuperscript{70} Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 18/3/2002. Dolphin fish [\textit{Coryphaena hippurus}] is not dolphin.


\textsuperscript{72} Interview, Hong Fucai, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{74} Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 18/3/2002, and Kaohsiung, 24/6/2002.
The target fish in the grounds off Hong Kong was black marlin, while the target fish in the waters off the Philippines was yellowfin tuna. Generally speaking, Siao Liouciou people preferred to work the waters off the Philippines, rather than fish in the grounds off Hong Kong. This was partly because the waters off both the Philippines and Siao Liouciou were rich zones with which the Siao Liouciou fishers had become thoroughly familiar. Equally importantly was the fact that the shallow waters of the South China Sea created larger waves and rough seas, hence, they did not like to fish there on a regular basis. Every year a large number of Siao Liouciou fishers left the South China Sea for the waters off the western coast of the Philippines for yellowfin tuna between the months of April and June. However, due

75 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 24/6/2002.
76 Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 21/3/2002.
77 Interview, Hong Fucai, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.
to the gradual thinning out of marine resources off the western coast of the Philippines, their search for new fishing grounds gradually moved eastward.\footnote{Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 29/6/2002. Nowadays a large number of Taiwanese fishers work the waters off the eastern coast of the Philippines.}

**Map 7.05**: The fishing grounds of Siao Liouciou fishers after they moved to Kaohsiung

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**Crossing the line: detention and confiscation**

The detention of crew and vessels could occur under many different circumstances in foreign waters. Firstly, fishers encountered both natural and manmade emergencies and took shelter overseas at foreign ports. For those Taiwanese fishers who worked the waters of Southeast Asia, fishing in local coastal waters or mooring in foreign ports was considered a taboo. They would not do it unless they were really in dire circumstances, such as engine malfunction or weathering a typhoon, because the...
marine police or navy of particular coastal nations could accuse them of illegally entering their territorial waters, poaching fish and smuggling.

When *Baocing no. 1* [寶慶1號], for example, was fishing in the open sea near Australia on 19 January 1975, her telecommunication system and the engine simultaneously malfunctioned. The fishing vessel drifted for two days and nearly capsized in rough weather. Fortunately, with the help of the *Ame-Rupe*, an Australian oil tanker, *Baocing* was eventually towed to Merauke, West Papua, Indonesia. Initially the Indonesian authorities did not intend to seize the *Baocing* and promised that the vessel could leave the waters of Irian Jaya after she was repaired. However, local prosecutors suddenly decided to confiscate the vessel. Their charge was that the *Baocing* had fished in Indonesian territorial waters without permission. The court decided that the fishing master had illegally entered Indonesia’s waters, and that he had also poached marine stocks from the waters off Merauke. Hence, the fishing vessel, gear, and the catch onboard were all confiscated and the crew members were forced to leave Indonesia at their own expense.80

Secondly, when Taiwanese fishers navigated through the territorial waters of various coastal countries to reach particular fishing grounds, the navy or marine police were liable to fabricate an unwarranted charge against the Taiwanese fishers. In order to shorten the length of fishing trips, sometimes the master fishers risked passage through the territorial waters of coastal states.81 The right of innocent passage [無害通過] was definitely a risky business. When fishers encountered the marine police or navy on patrol, these law enforcers could easily fabricate a charge, such as fish stealing or ‘smuggling’, against the Taiwanese fishers. In 1984 a set of Taiwanese pair-trawlers, *Menghong nos 21 & 22* [盟弘廿一號, 廿二號] voyaged through Indian territorial waters but did not conduct any fishing operations. The Indian Coast Guard, however, believed that the fishers had caught fish illegally because their nets were wet although Indian naval officers did not witness the fishers in action with

80  Fu Kuncheng, *A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels, vol. 1* [外國法院就我國漁船非法入侵案件所做裁判之研究報告 第三之ㄧ冊], Taipei, the Executive Yuan, 1990, 8.
81  Defence Technical Information Centre, http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict/data/i/02668.html (DOD), accessed on 15/3/2006. The right of all ships to engage in continuous and expeditious surface passage through the territorial sea and archipelagic waters of foreign coastal states in a manner not prejudicial to its peace, good order, or security. Passage includes stopping and anchoring, but only if incidental to ordinary navigation or necessary by force majeure or distress, or for the purpose of rendering assistance to persons, ships or aircraft in danger or distress.
their own eyes. Consequently, the vessels were detained.

The third reason for detention and confiscation was because fishers did steal fish in the territorial waters of Asian coastal countries. Armed with large refrigerators and powerful engines, numerous Taiwanese fishing vessels illegally poached fish in the territorial waters of the coastal nations of Asia every year. Some of them worked extremely close to the coast, but they got caught by the local marine police or navy only when they were really unlucky. Jinhonghuei [金鴻惠], a Taiwanese offshore longliner, regularly defied the law and encroached upon the territorial waters of the Philippines. However, the vessel got caught by the Philippine Coast Guard and was impounded in the Port of Iloilo on April 28, 1972. On the other hand, Fuda no. II [富達十一號] began her fishing trip on January 1, 1974, illegally fishing in the waters off Halmahera and Ceram, the Arafura Sea and inside the boundary of northern Australian waters. Ironically, Fuda did not get caught when she was poaching fish in the territorial waters of either Australia or Indonesia. However, on her return journey, the engine unexpectedly failed. Fuda drifted for about five days and stranded off the coast of New Guinea on March 1. With the help of Aman-5, an Indonesian fishing vessel, Fuda was towed to Kaimana, a port in Papua, and its illegal catch was impounded by local authorities. K.F. Yen, the fishing master, was isolated from his crew for interrogation.

A fourth reason for detention and loss of vessels was that fishing companies failed to both recognise and understand the proper procedures pertaining to international fishing agreements. The waters directly off the coast were the best fishing grounds for pair-trawlers. Before the 200-mile EEZ was introduced in the late 1970s, to gain legal access to the inshore seas of coastal nations, some Taiwanese fishing companies attempted to conduct international fisheries cooperation agreements. However, without the Taiwanese Government’s full support or proper instruction, Taiwanese fishers and fishing companies were readily

82 Fu, *A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels*, vol. 1, 18.

83 Fu, ed., *A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels*, vol. 2 [外國法院就我國漁船非法入侵案件所做裁判之研究報告 第三之二冊], Taipei, the Executive Yuan, 1990, 2-3.

84 Fu, *A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels*, vol. 1, 8.
intimidated and taken advantage of by coastal nations. The following two examples help to clearly illustrate this point.

In 1961, the China Fishing Company entered into a fisheries cooperation agreement with Thailand. The two parties agreed upon a trial period of cooperation for half a year. The China Fishing Company, however, unilaterally decided to terminate the arrangement before the contract expired because of poor port facilities and arguments over the vessels’ registration. This hasty decision incurred the wrath of the Thai authorities. Yuping Hou [漁平號] and Yuguei Hou [漁桂號], two Taiwanese single-trawlers, and all their crew members were detained by Thai authorities in retaliation.85 Meanwhile in 1975, Yulong and Fumao Fishing Company [玉隆, 福茂漁業公司] organised a fisheries cooperation arrangement with P.T. Kaltim Hasil Laut, an Indonesian company based in East Kalimantan. The Taiwanese fishing fleet, Feiteng no.1, no. 10, no.11, no.21, and no. 31 [飛騰一號, 十號, 十一號, 廿一號, 卅一號], Yulong no.2 & no. 10 [玉隆二號, 十號], Yadong no. 1 & no. 2 [亞東一號, 二號] docked in the port of Samarinda after officially obtaining permission from the East Kalimantan Provincial Government in September 1975.86

However, tension between Jakarta and the provinces meant that the deal with P.T. Kaltim Hasil Laut and the provincial government was not formally acknowledged by the Indonesian Central Government. Consequently, P.T. Kaltim Hasil Laut was compelled to go into liquidation, and the large unsuspecting Taiwanese fishing fleet was suddenly detained by the Indonesian navy. To overcome this difficult situation, Taiwanese vessel owners quickly decided to cooperate with P.T. Mina Fajar Fishery, another rival Indonesian fishing company, instead. Consequently, they obtained their necessary permission from the Department of Agriculture (Departemen Pertanian, Republik Indonesia). Despite this, the Indonesian military still refused to ratify this cooperation arrangement. Hence, the

85 ‘A Brief Introduction to State-Run Industries, 1961’ [民國五十年之國營產業事業概況], The References of the Ministry of Economic Affairs [經濟部參考資料], vol. 232, 18-20; ‘International Fisheries Cooperation [對外漁業合作],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 8, 1962, 8; and ‘Control Yuan, Please Investigate the Mismanagement of Fisheries Cooperation between China and Thailand [籲請監察院徹查：中泰漁業合作案的違法失職],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 10, 1962, 3.
86 Fu, A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels, vol. 1, 510.
Taiwanese vessel owners were unable to rescue their boats from detention.87 To prevent themselves from being detained, fishing masters sometimes bribed overseas marine police or navy officers. This illegal practice, however, did not always work very well. Detention still occurred if fishers happened to come upon an honest official. On the other hand, so many Taiwanese fishers attempted to solve their overseas problems through bribery that it just made the marine police even greedier. In countries like Indonesia, they became most eager to inspect Taiwanese fishing vessels once they began to enforce their jurisdictional zones.88 Some of these officials behaved like beggars; others like scoundrels. Su, a trawlerman who used to work the waters off eastern Indonesia, recalled that some Indonesian naval officers simply extorted money from Taiwanese fishers, vessel by vessel, and he felt they had no sense of either shame or honour at all. Their corrupt behaviour incurred the Taiwanese fishers’ resentment and contempt.89

The fishing master and engineman were always separated from the rest of crew once they were detained, as they were the persons in charge of the vessel. They, but especially the fishing master, had to endure an endless process of interrogation. When Fuda no. 11 was detained, the fishing master was held in prolonged custody in Sorong, while his crew was sent to Jakarta. He could not go back to Taiwan with his crew unless he pleaded guilty and accepted the harsh sentence.90 Similarly, the fishing master of Baocing no.1 was also forced to plead guilty, and was sentenced to one year on probation. To emphasise that he was coerced into confessing by the Indonesians, he wrote ‘disapproval’ [不贊成] in Chinese characters beside his signature.91

Fishers were usually held in custody for a long period of time before the court tried their cases. The mental stress created by the custody and detention, and the strain of the repeated interrogation always made the fishers eventually plead guilty. Thus, the actual legal process in such Indonesian cases would rarely be longer

88 Ibid., 1-2.
89 Interview, Su Li-san, Kaohsiung, 19/3/2002.
91 Ibid., 8.
than two months. Comparatively, the courts in the Philippines tended to respect the
detainees’ human rights the most, and invariably remained neutral and did not
discriminate against foreign fishers. Habeas Corpus was also fully respected by the
courts in the Philippines. Thus, these fishers in custody did not fully suffer the loss of
their freedom and dignity to the same extent as their counterparts in Indonesia and
elsewhere.92

In Indonesia, the attitude of law enforcement officials was, at times, both
corrupt and harsh. Human rights were not respected. Nor was the legal process
transparent. Court decisions could be changed repeatedly and without notice or
explanation. The government at every level concerned with the sea and marine issues
was always discriminating against the Taiwanese vessels. When talking about
Indonesia and Indonesians most Taiwanese vessel owners and old fishers always
spoke in a contemptuous manner. When the international fisheries cooperation
arrangement between Taiwan and P.T. Kaltim Hasil Laut was rejected by the
Indonesian central government in 1975, the vessels that participated were
confiscated by the Indonesian navy. Moreover, the naval prosecutors accused the
Taiwanese fishers of having entered Indonesian territorial waters illegally [非法入境]
and of smuggling [走私罪]. In this case, these two charges were a blatant fabrication.
During the interrogation period, the Taiwanese fishers were not allowed to employ
lawyers nor were they allowed to defend themselves in court. On the contrary, they
were physically beaten and tortured until they pleaded guilty. The fishing fleet,
which comprised nine modern well-equipped trawlers, was then confiscated by the
local Indonesian authorities.93

Sometimes the Indonesian Government, without prior notice, changed their
decision regarding previous arrangements, which really shocked the fishers and
fishing companies concerned. Baocing no.1 is a good example of this erratic
behaviour. Evidently, receiving official permission from the Indonesian authorities to
use the harbour at Merauke did not necessarily guarantee that Baocing was immune
from the possibility of being detained. The Indonesian authorities could readily
change their decision on a moment’s notice, which simply gave the Taiwanese

92 Fu, *A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing
93 Ibid., 8-9.
fishers and vessel owners the strong impression that the Indonesian people never kept their word and could not be trusted.

Furthermore, in terms of process, sometimes the courts in Indonesia refused to hear legal cases generated from fisheries disputes. The courts insisted that fishing masters adopt a more conciliatory tone with respect to the Indonesian government or navy and reach an out-of-court settlement. However, the so-called conciliatory process was not a good thing at all, since it usually meant that the navy or local marine police could arbitrarily decide how to charge those fishing vessels that had legal or business concerns with the Indonesian Government. The rights of fishers, as a consequence, were not protected under the ordinary national legal system. The case of Fuda no.11 is worth exploring regarding this point. The Indonesian court unilaterally decided that Fuda had violated the Territorial Waters Act of 1939 (Territoriale Zee en Maritieme Kringen Ordonnantie 1939). But it declined to try this case, instead tacitly forcing the fishing master to ‘settle’ the dispute out of court with the Indonesian government. Consequently, the Indonesian government imposed harsh conciliation conditions. The fishing master should pay a fine of $US825 to the government for the Fuda; $US10,000 for the catch; and a $US1,000 fine for the fishing master himself. Each crew member had to pay $US100. In other words, the Taiwanese fishers of Fuda no.11 had to pay $US13,925 in cash as fines, or what was euphemistically referred to as ‘conciliation fees’. In the eyes of the Taiwanese fishers the Indonesian government’s measures were nothing short of extortion and theft.

In more extreme situations, the confiscation of a vessel could readily lead to the bankruptcy of a company. Therefore, most vessel owners were pleased to pay the fine if they could get their vessel back. In the early 1970s, the monetary penalty in the Philippines, for Taiwanese vessel owners, was comparatively small and did not create a financial burden or crisis for a fishing company. When Jinhonghei was detained by the Filipino navy in 1972, the vessel owner simply paid PHP500 to get

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94 Fu, A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels, vol. 1, 488-489.
95 Ibid., 8.
96 Ibid., 488-489.
his boat back. After a court decision, most Taiwanese fishing companies or vessel owners just followed their lawyers or lobbyists’ instructions and paid the fine, and few of them rarely bothered to either read or contest the court verdict. However, this compliant attitude and type of situation soon became history. The case of the Fuda in Indonesian waters is perhaps the best example.

In order to drive away Taiwanese fishing vessels (or to extort money from Taiwanese fishing companies), the monetary fines imposed increased dramatically and punishments also became harsher. Sometimes vessel owners could not get their vessels back, even though they had paid an enormous fine. An Australian prosecutor suggested to the court:

> If we don’t give the Taiwanese fishers some punishment, the marine resources of the Gulf of Carpentaria would be ruined in ten years.

Taiwanese pair-trawlers had caused a real calamity to the marine ecosystems of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Jhong Ciourong, an old fishing master who appeared in the Australian court, recalled that he and his crew were detained for 49 days in 1973 due to illegally fishing in Australian territorial waters. In addition to paying a heavy penalty, the pair-trawlers, Huaying no. 1 & 2, were confiscated by the Australian authorities.

While in custody, it was the fishing master who endured the most pressure and difficulty from an overseas government, although his crew were frequently in trouble as well. One of my most important interviewees, Jheng, who used to fish in the waters of Southeast Asia in the 1950s, was detained by the Filipino navy seven times, and was therefore treated as a ‘recidivist’. On two occasions his fishing master urgently moored their vessel in a port due to mechanical malfunction. The Filipino government, however, did not believe the captain’s explanations. ‘Why are you here again?’ shouted the Filipino immigration officials. Jheng replied:

> I have no choice. I am just a poor child labourer (thăn-chiā-hiá). I have to make a living. The vessel that I worked on was confiscated by your government last

97 Fu, *A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels, vol. 1*, 1
98 Ibid., 3
99 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002. The confiscated pair-trawlers were auctioned by the Australian government. The fishing companies paid the necessary money and bought them back.
time. The vessel I work on now has come to the Philippines again to fish. I cannot stop her.

Fishing masters and enginemen were considered the chief violators of the law, and often put in jail. Other crew would be released on bail after their boss sent the necessary money from Kaohsiung. The confiscation of a vessel was not only a tragedy for the vessel owner, but also a major setback for the fishers. The catch would also be confiscated; hence, there was no profit made from their fishing trip; in other words, their time and effort had been totally wasted. Now, to support their families they would need to borrow money once again when they returned to Kaohsiung. However, they could not necessarily expect to obtain financial support from their vessel owner as they had done before, because the owner himself had just lost his vessel and perhaps was facing bankruptcy. He would not have any sympathy under such circumstances for his struggling fishers.100

Interestingly, the Taiwanese Government did not offer to help when Taiwanese vessels were detained by the Indonesian authorities either; instead, the Fisheries Bureau clarified its standpoint on matters of overall detention to the Guild in this fashion: no fishing company was allowed to conduct an international fisheries cooperation arrangement without the Government’s prior approval.101

100 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 13/3/2002.

Chapter 8

The Culture and Daily Life of the Kaohsiung Fishing Communities

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyse the culture and onshore activities of the Kaohsiung fishing communities. As the fishery centre of Southern Taiwan, in the early years Kaohsiung attracted fishing migrants from Penghu, Siao Liouciou and other parts of Taiwan. Hence, Kaohsiung offers a good opportunity to observe the fishers’ migrant experience and how socio-cultural factors—like kinships and ethnic boundary maintenance—affect the fishers’ job-seeking prospects. Different fishing communities practiced different sets of fisheries-related activities. Therefore, I will examine both the geographical distribution of their economic activities and how the invention of new fishing gear transformed the activities of fishing villages. As long distance fishers, Taiwanese men were frequently away from home and their onshore communities. In this context, it is interesting to explore how they managed to find a wife, and after they were married, what kind of marital problems occurred when fishers worked for extended periods at sea.

Also of great personal importance is the fact that different types of fisheries offered different terms of employment to fishers. I will illustrate, therefore, in the last section of this chapter, the personal nature of the relationship between vessel owners and fishers, and also make a comparison between the employment and welfare practices of the different fishing industries.

Migration, job seeking and ethnic boundaries

The Penghu Islands comprise several tiny and impoverished islands off the southwest coast of Taiwan (see Map 8.01). Traditionally, women and children remained onshore and worked the excessively dry land which could only grow peanuts, sorghum [高粱], sweet potatoes [甘薯], sponge gourds [絲瓜] and aloes [蘆薈]. The
lack of agricultural productivity and sustainable natural resources drove Penghuan men to make a living on the sea. Hence, in terms of the gender division of labour, men worked at sea; women worked on shore. Such a cultural-ecological pattern and way of life was called by the Penghuans, ‘half mountain; half sea’ [半山半海 pòaⁿ-soaⁿ-pòaⁿ-hái].

The abundantly rich marine resources in the Taiwan Strait, however, did not really make a significant contribution towards the economic improvement of their lives. The population in Penghu was so small that the supply of fish products always exceeded the demand in the local markets. The more catch that the fishers harvested, the poorer their families became as the price of fish products declined in the face of stiff competition. Hence, to make a living, some Penghuans were forced to be seasonal fishers, oscillating back and forth between Kaohsiung and Penghu every year, while others migrated directly to Kaohsiung. The first wave of Penghuan migrants came mainly from Cimei. They began their migration during the colonial period, and, generally speaking, they preferred to settle in Cihou, rather than Gushan.

The economically depressed situation in Siao Liouciou was worse than in Penghu. The shape of the island of Siao Liouciou is like a shoe, and it is also extremely tiny. From the northeast to southwest the island is about 4.1 kilometers long; and from the northwest to southeast it is just 2 kilometers wide. The surface of the island is covered by limestone and deposits of coral sand [珊瑚石灰岩] which cannot sustain viable agricultural activities. Hence, people in Siao Liouciou were also forced to make a living at sea, or to seek fisheries jobs in Kaohsiung, as some of the Penghuan islanders did.

Before Penghuan and Siao Liouciou fishers migrated to Kaohsiung on a large scale, some Penghuans were forced to be seasonal fishers, oscillating back and forth between Kaohsiung and Penghu every year, while others migrated directly to Kaohsiung. The first wave of Penghuan migrants came mainly from Cimei. They began their migration during the colonial period, and, generally speaking, they preferred to settle in Cihou, rather than Gushan.


2 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002. Why did people from Cimei prefer to settle down in Cihou, rather than Gushan? Chen stated that we can not find the answer from the angle of fisheries development. They simply moved there, because some pioneers were doing well in Cijin, which soon attracted their fellow villagers to also move there. A large number of Cimei migrants in Cihou had the surname Sia [夏] which means they belonged to the same patriarchal clan.

3 Chen Hsien-Ming, ‘The Development of Tuna Longline Fishery on Liouchiou Island [琉球嶼之鮪釣漁業發展],’ *Geographical Research* [師大地理研究報告], no. 33, Nov. 2000, 201.
scale during the post-war era, a large number of fishers—mainly Penghuans—had worked as seasonal fishers in Kaohsiung in the pre-war sailing boat period. In the typhoon season they stopped their fishing activities and returned to their hometowns. In winter they came to Kaohsiung once again. There were two critically important dates in their yearly schedule; the first one was the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the lunar year (May). Traditionally this date was viewed by the fishers as the first day of the typhoon season. At this time of the year the weather became turbulent and the sea dangerously rough, as if, in the Taiwanese fishers’ colloquial language, ‘the waves had opened their eyes’ ([湧仔開目] éng-á khui-bâk). For safety’s sake, fishers had to remain onshore until the ninth day of the ninth month of the lunar year ([九冬若過] káu-tang nä kôe) —October. Traditionally, this date was regarded as the end of the typhoon season when fishers could safely return to their work at sea. 

Map 8.01: Penghuans and Siao Liouciou’s fishing migration

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4 Interview, Cai Minghuei’s wife, Kaohsiung, 5/7/2002.
5 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.
The rapid growth of the Kaohsiung fishing industries after the end of World War Two further encouraged Penghuan and Siao Liouciou fishers to settle down in Kaohsiung. The second wave of fishing migrants brought people from Siao Liouciou, Penghu, and even Keelung. Seasonal migration, as a result, gradually ceased and the typhoons remained a recurrent, albeit dangerous, phenomenon.

Living costs in Kaohsiung City were much higher than in their hometowns, which made the destitute fishing migrants feel even more impoverished. Most of the postwar migrant fishers were shabbily dressed; some were even barefooted. They frequently had to seek refuge with their relatives after they arrived in Kaohsiung, and had to secure a position on a vessel as soon as possible. Before they could get a job, however, they needed to borrow money from their relatives in order to support their job-search and new way of life. Most of them, especially those from Penghu, were rural teenagers who did not readily understand the ritual and business ways of the modern urban world. If no one told them, they had no idea, for example, that they needed to offer gifts to fishing masters in exchange for a job opportunity onboard. Some less well-informed youth, as a result, just wandered up and down the port in search of work, without success. As one of my aged informants, Jheng Sanbian, told me:

The reason I came to Kaohsiung was to be a fisher. I walked the length of the port and asked every fishing master I came across. ‘Mr. Fishing Master, do you need a hand? I think I can cook for you onboard.’ No, I simply could not find a ‘vacant berth’ ([黔位] khùn-üi, it refers to a job on vessel), because I did not realise that I needed to first establish good relationships with fishing masters.

Fishing masters preferred to employ their relatives or those who offered presents or bribes. This employment practice was an ‘open secret’ among those employed in the Kaohsiung fishing industry. Besides seeking a position onboard, my elderly

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6 In fact, fishermen’s migration has happened in many countries. What happened in nineteenth century Britain is a good example. The Devon trawlersmen shifted north-eastward to Humberside in several phases. They are called ‘Multi-stage Migrants’. The Thames Fishermen moved directly to Grimsby, and then settled down there. They are called ‘Single-stage Migrants’. See Margaret Gerrish, ‘Following the fish: nineteenth century migration and diffusion of trawling,’ in David J. Starkey, Chris Reid & Neil Ashcroft, eds., England Sea Fisheries – The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales since 1300, London, Chatham Publishing, 2000, 112-117.

7 Gerrish, ‘Following the fish,’ 112-117.

8 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.

9 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.

10 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.
informant, Jheng, had tried as a young man to also work for onshore fishing companies. He visited a number of fishing plants in the Gushan District, and expressed his willingness to act as a courier boy in exchange for meals. Still, no one was willing to hire him.\(^\text{11}\)

Here is another case with a rather different outcome. Syu, another Penghuan fisher, was far luckier. He neither needed to beg for a job at the port, nor to bribe any of the fishing masters in exchange for an onboard position, because his uncle (on his mother’s side) was a fishing master. In an employment-seeking situation like this, kinship connections really mattered. Syu said that as an unemployed job seeker it made a big difference if you had kin relationships in the fishing communities. He also defended his uncle and this traditional kind of employment practice; Syu stated that reserving a position for a relative or fellow villager was regarded as an unquestionable ‘moral obligation’. When Taiwan was suffering under the grip of poverty in the 1950s and 60s, onboard jobs provided relatively decent earnings. As a vessel owner or fishing master, Syu’s uncle certainly felt he had to look after his ‘own people’.\(^\text{12}\) Most of my interviewees, except Syu, stated that getting a job onboard or getting promotion required establishing good relationships with fishing masters or the fishing companies. However, when they talked about their own cases, most of them stressed that their circumstances were unusual; they stood up on their own feet, even though most of them had relatives who worked as fishing masters.\(^\text{13}\)

This traditional customary practice gradually disappeared in the 1970s when Taiwan’s economic upturn offered young people from rural areas and offshore islands access to onshore job opportunities. In this economic climate, working at sea was no longer attractive which, consequently, had a major impact on changing the nature of interpersonal relationships between vessel owners, fishing masters and fishers. Nowadays, however, fishers still present their compliments to fishing

\(^{11}\) Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002. Jheng was so frustrated that he contemplated returning to Penghu. He eventually got a job on a vessel through the help of one of his fellow villagers. Offering presents or bribes to get an onboard position also happened in Britain’s trawl fishing industry. In Hull, no fisher admitted that he offered a bribe to get his job, ‘but everybody knows that they are given.’ The situation is exactly the same with cases in Kaohsiung. See Jeremy Tunstall, The Fishermen, London, MacGibbon and Kee Ltd, 1962, 125-26.

\(^{12}\) Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.

\(^{13}\) Ibid.
masters as a sign of common courtesy after they are hired.\textsuperscript{14} This current practice has nothing to do with giving or receiving bribes.

In the immediate post-war years, job opportunities in the fishing industry were so limited that the ethnic boundaries between different groups were further intensified. When a fishing master recruited his crew, he invariably would recruit those who came from the same village. Therefore, it is safe to say that few Penghuan fishing masters hired Siao Liouciou fishers. Also, few Siao Liouciou fishing masters hired Penghuan fishers. One old Penghuan fishing master said: ‘They [the people from Siao Liouciou] had their own vessels, they could look after themselves.’\textsuperscript{15} A Siao Liouciou fishing vessel owner explained why they did not hire Penghuans or even Kaohsiung locals:

\begin{quote}
We were not familiar with the habits and characteristics of fishers who came from other counties. That [the recruitment of fishers] was the fishing masters’ business. I didn’t want to have a hand in it.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

In fact, having their own boats and knowing little about the cultural characteristics of those from other areas were simply excuses. The real reason was that they wanted to reserve job opportunities for people from their own ethnic group. As a consequence, neither Penghuan nor Siao Liouciou fishers would try to get a job with a fishing master from another ethnic group, because they realised that such an effort was totally useless. Chen Youyi put it like this:

\begin{quote}
We didn’t want to work on their vessels; also, they did not want to work on our vessels. Working with another group of fishers was like a solitary bird mingling with birds of a different species ((孤鳥插人群) k¬ chiáu chhah jîn-kûn).\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

Only the radiomen could avoid the social problems that were generated from ethnic divisions and boundary maintenance because they were recruited from a different part of Taiwan. Due to the shortage of skilled wireless operators, these trained men did not have to defer to fishing masters in order to obtain a job. In fact, fishing

\textsuperscript{14} Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
\textsuperscript{15} Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.
\textsuperscript{16} Interview, Chen Shengli, Kaohsiung, 29/6/2002. Chen did not feel comfortable talking about this issue.
\textsuperscript{17} Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.
companies and vessel owners had to recruit them through offering higher wages.\textsuperscript{18}

Ethnic groups also clearly had different cultural ideas and practices in the selection of fishing methods. Siao Liouciou fishers did not want to be away from home for long periods; they preferred to build small vessels and work in offshore fishing grounds. On the other hand, Penghuan fishers were used to working on distant water vessels and did not wish to work in the offshore fishing grounds and compete with local or Siao Liouciou fishers.\textsuperscript{19} Their preference for particular types of fishing methods further reduced the flow of fishers between the Penghuan and Siao Liouciou communities.

However, it is important to also stress that fishers who came from the same ethnic group did not necessarily cooperate together. As mentioned in Chapter Five, few Penghuans owned fishing companies in the pre-war and early post-war years, except for the Brothers Chen J.E. and Chen S.Y. They originally came from Penghu, and had been very successful in the Kaohsiung (Takao) longline fishing industry. Hence, they were expected to be kind and supportive to migrant Penghuan fishers. Ironically, both of them were well-known in the Penghuan fishing community for their harsh and aloof behaviour.\textsuperscript{20} Penghuan migrants came from the different islands of Penghu. Most of them had strong local ties to a particular place and very often they schemed against each other for personal self interest and financial gain. Many cases of rivalry and influence-peddling can be found among the various Penghuan groups. They sometimes acted as informants on behalf of vessel owners against their colleagues; old hands also always bullied novices. This was a common scenario, as Jheng Sanbian explained:

\begin{quote}
The vessel is fully loaded with fresh catch from Southeast Asia. As a fishing master, you think that you will receive praise and reward from your boss. Unexpectedly,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{18} Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002, and Jhong Ciourong, 15/4/2002.

\textsuperscript{19} Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002, and Syu Y.S., Kaohsiung, 16/4/2002. I asked one of my Penghuan informants, Y.S., why Siao Liouciou fishers preferred to work in offshore fishing grounds. He gave me an odd answer. He said that their women were lustful and loose in morals. The risk of illicit love affairs occurring was seemingly higher in Siao Liouciou communities. Therefore, the men did not feel personally secure if they went to remote fishing grounds and could not go home often. This explanation does not make any sense at all, except to reinforce the inferior social status of the women and maintain the ethnic boundary based on differences between themselves and the Penghuans.

\textsuperscript{20} Interview, Jheng S.B., Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002. They also played a role as loan sharks when fishers borrowed money from them.
your fellow fishers invent some nasty stories about you. Then all your efforts are just wasted.\textsuperscript{21}

The fishers slandered one another simply out of jealousy and resentment. This kind of scenario repeated itself again and again, and was commonly viewed as part of the parochial nature of Penghuan fishing culture. Hence, some Penghuans even chose to distance themselves from their fellow fishers after they settled down Kaohsiung.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Onshore economic activities in the Kaohsiung fishing communities}

When fishers were working at sea, what kind of fisheries-related activities did their family members undertake in the Kaohsiung fishing communities? Different types of activities existed in different districts. Gushan district had been urbanised since the colonial era, and it served not only as a distant water fisheries centre, but also as a hub of local commerce. Fishers’ family members could work in all sorts of modern industries. Thus, their economic activities were not necessarily associated directly with the fishing industry. The female relatives of the fishers, living in flats, could work for processing factories, restaurants, run a stationery shop or a grocery store, or work as stall-keepers, or housemaids for the rich.\textsuperscript{23} Cijin district, however, was a less developed and prosperous area. Most people living in the fishing villages were still engaged in coastal fisheries and fisheries-related activities. The manufacture and maintenance of fishing nets or longlines, and aquaculture activities, such as collecting milk fish and preparing oysters, occupied most of their time.

Fishers could buy fishing nets and longlines from fishing gear shops. However, fishing nets and lines produced by factories were too expensive for many fishing families. To save on the expenditures of offshore fishing activities some women in the Cijin fishing communities traditionally made fishing nets or longlines for neighbouring villagers. The fishing nets they produced were small and could be used only for the coastal and offshore fisheries. These locally made fishing nets and longlines rotted or tore easily; therefore, women had to spend a lot of time in the

\textsuperscript{21} Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 20/6/2002.

\textsuperscript{22} Interview, Chen Youyi’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 and Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002.

\textsuperscript{23} Interview, Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002. A large number of the daughters of Penghuan fishers worked as domestics after they moved to Gushan.
early years darning nets. Some women were hired to do this arduous but important work; however, the money they earned was very little and never enough to help cover the overall family expenses.24

Traditionally, fishing nets and longlines were made from bark thread (樹皮絲 or 袋仔絲 tē-á-si); some were also woven from cotton yarn [棉紗]. The history of bark thread fishing nets and longlines goes back much further in time than those made from cotton. Weaving and mending the nets was a traditional skill handed down from generation to generation. All the various types of bark were transported from Pingdong (屏東), a county at the southern end of Taiwan.25 People in the fishing villages had to buy bark at the local shop, and then manufacture nets or longlines on vacant lots in their village. The whole process of making the thread and weaving a net was very time-consuming. My informant, the wife of Chen Shuteng, explained that making bark thread required two steps. First, the bark had to be soaked in water. After it turned soft it was torn into strips. Second, the strips needed to be exposed to the sun until they dried, after which the strips were twisted into strings. The production of bark threads was complicated and time-consuming, because the strings broke all the time.26 Normally, women in the fishing communities took charge of this task, because it was not too physically demanding but it required patience, which, according to a female relative of Cai Bian, not many men possessed.27 However, cotton nets were produced in factories and could immediately be used for fishing purposes.28

In the 1950s, fishing nets and longlines made from bark thread gradually were replaced by factory-made cotton fishing nets and longlines. Cotton-made nets and longlines were sold in fishing tackle shops at reasonable prices which every fishing family could afford. Hence, women in Taiwanese fishing communities were

24 Interview, Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002.
25 Ibid.
26 Interview, Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002.
27 Interview, Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002.
Both bark thread and cotton yarn are plant fibres that easily rot in water. To lengthen the use-by date of nets made from bark, people in fishing communities had to spend a lot of time on the maintenance of these fishing nets and longlines. Apart from darning fishing nets every day, they also had to clean and provide a protective coating on the fishing nets and longlines at least once a week. The protection of the fibre in fishing nets and longlines was an extremely laborious job that required the cooperation of both sexes in the fishing communities. Women took charge of extracting the starch from red potatoes. They grated red potatoes on a wooden board embedded with nails, then they mixed the potato paste with some water, before immersing the fishing nets and longlines into the extracted starch mixture. The fishing nets and longlines were then hung out on racks and exposed to the sun until the starch was totally dry. During this period, the people in the fishing village also had to collect pigs’ blood from the pig farms, dry it, then grind it into a blood red powder. The women would then mix the blood powder with some water and then immerse the fishing nets and longlines once again—to provide yet another layer of protection from the sea water.

Picture 8.01: Fishing nets and longlines were traditionally made from bark thread; some were also woven from cotton yarn. These early nets and lines tended to rot in water over time; therefore, the inhabitants of Taiwanese distant water fishing communities needed to spend a lot of time on maintaining and mending fishing nets and longlines.

Source: Kaohsiung City Fisher Service Association [高雄市漁民服務協會]

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29 Interview, Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002.
30 Interview, Guo Shihfu, Kaohsiung, 27/6/2002. Thompson, Wailey & Lummis, Living the Fishing, 167-68. The fact that women play an important role in fish processing and in preparing for the fishery can also be found in other fishing powers. In the UK, net-mending was a home task for fishers’ wives and daughters.
They then put the dyed fishing nets or longlines into a huge cauldron under which was a large steamer. They heated the steamer until the fishing nets and longlines were totally boiled by the steam. This traditional approach was handed down in the fishing communities from one generation to the next. Until the mid 1950s, men and women had to do this job every week; otherwise the fishing nets or longlines would fray and become useless after only ten days of fishing operations.31

Concerning the protection of longlines, besides red potato juice there were two other natural materials that could be used: egg white (卵清 nü̍g-chhi°) and mineral pitch (柏油 tiám-á-ká). Traditionally, people placed the longlines in a wood basin filled with egg white and then rubbed the egg white thoroughly through the longlines—covering the line with a protective layer of albumin. Then they wound the longlines onto wooden spools, and exposed them to the sun to dry. The dried longlines were then also put into a cauldron and steamed. Maintaining the longlines with a coating of egg white was a costly process because eggs were extremely expensive in those days. However, that was a fortunate time for the children in the fishing communities, because they had the leftover egg yolk as a regular part of their diet.32

Some longlines were also protected with mineral pitch, but the tar used for this purpose was much less viscous than the type used in macadam road construction. This technique was considered ‘advanced’ in the 1940s and 50s and applied only to the maintenance of distant water longlines. The longlines treated with mineral pitch were much stronger than those treated with potato extract and blood powder, and could effectively prevent both the cotton yarn and the bark string from being eroded by sea water.33 The fishing catch was not affected if fishers used cotton longline dyed with mineral pitch. However, the catch would be smaller if fishers used bark thread longline treated with mineral pitch, because when bark thread was coated with

31 Interview, Guo Shihfu, Kaohsiung, 27/6/2002, and Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002. The protection treatment of fishing nets and longlines was a troublesome job. Therefore, some people in the fishing communities started to shorten the process by leaving out the pigs’ blood, because they felt that treating the nets with red potato starch was good enough.


33 Ibid. During the 1940s and 1950s, longlines that were used in the waters of Southeast Asia were dyed with mineral pitch.
mineral pitch it became as thick as electric wire and just scared the fish away.\textsuperscript{34}

The treating of longlines or fishing nets did not exist only in offshore fishing communities like Cijin District, but was also a natural preoccupation in Gushan District which had been urbanised. In the late 1950s, poor people in Gushan fishing port still treated longlines for vessel owners or fishing companies in exchange for free fish.\textsuperscript{35} However, since the 1960s, nylon yarn \[玻璃絲\] has gradually been used throughout the fishing industry.\textsuperscript{36} Thus, people in the Taiwanese fishing communities no longer needed to spend so much time on the maintenance of fishing nets and longlines. The introduction of nylon fishing nets and longlines, to some extent, changed the traditional outlook and employment opportunities for workers of the fishing communities of Kaohsiung.

\textbf{Picture 8.02:} Since the 1960s, Nylon line has gradually been introduced throughout the Taiwanese fishing industry. The photograph shows a woman and child preparing nylon fishing nets and gear at home. The photograph signifies the important onshore role that women played in terms of the gender division of labor in Taiwanese distant water fishing communities.

Source: Kaohsiung City Fisher Service Association [高雄市漁民服務協會]

There were also numerous oyster farms along the beaches of Cijin District before the ports and harbours were renovated. Those oyster farms created many job opportunities for people in the fishing communities. Before oysters could be cultivated in oyster beds, the farmers first had to have poles fixed on the seabed, so

\textsuperscript{34} Interview, Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002.

\textsuperscript{35} Interview, Chen Shenglí, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.

\textsuperscript{36} Interview, Guo Shihfü, Kaohsiung, 27/6/2002.
that seed oysters could be hung on the poles and then cultivated. Some local people were hired to do this work. They worked from bamboo rafts from which they handed the special poles to divers working in the water. The majority of the divers were new migrants from Penghu, because the local oyster farmers believed that Penghuans could hold their breath under the water for a long period of time. Divers took five or six bamboo poles with them on each descent, and would not emerge from the water until all the poles had been securely fixed on the seabed in an orderly manner. Oysters would then have to be harvested before the advent of the typhoon season.37

Picture 8.03: Numerous oyster farms along the beaches of Cijin District before the ports and harbours were renovated.

Women in the fishing communities were also kept busy shucking oysters, which were one of the important ingredients for making zongzi (粽子 traditional pyramid-shaped rice dumplings). In order to preserve the oysters for a long period of time, the women had to spread them out in the sunlight and rotate them regularly until they were completely dried. Pedlars would then come to the villages to collect the dried oysters at regular intervals, because for the annual Dragon Boat Festival (端午節), held on the fifth day of the fifth month of every lunar year, there would be a huge demand for pyramid-shaped rice dumplings with its special ingredient, dried oysters.38

37 Interview, Cai Minghuei’s wife, Kaohsiung, 5/7/2002. In autumn and winter, oyster farmers started to have poles fixed on the bottom of the water, and they harvested oysters several months later. See The Fishing Industry of Taiwan [臺灣漁業] Nantou, Department of Information, 1953, 11.

38 Ibid.
Women in the fishing communities were also kept busy collecting baby milk fish [魚栽] two weeks prior to the annual Tomb Sweeping Day (清明節 around April 5 or 6). They waded into the water and used small nets to collect the tiny fish. How many they could collect depended on the weather. Usually they could anticipate a better catch in the season of the south wind. Milk fish collectors then came to each village to collect the special catch. One woman might earn between $NT100 and $NT200 in a single day, which was considered an extraordinary sum of money at that time.39 At that time of the year, even some of the fishers, mainly coastal and offshore fishers in the Cijin area, stopped their regular fishing activities at sea and concentrated solely on milk fish collection – during the typhoon season.40 At this time, milk fish collection was safer and more lucrative than their other fishing duties on board vessels. The women in the fishing communities worked on milk fish collection until the advent of White Dew (白露 around September 8), because both the quantity and quality of the tiny fish gradually decreased after the time of the White Dew.41

Post-war fish processing factories in Gushan District also created a lot of job opportunities for women in the fishing communities. The female relatives of fishers were hired to shuck shrimps caught by offshore trawlers. The shrimps they shucked

39 At that time a decalitre of rice just cost a $NT12. See The Fishing Industry of Taiwan, 11.
40 Interview, Cai Bian’s wife, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002.
41 Interview, Cai Minghuei’s wife, Kaohsiung, 5/7/2002.
would be processed and exported to Japan. Most of these workers were casual labourers recruited by a headwoman. This casual work was extremely competitive, so those who wanted to keep their jobs had to be expert and efficient or have a very good working relationship with the headwoman.42 One of my elderly female interviewees, Mrs. Syu, recalled how extremely competitive the job was: ‘When I was in my early teens, very often I had to take a stool and then sit and wait in the queue before dawn.’43

Besides working in the fish processing industries, cleaning vessel hulls was another job option for on-shore people in fishing communities. After a long fishing trip at sea, moss and barnacles grew on vessel hulls. To maintain a fine exterior, vessel owners would have the hulls regularly cleaned when the boats returned to Kaohsiung. This was not a job which required much physical strength and usually it was delegated to members of the fishers’ family, like their young sons or even daughters. This unique scene from the Kaohsiung fishing port gradually disappeared in the 1970s when vessel owners began to entrust this important work to hull cleaning professionals.44

**Marriage and family problems**

In most cases, the marriages of young fishers were arranged by their parents, who, with the help of matchmakers, looked for a prospective woman of the right age for their son, then arranged a meeting between the two parties when the son came home from a fishing voyage. Young fishers rarely had much choice but to marry such a woman from the same social background, because few other young women outside the fishing communities were willing to marry a fisher because of their poverty and low social status. Thus the fishers’ brides mostly came from the Kaohsiung fishing communities or their hometown, Penghu or Siao Liouciou. Normally, the two parties would get married very soon if their arranged meeting had been a success. Some

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42 Interview, Chen Youyi’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002; Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002 and Syu Yisin’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 evening.

43 Interview, Syu Yisin’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 evening. See Thompson, Wailey & Lummis, *Living the Fishing*, 168. In the UK, women also made a significant contribution to the fish processing industry. They worked as gutters and white-fish filleters in fish processing factories; some worked as kipperers in smokehouses. Like fishers’ wives or daughters in the Taiwanese fishing communities, they were seasonally hired, and the wages they earned were very low.

44 Interview, Syu Yisin’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 evening.
couples held their weddings in their hometown; some in Kaohsiung. It depended on the personal circumstances and financial means of the two parties.45

However, sometimes a poor but talented fisher could marry a wealthy young woman. If the young man was considered trustworthy, industrious and promising, he might be able to marry a fishing master’s daughter. Occasionally, some fishers even married vessel owner’s daughters, then experienced a meteoric rise in the industry. As Syu Yicin explained, ‘It was a natural thing that fishing masters introduced their daughters to you, if you were a competent and promising man.’46

But this social practice raises an interesting question. Did young women in fishing communities necessarily wish to marry a fisher? Not really, from the standpoint of social mobility. Their fathers were fishers, and their brothers were fishers as well. To these prospective brides, marrying a fisher was only just an acceptable option. In their hometowns, Penghu or Siao Liouciou, most of them had no choice but to marry a local fisher. After moving to Kaohsiung, however, when young women looked for a husband they had more possible suitors from which to choose and more opportunities to meet young men from outside the fishing environment. Often, they would not marry a fisher, if they found a more suitably employed man.47

‘If you marry a fisherman, you only have a half husband’ stated Cai Bian’s aunt.48 Husbands in long distance fishing families were frequently away at sea for at least half of their married lives. Thus, wives had to look after the household and raise the children largely on their own. They had to be self-reliant, strong, and independent of their husbands. Hence, in a Taiwanese fishing family, basically, the real person in charge was the wife, rather than the husband; although he was the main breadwinner. If the women encountered any personal or financial difficulties

45 Interview, Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002. In fact, in Asia, marrying a person from the same social background does not only happen in societies such as conservative Taiwanese fishing communities. It also happens in the western world. The Italian fishing community in Fremantle, Western Australia is a good example. The Italians migrated to Australia, but still preferred to marry a person in Fremantle’s Italian community, or get a bride from Italy. See Charles Gamba, A Report on the Italian Fishermen of Fremantle, Perth, The University of Australia, 1952, 56-57. The same case is also found in Hull, UK. Most of the young fishers met prospective partners ‘through the interconnected webs of relatives, neighbours and friends.’ See Tunstall, The Fishermen, 141-142.

46 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.

47 Interview, Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002.

48 Interview, Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002 early morning.
while their husbands were at sea, very often they asked for help from their parents or their siblings, rather than their in-laws. Furthermore, women in the Kaohsiung fishing communities were usually inclined to stick together and support and help each other, because all of their husbands were away at sea. Compared to married women in other onshore communities, those in fishing communities were not as close to their husbands’ families, even though the patriarchal pattern of Chinese family and kinship was strongly reflected in traditional Taiwanese culture.

Generally speaking, the fishers’ wives could be categorised into two different types. Some were industrious and thrifty in managing their households and these women raised their children with an exemplary sense of duty. Others, however, simply could not endure the hardships and loneliness, and forsook their families and either eloped with lovers or had extra-marital affairs. It is clear that the majority of fishers’ wives socially conformed to their monogamous situation; however, the number of ‘bad women’ still cannot be underestimated. In some extreme cases, desperate housewives sold their homes and property, left the children with their grandparents and then fled with their new partners. Their unsuspecting husbands, who were working at sea, had no idea what had happened at home until they belatedly arrived at Kaohsiung, landing at the dockside with several months catch.

None of the fishing communities of Kaohsiung were immune from such social problems and family tragedies. It is difficult to say which fishing community was more likely to suffer this kind of personal misfortune. When discussing this sensitive issue, fishers, however, always stressed that women from other fishing communities were more apt to have extra-marital affairs than those in their own community. A Penghu engineman stated: ‘Yes, I admit that some wives in our community had affairs with other men. But the chance was much lower compared with other groups.’

However, from an impartial point of view, this statement does not make complete sense. Traditionally, extra-marital affairs rarely happened before families

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49 Interview, Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002 early morning. and Chen Youyi’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 afternoon.

50 Married women in the fishing communities were not very close to their husbands’ families. A similar case can be found in Hull. When fishers were working at sea, their wives always sought comfort and help from their mothers, rather than from their husbands’ families. See Tunstall, *The Fishermen*, 161.

migrated to Kaohsiung. Both the Penghu Islands or Siao Liouciou were tiny places and people knew one another very well in their everyday village lives. It was next to impossible to have an illicit love affair in such a closed and conservative society.\textsuperscript{52} However, this was not necessarily the case after they migrated to Kaohsiung, the second largest city in Taiwan with so many strangers present and new work opportunities.

In addition to having affairs, other temptations, such as gambling, also made women fall into disrepute.\textsuperscript{53} In their leisure time, some Penghuans liked to play games of chance such as ‘four colour cards’ (四色牌 si-sek-pâi) or mahjong with small wagers. Most of their playing partners were close neighbours or fellow villagers. To them, playing cards or mahjong was a form of local recreational activity, rather than an addictive habit, because it seldom led to serious financial disputes or family problems. However, it was no longer the case after the fishers migrated in large numbers to Kaohsiung. Gambling in this new urban environment became a serious social issue and problem for particular Penghuan families. Firstly, numerous Penghuan migrants worked in the distant water fisheries. Husbands could not readily go home as often as they had done when they had lived in Penghu. Some Penghuan wives began to fill the void in their lives by means of gambling. The monthly family payment (安家費) fishing companies provided became their main source of money for gambling. The greater the individual stipend that they received from the fishing companies, the more risks they could take in gambling for higher stakes. In these cases, playing cards or mahjong was now more than simply a recreational activity; it became a serious, albeit risky habit that caused major family problems. Not surprisingly, this kind of household tragedy happened more often to fishers who worked on distant water longliners than to those working on pair-trawlers. The trawlers could return home every two or three months so the fishers had a better sense about the actual state of the well-being of their families.\textsuperscript{54} One retired

\textsuperscript{52} Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
\textsuperscript{53} Interview, Cai Minghuei’s wife, Kaohsiung, 5/7/2002; Chen Shuteng’s wife, Kaohsiung, 14/6/2002; Cai Bian’s female relative, Kaohsiung, 3/7/2002 early morning. and Chen Youyi’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 afternoon.
\textsuperscript{54} Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002. Regarding the family payment, there was a similar system in Britain as well. When fishers were fishing at sea they arranged for a regular weekly payment to be sent to their families. Therefore, fishers’ wives were slightly wealthier than their neighbours. See Jeremy Tunstall, \textit{The Fishermen}, 160-61.
Penghuan fishing master said that among people in their communities, as many as five out of ten were addicted to gambling. In the most extreme cases, apartments and houses had to be sold to repay gambling debts. Some wives even worked as dance hostesses at bars to earn money to gamble or pay off outstanding debts. Most of their husbands were not aware of what had happened to their wives and families under such addictive circumstances until it was too late, when they returned to Kaohsiung from their extended fishing voyage.\textsuperscript{55}

**Relationships between vessel owners, fishers and their families: wages and welfare**

In the old days, some fishing companies signed contracts with fishers, and some did not. It depended on the vessel owners’ business practice. Their contract period initially was just for one year. However, with the continuous expansion of fishing grounds, contract periods became two years in length; some were even three years long.\textsuperscript{56}

At the end of a voyage the catch was sold, all the running expenses paid, and the net profit would be shared by both the ‘people’ (人 lâng) and the ‘boat’ (船 chûn) which respectively referred to the fishers and the fishing companies. Fishers could receive up to 45 per cent of the net profit, while the fishing company retained the remaining 55 per cent. However, this ratio was just a general working principle. In practice, the profit sharing system varied slightly from company to company.\textsuperscript{57}

I will use the Siao Liouciou profit sharing system as an example. Here the vessel owner took half of the net profit and the crew shared the rest. Suppose there was a Siao Liouciou vessel with a crew of eight; the catch of a fishing trip was sold for the price of $NT one million, and the running expenses were $NT200,000. Then the net profit would be $NT800,000. Hence, the vessel owners earned $NT400,000, while the eight fishers, including the master, shared the remaining $NT400,000. A fishing master and an engineman on a Siao Liouciou vessel, received double the

\textsuperscript{55} Interview, Chen Youyi’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 and Syu Yisin’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 evening.

\textsuperscript{56} Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.

\textsuperscript{57} Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 13/3/2002. How two parties actually shared the net profit differed from company to company. I heard many different versions of the practice when I interviewed older fishers. Some ratios were 40:60; others an even 50:50.
share received by ordinary fishers, which means the $NT400,000 had to be divided into ten units, as the fishing master and engineman earned $NT80,000. Besides their normal income from this profit sharing system, sometimes the fishing master could negotiate for a bonus in private and in most cases the vessel owner rarely objected.  

Generally speaking, the larger the vessel the bigger the share of the net profit for the fishing company. For distant water longliners or pair-trawlers that worked in foreign fishing grounds, the fishing companies might take 60 per cent of the net profit after every fishing voyage. Also, the larger the vessel, the greater the bonus the fishing master and other leading crew could earn. While a Siao Liouciou fishing master’s salary bonus was double or three times compared to that of other ordinary fishers, the salary bonus of a Penghuan fishing captain who worked in the Pacific or Atlantic Ocean could be 10 or even 20 times larger compared with that of the ordinary crew.

Before 1965, the profit sharing system in the Taiwanese fishing industry was not transparent. The fishing master was the only person who could negotiate with the vessel owner the exact amount of bonus that each fisher should get. This was partly because a fishing master, unlike other crew members, knew the exact amount of the catch and the catch’s possible market value; hence, his boss could not cheat him. It was also partly because some masters were also stakeholders in their companies. Their bosses and vessel owners had to invite them to attend internal company meetings. However, there was little participation in this profit-sharing process for the fishers. As Chen Youyi explained, ‘You are not allowed to argue about the bonus with your towkays! If you do so, you will be asked to take a rest onshore (歇睏 hioh-khùn).’ Taking a rest onshore actually meant dismissal, because both vessel owners and fishing masters became concerned if fishers learnt too much about the financial conditions of the fishing company or how the profit sharing system operated behind the scenes. Siao Liouciou fishing companies never offered a family bonus to fishers.

Did the fishing companies actually look after the welfare of the fishers’ family members? Yes, but on a qualified basis. Fishers spent most of their time at sea;
fishing companies or vessel owners therefore had to look after the fishers’ family members for the period of time of the voyage. However, it did not mean that the vessel owners had a direct hand in the personal matters of the fishers’ families. Vessel owners or fishing companies simply offered financial support on a regular basis, which took the form of a monthly payment and a loan if necessary.

Working on a distant water longliner, a fishing trip might be longer than one year. To assist fishers to support their families, every month longline companies had to provide a family allowance to the fishers’ families. If they lived in Kaohsiung, family members had to go to the company office to collect their stipend every month. If the fishers’ families were located in other counties, such as Penghu, the companies were obligated to send the money to their families by mail. Usually this family stipend was not a great amount; just enough for the fishers’ wives and children to have a simple life. In addition, if a fisher or his family experienced a financial problem, they could borrow money from the company. The debt had to be repaid after the net profits had been shared out upon the completion of a fishing trip, or before the debtor left his position for another fishing company. However, it is important to note that borrowing company money was just a customary ‘practice’, rather than part of a normal ‘system’. If a boss was harsh, or if a fisher or a fisher family’s reason was not good enough, the boss could simply ignore the request for a loan.

Trawl fishers returned to Kaohsiung every two or three months. Hence, trawl fishing companies did not provide a fishers family with an allowance. However, to help fishers provide for their families, trawler owners had to advance money to fishers before they embarked upon their trip. Unlike the longline fishing industry, this cash advance was part of a ‘system’, rather than a ‘practice’. The advanced payment or assisted loan became one of the most important reasons that a fisher chose to work in the trawl fishing industry. Jhong Ciourong stated: ‘It is easier to borrow money from a trawl fishing company, if I worked on a trawler’.

How much money fishers borrowed depended on how much money they

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62 Interview, Chen Youyi’s wife, Kaohsiung, 6/7/2002 afternoon.

63 Interview, Jheng Sanbian, Kaohsiung, 13/3/2002. In some extreme cases, bosses loaned money to fishers when they needed cash, then played the role of a loan shark as fishers became indebted while working at sea.

64 Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.
could possibly earn on each trip. Normally the amount of money advanced would not exceed the fishers’ possible earnings. For example, a radioman was usually able to borrow in advance of up to 75 per cent of his estimated salary for a particular fishing trip before going to sea. However, some fishers attempted to take advantage of the practice and borrow as much as they could. Both trawl and longline fishing companies would hold back such advances or deduct money from their bonus.65

In some rare cases, fishers borrowed money from their companies and then absconded, never returning to the fishing community again. Most of them were raw recruits who had just signed contracts with their companies, but regretted having done so even before the fishing voyage started. They simply chose to disappear, stealing the money they had just borrowed from their companies. This was a criminal act; however, taking the matter to court was a complicated matter and some vessel owners simply chose to drop the matter.66

Most importantly, fishers could not always make enough money from their fishing trip. In some cases, the salary and bonus that a fisher earned from his trip was not enough to repay the money that he borrowed from his towkay. The debt was still there at the end of the voyage, but he still had to borrow money again from his company in order to live before he started his next trip. His debt, as a result, could accumulate, and some men just could not overcome their financial difficulties.67 To extricate themselves from such an invidious cycle, some indebted fishers attempted to work for other fishing companies without having repaid their debts to their old bosses. However, according to the practice in Kaohsiung fishing communities, an indebted fisher was not allowed to work for another vessel owner before having repaid all his debts.

However, job-changing did happen quite often; some people arbitrarily terminated their contract for a better position offered by another company. This practice was acceptable, as long as the fishers could repay the money they had borrowed from their ex-bosses. In some cases, the new company or vessel owner offered to help and incurred the cost of liquidating their debt.68

66 Ibid.
67 Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.
68 Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 4/7/2002.
Financial disputes between fishers and vessel owners happened all the time. Shouting on the phone or in the company office over financial altercations was considered normal. In the early 1960s, Cai W.P., one of the tycoons of the Kaohsiung fishing industries, was stabbed to death by one of his fishers after a violent quarrel in the company office. In another case, the mistress of Lin M.Y., who served as the Head of Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association, was also killed by a fisher, simply because she took charge of the financial affairs of Lin’s fishing company. They had an argument over financial matters.

In fact, from the perspective of capital, offering financial help to the fishers’ families had another important function—namely social security. Vessel owners or fishing companies could readily abrogate their financial and moral responsibility if a marine accident happened at sea. In most cases the fishers’ family members would do everything they possibly could to demand compensation from vessel owners or fishing companies when a shipwreck or detainment happened abroad. They went to the company offices or vessel owners’ residences and cried, shouted and made an embarrassing public row until they received a satisfactory financial settlement. Traditionally, most vessel owners did everything they could to block these compensation requests. They could claim that the fisher had received decent earnings through the sharing system. In addition, the company had provided extra financial support to the fishers’ families each month or on the occasion of every fishing trip. The company would appear to have done everything it needed to do from the standpoint of duty of care. The Government, court and even public opinion would generally side with the company if a compensation case went to court.

On the other hand, all the offshore longliners in Cijin were run by fishing families, rather than fishing companies. They raised money among relatives, neighbours or friends and built small vessels which were good enough to fish in the waters of the South China Sea or the fishing grounds off the Philippines. A Cijin

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69 When I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung, I visited a fishing company and tried to interview the boss. However, the timing was not good. He happened to be in the middle of an argument with his fishing master and the two parties were shouting at each other over the phone. The situation was very embarrassing; and the boss was in no mood to be interviewed after the quarrel. He just sent me away. Since then he has used a variety of excuses to decline an interview.


71 Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 23/6/2002. It was the view of the vessel owner that fishers’ family members usually lodged very unreasonable claims when such accidents happened, which created further problems for vessel owners.
vessel owner and stakeholders might work on the same vessel with fishers; therefore, the boundary between a sense of social obligation and duty to labour under capital was blurred. The owners and stakeholders did not provide a family allowance to fishers, because the vessels returned home very often. Also, they did not advance money to fishers, because the vessel owners were themselves not much better off than the fishers. In this case, the financial situation of a vessel was far more transparent, because the fishers worked together with their towkay. After returning to Kaohsiung, they sold their catch in the fish market together—to further facilitate transparency.

Ironically, in Cijin, when an accident happened at sea, fishers’ family members could not claim compensation from their vessel owner, because the owner was invariably onboard and perished along with the crew. The relationships under such circumstances between the two parties were always far more harmonious. All the fishers knew each other very well, because, for generations, they had been relatives, neighbours or family friends. Hence, they trusted each other on board the vessel; also their families customarily looked after each other on shore.

Nevertheless, vessel owners enjoyed all sorts of financial advantages, which encouraged some masters to set up their own fishing companies. Some succeeded; some failed. The situation varied within each ethnic group. Comparatively, Penghuan fishing masters had the least chance of success.\(^72\) Penghuans from a Buddhist background believed that certain Penghuan vessel owners had taken too many fish whilst they worked as fishing masters.\(^73\) The bankruptcy of their fishing companies and the financial difficulties they suffered were just retribution for what they had done previously at sea.\(^74\) However, there is another more practical explanation concerning the failure of Penghuan entrepreneurship. Penghuan fishing masters spent half their lives at sea. Onboard a vessel, the fishing master was often the most professional and experienced fisher; however, he rarely could become a talented boss onshore. These men knew nothing of the management side of a fishing company, and

\(^72\) I have to stress that nowadays numerous fishing companies are run by Penghuans. They have even established a club, the Siying Association [西瀛協會].

\(^73\) The first precept taken by lay Buddhists is to refrain from destroying living creatures. Buddhists also believe in karma—that the past deeds of an individual actively create present and future conditions.

they were not at all familiar with the business practices of Kaohsiung City.\textsuperscript{75} Their limited business network could not compare with the network of Kaohsiung’s local people. Local vessel owners tended to diversify their capital in many ways, and the fishery enterprise in the fishing industry was just one of their business investments, which inevitably increased the potential survival of their overall enterprise. However, for most Penghuan vessel owners, the fishing vessel was the only major financial asset they had. Each of them might only own one or two distant water longliners that had become the fruit of their painstaking labour over a lifetime at sea. To some degree, their fishing companies were based on an extremely fragile economic foundation. If something major went wrong, such as a vessel confiscation or shipwreck, they would go bankrupt.

Most Siao Liouciou vessel owners used to work as fishing masters at sea, too. But, their situation, compared with Penghuan vessel owners, was much better. First, most of them owned and operated a fleet of small longliners, rather than a single huge distant water longliner. This business strategy effectively reduced the risk of bankruptcy that was caused by confiscation or shipwreck overseas. Second, running small longliners that fished in the nearby waters of Southeast Asia was technically and financially easier than running a huge distant water vessel that worked the remote fishing grounds in the Indian or Atlantic Oceans. These two reasons help explain why it was easier for a Siao Liouciou fishing master to become a successful vessel owner than it was for a Penghuan master.

Furthermore, people in Cijin district had maintained the strongest sense of a closed corporate fishing community. Cijin was always a much less developed area.\textsuperscript{76} People in the villages knew each other very well. Men worked together at sea, and their wives also worked together and looked after each other in the villages. The mainstream fishing activities in Cijin were aquaculture, coastal and offshore fisheries. Women, children and the elderly participated in the manufacture and maintenance of fishing gear and provided all sorts of ‘logistical services’. By comparison, the sense of community among fishers was weaker in Gushan. First, the distant water longline and trawl fisheries of Gushan required more professional behind-the-scenes service,

\textsuperscript{75} Interview, Syu Yisin, Kaohsiung, 22/6/2002, and Sia Fujhong, Kaohsiung, 19/6/2002.

\textsuperscript{76} Cijin is less developed even now. Houses there are extremely old, small and rundown. However, it does not necessarily mean that people there are poor. Many tycoons in Kaohsiung fishing industries originally came from Cijin district.
which prevented the fishers’ family members from getting directly involved in such technical and maintenance activities. Second, Gushan had become extremely urbanised even in the colonial period. Hence, most fishers’ families lived in apartments or in narrow alleys of urban districts, and regularly mingled with people engaged in onshore business activity. Third, a variety of onshore industries in Gushan and its adjacent areas offered the fishers’ family members various new job opportunities. Working in the fishing ancillary industries simply no longer seemed so attractive in such a fast developing urban environment.

Picture 8.05: An early photograph of Gushan District showing that it had been urbanised since the colonial period.

Source: Kaohsiung City Fisher Service Association [高雄市漁民服務協會]

Picture 8.06: Gushan Fishing Port in the twenty-first century (01). Nowadays, the port of Gushan is noisy, dirty and extremely crowded. However, this does not mean that accommodation is necessarily cheap. While conducting my fieldwork near the dockside, it cost me $NT7000 ($AU350) per month to rent just a single room.

Photographed by Chen, Ta-Yuan
The Culture and Daily Life of the Kaohsiung Fishing Communities

Picture 8.07: Gushan Fishing Port in the twenty-first century (02). As a fishing port, the importance of Gushan has declined dramatically in recent years. Hence, these days, the Kaohsiung City Government has made great efforts to promote tourism at both Gushan and Cijin. Wealthy people now moor their recreational fishing vessels in the harbours, which has greatly changed the appearance and future outlook of Gushan.

Photographed by Chen, Ta-Ching

Picture 8.08: Ferries regularly carry passengers to and fro between Gushan and Cijin. Passengers are waiting for their ferry at an outdoor coffee shop in Gushan.

Photographed by Chen, Ta-Ching

The Cianjhen fishing port was completed in 1967, which encouraged numerous distant water fishing companies to shift their offices and fleets from Gushan to Cianjhen by the late 1960s. The Government’s key fisheries-related institutes and fishing ancillary industries such as ice-manufacturing plants, cold
storage plants and fish processing factories were now all clustered together near the port, and formed a self-contained environment for the future development of Taiwan’s distant water fishing industries. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to regard Cianjhen as a *bona fide* fishing community. First, fishers and their family members still resided in Gushan, Cijin, or other parts of Kaohsiung; they just rode their motorbikes to Cianjhen and then went aboard their vessels, they did not need to move to Cianjhen. Second, when fishers bought second properties, a large number of them still chose downtown districts in Kaohsiung, rather than Cianjhen. Their reason was often personal, and had little or nothing to do with the fisheries industry. Also their family members sometimes just got a job in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, they did not participate in fisheries-related activities or ancillary industries in Cianjhen, as they had done in Cijin or Gushan. In other words, large scale fishers migration did not actually occur at Cianjhen as it did at Gushan. 

Picture 8.09: Kaohsiung in the twenty-first century with the Cianjhen River [前鎮河] in the foreground

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78 It only takes about 30 minutes from Gushan to Cianjhen by car or motorbike. The Kaohsiung tunnel [高雄海底過港隧道] was completed in 1984. Now, from Cijin to Cianjhen it only takes 15 to 20 minutes.

79 Nearly half of my interviewees stayed in different downtown areas of Kaohsiung City. Most of them used to live in Cijin or Gushan. However, when they shifted or bought a second property, the children’s education, wives’ jobs, or prices of accommodation became their prime consideration.

80 The same thing happened in Scottish fishing communities as well. Fishers moved to modern houses. They ‘reached their ships by car’, and did not have to live in the port area. As a result, the fishing community was not as isolated as before. See Estellie Smith, *Those Who Live from the Sea*, 30.
The overall sense of a fishing community was also further weakened by the rapid growth of Taiwan’s economy. The renovation of ports and harbour facilities in Cijin district and the environmental pollution which was generated by Kaohsiung’s heavy industries, to a large extent, now prevented fishers’ family members from participating in traditional aquaculture activities and coastal fisheries. Besides, the introduction of nylon fishing gear liberated people in the fishing villages from the manufacture and maintenance of fishing nets and longlines. The surplus labour force in these fishing communities was soon absorbed by new employment in the industrial parks that were setup in nearby areas. Young men could now easily earn a decent wage onshore without enduring the risks and hardships of a life at sea. They preferred to become hair dressers, taxi drivers, construction workers, or government functionaries, rather than work at sea and sacrifice the quality of their family lives. The majority of fishers’ sons increasingly refused to follow in their father’s footsteps, especially after they moved to the downtown districts of Kaohsiung City. The traditional practices that existed in the fishing villages and the customary economic activities that people were engaged with previously gradually disappeared.81

Picture 8.10 Kaohsiung is the centre of Taiwan’s heavy industries. The sky is invariably overcast due to the amount of industrial emissions polluting the port’s atmosphere.

Photographed by Chen, Ta-Ching

81 Few of the sons of my interviewees now work as fishers.
The sense of a fishing community was also further severely weakened by the changing marriage-patterns among fishers’ children. In the old days, a fisher could easily marry a young woman from his fishing community. Through a pattern of intermarriage and kinship within a fishing village, the sense of a fishing community was maintained and further strengthened. The situation, however, gradually changed with the rapid development of Taiwan’s modern economy. More and more young women in fishing villages wanted to leave the community for the city and marry a man who worked onshore. For them, marrying a fisher was no longer considered a desirable choice.82 Hong Fucai stated:

In the past, if you wanted to get married, you had to go to sea, working as a fisher to prove you could support a family. However, nowadays no one would marry you, if you are a fisher.83

The continuity of the future well-being of the fishing communities required the participation of both sexes in marriage and the workplace. But no one in Kaohsiung, not even the fishers’ daughters, want to marry fishers nowadays. Young fishers have been forced to either give up their fishing career, or marry a woman from Southeast Asia or China. Their children are not likely to inherit their father’s fishing career. By the 1980s, the fishing communities in Kaohsiung were, to some degree, already dying out.

The lack of a viable local labour force in the fishing industry also reshaped the relationship between vessel owners and fishers. Due to numerous job opportunities provided by onshore industries, young men did not readily like to work at sea as much as in the past. In 1975 alone, 65 per cent of Taiwanese distant water fishers left their positions for onshore employment.84 The recruitment of new fishers became an onerous and difficult task for fishing masters who, increasingly, devolved the recruitment of fishers to their companies. The fishing companies and vessel

82 News. yam. com [蕃薯藤], online: http:yam.udn.com/yamnews/daily/2912495.shtml, accessed on 11/09/2005. I use Jiangjyun Primary School [望安將軍國小] as an example. This primary school was located in Wang’an, one of the main fishing villages of Penghu. Nearly half the school children were born to brides originally from Southeast Asia and China. This reinforces the fact that young women do not want to marry young men in the fishing villages, so half of the men are forced to ‘purchase’ a wife from a poor developing country. In fact, nowadays, a similar situation happens in nearly every fishing village in Taiwan.

83 Interview, Hong Fucai, Kaohsiung, 21/5/2002.

84 Wang Anyang & Liou Sijiang, The Problems of Taiwan’s Distant Water Fisheries and Research on Fisheries Policies [我國遠洋漁業問題與政策之探討], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1979, 32.
owners had no choice but to undertake this recruitment job themselves. To continue
to attract young people to work on the vessels, fishing companies or vessel owners
had to offer better wages and family allowances to fishers and their families.
Suddenly the situation became very attractive for ordinary fishers; the previous harsh
attitude of many vessel owners and fishing masters and the culture of bribery in the
fishing communities rapidly became history in the face of a booming Taiwanese
economy and a rapidly dwindling labour force.
Chapter 9

The 1970s Crisis in the Taiwanese Fishing Industry

The late 1970s was a crucial period for Taiwan’s distant water fishing industry. The traumatic effects of a variety of serious problems simultaneously manifested themselves at that time. Some of the problems were unpreventable. Some, however, were caused by the shortsightedness of the Taiwanese business culture at that time. The acute labour shortage in the distant water fishing industry in the 1970s, the Energy Crisis of 1973, and Taiwan’s diplomatic isolation which led to the continued failure of cooperation arrangements between nations and international fisheries were three key examples of the consequences of their shortsighted behaviour. The rapid depletion of regional marine resources, and the relatively small scale of the fishing companies and their fragile financial strength, however, were two important adverse consequences that the Taiwanese vessel owners brought upon themselves in the post-war era. These problems developed over different periods of time; however, they came to a head in the late 1970s when the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone was commonly claimed by coastal nations around the globe.

The major problems of the Taiwanese fishing industry in the 1970s

A. Labour shortage

In the 1940s and 50s young fishers were forced by economic circumstances to bear the ill-treatment, humiliation and loneliness on the sea, because for most of them working on a distant water vessel was the only way to make a living. In the 1970s, however, numerous job opportunities which were created by onshore economic activities in the metropolitan areas, particularly Taipei and Kaohsiung, encouraged young people to leave the fishing industry. In 1973, a novice fisher who worked on a distant water fishing vessel earned an average of $NT3,000 to $NT7,000 ($US79 to
The 1970s Crisis in the Taiwanese Fishing Industry

$US184) per month, which was not much better than the salary that a young man earned by working in an onshore factory. Hence, in the same year, 38 per cent of the distant water fishers quit their jobs; while in 1974, 52 per cent left the industry; in 1975, 65 per cent left their jobs at sea. The employment situation continuously deteriorated year by year.\(^1\)

Before the 1970s, getting a position on a vessel was very competitive. In addition to having a good relationship with the fishing master, fishers had to be industrious, skillful, and obedient. But, in the 1970s, this was no longer the case. Working at sea was not as attractive a vocation as before; getting a position on board a fishing vessel was no longer a competitive process. Those who had even a slight knowledge about fishing techniques and navigation could now work onboard in key staff positions. As for ordinary fishers, the fishing companies could no longer expect them to be knowledgeable about fishing techniques. Some fishers were ex-convicts; some were even wanted by the law. The lack of seafaring ability and navigation experience forced new fishers to rely heavily on modern technological devices. Furthermore, the decline in the overall calibre of the fishers indirectly increased the risk of marine accidents. The *Fisheries Tribune* lamented:

> We often see newspaper classified advertisements concerning the recruitment of fishers. Fishing companies provide good money, and no work experience is required. Lawbreakers are attracted and they also go to sea and work with real

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\(^1\) ‘Labour Shortage and the Problems of Running Costs in the Distant Water Fishing Industry [遠洋漁業船員缺乏和成本問題],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 103, 1973, 3.

\(^2\) Wang Anyang & Liou Sijiang, *The Problems of Taiwan’s Distant Water Fisheries and Research on Fisheries Policies* [我國遠洋漁業問題與政策之探討], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1979, 32.

\(^3\) Interview, Jhong Ciourong, Kaohsiung, 15/4/2002.

\(^4\) Huang Sianchih, ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries [經濟發展與台灣漁業生產結構之調適],’ Conference Paper, The Joint Annual Meeting of ROC Agricultural Groups [中華民國農學團體聯合年會中心議題主題報告], Taiwan, 1984, 8.

\(^5\) One of my best childhood friends, Chen J.M., committed the crime of theft in the late 1980s. To avoid being arrested he went to sea and worked as a distant water fisher. However, he was arrested by the police when the vessel returned to Kaohsiung. See also ‘A Symposium of Legislators, Ombudsmen and Fisheries Experts [立監委水產專家舉行漁業座談會],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no 92, 1971, 12-13.

\(^6\) Interview, Chen Youyi, Kaohsiung, 26/6/2002.

\(^7\) ‘Important Issues of the Fisheries Conference [漁業問題研討會重要問題],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no 97, 1971, 13.
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Fishers. Such men lack the necessary work experience, but commit bad acts all the time.  

Fishers with a criminal background were frequently inefficient and disobedient when they were working at sea. Sometimes they engaged in a gang fight or a drunken brawl while visiting foreign fishing ports, and they invariably damaged the reputation of Taiwan. Furthermore, the level of education of fishing masters in the 1970s and 1980s was not much better than that achieved in the 1940s or 50s. Most of the masters graduated only from primary school or junior high school. Hence, they often had no idea how to cope with an emergency situation in foreign waters or fishing ports. According to a 1971 report published in the *Fisheries Tribune*, 45 Taiwanese offshore and distant water fishing vessels had marine accidents, and 113 fishers were killed. Their lack of education paints a disturbing picture. Only three of the deceased had graduated from senior high school; another three graduated from junior high school, and the rest never went beyond primary school. Some were illiterate.

Those who graduated from fisheries vocational schools increasingly did not want to work at sea. They considered themselves members of the intelligentsia, and refused to mingle with ordinary fishers who were considered blue-collar workers and rough in appearance and manner. Some fisheries vocational schools asked their students to complete their apprenticeship at sea as one of their graduation requirements. In some extreme cases, students who did not want to fulfill this requirement begged vessel owners to provide a fake completion certificate for them.

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9 ‘The Kaohsiung Training Center Plans to Strengthen the Discipline of Distant Water Fishers [漁訓中心擬辦法整頓遠洋漁民],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 26/7/1976. Some fishers were dismissed and sent back to Taiwan due to their bad behaviour in other countries. However, they would often be hired by another fishing company soon afterwards because of the lack of labour.
11 Chen Zaifa, ‘Problems in the Development of Ocean Fisheries and their Solutions [海洋漁業發展所面臨的問題及探討],’ KFBCG’s internal document, 17.
12 ‘Important Issues of the Fisheries Conference [漁業問題研討會重要問題],’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no 97, 1971, 12.
instead.\textsuperscript{13} Also, the fishing companies were equally reluctant to give these young bookish college children the opportunity to fulfill their apprenticeship on their vessels,\textsuperscript{14} because such ‘scholars’ always questioned the orders of the fishing masters, and could barely endure the hardships of being at sea for any length of time.\textsuperscript{15}

The lack of a decent labour force created two additional problems for trawl fishing companies. Firstly, trawlers had to remain in port for longer periods of time. In the 1940s, 50s and early 60s, pair-trawlers harboured at Kaohsiung for only three to five days before returning to sea. They would start another fishing trip as soon as the vessels had sufficient supplies of fuel, food and other daily necessities. At that time, the supply of an adequate labour force was not a problem. In the 1970s, however, trawlers had to remain in harbour for longer periods of time to recruit fishers for the next trip. It was considered normal for a unit of pair-trawlers to wait at Kaohsiung port for a dozen or more days. Secondly, the fishers’ economic stature and bargaining position dramatically increased due to the shortage of people prepared to work in the fishing industry. As employees, they could now readily borrow money from the fishing companies, which created a real financial burden for some trawler owners.\textsuperscript{16}

Concerning the problems associated with the emerging labour shortage, the former head of the Fisheries Bureau of Taiwan, Huang Sianchih [黃獻池], made the following comment:

Working as a fisher is a difficult and dangerous job. Most people do not wish to work at sea. As the economy develops; the problem of a labour shortage will continue to get worse. Unless the wage that a fisher can earn is several times more than the salary that a young man can earn onshore… the problems of the labour shortage will not be solved.\textsuperscript{17}

However, it was almost impossible to solve the problem of the labour shortage by

\textsuperscript{13} Interview, Gu Tingfang, Kaohsiung, 1/7/2002.
\textsuperscript{14} ‘A Symposium of Legislators, Ombudsmen and Fisheries Experts, 20.
\textsuperscript{15} ‘Important Issues of the Fisheries Conference [漁業問題研討會重要問題],’ 12.
\textsuperscript{16} Kuang Fu, ‘Labour Shortage Sounds Alarm over the Trawl Fishing Industry’ [拖網漁業的緊急警報：船員荒], ‘Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 103, 1973, 4.
\textsuperscript{17} Huang Sianchih [黃獻池], ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries,’ 9-12.
simply increasing the fishers’ wages.\textsuperscript{18} In 1978, the average fish catch that a Taiwanese fisher harvested per annum was three tons. In 1984, their average catch remained at the same annual level. In other words, during these six years Taiwanese fishers were unable to make any improvement in their catch rate or productivity as fish stocks declined and new coastal fishing boundaries were imposed across the region and globe.\textsuperscript{19}

\section*{B. Fragile financial strength}

The financial strength of most Taiwanese vessel owners was weak; the only assets their companies held were either one or two fishing vessels. They depended heavily for financial assistance on loans from international fish dealers, banks and the Government. Hence, they paid shipbuilders on installment when their new fishing vessels were built.\textsuperscript{20} After the vessels were completed, they also borrowed money from fish dealers as operating funds.\textsuperscript{21} In order to economise on personnel expenditure, most fishing companies hired only a few essential office staff. The administrative scale of these fishing companies was small; therefore, most of them were not capable of negotiating with foreign courts or governments by themselves if a mishap, such as a detainment or confiscation, occurred. Also, their limited financial capabilities prevented them from establishing their own network of communication around the world.\textsuperscript{22}

The following two tables clearly demonstrate the actual size of the Taiwanese distant water fishing companies in the 1970s and 80s.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Vessel owners could not increase fishers’ wages, but they loaned more money to fishers.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Huang Sianchih, ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries,’ 9-12.
\item \textsuperscript{20} ‘Important Issues of the Fisheries Conference [漁業問題研討會重要問題],’ 12.
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{A Report on Taiwan’s Distant Water Longlining Fishing Industry [臺灣區遠洋鮪釣漁業調查報告]}, Taipei, Taipei City Bank Jhengsinshe, 1972, 73.
\item \textsuperscript{22} ‘Important Issues of the Fisheries Conference [漁業問題研討會重要問題],’ 9.
\end{itemize}
Table 9.01: The size of distant water longlining fishing companies in Taiwan in the early 1970s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The number of distant water longliner fishing companies</th>
<th>The number of distant water longliners</th>
<th>Average number of longliners per fishing company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 9.01 indicates that in the early 1970s most distant water longline fishing companies in Taiwan owned two longliners, and a small minority had one. This was also the case in Taiwan’s trawl fishing companies. The list of members of the Guild shows that most members in Kaohsiung owned only one or two units of pair-trawlers.

Table 9.02: The size of distant water fishing companies in Taiwan in 1980 (longliners and pair-trawlers included)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The total tons of a fishing company</th>
<th>The number of fishing companies</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 500 tons</td>
<td>1,227</td>
<td>89.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 - 1,000 tons</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 1,000 tons</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 9.02 shows that the total tonnage of most distant water fishing companies in Taiwan was less than 500 tons. In other words, as late as 1985, most companies only had one or two fishing vessels on their books. Significantly, the size of a distant water fishing company in the 1980s remained as small as those in the 1970s.

C. The depletion of marine resources

A large number of pair-trawlers in postwar Taiwan were engaged with demersal fisheries. They continuously harvested regional fishing grounds in Southeast Asia and beyond, until the marine resources were virtually depleted. Natural resource conservation and the rehabilitation of seabed ecosystems were not considered significant issues by either the Taiwanese Government or the vessel owners. The problems of over-fishing had emerged initially in the East China Sea and waters off Keelung in the early 1950s, and then in the South China Sea in the late 1960s. The trawl fishing companies had two damaging solutions to the offshore over-fishing
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problem. Firstly, they used small-mesh fishing nets so they could harvest undersized fish. Secondly, they built larger vessels to exploit more remote fishing grounds, such as the waters off Indonesia and northern Australia. The former approach was both shortsighted and reckless. To harvest younger fish would only further accelerate the rapid depletion of marine resources and indirectly result in a decline in the number of new adult fish. Also, reliance upon small-mesh fishing nets required stronger vessel engines and more fuel, which, as a consequence, created a growing financial burden for the fishing companies. Under the circumstances, the rehabilitation of marine ecosystems in Asian waters had become nearly impossible, because the ecological environment had been severely damaged in no small measure by Taiwan’s large-scale, industrialised trawl fishing fleets. In the 1970s, the Taiwanese fishing industry faced a grave crisis as fish catch began to plummet after 1972. Table 9.03 depicts the rapid decline in catches in the waters off East and Southeast Asia in the decade between the early 1970s and 1980s, which was caused by the declining abundance of fish populations.

Table 9.03: The rapid decline in catches in the waters of East and Southeast Asia from 1971 to 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>East China Sea &amp; South China Sea</th>
<th>Sunda Shelf Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unit: 1000 metric tons
Source: Author unknown, 'Annual report of catch statistics by area on Taiwan demersal fish fisheries' [台灣省底魚漁業漁場別漁獲統計年報], Taipei, Institute of Oceanography, National Taiwan University, 1971-1982.

23 ‘Distant Water Fishery and the Fish Processing Industry [遠洋漁業和漁產加工],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 21, 1963, 2.
24 Old Taiwanese trawlermen always joked that the trawl fishing grounds from the Taiwan Strait to the South China Sea were as flat as a freeway surface.
The rapid depletion of marine resources also had a significant impact on the productivity of Taiwan’s fishing industry. From 1953 to 1973, the average annual growth rate of the productivity of Taiwan’s fishing industry was 8 per cent. However, from 1973 to 1978 it rapidly dropped to only 3 per cent. While from 1979 to 1983 the annual growth rate was just 0.034 per cent. These figures dramatically demonstrate that from 1979 onwards, Taiwan’s fishing industry was scarcely making any progress in productivity terms.25

D. Energy Crisis of 1973

As an island nation which lacked its own oil resources, the fuel prices in Taiwan were comparatively high. The price of fishing vessel fuel increased frequently depending on global supply and demand. A 1962 table from Fisheries Forum shows that the price of diesel fuel increased from $US51.14 ($NT795.3) per kilolitre in 1955 to $US60 ($NT2403) by 1962—a rise of 17 per cent. The price of yakitama engine fuel increased five times from $US24.19 ($NT376.2) per kilolitre in 1955 to $US37 ($NT1480) in 1962—representing a price hike of 52 per cent.26

Fuel prices rose every year from 1955 to 1962; however, the price of fish products produced by the distant water fishing industry did not increase as fast as the fuel prices. In 1955 the average price of fish products in the distant water fishing industry was $NT4.84 per kilogram; however, by 1962, the price had only increased to $NT5.07 per kilogram. In other words, the average price of fish products supplied by distant water fishing vessels had increased by only 4.7 per cent during that period of time.27 These figures clearly demonstrate that the financial returns of the distant water fishing industry in the 1960s were not nearly as lucrative as had been the case in the 1940s and early 1950s.

25 Huang, ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries’, 9-12.

26 ‘The Price of Fishing Boat Fuel should be Lowered [漁船用油價格應合理降低],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 23, 1963, 2. The question about why the fuel prices in Taiwan frequently increased can be explained from the perspective of the fluctuating exchange rates between $NT and $US. See Paul C. H. Chiu, ‘Money and finance market: the domestic perspective’ in Taiwan: From Developing to Mature Economy, ed. Gustav Ranis, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992. In 1955 the exchange rate ($NT/$US) was 15.55: 1. However, by 1962, it had become 40.00:1.

The situation radically deteriorated in the 1970s. The Arab Oil Embargo caused by the outbreak of the October War of 1973 unexpectedly created a global energy crisis. The price of fuel for fishing vessels, which had been around US$40 per ton at overseas fishing ports, soared to new historic highs after the war broke out. By 1984, the fuel price had increased, in just over a decade, to $US350 per ton, which had a profound economic impact on the running of a distant water longlining company. Since 1973, fuel prices in Taiwan had also soared. Before the energy crisis diesel fuel was about $US57.8 ($NT2,211) per kilolitre; fuel for the yakitama engine was costing about $US35.6 ($NT1,362) per kilolitre. By 1984, the price of diesel fuel had increased nearly four-fold to $US223.37 ($NT8,850) and fuel for the yakitama engine had increased to $US156.48 ($NT6,200) per kilolitre. The jump in fuel prices created a major financial problem for offshore longliners and distant water pair-trawlers that used Kaohsiung as their home port.28

The Arab Oil Embargo not only triggered a rapid increase in fuel prices, it indirectly forced the price of fishing gear to increase as well. Indeed, the prices of fishing gear and tackle increased by an even larger margin than the vessel fuel (See Table 9.04).

28 Huang, ‘Economic Development and the Structural Adjustment of the Production of Taiwan’s Fisheries’, 9; and Gu Cicheng, ‘The Focal Point of Fisheries Development is Offshore and Coastal Fisheries rather than Distant Water Fishery [海洋漁業發展的重點在近海沿岸不在遠洋],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no 91, 1971, 4. In fact, the increase in fuel prices created a bigger impact on the running of offshore longliners and distant water trawlers, rather than distant water longliners, because distant water longliners could refuel at foreign fishing ports, and fuel prices in some foreign ports were much cheaper compared with Kaohsiung.
Table 9.04: The increase in fuel and fishing gear prices after the outbreak of the October War of 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Price</th>
<th>New Price</th>
<th>Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NTS</td>
<td>US$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel for diesel engine</td>
<td>2,211.75</td>
<td>58.18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
<td>92.10</td>
<td>KL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel for yakitama engine</td>
<td>1,362.10</td>
<td>35.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,350.00</td>
<td>61.84</td>
<td>KL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lube oil for diesel engine</td>
<td>1,850.00</td>
<td>48.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,650.00</td>
<td>148.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>305%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lube oil for yakitama engine</td>
<td>680.00</td>
<td>17.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,820.00</td>
<td>74.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>414%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lube oil for refrigerator</td>
<td>2,250.00</td>
<td>59.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,750.00</td>
<td>256.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>433%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel cable (18m, 19m)</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>244%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel cable (14m, 16m)</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48.00</td>
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<td>Fish box (wood)</td>
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Source: KFBCG, ‘Current difficulties and crisis of the fishing industry’ [當前漁業面臨困境與危機],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 107, 1974, 7.
KL stands for kilolitre. 1kilolitre [公秉] is the equivalent of 0.8552 metric ton [公噸].

The chronic failure of international fisheries cooperation arrangements

The establishment of cooperation arrangements with respect to international fisheries had a variety of advantages for Taiwanese fishing companies that enabled them to effectively exploit marine resources in foreign fishing grounds; namely, increase opportunities for domestic employment; to increase national wealth and foreign exchange; and to encourage the development of ancillary fishing industries. Hence, both Taiwanese civilian fishing companies and the fisheries authorities believed that the future development of Taiwan’s fishing industry would depend heavily on international fisheries cooperation. The authorities and companies tried very hard to initiate international fisheries cooperation arrangements with foreign countries. The China Fishing Company, as early as 1955, was authorised by the Ministry of

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29 ‘Again, Fuel Prices for Fishing Boats should be Lowered’ [三論漁船用油價格應合理降低],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 25, 1963, 2; and interview, Huang Yanshan, Kaohsiung, 12/5/2002. I asked Huang, a vessel owner in Kaohsiung, how he coped with the rapid increase in fuel prices. He said the soaring cost of fuel had had a major impact on the Kaohsiung fishing industry. They could survive, but could not make nearly as much money as before.

30 ‘Control Yuan, Please Investigate the Mismanagement of Fisheries Cooperation between China and Thailand’ [籲請監察院徹查：中泰漁業合作案的違法失職],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 10, 1962, 3.
Chen, Ta-Yuan

Economic Affairs to carry out this task on behalf of the Government.31

In the 1950s, the Philippines and Vietnam were the major regional countries with which Taiwanese vessel owners intended to cooperate. The waters surrounding the Philippines and off the coast of Vietnam were considered the most important distant water fishing grounds for Kaohsiung’s vessel owners because most of their boats could freely operate there at that time. The earliest attempt to negotiate an international cooperation arrangement dates back to the year 1956 when a Taiwanese fishing company, Jhongfei Fishing Company [中菲漁業公司], tried to cooperate with a Filipino fishing company. According to the proposal, Jhongfei was to provide the fishers and fishing vessels; the Filipinos were to provide the operating funds. The principal motivation behind this proposed cooperation arrangement was to avoid the risk of ship detainment.32 This cooperation plan was, however, never put into practice. At about the same time, the Provincial Government of the Batanes in the northern Philippines also planned to invite Taiwanese vessels and fisheries technicians to explore the fishing grounds and marine resources off the Batanes islands. The name of this proposed fishing company was the Batanes Fishing Joint Enterprise [巴丹漁業聯合公司]. However, this plan was also not carried out for several reasons. Firstly, the Batanes Islands were located at the extreme northern end of Luzon, just 140 miles from Taiwan. Secondly, the port facilities in the Batanes Islands were not adequate to support a modern fleet of Taiwanese fishing vessels.33 Thirdly, the Filipinos always asked for large financial returns, which were not acceptable to Taiwanese fishing companies.34

31 ‘Reform of Taiwan’s Fishing Industry [漁業的革新],' *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 18, 1962, 2.

32 ‘Two Companies will Sign Contract to Carry out Fisheries Cooperation with the Philippines [從事中菲漁業合作 兩家公司簽訂合約],' *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 29/10/1956.

33 ‘Kaohsiung Fishing Vessel Owners Discuss Fisheries Cooperation between Taiwan and the Philippines’ [高雄漁船業者集會 討論中菲漁業合作],' *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 19/11/1956.

34 ‘We are Going to Set up a Fishing Company with Filipino Chinese [我將與旅菲華僑合組漁業公司],' *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 28/10/1957; and ‘Decision Time for Fisheries Cooperation between China and the Philippines [中菲漁業合作問題 已經面臨決定階段],' *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 11/11/1957. Here is another case. In 1957, the Philippines Fisheries Ltd. Co. [菲律賓水產股份有限公司] also expressed its willingness to cooperate with the fishing industry of Kaohsiung. The owner of this company was an ethnic Chinese. He planned to invite Taiwanese offshore longliners to fish in Filipino waters. The trial period was proposed to be six months. Again, nothing came of it in the end. See ‘Fisheries Cooperation between China and the Philippines in Process [中菲漁業合作正在促進中],' *China Fisheries News* [中國漁業新聞], 26/11/1956. Taiwanese vessel owners complained that the Filipinos always mistakenly believed that the profits generated from the fish catch were large. Hence,
In the same year, 1956, some Sino-Vietnamese business entrepreneurs also expressed their willingness to cooperate with Taiwan’s fishing companies. Taiwan’s fisheries authorities, however, had reservations. They doubted if the fishing ancillary industries and port facilities in Vietnam were good enough to service Taiwanese fishing vessels. Jheng Daoru [鄭道儒], Chief of the ‘Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee’ (TFPC [臺灣漁業增產委員會]), clearly stated that fisheries cooperation arrangements between Taiwan and Vietnam still had many obstacles to overcome, including the location of possible fishing grounds, questions regarding the registered nationality of the fishing vessels, the location of the markets for fish products, and, the most important question, the contribution that the Vietnamese would make.

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towards such proposed cooperation.\textsuperscript{36} This cooperation plan was finally aborted in August of 1957 because neither party could reach an agreement concerning its implementation.\textsuperscript{37}

A news report published by the \textit{China Fisheries News} in 1959 emphatically stated that: ‘International fisheries cooperation projects with Southeast Asian nations have achieved nothing so far.’\textsuperscript{38} Why were Taiwanese fishing companies not able to successfully carry out international fisheries cooperation arrangements in the 1950s? The main reason was that the Government did not actively support civilian fisheries overseas cooperation initiatives. According to the fisheries policy of Taiwan at that time, international fisheries cooperation arrangements had to be entrusted to the China Fishing Company. Although the Government did not take any explicit action to prohibit civilian fishing companies from cooperating with foreign governments or companies, it never encouraged vessel owners to carry out cooperation projects on their own behalf. For example, when civilian fishing companies were negotiating with the Filipinos in 1956, the Government did not offer any help. Instead, it raised two major concerns with the vessel owners. Firstly, Taiwan still had a serious dispute with the Philippines concerning the territorial boundary of the waters in the Bashi Strait. How could they possibly disregard this serious issue and carry out a fisheries cooperation arrangement with the Filipinos? Secondly, at that time, the Philippines did not have a proper set of laws or regulations for fisheries cooperation in place. Hence, how could vessel owners possibly reach an agreement with the Filipinos in such a short space of time?\textsuperscript{39} It was obvious that the Government was trying to

\textsuperscript{36} ‘Fisheries Cooperation between China and Vietnam Currently is at Discussion Stage [中越漁業合作問題 目下尚在研究階段],’ \textit{China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞]}, 18/3/1957.

\textsuperscript{37} ‘Vietnam’s Harsh Requirements are Obstacles to Fisheries Cooperation between the Two Countries [越方所提條件苛刻 中越漁業合作困難],’ \textit{China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞]}, 26/8/1957. The cooperation requirements that the Vietnamese put forward included: 1. Vietnamese capital had to account for at least 51 per cent and the boss had to be Vietnamese. 2. All the fishing vessels that participated should be purchased and owned by the Vietnamese, rather than rented from Taiwan. 3. The Taiwanese participants were not allowed to remit financial profits generated from the cooperation plan to Taiwan in the first five years. The amount of remittance required the approval of the Vietnamese Government.

\textsuperscript{38} ‘Attempts to Carry out Fisheries Cooperation with Southeast Asia have Achieved Nothing [與東南亞漁業合作計畫進行一無所成],’ \textit{China Fisheries News [中國漁業新聞]}, 28/12/1959.

discourage the vessel owners from undertaking any cooperation plan on a unilateral basis.

Furthermore, the fisheries authorities of Taiwan never stipulated the relevant laws and regulations to which fishing companies were required to adhere under such circumstances. Vessel owners who intended to cooperate with foreign companies had no idea what legal procedures they should normally observe from an international legal standpoint and with whom they should negotiate under such circumstances. These two reasons can help explain why all civilian fisheries cooperation plans in the 1950s were repeatedly aborted.

On several occasions, the China Fishing Company (CFC) also attempted to undertake a series of cooperation projects with other countries. None of them, however, were successful. In 1961, the China Fishing Company and the government of South Vietnam planned to set up a Sino-Vietnamese Fishing Company. The CFC would have to provide fishing technicians, two fishing vessels and employment opportunities, and the Vietnamese had to open their fishing grounds and markets for the fish products. This plan failed too. Prior publicity for the proposed project, and the apparent richness of marine resources in the waters off Vietnam, raised Vietnamese concerns over the potential problems that could be created by possible Taiwanese illegal entry and fishing in their coastal waters. The Vietnamese Navy, as a consequence, began to detain Taiwanese fishing vessels more often than before. The relations between the two parties were soon strained. In the same year, Taiwanese longliner fishers and fishing technicians were also invited to help the French develop a longline fishing industry. During the first six months the French spent nearly $US200,000 on the wages of the Taiwanese staff. However, the catch

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41 ‘International Fisheries Cooperation,’ *Fisheries Tribune* [漁業論壇], no. 8, 1962, p. 8. A number of countries, such as Japan, Italy, France, Thailand, Vietnam, the Federation of Malaya and the Philippines, expressed their willingness to carry out fisheries cooperation agreements with the China Fishing Company. However, not all of them really took any action.


they harvested was only worth $US50,000. The cooperation, as a result, immediately ceased, and Taiwanese advisors were forced to leave France.44

In the second half of 1961, the CFC carried out another fisheries cooperation project with a Thai fishing company. This cooperation project, however, turned out to be a huge failure. According to the agreement, the CFC would have to provide two single-trawlers and employment opportunities, while the Thais would have to open their fishing grounds and pay for the running costs of the vessels. They were also required to use Thailand as the supply base and to sell any catch in the Thai market. The profits would be shared equally by both parties.45 Unfortunately, the cooperation arrangement did not work nearly as well as expected. Firstly, the Taiwanese trawlers harvested about 30,000 kilos of fish on their first trip, which could easily have been sold in Taiwan’s domestic markets in less than one day. In Thailand, however, there was little demand for the fish products. Taiwanese fishers were reluctantly forced to discard some of their catch. Secondly, the fish products conveyed from the Taiwanese trawlers could only be sold in Bangkok due to a rather inefficient transportation system in Thailand. Furthermore, ice supply in Thailand was also not adequate to service the trawlers. Thirdly, in Taiwan, trawl fishing companies could earn between $NT150,000 to $NT200,000 from a 30,000 kilogram catch. However, in Thailand, Taiwanese fishers only received ฿12,000 for the catch, which was about $NT24,000. According to the contract, the trial period of this cooperation arrangement was meant to be six months, but the CFC wanted to terminate it after the first month. This move not to honour the agreement provoked the Thais’ anger. Two trawlers were quickly detained by the Thai Government, and all the Taiwanese crew, including a manager from the CFC, were held in custody.46 With the help of the Taiwanese embassy, the fishers and staff were eventually released, but the two single-trawlers had to be sold to local Chinese at cut rate prices.47

44 ‘Our Expectation of the MOEA [我們對經濟部的期望],’ *Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]*, no. 6, 1961, 2.
45 ‘International Fisheries Cooperation [對外漁業合作],’ *Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]*, no. 8, 1962, 8. Each of the trawlers was more than twenty years old, the vessel engines were not powerful and the trawlers would soon be scrapped.
46 ‘Absurd Fisheries Cooperation between Taiwan and Thailand [荒謬絕倫的中泰漁業合作],’ *Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]*, no. 9, 1962, 3. Each of them cost at least $NT3 million; however, they were sold for $NT1.2 million.
47 ‘Reports from Other Newspapers regarding Fisheries Cooperation between Taiwan and Thailand [中泰漁業合作漁業合作的各報輿論],’ *Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇]*, no. 11, 1962, 10-11.
In fact, the Thai Government had every reason to detain these two Taiwanese vessels. The cooperation arrangement between the two parties had required the prior approval of the Thai Government, but the Thai fishing company that cooperated with the CFC was a private company which did not cooperate with the Thai Government. In this regard, the Taiwanese embassy in Bangkok had already warned the CFC about the possible danger of entering into such an arrangement. Unfortunately, the CFC ignored the warning and insisted upon taking the risk.48

The international fisheries cooperation projects that were carried out by the CFC repeatedly failed, which further provoked resentment against it among key figures in Taiwan’s fishing industry. The public expected that the personnel of the CFC would be reorganised and Chen Liang (陳良), the head of the CFC, would be dismissed. His position, however, was never threatened by public criticism.49 There was one very plausible argument made by the Fisheries Tribune in 1962. To cover up the internal mismanagement of the company, the CFC continuously sought opportunities to cooperate with foreign fishing companies, although the cooperation projects were not feasible.50

In 1965 the CFC was finally dismantled and in 1969, the Kaohsiung fishing industry, with the help of the Fisheries Bureau, began negotiations with the Indonesian Government. Taiwanese representatives put forward two requirements. Firstly, the Indonesian Government had to furnish supplies and medical care to Taiwanese fishers and vessels, and to guarantee their safety in Indonesia, including fishing ports and territorial waters. Secondly, as a form of remuneration, the Indonesian Government would receive 10 per cent of the profits generated from the marketing of the fish products. The former requirement was accepted by the Indonesians without reservation. Concerning the latter, the Indonesians wanted 30 per cent of the profits, rather than 10 per cent. Alternatively, the ownership of the Taiwanese vessels that participated in the arrangement would have to be transferred to Indonesian partners after a stipulated period of time. This demand was considered

48 ‘Reports from Other Newspapers regarding Fisheries Cooperation between Taiwan and Thailand [中泰漁業合作漁業合作的各報輿論],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 11, 1962, 10-11.

49 ‘Mismanagement of Fisheries Cooperation between China and Thailand [籲請監察院徹查:中泰漁業合作案的違法失職],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 10, 1962, 3.

50 ‘International Fisheries Cooperation [對外漁業合作],’ Fisheries Tribune [漁業論壇], no. 8, 1962, 8.
unreasonable by the Taiwanese vessel owners. In addition, different military commands in Indonesia had different points of view concerning this proposed fisheries cooperation project. Some military commanders approved; some did not. The situation soon became so complicated that the vessel owners were forced to give up.\(^51\)

In mid-1974, the Kaohsiung Guild once again tried to initiate a fisheries trial cooperation agreement with Indonesia. They now planned to form a partnership with two Indonesian companies. One was the Jhongshih Company \([中時公司]\), and the other was the Koda Jaya Company.\(^52\) According to the draft proposal, Taiwanese vessel owners would have to offer job opportunities to Indonesian fishers. Further, each trawler would have to pay a US$ 5,000 annual fee to the Indonesian Government through Jhongshi. Jhongshi would then apply for a fishing licence, travel permit and an official approval from the Indonesian fisheries authorities and military who were required to guarantee the safety of the Taiwanese vessels. Also, Jhongshi would have to negotiate with the Indonesian Government on behalf of its Taiwanese partners if a detainment occurred. Koda Jaya would have to make available its telecommunication system to the Taiwanese trawlers that participated in this cooperation arrangement.\(^53\)

But this proposed cooperation plan also miscarried, owing to a serious argument that arose between the Kaohsiung fishing companies and the Indonesian Government. In the 1970s, in order to readily exploit particular fishing grounds off Australia, a growing number of Taiwanese fishing vessels were passing through Indonesian waters. By mid-1974, in order to prevent their vessels from being detained, Taiwanese vessel owners started to purchase special travel permits for right of passage from the Indonesian Government through the Indonesian Visa Office in Taipei \([印尼駐台北商會]\).\(^54\) Unfortunately, vessels were detained as often as before.

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\(^{51}\) ‘Taiwan and Indonesia can Hardly Arrive at a Common View regarding the Proposed Fisheries Cooperation \([中尼漁業合作條件距離甚遠]\),’ *Fisheries Tribune* \([漁業論壇]\), no. 79, 1969, 9.

\(^{52}\) KFBCG, ‘10th Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors \([高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第十次理事會記錄]\),’ 6/7/1974.

\(^{53}\) ‘The Memorandum of Fisheries Cooperation \([漁業合作試捕備忘錄]\)’ from ‘1st Temporary Conference Records (Agenda) of the 5th Cohort Member Representatives \([高雄市漁輪商業同業公會第五屆第一次臨時會員代表大会議程]\),’ 20/8/1974.

\(^{54}\) KFBCG, ‘10th Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors \([高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第十次理事會記錄]\),’ 6/7/1974.
The 1970s Crisis in the Taiwanese Fishing Industry

Kaohsiung vessel owners felt that they were being deceived by the Indonesians, and asked the Taiwanese Government to intervene in the dispute on their behalf. They also wanted to sue the Indonesian Government, but this move was blocked by the Taiwanese Government—as recorded in KFBCG minutes:

In order to maintain harmonious relations between Taiwan and Indonesia, it is inappropriate (for the Guild) to take legal action against the Indonesia Government.56

It was estimated that 83 units of pair-trawlers in Kaohsiung had purchased travel permits from the Indonesian Government, and the sum of money they paid was equivalent to $NT14,324,990 ($US376,973.4), which was considered a large sum of money in the mid-1970s.57 Without the Government’s full support, the Kaohsiung fishing companies were forced to tolerate the fraud and deception of the Indonesian authorities.58 The detainment incidents forced guild members to reject any idea of cooperating with Jhongshi and Koda Java.

Throughout 1973 and 1974, the Kaohsiung Guild was also contemplating carrying out fisheries cooperation arrangements with South Vietnam. By the early 1970s, Taiwanese fishing vessels had been fishing in the distant waters off Indonesia and Australia. By then, the fishing grounds off South Vietnam were considered too old and unproductive for Kaohsiung’s trawler owners. The main reason that the Guild wanted to work with the Vietnamese was to search for a new fishing territory for its old pair-trawler fleets. Some old pair-trawlers, mainly those between 120 to 150 tons, were still in active service in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.59 They were too small to fish in the waters off northern Australia, but too large to work in the Taiwan Strait. Hence, in 1974 the Guild sent a delegation to do on-the-spot investigations in


57 Ibid.

58 KFBCG, ‘14th Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors [高雄市漁輪公會第五屆第十四次理事會記錄],’ 7/4/1975. They followed the Government’s instruction not to take legal action against the Indonesia Government.

war-torn Vietnam.\textsuperscript{60} However, once again poor port facilities and marketing systems in South Vietnam compelled them to drop the idea.\textsuperscript{61}

In 1975, as has been noted in Chapter Seven, another fleet of Taiwanese fishing vessels from Kaohsiung tried to establish a cooperative agreement with Indonesia. Their effort turned out to be the largest setback in the history of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, as the vessel owners had no idea what legal steps they should take in case of a mishap and how to deal effectively with the Indonesian Government.

Before they left the port of Kaohsiung for the eastern Indonesian fishing grounds, they had not informed the Indonesian Visa Office in Taipei that they were coming. Also, they were not aware that they also had to apply for a ‘travel permit’ and official approval from both the Indonesian military (Departemen Pertahanan Keamanan Department of Defense and Security), as well as the Department of Agriculture (Departemen Pertanian). When asked to provide the certificates of registration of the vessels’ nationality, the Taiwanese fishers were unable to provide the master copies to the authorities. As a result, the Indonesian officials accused them of illegally entering Indonesian territorial waters. But the Indonesians did not want to bring this case to court and asked the fishing masters, behind the scenes, to adopt a more conciliatory stance on the matter. This meant that Taiwanese fishers would have to pay the penalty of concession fees in order for the Indonesian Government to drop the matter.\textsuperscript{62}

The vessel owners, however, rejected this suggestion. To help save the precarious situation, they hoped to cooperate with another Indonesian fishing enterprise, and reapplied for permission from the relevant Indonesian authorities. To

\textsuperscript{60} KFBCG, ‘7th Temporary Meeting Records of the 5th Cohort Directors,’ 1/8/1974.

\textsuperscript{61} Taiwan had formal diplomatic relations with South Vietnam. The Taiwanese Government, however, did not offer any help when the Guild tried to carry out fisheries cooperation with South Vietnam. The most obvious explanation was that the Taiwan Government was very pessimistic about the current war situation in Vietnam. Also Interview, Li Jijhao, Taipei, 22/3/2002. Li Jizhao was one of delegates. He said that the port facilities were disappointing. The fish products could only be sold in the port areas, because road construction was far from satisfactory given the state of war in the country and a national fish market network had not been established in South Vietnam.

\textsuperscript{62} Fu Kuncheng, A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels, vol. I, Executive Yuan, 510.
further increase their chance of success, the proportion of capital invested between the Taiwanese and Indonesians was now significantly readjusted; Taiwanese funds accounted for 49 per cent and the Indonesians were given a commanding 51 per cent. They obtained through this strategy the necessary permission from the Investment Coordination Board (印尼外來投資委員會 Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal) and the Department of Agriculture. However, the Indonesian military refused to ratify the business licence for this proposed cooperation project.63

Instead, for reasons still not clear, the Indonesian lawyers reversed their position on an out of court settlement, and decided to resubmit the case to the court. The representatives of the Indonesian navy and the head of the Samarinda Port Authorities, East Kalimantan, became star witnesses for the prosecution. The court ruled that the Taiwanese fishers had illegally violated Indonesia’s sovereign space and they had to pay $NT4 million ($US105,263) as a penalty for their act of transgression. Four million NT dollars was a huge sum of money in 1975. However, the rapacious local Indonesian military officials were still not satisfied. They asked the prosecutors to take further legal action, accusing the Taiwanese fishers of smuggling. Thus, the Indonesian officials would have a legitimate reason to confiscate the nine well-equipped Taiwanese fishing vessels.64 When this act of confiscation occurred the Taiwan Government, as usual, remained silent and did not offer any help whatsoever to the owners. It simply reiterated its official position—namely that before carrying out any fisheries cooperation arrangements with foreign nations, vessel owners should first consult the Government.65

The following year, in February 1976, two Taiwanese fishing companies, Rihsheng and Rihlong Fishing Company [日昇 & 日隆漁業公司] tried to enter into a cooperative agreement with a Malaysian company, Dayalian Chanye Company [大亞聯產業公司]. Dayalian would apply for entry and fishing permits for both Taiwanese companies in exchange for 18 per cent of the profit derived from the fish catch of

63 Fu, A Study of the Foreign Courts’ Decisions regarding the Illegal Entry of Taiwan’s Fishing Vessels, vol. 1, 510-518.
64 Ibid., 510.
each fishing voyage. In May of the same year, Taipei Fangjheng Trade Company also tried to set up a fishing company in Jakarta. According to the proposed contract, the Indonesians would receive 5 per cent of the profit from each fishing trip. However, ownership of the fishing vessels would revert to the Indonesians after 15 years. Both of these plans also miscarried.

Why did the international fisheries cooperation projects that the Taiwanese fishing industry attempted to carry out always fail? Obviously, vessel owners did not have sufficient understanding of global and local trends and practices of the long distance fishing industry. As a result, fraud and detainment frequently happened when Taiwanese fishing vessels operated in the waters of other nearby coastal nations. To solve this problem, in 1976, the Fisheries Bureau of Taiwan planned to set up a civilian organisation to collect overseas fisheries information and to intercede to help vessel owners negotiate with the authorities of other nations to establish fisheries cooperation projects. This proposed organisation would be a corporate body. The organisation planned to raise the necessary funds from civilian distant water fishing companies, while any anticipated shortage would be covered by Government subsidies.

Facilitating a pattern of fisheries cooperation agreements was one of the most important strategies that the fishing industry of Taiwan adopted to cope with the serious challenges presented by the impact of the implementation of the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ). However, they were never really successful, no matter how hard they tried. Compared to other fishing powers, Taiwan had far more

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66 ‘Taiwan’s Fishing Industry might Cooperate with Malaysia [傳我民間漁業界與馬來西亞合作],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 16/2/1976.


68 ‘Taiwan should Have an Organisation to Deal with International Fisheries Cooperation [我國應有對外漁業交涉機構],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 18/7/1977.

69 ‘The Government will Help the Civilians Setup an Organisation [政府將輔導民間成立統一機構],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 13/12/1976, and ‘Fishing Industry will Set up An Organisation to Carry out International Cooperation [漁業界將籌設機構推動對外合作],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 8/8/1977. Taiwan was truly isolated after being expelled from the United Nations in 1971. A large number of nations avoided official contact with the Taiwanese Government due to the political pressure coming from China. The diplomatic difficulties help explain why international fisheries cooperation needed to be carried out by a civilian organisation, rather than the fisheries authorities of Taiwan.
difficulty in carrying out such fisheries cooperation arrangements with other nations for several reasons. Firstly, Taiwan was (and still is) badly isolated in the international political-economic arena due to China’s international political influence and pressure. The Government could never really fully support the implementation of a fisheries cooperation programme and properly protect the offshore business interests of Taiwanese fishing companies.\textsuperscript{70} Without adequate support from the Government, Taiwanese fishing fleets were always susceptible to threat and intimidation by other nations.

Secondly, the fisheries cooperation-related laws were not favourable towards Taiwanese fishing vessels undertaking international fisheries cooperation agreements with foreign countries. In an early period, the Government of Taiwan had encouraged western nations and Japan to invest their financial capital in Taiwan. However, it never encouraged Taiwanese fishing enterprises to invest their money in Southeast Asian nations because of the financial risks involved. Some of the significant issues included whether the Taiwanese vessel owners could run a fishing company profitably with foreign enterprises and whether the fish products from such jointly-owned fishing companies could actually be sold in Taiwan. But the Government, over more than a decade, never really bothered to clarify its position on these issues, much to the chagrin of the vessel owners. This ambiguous attitude and stance really discouraged those in the fishing industry who were interested in establishing international fisheries cooperation agreements in Southeast Asia during the 1960s and 70s.\textsuperscript{71}

**The impact of the implementation of 200-mile exclusive economic zone**

It was recognised by the late 1970s that if a 200-mile EEZ was commonly claimed, the fishing grounds that distant water fishers could freely harvest would suddenly and dramatically be reduced to one third of their original size.\textsuperscript{72} Also, 80 percent of the world’s fish resources would be ‘fenced up’ and solely monopolised by coastal

\textsuperscript{70} ‘The Issues of International Fisheries Cooperation [對外漁業合作問題的探討],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 19/9/1977.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{72} ‘Two Suggestions for the Development of Distant Water Fishery [對遠洋漁業提出兩條發展途徑],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 22/12/1975.
Before the United States announced its 200-mile EEZ, people in Taiwan had already begun to predict the possible impact such a move would have on the distant water fishing industry. Firstly, the United States would no longer share its marine living resources with foreign fishing fleets as had been case before. Secondly, other island or coastal nations would most likely follow in the footsteps of the United States of America and also claim a 200-mile EEZ. Hence, the marine resources of the globe would eventually be divided up among coastal nations according to the limits of their maritime territorial boundaries.

In the 1970s, not many Taiwanese fleets harvested fish in waters off the coasts of the United States, so Taiwan’s fishing industry still felt it could survive even when the United States actually established its EEZ. What created panic in Taiwan’s fishing industry was the feeling that other nations would soon follow the American example and also announce their own 200-mile EEZ. The fears and concerns of the Taiwanese vessel owners proved to be correct. When the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ was still in the planning phase, the Soviet Union did not support it, but then made a volte-face and also claimed a 200-mile EEZ on March 1, 1977, the very same day that the United States claimed its own 200 mile EEZ.

Taiwan was not the only distant water fishing nation that suffered from the rapid implementation of the 200-mile EEZ that countries around the world were now instigating. Its neighbour, Japan, was also badly hurt by the implementation of the boundary measures. The northern waters of the Russian Far East were the traditional fishing grounds of Japanese fishers. In 1976, they harvested 1.1 million tons of fish in the Bering Sea alone, which accounted for one tenth of the total yield of the

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73 Wang Anyang & Liou Sijiang, The Problems of Taiwan’s Distant Water Fisheries and Research on Fisheries Policies [我國遠洋漁業問題與政策之探討], Taipei, Executive Yuan, 1979, 95.


75 The Real Reasons why the US Senate Supports a 200-Mile EEZ [美參院通過兩百里漁業權法案幕後],’ Chinese Fisheries Weekly [中華漁業週刊], 16/2/1976. As a matter of fact, there were already 14 nations that had claimed a 200-mile EEZ. None of them, however, was a superpower like the US. Hence, their unilateral actions did not really concern foreign fishers.

76 Wang & Liou, The Problems of Taiwan’s Distant Water Fisheries and Research on Fisheries Policies, 95.
Japanese fishing industry.\textsuperscript{77} To minimise the possible economic impact of the 200-mile EEZ, Japan planned to reduce the scale of its distant water fishing fleet by one third.\textsuperscript{78}

Taiwan’s economic situation and prospects were not significantly better than were Japan’s. The fishing industry of Taiwan was concerned to see how the southern hemisphere nations would respond to the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ. The waters off Indonesia and Australia were important fishing grounds for the Taiwanese pair-trawler fleets, and the waters off some island nations in the South Pacific Ocean were the traditional fishing territories of the Taiwanese distant water longliners. The implementation of the 200 mile EEZ cast a dark shadow over the future of the Taiwanese distant water fishing industry. The headline in a news report, ‘South Pacific Nations Will Simultaneously Claim the Implementation of 200-mile EEZ Which Will Have a Big Impact on Taiwan’s Distant Water Fisheries’, sent a chill down the spine of Taiwanese vessel owners, as their worst nightmare seemed to have come true.\textsuperscript{79}

The member states of the Pacific Island Countries and Territories (PICTs) which included French Polynesia, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and others were all planning to claim 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones. Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, the Fijian prime minister, stated publicly that the waters between the Fijian islands and the waters 200 nautical miles away from the shore of Fiji’s outer most islands would constitute Fiji’s exclusive economic zone. The parliament of the independent state of Western Samoa (Independent State of Samoa) had also decided to claim a 200-mile EEZ by August of 1977. After that date, any foreign fishing vessel that entered the Samoan EEZ without permission would be fined up to SUS100,000. Also, the fish catch and vessels would be confiscated. This unfolding news really frightened vessel owners in Kaohsiung, because the waters of these Pacific member states were absolutely crucial fishing territories for Kaohsiung’s longline fishing industry.\textsuperscript{80}


\textsuperscript{78} ‘Two Suggestions for the Development of Distant Water Fishery [對遠洋漁業提出兩條發展途徑],’ \textit{Chinese Fisheries Weekly} [中華漁業週刊], 22/12/1975.


\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
On May 12 1977, two years after the war against the United States ended, Vietnam also claimed a 200-mile EEZ,\textsuperscript{81} and immediately started to harass Taiwanese pair-trawlers in the South China Sea.\textsuperscript{82} The Philippines also announced a 200-mile EEZ on June 11 1978,\textsuperscript{83} unilaterally enclosing its fishing grounds, which now also gave Kaohsiung longline fishers another very difficult problem. Hence, the rapid implementation of a series of 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones in the late 1970s had a tremendous impact on the management of marine natural resources and the exploitation of distant water fisheries. The older traditionally accepted concept of a ‘commons’ or ‘freedom of the seas’ was now severely challenged. Vessel owners in Kaohsiung were facing a terrible ordeal at that moment with respect to the future of their industry and their way of life.\textsuperscript{84}

In order to overcome the traumatic impact of the introduction of the 200-mile EEZ, the fisheries authorities, marine scientists from academic circles, and key representatives of the fishing industry, convened a special conference to discuss possible solutions in Taipei in 1977. They reached several key conclusions at their conference. Firstly, the distant water trawl fishing industry of Taiwan would be the first to bear the full brunt of the 200-mile EEZ as it came into effect. Secondly, due to Taiwan’s continued diplomatic isolation, carrying out effective fisheries cooperation arrangements with other nations would prove to be a difficult task. Thirdly, the future of Taiwan’s distant water fishing industry lay in the development and pursuit of new fisheries and technologies, like purse seine and deep sea trawl fishing. Both of these methods could effectively operate on the high seas and consequently avoid the direct impact of the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ.\textsuperscript{85}


\textsuperscript{82} Wang & Liou, \textit{The Problems of Taiwan’s Distant Water Fisheries and Research on Fisheries Policies}, 111.

\textsuperscript{83} ‘Presidential Degree No.1599 of 11 June 1978 establishing an Exclusive Economic Zone and for other purposes,’ The Lawphil Project Arellano Law Foundation, online: http://www.lawphil.net/, accessed on 23/3/2006..

\textsuperscript{84} Yang Jicyuan, ‘Countermeasures against the 200-Mile EEZ [兩百海里時代我漁業應有的對策],’ \textit{Chinese Fisheries Weekly} [中華漁業週刊], 19/12/1977.

The implementation of the 200-mile EEZ created panic among the Taiwanese fishing companies who, at the beginning of the 1970s, had just built new trawler fleets to exploit the distant fishing grounds off northern Australia. Government officials and fisheries-related scholars tried to calm the vessel owners down. Yang Jicyuan, the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA), stated publicly that the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ did not spell the end of Taiwan’s distant water fisheries industry. Taiwanese fishing fleets still could operate in the exclusive economic zones of other nations through international fisheries cooperation arrangements, especially in the waters of affluent nations with abundant land resources like the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, because citizens in those countries did not necessarily need to make a living from the sea. Also, small Third World nations without adequate fishing technology and fleets to exploit their own rich marine resources might allow Taiwanese vessels to fish in their exclusive economic zones, because the access fees (the fishing license fees) that the fishing companies paid annually would be one of the main sources of financial revenue for those underdeveloped countries.

Yang also noted that there were many different high-value fish species still to be found in the open seas. He encouraged Taiwanese fishing companies to develop other fisheries, like purse seine fishing, rather than simply sticking to trawl and longline fishing. In addition, the fisheries authorities of Taiwan had been thinking about the potential of exploiting the rich shrimp resources in the waters off Antarctica. The Haigong Hao, the large Taiwanese fishing experimental vessel, that accommodated both marine scientists and fishers, undertook its pioneering voyage to Antarctica at the beginning of 1977. The result of the fishing experiments carried out there was very encouraging. The scientists on board the Haigong Hao

87 Yang Jicyuan, ‘Countermeasures against the 200-Mile EEZ [兩百海里時代我漁業應有的對策],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 19/12/1977.
89 ‘There is Still Room for further Development of Distant Water Fishery [遠洋漁業仍有發展餘地],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 19/12/1977.
90 ‘Haigong Hao has Arrived in Cape Town [海功號抵達開普敦],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 1977/1/3. Taiwan, as a result, became the fifth nation to exploit the marine resources of Antarctica—only after the Soviet Union, Japan, Germany and Chile.
described this fishing voyage as ‘a breakthrough in Taiwanese fishing history’, and they also optimistically stated that the shrimp resources found off Antarctica were rich and could be exploited on a commercial basis.91

However, there was a major obstacle to the development of these new southern fisheries: all of them required a huge financial investment. Due to the small size of most Taiwanese fishing companies, few could actually afford the expense of such a venture. The Government planned to encourage vessel owners to build ten units of large purse seiners and ten units of deep sea trawlers in the three years after 1977 by offering loans. However, a unit of large purse seiners cost approximately $NT70 million ($US1.84 million), and a deep sea trawler cost about $NT80 million ($US2.1 million). Such huge capital investments scared away most vessel owners even though the Government had promised loans.92

Why did it cost so much to run these new fisheries? When a deep sea trawler was operating, its net had to go down to at least a depth of 400 metres below sea level—which required a huge fishing vessel and a strong ship’s engine to run the operation.93 The organisation of purse seine fishing required an entire fishing fleet. Further, harvesting shrimp in the waters off Antarctica required vessels of at least 1,000 tons and accompanying factory ships. Hence, most Taiwanese fishing companies did not have either sufficient capital to build or run such a huge fishing enterprise.94 Moreover, most Taiwanese vessel owners knew next to nothing about the fishing techniques and fishing grounds of purse seine and deep sea trawl fishing,95 and the experience and quality of the Taiwanese fishers of the 1970s was not conducive to them rapidly learning these new fishery techniques. The mid-1970

93 ‘A New Way to Develop Distant Water Fishery is to Improve Fishers’ Quality [發展遠洋漁業的新途徑必須提高船員素質],’ Chinese Fisheries Weekly [中華漁業週刊], 30/5/1977.

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minutes of a meeting of the Kaohsiung Guild reported that, ‘So far, not many vessel owners are interested in the investment in this fishery.’

In fact, as early as 1975, Lee Teng-hui, the former President of Taiwan, had foreseen the potential threat posed by the 200-mile EEZ and critically pointed out the relationship between the small-scale size of most Taiwanese fishing companies and their possible inability to cope with the impact of such a turn of events. He noted at a maritime conference that the average size of the Taiwanese fishing companies was too small and their financial strength was limited. Hence, they would have extreme difficulty in coping with the forthcoming challenges presented by the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ.

In addition to investing adequate capital in new fisheries, another possible way to overcome the hurdle of the 200-mile EEZ was to carry out a series of international fisheries cooperation arrangements. Thus, if arrangements were successfully put in place, Taiwanese pair-trawler fleets and longliners could continue to fish in their current grounds. However, as we have seen, from the mid-1940s to the late-1970s, the Taiwanese Government and civilian fishing companies were never able to successfully implement fisheries cooperation projects with other nations. But Kaohsiung’s fishing vessel owners never gave up hope on this score. They still believed that carrying out fisheries cooperation arrangements was the right strategy to pursue. The Kaohsiung fishing companies were seriously thinking of raising campaign funds to negotiate and lobby foreign governments. At a meeting in January 1977, the Directors and Supervisors of the Guild noted:

Coastal nations have extended their exclusive economic zones 200 mile from shore, which has deeply affected the development of Taiwan’s fishing industry. The only

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96 ‘A New Way to Develop Distant Water Fishery is to Improve Fishers’ Quality [發展遠洋漁業的新途徑必須提高船員素質],’ Chinese Fisheries Weekly [中華漁業週刊], 30/5/1977.

97 ‘Two Suggestions for the Development of Distant Water Fishery [對遠洋漁業提出兩條發展途徑],’ Chinese Fisheries Weekly [中華漁業週刊], 22/12/1975. President Lee received his PhD in agricultural economics from Cornell University. He was heavily involved in agricultural affairs in his early political career. In 1975, he was working as a Minister without Portfolio [政務委員].

As late 1976 and 1977, the Guild was still trying to discuss possible arrangements with nations such as Indonesia, New Zealand and Australia. Dr. Li Canran, a marine scientist who had gone in search of new fishing grounds on board the *Haigong Hao*, addressed the Guild’s meeting on July 2, 1976, and tried to reassure concerned vessel owners over the implementation of the forthcoming 200-mile EEZ. He optimistically believed that the Taiwanese fishing industry would overcome the threat imposed by 200-mile EEZ through a series of international fisheries cooperation agreements.

However, the planning and outcome of a successful cooperation project invariably required a long process of negotiation. The slow response of the Kaohsiung vessel owners could not possibly save this critical situation. The fisheries authorities of Taiwan had also tried to help the vessel owners. However, Taiwan’s diplomatic isolation in the international community prevented its fisheries-related officials from effectively negotiating with foreign nations, as they could only speak about the matter with foreign officials privately due to the constant political pressure being exerted from China.

The exploitation of marine living resources has, to a certain extent, always been an extension of international politics. Fishing rights could readily be used as a bargaining counter in international political and economic deals and negotiations. The Soviet Union’s claim to a 200-mile EEZ in 1977, according to the opinion of the Taiwanese Government, was seen as a warning to Japan not to align herself too

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104 ‘Prohibited Fishing Zones are Extended by Coastal Nations: We are Adopting Countermeasures [各國相繼擴張限漁區域我正積極展開因應措施],’ Chinese Fisheries Weekly [中華漁業週刊], 25/10/1976.
The 1970s Crisis in the Taiwanese Fishing Industry

closely to China. Robert Muldoon, the then prime minister of New Zealand, stated that Japan would have to open its markets for New Zealand’s agricultural products if Japan wanted to exploit the marine resources inside New Zealand’s EEZ. Muldoon’s statement made Taiwan’s fishing industry ponder the fact that, as a politically isolated nation, what could the Taiwanese offer to other countries in exchange for negotiating a fisheries cooperation agreement?

Taiwanese vessel owners had tried to negotiate with foreign governments and fishing enterprises; however, what they had achieved after negotiation as private citizens could readily be changed or even reversed with impunity by foreign governments. On March 9, 1977, only eight days after the United States had claimed its 200-mile EEZ, the chairman of the 2nd conference of the 6th cohort of representatives of the Guild stated to all present:

Coastal nations have extended their territorial waters one by one; the detainment of fishing vessels happens all the time. This problem does not only affect our current development, but it also threatens the very existence of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Hence, the top priority of the Guild is to cope with the problems caused by the rapid reduction of fishing grounds… We currently are trying to negotiate with Australia, India and New Zealand. However, we haven’t achieved anything satisfactory to date.

A fisheries cooperation arrangement between Taiwan and Australia finally began in November of 1979. Some Taiwanese vessel owners also managed to cooperate with the Indonesians in the same year, but this cooperation was not formal, and was stopped by the Indonesian Government in 1982. The fisheries cooperation arrangements with India began in 1982; however, not many Taiwanese pair-trawlers liked working in the waters of that remote fishing ground.

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106 ‘Prohibited Fishing Zones are Extended by Coastal Nations: We are Adopting Countermeasures [各國相繼擴張限漁區域我正積極展開因應措施],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 25/10/1977.

107 Ibid.


109 ‘The Running of Trawl Fishing’ [拖網漁業經營實務], KFBCG’s internal document, 1. In 1985, the number of Taiwanese vessels that fished in the waters off India was 42, and then the number dropped to between 8 and 12. Apparently, the fishing grounds off India did not seem attractive to the Taiwanese. The cooperation with Indonesia was stopped in 1982, but was resumed in 1986.
It is not hard to imagine that from 1977, the year that the 200-mile EEZ was commonly claimed, to 1979, when Taiwan started to implement fisheries cooperation agreements with other countries, Taiwanese vessel owners were in an extremely anxious state. They still could not feel secure several years later, although they had successfully carried out some forms of cooperation with Australia and Indonesia, because in order to maintain such relations, the Taiwanese distant water fishing fleets now had to be closely supervised by other nations. Fishers had to provide honest reports to local fisheries-related officials regarding the fish species that they harvested, the amount of fish catch and how they harvested them. Hence, fishing companies had to fully understand the fisheries regulations of other nations and fishers even had to learn foreign languages in order to communicate effectively with the law enforcement officers of neighbouring coastal countries.\(^{110}\)

Several things can be concluded from what has been said above about the significance of the imposition of the EEZ. Firstly, the development of Taiwan’s distant water fishing industry was affected by several factors, including the shortage of labour in the 1970s, fragile financial foundations, depletion of regional marine living resources, and the continuous failure to establish international fisheries cooperation agreements. These factors appeared to be separate issues on the surface. In fact, they were all closely interlinked. First of all, running deep sea trawlers and purse seiners required high-quality crew. However, the recruitment of good fishers was almost impossible at a time when a labour shortage had become a major issue in Taiwan’s fishing industry in the 1970s. Secondly, building new boats and exploring ever more remote fishing grounds required a large amount of capital investment, but most Taiwanese companies lacked the necessary financial resources. The outbreak of the oil crisis of 1973 forced fuel prices to hit historic highs, which placed the Kaohsiung fishing industry in a tight economic corner.

The exploitation of more remote fishing grounds had always been used by Taiwanese vessel owners in the past as a major solution to the problem of marine resource depletion. Every year for decades a large number of Taiwanese pair-trawlers had harvested fish in the distant waters off other nations. The rehabilitation of seabed ecosystems and the conservation of marine living resources in their distant water

\(^{110}\) ‘How to Cope with the 200-Mile EEZ [如何適應兩百哩的時代],’ *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* [中華漁業週刊], 14/11/1977.
fisheries never really attracted the serious attention of either the Taiwanese fisheries authorities or the fishing companies in Taiwan. Their modern industrialised fleets had severely damaged and destroyed fishing grounds one by one, starting from the East China Sea, Taiwan Strait, and South China Sea, to the offshore waters of Vietnam, Indonesia and Australia. The Taiwanese pair-trawler fleets had scoured clean these distant fishing grounds like swarms of locusts repeatedly devastating crops in Africa. It is fair to say that the post-war development of the Taiwanese trawl fishing industry contained its own contradictory seeds of self-destruction. Pair-trawler owners became victims of their own ecologically rapacious deeds in the 1970 and 80s by turning certain distant water fisheries into ‘deserts’.

Like pair-trawlers, offshore longliners also needed to work in the distant waters of other regional countries. Every year numerous small, but well-equipped longliners from Kaohsiung or other ports in southern Taiwan fished in the waters off the Philippines. Fishing legally and safely in Philippine waters required successful fisheries cooperation agreements. However, before 1977, no cooperation projects proved successful. Even now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, fisheries conflicts between Taiwanese and Filipinos continue to occur.

The implementation of the 200-mile EEZ was a good thing from a regional conservation perspective, because it effectively prevented the Taiwanese trawlers from further exploiting the distant waters of other nations without their consent. From the standpoint of the Taiwanese fishing industry, however, the implementation of the 200-mile EEZ in 1977, sounded the death knell for Taiwan’s trawl fishing industry. The Kaohsiung trawl fishing industry survived through international fisheries cooperation arrangements with Australia, Indonesia and other nations for several more years. However, its demise occurred soon after the major cooperation projects ceased.
Conclusion

The historical development of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia during the twentieth century can be described and analysed at three different levels: at the state level, at the industry level, and at the level of the fishing communities. Viewed from the standpoint of state power, one can see that the government’s policy guidance and regulatory practices played a significant role in the birth and development of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia since the Japanese colonial period. In order to avoid the growing problems of overfishing in the East China Sea, the colonial authorities encouraged fishing fleets to expand fishing territories southward in the 1930s. At the same time, the Japanese military also encouraged the fishing fleets to explore the hitherto unknown fishing grounds in the Nanyo, expecting fishers to collect strategic and nautical information for the navy. Hence, these fleets worked as early pioneers for the southern expansion of the Japanese Empire.

Takao (Kaohsiung), as a key transportation hub between East Asia and Southeast Asia, was always regarded by the Japanese colonisers as a crucial fishing base on the empire’s southern frontier. A major capital intensive effort was made by Japanese planners in the construction of Takao Fishing Port and the development of the fishing industry. Modern fishing techniques and fishing methods were also introduced from Japan, well-organised fisheries management systems were established, and large-scale investigations into marine resources in Southeast Asia were carried out. Most importantly, modern, comprehensive port facilities were constructed in Takao. The island-wide and international regional fish markets and the pre-war construction of transportation networks contributed greatly to the development of the Takao fishing industry. All of these colonial state-driven infrastructure projects laid a strong foundation for the rebirth of the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan.

Taiwan’s fishing industry experienced unprecedented devastation in the Pacific War, but was soon afterwards revitalised as a direct result of the post-war government's
intervention and financial assistance from the international community, namely, the United States. Initially, the primary motivation for rebuilding Taiwan’s fishing industry, apart from breaking the production records of the colonial period, was to meet the post-war consumption demand of the populace and military.

The fisheries development policies in post-war Taiwan can be summarised by two key phrases: to increase fisheries production with modern well equipped vessels, and, to build modern vessels with foreign financial aid. These guiding principles served as a basic internal template for the growth of Taiwan’s fishing industry. In the meanwhile, tremendous financial assistance from the UNRRA and the US Government as well as the World Bank provided major external support and stimulus. With the help of major overseas financial institutions, the Taiwanese not only rebuilt their shattered fishing industry, but also in the process built up their confidence to establish a global-scale fishing industry.

The fisheries policies of post-war Taiwan did not really deviate markedly from the earlier course set out by the Japanese Colonial Government. Fisheries-related infrastructure was constantly upgraded, and new fishing techniques were continuously introduced as had been the case in the pre-war era. The increase of vessel tonnage and the modernisation of fishing equipment were also still considered essential, and the exploitation of Southeast Asia’s marine resources was still considered the fleet’s most important task. In the pre-war period, fishing vessels had been encouraged to fish ever southward, as well as help the Japanese Navy carry out their aggressive policies of colonial expansion. In the early post-war years, fishing vessels were also encouraged once again to exploit marine resources in the various fishing grounds of the Southeast Asian region. The motivation was both political and environmental. Besides taking into account the fact that marine resources in the East China Sea were rapidly thinning out by the 1950s, the Taiwanese fishers also wanted to avoid possible military harassment from the Chinese communists, as the trawl fishing grounds in the East China Sea shrunk dramatically after the KMT withdrew its garrison from Dachen Island in 1954.

The post-war Taiwan Government, like the Japanese Colonial Administration, also believed that Kaohsiung’s unique geographical location would be absolutely crucial to the southward expansion and development of Southeast Asia’s fishing grounds;
therefore, it also put a huge effort into the reconstruction of the Kaohsiung Fishing Port (Takao Fishing Port). The rebuilding and operation of the Gushan Fishing Port not only encouraged Kaohsiung’s longliner *towkays* to re-exploit the marine resources in the waters of Southeast Asia, but now also attracted Keelung’s trawl fishing companies to relocate in Kaohsiung. These developments were followed by the birth of the Cianjhen Fishing Port in 1967, which proved a milestone in Taiwan’s maritime history. Ice-manufacturing plants, cold storage plants, fish processing factories and other fishing ancillary industries now congregated in Kaohsiung City. Fisheries-related agencies and institutes, such as the weather station Kaohsiung Branch, the Kaohsiung Training Centre, the Fisheries Research Institute Kaohsiung Branch, and the Taiwan Area Fishery Radio Station [台灣區漁業廣播電臺] were all located in the port area. Armed with these modern indispensable and convenient facilities, Kaohsiung’s fishing fleets suddenly became quite active in the fishing grounds of neighbouring Southeast Asia in a comparatively brief period of time. Taiwan’s distant water fishing fleets now even began to fish beyond Southeast Asia and started to pioneer a global-scale fishery.

An examination of the historical scope and magnitude of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia can be narrowed down from the state to the industry level. When Taiwanese fishing vessels and fishers first entered the waters of Southeast Asia, the fishing industry in Kaohsiung was also busy negotiating and dealing with the Government, the military, the politicians and the onshore ancillary industries.

Besides fashioning the fishing industry into a national enterprise through policy guidance and administrative intervention, the post-war fisheries authorities also strictly controlled and regulated the fishing industry, because the fishers’ potential mobility was viewed as a possible threat to the political and social stability of Taiwan. Furthermore, marine products were considered a very reliable food source for the military. Therefore, for a very long period of time, the government fisheries authorities, including the Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee and the Fisheries Administration Agency (renamed the Fisheries Bureau in 1965), and the state-run fishing company, the China Fishing Company, were dominated by people with military backgrounds.

The onshore activities of Kaohsiung’s fishing companies were also under government surveillance. A representative of the Taiwan Garrison Command was
permanently accredited membership in the vessel owners’ guild. Hence, the representatives of the KMT and the police always were present whenever vessel owners had an important meeting. In addition, the military adopted vigorous measures to frequently mobilise fishing fleets to assist in military action against the People’s Republic of China in the early post-war years, which placed a tremendous operational burden on the fishing companies.

However, the relations between the Government, the military and the fishing industry amounted to more than simply direct interference and control. Facing intervention from the military and the Government, the fishing industry seldom complained. Instead, they tried to establish good working relationships with the Government. This was partly because the trawler fleets that worked in the waters off China and in the South China Sea needed naval escorts and protection, and partly because the fishing companies recognised that the military was an important market for their products, especially when the domestic market was in recession. Consequently, the burgeoning fishing industry in Kaohsiung seized every opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty and support to the KMT Government and the military.

The Kaohsiung fishing industry also asked for help from the mainland Chinese Parliament Members when they encountered problems. Unfortunately, they rarely obtained a positive response. The fishing industry also tried to get directly involved in the local political arena. However, they encountered a number of setbacks in the early days of the ‘White Terror’ (1945-1987). Their spokesmen were either ruthlessly killed, or driven out of politics and put in prison on trumped up charges. The national level parliaments were basically controlled by mainland Chinese before the early 1970s. Hence, it was almost impossible for Taiwan’s fishing industry to elect their own representatives in the national parliamentary system. The political situation did not improve until the elections of supplementary parliamentary members were held in 1972. This political process to obtain a direct political voice for the Kaohsiung fishing industry had taken almost three decades to accomplish after the end of World War Two.

In order to ensure that the long distant fishing fleets working in Southeast Asian waters could have adequate supply and support, Kaohsiung’s fishing companies also spent considerable time and effort dealing with the ancillary industries, namely the ice-
manufacturers, shipyards, trucking companies, fishing equipment suppliers and fish escorts. Some of these ancillary industries were well-organised and financially strong; some of them were also just small retail businesses comprised of poor tradesmen and labourers. Nevertheless, they presented various challenges to the progress and development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Sometimes fishing companies took joint action to strike back against the monopoly practices and price controls of the various ancillary industries; sometimes they asked the relevant authorities to assist and uphold justice with respect to best business practice. Unfortunately, the Government did not always side with the fishing industry. Furthermore, when facing challenges from the ancillary industries, fishing companies were not always in the same camp, economically and politically speaking.

The scope and framework of the history of Taiwan’s fishing industry in Southeast Asia can be further narrowed down from the industry level to the level of the actual fishing communities themselves. The impoverished conditions and limited livelihoods in Penghu and Siao Liouciou, as well as the related problem of overfishing in the East China Sea, drove numerous Penghuan and Siao Liouciou fishers and a large number of trawler owners from Keelung to Kaohsiung at different points in time. They took advantage of the modern port facilities to exploit the more distant marine resources of Southeast Asia, which also changed the ethnic character and makeup Kaohsiung’s fishing circles and port life.

The selection of the type of fishing method for the long distance industry was strongly influenced by ethnic factors. Most local towkays restarted their fishing business in post-war Kaohsiung by running longline fishing companies, but quite a few of them diversified their business by entering into trawl fishing. While fishing grounds of Southeast Asia were of primary importance to them, they also invested considerable effort in exploring new fishing territories in other more distant oceans and seas. Most Mainland Chinese had started their fishing careers in Taiwan by operating trawl fishing companies. They always stuck to trawl fishing. While they invested in other fishing activities, the scale of their other fishing enterprises could not compare with their trawling endeavours. The Penghuans constituted the main source of labour in the distant water fisheries, especially on longline vessels. They generally served as crew on the
Conclusion

vessels and only a few of them managed to ever start their own fishing companies.

All the Siao Liouciou adhered solely to offshore longline fishing. They were the most conservative ethnic group in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. They fished in the waters of the old fishing grounds that the Penghuans left behind in Southeast Asia as they went in search of more distant fisheries. The Siao Liouciou also did not like working with other ethnic groups, which limited their potential for participating in the emergent global-scale fisheries.

The vessel owners’ attitude towards the Government and military surveillance and interference was affected by ethnic factors as well. When the military and the Government mobilised their fishing fleets, Mainland Chinese laobans did not complain too much about the measures. Instead, they demonstrated their patriotic and moral standing and offered material support to the military, because they had only recently escaped from China with the KMT in the mid-1940s; a foreboding sense of political crisis between Taiwan and China encouraged them to support the KMT authorities and the military. Furthermore, most of their pair-trawler fleets fished in the waters off China and Vietnam, which required the regular protection of the Navy. Finally, under the rule of the Chiang regime, the people who dominated the military were also Mainland Chinese. Thus, the trawler laobans felt far more comfortable dealing with these KMT groups due to their similar ethnic backgrounds and political affinity.

However, when the 200-mile EEZ came into force in the late 1970s, different ethnic groups applied different strategies to deal with this major challenge. Local Taiwanese towkays tried to arrange international fisheries cooperation; some others went back to distant water longline fishing or set up new fishing businesses such as gill net fishing or purse seine fishing. However, when trawl fishing’s golden era ended in Southeast Asia, a large number of mainland Chinese laobans chose to wind up their enterprises and left the Kaohsiung fishing industry. This prudent decision helped them conserve their wealth, but also effectively prevented them from participating in the further expansion of Taiwan’s global-scale fisheries in the 1980s that was mainly spearheaded by Taiwan’s longline fisheries rather than trawl fishing.

Numerous fishers from Penghu, Siao Liouciou and other places in Taiwan migrated to post-war Kaohsiung, which ultimately limited employment opportunities in
the fishing industry. Fishing masters preferred to employ their relatives or those who were prepared to offer presents or bribes. This traditional custom and malpractice further highlighted the ethnic and social boundaries between different groups of fishers. Most young men started their fishing careers as a ‘cook boy’ or engineman assistant. However, the responsibilities of the role of being a cook or engineman assistant were a difficult, sometimes tragic thing. They were the busiest persons on a distant water longliner or Siao Liouciou’ offshore longliner. Very often, young fishers were physically abused and financially exploited by other more senior crew. Sometimes these novices served as a scapegoat to vent the anger of other fishers although they had not done anything wrong. As for the senior crew like the fishing master, engineman and radioman, they also found life at sea very difficult, as the same ethnic background did not necessarily guarantee that interpersonal relations onboard a fishing vessel would be harmonious all the time. They had to take certain precautions against their fellow crew members. Sometimes, they plotted against each other for reason of personal self-interests. Away from home, lonely young fishers missed their parents; senior fishers missed their wives and children. Some of them even suffered family and marital discord and breakdowns, because some wives had extra-marital affairs, or were addicted to gambling due to protracted long periods of loneliness while their husbands were at sea. Working on a Taiwanese distant water fishing vessel, for some fishers, was no different from the traumatic experience of emotional suffering in prison.

Improvements in shipbuilding technology and fishing techniques enabled the Taiwanese fishers to explore ever more remote fishing territories. Old, inefficient yakitama engines were replaced by diesels that produced greater horsepower. Steel replaced wood as the main material of the vessel’s hull and superstructure which made the modular construction of larger distant water fishing vessels possible. The installation of large refrigerators could now keep the catch fresh even on the long return voyage from the waters off northern Australia to Kaohsiung. Larger tonnage vessels also had larger fish holds that enabled the fishers to catch ever greater quantities in more distant fishing grounds. This further reduced the running costs and the larger ratio of horsepower to tonnage also helped the new fishing fleets exploit remote fishing grounds more efficiently. These technological changes in the shipbuilding industry created a
crucial positive impact on the development of the distant water fishing industry of post-war Kaohsiung.

Both Taiwanese trawlermen and longlinermen fished in Southeast Asian waters, but the manner in which they diversified and exploited fishing grounds was very different. Trawlermen had to constantly look for new fishing territories because the marine ecosystems they exploited could hardly be restored once they were heavily harvested. Taiwanese trawlermen, as a result, abandoned the East China Sea, moved along the continental shelf to the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea, and finally arrived in the waters of eastern Indonesia and northern Australia in the early 1970s. This expansion of Taiwanese trawl fishing grounds in Southeast Asia was ‘southward one-way traffic’; no ‘U-turn’ was allowed.

The Taiwanese longline fishers in Southeast Asia, on the other hand, expanded their fishing grounds in a fan-shaped pattern; the eastern edge of their fishing territories was the Philippines archipelago, and the westernmost boundary was Hainan Island. The choice of longline fishing grounds depended on seasonal conditions and/or market demand. Overseas supply bases had also been continuously set up since the early 1960s, which enabled the Taiwanese distant water longliners to fish in all oceans. However, the advent of the Taiwanese global-scale fisheries did not mean that the Taiwanese fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were now considered less important. Investigations into tropical marine resources were still intensively carried out by the Government’s fishing experimental vessels in the waters of Southeast Asia and northern Australia. A new wave of offshore longliners mainly owned by Siao Liouciou immigrants and Kaohsiung local fishers quickly filled the vacuum in the longline fishing grounds of Southeast Asia, when longliners owned by local Kaohsiung tycoons left the waters of Southeast Asia to harvest marine resources in the Indian Ocean and the southwest Pacific in the 1960s.

Fishing in these remote fishing grounds not only increased profits but also the risk of being detained by foreign navies or marine police. Interdiction and detention occurred when Taiwanese fishers violated the territorial waters of coastal nations, or when they encountered typhoons and/or experienced engine malfunctions, and then had to enter a foreign port for repair. Detainment was a miserable experience; however, far worse, the navy or marine police in Southeast Asia were likely to fabricate unwarranted
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charges against the fishers. To avoid getting into such trouble, Taiwanese fishers sometimes bribed overseas marine law enforcement officers. This illegal practice, however, made some marine police even more corrupt and dangerous. For three decades the Taiwanese fishing companies tried very hard to arrange international fisheries cooperation arrangements with Southeast Asian countries. However, they never succeeded before 1977. This was due to the fact that vessel owners did not have adequate knowledge of global trends and practices in the long distance fishing industry; they did not understand the proper procedures required to carry out an international fishing cooperation agreement, especially without the direct assistance of the Taiwanese Government. Thus, fraud and detainment frequently occurred to Taiwanese vessels. Moreover, the fisheries authorities of Taiwan could not support the active implementation of international fisheries cooperation arrangements, and, effectively protect the rights of vessel owners, because Taiwan was diplomatically isolated due to political pressure exerted by China.

In the 1970s, many serious problems simultaneously appeared in Taiwan’s fishing industry. The rapid development of Taiwan’s industrial economy dramatically increased onshore job opportunities. Young men in the fishing communities did not have to necessarily make a living by going down to the sea in boats now. Also, the wage that they earned in an onshore factory was no less than the one that new fishers earned at sea. This employment situation not only discouraged a younger generation from working in the fishing industry, but also drove experienced fishers to give up their onboard positions. What was even far worse, the overfishing problem in the trawl fishing grounds of Southeast Asia had become horrific. In 1977, Southeast Asian nations and smaller island states in the South Pacific Ocean, as well as many other countries, followed in the footsteps of the United States and claimed a 200-mile EEZ in order to protect their coastlines and fisheries. Fishing zones in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific Ocean had been extremely crucial to the success of Kaohsiung’s trawl and longline fisheries. The necessity to arrange fisheries cooperation agreements with other nations and to invest more financial capital in exploiting new marine resources were two possible solutions to overcome the problem of the imposition of the EEZ. However, the limited administrative and financial capability of the Taiwanese fishing companies
prevented vessel owners from developing new fisheries and negotiating with the relevant foreign governments.

As Taiwan’s economy developed, the character of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities largely changed. Cijin District was always a much less developed area, which maintained the strongest sense of a closed corporate fishing community. Gushan District, on the other hand, had already become urbanised in the pre-war period. Fishers and their families lived in narrow alleys and flats and mingled with people engaged in onshore business activities. Gushan District served throughout the post-war period as the centre of Taiwan’s fishing industry. However, the post-1970s image of Gushan or Cijin as the site of a fishing community was no longer as clear as it was in the early post-war years. After the Cianjhen Fishing Port was built in the late 1960s, numerous fishing companies, fishing ancillary industries and the Government’s key fisheries-related institutes shifted to Cianjhen District, which now looked very much like a modern industrial park rather than the home of an ocean going fishing community.

In the 1970s, the radical development of Kaohsiung’s onshore industries offered various new job opportunities. Women and children no longer needed to work in the fishing ancillary industries. Furthermore, young men did not like to work at sea any longer. As a solution to the emerging labour shortage, foreign fishers have been largely recruited from Southeast Asia to crew the vessels since the end of the 1980s. The appearance and character of Kaohsiung Fishing Port and the running of the Kaohsiung distant water fishing companies are now, consequently, very different from earlier times. How the Taiwanese long distant fishing companies manage and employ foreign fishers from Southeast Asia and China, and how the post-1980s Taiwanese fishing industry has operated around the globe under the restrictions of 200-mile EEZ is an important area for further research in future.

China has already started to develop its distant water fishing industry in the late-1980s. With help of Taiwanese capital and fishing techniques, significant achievements have been made by the Chinese fishing industry. Several important fishing ports with industrialised port facilities have emerged along the Chinese coast one after another. The diffusion of fishing techniques between Taiwan and China and the developmental mode of the fishing industries in the two countries deserve further research, especially from
the perspective of fishery policies and international politics.

Finally, as mentioned above, the post 1977 problem of a labour shortage in Taiwan’s fishing industry was solved through hiring fishers from neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia. The same problem of labour market forces, allocation and control in Japan and some European fishing nations occurred in the second half of the twentieth century; however, the employment of foreign fishers was not a desirable option for them. How did they cope with such problems created by an acute labour shortage and high labour costs? What business strategies did Japan and Europe’s fishing nations adopt? I believe that through comparative historical research of the Taiwanese, Japanese and the European cases, historians and social scientists can develop a deeper understanding of the evolution and transformation of distant water fishing industries in industrial countries at the beginning of the twenty first century.
Appendix I

The most common species of fish caught by Taiwanese trawl fishers and longline fishers

Ayu fish [香魚], Family Plecoglossidae,
Distribution: Japan, Korea, and China
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?ID=81

Black marlin [白旗魚 or 間胸仔], khoah-heng-á, Makaira indica, Family Istiophoridae – Billfishes
Distribution: Indo-Pacific: tropical and subtropical waters, occasionally entering temperate waters. Highly migratory species

Common dolphin fish [鬼頭刀], Coryphaena hippurus, Family Coryphaenidae – Dolphin fishes
Distribution: Atlantic, Indian and Pacific: in tropical and subtropical waters. Highly migratory species
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/SpeciesSummary.php?genusname=Coryphaena&speciesname=hippurus
Cutlass fishes [白帶], Family Trichiuridae
Distribution: Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific.
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?id=415

Edible cuttlefish [花枝], Sepia esculents Hoyle
Source: Survey on the Fishing Vessels and Fishing Gear of Taiwan
[我國漁船性能及漁具配合現況之調查研究], Kaohsiung, Taiwan Shipbuilding Industry Association, 1989, 56.

Flying fish [飛烏魚], Family Exocoetidae
Distribution: Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?ID=206
Formosan squids [鎖管 or 小卷], sió-kíg, *Logigo chinensis* Gray
Source: *Survey on the Fishing Vessels and Fishing Gear of Taiwan* [我國漁船性能及漁具配合現況之調查研究], Kaohsiung, Taiwan Shipbuilding Industry Association, 1989, 56.

Groupers, fairy basslets [石斑], Family *Serranidae*
Distribution: Tropical and temperate oceans. Some enter freshwater.
Source: http://fishbase.sinica.edu.tw/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?ID=289

Indo-Pacific king mackerel, mackerels, tunas, bonitos
[白腹], pch-pák, *Scomberomorus guttatus*, Family *Scombridae*
Distribution: tropical and subtropical seas
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?id=416&lang=English
Indo-Pacific sailfish [雨傘魚], *Istiophorus platypterus*
Family *Istiophoridae* – Billfishes
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/SpeciesSummary.php?genusname=Istiophorus&speciesname=platypterus

Survey on the Fishing Vessels and Fishing Gear of Taiwan
[我國漁船性能及漁具配合現況之調查研究], Kaohsiung, Taiwan Shipbuilding Industry Association, 1989, 64.

Lizard fishes [狗母 or 九母], Family *Synodontidae*
Distribution: Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?ID=160
Moonfish [皮刀], Family Menidae
Distribution: Indo-Pacific: East Africa to southern Japan and northeastern Australia. Recorded from the South China Sea and the Arafura Sea.
Source:
http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/SpeciesSummary.php?id=390

Narrow-barred Spanish mackerel [土魠], Thô̍h–thuh, Family Scombridae
(Mackerels, tunas, bonitos), subfamily: Scombrinae
Distribution: Indo-West Pacific: Red Sea and South Africa to Southeast Asia, north to China and Japan and south to southeast Australia, and to Fiji
Source:

Survey on the Fishing Vessels and Fishing Gear of Taiwan
[我國漁船性能及漁具配合現況之調查研究], Kaohsiung, Taiwan Shipbuilding Industry Association, 1989, 68.
Porgies, yellowback seabream [赤鱆], Family Sparidae
Distribution: tropical and temperate Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Smelt-whitings [沙腸], soa-tLEG, Family Sillaginidae
Distribution: Indo-west Pacific
Source: http://www.fishbase.org/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?ID=307

Threadfin breams, whiptail breams [金線魚], Family Nemipteridae
Distribution: Tropical and sub-tropical Indo-West Pacific.
Source: http://fishbase.sinica.edu.tw/Summary/FamilySummary.cfm?ID=324
Torpedo scad [鐵甲], *Megalaspis cordyla*
Family *Carangidae* Jacks and pompanos
Distribution: Indo-West Pacific: East Africa to Japan and Australia.

Yellowfin tuna [黑旗魚 串仔], *Thunnus albacares*
Family *Scombridae* - Mackerels, tunas, bonitos
Distribution: Worldwide in tropical and subtropical seas, but absent from the Mediterranean Sea. Highly migratory species.
**GLOSSARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwanese</th>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cháu-káu</td>
<td>走狗</td>
<td>flunkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhián-tiâ°</td>
<td>浅埕</td>
<td>the Shoals, the waters off the northern coast of Borneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhut-kok</td>
<td>出國</td>
<td>fishing abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiam-iû-ê</td>
<td>斟油的</td>
<td>engineman assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuí-sian-m.£g</td>
<td>水仙門</td>
<td>gangway of Taiwanese fishing vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chûn-kì</td>
<td>船期</td>
<td>fishing trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chú-p¤g gín-á</td>
<td>煮飯囡仔</td>
<td>cook boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éng-á khui-bãk</td>
<td>湍仔開目</td>
<td>the waves had opened their eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hái-lâm-tó Kha</td>
<td>海南島腳</td>
<td>waters south of Hainan ‘the feet of Hainan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiän-lâu-ê</td>
<td>現流的</td>
<td>no overseas supply bases is used; vessels have to returned to Kaohsiung after each fishing trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiioh-khùn</td>
<td>歇睏</td>
<td>take a rest onshore, meant dismissal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiong-káng-kha</td>
<td>香港腳</td>
<td>the feet of Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hô-läi</td>
<td>河內</td>
<td>the inland seas of the central Philippines that were referred to as ‘the Rivers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J„- chhia</td>
<td>二車</td>
<td>deputy engineman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káu-tang nä kòe</td>
<td>九冬若過</td>
<td>the 9th of ninth month of the lunar year, about October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khùn-üi</td>
<td>睽位</td>
<td>vacant berth, refers to a job on a vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K∽-chiáu chhah jîn-kün</td>
<td>孤鳥插人群</td>
<td>a lonely bird mingling with birds of a different specie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N¤g-chhi°</td>
<td>卵清</td>
<td>egg white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Œat-lâm Kha</td>
<td>越南腳</td>
<td>waters south to Saigon means ‘the feet of Vietnam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwanese</td>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pòa°-soa°-pòa°-hái</td>
<td>半山半海</td>
<td>half mountain; half sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pô-lô-chiu-téng</td>
<td>婆羅洲頂</td>
<td>the head of Borneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si-sek-pài</td>
<td>四色牌</td>
<td>four colour playing cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang-phâng-hái</td>
<td>當帆海</td>
<td>no overseas supply bases is used; vessels have to returned to Kaohsiung after each fishing trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Të-á-si</td>
<td>袋仔絲</td>
<td>bark thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thàn-chiãh-kiá°</td>
<td>賺食囝</td>
<td>child labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thi°-kong</td>
<td>天公</td>
<td>the Heavens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiám-á-ka</td>
<td>柏油</td>
<td>mineral pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Töa-chhia</td>
<td>大車</td>
<td>chief engineman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thâu-ke</td>
<td>頭家</td>
<td>towkay, boss, vessel owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>老闆</td>
<td>Laoban</td>
<td>boss, vessel owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>獻機報國</td>
<td>Siian Ji Bao Guo</td>
<td>means to make a contribution towards one’s country by purchasing military aircraft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>粽子</td>
<td>Zongzi</td>
<td>traditional pyramid-shaped rice dumplings</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Romaji</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>焼き玉</td>
<td>Yakitama</td>
<td>semi-diesel engine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ディーゼル</td>
<td>Diizeru</td>
<td>diesel engine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>底引き網漁業</td>
<td>Sokobiki ami gyogyō</td>
<td>pair trawl fishery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>汽船トロール漁業</td>
<td>Kisen torōru gyogyō</td>
<td>single trawl fishery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>南洋</td>
<td>Nanyō</td>
<td>Southern Ocean which referred to Southeast Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>打瀬網</td>
<td>Uchise ami</td>
<td>a Japanese traditional fishery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>手縛網</td>
<td>Teguri ami</td>
<td>a Japanese traditional fishery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note on the sources

Interviews, the meeting records of the Kaohsiung Fishing Boat Commercial Guild and other unpublished materials, as well as in-house periodicals that circulated in Taiwan’s fishing industry are the three most important sources of my research. Without them, I could not present a comprehensive and clear picture of the history of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry in my dissertation.

Oral History and Fieldwork

Most old Taiwanese fishers are either illiterate or semi-illiterate; the lack of any formal education prevented them from producing any written works about their life histories and the culture and society of their fishing communities. Therefore, living in the fishing communities and interviewing elderly fishers and their family members became the sole approach in order to collect their life histories. The oral histories that I collected during my fieldwork effectively fill in gaps in the documentary record, enabling us to hear the voices of old fishers, and rediscover the ethno-history of these fishing communities. Information collected from interviews and my fieldwork experience in Kaohsiung has been used extensively to describe and analyse the fishing tracks of the Taiwanese fishers, the fishers’ daily lives at sea and the culture and society of their communities.

Guild Records and Other Unpublished Materials

The meeting records of the Kaohsiung Fishing Boat Commercial Guild (KFBCG [高雄漁輪商業同業公會]) were also extensively used to describe and analyse the interactions between the fishing industry, the Government, the military and the fishing ancillary industries. The Kaohsiung Fishing Boat Commercial Guild was officially established in 1965. Prior to 1965, the Guild had existed for several years in the form of a club of sorts, Kaohsiung Pair-Trawler Owners Club (KPTOC [高雄市手操網業聯誼會]). The running of such an informal civilian club, however, had not been approved by the Government; therefore, it did not have a fixed place of residence. Also, at this time it was not allowed
to recruit permanent members. Vessel owners who attended the club meetings had to chair the meeting in turn. The early club records show that besides trawler owners, longliner owners attended the club meetings as well. They met in a restaurant once a month to discuss fisheries-related issues and business in the industry. The contents of their discussions were all written by hand.

With the permission of the Government, the vessel owners’ club was formally reorganised as a guild in 1965. The Guild office was located in Gushan District. The Guild members included both pair-trawler owners and longliner owners. After the Guild was officially established, vessel owners held meetings more frequently than before. Basically, their meetings took three different forms: a meeting of supervisors [理事會], a combined meeting of supervisors and directors [理監事聯席會議], and a member representatives’ conference [會員代表大會]. Besides regular meetings, vessel owners had special meetings if something urgent occurred. Their regular meetings often several on a monthly basis produced a huge volume of Guild records. Some were written by hand; some were typed and printed. They were still well-kept in the Guild office (in Cianjhen District) when I conducted my fieldwork in 2002. Most of files clearly indicate the date, venue and title of meeting.

Most of the meeting titles are similar and constant; they can be classified into four major types:
Type 1: KPTOC, ‘1st Meeting Records of the KPTOC in 1962 [高雄市手操網業聯誼會五十一年度第一次會議],’ 24/2/1962
Type 4: KFBCG, ‘1st Conference Records of the 2nd Cohort Member Representatives [本會第二屆第一次會員代表大會],’ 20/1/1967.

In order to show readers where the information comes from, the dates and titles of meetings are clearly specified in the footnotes. However, as you can see from the above three examples, the formal titles of the meetings do not actually reveal
information about the actual substance of the meetings to readers; therefore, I do not list the various individual meeting titles in my bibliography.

In addition to the Guild records, some of my informants, namely, Huang Sianchih, the former Head of the Fisheries Bureau, Cai Wunyu, a retired politician from Kaohsiung, and Chu Pingyi, a research fellow from the Academia Sinica kindly offered me numerous significant unpublished documents. The unpublished materials they provided have made a major contribution to my research as well.

**Periodicals**

The use of news and industry reports enables us to observe long-term patterns and trends in the business environment of Taiwan’s fishing industry. There are three major fisheries periodicals published in post-war Taiwan: *Fisheries Tribune* ([漁業論壇] 1961-1974), *China Fisheries News* ([中國漁業新聞] 1956-1974), and *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* ([中華漁業週刊] 1975-1997). *The Fisheries Tribune* used to be a weekly periodical; however, due to financial difficulties, it became a monthly periodical after no. 23. *Fisheries Tribune* provided in-depth news analysis on the fishing industry. Also, it served as an effective communication channel between the fisheries authorities and the fishing industry; it publicised fisheries policies on behalf of the Government, while, at the same time, it conveyed the needs and demands of the fishing industry to the Government.

*China Fisheries News* and *Chinese Fisheries Weekly* are periodicals that fall between a journal and a newspaper. They were printed in the form of newsheet, and most of their authors remained anonymous. However, like journals, they were issued regularly, and the contents of the weekly news reports were about more than simply current affairs in the fishing industry. Like the *Fisheries Tribune*, they also built a bridge between the fisheries authorities and the fishing industry. The Government used these periodicals as a political instrument to convey official ideology, while also, the fishing industry publicised their loyalty to the Government in their pages. In Chapter four, I mention the *China Fisheries Monthly* [中國水產月刊] once. This monthly was solely devoted to marine science.
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List of Informants

In Taiwan it is culturally prohibited for a young man to ask old women their names. Most of the elderly fishers felt offended when I asked to interview their wives. This is why all the names of the old fishers’ wives remain unknown.

Cai Bian [蔡扁], and his wife and female relatives

Cai (70+ yrs) is a retired offshore fisher. He used to work in the aquaculture and the coastal fishing industry in Cijin District, but he started to fish in the waters of Southeast Asia, after the fishing ports were built in Cijin. He is semi-illiterate, but his daughter is a university lecturer.

The information Cai and his female relatives provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on offshore longliners, fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia, and the culture and economic activities of Cijin’s fishing communities.

Cai Dingbang [蔡定邦]

Cai Dingbang (60+ yrs) is Cai Wun’yu’s nephew. He was elected as Supplementary National Assembly Delegate [國大代表] by Kaohsiung’s fishing communities. His fishing company is still playing a leading role in Taiwan’s distant water fishing industry. He has worked as an honorary Consul-General for the Consulate-General of Papua New Guinea in Kaohsiung since 2003. He is very active and well-known in Kaohsiung’s political circles and fishing industry.

The information Cai provided focused on the current affairs of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.

Cai Minghwei [蔡明煇], and his wife

Cai (65+ yrs) is a retired offshore fisher. He used to work in the aquaculture and the coastal fishing industry in Cijin District, but he started to fish in the waters of Southeast Asia, after the fishing ports were built in Cijin.
The information Cai and his wife provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on offshore longliners, fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia, and the culture and economic activities of Cijin’s fishing communities.

Cai Wun’yu [蔡文玉]

Cai (80+ yrs) is a Kaohsiung’s business tycoon. He graduated from Keio University, one of Japan’s best universities, in the colonial era. He was very active in both political circles and the fishing industry in post-war Taiwan. He served as the Head of the Kaohsiung Fishermen’s Association, entering the City Council, and then was elected as the Head of the Taiwan Provincial Fishermen’s Association. He was also invited to join the Taiwan Fisheries Production Committee. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Marine Science and Resources by Nihon University, Japan, and was elected into the Taiwan Provincial Assembly. He kindly allowed me to interview him on several occasions, and answered every question I asked in detail.

The information Cai provided included: the fishing industry of pre-war Kaohsiung (Takao), the impact of the February 28th Incident on Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, the current affairs and business culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities, the interactions of the fishing industries between Taiwan and Japan, and the fisheries policies of post-war Taiwan.

Chang Dejing [昌得敬]

Chang (60+ yrs) is a retired fishing master in Cianjhen. He is an indigenous Taiwanese. He worked in Kaohsiung’s trawl fishing industry for decades, and used to fish in the waters off northern Australia. The information Chang provided included: the labour force of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry and his personal fishing experience in the waters off Australia.

Chen Cai [陳財]

Chen (75+ yrs) was a very successful fish wholesaler in the Kaohsiung Fish Market, but he changed his career and started to run a fishing company. His fishing company was also very successful. The information Chen provided included: the current state of affairs of the Kaohsiung fishing industry and how he changed his role from a successful fish wholesaler to a successful vessel owner.
Chen Jinjiao [陳近教]
Chen (75+ yrs) is a retired fishing master who used to fish in the waters of South East China. He was still running a distant water fishing fleet when I did my fieldwork in Kaohsiung. The information Chen Jinjiao provided was about fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Chen Jinyou [陳進有]
Chen (about 50 yrs) is a coastal fisher in Cijin. He used to work in the distant water fishing industry. The information Chen Jinyou provided concerned fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Chen Liousyu [陳六婿]
Chen (60+ yrs) is an offshore longlinerman in Cijin. He still fished in the waters off the Philippines and South China Sea when I was conducting my research in Kaohsiung.
The information Chen Liousyu provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on offshore longliners, and the fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Chen Shengli [陳生利]
Chen (65+ yrs) started his fishing career in Siao Liouciou in his teens. He moved to Gushan in 1957, and started to run his own offshore longliner fleet. He is still very active and well-known in Kaohsiung’s Siao Liouciou fishing community.
The information Chen provided included: the fishers’ migration from Siao Liouciou and Kaohsiung, the management of offshore longline fishing fleets, the business culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, the fishers’ daily lives on offshore longliners, and the fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Chen Shuteng [陳樹藤], and his wife
Chen (60+ yrs) is a Penghuan vessel owner. He moved to Gushan and started his fishing career in his teens. He worked as an onboard cook at the very beginning of
his career; however, with Jhang Wunjhang’s financial support, he eventually started his own fishing company. The company was still doing well when I was doing my fieldwork in Kaohsiung in 2002. He is semi-illiterate, but all his children have university degrees from Australia and the United States. The information Chen Shuteng and his wife provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on offshore and distant water longliners and the culture of the Penghuans’ fishing communities.

Chen Youyi [陳有義] and his wife

Chen (about 70) is a retired Penghuan fishing master. He moved to Gushan and started his fishing career when he was a young man. He did not have a decent education because of his miserable childhood (Chen’s father was killed at sea by an American bomber). However, unlike some other fishers, Chen is cultured, refined and with a serene mind. He worked as a fishing master for both private and state-run fishing companies, and eventually became an important shareholder of a fishing enterprise. The information Chen Youyi and his wife provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on distant water longliners and the culture of Penghuans’ fishing communities.

Chu Pingyi [祝平一]

Chu (45+ yrs) is a research fellow from the Academia Sinica. He used to work on Taiwan’s maritime history. Now he is looking at cross-cultural scientific exchanges between China and Europe during the 17th and 18th century. Chu gave me some fine advice regarding fieldwork strategy, and kindly lent me materials related to Taiwan’s maritime history.

Gu Tingfang [谷廷芳]

Gu (about 80 yrs) was born in a wealthy fishing family in Shandong Province, China. His family had been running a trawl fishing business in Shandong for generations. He fled to Keelung with his family when he was in his 20s. In the 1950s, he moved to Kaohsiung, and worked as a manager for various fishing companies for many years, and then started to run his own fishing fleet in the early 1970s. He was very
active and well-known in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. He was suffering from cancer when I did my fieldwork in Kaohsiung. The information Gu kindly provided included: the Shandong people’s migration from China to Taiwan, the management of distant water trawler fleets, and the business culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.

Guo Shihfu [郭石虎]

Guo (65+ yrs) is a retired fisher in Cijin District. He was running two offshore shrimp trawlers when I did my fieldwork in Kaohsiung. He kindly told me everything about the culture and daily life of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities. He also arranged a fishing trip for me so that I could fish in the Taiwan Strait with two offshore longlinermen. The information Guo Shihfu provided included: the culture and economic activities of Cijin’s fishing communities.

Hong Fucai [洪福財]

Hong (about 70 yrs) is a Siou Liouciou vessel owner. He started his fishing career in his teens. He migrated to Gushan when he was a young adult, and started to run his own offshore longliner fleet. He is still very active in Kaohsiung’s Siao Liouciou fishing community. He is also an elder in the Gushan Presbyterian Church. The information Hong Fucai provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on offshore Siao Liouciou longliners, the fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia, and the culture of the Siao Liouciou fishing communities.

Hong Shueijing [洪水鏡]

Hong (about 70 yrs) was born in a fishing family. He used to fish in the waters of Southeast Asia. He was running a distant water fishing fleet, while I was in Kaohsiung in 2002. The information Hong provided includes: the fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia and the culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities.

Hong Sinjhu [洪新註]
Hong (70+ yrs) is a Siou Liouciou vessel owner. He started his fishing career when he was a teenager. He migrated to Takao (Kaohsiung) in the pre-war era, and started to run his own longliner fleet. Unlike other Siou Liouciou people, all his vessels are distant water fishing vessels. His case is considered unusual in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. The information Hong provided focused on the running of distant water longline fleets.

Huang Fucyuan [黃福泉]

Huang (75+ yrs) is a retired fishing master. He received a fishery vocational education in the colonial period, and worked in the distant water fishing industry for decades. He was most helpful, but became upset with me after I tried to interview his wife. The information Huang Fucyuan provided includes: Taiwan’s fishing industry and World War Two, the fishers’ daily lives on distant water longliners, and the culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities.

Huang Sianchih [黃獻池]

Huang (65+ yrs) was the Head of the Fisheries Bureau. He received a MA in the United States. He was elected as Supplementary National Assembly Delegate (國大代表) by the fishing industry. He not only allowed me to interview him on several occasions, but also kindly gave me some unpublished documents. The information Huang provided focused on Taiwan’s fisheries policies and the difficulties that Taiwan’s fishing industry encountered in the 1970s.

Huang Syue [黃學]

Huang (80+ yrs) is a retired fishing master in Cijin. He worked in Kaohsiung’s offshore fishing industry for decades. His son is a fishing master as well. The information Huang Syue provided included: the fishers’ daily lives at sea, and fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Huang Yanshan [黃炎山]

Huang (about 70 yrs) is the boss of a fishing company. He is very active and well-known in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.
The information Huang provided focused on the current affairs of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.

Jhen Sanbian [鄭三弁]

Jhen (70+ yrs) is a retired Penghuan engineman. His mother passed away when he was very young, and left him with several younger brothers. He moved to Gushan and started his fishing career after World War Two ended. He worked as an enginemen for a long period of time. He was detained by the Filipino authorities several times when he illegally fished in the waters of the Philippines. He is also a poet. The information Jhen Sanbian provided included: the fishermen’s migration from Penghu to Kaohsiung, the fishers’ daily lives at sea, fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia and the culture of the Penghuan fishing communities in Kaohsiung.

Jhong Ciourong [鍾秋榮]

Jhong (60 + yrs) is a retired fishing master. The information Jhong provided includes: the fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia and northern Australia and the culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities.

Jin Nengjhen [金能震]

Jin (70+ yrs) is a retired fishing master. He comes from China. He worked for the state-run fishing companies when he was young. The information Jin Nengjhen provided included: the business culture of the state-run fishing companies.

Li Jijhao [李繼招]

Li (75+ yrs) comes from Shandong, China. He ran a fishing fleet in Kaohsiung, and used to work as the Head of the Kaohsiung Fishing Boat Commercial Guild. He was very active in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. Several times he, on behalf of the Guild, negotiated with the fishing ancillary industries. He also played an important role in the negotiation of international fisheries cooperation arrangements. The information Li Jijhao provided included: fisheries cooperation arrangements with Southeast
Asian nations and Australia, the operation of the Guild and the development of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry, especially the trawl fishery.

Lin Changren [林長仁]
Lin (75+ yrs) was born in Fujian Province, China. He received a formal fishery education in Fujian. He fled to Keelung in 1940s and worked for civilian fishing companies as a fishing master. In the 1950s, he moved to Gushan, Kaohsiung and then ran his own fishing companies. Unlike other Mainland Chinese in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry who always stuck to trawl fishing, he began his career by running pair-trawlers and then extended his business to longline fishing and gill net fishing. He was very well-known in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. One of his children migrated to Australia. The information Lin Changren provided included: the fishers’ migration process from China to Taiwan, the management of distant water fishing companies, and the business culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.

Liou Syuan [劉選]
Liou (75+ yrs) was a Penghuan vessel owner. Liou was an orphan (His mother passed away, and his father deserted him). In order to survive, he moved to Kaohsiung and went to sea as a cook. He was soon promoted to a fishing master due to his excellent fishing results. Liou also tried to run his own fishing company. Unfortunately, his enterprise did not last long. He was forced to sell all his vessels. He was extremely distressed, and believed that his misfortune was a punishment for killing fish. He was suffering from dementia when I was in Kaohsiung in 2002. He is a poet, although illiterate. The information Liou provided included: the fishermen’s migration process from Penghu to Kaohsiung, the fishers’ daily lives at sea, fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia, and the culture of the Penghuan fishing communities in Kaohsiung.

Pan San’guang [潘三光]
Pan (60+ yrs] was born into a local wealthy family. He has a university degree. His family had been prosperous since the colonial period. They not only run distant water and offshore fishing fleets, but also extended their business interests to the
fishing ancillary industries like shipbuilding. They started to cooperate with American and Japanese fish dealers and pioneered global-scale fisheries in the 1960s. They are still a powerful and influential in Kaohsiung. The information Pan provided included: the management of fisheries-related enterprises, such as, shipyards, offshore fishing fleets, and the distant water fishing companies, and the business culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing industry.

Sia Fujhong [夏富重]

Sia (75+ yrs) is a retired Penghuan fishing master, but he was born and grew up in Takao (Kaohsiung). He planned to join the Japanese navy during the war, but the war ended before he could enlist in the navy. He started his fishing career in the post-war era. The information Sia provided included: the fishers’ daily lives on distant water trawlers and the culture of Kaohsiung’s trawl fishing industry.

Su Liansan [蘇連三]

Su (55+ yrs) is a retired trawlerman. I interviewed him once. The information Su provided included: the trawl fishing grounds in the waters of Southeast Asia.

Sun Bonan [孫柏南]

Sun (70+ yrs) is a trainer at Kaohsiung’s fisher training centre. He received a formal fishery education in the colonial period, and worked as a fisher for a couple of years. He has trained numerous fishers for Taiwan’s fishing industry. The information Sun provided includes: Kaohsiung’s fishing industry and World War Two, and the culture and practices of Penghuan fishers.

Syu Yisin [許益欣] and his wife

Syu (55+ yrs) is a retired Penghuan engineman. He studied at a fisheries school, but did not finish the course. He worked in the distant water fishing industry for a long period of time, but never worked as a fishing master. He was working at a shipyard in Cianjhen in 2002. The information Syu provided included: the fishermen’s
migration from Penghu to Kaohsiung, the fishers’ daily lives on distant water longliners, and the culture of Penghuan fishing communities in Kaohsiung.

Wang Hejia [王和家]

Wang (75+ yrs) is a retired fisher. Unlike other old fishers, Wang went to senior high school when he was young, which was considered unusual in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. He worked in the offshore and distant water fishing industries for decades. He used to work as a fishing master, but was soon replaced because his fishing results were not satisfactory. After he retired from the fishing industry, he established a volleyball club and devoted himself to promoting the sport. With the financial support from local enterprises and the Kaohsiung City Government, several international games between Taiwan and Japan have been held. His personal story has been covered by newspapers on several occasions. I worked as the secretary of the volleyball club (on a volunteer basis), and was in charge of all the computer work for him while I conducted my fieldwork in Kaohsiung. The information Wang provided included: the politics of the fishing industry of Kaohsiung and the culture of Kaohsiung’s fishing communities.

Wu Dezan [吳得贊]

Wu (60+ yrs) is a fishing vessel owner. He has a university degree, and is very active and well-known in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. The information Wu provided included: the sharing system in the trawl fishing industry and the ethnic issues and problems in Kaohsiung’s fishing communities.

Wu Tianrui [吳天瑞]

Wu (70+ yrs) was educated in the colonial period. He never went to sea, although he was born in a fishing family of Kaohsiung. He ran a fish processing factory, and exported fish products to Japan. When I did my fieldwork in Kaohsiung in 2002, he was running a transportation fleet. He also lent money to other fishing companies, and Taiwanese fishing fleets that worked overseas. He is extremely wealthy and highly regarded in Kaohsiung’s fishing industry. (He was also the main supporter of the volleyball club. He provided a large amount of financial aid to the club.)
introduced me to fishing companies, and, on several occasions, he generously offered his spacious office to me to interview vessel owners. Without his help, I would not have been able to collect enough material to write chapter six: The Development of Kaohsiung’s Fishing Companies.

Yu Jyun’yue [余俊岳]

Yu (45+ yrs) is the Chief-Secretary of the Kaohsiung Fishing Boat Commercial Guild (KFBCG [高雄漁輪商業同業公會]).

The information Yu provided focused on the business culture of Shandong vessel owners. He also introduced me to some Shandong vessel owners, and equally importantly, provided me with the Guild records. Without his help, I would not have been able to write chapters four and five: The Kaohsiung Fishing Industry, the Military and Political Complex, and The Kaohsiung fishing Industry and Its ancillary industries.

Zeng Jhengji [曾正己]

Zeng (60+ yrs) is a retired Penghuan fishing master. He moved to Kaohsiung and started his fishing career when he was a young boy. He worked for the distant water fishing industry for decades. Unlike other fishers, he is a cultured person, and, can read some English. The information Zeng provided included: the fishermen’s migration from Penghu to Kaohsiung, the fishers’ daily lives on distant water longliners, and the culture of Penghuan fishing communities in Kaohsiung.

Zou Qingsheng [鄒勤生]

Zou (90+ yrs) comes from Shandong, China. He used to work in the military. Inspired by other people from Shandong, Zou retired from the army, and started to run a fishing company and an ice-manufacturing plant. He was one of the very few Shandong people who still remained in the Kaohsiung fishing industry when I was in Kaohsiung in 2002. One of his children has migrated to Australia. The information Zou provided included: the running of trawl fishing fleets and the fishing routes in the waters of Southeast Asia.